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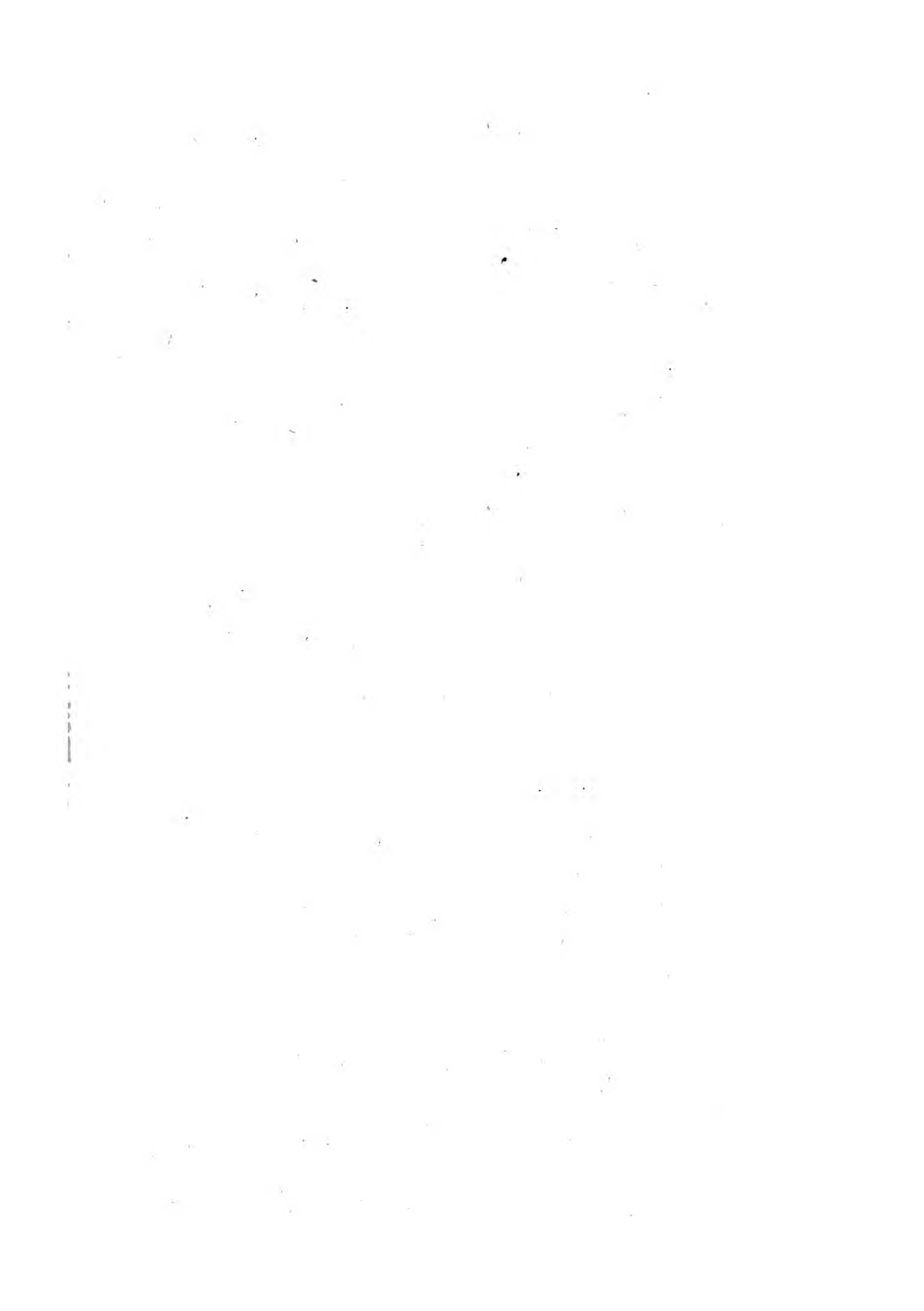


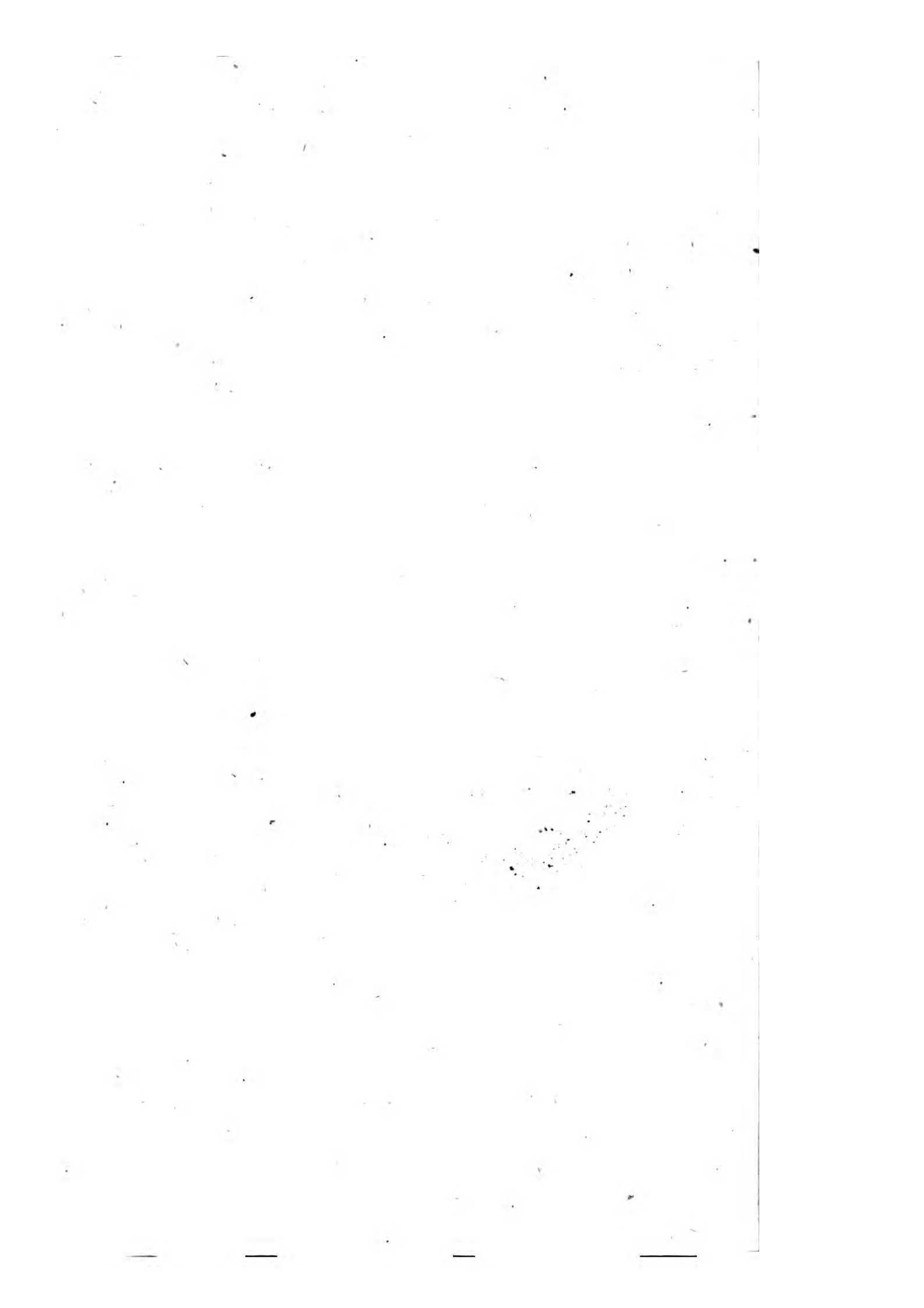
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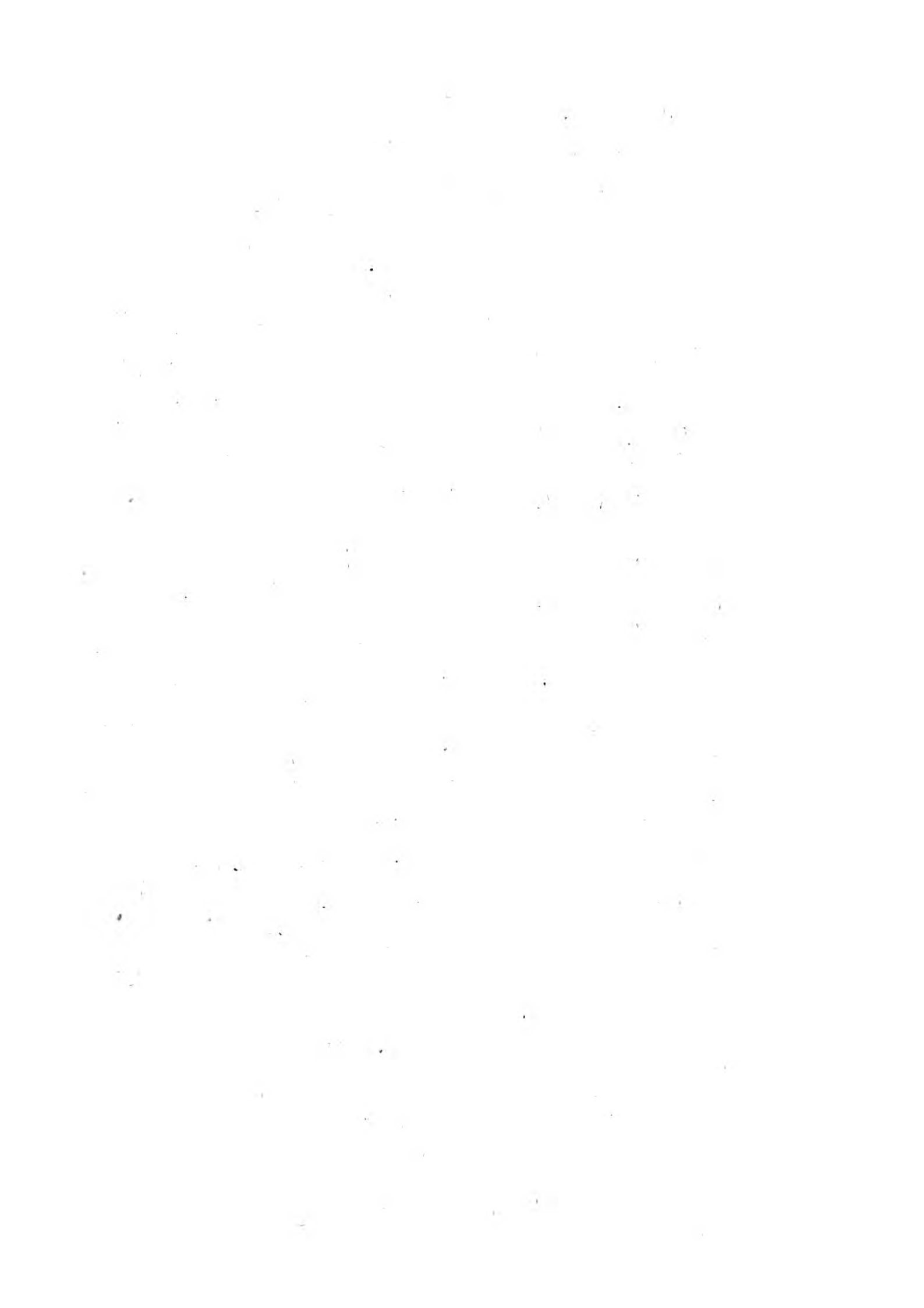
Miss Emma F. I. Dunston

Dunston 1975/3









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 THIRD.

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



THE
CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON, &c.

IT cannot be expressed, hardly imagined, with Transactions
in Parliament. what Alacrity the Parliament entered upon all particular Affairs which might refer to the King's Honor, Safety or Profit. They pulled up all those Principles of Sedition and Rebellion by the Roots, which in their own Observation had been the Ground of or contributed to the odious and infamous Rebellion in the long Parliament. They declared "that sottish Distinction between the King's The King's
Prerogative
asserted. Person and his Office to be Treason; that his Negative Voice could not be taken from him, and "was so essential to the making a Law, that no Order "or Ordinance of either House could be binding to "the Subject without it; that the Militia was inseparably vested in his Majesty, and that it was "High Treason to raise or levy Soldiers without the "King's Commission." And because the Licence of speaking seditiously, and of laying scandalous Imputations and Aspersions upon the Person of the King, as saying *that He was a Papist*, and such like Terms, to alienate the Affections of the People from his Majesty, had been the Prologue and principal Ingre-

dient to that Rebellion, and corrupted the Hearts of his loving Subjects; They declared, “ that the
 “ raising any Calumnies of that Kind upon the King,
 “ as saying *that He is a Papist, or popishly affected,* or
 “ the like, should be Felony.” In a Word, They vindicated all his Regalities and Royal Prerogatives, and provided for the Safety of his Person in as loving and ample a Manner as He could wish: And towards raising and settling a Revenue proportionable to his Dignity and necessary Expense, over and above the Confirmation of all that had been done or granted in the last Convention, They entered upon all the Expedients which could occur to them, and were willing to receive Propositions or Advice from any Body that might contribute thereunto. In all these public Matters, no Man could wish a more active Spirit to be in them, than They were in Truth possessed with.

The Parliament unwilling to confirm the Act of Indemnity.

But in that which the King had principally recommended to them, the Confirmation of the *Act of Oblivion and Indemnity*, They proceeded very slowly, coldly and unwillingly, notwithstanding the King's frequent Messages to them “ to despatch
 “ it, though with the Delay of those other Things
 “ which They thought did more immediately concern him.” They had many Agents and Solicitors in the Court, who thought that all that was released by that Act might lawfully be distributed amongst them; and since the King had referred that whole Affair to the Parliament, He might well leave it to their Judgments, without his own Interposition. But his Majesty looked upon himself as under ano-

ther Obligation both of Honor and Conscience, and upon the Thing itself as more for the public Peace and Security, than any Thing the Parliament could provide instead thereof; and therefore was very much troubled and offended at the apparent Unwillingness to pass it. And thereupon He went himself to the House of Peers, and sent for the Commons, and told them, "that it was absolutely necessary to despatch that Bill, which He himself had sent to them near two Months before:" For it was now the eighth of *July*. His Majesty told them, "that it was to put himself in Mind as well as them, that He so often, as often as He came to them, mentioned to them his Declaration from *Breda*." And He said, "He should put them in Mind of another Declaration published by themselves about that Time, and which He was persuaded made his the more effectual, an honest, generous and Christian Declaration, signed by the most eminent Persons, who had been the most eminent Sufferers; in which They renounced all former Animosities, all Memory of former Unkindnesses, vowed all imaginable Good-Will and all Confidence in each other." All which being pressed with so much Instance by his Majesty, prevailed with them: And They then forthwith despatched that Bill; and the King as soon confirmed it, and would not stay a few Days, till other important Bills should be likewise ready to be presented to him.

The King strenuously urges them to confirm it.

Whereupon They confirm it.

And there cannot be a greater Instance of their Desire to please his Majesty from thenceforth, than that before that Session was concluded, notwith-

standing the Prejudice the Clergy had brought upon themselves (as I said before) upon their too much good Husbandry in granting Leases, and though the Presbyterian Party was not without an Interest in Both Houses of Parliament; They passed a Bill for the Repeal of that Act of Parliament, by which the Bishops were excluded from sitting there. It was first proposed in the House of Commons by a Gentleman, who had been always taken to be of a Presbyterian Family: And in that House it found less Opposition than was looked for; all Men knowing, that besides the Justice of it, and the Prudence to wipe out the Memory of so infamous an Act, as the Exclusion of them with all the Circumstances was known to be, it would be grateful to the King.

The Commons pass a Bill for restoring Bishops to their Seats in Parliament.

But when it came into the House of Peers, where all Men expected it would find a general Concurrence, it met with some Obstruction; which made a Discovery of an Intrigue, that had not been suspected. For though there were many Lords present, who had industriously labored the passing the former Bill for the Exclusion, yet They had likewise been guilty of so many other ill Things, of which They were ashamed, that it was believed that They would not willingly revive the Memory of the Whole, by persevering in such an odious Particular. Nor in Truth did They. But when They saw that it would unavoidably pass (for the Number of that Party was not considerable), They either gave their Consents, as many of them did, or gave their Negative without Noise. The Obstruction came not from thence, The *Catholics* less owned

the Contradiction, nor were guilty of it, though They suffered in it. But the Truth is, it proceeded from the mercurial Brain of the Earl of *Bristol*, who much affected to be looked upon as the Head of the *Catholics*; which They did so little desire that He should be thought, that They very rarely concurred with him. He well knew that the King desired (which his Majesty never dissembled) to give the *Roman-Catholics* Ease from all the sanguinary Laws; and that He did not desire that They should be liable to the other Penalties which the Law had made them subject to, whilst They should in all other Respects behave themselves like good Subjects. Nor had They since his Majesty's Return sustained the least Prejudice by their Religion, but enjoyed as much Liberty at Court and in the Country, as any other Men; and with which the wisest of them were abundantly satisfied, and did abhor the Activity of those of their own Party, whom They did believe more like to deprive them of the Liberty They enjoyed, than to enlarge it to them.

Which is
obstructed in
the House of
Lords by
the Earl of
Bristol.

When the Earl of *Bristol* saw this Bill brought into the House for restoring the Bishops to their Seats, He went to the King, and informed his Majesty, " that if this Bill should speedily pass, it would
" absolutely deprive the *Catholics* of all those Graces
" and Indulgence which He intended to them; for
" that the Bishops, when They should sit in the
" House, whatever their own Opinions or Inclinations were, would find themselves obliged,
" that They might preserve their Reputation with
" the People, to contradict and oppose whatsoever

“ should look like Favor or Connivance towards
 “ the *Catholics*: And therefore, if his Majesty con-
 “ tinued his former gracious Inclination towards the
 “ *Roman Catholics*, He must put some Stop (even
 “ for the Bishops own Sakes) to the passing that
 “ Bill, till the other should be more advanced,
 “ which He supposed might shortly be done;” there
 having been already some Overtures made to that
 Purpose, and a Committee appointed in the House
 of Lords to take a View of all the sanguinary Laws
 in Matters of Religion, and to present them to the
 House that it might consider farther of them. The
 King surpris'd with the Discourse from a Man who
 had often told him the Necessity of the restoring the
 Bishops, and that it could not be a perfect Parliament
 without their Presence, thought his Reason for the
 Delay to have Weight in it, and that the Delay for
 a few Days could be attended with no Prejudice to
 the Matter itself; and thereupon was willing the
 Bill should not be called for, and that when it
 should be under Commitment, it should be detained
 there for some Time; and that He might, the better
 to produce this Delay, tell some of his Friends,
 “ that the King would be well pleas'd, that there
 “ should not be overmuch Haste in the presenting
 “ that Bill for his Royal Assent.”

This grew quickly to be taken Notice of in the
 House, that after the first Reading of that Bill, it
 had been put off for a second Reading longer than
 was usual, when the House was at so much Leisure;
 and that now it was under Commitment, it was ob-
 structed there, notwithstanding all the Endeavours

some Lords of the Committee could use for the Despatch; the Bill containing very few Words, being only for the Repeal of a former Act, and the Expressions admitting, that is, giving little Cause for any Debate. The Chancellor desired to know how this came to pass, and was informed by one of the Lords of the Committee, "that They were assured that the King would have a Stop put to it, till another Bill should be provided which his Majesty looked for." Hereupon the Chancellor spake with his Majesty, who told him all the Conference which the Earl of *Bristol* had held with him, and what He had consented should be done. To which the other replied, "that He was sorry that his Majesty had been prevailed with to give any Obstruction to a Bill, which every Body knew his Majesty's Heart was so much set upon for Despatch; and that if the Reason were known, it would quickly put an End to all the Pretences of the *Catholics*; to which his Majesty knew He was no Enemy." The King presently concluded that the Reason was not sufficient and wished, "that the Bill might be despatched as soon as was possible, that He might pass it that Session;" which He had appointed to make an End of within few Days: And so the next Day the Report was called for and made, and the Bill ordered to be engrossed against the next Morning; the Earl not being at that Time in the House. But the next Morning, when the Chancellor had the Bill engrossed in his Hand to present to the House to be read the third Time, the Earl came to him to the Wool-sack, and with great Displeasure and Wrath in his

But is at last
passed.

Countenance told him, "that if that Bill were read
"that Day, He would speak against it;" to which
the Chancellor gave him an Answer that did not
please him: And the Bill was passed that Day. And
from that Time the Earl of *Bristol* was a more
avowed and declared Enemy to him, than He had
before professed to be; though the Friendship that
had been between them had been discontinued or
broken, from the Time the Earl had changed his
Religion.

The Parlia-
ment adjourn-
ed.

The King within few Days came to the Parlia-
ment, to give his Royal Assent so those Bills which
were prepared for him; and then told them, "that
"He did thank them with all his Heart, indeed as
"much as He could for any Thing, for the Repeal
"of that Act which excluded the Bishops from
"sitting in Parliament." He said, "it was an un-
"happy Act in an unhappy Time, passed with
"many unhappy Circumstances, and attended with
"miserable Events; and therefore He did again
"thank them for repealing it: And that They had
"thereby restored Parliaments to their primitive
"Institutions." This was upon the thirtieth of *July*
1661, when the Parliament was adjourned to the
twentieth of *November* following.

The true
Ground of the
King's Favor

Because We have mentioned the gracious Pur-
poses the King had to his Roman Catholic Subjects,
of which afterwards much Use was made to his
Disservice, to which the Vanity and Presumption
of many of that Profession contributed very much;
it may not be unseasonable in this Place to mention
the Ground of that his Majesty's Goodness, and the

Reasons why that Purpose of his was not prosecuted to the Purpose it was intended, after so fair a Rise towards it, by the Appointment of that Committee in the House of Peers, which is remembered above.

to the Roman Catholics.

It is not to be wondered at, that the King, at the Age He was of when the Troubles began in *England*, and when He came out of *England*, knew very little of the Laws which had been long since made and were still in Force against *Roman Catholics*, and less of the Grounds and Motives which had introduced those Laws. And from the Time that He was first beyond the Seas, He could not be without hearing very much spoken against the Protestant Religion, and more for extolling and magnifying the Religion of the Church of *Rome*; neither of which Discourses made any Impression upon him. After the Defeat at *Worcester*, and his Escape from thence into *France*, the Queen his Mother (who had very punctually complied with the King her Husband's Injunctions, in not suffering any Body to endeavour to pervert the Prince her Son in his Religion, and when He came afterwards into *France* after He was King, continued the same Reservation) used much more Sharpness in her Discourse against the *Protestants*, than She had been accustomed to. The Liberty that his Majesty formerly had in the *Louvre*, to have a Place set aside for the Exercise of his Religion, was taken away: And continual Discourses were made by the Queen in his Presence, " that He had now no Hope ever " to be restored to his Dominions, but by the Help

“ of the *Catholics*; and therefore that He must apply
 “ himself to them in such a Way, as might induce
 “ them to help him.”

About this Time there was a short Collection and Abridgment made of all the penal Laws, which had been made and which were still in Force in *England* against the *Roman Catholics*; “ that all Priests for
 “ saying Mass were to be put to Death;” the great Penalties which They were to undergo, who entertained or harboured a Priest in their House, or were present at Mass, and the like; with all other envious Clauses, which were in any Acts of Parliament, that had been enacted upon several Treasons and Conspiracies of the *Roman Catholics*, in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* And this Collection They caused to be translated into *French* and into *Latin*, and scattered it abroad in all Places; after They had caused Copies of it to be presented to the Queen-Mother of *France*, and to the Cardinal: So that the King came into no Place where those Papers were not showed to him, and where He was not seriously asked, “ whether
 “ it was a true Collection of the Laws of *England*,” and “ whether it was possible, that any Christian
 “ Kingdom could exercise so much Tyranny against
 “ the Catholic Religion.” The King who had never heard of these Particulars, did really believe that the Paper was forged, and answered, “ He did not
 “ believe that there were such Laws:” And when He came to his Lodgings, He gave the Chancellor the Paper, and bade him read it, and tell him,
 “ whether such Laws were in Force in *England*.”

He had heard before of the scattering of those Papers, and knew well who had made the Collection; who had been a Lawyer, and was a *Protestant*, but had too good an Opinion of the *Roman Catholics*, and desired too much to be grateful to them.

The Chancellor found an Opportunity the next Day to enlarge upon the Paper to his Majesty, and informed him of “ the Seasons in which, and the Oc-
 “ casions and Provocations upon which, those Laws
 “ had been made; of the frequent Treasons and
 “ Conspiracies which had been entered into by some
 “ *Roman Catholics*, always with the Privity and
 “ Approbation of their Priests and Confessors,
 “ against the Person and Life of Queen *Elizabeth*;
 “ and after her Death, of the infamous and detest-
 “ able Gunpowder Treason to have destroyed King
 “ *James* and his Posterity, with the whole Nobil-
 “ lity of the Kingdom: So that in those Times,
 “ the Pope having excommunicated the whole
 “ Kingdom, and absolved the Subjects from all
 “ their Oaths of Fidelity, there seemed no Expe-
 “ dient to preserve the Crown, but the using these
 “ Severities against those who were professed
 “ Enemies to it. But that since those Times, that
 “ the *Roman Catholics* had lived quietly, that Ri-
 “ gor had not been used: And that the King his
 “ Father’s Clemency towards those of that Pro-
 “ fession (which Clemency extended no farther
 “ than the dispensing with the utmost Rigor of the
 “ Laws) was the Ground of the Scandal of his
 “ being popishly affected, that contributed as much

“ to his Ruin, as any particular Malice in the
“ worst of his Enemies.”

The King hearkened attentively to all that was said, and then answered, “ that He could not doubt
“ but there was some very extraordinary Reason
“ for the making such strange Laws: But whatever
“ the Reason then was, that it was at present and
“ for many Years past very evident, that there
“ was no such Malignity in the *Roman Catholics*,
“ that should continue that heavy Yoke upon their
“ Necks. That He knew well enough, that if He
“ were in *England*, He had not in himself the Power
“ to repeal any Act of Parliament, without the
“ Consent of Parliament: But that He knew no
“ Reason why He might not profess, that He did
“ not like those Laws which caused Men to be put
“ to Death for their Religion; and that He would
“ do his best, if ever God restored him to his King-
“ dom, that those bloody Laws might be repealed.
“ And that if there were no other Reason of State
“ than He could yet comprehend, against the ta-
“ king away the other Penalties, He should be glad
“ that all those Distinctions between his Subjects
“ might be removed; and that whilst They were
“ all equally good Subjects, They might equally
“ enjoy his Protection.” And his Majesty did fre-
quently, when He was in the Courts of Catholic
Princes, and when He was sure to hear the Sharp-
ness of the Laws in *England* inveighed against,
enlarge upon the same Discourse: And it had been
a very unseasonable Presumption in any Man, who
would have endeavoured to have dissuaded him
from entertaining that Candor in his Heart.

With this gracious Disposition his Majesty returned into *England*; and received his Catholic Subjects with the same Grace and Frankness, that He did his other: And They took all Opportunities to extol their own Sufferings, which They would have understood to have been for him. And some very noble Persons there were, who had served his Father very worthily in the War, and suffered as largely afterwards for having done so: But the Number of those was not great, but much greater than of those who showed any Affection to him or for him, during the Time of his Absence, and the Government of the Usurper. Yet some few there were, even of those who had suffered most for his Father, who did send him Supply when He was abroad, though They were hardly able to provide Necessaries for themselves: And in his Escape from *Worcester*, He received extraordinary Benefit, by the Fidelity of many poor People of that Religion; which his Majesty was never reserved in the Remembrance of. And this gracious Disposition in him did not then appear ingrateful to any. And then, upon an Address made to the House of Peers in the Name of the *Roman Catholics*, for some Relaxation of those Laws which were still in Force against them, the House of Peers appointed that Committee which is mentioned before, to examine and report all those penal Statutes, which reached to the taking away the Life of any *Roman Catholic*, Priest or Layman, for his Religion; there not appearing one Lord in the House, who seemed to be unwilling that those Laws should be repealed. And after that Committee was appointed, the Roman

A Committee
of the Lords
for relaxing
the penal
Laws against
the Roman
Catholics.

Catholic Lords and their Friends for some Days diligently attended it, and made their Observations upon several Acts of Parliament, in which They desired Ease. But on a sudden this Committee was discontinued, and never after revived; the *Roman Catholics* never afterwards being solicitous for it.

The Roman Catholics disagree amongst themselves.

The Argument was now to be debated amongst themselves, that They might agree what would please them: And then there quickly appeared that Discord and Animosity between them, that never was nor ever will be extinguished; and of which the State might make much other Use than it hath done. The Lords and Men of Estates were not satisfied, in that They observed the Good Nature of the House did not appear to extend farther, than the abolishing those Laws which concerned the Lives of the Priests, which did not much affect them: For besides that those Spectacles were no longer grateful to the People, They were confident that They should not be without Men to discharge those Functions; and the Number of such was more grievous to them than the Scarcity. That which They desired was, the Removal of those Laws, which being let loose would deprive them of so much of their Estates, that the Remainder would not preserve them from Poverty. This Indulgence would indeed be grateful to them; for the other They cared not. Nor were the Ecclesiastics at all pleased with what was proposed for their Advantage, but looked upon themselves as deprived of the Honor of Martyrdom by this Remission, that They might undergo Restraints, which would be more grievous than Death itself: And

They were very apprehensive, that there would remain some Order of them excluded, as there was even a most universal Prejudice against the *Jesuits*; or that there would be some Limitation of their Numbers, which They well knew the *Catholics* in general would be very glad of, though They could not appear to desire it.

There was a Committee chosen amongst them of the Superiors of all Orders, and of the secular Clergy, that sat at *Arundel-House*, and consulted together with some of the principal Lords and others of the prime Quality of that Religion, what They should say or do in such and such Cases which probably might fall out. They all concluded, at least apprehended, that They should never be dispensed with in Respect of the Oaths, which were enjoined to be taken by all Men, without their submitting to take some other Oath, that might be an equal Security of and for their Fidelity to the King, and the Preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom. And there had been lately scattered abroad some printed Papers, written by some Regular and Secular Clergy, with sober Propositions to that Purpose, and even the Form of an Oath and Subscription to be taken or made by all *Catholics*; in which there was an absolute Renunciation or Declaration against the temporal Authority of the Pope, which, in all common Discourses amongst the *Protestants*, all *Roman Catholics* made no Scruple to renounce and disclaim: But it coming now to be the Subject-Matter of the Debate in this Committee, the *Jesuits* declared with much Warmth, "that They ought not, nor could They

“ with a good Conscience as *Catholics*, deprive the
 “ Pope of his temporal Authority, which He hath in
 “ all Kingdoms granted to him by God himself,”
 with very much to that Purpose; with which most
 of the temporal Lords, and very many of the Seculars
 and Regulars, were so much scandalized, that the
 Committee being broken up for that Time, They
 never attended it again; the wiser and the more
 conscientious Men discerning, that there was a Spirit
 in the rest that was raised and governed by a Passion,
 of which They could not comprehend the Ground.
 And the Truth is, the *Jesuits*, and They who adhered
 to them, had entertained great Hopes from the King’s
 too much Grace to them, and from the great Liberty
 They enjoyed; and promised themselves and their
 Friends another Kind of Indulgence, than They saw
 was intended to them by the House of Peers. And
 this was the Reason that that Committee was no more
 looked after, nor any public Address was any farther
 prosecuted.

And from this Time there every Day appeared so
 much Insolence and Indiscretion amongst the impru-
 dent *Catholics*, that They brought so many Scandals
 upon his Majesty, and kindled so much Jealousy in
 the Parliament, that there grew a general Aversion
 towards them. And the King’s Party remembered,
 with what Wariness and Disregard the *Roman Catho-
 lics* had lived towards them in the whole Time of the
 Usurpation; and how little Sorrow They made Show
 of upon the horrid Murder of the King (which was
 then exceedingly taken Notice of): And They who
 had been abroad with the King remembered, that his
 Majesty

Majesty had received less Regard and Respect from his Catholic Subjects, wherever He found them abroad, than from any foreign *Catholics*; who always received him with all imaginable Duty, whilst his own looked as if They had no Dependance upon him. And so We return to the Parliament after its Adjournment.

The Parliament, that had been adjourned upon the thirtieth of *July*, met again upon the twentieth of *November*, with the same Zeal and Affection to advance the King's Service. And the King himself came to them upon the same Day They met, and told them, "that He knew that Visit was not of Course; yet if there were no more in it, it would not be strange, that He came to see what He and They had so long desired to see, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of *England*, met together to consult for the Peace and Safety of the Church and State, by which Parliaments were restored to their primitive Lustre and Integrity." His Majesty said, "He did heartily congratulate with them for that Day." But He told them withal, that He came thither upon another Occasion; which was to say somewhat to them on his own Behalf, to ask somewhat of them for himself, which was more than He had done of them, or of those who met before them, since his Coming into *England*. Nor did He think, that what He had to say to them did alone, or did most concern himself: If the uneasy Condition He was in, if the Straits and Necessities He was to struggle with, did not manifestly relate to the public Peace and Safety, more than to his own Particular, otherwise

The Parliament meets again.

The King's Speech.

“ than as He was concerned in the Public, He
“ would not give them that Trouble that Day; He
“ could bear his Necessities which merely related to
“ himself, with Patience enough.”

He told them, “ that He did not importune them
“ to make more Haste in the settling the constant
“ Revenue of the Crown, than was agreeable to the
“ Method They had proposed to themselves, nor to
“ consider the insupportable Weight that lay upon it,
“ the Obligations it lay under to provide for the In-
“ terest, Honor and Security of the Nation, in ano-
“ ther Proportion than in any former Times it had
“ been obliged to: His Majesty well knew, that They
“ had very affectionately and worthily taken all that
“ into their Thoughts, and would proceed in it with
“ Expedition: But that He came to put them in
“ Mind of the crying Debts which did every Day call
“ upon him, of some necessary Provisions, which
“ were to be made without Delay for the very Safe-
“ ty of the Kingdom, of the great Sum of Money
“ that should be ready to discharge the several Fleets
“ when they came Home, and for the necessary Pre-
“ parations that were to be made for the setting out
“ new Fleets to Sea against the next Spring. These
“ were the pressing Occasions which He was forced
“ to recommend to them with all possible Earnest-
“ ness, and He did conjure them to Provide for as
“ speedily as was possible, and in such a Manner as
“ might give them Security at Home, and some Re-
“ putation abroad.” His Majesty said, “ that He
“ made this Discourse to them with some Confidence,
“ because He was very willing and desirous that
“ They should thoroughly examine, whether those

“ Necessities which He mentioned were real or imaginary, or whether they were fallen upon him by his own Fault, his own ill Managery, or Excesses, and provide for them accordingly. He was very willing that They should make a full Inspection into his Revenue, as well the Disbursements as Receipts ; and if They should find that it had been ill managed by any Corruptions in the Officers He trusted, or by his own Unthriftiness, He should take the Advice and Information They should give him very kindly.”

He told them, “ that He was very sorry that the general Temper and Affections of the Nation were not so well composed, as He hoped, they would have been, after so signal Blessings from God Almighty upon them all, and after so great Indulgence and Condescensions from him towards all Interest. But that there were many wicked Instruments still as active as ever, who labored Night and Day to disturb the public Peace, and to make all People jealous of each other : It would be worthy their Care and Vigilance to provide proper Remedies for the Diseases of that Kind ; and if They should find new Diseases, They must study new Remedies. For those Difficulties which concerned Matters in Religion, ” his Majesty confessed to them, that They were too hard for him ; and therefore He did recommend them to their Care and Discretion, which could best provide for them.”

The two Houses were abundantly pleased with all that his Majesty had said to them, and immediately

betook them to the Consideration of those Particulars, which He had principally recommended to them. And though for the present They looked upon that Clause of his Majesty's Speech, wherein He referred to them to make an Inspection into his Revenue and his Expenses, but as a generous and princely Condescension, which would not become them to make Use of (nor indeed had They at that Time the least Prejudice to or Jealousy of any, who were of the nearest Trust about his Majesty); yet four Years after, when the Expenses had grown to be much greater, and it may be all Disbursements not so warrantable, and when the Factions in Court and Parliament were at a great Height, and Men made Use of public Pretences to satisfy their private Animosities and Malice, They made Use of that frank Offer of his Majesty, to entitle themselves to make Inquisition into public and private Receipts and Disbursements, in a very extraordinary Manner never practised before.

The Reasons
why the
King's Debts
were so great.

Let no Man wonder, that within so little Time as a Year and a Half or very little more after the King's Return, that is, from *May* to *November* in the next Year, and after so great Sums of Money raised by acts of Parliament upon the People, his Majesty's Debts could be so crying and importunate, as to disturb him to that Degree as He expressed. It was never enough understood, that in all that Time He never received from the Parliament more than the seventy thousand Pounds towards his Coronation; nor were the Debts which were now so grievous to him contracted by himself (though it cannot be

supposed but that He had contracted Debts himself in that Time): All the Money that had been given and raised had been applied to the Payment of the Land and Sea-Forces, and had done neither. Parliaments do seldom make their Computations right, but reckon what they give to be much more than is ever received, and what They are to pay, to be as much less than in Truth They owe; so that when all the Money that was collected was paid, there remained still very much due to the Soldiers, and much more to the Seamen: And the Clamor from Both reached the King's Ears, as if They had been levied by his Warrant and for his Service. And his Majesty understood too well, by the Experience of the ill Husbandry of the last Year, when both the Army and the Ships were so long continued in Pay, for Want of Money to disband and pay them off, what the Trouble and Charge would be, if the several Fleets should return before Money was provided to discharge the Seamen; and for that the Clamor would be only upon him.

But there was an Expence that He had been engaged in from the Time of his Return, and by which He had contracted a great Debt, of which very few Men could take Notice; nor could the King think fit to discover it, till He had first provided against the Mischief which might have attended the Discovery. It will hardly be believed, that in so warlike an Age, and when the Armies and Fleets of *England* had made more Noise in the World for twenty Years, had fought more Battles at Land and Sea, than all the World had done besides, or any one People had

done in any Age before; and when at his Majesty's Return there remained a hundred Ships at Sea, and an Army of near threeſcore thousand Men at Land; there ſhould not be in the *Tower of London*, and in all the Stores belonging to the Crown, Fire-Arms enough, nor indeed of any other Kind, to arm three thousand Men; nor Powder and naval Proviſions enough to ſet out five Ships of War.

From the Death of *Cromwel*, no Care had been taken for Supplies of any of the Stores. And the Changes which enſued in the Government, and putting out and in new Officers; the Expeditions of *Lambert* againſt *Sir George Booth*, and afterwards into the *North*; and other Preparations for thoſe Factions and Parties which ſucceeded each other; and the continual Opportunities which the Officers had for Embezzlement; and laſtly, the ſetting out that Fleet which was ſent to attend upon the King for his Return; had ſo totally drained the Stores of all Kinds, that the Magazines were no better replenished than is mentioned before: Which as ſoon as his Majesty knew, as He could not be long ignorant of it, the firſt Care He took was to conceal it, that it might not be known abroad or at Home, in how ill a Poſture He was to defend himſelf againſt an Enemy. And then He committed the Care of that Province to a noble Perſon, whom He knew He could not truſt too much, and made *Sir William Compton* Maſter of the Ordnance, and made all the Shifts He could deviſe for Monies, that the Work might be begun. And hereby inſenſibly He had contracted a great Debt: And theſe were Part of the crying Debts, and

the necessary Provisions which were to be made without Delay for the very Safety of the Kingdom, which He told the Parliament. And in this He had labored so effectually, that at the Time when the first *Dutch* War was entered into, all the Stores were completely supplied and provided for, and the Ships and all naval Provisions in greater Strength and Plenty, than they had ever been in the Reign of any former King, or in the Time of the Ufurper himself.

That Part of the King's Speech, of the Distempers in the Nation by the Differences in Religion, which He confessed were too hard for him, and recommended the composing them to their Care and Deliberation, gives me a seasonable Opportunity to enter upon the Relation, how that Affair stood at that Time, and how far the Distractions of those several Factions were from being reconciled, though Episcopacy seemed to be fully restored, and the Bishops to their Votes in Parliament; which had been looked upon as the most sovering Remedy, to cure, reform or extinguish all those Maladies. The Bishops had spent the Vacation in making such Alterations in the *Book of Common-Prayer*, as They thought would make it more grateful to the *dissenting Brethren*, for so the schismatical Party called themselves; and such Additions, as in their Judgments the Temper of the present Time and the past Miscarriages required. It was necessarily to be presented to the Convocation, which is the national Synod of the Church; and that did not fit during the Recess of the Parliament, and so came not together till the End of *November*: Where the Consideration of it took up much Time; all Men

An account of
the revival of
the Liturgy.

offering such Alterations and Additions, as were suitable to their own Fancies, and the Observations which they had made in the Time of Confusion.

Some of the Bishops are against all Alterations in the Liturgy.

The Bishops were not all of one Mind. Some of them, who had greatest Experience and were in Truth wise Men, thought it best “to restore and confirm the old *Book of Common-Prayer*, without any Alterations and Additions; and that it would be the best Vindication the *Liturgy* and Government of the Church could receive, that after so many Scandals and Reproaches cast upon Both, and after a bloody Rebellion and a War of twenty Years raised, as was pretended, principally against Both, and which had prevailed and triumphed in the total Suppression and Destruction of Both, they should now be restored to be in all Respects the same they had been before. Whereas any Alterations and Additions (besides the Advantage it might give to the common Adversary, the *Papist*, who would be apt to say that We had reformed and changed our Religion again), would raise new Scruples in the factious and schismatical Party, that was ashamed of all the old Arguments, which had so often been answered, and stood at present exploded in the Judgment of all sober Men; but would recover new Spirits to make new Objections, and complain that the Alterations and Additions are more grievous and burdensome to the Liberty of their Conscience, than those of which They had formerly complained.”

Others of them press earnestly for some.

Others, equally grave, of great Learning and unblemished Reputation, pressed earnestly both for the

Alterations and Additions; said, "that it was a
 " common Reproach upon the Government of the
 " Church, that it would not depart from the least
 " unnecessary Expression or Word, nor explain the
 " most insignificant Ceremony; which would quiet
 " or remove the Doubts and Jealousies of many con-
 " scientious Men, that they did in Truth signify
 " somewhat that was not intended: And therefore
 " since some powerful Men of that troublesome
 " Party had made it their earnest Request, that some
 " such Alterations and Additions might be made,
 " and professed that it would give great Satisfaction
 " to many very good Men; it would be great Pity,
 " now there was a fit Opportunity for it, which had
 " not been in former Times of Clamor, not to gratify
 " them in those small Particulars, which did not make
 " any important Difference from what was before."

It may be there were some, who believed that the
 Victory and Triumph of the Church would be with
 the more Lustre, if somewhat were inserted, that
 might be understood to reflect upon the rude and
 rebellious Behaviour of the late Times, which had
 been regulated and conducted by that Clergy: And
 so both Additions and Alterations were made.

But the Truth is, what Show of Reason soever
 and Appearance of Charity the latter Opinion seemed
 to carry with it, the former Advice was the more
 prudent, and would have prevented many Inconve-
 niences which ensued. Whatever had been pretended
 or desired, the Alterations which were made to please
 them did not reduce one of them to the Obedience of
 the Church; and the Additions raised the Clamor

The former
 Opinion the
 more prudent.

higher than it had been. And when it was evident that They should not be left longer without a Liturgy, They cried aloud for the same They had before, though They had inveighed against it for near a hundred Years together.

The unhappy Policy of making Concessions to the Dissenters.

It is an unhappy Policy, and always unhappily applied, to imagine that that *Classis* of Men can be recovered and reconciled by partial Concessions, or granting less than They demand. And if all were granted, They would have more to ask, somewhat as a Security for the Enjoyment of what is granted, that shall preserve their Power, and shake the whole Frame of the Government. Their Faction is their Religion: Nor are those Combinations ever entered into upon real and substantial Motives of Conscience how erroneous soever, but consist of many glutinous Materials, of Will, and Humor, and Folly, and Knavery, and Ambition, and Malice, which make Men cling inseparably together, till They have Satisfaction in all their Pretences, or till They are absolutely broken and subdued, which may always be more easily done than the other. And if some few, how signal soever (which often deceives us), are separated and divided from the Herd upon reasonable Overtures, and secret Rewards which make the Overtures look the more reasonable; They are but so many single Men, and have no more Credit and Authority (whatever They have had) with their Companions, than if They had never known them, rather less; being less mad than They were makes them thought to be less fit to be believed. And They, whom You think You have recovered, carry always

a Chagrin about them, which makes them good for Nothing, but for Instances to divert you from any more of that Kind of Traffic.

And it is very strange, that the Clergy did not at this Time remember what had so lately befallen the poor Church of *Scotland*, upon the Transmission of their *Liturgy*, which had been composed with this very Prospect that now dazzled their Eyes. “To receive a Liturgy from *England* was below the Dignity of that Nation, which were governed by their own Laws, without Dependance upon any other. Besides there were many Errors in that Liturgy that They could never submit to, and some Defects which ought to be supplied; and if such a one should be compiled, in which all those Exceptions, which were well enough known, might be provided for, They would gladly receive it.” All this was carefully performed; and what Reception it had afterwards is too well known, and will ever be remembered by the Scars which still remain from those Wounds. And then the great Objection that was most impudently urged was, “that it differed from the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, which They were ready to have received, and would have declared to the World, that the two Nations had but one Religion; whereas the Book sent to them would have manifested the contrary, and was the Product of a few particular Men, to whose Spirit and Humor They would not sacrifice their native Liberty of Conscience.”

They of the same Fraternity in *England* at this present governed themselves by the same Method, None of the Dissenters gained by the

Concessions
now made.

though, God be thanked, not yet with the same Success. And there is great Reason to believe, that the very Men, who labored so much for the Alterations which were made, and professed to receive so much Satisfaction in them, did it for no other End, but to procure more Opportunity to continue and enlarge the Contentions; and to gain Excuse and Credit to the ill Things They had done, by the Redress and Reparation that was given them in the Amendment of many Particulars, against which They had always complained. There was not one of them who had used that Importunity and made that Profession, who afterwards was conformable to the Government of the Church, or frequented those Churches where or when the *Liturgy* was used.

The factious
Preachers as-
sume much
Licence.

Whilst the Clergy was busy and solicitous to prepare this Remedy for the present Distempers, the People of all the several Factions in Religion assumed more Licence than ever They had done. The *Presbyterians* in all their Pulpits inveighed against the *Book of Common-Prayer* that They expected, and took the same Liberty to inveigh against the Government of the Church, as They had been accustomed to before the Return of the King; with Reflections upon the Persons of the Bishops, as if They assumed a Jurisdiction that was yet at least suspended. And the other Factions in Religion, as if by Concert, took the same Liberty in their several Congregations. The *Anabaptists* and the *Quakers* made more Noise than ever, and assembled together in greater Numbers, and talked what Reformatations They expected in all Particulars. These Insolencies offended the

Parliament very much: And the House of Commons expressed much Impatience, that the *Liturgy* was so long in Preparation, that the *Act of Uniformity* might without Delay be passed and published; not without some Insinuations and Reflections, that his Majesty's Candor, and Admission of all Persons to resort to his Presence, and his Condescension to confer with them, had raised their Spirits to an Insolence insupportable; and that Nothing could reduce them to the Temper of good Subjects, but the highest Severity.

It is very true, from the Time of his Majesty's Coming into *England*, He had not been reserved in the Admission of those who had been his greatest Enemies, to his Presence. The Presbyterian Ministers He received with Grace; and did believe that He should work upon them by persuasions, having been well acquainted with their common Arguments by the Conversation He had had in *Scotland*, and was very able to confute them. The *Independents* had as free Access, both that He might hinder any Conjunction between the other Factions, and because They seemed wholly to depend upon his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, without resorting to the Parliament, in which They had no Confidence; and had rather that Episcopacy should flourish again, than that the *Presbyterians* should govern. The King had always admitted the *Quakers* for his Divertisement and Mirth, because He thought, that of all the Factions They were the most innocent, and had least of Malice in their Natures against his Person and his Government: And it was now too late, though He had a worse Opinion of them all;

to restrain them from coming to him, till there should be some Law made to punish them; and therefore He still called upon the Bishops, to cause the *Liturgy* to be expedited in the Convocation. And finding that those Distempers had that Influence upon the House of Commons, that the Displeasure and Jealousy which They conceived from thence did retard their Counsels, and made them less solicitous to advance his Service in the settling his Revenue, They having sat near three Months after their coming together again upon their Adjournment, without making any considerable Progress in it; He sent for the Speaker and the House of Commons to attend him at *Whitehall* where He spake unto them, though very graciously, in a Style that seemed to have more of Expostulation and Reprehension than They had been accustomed to.

The King sends for the House of Commons to attend him at Whitehall.

His Speech to them.

He said, " He spake his Heart to them when
 " He told them, that He did believe, that from
 " the first Institution of Parliaments to that Hour,
 " there had never been a House of Commons fuller
 " of Affection and Duty to their King, than They
 " were to him; never any that was more desirous
 " and solicitous to gratify their King, than They
 " were to oblige him; never a House of Commons,
 " in which there were fewer Persons without a full
 " Measure of Zeal for the Honor and Welfare of
 " the King and Country, than there are in this:
 " In a Word," He said, " He knew most of their
 " Persons and Names, and could never hope to
 " find better Men in their Places. Yet after all this

" He could not but lament and even Complain,
 " that He and They and the Kingdom were yet
 " without that present Fruit and Advantage, which
 " They might reasonably promise themselves from
 " such a Harmony of Affections, and Unity in Re-
 " solutions to advance the public Service, and
 " to provide for the Peace and Security of the
 " Kingdom; that They did not expedite those
 " good Counfels, which were most necessary for
 " Both. He knew not how it came to pass, but for
 " many Weeks past, even since their last Adjourn-
 " ment, private and particular Business had almost
 " thrust the Consideration of the public out of
 " Doors; and He did not know that They were
 " nearer the settling his Revenue, than They had
 " been at *Christmas*. He was sure He had commu-
 " nicated his Condition to them without Reserve;
 " what He had coming in, and what his necessary
 " Disbursements were. And" He said " He was
 " exceedingly deceived, if whatever They gave
 " him were any otherwise given to him, than to
 " be issued out for their own Use and Benefit;
 " and if They considered it well, They would
 " find that They were the richer by what They
 " gave, since it was all to be laid out that They
 " might enjoy the rest in Peace and Security."

He said, " He need not put them in Mind of
 " the miserable Effects, that had attended the
 " Wants and Necessities of the Crown; that He
 " needed not to tell them, that there was a Repu-
 " blican Party still in the Kingdom, which had
 " the Courage still to promise themselves another

“ Revolution: And He thought He had as little
 “ Need to tell them, that the only Way, with
 “ God’s Blessing, to disappoint their Hopes, and
 “ indeed to reduce them from those extravagant
 “ Hopes and Desires, was, to let them see that
 “ They had so provided for the Crown, that it
 “ had wherewithal to support itself, and to secure
 “ his People; which He was sure was all He de-
 “ sired, and desired only for their Preservation.
 “ Therefore He conjured them by all the Profes-
 “ sions of Affection which They had made to
 “ him, by all the Kindness which He knew They
 “ had for him, that They would, after all their
 “ Deliberations, betake themselves to some speedy
 “ Resolutions, and settle such a real and substantial
 “ Revenue upon him, as might hold some Propor-
 “ tion with the necessary Expenses He was at for
 “ the Peace and Benefit and Honor of the King-
 “ dom; that They who looked for Troubles at
 “ Home might despair of their Wishes; and that
 “ our Neighbours abroad, by seeing that all is
 “ well at Home, might have that Esteem and
 “ Value of his Majesty, as might secure the Honor
 “ and Interest of the Nation, and make the Happi-
 “ nefs of the Kingdom and of that City once more
 “ the Admiration and Envy of the World.”

He told them, “ that He heard that They were
 “ very zealous for the Church, and very solicitous
 “ and even jealous that there was not Expedition
 “ enough used in that Affair: He thanked them for
 “ it, since He presumed that it proceeded from a
 “ good Root of Piety and Devotion. But,” He
 said,

said, that He must tell them, "that He had the worst
 " Luck in the World, if after all the Reproaches
 " of being a *Papist* while He was abroad, He was
 " suspected to be a *Presbyterian* now He was come
 " Home. He knew They would not take it un-
 " kindly, if He told them, that He was as zealous
 " for the Church of *England* as any of them could
 " be, and was enough acquainted with the Enemies
 " of it on all Sides; that He was as much in Love
 " with the *Book of Common-Prayer* as They could
 " wish, and had Prejudice enough to those who
 " did not love it, who He hoped in Time would be
 " better informed, and so change their Minds; and
 " They might be confident, He did as much desire
 " to have an Uniformity settled, as any Man
 " amongst them. He prayed them to trust him in
 " that Affair, and promised them to hasten the
 " Despatch of it with all convenient Speed; They
 " might rely upon him in it." He said, "He had
 " transmitted the *Book of Common-Prayer*, with
 " those Alterations and Additions which had been
 " presented to him by the Convocation, to the
 " House of Peers with his Approbation, that the
 " *Act of Uniformity* might relate to it; so that He
 " presumed that it would shortly be despatched
 " there: And that when They had done all They
 " could," He said, "the well settling that Affair
 " would require great Prudence and Discretion,
 " and the Absence of all Passion and Precipitation."
 His Majesty concluded with assuring them, "that
 " He did promise himself great Fruits from that
 " Conversation He had with them, and that They

“ would justify the Confidence He had in their
 “ Affections, by letting the World see, that They
 “ took his Concernments to Heart, and were ready
 “ to do whatsoever He desired for the Peace and
 “ Welfare of the Kingdom.”

The Liturgy
 presented to
 the House of
 Lords with the
 King's Confir-
 mation.

When the *Book of Common Prayer* was, by the King's Command, presented to the House of Lords by the two Archbishops (for it had been approved by the Convocation of the Province of *York*, as well as by that of *Canterbury*) confirmed by his Majesty under the Great-Seal of *England*; the Book itself took up no Debate: Only the Earl of *Northumberland* proposed, “ that the old *Book of Com-*
 “ *mon-Prayer* might be confirmed without any Alte-
 “ ration or Addition, and then the same *Act of*
 “ *Uniformity*, that had been in the Time of Queen
 “ *Elizabeth*, would be likewise applied to it; where-
 “ as a new Act of Uniformity might take up much
 “ Time and raise much Debate, all which would
 “ be avoided by adhering to the old.”

Whatever that Lord's Opinion was, He was known to be of the Presbyterian Party. And it was answered, “ that if that Proposition had been
 “ heartily made when the King came into *England*,
 “ it would have met with a general Approbation,
 “ and prevented much Sharpness and Animosity,
 “ which had since arisen by those who opposed that
 “ excellent Form. But after the Clergy had so bit-
 “ terly inveighed against many Parts thereof, and
 “ prevailed with his Majesty to suspend the Use of
 “ it till it might be revised, as by his Declaration
 “ of the five-and-twentieth of *October* He had done,

“ and thereupon had granted his Commission un-
 “ der the Great - Seal of *England* to several Bishops
 “ and other Divines, to review the *Book of Com-*
 “ *mon Prayer*, and to prepare such Alterations and
 “ Additions as They thought fit to offer; and that
 “ afterwards his Majesty had been pleased to au-
 “ thorize the Convocations of Both the Provinces
 “ of *Canterbury* and *York*, called and assembled by
 “ his Majesty’s Authority, to review the said *Book*
 “ of *Prayer*, and the *Book of the Form and Manner*
 “ of the making and consecrating of *Bishops, Priests*
 “ and *Deacons*; and that now after the Bishops
 “ and Clergy of Both Provinces had, upon great
 “ Deliberation and upon reviewing those Books,
 “ prepared and consented to some Alterations, and
 “ to the Addition of several Prayers to be used
 “ upon emergent Occasions, all which his Majesty
 “ had already ratified and confirmed; It could not
 “ but be understood Matter of great Levity and
 “ Offence, to reject this Book, that was now with
 “ all this Ceremony and Solemnity presented, for
 “ no other Reason but because They liked better
 “ the old Book, which had been for twenty Years
 “ discontinued and rejected.” And therefore it was
 moved, “ that there might not be such an Affront
 “ put upon the Convocation, and upon the King
 “ himself.” And so with little more public Contest
 the Book itself was consented and submitted to.

And consented
to by them.

But then the *Act of Uniformity* depended long,
 and took up much Debate in Both Houses. In the
 House of Peers, where the Act first began, there
 were many Things inserted, which had not been

Debates there
upon the Act
of Uniformity

contained in the former *Act of Uniformity*, and so seemed to carry somewhat of Novelty in them. It admitted “no Person to have any Cure of Souls or any Ecclesiastical Dignity in the Church of *England*, but such who had been or should be ordained Priest or Deacon by some Bishop, that is, who had not Episcopal Ordination; excepting only the Ministers or Pastors of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches in *London* and other Places, allowed by the King, who should enjoy the Privileges They had.”

This was new; for there had been many and at present there were some, who possessed Benefices with Cure of Souls, and other Ecclesiastical Promotions, who had never received Orders but in *France* or in *Holland*; and these Men must now receive new Ordination, which had been always held unlawful in the Church, or by this Act of Parliament must be deprived of their Livelihood, which They enjoyed in the most flourishing and peaceable Times of the Church. And therefore it was said,

Upon the
clause requir-
ing Episcopal
Ordination.

“that this had not been the Opinion of the Church of *England*; and that it would lay a great Reproach upon all other Protestant Churches who had no Bishops, as if They had no Ministers, and consequently were no Churches: For that it was well known the Church of *England* did not allow Re-ordination, as the ancient Church never admitted it; infomuch as if any Priest of the Church of *Rome* renounces the Communion thereof, his Ordination is not questioned, but He is as capable of any Preferment in this Church, as if He

“ had been ordained in it. And therefore the not
 “ admitting the Ministers of other *Protestants* to
 “ have the same Privilege, can proceed from no
 “ other Ground, than that They looked not upon
 “ them as Ministers, having no Ordination; which
 “ is a Judgment the Church of *England* had not
 “ ever owned: And that it would be very impru-
 “ dent to do it now.”

To this it was answered, “ that the Church of
 “ *England* judged none but her own Children, nor
 “ did determine that other Protestant Churches were
 “ without Ordination. It is a Thing without her
 “ Cognizance: And most of the learned Men of
 “ those Churches had made Necessity the chief Pil-
 “ lar to support that Ordination of theirs. That Ne-
 “ cessity cannot be pleaded here, where Ordination
 “ is given according to the unquestionable Practice
 “ of the Church of Christ: If They who pretend
 “ foreign Ordination are his Majesty's Subjects,
 “ They have no Excuse of Necessity, for They
 “ might in all Times have received Episcopal Ordina-
 “ tion, and so They did upon the Matter re-
 “ nounce their own Church; if They are Strangers,
 “ and pretend to Preferment in this Church, They
 “ ought to conform and to be subject to the Laws
 “ of the Kingdom, which concern only those who
 “ desire to live under the Protection thereof. For
 “ the Argument of Re-ordination, there is no such
 “ Thing required. Rebaptization is not allowed in
 “ or by any Church: Yet in all Churches where it
 “ is doubted, as it may be often with very good
 “ Reason, whether the Person hath been baptized

“ or no, or if it hath been baptized by a Midwife
 “ or lay Person; without determining the Vali-
 “ dity or Invalidity of such Baptism, there is an
 “ hypothetical Form, *If thou hast not been already*
 “ *baptized, I do baptize, &c.* So in this Case of Or-
 “ dination, the Form may be the same, *If Thou hast*
 “ *not been already ordained then I do ordain, &c.* If
 “ his former Ordination were good, this is void;
 “ if the other was invalid or defective, He hath
 “ Reason to be glad that it be thus supplied.” After
 much Debate, that Clause remained still in the Act:
 And very many, who had received Presbyterian
 Orders in the late Times, came very willingly to be
 ordained in the Manner aforesaid by a Bishop; and
 very few chose to quit or lose a Parsonage or Vica-
 rage of any Value upon that Scruple.

A Clamor
 afterwards
 raised about
 the Clause of
 Assent and
 Consent.

There was another Clause in the Bill, that made
 very much more Noise afterwards, though for the
 present it took not up so much Time, and in Truth
 was little taken Notice of: That is, a Form of Sub-
 scription that every Man was to make, who had re-
 ceived, or before He received, any Benefice or Pre-
 ferment in the Church; which comprehended all the
 Governors, Superiors and Fellows, in all the Col-
 leges and Halls of either University, and all School-
 masters and the like, who are subservient towards
 Learning. Every such Person was to declare “ his
 “ unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every
 “ Thing contained and prescribed in and by the
 “ Book, entitled *The Book of Common-Prayer, &c.*”
 The Subscription was generally thought so reason-
 able, that it scarce met with any Opposition in

either House. But when it came abroad, and was to be submitted to, all the dissenting Brethren cried out, "that it was a Snare to catch them, to say that which could not consist with their Consciences." They took great Pains to distinguish and to make great Difference between *Affent* and *Consent*: "They could be content to read the Book in the Manner They were obliged to do, which showed their Consent; but declaring their unfeigned Assent to every Thing contained and prescribed therein would imply, that They were so fully convinced in their Judgments, as to think that it was so perfect, that Nothing therein could be amended, which for their Part They thought there might. That there were many Expressions in the *Rubric*, which They were not bound to read; yet by this Assent They declared their Approbation thereof." But after many tedious Discourses of this tyrannical Imposition, They grew by Degrees ashamed of it; and were persuaded to think, that *Affent* and *Consent* had so near the same Signification, that They could hardly consent to do what They did not assent to: So that the chiefest amongst them, to avoid a very little Inconvenience, subscribed the same.

But there was shortly after another Clause added, that gave them Trouble indeed. When the Bill had passed the Lords House, it was sent of Course to the Commons; where though all the Factions in Religion had too many Friends, for the most contrary and opposite one to another always were united and reconciled against the Church, yet They who were zealous for the Government, and who hated all the

The Bill
passed by the
Lords.

other Factions at least enough, were very much superior in Number and in Reputation. And the Bill was no sooner read there, than every Man according to his Passion thought of adding somewhat to it, that might make it more grievous to Somebody whom He did not love; which made the Discourses tedious and vehement and full of Animosity. And at last They agreed upon a Clause, which contained another Subscription and Declaration, which every Man was to make before He could be admitted into any Benefice or Ecclesiastical Promotion, or to be a Governor or Fellow in either of the Universities. He must first declare, "that it is not lawful, upon any
 " Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the
 " King; and that He doth abhor that traiterous Po-
 " sition of taking Arms by his Authority against his
 " Person, or against those that are commissioned by
 " him: and that He will conform to the *Liturgy* of
 " the Church of *England*, as it is now by Law estab-
 " lished." And He doth declare, "that He doth
 " hold there lies no Obligation upon him, or on any
 " other Person, from the Oath commonly called
 " *The solemn League and Covenant*, to endeavour
 " any Change or Alteration of Government, either
 " in Church or State; and that the same was in itself
 " an unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects
 " of this Realm, against the known Laws and Li-
 " berties of the Kingdom;" with some other Clauses, which need not be mentioned because they were afterwards left out. And with this Addition, and some other Alterations, They returned the Bill again to the Lords for their Approbation.

Amendments
made by the
House of
Commons.

The Bill re-
turned to the
Lords.

The framing and forming this Clause had taken up very much Time, and raised no less Passion in the House of Commons: and now it came among the Lords, it was not less troublesome. It added to the Displeasure and Jealousy against the Bishops, by whom it was thought to be prepared, and commended to their Party in the lower House. Many Lords, who had taken the *Covenant*, were not so much concerned that the Clergy (for whom only this Act was prepared) should be obliged to make this Declaration; but apprehended more, that when such a Clause should be once passed in one Act of Parliament, it could not after be disputed, and so would be inserted into all other Acts which related to the Function of any other Offices, and so would in a short Time be required of themselves. And therefore They opposed it warmly “ as a Thing unnecessary, and which would widen the Breach, instead of closing up the Wounds that had been made; which the King had made it his Business to do, and the Parliament had hitherto concurred with his Majesty in that Endeavour. That many Men would believe or fear (which in such a Case is the same), that this Clause might prove a Breach of the *Act of Indemnity*, which had not only provided against Indictments and Suits at Law and Penalties, but against Reproaches for what was past, which this Clause would be understood to give new Life to. For what concerned the Conformity to the *Liturgy* of the Church as it is now established, it is provided for as fully in the former Subscription in this Act, and therefore is imper-

Debates upon
the Amend-
ments made
by the Com-
mons.

“ tinent in this Place. That the *Covenant* contained
 “ many good Things in it, as defending the King’s
 “ Person, and maintaining the Protestant Religion :
 “ And therefore to say that there lies no Obligation
 “ from it, would never be for the Service of the King
 “ or the Interest of the Church ; especially since it
 “ was well known, that it had wrought upon the
 “ Conscience of many to serve the King in the late
 “ Revolution, from which his Majesty had received
 “ great Advantage. However it was now dead, all
 “ Men were absolved from taking it, nor could it
 “ be imposed or offered to any Man without Pu-
 “ nishment ; and They, who had in the ill Times
 “ been forced to take it, did now inviolably and
 “ cheerfully perform all the Duties of Allegiance
 “ and Fidelity to his Majesty. If it had at any Time
 “ produced any Good, that was an Excuse for the
 “ Irregularity of it : It could do no Mischief for the
 “ future ; and therefore that it was Time to bury it
 “ in Oblivion.”

Many Men believed, that though They insisted
 principally on that Part which related to the *Covenant*,
 They were in Truth more afflicted with the first
 Part ; in which it was declared, “ that it was not
 “ lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take
 “ Arms against the King ; and that He doth abhor
 “ that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Au-
 “ thority against his Person : ” Which Conclusions
 had been the Principles which supported their Rebel-
 lion, and by which They had imposed upon the
 People, and got their Concurrence. They durst not
 oppose this, because the Parliament had already by

a former Act declared the Law to be so in those Particulars : Yet this went much nearer to them, that by their own particular Declaration (for They looked upon it as that which in a short Time must be their own) They should upon the Matter confess themselves to have been Traitors, which They had not yet been declared to have been; and no Man could now justify the calling them so.

They who were most solicitous that the House should concur with the Commons in this Addition had Fieldroom enough to expatiate upon the gross Iniquity of the *Covenant*. They made themselves very merry with the Allegation, “ that the King’s Safety “ and the Interest of the Church were provided for “ by the *Covenant*, when it had been heretofore entered into, to fight against the King and destroy the “ Church. That there was no one lawful or honest “ Clause in the *Covenant*, that was not destroyed or “ made of no Signification by the next that succeeded; and if it were not, the same Obligation was “ better provided for by some other Oaths, which “ the same Men had or ought to have taken, and “ which ought to have restrained them from taking “ the *Covenant* : And therefore it may justly be pronounced, that there is no Obligation upon any “ Man from thence. That there was no Breach of “ the *Act of Indemnity*, nor any Reproach upon any “ Man for having taken it, except what would result “ from his own Conscience. But that it was most “ absolutely necessary for the Safety of the King’s “ Person, and the Peace of the Kingdom, that They “ who had taken it should declare, that They do not

“ believe themselves to be bound by it: Otherwise
 “ They may still think, that They may fight against
 “ the King, and must conspire the Destruction of the
 “ Church. And They cannot take too much Care,
 “ or use too much Diligence, to discover who are of
 “ that Opinion; that They may be strictly looked
 “ unto, and restrained from doing that which They
 “ take themselves obliged to do. That the *Covenant*
 “ is not dead, as was alledged, but still retains great
 “ Vigor; was still the Idol to which the *Presbyte-*
 “ *rians* sacrificed: And that there must and would
 “ always be a general Jealousy of all those who had
 “ taken it, until They had declared that it did not
 “ bind them; especially of the Clergy, who had so
 “ often enlarged in their Pulpits, how absolutely and
 “ indispensably all Men were obliged to prosecute
 “ the End of it, which is to destroy the Church,
 “ whatever Danger it brings the King’s Person to.
 “ And therefore They of all Men ought to be glad
 “ of this Opportunity, that was offered, to vindicate
 “ their Loyalty and Obedience; and if They were
 “ not ready to do so, They were not fit to be
 “ trusted with the Charge and Care of the Souls of
 “ the King’s Subjects.’

The Lords
 consent to
 most of the
 Amendments.

And in Truth there were not any more importunate for the enjoining this Declaration, than many who had taken the *Covenant*. Many who had never taken it, and had always detested it, and paid soundly for being known to do so, were yet very sorry that it was inserted at this Time and in this Place; for They foresaw it would make Divisions, and keep up the several Factions, which would have been much weak-

ened, and in a short Time brought to Nothing, if the *Presbyterians* had been separated from the rest, who did perfectly hate and were as perfectly hated by all the rest. But since it was brought upon the Stage, and it had been the Subject of so much Debate, They believed the House of Lords could not now refuse to concur with the Commons, without undergoing some Reproach and Scandal of not having an ill Opinion enough of the *Covenant*; of which as They were in no Degree guilty, so They thought it to be of mischievous Consequence to be suspected to be so. And therefore, after They had expunged some other Parts of that Subscription which had been annexed to it, and mended some other Expressions in other Places, which might rather irritate than compose those Humors which already boiled too much, They returned the Bill to the House of Commons; which submitted to all that They had done: And so it was presented to the King, who could not well refuse his Royal Assent, nor did in his own Judgment or Inclination dislike what was offered to him.

The Commons
agree with
the Lords.

The King con-
firms the Bill.

By this *Act of Uniformity* there was an End put to all the Liberty and Licence, which had been practised in all Churches from the Time of his Majesty's Return, and-by his Declaration that He had emitted afterwards. The *Common-Prayer* must now be constantly read in all Churches, and no other Form admitted: And what Clergyman soever did not fully conform to whatsoever was contained in that Book, or enjoined by the *Act of Uniformity*, by or before *St. Bartholomew-Day*, which was about three Months

after the Act was published; He was *ipso facto* deprived of his Benefice, or any other spiritual Promotion of which He stood possessed, and the Patron was to present another in his Place, as if He were dead: So that it was not in the King's Power to give any Dispensation to any Man, that could preserve him against the Penalty in the *Act of Uniformity*.

This Act was no sooner published (for I am willing to continue this Relation to the Execution of it, because there were some intervening Accidents that were not understood), than all the Presbyterian Ministers expressed their Disapprobation of it with all the Passion imaginable. They complained "that the King had violated his promise made to them in his Declaration from *Breda*," which was urged with great Uningenuity, and without any Shadow of Right; for his Majesty had thereby referred the whole Settlement of all Things relating to Religion, to the Wisdom of Parliament; and declared, "in the mean Time that Nobody should be punished or questioned, for continuing the Exercise of his Religion in the Way He had been accustomed to in the late Confusions." And his Majesty had continued this Indulgence by his Declaration after his Return, and thereby fully complied with his Promise from *Breda*; which He should indeed have violated, if He had now refused to concur in the Settlement the Parliament had agreed upon, being in Truth no less obliged to concur with the Parliament in the Settlement that the Parliament should propose to him, than He was not to cause any Man to be punished for not obeying the former Laws, till a new Settle-

The Presbyterian Ministers complain of the King's Violation of his Declaration.

ment should be made. But how evident soever this Truth is, They would not acknowledge it; but armed their Profelytes with confident Assertions, and unnatural Interpretations of the Words in the King's Declaration, as if the King were bound to grant Liberty of Conscience, whatever the Parliament should or should not desire, that is to leave all Men to live according to their own Humors and Appetites, let what Laws soever be made to the contrary. They declared "that They could not with a
 " good Conscience either subscribe the one or the
 " other Declaration: They could not say that They
 " did assent or consent in the first, nor declare in the
 " second that there remained no Obligation from the
 " *Covenant*; and therefore that They were all resol-
 " ved to quit their Livings, and to depend upon
 " Providence for their Subsistence."

There cannot be a better Evidence of the general Affection of the Kingdom, than that this Act of Parliament had so concurrent an Approbation of the two Houses of Parliament, after a Suppression of that Form of Devotion for near twenty Years, and the highest Discountenance and Oppression of all those who were known to be devoted or affected to it. And from the Time of the King's Return, when it was lawful to use it, though it was not enjoined, Persons of all Conditions flocked to those Churches where it was used. And it was by very many sober Men believed, that if the *Presbyterians* and the other Factions in Religion had been only permitted to exercise their own Ways, without any Countenance from the Court; the Heart of all the Factions against the

The Act in
 general well
 received.

Church would have been broken, before the Parliament did so fully declare itself.

Reflections on
the Behaviour
of the Presby-
terian Minis-
ters.

And there cannot be a greater Manifestation of the Distemper and Licence of the Time, than the Presumption of those Presbyterian Ministers, in the opposing and contradicting an Act of Parliament; when there was scarce a Man in that Number, who had not been so great a promoter of the Rebellion, or contributed so much to it, that They had no other Title to their Lives but by the King's Mercy; and there were very few amongst them, who had not come into the Possession of the Churches They now held, by the Expulsion of the Orthodox Ministers who were lawfully possessed of them, and who being by their Imprisonment, Poverty, and other Kinds of Oppression and Contempt during so many Years, departed this Life, the Usurpers remained undisturbed in their Livings, and thought it now the highest Tyranny to be removed from them, though for offending the Law, and Disobedience to the Government. That those Men should give themselves an Act of Oblivion of all their Transgressions, and Wickedness, and take upon them again to pretend a Liberty of Conscience against the Government, which They had once overthrown upon their Pretences; was such an impudence, as could not have fallen into the Hearts even of those Men from the Stock of their own Malice, without some great Defect in the Government, and Encouragement or Countenance from the highest Powers. The King's too gracious Disposition and Easiness of Access, as hath been said before, had from the Beginning raised their Hopes and dispelled their Fears;

whilst

whilst his Majesty promised himself a great Harvest in their Conversion, by his Gentleness and Affability, And They insinuated themselves by a Profession, "that it was more the Regard of his Service, than any Obstinacy in themselves, which kept them from Conformity to what the Law had enjoined; that They might still preserve their Credit with their Parishioners, and by Degrees bring them to a perfect Obedience:" Whereas indeed all the Corruption was in the Clergy; and where a prudent and Orthodox Man was in the Pulpit, the People very willingly heard the *Common-Prayer*.

Nor did this Confidence leave them, after the passing and publishing this *Act of Uniformity*: But the They have too free Access to the King. *London* Ministers, who had the Government of those in the Country, prevailed with the General (who without any violent Inclinations of his own was always ready for his Wife's Sake) to bring them to the King, who always received them with too much Clemency, and dismissed them with too much Hope. They lamented "the Sadness of their Condition, which (after having done so much Service to his Majesty, and been so graciously promised by him his Protection) must now be exposed to all Misery and Famine." They told him "what a vast Number of Churches," (five Times more than was true) "would become void by this Act, which would not prove for his Service; and that They much feared, the People would not continue as quiet and peaceable as They had been under their Oversight." They used all the Arguments They thought might work upon him: And He seemed to be the more

moved, because He knew that it was not in his Power to help them. He told them, "He had great Com-
"passion for them; and was heartily sorry that the
"Parliament had been so severe towards them, which
"He would remit, if it were in his Power; and there-
"fore that They should advise with their Friends,
"and that if They found that it would be in his
"Power to give them any Ease, They should find
"him inclined to gratify them in whatsoever They
"desired:" Which gracious Expressions raised their
Spirits as high as ever; and They reported to their
Friends much more than in Truth the King had said
to them (which was no new Artifice with them), and
advised their Friends in all Parts "to be firm to their
"Principles," and assured them, "that the Rigor
"of the Act of Parliament should not be pressed
"against them."

It cannot be denied, that the King was too irresolute, and apt to be shaken in those Counsels which with the greatest Deliberation He had concluded, by too easily permitting or at least not restraining any Men who waited upon him, or were present with him in his Recesses, to examine and censure what was resolved; an Infirmity that brought him many Troubles, and exposed his Ministers to Ruin: Though in his Nature, Judgment and Inclinations He did detest the *Presbyterians*; and by the Experience He had of their Faculties, Pride and Insolence in *Scotland*, had brought from thence such an Abhorrence of them, that for their Sakes He thought better of any of the other Factions. Nor had He any Kindness for any Person whom He suspected to adhere to

them: For the Lord *Lautherdale* took all Pains to be thought no *Presbyterian*; and pleased himself better with no Humor, than laughing at that People, and telling ridiculous Stories of their Folly and foul Corruptions. Yet the King, from the Opinion He had of their great Power to do him Good or Harm, which was oftentimes unskilfully insinuated to him by Men who He knew were not of their Party, but were really deceived themselves by a wrong Computation and Estimate of their Interest, was not willing to be thought an Enemy to them. And there were too many bold Speakers about the Court too often admitted into his Presence, who being without any Sense of Religion, thought all rather ought to be permitted, than to undergo any Trouble and Disturbance on the Behalf of any one.

The continued Address and Importunity of these Ministers, as *St. Bartholomew's Day* approached nearer, more disquieted the King. They enlarged with many Words "on the great Joy that They and
 " all their Friends had received, from the Compassion
 " his Majesty so graciously had expressed on their
 " Behalf, which They would never forget, or forfeit
 " by any undutiful Carriage." They confessed "that
 " They found, upon Conference with their Friends
 " who wished them well, and upon Perusal of the
 " Act of Parliament, that it was not in his Majesty's
 " Power to give them so much Protection against the
 " Penalty of the Act of Parliament, as They had
 " hoped, and as his great Goodness was inclined to
 " give them. But that it would be an unspeakable
 " Comfort to them, if his Majesty's Grace towards

“ them were so manifested, that the People might
 “ discern that this extreme Rigor was not grateful
 “ to him, but that He could be well content if it
 “ were for some Time suspended; and therefore
 “ They were humble Suitors to him, that He would
 “ by his Letters to the Bishops, or by a Proclama-
 “ tion, or an Act of Council, or any other Way his
 “ Majesty should think fit, publish his Desire that
 “ the Execution of the *Act of Uniformity*, as to all but
 “ the Reading of the *Liturgy*, which They would
 “ conform to, might be suspended for three Months;
 “ and that He would take it well from the Bishops or
 “ any of the Patrons, who would so far comply with
 “ his Desire, as not to take any Advantage of those
 “ Clauses in the Statute, which gave them Authority
 “ to present as in a Vacancy. They doubted not there
 “ would be many, who would willingly submit to his
 “ Majesty’s Pleasure: But whatever the Effect should
 “ be, They would pay the same humble Acknow-
 “ ledgments to his Majesty, as if it had produced
 “ all that They desired.”

The King
 promises to
 suspend the
 Execution of
 the Act.

Whether his Majesty thought it would do them
 no Good, and therefore that it was no Matter if He
 granted it; or that He thought it no Prejudice to
 the Church, if the Act were suspended for three
 Months; or that He was willing to redeem himself
 from the present Importunity (an Infirmity He was
 too often guilty of): True it is, He did make them
 a positive Promise, “ that He would do what They
 “ desired;” with which They were abundantly satis-
 fied, and renewed their Encouragement to their
 Friends “ to persevere to the End.” And this Promise

was solemnly given to them in the Presence of the General, who was to solicit the King's Despatch, that his Pleasure might be known in due Time. It was now the long Vacation, and few of the Council were then in Town, or of the Bishops, with whom his Majesty too late thought it necessary to confer, that such an Instrument might be prepared as was fit for the Affair. Hereupon the King told the Chancellor (who was not thought Friend enough to the *Presbyterians* to be sooner communicated with) all that had passed, what the Ministers had desired, and what He had promised; and bade him "to think of the best Way of doing it."

The Chancellor was one of those, who would have been glad that the Act had not been clogged with many of those Clauses, which He foresaw might produce some Inconveniences; but when it was passed, He thought it absolutely necessary to see Obedience paid to it without any Connivance: And therefore, as He had always dissuaded the King from giving so much Countenance to those Applications, which He always knew published more to be said than in Truth was ever spoken, and was the more troubled for this Progress They had made with the King; He told his Majesty, "that it was not in his Power to preserve those Men, who did not submit to do all that was to be done by the Act, from Deprivation." He gave many Reasons which occurred, why "such a Declaration as was desired would prove ineffectual to the End for which it was desired, and what Inconveniences would result from attempting it." His Majesty alledged

many Reasons for the doing it, which He had received from those who desired it, and seemed sorry that they were no better; however concluded, “that He had engaged his Word, and that He would perform what He had promised;” and required him not to oppose it. The Chancellor had always been very tender of his Honor; and advised him “to be very wary in making any Promise, but when He had made it, to perform it though to his Disadvantage:” And it was no new Thing to him, to be reproached for opposing the resolving to do such or such a Thing, and then to be reproached again for pursuing the Resolution.

The King was at *Hampton-Court*, and sent for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London* and of *Winchester*, to attend him, with the Chief Justice *Bridgman*, and the Attorney-General: There were likewise the Chancellor, the General, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Secretaries. His Majesty acquainted them with “the Importunities used by the *London* Ministers, and the Reasons They had offered why a further Time should be given to them to consider of what was so new to them; and what Answer He had given to them; and how They had renewed their Importunity with a Desire of such a Declaration from his as is mentioned before, in which He thought there was no Inconvenience, and therefore had promised to do it, and called them now together to advise of the best Way of doing it.” The Bishops were very much troubled, that those Fellows should still presume to give his Majesty so much Vexation,

He endeavours
to fulfil his
Promise.

and that They should have such Access to him. They gave such Arguments against the doing what was desired, as could not be answered; and for themselves, They desired "to be excused for not
 " conniving in any Degree at the Breach of the
 " Act of Parliament, either by not presenting a
 " Clerk where themselves were Patrons, or defer-
 " ring to give Institution upon the Presentation of
 " others: And that his Majesty's giving such a
 " Declaration or Recommendation would be the
 " greatest Wound to the Church, and to the Go-
 " vernment thereof, that it could receive."

The Chancellor, who did really believe that the King and his Service would suffer more by the Breach of his Word and Promise, than either could do from doing the Thing desired, confessed "that
 " He believed it would do them little Good, which
 " would not be imputed to his Majesty, when He
 " had done all He could do; and that it would be
 " a greater Conformity, if the Ministers generally
 " performed what They offered to do, in reading
 " all the Service of the Church, than had been
 " these many Years; and that once having done
 " what was known to be so contrary to their Inclinations, would be an Engagement upon them in
 " a short Time to comply with the rest of their
 " Obligations: And therefore," He said, "He
 " should not dissuade his Majesty from doing what
 " He had promised;" which indeed He had good Reason to think He was resolved to do, whatever He was advised to the contrary. The King demanded the Judgment of the Lawyers, "whether He

But finds it
not in his
Power.

“ could legally dispense with the Observation of
“ the Act for three Months;” who answered, “ that
“ notwithstanding any Thing He could do in their
“ Favor, the Patrons might present their Clerk as
“ if the Incumbents were dead, upon their Not-
“ performance of what They were enjoined.” Upon
the whole Matter the King was converted; and
with great Bitterness against that People in general,
and against the particular Persons whom He had
always received too graciously, concluded that He
would not do what was desired, and that the
Connivance should not be given to any of them.

The great
Difingenuity
of the Presby-
terian Minif-
ters.

The Bishops departed full of Satisfaction with
the King's Resolution, and as unsatisfied with their
Friend the Chancellor's Inclination to gratify that
People, not knowing the Engagement that was
upon him. And this Jealousy produced a greater
Coldness from some of them towards him, and a
greater Resentment from him, who thought He had
deserved better from their Function and their Per-
sons, than was in a long Time, if ever, perfectly
reconciled. Yet He never declined in the least
Degree his Zeal for the Government of the Church,
or the Interest of those Persons; nor thought They
could be blamed for their Severity against those
Ministers, who were surely the proudest Male-
factors, and the most incapable of being gently
treated, of any Men living. For if any of the
Bishops used them kindly, and endeavoured to
persuade them to Conformity, They reported “ that
“ They had been carested and flattered by the
“ Bishops, and offered great Preferments, which

“ They had bravely refused to accept for the Preservation of a good Conscience:” And in Reports of this Kind, few of them ever observed any Rules of Ingenuity or Sincerity.

When They saw that They were to expect and undergo the worst, They agreed upon a Method to be observed by them in the leaving and parting with their Pulpits : And the last Sunday They were to preach, They endeavoured to infuse Murmur, Jealousy and Sedition into the Hearts of their several Auditories; and to prepare them “ to expect and bear with Patience and Courage all the Persecutions which were like to follow, now the Light of the Gospel was so near being extinguished.” And all those Sermons They called their Farewel-Sermons, and caused them to be printed together, with every one of the Preachers Pictures before their Sermons; which in Truth contained all the Vanity and Ostentation with Reference to themselves, and all the Insinuations to Mutiny and Rebellion, that could be warily couched in Words which could not be brought within Penalty of Law, though their Meaning was well understood.

When the Time was expired, better Men were put into their Churches, though with much murmuring of some of their Parishes for a Time, increased by their loud Clamor, “ that They had been betrayed by the King’s Promise that They should have three Months longer Time,” Which drew the like Clamor upon them by those, who had hearkened to their Advice in continuing their Obstinacy in Confidence of a Dispensation; whereas

They endeavour to raise Discontents in the People.

At length most
of them con-
form.

otherwise They would have conformed as very many of their Party did. And many of the other who were cozened by them, and so lost the Livings they had, made all the Haste They could to make themselves capable of getting others, by as full Subscriptions and Conformity as the *Act of Uniformity* required. And the greatest of them, after some Time, and after They found that the private Bounty and Donatives, which at first flowed in upon them in Compassion of their Sufferings and to keep up their Courage, every Day begun to slacken, and would in the End expire, subscribed to those very Declarations, which They had urged as the greatest Motives to their Nonconformity. And the Number was very small, and of very weak and inconsiderable Men, that continued refractory, and received no Charge in the Church; Though it may without Breach of Charity be believed, that many who did subscribe had the same Malignity to the Church, and to the Government of it; and it may be did more Harm, than if They had continued in their Inconformity.

Great Animo-
sities in Par-
liament about
private Bills.

The long Time spent in Both Houses upon the *Act of Uniformity* had made the Progress of all other public Business much the slower; or rather, the Multitude of private Bills which depended there (and with which former Parliaments had been very rarely troubled), and the Bitterness and Animosities which arose from thence, exceedingly disquieted and discomposed the House; every Man being so much concerned for the Interest of his Friends or Allies, that He was more solicitous for the

Despatch of those, than of any which related to the King and the Public, which He knew would by a general Concurrence be all passed before the Session should be made; whereas if the other should be deferred, the Session would quickly follow (which the King by frequent Messages desired to hasten, having received News already of the Queen's having been at Sea many Days), and the Benefit of those Pretences would be lost, and with greater Difficulty be recovered in a succeeding Session. Then as those private Bills were for the particular Benefit and Advantage of some Persons, which engaged all their Friends to be very solicitous for their Despatch; so for the most Part they were to the Loss and Damage of other Persons, who likewise called in Aid of all their Friends to prevent the Houses consent; And by this Means so many Factions were kindled in Both Houses, between those who drove on the Interest of their own or of their Relations, who mutually looked upon one another as Enemies, and against those who for Justice and the Dignity of Parliament would have rejected all or most of the Addresses of that Kind; that in most Debates which related to either, the Custom of Contradiction, and the Aversion to Persons, very much disturbed and prolonged all Despatch.

It cannot be denied, that after a civil War of so many Years, prosecuted with that Height of Malice and Revenge, so many Houses plundered and so many burned, in which the Evidences of many Estates were totally destroyed, and as many by the unskillful Providence of others, who in Order

to preserve them had buried their Writings so unwarily under Ground, that they were taken up so defaced or rotten, that they could not be pleaded in any Court of Justice; many who had followed the King in the War, and so made themselves liable to those Penalties which the Parliament had prepared for them and subjected them to, had made many feigned Conveyances, with such Limitations and so absolutely (that no Trust might be discovered by those who had Power to avoid it) that they were indeed too absolute to be avoided by themselves, and their Estates become so much out of their own Disposal, that They could neither apply them to the Payment of their just Debts, or to the Provision for their Children: I say, there were many such Cases, which could be no other Way provided for but by an Act of Parliament, and to which an Act of Parliament without too much Severity and Rigor could not be denied. And against any of those there appeared none or very little Opposition to be made.

But the Example and Precedent of such drew with them a World of unreasonable Pretences; and They, who were not in a Condition to receive Relief in any Court of Justice, thought They had a Ground to appeal to Parliament. They who had been compelled, for raising the Money They were forced to pay for their Delinquency, to sell Land, and could not sell it but at a very low Value (for it was one Species of the Oppression of that Time, that when a powerful Man had an Aspect upon the Land of any Man who was to compound, and so

in View like to sell it, no other Man would offer any Money for it, so that He was sure at last to have it upon his own Price); now all that monstrous Power was vanished, They who had made those unthrifty Bargains and Sales, though with all the Formalities of Law, by Fines and Recoveries and the like (which is all the Security that can be given upon a Purchase), especially if the Purchaser was of an ill Name, came with all imaginable Confidence to the Parliament, to have their Land restored to them. Every Man had raised an Equity in his own Imagination, that He thought ought to prevail against any Descent, Testament or Act of Law; and that whatever any Man had been brought to do, which common Reason would make manifest that He would never have done if He could have chosen, was Argument sufficient of such a Force, and ought to find Relief in Parliament, from the unbounded Equity They were Masters of and could dispense, whatever Formalities of Law had preceded or accompanied the Transaction. And whoever opposed those extravagant Notions, which sometimes deprived Men of the Benefit of the *Act of Oblivion*, was thought to be without Justice, or which to them was worse, to be without any Kindness to the King's Party. And without Question, upon those Motives or others as unreasonable, many Acts were passed of very ill Example, and which many Men were scandalized at in the present, and Posterity will more censure hereafter, when Infants who were then unborn shall find themselves disinherited of those Estates, which their Ancestors had carefully provided should descend to them; upon

which Irregularities the King made Reflection when He made, the Session.

The Parlia-
ment proceeds
with great
Duty towards
the King.

But notwithstanding all these Incongruities, and the Indispositions which attended them, They performed all those Respects towards the King, which He did or could expect from them; there being scarce a Man, who opposed the granting any Thing that was proposed for the Benefit of his Majesty, or the Greatness of the Crown: And though some of the Particulars mentioned before did sometimes intervene, to hinder and defer the present Resolutions and Conclusions in those Counsels, the Resolutions and Conclusions in a short Time after succeeded according to the King's Wish. The Militia and many other Regalities were declared and settled according to the original Sense of the Law, and the Authority of the Crown vindicated to the Height it had been at upon the Heads of the greatest Kings who had ever reigned in the Nation. Monies were raised by several Bills, sufficient as They conceived to have paid all the Debts the King or the Kingdom owed; for in their Computations They comprehended the Debts that were owing before his Majesty's Return, and for which the public Faith had been engaged: And if as much had been paid as They conceived They had given, probably it might have been enough to have discharged all those. They settled a constant Revenue upon the Crown, which according to the Estimate They made would amount to the yearly Revenue of twelve hundred thousand Pounds, a Proportion double to what it was in the

Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and it may be of any King preceding; and declared “ that if it did not amount to that full Value, They would supply it at another Meeting.” And though it hath not in Truth amounted to that Sum in his Majesty’s Receipts, the Parliament hath imputed it rather to ill Managery, and letting Farms at too easy Rates, than to an Error in their Computation. For the present, it was looked upon by the King and by his Ministers as answerable to his Expectation. And so, upon Notice of the Queen’s being upon the Coast, and afterwards of her Arrival at *Portsmouth*, the King appointed the Houses to present all their Bills to him upon the nineteenth of *May* for his Royal Assent, it being few Days above a Year from the Time of their being first convened.

When the King came to the Parliament, and They had presented the great Number of Bills which They had prepared, and after He had given his Royal Assent to most of them, his Majesty told them, “ that He thought there had been very few Sessions of Parliament, in which there had been so many Bills, as He had passed that Day: He was confident, never so many private Bills, which He hoped They would not draw into Example. It was true,” He said, “ the late ill Times had driven Men into great Straits, and might have obliged them to make Conveyances colorably, to avoid Inconveniencies, and yet not afterwards to be avoided; and Men had gotten Estates by new and greater Frauds than had been heretofore practised; and therefore in this Conjunction extraordinary

The King’s
Speech to the
Parliament.

“ Remedies might be necessary, which had induced
 “ him to comply with their Advice in passing those
 “ Bills; but He prayed them that this should be
 “ rarely done hereafter: That the good old Rules
 “ of the Law are the best Security;” and He wished
 “ that Men might not have too much Cause to fear,
 “ that the Settlements which They make of their
 “ Estates shall be too easily unsettled when They
 “ are dead by the Power of Parliament.”

He said, “ They had too much obliged him, not
 “ only in the Matter of those Bills which concerned
 “ his Revenue, but in the Manner of passing them,
 “ with so great Affection and Kindness, that He
 “ knew not how to thank them enough. He did
 “ assure them, and prayed them to assure their
 “ Friends in the Country, that He would apply all
 “ that They had given to him, to the utmost Im-
 “ provement of the Peace and Happiness of the
 “ Kingdom; and that He would, with the best Ad-
 “ vice and good Husbandry He could, bring his own
 “ Expenses within a narrower Compass.” And He
 said, “ now He was speaking to them of his own
 “ good Husbandry, He must tell them, that would
 “ not be enough; He could not but observe, that
 “ the whole Nation seemed to him a little corrupted
 “ in their Excess of Living. All Men spend much
 “ more in their Clothes, in their Diet, in all their
 “ Expenses, than They had used to do. He hoped
 “ it had only been the Excess of Joy after so long
 “ Sufferings, that had transported him and them to
 “ those other Excesses; but,” He desired them, “ that
 “ They might all take Heed that the Continuance
 of

“ of them did not indeed corrupt their Natures.
 “ He did believe that He had been that Way very
 “ faulty himself: He promised that He would re-
 “ form, and that if They would join with him in
 “ their several Capacities, They would by their
 “ Examples do more Good both in City and Coun-
 “ try, than any new Laws would do.” He said
 many other good Things that pleased them, and no
 Doubt He intended all He said; but the Ways and
 Expedients towards good Husbandry were no
 where pursued.

The Chancellor, by the King's Command, en-
 larged upon “ the general Murmurs upon the Ex-
 pense, and that it should so much exceed all for-
 mer Times.” He put them in Mind, “ how the
 Crown had been used since those Times, how
 the King had found it at his blessed Return: That
 as soon as He came hither, besides the infinite
 Sums that He forgave, He gave more Money to
 the People than He had since received from them”
 (He meant I suppose the Release of all the Rents,
 Debts and Receipts which were due to him); “ that
 at least two Parts of three that They had since
 given him had issued for the disbanding of Armies
 never raised by him, and for Payment of Fleets
 never sent out by him, and of Debts never in-
 curred by him.” He put them in Mind “ of the
 vast Disparity between the former Times and
 these in which They now lived, and consequently
 of the Disproportion in the Expence the Crown
 was now at, for the Protection and Benefit of the
 Subject, to what it formerly underwent. How

The Chancel-
 lor's Speech.

“ great a Difference there was in the present Great-
 “ nefs and Power of the two Crowns, and what
 “ they had been then possessed of, was evident to
 “ all Men; and if the Greatness and Power of the
 “ Crown of *England* should not be in some Propor-
 “ tion improved too, it might be liable to Incon-
 “ veniences it would not undergo alone. How our
 “ Neighbours and our Rivals, who court one and
 “ the same Mistress, Trade and Commerce, with
 “ all the World, are advanced in Shipping, Power,
 “ and an immoderate Desire to engross the whole
 “ Traffic of the Universe, was notorious enough;
 “ and that this unruly Appetite would not be ref-
 “ trained or disappointed, nor the Trade of the
 “ Nation be supported and maintained, with the
 “ same Fleets and Forces which had been maintained
 “ in the happy Times of Queen *Elizabeth*. He needed
 “ not speak of the naval Power of the *Turks*, who
 “ instead of sculking abroad in poor single Ships as
 “ They were wont to do, domineer now on the
 “ Ocean in strong Fleets, make naval Fights, and
 “ had brought some *Christians* to a better Corres-
 “ pondence, and another Kind of Commerce and
 “ Traffic with them, than was expected” (for at
 that Time the *Dutch* had made a low and dishonor-
 able Peace with the Pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*):
 “ Infomuch as They apprehend no Enemy upon
 “ the Sea, but what They find in the King of *Eng-*
 “ *land*’s Ships, which had indeed brought no small
 “ Damage upon them, with no small Charge to the
 “ King, but a great Reputation to the Nation.”

“ He did assure them, that the Charge the Crown
 “ was then at, by Sea and Land, for the Peace and

“ Security and Wealth and Honor of the Nation,
 “ amounted to no less than eight hundred thousand
 “ Pounds in the Year; all which did not cost the
 “ Crown before the late Troubles fourscore thousand
 “ Pounds the Year: And therefore that Nobody
 “ could blame them for any Supply They had given,
 “ or Addition They had made to the Revenue
 “ of the Crown.” He told them, “ that the new Ac-
 “ quisitions of *Dunkirk, Mardike, Tangier, Jamaica,*
 “ and *Bombayne*, ought to be looked upon as Jewels
 “ of an immense Magnitude in the Royal Diadem;
 “ and though they were of present Expense, they
 “ were like in a short Time, with God’s Blessing,
 “ to bring vast Advantages to the Trade, Naviga-
 “ tion, Wealth and Honor of the King and Kingdom.
 “ His Majesty had enough expressed his Desire to
 “ live in a perfect Peace and Amity with all his Neigh-
 “ bours; nor was it an ill Ingredient towards the
 “ Firmness and Stability of that Peace and Amity
 “ which his Royal Ancestors had held with them,
 “ that He hath some Advantages in Case of a War,
 “ which They were without.” The same Day the
 Parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth Day of
February following.

The Parlia-
ment pro-
rogued.

It was about the End of *May*, when the Queen
 came to *Hampton-Court*. The Earl of *Sandwich*, after
 He had reduced those of *Algiers* and *Tunis* to good
 Conditions, went to *Tangier*, which was to be
 delivered to him before He was to go to *Lisbon* for
 the Reception of the Queen: And delivered to him
 it was, though by an Accident that might have
 caused it to be delivered into another Hand. There

The Earl of
Sandwich
takes Posses-
sion of Tan-
gier.

was never the least Doubt, but that the Queen-Regent did resolve religiously to perform all the Conditions on the Part of *Portugal*; and the Government was yet in her Hands. But the King growing towards his Majority, and of a Nature not like to comply long with his Mother's Advice; Factions began likewise to grow in that Court. The Delivery of *Tangier*, and into the Hands of Heretics, was much murmured at; as like more to irritate the Pope, who did already carry himself towards them very unlike a common Father, notwithstanding the powerful Interposition of *France*, which, upon the Peace lately made between the two Crowns, was already ceased: So that They now apprehended, that this new Provocation would give some Excuse to the Court of *Rome*, to comply more severely with the Importunities from *Spain*, which likewise upon this Occasion They were sure would be renewed with all possible Instance. And though the Queen had lately sent a Governor to *Tangier*, whom She therefore made Choice of, as a Man devoted to her, and who would obey her Commands in the Delivery of this Place; yet it is certain, He went thither with a contrary Resolution.

A Design of
not giving it
up to him.

Very few Days before the Earl of *Sandwich* came thither, the Governor marched out with all the Horse and above Half the Foot of the Garrison into the Country, and fell into an Ambush of the *Moors*, who, being much more numerous, cut off the whole Party: And so the Governor with so many of the chief Officers and Soldiers being killed, the Town was left so weak, that if the *Moors* had pursued their

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 69

Advantage with such Numbers as They might, and did intend within few Days to bring with them, They would have been able to have made little Resistance. And the Earl of *Sandwich* coming happily thither in that Conjunction, it was delivered into his Hands, who convoyed the Remainder of the Garrison into *Portugal*, where They were like to be stoned by the People; and then, having put a good Garrison of Horse and Foot which were sent from *England* into it, He delivered it up to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who had a Commission from the King to be Governor thereof; and himself with the Fleet sailed to *Lisbon*, where He had been long expected, and found his House and Equipage ready, He being then to appear in the Quality of Extraordinary Ambassador to demand the Queen.

His Arrival there happened likewise in a very happy Conjunction; for the *Spanish* Army, stronger than it had been before, was upon its March to besiege a Seaport Town, which lay so near *Lisbon*, that being in the Enemies Hands it would very much have infested their whole Trade, and was not strong enough long to have resisted so powerful an Enemy. But upon the Fame of the *English* Fleet's Arrival, the *Spaniard* gave over that Design, and retired: Since as it was impossible that They should be able to take that Place, which the Fleet was so ready to relieve; so They knew not but that the *English* might make a Descent into their own Quarters, which kept them from engaging before any other Town. But the Alarm the March of that Army had given had so much disturbed *Portugal*, which never keep their

He comes to Lisbon in a critical Conjunction.

whole Forces on Foot, but draw them together upon such emergent Occasions; that They were compelled to make Use of most of that Money, which They said had been laid up and should be kept for the Payment of the Queen's Portion, which was to be transported with her into *England*.

Whereupon, after the Ambassador had been received with all possible Demonstration of Respect and public Joy, and had had his solemn Audience from the King and from the Queen-Regent and the Queen his Mistress; and some *English* Gentlemen of Quality, who were sent by the King, were admitted to those Places of Attendance about the Queen, to which his Majesty had assigned them: The Queen-Mother with infinite Apologies told the Ambassador, "that the Straits and Poverty of the Kingdom were so great upon the late Advance of the *Spanish* Army, that there could at this present be only paid one Half of the Queen's Portion, and that the other Half should infallibly be paid within a Year, with which She hoped the King her Brother would be satisfied; and that for the better doing it, She resolved to send back the same Ambassador, who had brought so good a Work with God's Blessing to so good an End, with her Daughter to the King."

The Portuguese not able to pay the Queen's Portion.

The Earl of *Sandwich* was much perplexed, nor did easily resolve what He was to do. His Instructions were to receive the whole Portion, which He knew the King expected, and which They were not able to pay. He had already received *Tangier*, and left a strong Garrison in it, and had neither Autho-

rity to restore it, nor wherewithal to carry back the Men. And at last, after He had used all the Means to have the Whole paid, and was so fully informed, that He did in Truth believe that They could do no more, He resolved that He would receive the Queen aboard the Fleet. That which They were ready to deliver for Half the Portion, was not in Money, but to be made up by Jewels, Sugar and other Commodities, which should not be overvalued. The Ambassador was contented to give his Receipt for the several Species of the Money They would deliver, leaving the Value to be computed in *England*; but expressly refused to accept the Jewels, Sugar and Merchandises at any Rates or Prices; but was contented to receive them on Board the Ships, and to deliver them *in Specie* at *London* to any Person who should be appointed by them to receive them, who should be obliged to pay the Money they were valued at, and to make up the whole Sum that should be paid to the King for the Moiety. In Conclusion, all Things were delivered on Board the Ships; and *Diego Silvas*, a Jew of great Wealth and full Credit at *Amsterdam*, was sent with it, and obliged to make even the Account with the King's Ministers at *London*, and to pay what should remain due. And a new Obligation was entered into by the Crown of *Portugal*, for the Payment of the other Moiety within the Space of a Year. And the Queen with all her Court and Retinue were embarked on Board the Fleet, and without any ill Accidents her Majesty arrived safely at *Portsmouth*: And having rested only three or four Days there, to recover the Indisposi-

The Queen
arrives in
England.

tion contracted in so long a Voyage at Sea, her Majesty together with the King came to *Hampton-Court* at the Time mentioned before, the twenty-ninth of *May*, the King's Birthday, full two Years after his Majesty's Return and entering *London*.

Endeavours used to alienate the King's Affections from the Queen.

However the public Joy of the Kingdom was very manifest upon this Conjunction, yet in a short Time there appeared not that Serenity in the Court that was expected. They who had formerly endeavoured to prevent it, used ever after all the ill Arts They could to make it disagreeable, and to alienate the King's Affection from the Queen to such a Degree, that it might never be in her Power to prevail with him to their Disadvantage; an Effect They had Reason to expect from any notable Interest She might gain in his Affections, since She could not be uninformed by the Ambassador of the Disservice They had formerly endeavoured to do her.

Some Circumstances that contribute towards a Misunderstanding between them.

There was a Lady of Youth and Beauty, with whom the King had lived in great and notorious Familiarity from the Time of his Coming into *England*, and who, at the Time of the Queen's Coming or a little before, had been delivered of a Son whom the King owned. And as that Amour had been generally taken Notice of, to the lessening of the good Reputation the King had with the People; so it underwent the less Reproach from the King's being young, vigorous, and in his full Strength; and upon a full Presumption that when He should be married, He would contain himself within the strict Bounds of Virtue and Conscience. And that his Majesty himself had that firm Resolution, there want not

many Arguments, as well from the Excellent Temper and Justice of his own Nature, as from the Professions He had made with some Solemnity to Persons who were believed to have much Credit, and who had not failed to do their Duty; in putting him in Mind “of the infinite Obligations He had to God Almighty, and that He expected another Kind of Return from him, in the Purity of Mind and Integrity of Life:” Of which his Majesty was piously sensible, albeit there was all possible Pains taken by that Company which were admitted to his Hours of Pleasure, to divert and corrupt all those Impressions and Principles, which his own Conscience and reverent Esteem of Providence did suggest to him; turning all Discourse and Mention of Religion into Ridicule, as if it were only an Invention of Divines to impose upon Men of Parts, and to restrain them from the Liberty and Use of those Faculties which God and Nature had given them, that They might be subject to their Reproofs and Determinations; which Kind of Licence was not grateful to the King, and therefore warily and accidentally used by those who had pleasant Wit, and in whose Company He took too much Delight.

The Queen had Beauty and Wit enough to make herself very agreeable to him; and it is very certain, that at their first Meeting and for some Time after the King had very good Satisfaction in her, and without Doubt made very good Resolutions within himself, and promised himself a happy and an innocent Life in her Company, without any such Uxoriousness, as might draw the Reputation upon him

of being governed by his Wife, of which He had observed or been too largely informed of some inconvenient Effects in the Fortune of some of his nearest Friends, and had long protested against such a Resignation; though They who knew him well did not think him so much superior to such a Condescension, but that if the Queen had had that Craft and Address and Dexterity that some former Queens had, She might have prevailed as far by Degrees as They had done. But the Truth is, though She was of Years enough to have had more Experience of the World, and of as much Wit as could be wished, and of a Humor very agreeable at some Seasons; yet She had been bred, according to the Mode and Discipline of her Country, in a Monastery, where She had only seen the Women who attended her, and conversed with the Religious who resided there, and without Doubt in her Inclinations was enough disposed to have been one of that Number. And from this Restraint She was called out to be a great Queen, and to a free Conversation in a Court that was to be upon the Matter new formed, and reduced from the Manners of a licentious Age to the old Rules and Limits which had been observed in better Times; and to which regular and decent Conformity the present Disposition of Men or Women was not enough inclined to submit, nor the King enough disposed to exact.

There was a numerous Family of Men and Women that were sent from *Portugal*, the most improper to promote that Conformity in the Queen that was necessary for her Condition and future Happiness,

that could be chosen: The Women for the most Part old and ugly and proud, incapable of any Conversation with Persons of Quality and a liberal Education. And They desired and indeed had conspired so far to possess the Queen themselves, that She should neither learn the *English* Language, nor use their Habit, nor depart from the Manners and Fashions of her own Country in any Particulars; "which Resolution," They told her, "would be for the Dignity of *Portugal*, and would quickly induce the *English* Ladies "to conform to her Majesty's Practice:" And this Imagination had made that Impression, that the Taylor who had been sent into *Portugal* to make her Clothes, could never be admitted to see her or receive any Employment. Nor when She came to *Portsmouth*, and found there several Ladies of Honor and prime Quality to attend her in the Places to which They were assigned by the King, did She receive any of them, till the King himself came; nor then with any Grace, or the Liberty that belonged to their Places and Offices. She could not be persuaded to be dressed out of the Wardrobe that the King had sent to her, but would wear the Clothes which She had brought, until She found that the King was displeas'd, and would be obeyed: Whereupon She conformed against the Advice of her Women, who continued their Opiniatrety, without any one of them receding from their own Mode, which expos'd them the more to Reproach.

When the Queen came to *Hampton-Court*, She brought with her a formed Resolution, that She would never suffer the Lady who was so much spoken

of to be in her Presence: And afterwards to those She would trust She said, " her Mother had enjoined " her so to do." On the other Hand, the King thought that He had so well prepared her to give her a civil Reception, that within a Day or two after her Majesty's being there, himself led her into her Chamber, and presented her to the Queen, who received her with the same Grace as She had done the rest; there being many Lords and other Ladies at the same Time there. But whether her Majesty in the Instant knew who She was, or upon Recollection found it afterwards, She was, no sooner sat in her Chair, but her Color changed, and Tears gushed out of her Eyes, and her Nose bled, and She fainted; so that She was forthwith removed into another Room, and all the Company retired out of that where She was before. And this falling out so notoriously when so many Persons were present, the King looked upon it with wonderful Indignation, and as an Earnest of Defiance for the Decision of the Supremacy and who should govern, upon which Point He was the most jealous and the most resolute of any Man; and the Answer He received from the Queen, which kept up the Obstinacy, displeas'd him more. Now the Breach of the Conditions grew Matter of Reproach; the Payment of but Half the Portion was objected to the Ambassador, who would have been very glad that the Quarrel had been upon no other Point. He knew not what to say or do; the King being offended with him for having said so much in *Portugal* to provoke the Queen, and not instructing her enough to make her unconcerned in what had been before her

Time, and in which She could not reasonably be concerned; and the Queen with more Indignation reproaching him with the Character He had given of the King, of his Virtue and good Nature: Whilst the poor Man, not able to endure the Tempest of so much Injustice from Both, thought it best to satisfy Both by dying; and from the extreme Affliction of Mind which He underwent, He sustained such a Fever as brought him to the Brink of his Grave, till some Grace from Both their Majesties contributed much to the Recovery of his Spirits.

In the mean Time the King forbore her Majesty's Company, and sought Ease and Refreshment in that jolly Company, to which in the Evenings He grew every Day more indulgent, and in which there were some, who desired rather to inflame than pacify his Discontent. And They found an Expedient to vindicate his Royal Jurisdiction, and to make it manifest to the World, that He would not be governed; which could never without much Artifice have got Entrance into his Princely Breast, which always entertained the most tender Affections; nor was ever any Man's Nature more remote from Thoughts of Toughness or Hardheartedness. They magnified the Temper and Constitution of his Grandfather, who indeed to all other Purposes was a glorious Example: "That when He was enamoured, and found a Return answerable to his Merit, He did not dissemble his Passion, nor suffered it to be Matter of Reproach to the Persons whom He loved; but made all others pay them that Respect which He thought them worthy of; brought them to the Court, and

“ obliged his own Wife the Queen to treat them with
“ Grace and Favor; gave them the highest Titles
“ of Honor, to draw Reverence and Application to
“ them from all the Court and all the Kingdom;
“ raised the Children He had by them to the Reputa-
“ tion, State and Degree of Princes of the Blood,
“ and conferred Fortunes and Offices upon them ac-
“ cordingly. That his Majesty, who inherited the
“ same Passions, was without the Gratitude and no-
“ ble Inclination to make Returns proportionable
“ to the Obligations He received. That He had, by
“ the Charms of his Person and of his Professions,
“ prevailed upon the affections and Heart of a young
“ and beautiful Lady of a noble Extraction, whose
“ Father had lost his Life in the Service of the Crown.
“ That She had provoked the Jealousy and Rage of
“ her Husband to that Degree, that He had separated
“ himself from her: And now the Queen’s Indigna-
“ tion had made the Matter so notorious to the
“ World, that the disconsolate Lady had no Place
“ of Retreat left, but must be made an Object of In-
“ famy and Contempt to all her Sex, and to the
“ whole World.”

Those Discourses, together with a little Book newly printed at *Paris*, according to the Licence of that Nation, of the Amours of *Henry IV.* which was by them presented to him, and too concernedly read by him, made that Impression upon his Mind, that He resolved to raise the Quality and Degree of that Lady, who was married to a private Gentleman of a competent Fortune, that had not the Ambition to be a better Man than He was born. And that He

might do so, He made her Husband an Earl of *Ireland*, who knew too well the Consideration that He paid for it, and abhorred the Brand of such a Nobility, and did not in a long Time assume the Title. The Lady thus qualified was now made fit for higher Preferment : And the King resolved, for the Vindication of her Honor and Innocence, that She should be admitted of the Bedchamber of the Queen, as the only Means to convince the World, that all Aspersions upon her had been without Ground. The King used all the Ways He could, by treating the Queen with all Caresses, to dispose her to gratify him in this Particular, as a Matter in which his Honor was concerned and engaged; and protested unto her, which at that Time He did intend to observe, "that He
 " had not had the least Familiarity with her since her
 " Majesty's Arrival, nor would ever after be guilty
 " of it again, but would live always with her Majesty
 " in all Fidelity for Conscience Sake." The Queen, who was naturally more transported with Choler than her Countenance declared her to be, had not the Temper to entertain him with those Discourses, which the Vivacity of her Wit could very plentifully have suggested to her; but brake out into a Torrent of Rage, which increased the former Prejudice, confirmed the King in the Resolution He had taken, gave ill People more Credit to mention her disrespectfully, and more increased his Aversion from her Company, and which was worse, his Delight in those, who meant that He should neither love his Wife or his Business, or any Thing but their Conversation.

These domestic Indispositions and Distempers, and the Impression they made of several Kinds upon the King's Spirit and his Humor, exceedingly discomposed the Minds of the gravest and most serious Men; gave the People generally Occasion of speaking loudly, and with a Licence that the Magistrates knew not how to punish, for the Publication of the Scandal: And the wisest Men despaired of finding Remedies to apply to the Dissoluteness and Debauchery of the Time, which visibly increased. No Man appeared to suffer or likely to suffer more than the Chancellor, against whom though no particular Person owned a Malignity, the Congregation of the witty Men for the Evening-Conversation were enough united against his Interest; and thought his Influence upon the King's Actions and Counsels would be too much augmented, if the Queen came to have any Power, who had a very good Opinion of him: And it is very probable, that even that Apprehension increased the Combination against her Majesty.

The Lady had Reason to hate him mortally, well knowing that there had been an inviolable Friendship between her father and him to his Death, which had been notorious to all Men; and that He was an implacable Enemy to the Power and Interest She had with the King, and had used all the Endeavours He could to destroy it. Yet neither She nor any of the other adventured to speak ill of him to the King, who at that Time would not have borne it; except for Wit's Sake They sometimes reflected upon somewhat He had said, or acted some of his Postures and Manner of speaking (the Skill in Mimicry being the
best

best Faculty in Wit many of them had); which Licence They practised often towards the King himself, and therefore his Majesty thought it to be more free from Malice. But by these Liberties, which at first only raised Laughter, They by Degrees got the Hardiness to censure both the Persons, Counsels and Actions, of those who were nearest his Majesty's Trust, with the highest Malice and Presumption; and too often suspended or totally disappointed some Resolutions, which had been taken upon very mature Deliberation, and which ought to have been pursued. But (as hath been said before) this Presumption had not yet come to this Length.

The King imparted the Trouble and Unquietness of his Mind to Nobody with equal Freedom, as He did to the Chancellor: To him He complained of all the Queen's Perverseness and ill Humors, and informed him of all that passed between them, and obliged him to confer and advise the Queen, who, He knew, looked upon him as a Man devoted to her Service, and that He would speak very confidently to her whatsoever He thought; and therefore gave him Leave to take Notice to her of any Thing He had told him. It was too delicate a Province for so plaindealing a Man as He was to undertake: And yet He knew not how to refuse it, nor indeed did despair totally of being able to do some Good, since the Queen was not yet more acquainted with any Man than with him, nor spake so much with any Man as with him; and He believed, that He might hereby have Opportunity to speak sometimes to the King of some particulars

The Chancellor endeavours to reconcile their Majesties.

with more Freedom, than otherwise He could well do, at least more effectually.

He had never heard before of the Honor the King had done that Lady, nor of the Purpose He had to make her of his Wife's Bedchamber. He spake with great Boldness to him upon Both; and did not believe that the first was proceeded in beyond Révocation, because it had not come to the Great-Seal, and gave him many Arguments against it, which He thought of Weight. But upon the other Point He took more Liberty, and spake "of the Hardheartedness and Cruelty in laying such a Command upon the Queen, which Flesh and Blood could not comply with." He put him in Mind of what He heard his Majesty himself say, upon the like Excess which a neighbour King had lately used, in making his Mistress to live in the Court, and in the Prefence of the Queen: That his Majesty had then said, "*that it was such a Piece of Illnature, that He could never be guilty of; and if ever He should be guilty of having a Mistress after He had a Wife, which He hoped He should never be, She should never come where his Wife was: He would never add that to the Vexation, of which She would have enough without it.*" And yet He told him, "that such Friendships were not new in that other Court, nor scandalous in that Kingdom; whereas in this it was so unheard of and so odious, that a Woman who prostituted herself to the King was equally infamous to all Women of Honor, and must expect the same Contempt from them, as if She were common to Mankind:

“ And that no Enemy He had could advise him a
 “ more sure Way to lose the Hearts and Affections
 “ of the People, of which He was now so abun-
 “ dantly possessed, than the indulging to himself
 “ that Liberty, now it had pleased God to give
 “ him a Wife worthy of him. That the Excess
 “ He had already used in that and other Ways had
 “ lost him some Ground; but that the Continuance
 “ in them would break the Hearts of all his Friends,
 “ and be only grateful to those who wished the
 “ Destruction of Monarchy:” And concluded with
 “ asking his Pardon for speaking so plainly,” and
 besought his Majesty to remember “ the wonder-
 “ ful Things which God had done for him, and
 “ for which He expected other Returns than He
 “ had yet received.”

The King heard him with Patience enough, yet
 with those little Interruptions which were natural
 to him, especially to that Part where He had le-
 velled the Mistresses of King's and Princes with
 other lewd Women, at which He expressed some
 Indignation, being an Argument often debated be-
 fore him by those, who would have them looked
 upon above any other Men's Wives. He did not
 appear displeas'd with the Liberty He had taken,
 but said, “ He knew it proceeded from the Affection
 “ He had for him;” and then proceeded upon the
 several Parts of what He had said, more volubly
 than He used to do, as upon Points in which He
 was conversant, and had heard well debated.

To the first, He began with the Story of an Acci-
 dent that had fallen out the Day before; He said,

“ the Lady had then told him, *that She did hope*
 “ *that the Chancellor was not so much her Enemy,*
 “ *as He was generally reported to be, for She was*
 “ *sure He was not guilty of one Discourtesy of which*
 “ *He had been accused to her, and therefore might be*
 “ *as innocent in others; and then told his Majesty,*
 “ *that the Day before, the Earl of Bristol*” (who was
 never without some Reason to engage himself in
 such Intrigues, and had been a principal Promoter
 of all those late Resolutions) “ *came to her, and*
 “ *asked her whether the Patent was not yet passed;*
 “ *She answered, No; He asked if She knew the Reason,*
 “ *which She seeming not to do, He told her that He*
 “ *came in Confidence to tell her, and that if She did*
 “ *not quickly curb and over rule such Presumption, She*
 “ *would often meet it to her Prejudice; then told her a*
 “ *long Relation, how the Patent had been carried to*
 “ *the Chancellor prepared for the Seal, and that He*
 “ *according to his Custom had superciliously said, that*
 “ *He would first speak with the King of it, and that in*
 “ *the mean Time it should not pass; and that if She*
 “ *did not make the King very sensible of this his Inso-*
 “ *lence, his Majesty should never be Judge of his own*
 “ *Bounty. And then the Lady laughed, and made*
 “ *sharp Reflections upon the Principles of the Earl*
 “ *of Bristol*” (who had throughout his Life the
 rare good Fortune of being exceedingly beloved and
 exceedingly hated by the same Persons, in the Space of
 one Month; and now finding that there was a Stop of
 the Patent, made a very natural Guess where it must
 be, and gratified his own Appetite in the Conclusion),
 “ and pulled the Warrant out of her Pocket, *where*

“ She said *it had remained ever since it was signed, and*
 “ *She believed the Chancellor had never heard of it:*
 “ *She was sure there was no Patent prepared, and*
 “ *therefore He could not stop it at the Seal.*”

The Truth is: Though according to the Custom She had assumed the Title as soon as She had the Warrant, that the other Pretence might be prosecuted, She made not Haste to pass the Patent, lest her Husband might stop it; and after long Deliberation was not so confident of the Chancellor, as to transmit it to the Seal that was in his Custody, but, the Honor being *Irish*, sent it into that Kingdom to pass the Great-Seal there, where She was sure it could meet no Interruption.

When the King had made this Relation, and added some sharp Remarks upon the Earl of *Bristol*, as a Man very particularly known and understood by him; He said, “ that He had undone this Lady, and
 “ ruined her Reputation, which had been fair and
 “ untainted till her Friendship for him; and that
 “ He was obliged in Conscience and Honor to
 “ repair her to the utmost of his Power. That He
 “ would always avow to have a great Friendship
 “ for her, which He owed as well to the Memory
 “ of her Father as to her own Person; and that
 “ He would look upon it as the highest Disrespect
 “ to him, in any Body who should treat her other-
 “ wise than was due to her own Birth, and the
 “ Dignity to which He had raised her. That He
 “ liked her Company and Conversation from which
 “ He would not be restrained, because He knew
 “ there was and should be all Innocence in it:

“ And that his Wife should never have Cause to
“ Complain that He brake his Vows to her, if She
“ would live towards him as a good Wife ought
“ to do, in rendering herself grateful and acceptable
“ to him, which it was in her Power to do; but if
“ She would continue uneasy to him, He could
“ not answer for himself, that He should not endeavour
“ to seek Content in other Company. That
“ He had proceeded so far in the Business that
“ concerned the Lady, and was so deeply engaged
“ in it, that She would not only be exposed
“ to all imaginable Contempt, if it succeeded not;
“ but his own Honor would suffer so much, that
“ He should become ridiculous to the World, and
“ be thought too in Pupilage under a Governor;
“ and therefore He would expect and exact a Conformity
“ from his Wife herein, which should be
“ the only hard Thing He would ever require
“ from her, and which She herself might make very
“ easy, for the Lady would behave herself with all
“ possible Duty and Humility unto her, which if
“ She should fail to do in the least Degree, She
“ should never see the King’s Face again: And that
“ He would never be engaged to put any other
“ Servant about her, without first consulting with
“ her, and receiving her Consent and Approbation.
“ Upon the Whole, ” He said, “ He would
“ never recede from any Part of the Resolution
“ He had taken and expressed to him: And therefore
“ He required him to use all those Arguments
“ to the Queen, which were necessary to induce her
“ to a full Compliance with what the King desired. ”

The Chancellor address'd himself to the Queen with as full Liberty and Plainness as He had presumed to use to his Majesty, but could not proceed so far at a Time, nor hold so long Conferences at once. When He first lamented the Misintelligence He observed to be between their Majesties, and She perceived the King had told him some Particulars, She protested her own Innocence, but with so much Passion and such a Torrent of Tears, that there was Nothing left for him to do, but to retire, and tell her, "that He would wait upon her in a fitter Season, and when She should be more capable of receiving humble Advice from her Servants, who wish'd her well;" and so departed.

The next Day He waited upon her again at the Hour assign'd by her, and found her much better compos'd than He had left her. She vouchsafed to excuse the Passion She had been in, and confess'd "She look'd upon him as one of the few Friends She had, and from whom She would most willingly at all Times receive Counsel, But that She hop'd He would not wonder or blame her, if having greater Misfortunes upon her, and being to struggle with more Difficulties, than any Woman had ever been put to of her Condition, She sometimes gave Vent to that Passion that was ready to break her Heart." He told her, "He was desirous indeed to serve her, of which He would not make great or many Protestations, since She could not but believe it, except She thought him to be a Fool or mad, since Nothing

“ could contribute so much to his Happiness, as an
 “ eminent Sympathy between the King and her in
 “ all Things: And He could not give her a greater
 “ Evidence of his Devotion, than in always saying
 “ that to her which was fit for her to hear, though
 “ it did not please her; and He would observe no
 “ other Rule towards her, though it should render
 “ him ungracious to her.”

She seemed well satisfied with what He said, and
 told him “ He should never be more welcome to
 “ her, than when He told her of her Faults:” To
 which He replied, “ that it was the Province He
 “ was accused of usurping with Reference to all his
 “ Friends ” He told Her, that He doubted She was
 “ little beholden to her Education, that had given
 “ her no better Information of the Follies and Ini-
 “ quities of Mankind, of which He presumed the
 “ Climate from whence She came could have given
 “ more Instances, than this cold Region would
 “ afford;” though at that Time it was indeed very
 hot. He said, “ if her Majesty had been fairly dealt
 “ with in that Particular, She could never have
 “ thought herself so miserable, and her Condition
 “ so insupportable as She seemed to think it to be;
 “ the Ground of which heavy Complaint He could
 “ not comprehend.” Whereupon with some
 blushing and Confusion and some Tears She said,
 “ She did not think that She should have found
 “ the King engaged in his Affections to another
 “ Lady;” and then was able to say no more:
 Which gave the Chancellor Opportunity to say,
 “ that He knew well, that She had been very little

“ acquainted with or informed of the World; yet
 “ He could not believe that She was so utterly
 “ ignorant, as to expect that the King her Husband,
 “ in the full Strength and Vigor of his Youth, was
 “ of so innocent a Constitution; as to be reserved
 “ for her whom He had never seen, and to have
 “ had no Acquaintance or Familiarity with the
 “ Sex;” and asked, “ whether She believed, when
 “ it should please God to send a Queen to *Portu-*
 “ *gal*, She should find that Court so full of chaste
 “ Affections.” Upon which her Majesty smiled,
 and spake pleasantly enough, but as if She thought
 it did not concern her Case, and as if the King’s
 Affection had not wandered, but remained fixed.

Upon which the Chancellor replied with some
 Warmth, “ that He came to her with a Message
 “ from the King, which if She received as She ought
 “ to do and as He hoped She would, She would be
 “ the happiest Queen in the World. That whatever
 “ Correspondencies the King had entertained with
 “ any other Ladies, before He saw her Majesty,
 “ concerned not her; nor ought She to inquire more
 “ into them or after them, than into what other
 “ Excesses He had used in his Youth in *France, Hol-*
 “ *land* or *Germany*. That He had Authority to assure
 “ her, that all former Appetites were expired, and
 “ that He dedicated himself entirely and without
 “ Reserve to her; and that if She met his Affection
 “ with that Warmth and Spirit and good Humor,
 “ which She well knew how to express, She would
 “ live a Life of the greatest Delight imaginable. That
 “ her good Fortune, and all the Joy She could have

“ in this World, was in her own Power, and that
 “ She only strove to drive it from her.” She heard
 all this with apparent Pleasure, and infinite Expressions of her Acknowledgments of the King’s Bounty; thanked the Chancellor more than enough, and desired him “ to help in returning her Thanks to
 “ his Majesty, and in obtaining his Pardon for any
 “ Passion or Peevishness She might have been guilty
 “ of, and in assuring him of all future Obedience
 “ and Duty.”

Upon this good Temper He approached to the other Part of his Message, “ how necessary it would
 “ be that her Majesty should gratify this good Resolution and Justice and Tenderness in the King,
 “ by meeting it with a proportionable Submission
 “ and Resignation on her Part to whatsoever his
 “ Majesty should desire of her;” and then insinuated what would be acceptable with Reference to the Lady. But this was no sooner mentioned, than it raised all the Rage and Fury of Yesterday, with fewer Tears, the Fire appearing in her Eyes, where the Water was. She said, “ that the King’s insisting
 “ upon that Particular could proceed from no other
 “ Ground but his Hatred of her Person, and to expose her to the Contempt of the World, who
 “ would think her worthy of such an Affront, if She
 “ submitted to it; which before She would do, She
 “ would put herself on Board any little Vessel, and
 “ so be transported to *Lisbon*.” With many other extravagant Expressions, which her Passion suggested in Spite of her Understanding; and which He interrupted with a very ill Countenance, and told

her " that She had not the Disposal of her own
 " Person, nor could go out of the House where She
 " was without the King's Leave;" and therefore
 advised her " not to speak any more of *Portugal*,
 " where there were enough who would wish her to
 " be." He told her, " that He would find some
 " fitter Time to speak with her, and till then only
 " desired that She would make Show of no such
 " Passion to the King; and that whatever She
 " thought fit to deny that the King proposed to her,
 " She should deny in such a Manner, as should look
 " rather like a Deferring than an utter Refusal, that
 " his Majesty might not be provoked to enter into
 " the same Passion, which would be superior to
 " hers."

The Chancellor made the more Haste to inform
 the King of all that had passed, that He might pre-
 vail with him to suspend for some little Time the
 prosecuting that Argument farther with the Queen.
 He gave him an Account of all the good and kind
 Things She had said with Reference to his Majesty,
 of the Professions She had made of all Duty and
 Obedience to him throughout the whole Course of
 her Life; " that her Unwillingness to obey him in
 " this one Particular proceeded only from the great
 " Passion of Love which She had for him, that trans-
 " ported her beyond the Limits of her Reason." He
 confessed, " He had not discoursed it so fully with
 " her Majesty as He resolved to have done, because
 " a sudden Passion had seized upon her, which She
 " must have some Time to over-rule;" and therefore
 He entreated his Majesty " for a Day or two to

“ forbear pressing the Queen in that Matter, till He
 “ had once more waited upon her, by which He
 “ hoped He might in some Degree dispose her Ma-
 “ jesty to give him Satisfaction.” And though He
 was in no Degree pleased with the Account, yet
 the other did think, that He would for a little have
 respited the farther Discourse of it.

But the King quickly found other Counsellors,
 who told him, “ that the Thing He contended for
 “ was not of so much Importance as the Manner of
 “ obtaining it; that the Contention now was, who
 “ should govern; and if He suffered himself to be
 “ disputed with, He must resolve hereafter to do all
 “ Things *precario*.” And as this Advice was more
 suitable to his present Passion and Purpose, so it was
 embraced greedily and resolutely. The Fire flamed
 that Night higher than ever: The King reproached
 the Queen with Stubbornness and Want of Duty,
 and She him with Tyranny and Want of Affection;
 He used Threats and Menaces, which He never in-
 tended to put in Execution, and She talked loudly
 “ how ill She was treated, and that She would return
 “ again to *Portugal*.” He replied, “ that She should
 “ do well first to know whether her Mother would
 “ receive her: And He would give her a fit Oppor-
 “ tunity to know that, by sending to their Home
 “ her *Portuguese* Servants; and that He would forth-
 “ with give Order for the Discharge of them all,
 “ since They behaved themselves so ill, for to them
 “ and their Counsels He imputed all her Perverse-
 “ nefs.”

The Passion and Noise of the Night reached too

many Ears to be a Secret the next Day; and the whole Court was full of that, which ought to have been known to Nobody. And the mutual Carriage and Behaviour between their Majesties confirmed all that They had heard or could imagine: They spake not, hardly looked on one another. Every Body was glad that They were so far from the Town (for They were still at *Hampton-Court*), and that there were so few Witnesses of all that passed. The Queen sat melancholic in her Chamber in Tears, except when She drove them away by a more violent Passion in choleric Discourse: And the King sought his Divertisements in that Company that said and did all Things to please him; and there He spent all the Nights, and in the Morning came to the Queen's Chamber, for He never slept in any other Place. Nobody knew how to interpose, or indeed how to behave themselves, the Court being far from one Mind; with this Difference, that the young and frolic People of either Sex talked loudly all that They thought the King would like and be pleased with, whilst the other more grave and serious People did in their Souls pity the Queen, and thought that She was put to bear more than her Strength could sustain.

The Chancellor came not to the Court in two or three Days; and when He did come thither, He forbore to see the Queen, till the King sent him again to her. His Majesty informed him at large, and with more than his natural Passion, of all that had passed; and "of the foolish Extravagancy" (as He called it) "of returning to *Portugal*; and of the

“ positive Resolution He had taken, and the Orders
 “ He had given, for the present sending away all the
 “ *Portugueses*, to whom He did impute all his
 “ Wife’s Frowardness.” He renewed his former
 “ Declaration, that He would gain his Point, and
 “ never depart from that Resolution;” yet was
 content to be blamed by the Chancellor, for having
 proceeded with so much Choler and Precipitation,
 and seemed to think that He had done better, if He
 had followed his former Advice. But then He added,
 “ that besides the Uneasiness and Pain within him-
 “ self, the Thing was more spoken of in all Places,
 “ and more to his Disadvantage, whilst it was in
 “ this Suspense, than it would be when it was once
 “ executed; which would put a final End to all De-
 “ bates, and all would be forgotten.”

The Chancellor desired his Majesty to believe,
 “ that He would endeavour, by all the Ways He
 “ could devise, to persuade the Queen to submit to
 “ his Pleasure, because it is his Pleasure; and that
 “ He would urge some Arguments to her, which He
 “ could not himself answer; and therefore He was
 “ not without Hope that they might prevail. But
 “ He desired him likewise to believe, that He had
 “ much rather spend his Pains in endeavouring to
 “ convert his Majesty from pursuing his Resolution,
 “ which He did in his Conscience believe to be
 “ unjust, than in persuading her Majesty to comply
 “ with it, which yet He would very heartily do.”
 He desired him “ to give him Leave to put him in
 “ Mind of a Discourse his Majesty had held with
 “ him many Years ago, upon an Occasion that He

“ had administered by telling him what his Father,
 “ the late King, had said to him: *That He had great*
 “ *Reason to acknowledge it due to God’s immediate*
 “ *Blessing, and in Truth to his Inspiration, that He*
 “ *continued firm in his Religion: For though his Father*
 “ *had always taken Pains himself to inform and instruct*
 “ *him, yet He had been so much deceived by others*
 “ *that He put about him when He was young, a Com-*
 “ *pany of the arrantest Knaves and Puritans*” (they
 were his own Words) “ *that could be found in the two*
 “ *Kingdoms; whereof He named two or three, who*
 “ *were Enemies to the Church, and used to deride*
 “ *all Religion. That when He had related this Dis-*
 “ *course accidentally of his late Majesty, the King*
 “ *replied, that if it should please God ever to give him*
 “ *a Wife and Childern, He would make Choice of such*
 “ *People to be about Both in all Places of near Trust,*
 “ *who in their Natures and Manners, and if it were*
 “ *possible in their very Humors, were such as He wished*
 “ *his Wife and Childern should be; for He did believe*
 “ *that most young People (and it may be elder) were*
 “ *upon the Matter formed by those, whom They saw*
 “ *continually and could not but observe.*” The King
 answered with some Quickness, “ that He remem-
 “ bered the Discourse very well, and should think of
 “ it; but that the Business which He had com-
 “ mended to him must be done, and without Delay.”

When the Chancellor was admitted to the Queen,
 He presumed with all Plainness to blame her “ for
 “ the illimited Passion with which She had treated
 “ the King, and thereby provoked him to greater
 “ Indignation than She could imagine or in Truth

“ sustain;” and begged, “ that for her own Sake
 “ She would decline and suppress such Distempers,
 “ which could have no other Effect, than in making
 “ the Wound incurable; which it would do, in a
 “ very little Time more, inevitably, and reduce all
 “ her faithful Servants to an Incapacity of serving
 “ her.” She acknowledged with Tears, “ that She
 “ had been in too much Passion, and said somewhat
 “ She ought not to have said, and for which She
 “ would willingly ask the King’s Pardon upon her
 “ Knees; though his Manner of treating her had
 “ wonderfully surpris’d her, and might be some
 “ Excuse for more than ordinary Commotion. That
 “ She prayed to God to give her Patience, and
 “ hoped She should be no more transported with
 “ the like Passion upon what Provocation soever.”

Then He entreated, “ that He might find some
 “ Effect of that her good Resolution, in permitting
 “ him to enlarge upon the Argument He was oblig’d
 “ to discourse to her; and that if He offer’d any
 “ humble Advice, it should be such as He was most
 “ confident would prove for her Benefit, and such
 “ as He would himself submit to if He were in her
 “ Condition.” He told her, “ He came not to justify
 “ and defend the Proposition that had been made to
 “ her concerning the Lady, as a just or a reasonable
 “ Proposition; He had not dissembled his own Opi-
 “ nion as to either, and when He should now insist
 “ upon it again, which He must do, He could not
 “ but confess that it was a very hard Injunction, not
 “ to be yielded to without some Reductancy:” But
 “ He besought her to tell him, “ whether She thought
 “ it

“ it in her Power to divert it; or that it was not in
 “ the King’s Power to impose it upon her.”

She answered, “ She knew it was in her own Power
 “ to consent or not to consent to it; and that She
 “ could not despair, but that the King’s Justice and
 “ Goodness might divert him from the Prosecution
 “ of a Command so unreasonable in him, and so dis-
 “ honorable to her. She would not dispute the
 “ King’s Power, what it might impose, being sure
 “ that She could not rescue herself from it: But,”
 She said, “ Nobody knew better than He, whether
 “ the King was obliged to leave the Choice of her
 “ own Servants to herself; and if it were otherwise,
 “ She had been deceived.”

He told her, “ that She had and would always
 “ enjoy that Privilege: But that it was always under-
 “ stood in Conditions of that Nature, that as the
 “ Husband would not impose a Servant, against
 “ whom just Exceptions could be made; so it was
 “ presumed, that no Wife would refuse to receive
 “ a Servant, that was esteemed and commended by
 “ her Husband. That He did assure her, upon as
 “ much Knowledge as He was capable to have in
 “ Affairs of such a Nature, that the King would exact
 “ an entire Conformity to his Pleasure in this Parti-
 “ cular; and then the Question would only be, whe-
 “ ther it would be better that She conform herself
 “ with Alacrity to an Obedience, with those Circum-
 “ stances which might be obliging and meritorious
 “ on her Part; or that it should be done without
 “ her Consent, and with all the Repugnancy She
 “ could express, which could only be in angry

“ Words and ungracious Circumstances, which
 “ would have a more bitter Operation in her own
 “ Breast and Thoughts, than any where else: And
 “ therefore He did very importunately advise her
 “ to submit to that cheerfully, that She could not
 “ resist; which if She should not do, and do out of
 “ Hand, She would too late repent.”

To which She replied with great Calmness, “ that
 “ it may be worse could not fall out than She
 “ expected; but why She should repent the not
 “ giving her Consent, She could not apprehend,
 “ since her Conscience would not give her Leave to
 “ consent:” Which when She saw him receive with
 a Face of Trouble and Wonder, which it was his
 Misfortune and Weakness never to be able to con-
 ceal or dissemble, She continued her Discourse and
 said, “ She could not conceive how any Body could,
 “ with a good Conscience, consent to what She
 “ could not but suppose would be an Occasion and
 “ Opportunity of Sin.” To which He suddenly
 replied, “ that He now understood her; and that She
 “ ought to have no such Apprehension, but to believe
 “ the Professions the King made, of the Sincerity
 “ whereof She would hereby become a Witness;
 “ and if there should be any Tergiversation, the
 “ Opportunity, which She fancied, would be more
 “ frequent at a Distance than by such a Relation,
 “ which Nothing but a resolved Innocence could
 “ make desirable by either Party.” To which He
 added, “ that He thought her Majesty had too mean
 “ and low an Opinion of her Person and her Parts,
 “ if She thought it could be in the Power of any

“ other Lady to deprive her of the Interest She had
 “ a Right to, if She did all that became her to retain
 “ it; and which in that Case She could not lose but
 “ by the highest Fraud and Perjury, which She could
 “ not justly entertain the Suspicion of.”

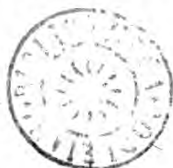
There cannot be a greater Patience and Intentness of hearing, than the Queen manifested during the Time of his Discourse, sometimes seeming not displeased, but oftener by a Smile declaring that She did not believe what He said: And in Conclusion, in few Words declared, “ that the King might do what He pleased, but that She would not consent to it;” and pronounced it with a Countenance, as if She both hoped and believed, that her Obstinacy would in the End prevail over the King’s Importunity: And it is very probable, that She had Advice given her to that Purpose. The Chancellor concluded with telling her, “ that He would give her no more Trouble upon this Particular: That He was sorry He had not Credit enough to prevail with her Majesty in a Point that would have turned so much to her Benefit; and that She would hereafter be sorry for her Refusal.” And when He had given the King a faithful Account of all that had passed; and “ that He believed them Both to be very much to blame, and that that Party would be most excusable who yielded first;” He made it his humble Suit, “ that He might be no more consulted with, nor employed in an Affair in which He had been so unsuccessful.”

His Endeavours prove unsuccessful.

The King came seldom into the Queen’s Company, and when He did He spake not to her; but spent his

Time in other Divertisements, and in the Company of those who made it their Business to laugh at all the World, and who were as bold with God Almighty as with any of his Creatures. He persevered in all his Resolutions without any Remorse; directed a Day for all the *Portugueses* to be embarked, without assigning any considerable Thing of Bounty to any of them, or vouchsafing to write any Letter to the King or Queen of *Portugal* of the Cause of the Dismission of them. And this Rigor prevailed upon the great Heart of the Queen, who had not received any Money to enable her to be liberal to any of those, who had attended her out of their own Country, and promised themselves Places of great Advantage in her Family: And She earnestly desired the King, “ that She might retain some few of those who were “ known to her, and of most Use, that She might “ not be wholly left in the Hands of Strangers;” and employed others to make the same Suit to the King on her Behalf. Whereupon the Countess of *Penalva*, who had been bred with her from a Child, and who, by the Infirmary of her Eyes and other Indisposition of Health, scarce stirred out of her Chamber, was permitted to remain in the Court: And some few inferior Servants in her Kitchen and in the lowest Offices, besides those who were necessary to her Devotions, were left here. All the rest were transported to *Portugal*.

The Officers of the Revenue were required to use all Strictness in the Receipt of that Part of the Portion that was brought over with the Fleet; and not to allow any of those Demands which were made



upon Computation of the Value of Money, and other Allowances, upon the Account: And *Diego de Silva*, who was designed in *Portugal* without any good Reason to be the Queen's Treasurer, and upon that Expectation had undertaken that troublesome Province to see the Money paid in *London* by what was assigned to that Purpose, was committed to Prison for not making Haste enough in the Payment and in finishing the Account; and his Commitment went very near the Queen, as an Affront done to herself. The *Portugal* Ambassador, who was a very honest Man, and so desirous to serve the King that He had upon the Matter lost the Queen, was heart-broken; and after a long Sickness, which all Men believed would have killed him, as soon as He was able to endure the Air, left *Hampton-Court*, and retired to his own House in the City.

In all this Time the King pursued his Point; the Lady came to the Court was lodged there, was every Day in the Queen's Presence, and the King in continual Conference with her; whilst the Queen sat untaken Notice of: And if her Majesty rose at the Indignity and retired into her Chamber, it may be one or two attended her, but all the Company remained in the Room She left, and too often said those Things aloud which Nobody ought to have whispered. The King (who had in the Beginning of this Conflict appeared still with a Countenance of Trouble and Sadness, which had been manifest to every Body, and no Doubt was really afflicted, and sometimes wished that He had not proceeded so far, until He was again new chafed with the Reproach of

being governed, which He received with the most sensible Indignation, and was commonly provoked with it most by those who intended most to govern him) had now vanquished or suppressed all those Tenderneffes and Reluctancies, and appeared every Day more gay and pleasant, without any Clouds in his Face, and full of good Humor, saving that the close Observers thought it more feigned and affected than of a natural Growth. However to the Queen it appeared very real, and made her the more sensible, that She alone was left out in all Jollities, and not suffered to have any Part of those pleasant Applications and Careffes, which She saw made almost to every Body else; an universal Mirth in all Company but in hers, and in all Places but in her Chamber; her own Servants showing more Respect and more Diligence to the Person of the Lady, than towards their own Mistres, who They found could do themselves Good. The nightly Meeting continued with the same or more Licence; and the Discourses which passed there, of what Argument soever, were the Discourse of the whole Court and of the Town the Day following: Whilst the Queen had the King's Company those few Hours which remained of the preceding Night, and which were too little for Sleep.

All these Mortifications were too heavy to be borne: So that at last, when it was least expected or suspected, the Queen on a sudden let herself fall first to Conversation and then to Familiarity, and even in the same Instance to a Confidence with the Lady; was merry with her in public, talked kindly of her, and in private used Nobody more friendly. This

Excess of Condescension, without any Provocation or Invitation, except by Multiplication of Injuries and Neglect, and after all Friendships were renewed, and Indulgence yielded to new Liberty, did the Queen less Good than her former Resoluteness had done. Very many looked upon her with much Compassion, commended the Greatness of her Spirit, detested the Barbarity of the Affronts She underwent, and censured them as loudly as They durst; not without assuming the Liberty sometimes of insinuating to the King himself, "how much his own Honor
 " suffered in the Neglect and Disrespect of her own
 " Servants, who ought at least in public to manifest some Duty and Reverence towards her Majesty; and how much He lost in the general affections of his Subjects: And that, besides the Displeasure of God Almighty, He could not reasonably
 " hope for Children by the Queen, which was the
 " great if not the only Blessing of which He stood in
 " Need, whilst her Heart was so full of Grief, and
 " whilst She was continually exercised with such insupportable Afflictions." And many, who were not wholly unconvertant with the King, nor Strangers to his Temper and Constitution, did believe that He grew weary of the Struggle, and even ready to avoid the Scandal that was so notorious, by the Lady's withdrawing from the Verge of the Court and being no longer seen there, how firmly soever the Friendship might be established. But this sudden Downfall and total abandoning her own Greatness, this low Demeanour and even Application to a Person She had justly abhorred and worthily contemned, made

all Men conclude, that it was a hard Matter to know her, and consequently to serve her. And the King himself was so far from being reconciled by it. That the Esteem, which He could not hitherto but retain in his Heart for her, grew now much less. He concluded that all her former Averſion expressed in those lively Passions, which seemed not capable of Diffimulation, was all Fiction, and purely acted to the Life by a Nature crafty, perverse and inconstant. He congratulated his own illnatured Perseverance, by which He had discovered how He was to behave himself hereafter, and what remedies He was to apply to all future Indispositions: Nor had He ever after the same Value of her Wit, Judgment and Understanding, which He had formerly; and was well enough pleased to observe, that the Reverence others had for all three was somewhat diminished.

The Parlia-
ment meets.

The Parliament assembled together at the same Time in *February* to which They had been adjourned or prorogued, and continued together till the End of *July* following. They brought the same Affection and Duty with them towards the King, which They had formerly; but were much troubled at what They had heard and what They had observed of the Divisions in Court. They had the same Fidelity for the King's Service, but not the same Alacrity in it: The Despatch was much slower in all Matters depending, than it had used to be. The Truth is, the House of Commons was upon the Matter not the same: Three Years sitting, for it was very near so long since They had been first assembled, had consumed very many of their Members; and in the Places of those who

died, great Pains were taken to have some of the King's menial Servants chosen; so that there was a very great Number of Men in all Stations in the Court as well below Stairs as above, who were Members of the House of Commons. And there were very few of them who did not think themselves qualified to reform whatsoever was amiss in Church or State, and to procure whatsoever Supply the King would require.

They, who either out of their own Modesty, or in Regard of their distant Relation to his Service, had seldom had Access to his Presence, never had presumed to speak to him; now by the Privilege of Parliament every Day resorted to him, and had as much Conference with him as They desired. They according to the Comprehension They had of Affairs, represented their Advice to him for the conducting his Affairs; according to their several Observations represented those and those Men as well affected to his Service, and others, much better than They, who did not pay them so much Respect, to be ill affected and to want Duty for his Majesty. They brought those, who appeared to them to be most zealous for his Service, because They professed to be ready to do any Thing He pleased to prescribe, to receive his Majesty's Thanks, and from himself his immediate Directions how to behave themselves in the House; when the Men were capable of no other Instruction, than to follow the Example of some discreet Man in whatsoever He should vote, and behave themselves accordingly.

To this Time, the King had been content to refer

the Conduct of his Affairs in the Parliament to the Chancellor and the Treasurer; who had every Day Conference with some select Persons of the House of Commons, who had always served the King, and upon that Account had great Interest in that Assembly, and in Regard of the Experience They had and their good Parts were hearkened to with Reverence. And with those They consulted in what Method to proceed in disposing the House. sometimes to propose sometimes to consent to what should be most necessary for the Public; and by them to assign Parts to other Men, whom They found disposed and willing to concur in what was to be desired: And all this without any Noise, or bringing many together to design, which ever was and ever will be ingrateful to Parliaments, and however it may succeed for a little Time, will in the End be attended with Prejudice.

Characters of
two leading
Men in the
House of
Commons.

But there were two Persons now introduced to act upon that Stage, who disdained to receive Orders, or to have any Method prescribed to them; who took upon them to judge of other Men's Defects, and thought their own Abilities beyond Exception.

Of Sir Henry
Bennet.

The one was Sir *Harry Bennet*, who had procured himself to be sent Agent or Envoy into *Spain*, as soon as the King came from *Brussels*; being a Man very well known to the King, and for his pleasant and agreeable Humor acceptable to him: And He remained there at much Ease till the King returned to *England*, having waited upon his Majesty at *Fuentarabia* in the Close of the Treaty between the two Crowns, and there appeared by his Dexterity to have gained good Credit in the Court of *Spain*, and parti-

cularly with *Don Lewis de Haro*; and by that short Negotiation He renewed and confirmed the former good Inclinations of his Master to him. He had been obliged always to correspond with the Chancellor, by whom his Instructions had been drawn, and to receive the King's Pleasure by his Signification; which He had always done, and professed much Respect and Submission to him: Though whatever Orders He received, and how positive soever, in Particulars which highly concerned the King's Honor and Dignity, He observed them so far and no farther than his own Humor disposed him; and in some Cases flatly disobeyed what the King enjoined, and did directly the contrary, as in the Case of the *Jesuit Peter Talbot*; who having carried himself with notorious Insolence towards the King in *Flanders*, had transported himself into *England*, offered his Service to *Cromwell*, and after his Death was employed by the ruling Powers into *Spain*, upon his undertaking to procure Orders, by which the King should not be suffered longer to reside in *Flanders*; of all which his Majesty having received full Advertisement, He made Haste to send Orders into *Spain* to *Sir Harry Bennet*, "that He
 " should prepare *Don Lewis* for his Reception by
 " letting him know, that though that *Jesuit* was his
 " natural Subject, He had so misbehaved himself, that
 " He looked upon him as a most inveterate Enemy
 " and a Traitor; and therefore his Majesty desired,
 " that He might receive no Countenance there, being
 " as He well knew sent by the greatest Rebels to do
 " him Prejudice."

This was received by *Sir Harry Bennet* before the

Arrival of the Man, who found no Inconvenience by it; and instead of making any Complaint concerning him, He writ Word, “ that *Talbot* had more Credit
 “ than He in that Court, that He professed to have
 “ great Devotion for the King; and therefore his
 “ Advice was, that the King would have a better
 “ Opinion of him, and employ him in his Service: ”
 And himself received him into his full Confidence; and consulted with no Man so much as with him; which made all Men believe that He was a *Roman Catholic*, who did believe that He had any Religion. But He had made his full Excuse and Defence for all this at the Interview at *Fuentarabia*, from whence the King returned with marvellous Satisfaction in his Discretion as well as in his affection. And until, contrary to all his Expectation, He heard of the King’s Return into *England*, all his Thoughts were employed how to make Benefit of the Duke of *York’s* coming into *Spain* to be Admiral of the Gallies; which He writ to hasten all that might be.

Though He continued his formal Correspondence with the Chancellor, which He could not decline; yet He held a more secret Intelligence with *Daniel O Neile* of the Bedchamber, with whom He had a long Friendship. As soon as the King arrived in *England*, He trusted *O Neile* to procure any Direction from the King immediately in those Particulars which himself advised. And so He obtained the King’s Consent, for his consenting to the old League that had been made between *England* and *Spain* in the Time of the late King, and which *Spain* had expressly refused to renew after the Death of that King

(which was suddenly proclaimed in *Spain*, without ever being consulted in *England*); and presently after Leave to return into *England* without any Letter of Revocation: Both which were procured or rather signified by *O Neile*, without the Privy of the Chancellor or of either of the Secretaries of State; nor did either of them know that He was from *Madrid*, till They heard He was in *Paris*, from whence He arrived in *London* in a very short Time after. So far the Chancellor was from that powerful Interest or Influence, when his Credit was at highest.

But He was very well received by the King, in whose Affections He had a very good Place: And shortly after his Arrival, thought not so soon as He though his high Merit deserved, his Majesty conferred the only Place then void (and that had been long promised to a noble Person, who had behaved himself very well towards his Majesty and his blessed Father) upon him, which was the Office of Privy-Purse; received him into great Familiarity, and into the nightly Meeting, in which He filled a principal Place to all Intents and Purposes. The King very much desired to have him elected a Member in the House of Commons, and commanded the Chancellor to use his Credit to obtain it upon the first Opportunity: And in Obedience to that Command, He did procure him to be chosen about the Time we are now speaking of when the Parliament assembled in *February*.

The other Person was Mr. *William Coventry*, the youngest Son to a very wise Father, the Lord *Coven-* Of Mr. Wil-
try, who had been Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal of liam Coventry.

England for many Years with an universal Reputation. This Gentleman was young whilst the War continued : Yet He had put himself before the End of it into the Army, and had the Command of a Foot-Company, and shortly after travelled into *France* ; where He remained whilst there was any Hope of getting another Army for the King, or that either of the other Crowns would engage in his Quarrel. But when all Thoughts of that were desperate, He returned into *England* : Where He remained for many Years without the least Correspondence with any of his Friends beyond the Seas, and with so little Reputation of caring much for the King's Restoration, that some of his own Family, who were most zealous for his Majesty's Service, and had always some signal Part in any reasonable Design, took Care of Nothing more, than that Nothing They did should come to his Knowledge ; and gave the same Advice to those about the King, with whom They corresponded, to use the same Caution. Not that any Body suspected his being inclined to the Rebels, or to do any Act of Treachery ; but that the Pride and Censoriousness of his Nature made him unconvertible, and his Despair that any Thing could be effectually done made him incompetent to consult the Ways of doing it. Nor had He any conversation with any of the King's Party, nor They with him, till the King was proclaimed in *London* ; and then he came over with the rest to offer his Service to his Majesty at the *Hague*, and had the good Fortune to find the Duke of *York* without a Secretary. For though He had a *Walloon* that was, in Respect of the Languages of which He

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was Master, fit for that Function in the Army, and had discharged it very well for some Years; yet for the Province the Duke was now to govern, having the Office of High Admiral of *England*, He was without any fit Person to discharge the Office of Secretary with any tolerable Sufficiency: So that Mr. *Coventry* no sooner offered his Service to the Duke, but He was received into that Employment, very honorable under such a Master, and in itself of the greatest Profit next the Secretaries of State, if they in that Respect be to be preferred.

He had been well known to the King and Duke in *France*, and had a Brother whom the King loved well and had promised to take into his Bedchamber, as He shortly after did, *Harry Coventry*, who was beloved by every Body, which made them glad of the Preferment of the other; whilst They who knew the worst of him, yet knew him able to discharge that Office, and so contributed to the Duke's receiving him. He was a fullen, illnatured, proud Man, whose Ambition had no Limits, nor could be contained within any. His Parts were very good, if He had not thought them better than any other Man's; and He had Diligence and Industry, which Men of good Parts are too often without, which made him quickly to have at least Credit and Power enough with the Duke; and He was without those Vices which were too much in Request, and which make Men most unfit for Business and the Trust that cannot be separated from it.

He had sat a Member in the House of Commons, from the Beginning of the Parliament, with very

much Reputation of an able Man. He spake pertinently, and was always very acceptable and well heard; and was one of those with whom They, who were trusted by the King in conducting his Affairs in the lower House, consulted very frequently; but not so much, nor relied equally upon his Advice, as upon some few others who had much more Experience, which He thought was of Use only to ignorant and dull Men, and that Men of Sagacity could see and determine at a little Light, and ought rather to persuade and engage Men to do that which They judged fit, than consider what themselves were inclined to do: And so did not think himself to be enough valued and relied upon, and only to be made Use of to the celebrating the Designs and Contrivance of other Men, without being signal in the Managery, which He aspired to be. Nor did any Man envy him the Province, if He could indeed have governed it, and that others who had more useful Talents would have been ruled by him. However being a Man who naturally loved Faction and Contradiction, He often made Experiments how far He could prevail in the House, by declining the Method that was prescribed, and proposing somewhat to the House that was either beside or contrary to it, and which the others would not oppose, believing, in Regard of his Relation, that He had received newer Directions: And then if it succeeded well (as sometimes it did), He had argument enough to censure and inveigh against the Chancellor, for having taken so ill Measures of the Temper and Affections of the House; for He did not dissemble in his private Conversation (though his

his outward Carriage was very fair) that He had no Kindness for him, which in Gratitude He ought to have had; nor had He any Thing to complain of from him, but that He wished well and did all He could to defend and support a very worthy Person, who had deserved very well from the King, against whom He manifested a great and causeless Animosity, and desired to oppress for his own Profit, of which He had an immoderate Appetite.

When those two Persons, Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *Coventry*, (between whom there had been as great a League of Friendship, as can be between two very proud Men equally illnatured) came now to sit together in the House of Commons; though the former of them knew no more of the Constitution and Laws of *England*, than He did of *China*, nor had in Truth a Care or Tenderness for Church or State, but believed *France* was the best Pattern in the World; They thought They should have the greatest Wrong imaginable, if They did not entirely govern it, and if the King took his Measures of what should be done there from any Body but themselves. They made Friendships with some young Men, who spake confidently and often, and upon some Occasions seemed to have Credit in the House. And upon a little Conversation with those Men who being Country-Gentlemen of ordinary Condition and mean Fortunes were desirous to have Interest in such a Person as Sir *Harry Bennet*, who was believed to have great Credit with the King; He believed He understood the House and what was to be done there, as well as any Man in *England*

He recommended those Men to the King " as
" Persons of sublime Parts , worthy of his Majesty's
" careſſing: That He would undertake to fix them
" to his Service ; and when They were his own,
" He might carry what He would in the Houſe of
" Commons." The Men had Parts indeed and
good Affections , and often had reſorted to the
Chancellor, received Advice from him, and thought
themſelves beholden to him ; being at that Time
entirely governed by Sir *Hugh Pollard*, who was
himſelf ſtill adviſed by the Chancellor (with whom
He had a long and faſt Friendſhip) how He ſhould
direct his Friends, having indeed a greater Party in
the Houſe of Commons willing to be diſpoſed of
by him , than any Man that ever ſat there in my
Time. But now theſe Gentlemen had got a better
Patron ; the new Courtier had raiſed their Value,
and talked in another Dialect to them, of Recom-
pences and Rewards, than They had heard for-
merly. He carried them to the King, and told his
Majeſty in their own Hearing, " what Men of
" Parts They were, what Services They had done
" for him, and how much greater They could do."
And his Majeſty received and conferred with them
very graciouſly, and diſmiſſed them with Promiſes
which made them rich already.

The two Friends before mentioned agreed ſo well
between themſelves, that whether They ſpake to-
gether or apart to the King, They ſaid always the ſame
Things, gave the ſame Information, and took Care
that Both their Maſters might have the ſame Opinions
and Judgments. They magnified the Affections of the

House of Commons, "which were so great and
 "united, that They would do whatsoever his Ma-
 "jesty would require. That there were many
 "worthy and able Men, of whose Wisdom the
 "House was so well persuaded, that They com-
 "monly consented to whatsoever They proposed:
 "And that these Men complained, *that They had*
 "*no Directions given to them which Way They might*
 "*best serve the King; They knew not what He desired,*
 "*which when They should do, it would quickly ap-*
 "*pear how much They were at the King's Disposal,*
 "*and all Things which now depended long would be*
 "*hereafter despatched in Half the Time."*

The King wondered very much, "that his Friends
 "in the House were no better informed, of which
 "He had never heard any Complaint before, and
 "wished them to speak with the Chancellor:" For
 neither of these Men were yet arrived at the Confi-
 dence to insinuate in the least Degree any Ill-Will
 or Prejudice to him, though They were not united
 in any one Thing more than the Desire of his Ruin,
 and the Resolution to compass it by all the ill Arts
 and Devices They could use; but till it should be
 more seasonable, They dissembled to Both their
 Masters to have a high Esteem of him, having
 not yet Credit enough with either to do him Harm.
 They said, "They would very willingly repair to
 "him, and be directed by him: But They desired
 "that his Majesty himself would first speak to him
 "(because it would not so well become them) to
 "call those Persons, whom They had recommended
 "to him, to meet together with the rest with whom

“ He used to advise ; which the Persons They
 “ Named They were sure would be very glad of,
 “ having all of them a great Esteem of the Chan-
 “ cellor, and being well known to him,” as indeed
 They were, and most of them obliged by him.

The King willingly undertook it: And being
 shortly after attended by the Chancellor, his Ma-
 jesty told him all that the other two had said to
 him, and did not forget to let him know the great
 Good-Will They had Both professed towards him.
 He asked him “ what He thought of such and such
 Men,” and particularly named Mr. *Clifford* and
 Mr. *Churchill*, and some other Men of better Qua-
 lity and much more Interest, “ who,” He said,
 “ took it ill that They were not particularly in-
 “ formed what the King desired, and which Way
 “ They might best serve him;” and bade him,
 “ that at the next Meeting of the rest, these Men
 “ might likewise have Notice to be present, to-
 “ gether with Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *William*
 “ *Coventry* ;” For *Harry Coventry* (who was a much
 wiser Man than his Brother, and had a much better
 Reputation with wise Men) was constantly in those
 Councils.

The Chancellor told him, “ that great and noto-
 “ rious Meetings and Cabals in Parliament had
 “ been always odious in Parliament: And though
 “ they might produce some Success in one or two
 “ Particulars till they were discovered, they had al-
 “ ways ended unluckily; until they were introduc-
 “ ed in the late ill Times by so great a Comb-
 “ nation, that they could not receive any Dis-

“ countenance. Yet that They, who compassed
 “ all their wicked Designs by those Cabals, were
 “ so jealous that They might be overmatched by
 “ the like Practices, that when They discovered
 “ any three or four of those, who were used to
 “ concur with them, to have any private Meetings,
 “ They accused them to conspire against the Par-
 “ liament. That when his Majesty returned, and
 “ all the World was full of Joy and Delight to
 “ serve him, and Persons were willing and impor-
 “ tunate to receive Direction how They might do
 “ it in that Convention; Care had been taken with-
 “ out any Noise, or bringing any Prejudice upon
 “ those who were willing to be Instruments towards
 “ the procuring what was desirable, and to prevent
 “ what would be ingrateful, that little Notice might
 “ be taken of them, which had good Success. ”

“ That since this Parliament the Lord Treasurer
 “ and He had, by his Majesty’s Direction, made
 “ Choice of some Persons eminent for their Affection
 “ to the Crown, of great Experience and known
 “ Abilities, to confer with for the better preparing
 “ and conducting what was to be done in the House
 “ of Commons: But the Number of them was not
 “ so great as to give any Umbrage. Nor did They
 “ meet oftener together with them, than upon Acci-
 “ dents and Contingencies was absolutely necessary;
 “ but appointed those few who had a mutual Con-
 “ fidence in each other, and every one of which
 “ had an Influence upon others and advised them
 “ what to do, to meet by themselves, either at
 “ the Lord *Bridgman’s* or Mr. Attorney’s Chambers,

“ who still gave Notice to the other two of what
“ was necessary, and received Advice. That there
“ were very few of any notable Consideration,
“ who did not frequently repair to Both of them,
“ either to dine with them or to perform some Of-
“ fice of Civility; with every one of whom They
“ conferred, and said what was necessary to inform
“ them what was fit for them to do.”

“ That two of those who were named by his
“ Majesty, Mr. *Clifford* and Mr. *Churchill*, were
“ honest Gentlemen, and received the Advice They
“ were to follow from Sir *Hugh Pollard*, who had
“ in Truth a very particular Influence upon all
“ the *Cornish* and *Devonshire* Men. And that his
“ Majesty might know that He had not been well
“ informed, *that the others named by him took it*
“ *unkindly that They did not know his Pleasure, who*
“ *were leading Men*, as indeed They were; He as-
“ sured his Majesty that there was not one of those,
“ who was not particularly consulted with, and
“ advertised by some Person who was chosen by
“ every one of them for that Purpose; and that
“ They would by no Means resort to any Meet-
“ ing, fearing to undergo the odious Name of *Un-*
“ *dertakers* which in all Parliaments hath been a
“ Brand: But as They had never opposed any
“ Thing that related to his Service, so upon any
“ private Insinuation They had been ready to pro-
“ pose any Thing which would not have been so
“ acceptable from any, who had been known to
“ have Relation to his Service, or to depend upon
“ those who had.”

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He besought his Majesty to consider, " whether
" any Thing had hitherto, in near three Years,
" fallen out amiss or short of what He had expected,
" in the wary Administration that had been in that
" Affair;" and did not conceal his own Fears,
" that putting it into a more open and wider Chan-
" nel, his Majesty's own too public speaking with
" the Members of Parliament, and believing what
" every Man who was present told him passed in
" Debates, and who for Want of Comprehension
" as well as Memory committed many Mistakes
" in their Relations, would be attended with some
" Inconveniencies not easy to be remedied." The
King was not dissatisfied with the Discourse, but
seemed to approve it: However He would have
Sir *Harry Bennet*, Mr. *Clifford* and *Churchill*, called
to the next Meeting; and because They were to
be introduced into Company They had not used to
converse with, that it should be at the Chancellor's
Chamber, who should let the rest know the good
Opinion his Majesty had of those who were added
to the Number.

By this Means and with these Circumstances this
Alteration was made in the Conduct of the King's
Service in the Parliament; upon which many other
Alterations followed by Degrees, though not at
once. Yet presently it appeared, that this Intro-
duction of new Confidants was not acceptable to
those, who thought They had very well dischar-
ged their Trust, Sir *Harry Bennet* was utterly un-
known to them, a Man unversed in any Business,
who never had nor ever was like to speak in the

An alteration
in the Ma-
nagement of
the House of
Commons.

House, except in his Ear who sat next him to the Disadvantage of some who had spoken, and had not the Faculties to get himself beloved, and was thought by all Men to be a *Roman-Catholic*, for which They had not any other Reason but from his Indifference in all Things which concerned the Church.

When They met first at the Chancellor's Chamber, as the King had directed, They conferred freely together with little Difference of Opinion: Though it appeared that They, who had used to be together before, did not use the same Freedom as formely in delivering their particular Judgments, not having Confidence enough in the new Comers, who in their private Meetings afterwards took more upon them, rather to direct than to advise; so that the other grew unsatisfied in their Conversation. And though the Meetings continued at one of the Places before mentioned, some always discontinued their Attendance; so that by Degrees there were less Resolutions taken than had been formerly: Nor was there so cheerful a Concurrence, or so speedy a Despatch of the Business depending in the House, as had been.

However, there appeared Nothing of Disunion in the Parliament, but the same Zeal and Concurrence in all Things which related to the King. The Murmurs and Discontents were most in the Country, where the People began to talk with more Licence and less Reverence of the Court and of the King himself, and to reproach the Parliament for their raising so much Money, and increasing of the

Impositions upon the Kingdom, without having done any Thing for the Redress of any Grievance that lay upon the People. The Licence with Reference to Religion grew every Day greater, the Conventicles wore frequent and more insolent, which disturbed the Country exceedingly; but not so much as the Liberty the *Papists* assumed, who behaved themselves with Indiscretion, and bragged as if They had a Toleration and cared not what the Magistrates could do. The Parliament had a Desire to have provided against those Evils with the same Rigor: But though there would have been a general Consent in any Provision that could be made against the *Fanatics* and the Conventicles, yet there would not be the like Concurrence against the *Papists*; and it was not possible to carry on the one without the other. And therefore the Court, that They might be sure to prevent the last, interrupted all that was proposed against the former, which they wished provided against, and chose to have neither out of Fear of Both; which increased the Disorders in the Country, and caused more Reflections upon the Court: So that this Session of Parliament produced less of Moment than any other.

And the King, after They had given him four Subsidies, which was all the Money They could be drawn to give, that He might part as kindly with them as He used to do, and upon Discovery of several seditious Meetings amongst the Officers of the disbanded Army, which He could best suppress when He had most Leisure, He resolved to prorogue the Parliament. And so sending for them upon the 27th of *July*, He thanked them for the Present which

The King's
Speech at the
Prorogation
of the Par-
liament.

They had made to him of the four Subsidies, "which,"
He told them, "He would not have received from
" them, if it were not absolutely necessary for their
" Peace and Quiet as well as his: And that it would
" yet do him very little Good, if He did not improve
" it by very good Husbandry of his own; and by
" retrenching those very Expenses, which in many
" Respects might be thought necessary enough. But
" They should see that He would much rather impose
" upon himself, than upon his Subjects; and that if
" all Men would follow his Example in retrenching
" their Expenses (which possibly They might do
" with much more Convenience than He could do
" his) the Kingdom would in a short Time gain
" what They had given him that Day." He told
them, "He was very glad that They were going into
" their several Counties, where their Presence
" would do much Good: And He hoped their
" Vigilance and Authority would prevent those
" Disturbances, which the restless Spirits of ill and
" unquiet Men would be always contriving, and of
" which his Majesty did assure them They promised
" themselves some Effects that Summer. And that
" there had been more Pains and unusual Ways taken
" to kindle the old fatal Fears and Jealousies, than
" He thought He should ever have lived to have seen,
" at least to have seen so countenanced."

He told them, "that He had expected to have had
" some Bills presented to him against the several
" Distempers in Religion, against seditious Conven-
" ticles, and against the Growth of Popery: But
" that it might be They had been in some Fear of

“ reconciling those Contradictions in Religion into
 “ some Conspiracy against the public Peace, to which
 “ himself doubted Men of the most contrary Motives
 “ in Conscience were inclinable enough. He did
 “ promise them that He should lay that Business to
 “ Heart, and the Mischiefs which might flow from
 “ those Licences; and if He lived to meet with them
 “ again, as He hoped He should, He would himself
 “ take Care to present two Bills to them to that End.
 “ And that, as He had already given it in Charge to
 “ the Judges, in their several Circuits, to use their
 “ utmost Endeavours to prevent and punish the scan-
 “ dalous and seditious Meetings of *Sectaries*, and to
 “ convict the *Papists*; so He would be as watchful,
 “ and take all the Pains He could, that neither the
 “ one or the other should disturb the Peace of the
 “ Kingdom.” And adding many gracious Expressions
 of his Esteem and Confidence in their Affections,
 He caused them to be prorogued towards the
 End of *March*, which would be the Beginning of
 the Year 1664.

The King had an Intention at that Time to have
 prepared against the next Meeting two such Bills as
 He mentioned to them, and was well enough content
 that the Parliament had not presented such to
 him, which He well foresaw would not have been
 such as He should have been pleased with. He would
 have liked the most rigorous Acts against all the other
 Factions in Religion, but did not think the *Papists*
 had deserved the same Severities, which would have
 been provided against them with the other, it being
 very apparent, that the Kingdom generally had

The King in-
 tends to pre-
 pare two Bills
 against the
 Papists and
 Sectaries.

resumed their old Jealousies of them, provoked by the very unwary Behaviour of that People, who bragged of more Credit in the Court than They could justify, though most Men thought They had too much: And that was the Reason that He had commanded the Chancellor to require the Judges, who were then beginning their Circuits, to cause the *Roman Catholics* to be convicted, which He believed would allay much of the Jealousies in the Country, as for the present it did. And then He resolved to cause two such Bills to be prepared for several Reasons, of which the principal was, that He might divide them into two Bills; presuming that when He had sent one against either, They would not affect reducing Both into one, which was that which the Catholic Party most apprehended.

Imprudent Behaviour of the Papists.

His Majesty was himself very unsatisfied with the imprudent Carriage of the *Catholics*, and thought They did affect too much to appear as if They stood upon the Level with all other Subjects: And He received very particular and unquestionable Information, that some Priests had made it an Argument to some whom They endeavoured to make their Profelytes, "that the King was of their Religion in his Heart, and would shortly declare it to all the World;" with which his Majesty was marvelously offended, and did heartily desire that any of those indiscreet Persons might be proceeded against with Severity. Yet He had no Mind that any Man should be put to Death, which could hardly be avoided if any Man should be brought to Trial in the Case aforesaid, except He had granted his Pardon

which with these Circumstances would have carried Scandal in it. Besides He did think the wisest of that Party had not carried themselves with Modesty enough, with what was good for themselves and for his Majesty's Honor. And therefore He had, without imparting it to any Friends of theirs, given that Direction to the Judges for convicting them, as the best Means to reclaim them to a better Temper: And He had a Purpose, that the Bill He meant should be prepared should more effectually perform that Part, without exposing them to any notable Inconveniencies in their Persons or their Fortunes, if They behaved themselves well and warily.

He did believe, that it was necessary for his Service that They should be all convicted, that it might be evident to himself what their Numbers consisted of and amounted to, which He believed would be found much inferior to what they were generally computed, and then the Danger from their Power would not be thought so formidable: And it could be no Prejudice to them without a further Proceeding upon their Conviction, which He was resolved to restrain, as He well might, and had done hitherto; resolving within himself, that no Man should suffer under those penal Laws which had been made against them in the Age before, if They lived like good Subjects, and administered no Occasion of Scandal. And as He was not reserved in declaring that his gracious Purpose towards them (as hath been said before); so hitherto it had not been attended by any Murmurs: And yet He was not without a Purpose of

The King
designs to have
the Papists
convicted.

keeping such a Power over them, as might make them wholly depend upon him.

His Majesty did in his Judgment and Inclination put a great Difference between those *Roman-Catholics*, who being of ancient Extraction had continued of the same Religion from Father to Son, without having ever been *Protestant*, amongst whom there were very few who had not behaved themselves very worthily, and those, who since the late Troubles had apostatized from the Church of *England* to that of *Rome*, without any such Evidence of Conscience, as might not administer just Reason to suspect, that their Inducements had been from worldly Temptations. And He did resolve in his Bill to make a Distinction between those Classes, and to prevent or at least to discourage those Lapses which fell out too frequently in the Court; nor did Men believe that They need make any Apology for it, but appeared the more confidently in all Places. He did resolve likewise to contract and lessen the Number of the Ecclesiastical Persons, who upon Missions resorted hither as to an Infidel Nation (which was and is a Grievance that the *Catholics* would be glad to be eased in), and to reduce them into such an Order and Method by this Bill, that He might himself know the Names of all Priests remaining in the Kingdom, and their several Stations where They resided; which must have produced such a Security to those who stayed, and to those with whom They stayed, as would have set them free from any Apprehension of any Penalties imposed by preceding Parliaments.

Measures
taken to fruf-

But this Design (which comprehended many other

Particulars) vanished as soon as it was discovered. ^{trate his De-}
 The King's own Discourse of a Bill that He would ^{sign.}
 cause to be drawn against the *Roman-Catholics* awakened great Jealousies; nor did They want Instruments or Opportunities to discover what the Meaning of it could be. Nor was the King reserved in the Argument, but communicated it with those who He knew were well affected to that Party, and to one or two of themselves who were reputed to be moderate Men, and to desire Nothing but the Exercise of their Religion with the greatest Secrecy and Caution, and who often informed him and complained "of the Folly and Vanity of some of their Friends, and more particularly of the Presumption of the *Jesuits.*" And such Kind of Factions and Divisions there are amongst them, which might be cultivated to very happy Productions: But such Ingenuity, as to be contented with what might gratify all their own Pretences, there is not amongst them.

These moderate Men complained already, "that the King was deceived by their Enemy the Chancellor," who indeed was generally very odious to them, for no other Reason, but because They knew He was irreconcilable to their Profession; not that They thought He desired that the Laws should be put in Execution against them; and some of the chief of them believed him to be much their Friend, and had Obligations to him. But They all lamented this Direction given to the Judges for their Conviction, "which," They informed the King, "was the necessary Preamble to the highest Persecution the Law had prepared against them. That till They were convicted They were in the same Predica-

“ ment with the rest of his Subjects ; but as soon as
 “ They were convicted,” (which the Judges now
 caused to be prosecuted throughout the Kingdom)
 “ They were liable to all the other Penalties, which
 “ his Majesty was inclined to protect them from.”
 They presented to him a short Memorial of the Disadvantages which were consequent to a Conviction, in which They/ alledged some Particulars which were not clear in the Law, at least had never been practised in the severest Times.

Though the King had well weighed all He had done before He did it, and well knew, after all their Insinuations and Allegations, that none of those Inconveniences could ensue to them, if He restrained any further Prosecution, which He always had intended to do ; yet They wrought so far upon him that He was even sorry that He had proceeded so far : And though it was not fit to revoke any Part of it, yet He cared not how little it was advanced. And for the Bill He meant to present in the next Session, They said, “ all their Security and Quiet
 “ They had enjoyed since his Majesty’s happy Return depended wholly upon the general Opinion,
 “ that He had Favor for them, and Satisfaction in
 “ their Duty and Obedience as good Subjects, and
 “ their Readiness to do him any Service, which They
 “ would all make good with their Lives and all that
 “ They had. But if He should now discover any
 “ Jealousy of their Fidelities, and that there was
 “ Need of a new Law against them, which his Purpose of providing a Bill implied, what Mitigation soever his Majesty intended in it, it would
 not

“ not be in his Majesty’s Power to restrain the Pa-
 “ sion of other Men; but all those Animofities
 “ which had been hitherto covered and concealed,
 “ as grateful to him, would upon this Occasion break
 “ out to their Destruction: And therefore They
 “ hoped, that whatever Bitterness the Parliament
 “ might exprefs against them when They came to-
 “ gether, They should receive no Invitation or En-
 “ couragement by any Jealoufy or Difpleasure his
 “ Majesty should manifest to have towards them.”

These and the like Arguments, or the Credit of The king gives over his purpose.
 those who urged them, made that Impreffion, that
 He declined any farther Thought of that Bill; nor
 was there ever after Mention of it. The *Catholics*
 grew bolder in all Places, and converfant in those
 Rooms of the Court into which the King’s Chaplains
 never prefumed to enter; and to crown all their
 Hopes, the Lady declared herself of that Faith, and
 inveighed sharply against the Church She had been
 bred in.

During the interval of the Parliament, there was
 not fuch a Vacation from Trouble and Anxiety as
 was expected. The domestic Unquietness in the
 Court made every Day more Noise abroad: Infinite
 Scandals and Calumnies were fcattered amongst the
 People; and They expreffed their Discontents upon Discontents in the Country.
 the great Taxes and impositions which They were
 compelled to pay, and publicly reproached the Par-
 liament; when They were in Truth vexed and griev-
 ed at Heart for that which They durst not avow, and
 did really believe that God was angry with the Na-
 tion, and refolved to exercife it under greater Tribu-

lation than He had so lately freed them from. The general Want of Money was complained of, and a great Decay of Trade; so that the native Commodities of the Kingdom were not transported. Yet Both these were but Pretences, and resulted from Combinations rather than from Reason. For it appeared by the Customs, that the Trade was greater than it had ever been, though some of our native Commodities, especially Cloth, seemed for some Time to be at a Stand; which proceeded rather from the present Glut, which in the general Licence the interlopers had irregularly transported in great Quantities, by which the Prices were brought low, and could only be recovered by a Restraint for some Time, which the *Merchant Adventurers* put upon themselves, and would have put upon the Interlopers, who were at last too hard for them, even upon the Matter to the suppressing the Company, that had stood in great Reputation for very many Years, and had advanced that Manufacture to a great Height; and whether it deserved that Discountenance, Time must decide. How unreasonable the other Discourse was of Want of Money, there needs no other Argument, but the great Purchases which were every Day made of great Estates; nor was any considerable Parcel of Land, in any Part of *England*, offered to be sold, but there was a Purchaser at Hand ready to buy it.

However these Pretences, together with the sudden bringing up all the Money, that was collected for the King, *in Specie* to *London*, which proceeded from the Bankers advancing so much present Money for the emergent Occasions, for which They had those assign-

ments upon the Money of the Country, did really produce such a sudden Fall of the Rents throughout the Kingdom, as had never been known before : So that Men were compelled to abate generally a fourth Part of their annual Rents at the least, or to take their Lands into their own Hands, for which They were as ill provided. All this Mischief fell upon the Nobility and greatest Gentry, who were Owners of the greatest Estates, every Body whose Estate lay in Land undergoing a Share in the Suffering, which made the Discontent general; which They thought the best Way to remedy would be to raise no more Taxes, which They took to be the Cause why the Rents fell. In the mean Time the Expenses of the Court, and of all who depended upon it, grew still higher, and the King himself less intent upon his Business, and more loved his pleasures, to which He prescribed no Limits, nor to the Expenses which could not but accompany them.

A sudden Fall
of Rents.

There was Cause enough to be jealous of the public Peace; there being every Day Discoveries made of private Meetings and Conferences between Officers of the old Army; and that Correspondencies were settled between them throughout the Kingdom in a wonderful Method; and that They had a grand Committee residing in *London*, who had the supreme Power, and which sent Orders to all the rest, who were to rise in one Day and meet at several Rendezvous. Hereupon several Persons were apprehended and committed to Prison; and the King himself often took the Pains to examine them; and They confessed commonly more to his Majesty him-

Danger of an
Insurrection.

self than upon any other Examination. Proclamations issued often for the banishing all Officers who had ever borne Arms against the King twenty Miles from *London*, which did more publish the Apprehension of new Troubles.

There can be no Doubt, but that there were many seditious Purposes amongst that People, of which there often appeared so full Evidence, that many were executed for High Treason, who were tried and condemned by the Judges at their general Sessions at *Newgate*: Yet there was often Cause to believe that many Men were committed, who in Truth had not been more faulty, than in keeping ill Company and in hearing idle Discourses. Informing was grown a Trade, which many affected to get Money by: And as the King's Ministers could not reject in a Time of so much Jealousy, so the receiving them gave them great Trouble; for few of them were willing to be produced as Evidence against those They accused, pretending, sometimes with Reason, "that if They were known They should be rendered
" useles for the future, whereas They were yet un-
" suspected and admitted into all Councils." All the Sects in Religion spake with more Boldness in their Meetings, and met more frequently, than They had used to do in the Times that Sir *Richard Browne* and Sir *John Robinson* had been Lord Mayors; and the Officers who succeeded them proved less vigilant. A general Despondency seemed to possess the Minds of Men, as if They little cared what came to pass; which did not proceed so much from Malice, as from the Disease of murmuring, which had been contract-

ing above twenty Years, and became almost incorporated into the nature of the Nation.

There happened about this Time an Alteration in the Court, that produced afterwards many other Alterations which were not then suspected, yet even at that Time was not liked in the Court itself, and less out of it. The Keeper of the Privy-Purse, who was more fit for that Province than for any other to which He could be applied, did not think himself yet preferred to a Station worthy of his Merit and great Qualifications. Some Promises the King had made to him when He was at *Fuentarabia*, and had long much Kindness for his Person and much Delight in his Company : So that his Friend, Mr. *O Neile*, who was still ready to put his Majesty in Mind of all his Services, had Nothing hard to do but to find a Vacancy that might give Opportunity for his Advancement; and He was dexterous in making Opportunities which He could not find, and made no Scruple to insinuate to the King, "that the Abilities of neither of His Secretaries were so great but that He might be better served." indeed his Majesty, who did not naturally love old Men, had not so much Esteem of them as their Parts and industry and Integrity deserved, and would not have been sorry if either or Both of them had died.

Secretary *Nicholas* had served the Crown very many Years with a very good Acceptation, was made Secretary of State by the late King, and loved and trusted by him in his nearest Concernments to his Death : Nor had any Man, who served him a more general Reputation of Virtue and Piety and unques-

An Intrigue
in the Court to
advance Sir
H. Bennet.

Character of
Secretary Ni-
cholas.

tionable Integrity throughout the Kingdom. He was a Man to whom the Rebels had been always irreconcilable; and from the End of the War lived in Banishment beyond the Seas, was with his Majesty from the Time He left *France* (for whilst the King was in *France* with his Mother, to whom the Secretary was not gracious, He remained at a Distance; but from the Time that his Majesty came into *Germany* He was always with him) in the Exercise of the same Function He had under his Father, and returned into *England* with him, with Hope to repair his Fortune by the just Perquisites of his Office, which had been very much impaired by his long Sufferings and Banishment. He had never been in his Youth a Man of quick and sudden Parts, but full of industry and Application (which it may be is the better Composition), and always versed in Business and all the Forms of Despatch. He was now some Years above seventy, yet truly performed his Office with Punctuality, and to the Satisfaction of all Men who repaired to him: And the King thought it an envious as well as an illnatured Thing, to discharge such an Officer because He had lived too long.

Of Secretary
Morrice.

The other Secretary was Secretary *Morrice*, whose Merit had been his having transacted all that had been between the King and the General, which was thought to be much more than it was. Yet He had behaved himself very well, and has much disposed the General as He was capable of being disposed; and his Majesty had preferred him to that Office purely to gratify and oblige the General; and He had behaved himself very honestly and diligently in

the King's Service, and had a good Reputation in the House of Commons, and did the Business of his Office without Reproach. He had lived most Part of his Time in the Country, with the Repute of a wise Man and a very good Scholar, as indeed He was both in the *Latin* and *Greek* Learning; but being without any Knowledge in the modern Languages, He gave the King often Occasion to laugh at his unskilful Pronunciation of many Words. In the *Latin* Despatches, which concern all the Northern Parts, He was ready, and treated with those Ambassadors fluently and elegantly; and for all domestic Affairs no Man doubted his Sufficiency, except in the Garb and Mode and Humor of the Court.

And the Inducement that brought him in made it unfit to remove him, lest it might grieve the General, whose Friend and Kinsman He was: So that there was no Expedient to provide for Sir *Harry Bennet*, but by removing Secretary *Nicholas* by his own Consent; for the King would not do it otherwise to so old and faithful a servant. And his Majesty was the more inclined to it, because it would give him the Opportunity to bring another Person into the Office of the Privy-Purse, of whom He was lately grown very fond, and towards whom He had, when He came into *England*, a greater Aversion than to any Gentleman who had been abroad with him, and that was Sir *Charles Berkeley*, who was then Captain of the Duke of *York's* Guard, and much in the good Grace of his Royal Highness.

Whilst this Intrigue was contriving and depending, great Care was taken that it might not come to

the Notice of the Chancellor, lest if He could not divert the King from desiring it, which They believed He would not attempt, He might dissuade his old Friend the Secretary, with whom He had held a long and particular Friendship, from hearkening to any Proposition, or accepting any Composition; which They believed not unreasonably that the other would be very solicitous in, as well to keep a Man in, whom He could entirely trust, as to keep another out, of whose Abilities He had no Esteem, and in whose Affection He had no Confidence: And it was thought by many, that the same Apprehension prevailed with the good old Man himself to cherish the Secrecy. Certain it is, that the whole Matter was resolved and consented to, before ever the Chancellor had a Suspicion of it.

O Neile, who had always the Skill to bring that to pass by others which He could not barefaced appear in himself, insinuated to Mr. *Ashburnham*, who pretended and I think had much Friendship for the Secretary, “ that the King thought the Secretary too
 “ old to take so much Pains, and often wished that
 “ his Friends would persuade him to retire, that
 “ there might be a younger Man in the Office, who
 “ could attend upon his Majesty at all Hours and
 “ in all Journies; but that his Majesty always spake
 “ kindly of him, and as if He resolved to give him
 “ an ample Recompence:” And in Confidence told
 “ him, that the King had an impatient Desire to have
 “ Sir *Henry Bennet* Secretary of State.” *Ashburnham* was well versed in the Artifices of Court too; and thought He might very well perform the Office of a

Friend to his old Confident, and at the same Time find a new and more useful Friend for himself, by having a Hand in procuring a large Satisfaction for the old, and likewise facilitating the Way for the Introduction of a new Secretary, who could not forget the Obligation. So He told *O Neile*, "that
 " all the World knew that He had for many Years
 " professed a great Friendship for Secretary *Nicholas*"
 (They had been Both Servants at the same Time to the Duke of *Buckingham*, when He was killed),
 " and that He should be much troubled to see him
 " displaced in his old Age with Contempt; but if
 " his Majesty would dismiss him with Honor and
 " Reward, that He might be able to provide for his
 " Wife and Children, He would make no Scruple
 " to persuade him to quit his Employment." *O Neile*
 had all He looked for, and only enjoined him Secrecy, "that it might not come to the King's Ear
 " that He had communicated this Secret to any Man;
 " and He did presume, that before any Resolution
 " was taken in it, his Majesty would speak of it to
 " the Chancellor."

Within a Day or two the King sent for *Ashburnham* and told him, "He knew He was a Friend to
 " the Secretary, who was now grown old, and not
 " able to take the Pains He had done; that He had
 " served his Father and himself very faithfully, and
 " had spent his Fortune in his Service; that if He
 " were willing to retire, for without his Consent He
 " would do Nothing, He would give him ten thousand Pounds, or any other Recompence He should
 " chuse," implying a Title of Honor: But inti-

mated, though He referred all to his own Will
 “ that He wished, and that it would be acceptable
 “ to him, that the Office might be vacant and at
 “ his Majesty’s Disposal.”

He undertook the Employment very cheerfully, and quickly imparted all that had passed from the King, and all that He knew before, to the Secretary; who was not fond of the Court, and thought He had lived long enough there, having seen and observed much that He was grieved at Heart to see. He considered, that though this Message was very gracious, and offered a noble Reward for his Service, it did withal appear that the King did desire He should be gone; and having designed a Successor to him, who had already much Credit with him, if He should seem sullen or unwilling, He might in a short Time be put out without any Consideration, or at most with the Promise of one. Thereupon He wished his Friend “ to assure the King, that He
 “ would very readily do whatsoever his Majesty
 “ thought necessary for his Service; but He hoped,
 “ that after above forty Years spent in the Service
 “ of the Crown, He should not be exposed to Dis-
 “ grace and Contempt. That He had a Wife and
 “ Children, who had all suffered with him in Exile
 “ till his Majesty’s Return, and for whom He could
 “ not make a competent Provision without his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Bounty; and therefore He hoped, that
 “ before his Majesty required the Signet, He would
 “ cause the Recompence He designed to be more
 “ than what He had mentioned, and to be first paid.”

This Province could not be put into a fitter Hand,

for it was managed with notable Skill. And as soon as it was known that the Secretary would willingly resign, which was feared, and that only a better Recompence was expected, every Body was willing that the King should make the Act look as graciously as might be, that the Successor might be attended with the less Envy. And Mr. *Ashburnham* cultivated their Impatience so skilfully, that it cost the King, in present Money and Land or Lease, very little less than twenty thousand Pounds, to bring in a Servant whom very few cared for, in the Place of an old Servant whom every Body loved: And He received all that was promised, before He resigned his Place. And if the Change had been as good for the King, as it was for the good old Secretary, every Body would have been glad. And thus Sir *Henry Bennet* was at the King's Charge accommodated, even to the Satisfaction of his own Ambition: And his Majesty was as well pleased, that He had gotten Sir *Charles Berkeley* into the other Office about his Person, whom He every Day loved with more Passion, for what Reason no Man knew nor could imagine.

Secretary Nicholas resigns.

Sir H. Bennet made Secretary of State and Sir Charles Berkeley Privy-Purse.

And from this Time They who stood at any near Distance could not but discern, that the Chancellor's Interest and Credit with the King manifestly declined: Not that either of these two pretended to be his Rival, or appeared to cross any Thing in Council that He proposed or advised; on the contrary, They Both professed great Respect towards him. One of them, being no Privy-Counsellor, made great Professions and Addresses to him by himself, and by

The Chancellor's Interest declines.

some Friends who had much Credit with him; protested "against meddling at all in Business, and that " He only hoped to gain a Fortune by his Majesty's " Favor, upon which He might be able to live;" nor did it appear afterwards, that He did to his Death wish that the Chancellor's Power should be lessened: And the other made all the Professions imaginable of Affection and Respect to him, and repaired upon Occasions to him for Advice and for Direction. Nor in Truth could either of them have done him any Prejudice at that Time with the King by pretending to do it; but by pretending the contrary by Degrees got Power to do it.

The King still continues his Favor to him.

His Majesty did not in the least Degree withdraw his Favor from him, heard him as willingly, came as often to him, was as little reserved in any Thing; only in one Particular He did with some Solemnity conjure him never to mention it to him again, in which He did not yet punctually obey him, nor avoid seasonably saying any Thing to him which He believed to be his Duty, and which his Majesty never seemed to take ill. And whenever He spake to him of either of the other two Gentlemen, which He frequently did with much Kindness, He always added somewhat of Both their Respects and Esteem for him, as a Thing that pleased him well; and said once, "that it concerned them, for whenever He " should discern it to be otherwise; He should make " them repent it." Yet notwithstanding all this, from that Time Counsels were not so secret, and greater Liberty was taken to talk of the public Affairs in the Evening Conversation, than had been before,

when they happened sometimes to be shortly mentioned in the Production of some Wit or Jest; but now they were often taken into Debate, and censured with too much Liberty with Reference to Things and Persons; and the King himself was less fixed and more irresolute in his Counsels; and inconvenient Grants came every Day to the Seal for the Benefit of particular Persons, against which the King had particularly resolved, and at last by Impor-tunity would have passed. Lastly, Both these Persons were most devoted to the Lady, and much depended upon her Interest, and consequently were ready to do any Thing that would be grateful to her.

There was another Mischief contrived about this Time, that had a much worse Influence upon the Public, except We shall call it the same, because it did in Truth proceed from it. The first Rise of the Dutch War. Though the public State of Affairs, in Respect of the Distempers and Discomposures which are mentioned before, and that the Expenses exceeded what was assigned to support it, whereby the great Debt was little diminished, yielded little Delight to those who were most trusted to manage and provide for them, and who had a melancholic and dreadful Apprehension of Consequences: Yet whilst the Nation continued in Peace, and without any Danger from any foreign Enemy, the Prospect was so pleasant, especially to those who stood at a Distance, that They saw Nothing worthy of any Man's Fear; and there was reasonable Hope, that the Expenses might every Year be reduced within reasonable Bounds. But all that Hope vanished, when there appeared an im-

moderate Desire to engage the Nation in a War.

Upon the King's first Arrival in *England*, He manifested a very great Desire to improve the general Traffic and Trade of the Kingdom, and upon all Occasions conferred with the most active Merchants upon it, and offered all that He could contribute to the Advancement thereof. He erected a Council of Trade, which produced little other Effect than the Opportunity of Men's speaking together, which possibly disposed them to think more, and to consult more effectually in private, than they could in such a Crowd of Commissioners. Some Merchants and Seamen made a Proposition by Mr. *William Coventry* and some few others to the Duke of *York*, "for the Erection of a Company in which They desired his Royal Highness to preside" (and from thence it was called the Royal Company), "to which his Majesty should grant the sole Trade of *Guinea*, which in a short Time They presumed would bring great Advantage to the Public, and much Profit to the Adventurers, who should begin upon a joint Stock, to be managed by a Council of such as should be chosen out of the Adventurers."

The Erection
of the Royal
African Com-
pany.

This Privilege had before the Troubles been granted by the late King to Sir *Nicholas Crispe* and others named by him, who had at their own Charge sent Ships thither: And Sir *Nicholas* had at his own Charge bought a Nook of Ground, that lay into the Sea, of the true Owners thereof (all that Coast being inhabited by Heathens), and built thereon a good Port and Warehouses, under which the Ships

lay; and He had advanced this Trade so far before the Troubles, that He found it might be carried on with very great Benefit. After the Rebellion began, and Sir *Nicholas* betook himself to serve the King, some Merchants continued the Trade, and either by his Consent or *Cromwell's* Power had the Possession of that Fort, called *Cormantine*; which was still in the Possession of the *English* when his Majesty returned, though the Trade was small, in Respect the *Dutch* had fixed a stronger Quarter at not great Distance from it, and sent much more Ships and Commodities thither, and returned once every Year to their own Country with much Wealth. The chief End of this Trade was, besides the putting off great Quantities of our own Manufactures according as the Trade should advance, to return with Gold, which that Coast produced in good Quantity, and with Slaves, *Blacks*, which were readily sold to any Plantation at great Prices.

The Model was so well prepared, and the whole Method for governing the Trade so rationally proposed, that the Duke was much pleased with it, and quickly procured a Charter to be granted from the King to this Company with ample Privileges, and his Majesty himself to become an Adventurer, and which was more, to assist them for the first Establishment of their Trade with the Use of his own Ships. The Duke was the Governor of the Company, with Power to make a Deputy: All the other Officers and Council were chosen by the Company, which consisted of Persons of Honor

A Charter
granted to it.

and Quality, every one of which brought in five hundred Pounds for the first Ships joint Stock, with which They set out the first Ships; upon the Return whereof They received so much Encouragement and Benefit, that They compounded with Sir *Nicholas Crispe* for his Propriety in the Fort and Castle; and possessed themselves of another Place upon the Coast, and sent many Ships thither, which made very good Returns, by putting off their *Blacks* at the *Barbadoes* and other the King's Plantations at their own Prices, and brought Home such Store of Gold that administered the first Occasion for the Coinage of those Pieces, which from thence had the Denomination of *Guineas*; and what was afterwards made of the same Species, was coined of the Gold that was brought from that Coast by the Royal Company. In a Word, if that Company be not broken or disordered by the Jealousy that the Gentlemen Adventurers have of the Merchants, and their Opinion that They understand the Mysteries of Trade as well as the other, by which They refuse to concur in the necessary Expedients proposed by the other, and interpose unskilful Overtures of their own with Pertinacy, it will be found a Model equally to advance the Trade of *England* with that of any other Company, even that of the *East-Indies*.

From the first Entrance into this Trade, which the Duke was exceedingly disposed to advance, and was constantly present himself at all Councils, which were held once a Week in his own Lodgings at *Whitehall*, it was easily discovered that the *Dutch* had a better Trade there than the *English*, which
They

They were then willing to believe that They had no Right to, for that the Trade was first found out and settled there by the *English*; which was a sufficient Foundation to settle it upon this Nation, and to exclude all others, at least by the same Law that the *Spaniard* enjoys in the *West-Indies*, and the *Dutch* what They or the *Portuguese* possessed in the *East*. But this They quickly found would not establish such a Title as would bear a Dispute: The having sent a Ship or two thither, and built a little Fort, could not be allowed such a Possession as would exclude all other Nations. And the Truth was, the *Dutch* were there some Time before us, and the *Dane* before either: And the *Dutch*, which was the true Grievance, had planted themselves more advantageously, upon the Bank of a River, than We had done; and by the Erection of more Forts were more strongly seated, and drove a much greater Trade, which They did not believe They would be persuaded to quit. This drew the Dis-

The Merchants desirous of a War with the Dutch.

course from the Right to the Easiness, by the Assistance of two or three of the King's Ships, to take away all that the *Dutch* possessed in and about *Guinea*, there having never been a Ship of War seen in those Parts; so that the Work might be presently done, and such an Alliance made with the Natives, who did not love the *Dutch*, that the *English* might be unquestionably possessed of the whole Trade of that Country, which would be of inestimable Profit to the Kingdom.

The Merchants took much Delight to enlarge themselves upon this Argument, and shortly after

to discourse “ of the infinite Benefit that would ac-
 “ crue from a barefaced War against the *Dutch*,
 “ how easily They might be subdued, and the
 “ Trade carried by the *English*. That *Cromwell* had
 “ always beaten them, and thereby gotten the
 “ greatest Glory. He had; and brought them upon
 “ their Knees; and could totally have subdued
 “ them, if He had not thought it more for his
 “ Interest to have such a Second, whereby He
 “ might the better support his Usurpation against
 “ the King. And therefore, after They had con-
 “ sented to all the infamous Conditions of the
 “ total abandoning his Majesty, and as far as
 “ in them lay to the Extirpation of all the Royal
 “ Family, and to a perpetual Exclusion of the
 “ Prince of *Orange*, He made a firm Peace with
 “ them; which They had not yet performed, by
 “ their retaining still the Island of *Poleroone*, which
 “ They had so long since barbarously taken from
 “ the *English*, and which They had expressly pro-
 “ mised and undertaken to deliver in the last Treaty,
 “ after *Cromwell* had compelled them to pay a great
 “ Sum of Money for the Damages which the *Eng-
 “ lish* had sustained at *Amboyna*, when all the
 “ Demands and Threats from King *James* could
 “ never procure any Satisfaction for that foul
 “ Action.”

The Duke of
 York much
 for it.

These Discourses, often reiterated in Season and out of Season, made a very deep Impression in the Duke; who having been even from his Childhood in the Command in Armies, and in his Nature inclined to the most difficult and dangerous Enter-

prises, was already weary of having so little to do, and too impatiently longed for any War, in which He knew He could not but have the chief Command. But these Kind of Debates, or the Place in which they were made, could contribute little to an Affair of so huge an Importance, otherwise than by inciting the Duke, which they did too much, to consider and affect it, and to dispose others who were near him to inculcate the same Thoughts into him, as an Argument in which his Honor would be much exalted in the Eye of all the World: And to these good Offices They were enough disposed by the Restlessness and Unquietness of their own Natures, and by many other Motives for the accomplishing their own Designs, and getting more Power into their own Hands.

But there was lately, very lately, a Peace fully concluded with the *States-Général* upon the same Terms, Articles and Conditions, which They had formerly yielded to *Cromwell*, being very much more advantageous than They had ever granted in any Treaty to the Crown. And at the Time of the Conclusion of the Peace, They delivered their Orders from the *States-General* and their *East-India* Company for the Delivery of the Island of *Poleroone* to the *English*, which *Cromwell* himself had extorted from them with the greatest Difficulty: So that there was now no Color of Justice to make a War upon them. Besides that there were at present great Jealousies from *Spain* upon the Marriage with *Portugal*; nor did *France*, which had broken Promise in making a Treaty with *Holland*, make any Haste to

renew the Treaty with *England*. And therefore it could not but seem strange to all Men, that when We had only made a Treaty of Peace with *Holland*, and that so newly, and upon so long Consideration, and had none with either of the Crowns, We should so much desire to enter into a War with them.

The King not inclined to it.

However, the Duke's Heart was set upon it, and He loved to speak of it, and the Benefits which would attend it. He spake of it to the King, whom He found no Ways inclined to it, and therefore He knew it was unfit to propose it in Council: Yet He spake often of it to such of the Lords of whom He had the best Opinion, and found many of them to concur with him in the Opinion of the Advantages which might arise from thence. And sometimes He thought He left the King disposed to it, by an Argument which He found prevailed with many: "That the
 " Differences and Jealousies in Point of Trade, which
 " did every Day fall out and would every Day in-
 " crease between the *English* and the *Dutch*, who had
 " in the late Distractions gotten great Advantages,
 " would unavoidably produce a War between them;
 " and then that the Question only was, whether it
 " were not better for us to begin it now, when They
 " do not expect it, and We are better prepared for it
 " than probably We shall be then; or to stay two
 " or three Years, in which the same Jealousy would
 " provoke them to be well provided, when probably
 " We might not be ready. That We had the best
 " Sea-Officers in the World, many of whom had
 " often beaten the *Dutch*, and knew how to do it
 " again; and a multitude of excellent Mariners and

“ common Seamen : All which, if They found that
 “ Nothing would be done at Home, would disperse
 “ themselves in Merchant-Voyages to the *Indies* and
 “ the *Straits* ; and probably so many good Men
 “ would never be found together again.”

And with such Arguments He many Times thought that He left the King much moved : But when He spake to him again (though He knew that He had no Kindness for the *Dutch*) his Majesty was changed, and very averse to a War ; which He imputed to the Chancellor, who had not dissembled, as often as his Highness spake to him, to be passionately and obstinately against it. And He did take all the Opportunities He could find to confirm the King in his Aver-
 sion to it, who was in his Heart averse from it, by presenting to him the State of his own Affairs, “ the
 “ great Debt that yet lay upon him, which with
 “ Peace and good Husbandry might be in some Time
 “ paid ; but a War would involve him in so much
 “ greater, that no Man could see the End of it. That
 “ He would be able to preserve himself against the
 “ Factions and Distempers in his own Kingdom, and
 “ probably suppress them, if He were without a
 “ foreign Enemy : But if He should be engaged in
 “ a War abroad, his domestic Divisions, especially
 “ those in Religion, would give him more Trouble
 “ than He could well struggle withal.

That it was an erroneous Assumption, *that the
 “ Dutch would be better provided for a War two or
 “ three Years hence, and his Majesty worse, for which
 “ there was no Reason. That within that Time it
 “ would be his own Fault, if the Distempers in his*

“ three Kingdoms were not composed, which would
 “ make him much fitter for a War; whereas now
 “ neither of them could be said to be in Peace, that
 “ of *Ireland* being totally unsettled, and that of *Scot-*
 “ *land* not yet well pleased, and *England* far from it.
 “ That in that Time it was very probable that the
 “ two Crowns would be again engaged in a War;
 “ since it was generally believed, and with great
 “ Reason, that *France* only expected the Death of
 “ the King of *Spain*, who was very infirm, and meant
 “ then to fall into *Flanders*, having at the same Time
 “ with great Expense provided great Magazines of
 “ Corn and Hay upon the Borders, which could be
 “ for no other End. That whilst He continued in
 “ Peace, his Friendship would be valuable to all the
 “ Princes of *Europe*, and the two Crowns would
 “ strive who should gain him: But if He engaged in
 “ a War, and in such a War as that with *Holland*,
 “ which would interrupt and disturb all the Trade
 “ of the Kingdom, upon which the greatest Part
 “ of his revenue did rise; all other Princes would
 “ look on, and not much esteem any Offices He
 “ could perform to them. And lastly, that a little
 “ Time might possibly administer a just Occasion of
 “ a War which at present there was not.”

These, and better Arguments which the King's
 own Understanding suggested to him, made him fully
 resolve against the War, and to endeavour to change
 his Brother from affecting it, which wrought not at
 all upon him; but finding that many Things fell
 from the King in the Argument, which had been
 alledged to himself by the Chancellor, He concluded.

the Mischief came from him, and was displeas'd accordingly, and complain'd to his Wife, "that her Father should oppose him in an Affair upon which He knew his Heart was so much set, and of which every Body took so much Notice;" which troubled her very much. And She very earnestly desired her Father, "that He would no more oppose the Duke in that Matter." He answer'd her, "that She did not enough understand the Consequence of that Affair; but that He would take Notice to the Duke of what She had said, and give him the best Answer he could." And accordingly He waited upon the Duke, who very frankly confess'd to him, "that He took it very unkindly, that He should so positively endeavour to cross a Design so honorable in itself, and so much desired by the City of London; and he was confident it would be very grateful to the Parliament, and that They would supply the King with Money enough to carry it on, which would answer the chief Objection. That He was engag'd to pursue it, and He could not but be sorry and displeas'd, that every Body should see how little Credit He had with him."

The Duke of-
fended with
him for it.

The Chancellor told him, "that He had no Apprehension that any sober Man in *England*, or his Highness himself, should believe that He could fail in his Duty to him, or that He would omit any Opportunity to make it manifest, which He could never do without being a Fool or a Madman. On the other Hand, He could never give any Advice, or consent to it whoever gave it, which in his Judgment, and Conscience would be very mischievous

The Chancel-
lor satisfies
the Duke.

“ to the Crown and to the Kingdom, though his
“ Royal Highness or the King himself were inclined
“ to it.” He did assure him, “ that He found the King
“ very averse from any Thought of this War, before
“ He ever discovered his own Opinion of it ; ” but
denied not, “ that He had taken all Opportunities to
“ confirm him in that Judgment by Arguments that
“ He thought could not be answered ; and that the
“ Consequence of that War would be very pernicious.
“ That He did presume that many good Men,
“ with whom He had conferred, did seem to concur
“ with his Highness out of Duty to him, and as
“ They saw it would be grateful to him, or upon a
“ sudden, and without making those Reflections
“ which would afterwards occur to them, and make
“ them change their Minds. That a few Merchants,
“ nor all the Merchants in *London*, were not the City
“ of *London*, which had War enough, and could
“ only become rich by Peace. That He did not
“ think the Parliament would be forward to encourage
“ that War; nor should the King be desirous
“ that They should interpose their Advice in it,
“ since it was a Subject entirely in the King’s own
“ Determination : But if They should appear never
“ so forward in it, He was old enough to remember
“ when a Parliament did advise, and upon the Matter
“ compel, his Grandfather King *James* to enter into
“ a War with *Spain*, upon Promise of ample Supplies;
“ and yet when He was engaged in it, They
“ gave him no more Supply; so that at last the
“ Crown was compelled to accept of a Peace not
“ very honorable.”

Beside the Arguments He had used to the King, He besought his Highness to reflect upon some others more immediately relating to himself, " upon the " Want of able Men to conduct the Counsels upon " which such a War must be carried on; how few " Accidents might expose the Crown to those Dif- " tresses, that it might with more Difficulty be " bouyed up than it had lately been; " with many other Arguments, which He thought made some Impression upon the Duke. And for some Months there was no more Mention or Discourse in the Court of the War; though They who first laid the Design still cultivated it, and made little Doubt of bringing it at last to pass.

The Design
for the pre-
sent dropt.

At or about this Time there was a Transaction of great Importance, which at the Time was not popular nor indeed understood, and afterwards was objected against the Chancellor in his Misfortunes, as a principal Argument of his Infidelity and Corruption; which was the Sale of *Dunkirk*: The whole Proceeding whereof shall be plainly and exactly related from the Beginning to the End thereof.

The sale of
Dunkirk.

The Charge and Expence the Crown was at; the Pay of the Land Forces and Garrisons; the great Fleets set out to Sea for the Reduction of the *Turkish* Pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, and for guarding the narrow Seas, and Security of the Merchants; the constant yearly Charge of the Garrison of *Dunkirk*, of that at *Tangier*, and the vast Expence of building a Mole there, for which there was an Establishment, together with the Garrisons at *Bombayne* and in *Jamaica*, (none of which had been known to the Crown

in former Times); and the Lord Treasure's frequent Representation of all this to the King, as so prodigious an Expence as could never be supported; had put his Majesty to frequent Consultations how He might lessen and save any Part of it. But no Expedient could be resolved upon. The Lord Treasurer, who was most troubled when Money was wanted, had many secret Conferences with the General and with the best Seamen, of the Benefit that accrued to the Crown by keeping of *Dunkirk*; the constant Charge and Expence whereof amounted to above one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds yearly: And He found by them that it was a Place of little Importance. It is true that He had conferred of it with the Chancellor, with whom he held a fast Friendship; but found him so averse from it, that He resolved to speak with him no more, till the King had taken some Resolution. And to that Purpose He persuaded the General to go with him to the King and to the Duke of *York*, telling them Both, " that the Chancellor must know Nothing of it: " And after several Debates the King thought it so counselable a Thing, that He resolved to have it debated before that Committee which He trusted in his most secret Affairs; and the Chancellor being then lame of the Gout, He commanded that all those Lords should attend him at his House. Beside his Majesty himself and the Duke of *York*, there appeared the Lord Treasurer, the General, the Earl of *Sandwich*, the Vice-Chamberlain Sir *George Carteret*, who had been a great Commander at Sea, and the two Secretaries of State. When the King entered the Room

The Chancellor
for against it.

The Business
referred to a
Committee.

with the Lord Treasurer, He desired his Majesty, smiling, "that He would take the Chancellor's Staff from him, otherwise He would break his Head." When They were all sat, the King told him, "They were all come to debate an Affair that he knew He was against, which was the parting with *Dunkirk*; but He did believe, when He had heard all that was said for it and against it, He would change his Mind, as He himself had done." And so the Debate was entered into in this Method, after enough was said of the Straits the Crown was in, and what the yearly Expence was.

(1.) "That the Profit which did or could accrue to the Kingdom by the keeping of *Dunkirk* was very inconsiderable, whether in War or Peace. That by Sea it was very little useful, it being no Harbour, nor having Place for the King's Ships to ride in with Safety; and that if it were in the Hand of an Enemy, it could do us little Prejudice, because three or four Ships might block it up, and keep it from infesting its Neighbours: And that though heretofore it had been a Place of Licence at Sea, and had much obstructed Trade by their Men of War, yet that proceeded only from the Unskilfulness of that Time in applying proper Remedies to it; which was manifest by *Cromwell's* blocking them up, and restraining them when He made War upon them, insomuch as all the Men of War left that Place, and betook themselves to other Harbours. That it was so weak to the Land (notwithstanding the great Charge his Majesty had been at in the Fortifi-

Reasons urged
for parting
with it.

“ cations , which were not yet finished) by the Si-
 “ tuation and the Soil , that it required as many
 “ Men within to defend it , as the Army should
 “ consist of that besieged it ; otherwise that it could
 “ never hold out and endure a Siege of two Months :
 “ As it appeared clearly by its having been taken
 “ and retaken so many Times within the late Years ,
 “ in all which Times it never held out so long ,
 “ though there was always an Army at no great
 “ Distance to relieve it .”

(2.) “ That the Charge of keeping and maintain-
 “ ing it , without any Accidents from the Attempt
 “ of an Enemy , did amount unto above one hun-
 “ dred and twenty thousand Pounds by the Year ,
 “ which was a Sum the Revenue of the Crown
 “ could not supply , without leaving many other
 “ Particulars of much more Importance unprovided
 “ for .” And this was not lightly or cursorily urged ;
 but the State of the Revenue , and the constant and
 indispensable Issues , were at the same Time pre-
 sented and carefully examined .

(3.) “ It could not reasonably be believed , but
 “ that if *Dunkirk* was kept , his Majesty would be
 “ shortly involved in a War with one of the two
 “ Crowns . The *Spanish* Ambassador had already
 “ demanded Restitution of it in Point of Justice ,
 “ it having been taken from his Master by the
 “ late Usurper , in a Time when there was not only
 “ a Peace between his Majesty and the King of
 “ *Spain* , but when his Majesty resided , and was en-
 “ tertained by the *Catholic* King , in *Flanders* : And
 “ at this Time both *France* and *Spain* inhibited their

“ Subjects from paying those small Contributions
 “ to the Garrison at *Dunkirk*, and endeavoured to
 “ restrain the Governor himself from enjoying some
 “ Privileges, which had been always enjoyed by
 “ him from the Time that it had been put into
 “ *Cromwell's* Hands.” And it was upon this and many
 other Reasons then conceived, “ that as it would
 “ be very hard for the King to preserve a Neu-
 “ trality towards Both Crowns, even during the
 “ Time of the War between them ” which Temper
 was thought very necessary for his Majesty's Affairs);
 “ so it would be much more difficult long to avoid
 “ a War with one of them upon the keeping *Dunkirk*,
 “ if the Peace that was newly made should remain
 “ firm and unshaken.”

Upon these Reasons, urged and agreed upon by
 those who could not but be thought very competent
 Judges, in Respect of their several Professions and
 great Experience, the King resolved to ease himself
 of the insupportable Burden of maintaining *Dunkirk*,
 and to part with it in such a Manner as might be
 most for his Advantage and Benefit. There remained
 then no other Question, than into what Hand to
 put it: And the Measure of that was only who
 would give most Money for it, there being no In-
 clination to prefer one before another. It was enough
 understood, that Both Crowns would be very glad
 to have it, and would probably Both make large
 Offers for it. But it was then as evident, that
 whatsoever *France* should contract for, the King
 would be sure to receive, and the Business would
 be soon despatched: Whereas on the other Hand

The King
 resolves to
 dispose of it.

Reasons for
 selling it to
 France.

it was as notorious and evident to his Majesty, and to all who had any Knowledge of the Court of *Spain*, and of the Scarcity of Money there and in *Flanders*; that how large Offers soever the *Spaniard* might make, They could not be able in any Time to pay any considerable Sum of Money; and that there would be so much Time spent in Consult between *Madrid* and *Brussels* before it could be despatched, that the keeping it so long in his Majesty's Hands would in the Expense disappoint him of a good Part of the End in parting with it. Besides that it seemed at that Time probable, that the *Spaniard* would shortly declare himself an Enemy; for besides that He demanded *Dunkirk* as of Right, so He likewise required the Restitution of *Tangier* and *Jamaica* upon the same Reason, and declared "that without it there could be no lasting Peace between *England* and *Spain*," and refused so much as to enter upon a Treaty of Alliance with the King, before He should promise to make such a Restitution.

There wanted not in this Conference and Debate the Consideration of the *States* of the *United Provinces*, as Persons like enough to desire the Possession of *Dunkirk*, from whence They had formerly received so much Damage, and were like enough to receive more whenever They should be engaged in any War: And if in Truth They should have any such Desire, more Money might be reasonably required and probably be obtained from them, than could be expected from either of the Kings. But upon the Discussion of that Point, it did

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appear to every Man's Reason very manifest, that though They had rather that *Dunkirk* should be put into the Hands of the *Spaniard* than delivered to *France*, or than it should be detained by the *English*; yet They durst not receive it into their own Possession which neither of the two Crowns would have approved of, and so it would have exposed them to the Displeasure if not the Hostility of Both the Kings.

Upon this full Deliberation, his Majesty inclined rather to give it up to *France* than to *Spain*; but deferred any positive Resolution till He had imparted the whole Matter to the Council-Board, where the Debate was again resumed principally, "whether it were more counselable to keep it at so vast a Charge, or to part with it for a good Sum of Money." And in that Debate the Mention of what had been heretofore done in the House of Commons upon that Subject was not omitted, nor the Bill that They had sent up to the House of Peers for annexing it inseparably to the Crown: But that was not thought of Moment; for as it had been suddenly entertained in the House of Commons, upon the *Spanish* Ambassador's first Proposition for the Restitution, so it was looked upon in the House of Peers as unfit in itself, and so laid aside after once being read (which had been in the first Convention soon after the King's Return), and so expired as soon as it was born. After a long Debate of the whole Matter at the Council-Board, where all was averted concerning the Uselessness and Weakness of the Place, by those who

The King refers it to the Privy Council.

Where only
one opposes it:

had said it at the Committee; there was but one Lord of the Council who offered his Advice to the King against parting with it: And the Ground of that Lord's dissenting, who was the Earl of *St. Albans*, was enough understood to have Nothing of public in it, but to draw the Negotiation for it into his own Hands. In Conclusion, his Majesty resolved to put it into the Hands of *France*, if that King would comply with his Majesty's Expectation in the Payment of so much Money as He would require for it: And a Way was found out, that the King might privately be advertised of that his Majesty's Resolution, if He should have any Desire to deal for it.

The Advertisement was very welcome to the *French* King, who was then resolved to visit *Flanders* as soon as He should know of the Death of the King of *Spain*, which was expected every Day. Nor had He deferred it till then, upon the late Affront his Ambassador had received at *London* from the *Spanish* Ambassador (who by a contrived and labored Stratagem had got the Precedence for his Coach before the other; which the King of *France* received with that Indignation, that He sent presently to demand Justice at *Madrid*, commanded his Ambassador to retire from thence, and would not suffer the *Spanish* Ambassador to remain in *Paris* till He should have Satisfaction, and was resolved to have begun a War upon it), if the King of *Spain* had not acknowledged the Fault of his Ambassador, and under his Hand declared the Precedence to belong to *France*; which Declaration was

was sent to the Courts of all Princes: And so for the present that Spark of Fire was extinguished or rather raked up.

The King sent *M. D'Estrades* privately to *London* to treat about *Dunkirk*, without any Character, but pretending to make it his Way to *Holland*, whither He was designed Ambassador. After He had waited upon the King, his Majesty appointed four or five of the Lords of his Council, whereof the Chancellor and Treasurer and General were three, to treat with *M. D'Estrades* for the Sale of *Dunkirk*; when the first Conference was spent in endeavouring to persuade him to make the first Offer for the Price, which He could not be drawn to: So that the King's Commissioners were obliged to make their Demand. And They asked the Sum of seven hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*, to be paid upon Delivery of *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* into the Possession of the King of *France*; which Sum appeared to him to be so stupendous, that He seemed to think the Treaty at an End, and resolved to make no Offer at all on the Part of his Master. And so the Conference brake up.

Monfieur
D'Estrades
comes over to
treat about
the Price.

At the next Meeting He offered three Millions of *Livres*, which according to the Common Account amounted to three hundred thousand *Pistoles*, which the King's Commissioners as much undervalued; so that any farther Conference was discontinued, till He had sent an Exprefs or two into *France*, and till their Return: For as the Expectation of a great Sum of ready Money was the King's Motive to part with it, besides the saving the monthly Charge;

so They concluded that his Necessities would oblige him to part with it at a moderate Price. And after the Return of the Expresses, the King's Commissioners insisting still upon what *D'Estades* thought too much, and He offering what They thought too little, the Treaty seemed to be at an End, and He prepared for his Return. In Conclusion, his Majesty being fully as desirous to part with it as the King of *France* could be to have it, it was agreed and concluded, "that upon the Payment of five hundred thousand *Pistoles in Specie* at *Calais* to such Persons as the King should appoint to receive it, his Majesty's Garrison of *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* should be withdrawn, and those Places put into the Hands of the King of *France*:" All which was executed accordingly, And without Doubt it was a greater Sum of Money than was ever paid at one Payment by any Prince in *Christendom*, upon what Occasion soever; and every Body seemed very glad to see so vast a Sum of Money delivered into the *Tower of London*, as it was all together; the King at the same Time declaring, "that no Part of it should be applied to any ordinary Occasion, but be preserved for some pressing Accident, as an Infurrection or the like," which was reasonably enough apprehended.

The Price agreed upon.

A Vindication of the Chancellor in this Affair.

Nor was there the least Murmur at this Bargain in all the Sessions of the Parliament which sat after, until it fell out to some Men's Purposes to reproach the Chancellor: And then They charged him "with advising the Sale of *Dunkirk*, and that the very Artillery, Ammunition and Stores amounted to

“ a greater Value than the King received for the “ Whole ;” when upon an Estimate that had been taken of all those, they were not esteemed to be more worth than twenty thousand Pounds *Sterling* ; and the Consideration of those, when the King’s Commissioners insisting upon their being all shipped for *England*, and the Necessity of keeping them upon the Place where they were, had prevailed with *M. D’Estrades* to consent to that Sum of five hundred thousand *Pistoles*. But whether the Bargain was ill or well made, there could be no Fault imputed to the Chancellor, who had no more to do in the Transaction than is before set down, the whole Matter having been so long deliberated and so fully debated. Nor did He ever before, or in, or after the Transaction, receive the Value of Half a Crown for Reward or Present, or any other Consideration relating to that Affair : And the Treatment He received after his coming into *France* was Evidence enough, that that King never thought himself beholden to him.

A little before this Time, the Queen-Mother returned again for *England*, having disbursed a great Sum of Money in making a noble Addition to her Palace of *Somerſet-Houſe*. With the Queen there came over a Youth of about ten or a dozen Years of Age, who was called by the Name of Mr. *Crofts*, because the Lord *Crofts* had been trusted to take Care of his Breeding ; but He was generally thought to be the King’s Son, begotten upon a private *Welchwoman* of no good Fame, but handsome, who had transported herself to the *Hague*, when the King was first

The Queen
Mother brings
a natural Son
of the King
into England.

there, with a Design to obtain that Honor, which a Groom of the Bedchamber willingly preferred her to; and there it was this Boy was born. The Mother lived afterwards for some Years in *France* in the King's Sight, and at last lost his Majesty's Favor: Yet the King desired to have the Son delivered to him, that He might take Care of his Education, which She would not consent to. At last the Lord *Crofts* got him into his Charge; and the Mother dying at *Paris*, He had the sole Tuition of him, and took Care for the breeding him suitable to the Quality of a very good Gentleman. And the Queen after some Years came to know of it, and frequently had him brought to her, and used with much Grace; and upon the King's Desire brought him with her from *Paris* into *England*, when He was about twelve Years of Age, very handsome, and performed those Exercises gracefully which Youths of that Age used to learn in *France*. The King received him with extraordinary Fondness, and was willing that every Body should believe him to be his Son, though He did not yet make any Declaration that He looked upon him as such, otherwise than by his Kindness and Familiarity towards him. He assigned a liberal Maintenance for him; but took not that Care for a strict Breeding of him as his Age required.

The General, during the Time of his Command in *Scotland*, had Acquaintance with a Lady of much Honor there, the Countess of *Weemes*, who had been before the Wife of the Earl of *Buccleuch*, and by him had one only Daughter, who inherited his very great Estate and Title, and was called the Countess of *Buc-*

leuch, a Child of eight or ten Years of Age. All Men believed, that the General's Purpose was to get this Lady for his own Son, a Match suitable enough: But the Time being now changed, the Lord *Lautherdale*, being a good Courtier, thought his Countrywoman might be much better married, if She were given to the King for his Youth, towards whom He expressed so much Fondness, those Kinds of Extractions carrying little Disadvantage with them in *Scotland*; and the General, whatever Thoughts He had before, would not be so ill a Courtier as not to advance such a Proposition. The Lady was already in Possession of the greatest Fortune in *Scotland*, which would have a fair Addition upon the Death of her Mother.

The King liked the Motion well; and so the Mother was sent to, to bring up her Daughter to *London*, They being then Both in *Scotland*. And when They came, the King trusted the Earl of *Lautherdale* principally to treat that Affair with the Mother, who had rather have been referred to any other Body, having indeed some just Exceptions. They were Both yet under the Years of Consent; but that Time drawing on, such a Contract was drawn up as had been first proposed to the King, which was, "that the whole Estate, for Want of Issue by the young Lady, or by her Death, should be devolved upon the young Man who was to marry her, and his Heirs for ever; and that this should be settled by act of Parliament in *Scotland*." Matters being drawn to this Length, and Writings being to be prepared, it was now necessary that this young Gentleman must

He is contract-
ed to the
Countess of
Buccleugh.

have a Name, and the *Scots* Advocate had prepared a Draught, in which He was styled the King's natural Son : And the King was every Day pressed by the great Lady, and those young Men who knew the Customs of *France*, to create him a Nobleman of *England*; and was indeed very willing to be advised to that Purpose.

The King consults the Chancellor about this Son.

The Chancellor's Advice.

Till this Time, this whole Matter was treated in secret amongst the *Scots* : But now the King thought fit to consult it with others; and telling the Chancellor of all that had past, showed him the Draught prepared by the *Scots* Advocate, and asked him " what He " thought of it," and likewise implied, " that He " thought fit to give him some Title of Honor." After He had read it over, He told his Majesty, " that He need not give him any other Title of Honor than He would enjoy by his Marriage, by " which He would by the Law of *Scotland*, be called " Earl of *Bucleuch*, which would be Title enough; " and He desired his Majesty to pardon him, if He " found Fault with and disliked the Title They had " given him who prepared that Draught, wherein " They had presumed to style him the King's natural Son, which was never, at least in many Ages, " used in *England* and would have an ill Sound in " *England* with all his People, who thought that " those unlawful Acts ought to be concealed, and not " published and justified. That *France* indeed had, " with Inconvenience enough to the Crown, raised " some Families of those Births; but it was always " from Women of great Quality, and who had never " been tainted with any other Familiarity. And that

“ there was another Circumstance required in *Spain*,
 “ which his Majesty should do well to observe in
 “ this Case, if He had taken a Resolution in the
 “ Main; which was, that the King took Care for
 “ the good Education of that Child whom He belie-
 “ ved to be his, but never publicly owned or de-
 “ clared him to be such, till he had given some no-
 “ table Evidence of his inheriting or having acquir-
 “ ed such Virtues and Qualities, as made him in the
 “ Eyes of all Men worthy of such a Descent. That
 “ this Gentleman was yet young and not yet to be
 “ judged of: And therefore if He were for the pre-
 “ sent married to this young Lady, and assumed her
 “ Title as He must do, his Majesty might defer for
 “ some Years making any such Declaration; which
 “ He might do when He would, and which at pre-
 “ sent would be as unpopular an Action in the Hearts
 “ of his Subjects as He could commit.”

Though the King did not seem to concur in all
 that was said, He did not appear at all offended, and
 only asked him, “ whether He had not conferred with
 “ The Queen his Mother upon that Subject.” When
 He assured him, “ He had not, with any other Per-
 “ son, and though He had heard some general Dif-
 “ course of his Majesty’s Purpose to make that
 “ Marriage, He had never heard either of the other
 “ Particulars mentioned;” the King said, “ He had
 “ Reason to ask the Question, because many of those
 “ Things which He had said had been spoken to
 “ him by the Queen his Mother, who was entirely
 “ of his Opinion, which She used not to be;” and
 concluded, “ that He would confer with them toge-

“ther,” seeming for the present to be more moved and doubtful in the Matter of the Declaration, than in the other of the Creation; and said, “there was no Reason, since She brought all the Estate, that She should receive no Addition by her Husband.” The Queen afterwards took an Occasion to speak at large to the Chancellor of it with much Warmth, and Manifestation that She did not like it. But the King spake with neither of them afterwards upon it, but signed the Declaration, and created him to be Duke of *Monmouth*; very few Persons dissuading it, and the Lady employing all her Credit to bring it to pass: And the Earl of *Bristol* (who in those difficult Cases was usually consulted) pressed it as the only Way to make the King’s Friendship valuable.

The King
publicly
owns his Son,
and creates
him Duke of
Monmouth.

Since the Earl of *Bristol* is mentioned upon this Occasion, it will not be unseasonable to give him the next Part in this Relation. Though He had left no Way unattempted to render himself gracious to the King, by saying and doing all that might be acceptable unto him, and contriving such Meetings and Jollities as He was pleased with; and though his Majesty had been several Ways very bountiful to him, and had particularly given him at one Time ten thousand Pounds in Money, with which He had purchased *Wimbleton* of the Queen, and had given him *Ashdown-Forest* and other Lands in *Sussex*: Yet He found He had not that Degree of Favor and Interest in the King’s Affections, as He desired, or desired that other People should think He had. The Change of his Religion kept him from being admitted to the Council, or to any Employment of Mo-

ment. And whereas He made no Doubt of drawing the whole Dependance of the *Roman catholics* upon himself, and to have the Disposal of that Interest, and to that Purpose had the *Jesuits* firm to him; He found that He had no Kind of Credit with them, nor was admitted by them to their most secret Consultations, and that the Fathers of the Society had more Enemies than Friends amongst the *Catholics*.

His estate had been sold and settled by his own Consent, upon the Marriage of his eldest Son twice to great Fortunes: So that when He returned from beyond the Seas, He could not return to his Estate as others did, and had little more to subsist upon than the King's Bounty; and that was not poured out upon him in the Measure He wished, though few Persons tasted more of it. He was in his nature very covetous, and ready to embrace all Ways that were offered to get Money, whether honorable or no, for He had not a great Power over himself, and could not bear Want, which He could hardly avoid, for He was nothing provident in his Expenses, when He had any Temptation from his Ambition or Vanity. Besides, his Appetite to Play and Gaming, in which He had no Skill, and by which He had all his Life spent whatever He could get, was not at all abated. He spent as much Money at *Wimbleton* in building and gardening, as the Land was worth.

By all these Means He found himself in Straits which He could neither endure nor get from, and which transported him to that Degree, that He resolved to treat the King in another Manner than He

The Earl of
Bristol's ex-
travagant
Behaviour to
the King.

had ever yet presumed to do, And having asked somewhat of him that his Majesty did not think fit to grant, He told him, " He knew well the Cause of his withdrawing his Favor from him; that it proceeded only from the Chancellor, who governed him and managed all his Affairs, whilst himself spent his Time only in Pleasures and Debauchery:" And in this Passion upbraided him with many Excesses, to which no Man had contribued more than He had done. He said many Truths which ought to have been more modestly and decently mentioned, and all this in the Presence of the Lord *Aubigny*, who was as much surpris'd as the King; and concluded, " that if He did not give him satisfaction within such a Time" (the Time allowed did not exceed four-and-twenty Hours), " He would do somewhat that would awaken him out of his Slumber, and make him look better to his own Business;" and added many Threats against the Chancellor. The King stood all this Time in such Confusion, that though He gave him more sharp Words than were natural to him, He had not that Presentness of Mind (as He afterwards accused himself) as He ought to have had; and said, " He ought presently to have called for the Guard," it being in his own Closet, " and sent him to the *Tower*."

The Court and the Town was full of the Discourse that the Earl of *Bristol* would accuse the Chancellor of High Treason, who knew Nothing of what had passed with the King. And it seems when the Time was passed that He prescribed to the King to give him Satisfaction, He came one Morning to the

House of Peers with a Paper in his Hand; and told the Lords, "that He could not but observe, that
 " after so glorious a Return with which God had
 " blessed the King and the Nation, so that all the
 " World had expected, that the Prosperity of the
 " Kingdom would have far exceeded the Misery
 " and Adversity that it had for many Years endured;
 " and after the Parliament had contributed more to-
 " wards it, than ever Parliament had done: Not-
 " withstanding all which it was evident to all Men,
 " and lamented by those who wished well to his
 " Majesty, that his Affairs grew every Day worse
 " and worse; the King himself lost much of his
 " Honor, and the Affection He had in the Hearts of
 " the People. That for his Part He looked upon it
 " with as much Sadness as any Man, and had made
 " Inquiry as well as He could from whence this
 " great Misfortune, which every Body was sensible
 " of, could proceed; and that He was satisfied in
 " his own Conscience, that it proceeded principally
 " from the Power and Credit and sole Credit of the
 " Chancellor: And therefore He was resolved, for
 " the Good of his Country, to accuse the Lord
 " Chancellor of High Treason; which He had done
 " in the Paper which He desired might be read, all
 " written with his own Hand, to which He sub-
 " scribed his Name."

He accuses the
 Chancellor
 of High
 Treason.

The Paper contained many Articles, which He called *Articles of High Treason and other Misdemeanors*; amongst which one was, "that He had per-
 " suaded the King to send a Gentleman (a Creature
 " of his own) to *Rome* with Letters to the Pope, to

“ give a Cardinal’s Cap to the Lord *Aubigny*, who
 “ was Almoner to the Queen.” The rest contained
 “ his assuming to himself the Government of all pub-
 “ lic Affairs, which He had administered unskil-
 “ fully, corruptly and traiterously; which He was
 “ ready to prove.”

The Chancellor, without any Trouble in his
 Countenance, told the Lords, “ that He had had the
 “ Honor heretofore to have so much the good Opi-
 “ nion and Friendship of that Lord, that He durst
 “ appeal to his own Conscience, that He did not
 “ himself believe one of those Articles to be true,
 “ and knew the contrary of most of them. And He
 “ was glad to find that He thought it so high a Crime
 “ to send to *Rome*, and to desire a Cardinal’s Cap
 “ for a Catholic Lord, who had been always bred
 “ from his Cradle in that Faith: But He did assure
 “ them, that that Gentleman was only sent by the
 “ Queen to the Pope, upon an Affair that She
 “ thought herself obliged to comply with him in,
 “ and in Hope to do some good Office to *Portugal*;
 “ and that the King had neither writ to the Pope,
 “ nor to any other Person in *Rome*.” He spake at
 large to most of the Articles, to show the Impossi-
 bility of their being true, and that they reflected
 more upon the King’s Honor than upon his; and
 concluded, “ that He was sorry that Lord had not
 “ been better advised, for He did believe that though
 “ all that was alledged in the Articles should be true,
 “ they would not all amount to High Treason,
 “ upon which He desired the Judges might be re-
 “ quired to deliver their Opinion;” the which the

Lords ordered the Judges to do. It was moved by one of the Lords, "that the Copy of the Articles might be sent to the King, because He was mentioned so presumptuously in them;" which was likewise agreed; and the Articles were delivered to the Lord Chamberlain to present to the King.

The Chancellor had promised that Day to dine in *Whitehall*, but would not presume to go thither till He had sent to the King, not thinking it fit to go into his Court, whilst He lay under an Accusation of High Treason, without his Leave. His Majesty sent him Word, "that He should dine where He had appointed, and as soon as He had dined that He should attend him." Then his Majesty told him and the Lord Treasurer all that had passed between the Earl of *Bristol* and him in the Presence of the Lord *Aubigny*; and in the Relation of it expressed great Indignation, and was angry with himself, "that He had not immediately sent him to the *Tower*, which," He said, "He would do as soon as He could apprehend him." He used the Chancellor with much Grace, and told him, "that the Earl of *Bristol* had not treated him so ill as He had done his Majesty; and that his Articles were more to his Dishonor, and reflected more upon him, for which He would have Justice."

His Majesty commanded the Lord Chamberlain to return his Thanks to the House, "for the Respect They had showed to him in sending those Articles to him;" and to let them know, "that He looked upon them as a Libel against himself more than a Charge against the Chancellor, who upon his

“ Knowledge was innocent in all the Particulars
 “ charged upon him;” which Report the Lord
 Chamberlain made the next Morning to the House:
 And at the same Time the Judges declared their Opini-
 on unanimously, “ that the whole Charge con-
 “ tained Nothing of Treason though it were all
 “ true.” Upon which the Earl of *Bristol*, especially
 upon what the Lord Chamberlain had reported from
 the King, appeared in great Confusion, and lamented
 his Condition, “ that He, for endeavouring to serve
 “ his Country upon the Impulsion of his Conscience,
 “ was discountenanced, and threatened with the
 “ Anger and Displeasure of his Prince; whilst his
 “ Adversary kept his Place in the House, and had
 “ the Judges so much at his Devotion that They
 “ would not certify against him.” The Chancellor
 moved the House, “ that a short Day might be given
 “ to the Earl, to bring in his Evidence to prove the
 “ several Matters of his Charge; otherwise that He
 “ might have such Reparation, as was in their Judge-
 “ ments proportionable to the Indignity.” The
 Earl said, “ He should not fail to produce Witnesses
 “ to prove all He had alledged, and more: But that
 “ He could not appoint a Time when He could be
 “ ready for a Hearing, because many of his most im-
 “ portant Witnesses were beyond the Seas, some at
 “ *Paris*, and others in other Places; and that He
 “ must examine the Duke of *Ormond* who was Lieu-
 “ tenant in *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale* who
 “ was then in *Scotland*, and must desire Commis-
 “ sioners to that Purpose.”

The Earl of
Bristol ab,

But from that Day He made no farther Instance:

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 175

And understanding that the King had given Warrants to a Sergeant at Arms to apprehend him, He concealed himself in several Places for the Space of near two Years; sending sometimes Letters and Petitions by his Wife to the King, who would not receive them. But in the End his Majesty was prevailed with by the Lady and Sir *Henry Bennet* to see him in private; but would not admit him to come to the Court, nor repeal his Warrants for his Apprehension: So that He appeared not publicly till the Chancellor's Misfortune; and then He came to the Court and to the Parliament in great Triumph, and showed a more impotent Malice than was expected from his Generosity and Understanding.

We shall in the next Place take a View of *Scotland*, whither We left *Middleton* sent the King's Commissioner, who performed his Part with wonderful Dexterity and Conduct, and with more Success than some of his Countrymen were pleased with. We have remembered before the Debate upon his Instructions, and the earnest Advice and Caution given by *Lautherdale* against any hasty Attempt to make Alteration in the Matters of the Church, which was at last left to the Discretion of the Commissioner, to proceed in such a Manner, and at such a Time, as He found most convenient. As soon as He came thither, He found himself received with as universal an Exclamation, and the King's Authority as cheerfully submitted to, as can be imagined or could be wished; and such a Consent to every Thing He proposed, that He made no Question but any Thing his Majesty required would find an entire Obedience.

scends upon
the King's
Warrant to
apprehend
him.

The Affairs
of Scotland?

The Commis-
sioners well
received.

The Earl of *Glencarne* who was Chancellor; and the Earl of *Roths*, and all the Nobility of any Interest or Credit, were not only faithful to the King but fast Friends to *Middleton*, and magnified his Conduct in all their Letters.

The Earl of *Crawford* alone who was Treasurer, which is an Office that cannot be unattended by a great Faction in that Kingdom, retained still his rigid Affection for the Presbytery, when the Ministers themselves grew much less rigid, and were even ashamed of the many Follies and Madneffes They had committed. But the Earl of *Crawford* did all He could to raise their Spirits, and to keep them firm to the Kirk. In all other Particulars He was full of Devotion to the King, being entirely of the Faction of *Hamilton*, and nearly allied to it; and when the King was in *Scotland* had served him signally, and had then been made by him High Treasurer of that Kingdom; and upon *Cromwell's* prevailing and Conjunction with *Argyle*, was as odious as any Man to them Both, and had for many Years been Prisoner in *England* till the Time of the King's Return. There was always a great Friendship between him and *Lautherdale*; the former being a Man of much the greater Interest, and of unquestionable Courage; the other excelling him in all the Faculties which are necessary to Business, and being a Master in Diffimulation.

Middleton, and the Lords who went with him, and the General (upon whose Advice the King depended as much in the Business of *Scotland*) were all earnest with his Majesty to remove the Earl of *Crawford*

Crawford from that great Office, which would enable him to do Mischief. But the King's good Nature prevailed over him; though He knew him as well as They did: And He thought it too hardhearted a Thing to remove a Man, whom He found a Prisoner for his Service, from an Office He had formerly conferred upon him for his Merit, and which He had not forfeited by any Miscarriage. And it may be it was some Argument to him of his Sincerity; that when others, who to his Majesty's own Knowledge were as rigid *Presbyterians* as He, were now very frank in renouncing and disclaiming all Obligations from it, He of all the Nobility was the only Man who still adhered to it, when it was evident to him that He should upon the Matter be undone by it. However the King sent him down with the rest into *Scotland*, being confident that He would do Nothing to disserve him, as in Truth He never did; and resolved that, when the Business of the Church came to be agitated, if He did continue still refractory, He would take the Staff from him, and confer it upon *Middleton*: Who, though all Things were very fair between him and *Lautherdale*, to whom all his Despatches must be addressed, yet depended more upon those of the *English* Council, to whom the King had required the Secretary to communicate all that He received from the Commissioner, and all the Despatches which He should make to him. And by this Means no Orders were sent from the King which restrained him from proceeding in the Matter of the Church according to Discretion, as He was appointed by his Instructions; though *Lautherdale* did

not dissemble, when Letters came from *Scotland* “ of
 “ the good Posture the King’s Affairs were in there,
 “ and that any Thing might be brought to pass that
 “ He desired,” to receive other Letters to which
 He gave more Credit; and was still as solicitous that
 Nothing might be attempted with Reference to
 the Kirk.

Proceedings of
 the Scotch
 Parliament

The Marquis
 of Argyle
 tried con-
 demned and
 executed.

As soon as the Parliament was convened at *Edin-
 burgh*, and the Commissioner found the Temper of
 them to be such as He could wish, the Marquis of
Argyle (who had been sent by Sea from the *Tower* of
London to *Leith*) was brought to his Trial upon
 many Articles of Treason and Murder; wherein all
 his Confederacies with *Cromwell* were laid open, and
 much insisted upon to prove his being privy to the
 Resolution of taking the King’s Life, and advising
 it: And though there was great Reason to suspect
 it, and most Men believed it, the Proofs were not
 clear enough to convict him. But then the Evidence
 was so full and clear of so many horrid Murders com-
 mitted by his Order upon Persons in his Displeasure,
 and his immediate possessing himself of their Estates,
 and other monstrous and unheard of Acts of Op-
 pression; that the Parliament condemned him to be
 hanged upon a Gallows of an unusual Height, and
 in or near the Place where He had caused the Mar-
 quis of *Mountrose* to be formerly executed: All which
 was performed the same Day with the universal Joy
 of the People; the unfortunate Person himself show-
 ing more Resolution and Courage than was ex-
 pected from him, and expressing much Affection and
 Zeal for the *Covenant*, for which He desired all Men

should believe He was put to Death. There was likewise one seditious Preacher, *Gilafpy*, who had been a notorious and malicious Rebel against the last and the present King, underwent the same Trial and Judgment, with the same Faith in the *Covenant*, and without Show of Repentance. And it was much wondered at, that no more of that Tribe, which had kindled the Fire that had almost burned two Kingdoms, and never had endeavoured to extinguish it, were ever brought to Justice; and that the Lives of two Men should be thought a sufficient Sacrifice for that Kingdom to offer for all the Mischief it had done.

*Gilafpy a
Fanatic ex-
ecuted.*

When this Work was done, the Parliament without Hesitation repealed all those Acts prejudicial to the Crown and the Royal Dignity, which had been made since the Beginning of the Rebellion, and upon which all the Rebellions had been founded; and branded their beloved *Covenant* with all the Reproaches it deserved, and this even with the Consent and Approbation of the General Assembly of the Kirk. By all which the Obstructions were removed; and it was now in the Power of the King to make Bishops as heretofore, and to settle the Church in the same Government to which it had formerly been subject. But the Commissioner thought not this enough; and apprehended that the King might yet be persuaded, though there was no such Appearance, "that the People were against it, and that it would be better to defer it:" And therefore the Parliament prepared a Petition to the King, highly aggravating the Wickedness of the former Time in destroying Epif-

*The Parli-
ment petition
the King to
restore Epif-
copacy.*

copacy, without which They could not have brought their wicked Devices to pass; and therefore They were humble Suitors to his Majesty, "that
 " He would make Choice of such grave Divines, as
 " He thought fit to be consecrated Bishops, for all
 " the vacant Sees," they being at that Time all vacant, there being not one Bishop of the Nation alive.

They prepare
 an Abjuration
 of the Cove-
 nant.

And the Commissioner having declared that He meant to prorogue the Parliament, They appointed a Draught of an Oath or Subscription to be prepared against the next Session, whereby every Man, who was possessed of a Church or any other Ecclesiastical Promotion in that Kingdom, should be bound to renounce the *Covenant* upon the Penalty of being deprived; intimating likewise, that They resolved, at the next Meeting "that no Man should be capable
 " of holding any Office, or of being a Privy-Coun-
 " sellor, who would not formally subscribe the same.

And settle a
 standing
 Force.

They settled a standing Militia of forty thousand Men, to be always ready to march upon the King's Orders; and raised two good Troops of Horse, and provided for the Payment of them; and granted such a Sum of Money to the King, as could be reasonably expected from so poor and harassed a Country, and which would serve the defraying the necessary Expenses thereof. And all this being done, and the Prorogation made, the Commissioner and some of the other Lords came to *London* to kiss the King's Hand, and to receive his farther Directions, having so fully despatched all his former Orders. They brought likewise with them some other Propositions, which will be mentioned anon.

The Commis-
 sioner returns
 to London.

The King received the Commissioner with open Arms, and was very well pleased with all that He had done; and Nobody seemed to magnify it more than *Lautherdale*, who was least satisfied with it. Nor could He now longer oppose the making of Bishops there: So having presented the Names of such Persons to the King who were thought fit to be consecrated Bishops, whereof some had been with his Majesty abroad, They were all sent for to *London*; and such of them who had not before received their Ordination from a Bishop, but from the Presbytery in *Scotland*, whereof the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was one, first received Orders of Deacon and Priest from the Bishop of *London*, and were afterwards consecrated in the usual Form by the Bishops who were then near the Town, and made so great a Feast as if it had been at the Charge of their Country.

Scotch Bishops
consecrated.

The Commissioner, the Chancellor, the Earl of *Rothes* and others, with the Lord *Lautherdale*, were deputed by the Parliament to be humble Suitors to the King; “ since They had performed on their Part
“ all that was of the Duty of good Subjects, and were
“ ready to give any other Testimony of their Obedience that his Majesty would require; and since
“ the whole Kingdom was entirely at his Devotion,
“ and in such a Posture that They were able as well
“ as willing to preserve the Peace thereof, and to suppress any seditious Party that should attempt
“ any Disturbance; that his Majesty would now
“ remove the *English* Garrisons from thence, and
“ permit the Fortifications and Works, which had
“ been erected at a vast Charge, to be demolished,

The Scotch
desire the
English Gar-
risons may be
withdrawn.

“ that there might remain no Monuments of the
 “ Slavery They had undergone.” And this They
 demanded as in Justice due to them, “ since there
 “ were few Men now alive, none in the least Power,
 “ who had contributed to the Ills which had been
 “ committed; and all the Men of Power had under-
 “ gone for ten or a dozen Years as great Oppression
 “ as could be put upon them, because They would
 “ not renounce their Fidelity to the King: And
 “ since it had pleased God to restore his Majesty,
 “ They hoped He would not continue those Yokes
 “ and Shackles upon them, which had been prepared
 “ and put upon them to keep them from returning
 “ to their Allegiance.”

This was proposed in the Presence of those of the
English Council, who had been formally admitted
 to be of the Council of *Scotland*, and continued to
 meet upon that Affair. The *Scots* Lords enlarged
 with much Warmth “ upon the intolerable Oppres-
 “ sion that Nation had undergone, on the Poverty
 “ They still suffered, and the Impossibility of being
 “ able to bear any Part of the Charge, and the Jea-
 “ lousy that it would keep up between the Nations,
 “ which could not be to the King’s Profit and Con-
 “ venience.” They had privately spoken before
 with the King upon it, and had prevailed with him
 to think what They desired had Reason and Justice
 in it; and the *English* Lords could not upon the sud-
 den, and without Conference together, resolve what
 was fit for them to say: So that They desired, without
 expressing any Inclination in the Matter, “ that the
 “ Debate might be put off to another Day;” which

the *Scots* took very ill, as if the very deferring it were an Argument that They thought it might be denied. But when They saw They would not presently speak to it, They were content that another Day should be appointed for the Consideration of it: And They afterwards desired the King, "that He would call the Committee of the *English* Council, who used to attend him in the most secret Affairs, to consult what was to be done." Nobody could deny but that the *Scots* had Reason to demand it. And They who thought it a Bridle fit to keep in their Mouths, to restrain them from future Rebellions which They might be inclined to, could not easily resolve what Answer should be given to them in the Negative. And They who thought the Demand to be so just and reasonable, and so much for the King's Benefit and Advantage, that it ought to be granted, did believe likewise that it was a Thing so capable of Censure and Reproach, in Regard of the general Prejudice which the *English* have against that People, that no particular Person was able to bear the Odium of the Advice; nor that the King himself should take the Resolution upon himself without very mature Deliberation.

That which advanced the Proposition as fit to be granted, was the Charge of maintaining those Forces, which that Kingdom was so incapable of bearing, that *Middleton* and *Glencarne* (whose Duties and entire Devotion to the King were above all Exception or Suspicion) declared not only to the King, but to those of the Lords with whom They would confer freely, "that if the King thought it necessary to keep

Some Circumstances that facilitate their Request.

“ that People still there, He must send more Forces
 “ of Horse and Foot thither; otherwise They were
 “ not strong enough to subdue the whole Kingdom,
 “ but would as soon as They stirred out of their
 “ Garrisons be knocked in the Head; nor would the
 “ Country pay any Thing towards their Support,
 “ but what should be extorted by Force: So that
 “ his Majesty would not be thought to possess that
 “ Kingdom in Peace, which otherwise He would
 “ unquestionably do.”

And this Consideration was improved by the
 Reflection upon the Body of Men of which those
 Forces consisted, which was a Parcel of the worst
 affected Men to the King of the whole Army, and
 which the General had therefore left in *Scotland*,
 when He marched into *England* under the Command
 of Major General *Morgan* (who was worthy of any
 Trust) because He was not sure enough of their Fide-
 lity to take them with him, yet thought them fit
 enough to be left to restrain the *Scots* from any sud-
 den Insurrection. But now They saw all their Model
 brought to Confusion, They were not so much above
 Temptation, but that They might, especially if They
 were drawn together, concur in any desperate Design
 with a discontented Party in *Scotland*, or with their
 Brethren of the disbanded Army of *England*, who at
 that Season had rebellious Resolutions in the *North*.
 And which was of no small Importance, there was
 at this very Time an Opportunity to transport all
 those Forces (the very disbanding whereof would
 not be without Danger for the Reason aforesaid) to
Portugal, in Compliance with the King's Obligation
 upon his Marriage.

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On the contrary, it was very notorious that the People generally throughout *England*, of what Quality soever, a few *London Presbyterians* excepted, were marvellously pleased to see the *Scots* so admirably chastised and yoked; nor had *Cromwell* ever done an Act that more reconciled the Affections of the *English* to him, than his most rigorous Treatment of that Nation; And They never contributed Money so willingly towards any of his Designs, as for the erecting those Forts in the several Quarters of the Kingdom; which, with a little Addition of Force, They had good Experience would suffice to keep it from giving any Disturbance to their Neighbours. And the demolishing all those Structures in one Instant, and leaving an unquiet and an impoverished People to their own Inclinations, could not be grateful.

The King had, during the Time that He resided in *Scotland* before his March to *Worcester*, contracted, and had brought with him from thence, a perfect Detestation of their Kirk and Presbyterian Government, and a great Prejudice against the whole Family of *Argyle* and some other Persons. But He was exceedingly reconciled to the Nation; and besides the Esteem He had of the Persons of very many Noblemen, He did really believe the Burgesses and common People to be as heartily affected to him, and as much at his Disposal, as any Subjects He had. And the Lord *Lautherdale* cultivated this gracious Credulity with so much Diligence, that He assured the King, "that He might depend upon the whole
" *Scots* Nation as upon one Man, to be employed in

The King for
it.

“ his Service and Commands of what Kind soever,
 “ and against what Enemy soever.” His Majesty
 upon the Debate of this Business declared, “ that He
 “ did not only think it good Husbandry in Respect
 “ of the Expence, and good Policy, that He might
 “ keep *Scotland* entirely at his Devotion, whilst
 “ *Ireland* remained in this Confusion, and *England*
 “ itself was threatened by such Factions in Religion,
 “ to gratify them in what They desired; but that He
 “ held himself obliged in Honor, Justice and Con-
 “ science, to send all the Forces out of that King-
 “ dom, and to deface the Monuments of that Time :
 “ And that there would be no more to be consulted,
 “ but what to do with those Forces” (which was
 quickly resolved, that They should be all sent for
Portugal; and Order was presently given for Ships
 upon which They were to be embarked), “ and
 “ then to consider in what Method the other should
 “ be done.”

The *Scots* were very well satisfied with the King's
 Resolution upon the Main, but troubled at somewhat
 that the *English* Lords proposed for the Way, “ that
 “ the Privy-Council first, and then the Parliament,
 “ should be informed of his Majesty's Intentions:
 “ Which,” They said, “ would be against the Honor
 “ and the Interest and the Right of *Scotland*, which
 “ never submitted any of their Concernments to be
 “ debated at the Council-Board of *England*; and the
 “ Innovation would be no less in remitting it to the
 “ Parliament, which had no Pretence of Jurisdiction
 “ over them.” To Both which They were answered,
 “ that the withdrawing the *English* Forces, and demo-

“ lishing the *English* Fortifications, concerned *Eng-*
 “ *land* no less than the other Kingdom; and that his
 “ Majesty did not intend it should be proposed to
 “ them, as a Thing of which He made any Doubt
 “ or required their Advice, but only as a Matter of
 “ Fact, which would prevent all Murmurings or
 “ Censures, which otherwise might arise.” The
English Lords desired, “ that the King’s Orders might
 “ be very positive, and that the Commissioner might
 “ see them executed, for the utter demolishing all
 “ those Fortifications which the *English* were to
 “ abandon, that They might not be continued for
 “ the Entertainment of new Garrisons of the Natives,
 “ which would administer Matter of new Jealou-
 “ sies:” All which They cheerfully consented to,
 well knowing that They might afterwards perform
 what They found convenient; and many did since
 believe, that there remains enough in some of the
 Places to be Shelter to a Rebellion hereafter.

The King appointed the Chancellor to make a
 Relation, at a Conference between the two Houses
 of Parliament, “ of the good Posture his Majesty’s
 “ Affairs of *Scotland* stood in; of their having re-
 “ pealed all those ill Laws which had been made by
 “ the Advantage of the Rebellion, and all that con-
 “ cerned the Church; upon which that his Majesty
 “ forthwith resolved to settle Bishops in that King-
 “ dom, which appeared very unanimously devoted
 “ to his Service: And that the King could not but
 “ communicate this good News to them, which He
 “ knew would give them Cause of rejoicing.” And
 then He told them, “ that the *Scots* Parliament, in

The English
Parliament do
not oppose it.

“ Regard of the Peace and Quiet that They enjoyed,
 “ without the least Apprehension of Trouble from
 “ abroad or at Home, had desired the King. *that the*
 “ *English Forces Might be withdrawn and all the For-*
 “ *tifications rased;* and that those Forces might be
 “ convenient, if his Majesty thought fit, to be transf-
 “ ported to *Portugal;*” without discovering what his
 Majesty had resolved to do, or asking any Opinion
 from them, which however They might have given
 if They pleased. The Effect was, that Both Houses
 sent their humble Thanks to the King “ for his hav-
 “ ing vouchsafed to let them know the good Condi-
 “ tion of *Scotland*, of which They wished his Majesty
 “ much Joy; and hoped his other Dominions would
 “ in a short Time be in the same Tranquillity:”
 Without taking any Notice of withdrawing the
 Garrisons. And so that Affair ended.

During this Agitation in *London*, it was discern-
 able enough that there were great Jealousies between
 the *Scots* Lords. The Commissioner and the other
 had Cause to believe, that the King gave much more
 Credit to *Lautherdale* than to them, and looked upon
 him as a Man of great Interest in that Country, when
 They knew He had none, being neither in his Qua-
 lity or Fortune amongst those who were esteemed
 Men of Power and Dependance. And He thought
 them linked in a Faction against him, to lessen the
 Value the King had of him, which indeed was the
 Foundation of all his Credit and Interest. What
 Countenance soever He set upon it, He was sensibly
 afflicted at the Downfal of the Presbytery, and that
Middleton had brought that to pass without any

Difficulty (as He had before told the King He would), which He had assured his Majesty was impossible to be effected but in long Time and by many Stratagems.

The Marquis of *Argyle* had been a Man universally odious to the whole Nation, some Ministers and Preachers excepted: And there had been always thought to have been an implacable Animosity from *Lautherdale* towards him; and after the King's Return no Man had appeared more against him, nor more insisted upon his not being admitted to his Majesty's Presence, or for his being sent into *Scotland* to be tried. Yet after all this it was discovered, that He had interposed all He could with his Majesty to save him, and employed all his Interest in *Scotland* to the same Purpose. And the Marquis was no sooner executed, but the Earl of *Lautherdale* had prevailed with the King immediately to give his Son the Lord *Lorne* (who had remained in *London* to solicit on his Father's Behalf) Leave to kiss his Hand, and to create him Earl of *Argyle*, and to confer on him the Office of General Justice in the *Highlands*, by which his Father had been qualified to do most of the Wick-
Lord Lorne restored, and created Earl of Argyle.
ednesses He had committed; all which the Parliament of *Scotland* should have treated as the most sensible Affront to them that They could undergo.

It was well known that this young Man, who was Captain of the King's Guard when He was in *Scotland*, had treated his Majesty with that Rudeness and Barbarity, that He was much more odious to him than his Father; and in all the Letters which *Lautherdale* had found Opportunity to write, whilst He was a Prisoner in *England*, to the King when He was

beyond the Seas, He inveighed equally against the Son as the Father, and never gave him any other Title than *that Toad's Bird*: So that Nobody could imagine from whence this Change could proceed, but from a Design to preserve an Interest in the Presbyterian Party against the Time He should have Occasion to use them.

Then there were Circumstances in this Grace of the King to the Lord *Lorne*, that exceeded all Men's Comprehension: For his Majesty caused all the Estate of the Marquis of *Argyle*, which did not appear in any Degree so considerable as it was generally believed to have been, to be seized upon as forfeited to him; and then would grant it to the Son so absolutely, that neither the Owners should recover what had been injuriously and violently taken from them for their Loyalty to the King, nor the Creditors receive Satisfaction for the just Debts which were due to them, and which must have been satisfied if the King had retained the Forfeiture. But upon the Application of the Commissioner and the other Lords, that the King would hear all Persons concerned, there was some Mitigation in those Particulars, notwithstanding all the Opposition which *Lautherdale* did barefaced make on the Behalf of the Lord *Lorne*, and which the other bore with great Indignation: Which He knew very well, and did believe that the Oath and Subscription, which He well knew They had contrived for the next Session of Parliament, was levelled at him; that not taking it, as They did not believe He would do, the Secretary of *Scotland's Place* might become void, which They

had much rather should have been in any Man's Hand than in his. And therefore He took all Occasions to profess and declare, besides his constant Railery against the Presbytery, "that if They should require him to subscribe that He is a *Turk*, He would do it before He would lose his Office."

The Matter of these Offences being most in private, and so not publicly taken Notice of, They made a fair Show and kept good Quarter towards each other. And the King consenting to all that the Commissioner proposed with Reference to the Public, being indeed abundantly satisfied with his Comportment, and at parting promising to give him the Office of Treasurer, when by *Crawford's* refusing to subscribe it should become void; They, with all their Bishops, returned again for *Scotland* with incu-

The Commis-
sioner and Bi-
shops return
to Scotland.

able Jealousy of *Lautherdale*, who remained waiting upon the King, and resolved to cross all their Designs He could, and quietly to expect a better Opportunity to undo what He could not for the present prevent.

It is Time now to return to the Parliament of *Eng-*

The English
Parliament
meets.

land, which, according to the Time of the Prorogation, met again in *March* towards the Entrance into the Year 1664: When at their first Meeting the King informed them at large of the Infurrection that had been endeavoured in the Summer before in *Yorkshire*, which, how foolishly soever contrived, was a very great Instance of the Distemper of the Nation; that three Years after the disbanding of the Army, the Officers thereof should remain still so unquiet, as to hope to give any signal Disturbance to the Peace of the Kingdom, by such a Commotion as They could upon their Credit raise.

An Infurrection intended in Yorkshire.

The continual Discourse of Plots and Infurrections had so wearied the King, that He even resolved to give no more Countenance to any such Informations. nor to trouble himself with Inquiry into them; but to leave the Peace of the Kingdom against any such Attempts to the Vigilance of the civil Magistrates, and the Care of the Officers of the Militia, which He presumed would be sufficient to quell and suppress any ordinary fanatic Design. And upon this Resolution, and to avoid the Reproach of the late Times, of contriving Plots only to commit Men to Prison against whom there was any Prejudice, He totally neglected the first Information He received of this seditious Purpose. But when the Intelligence was continued from several Parts, and so particular for the Time and Place of the Rendezvous, and for the seizing upon the City of *York*; and there was Evidence that some Men of Estate and Fortune, and who were held wary and discreet Men, were engaged in it; his Majesty thought it Time to provide against it, and not only commended the Care of it to the Lords Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants of the Counties adjacent, but sent likewise several Troops of his own Horse to possess the City of *York* before the Day appointed, and to attend some of the Places of the Rendezvous. And They came very seasonably, and surpris'd many upon the very Place, before their Company was strong enough to make Resistance. Others did make some Resistance, but quickly fled and were dispersed. Many were taken, and upon their Examination behaved themselves as if They were sure to be quickly rescued; for it appeared

But prevent.
ed.

appeared that They did believe that the Infurrection would have been general throughout the Kingdom, and that all the disbanded Army would have been brought together at several Rendezvouses.

All the Prisons in the *North* were so full, that the King thought it necessary to send down four or five of the Judges of the several Benches of *Westminster-Hall* or *York*, with a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, to examine the whole Matter. There, though the Judges did not believe that They had discovered the Bottom of the whole Conspiracy, They found Cause to condemn very many; whereof seventeen or eighteen were executed, some reprieved, and very many left in Prison to be tried at the next Assizes. Amongst those who were executed, the Man who was most looked upon was one *Rymer*, of the Quality of the better Sort of Grand-Jurymen, and held a wise Man, and was known to be trusted by the greatest Men who had been in Rebellion: And He was discovered by a Person of intimate Trust with him, who had heretofore the same Affections with him, but would venture no more. He was a fullen Man, and used few Words to excuse himself, and none to hurt any Body else; though He was thought to know much, and that having a good Estate He would never have embarked in a Design that had no Probability of Success. Some of the Prisoners declared, "that They were assured by those who engaged them, that such and such great Men would appear at the Rendezvous or soon after." But that was not thought a sufficient Ground to trouble any

Some of the
Plotters executed.

Man, though some of them were very liable to Suspicion; since in all Combinations of that Kind, it is a most usual Artifice to work upon weak Men, by persuading them that other Men, of whom They have great Esteem, are engaged in it, who in Truth know Nothing of it.

The King's
Speech at the
Meeting of the
Parliament.

The Judges were returned from *York* little Time before the Parliament met, and therefore the King thought it fit to awaken them to much Vigilance, by informing them with what Secrecy that Conspiracy had been carried. And his Majesty assured them, " that He was not yet at the Bottom of that Business; and that it appeared manifestly, that this Conspiracy was but a Branch of that which He had discovered as well as He could to them about two Years since, and had been then executed nearer Hand, if He had not by God's Goodness come to the Knowledge of some of the principal Contrivers, and so secured them from doing the Mischief They intended."

His Majesty told them, " that They would wonder, (yet He said what was true) that They were now even in those Parts, when They see their Friends under Trial and Execution, still pursuing the same Consultations: And it was evident that They had Correspondence with desperate Persons in most Counties, and a standing Council in *London* itself, from which They received their Directions, and by whom They were advised to defer their last intended Insurrection. But those Orders served only to distract them, and came too late to prevent their Destruction." He said, " He knew more of their Intrigues, than They

“ thought He did ; and hoped He should shortly
 “ discover the Bottom : In the mean Time He de-
 “ sired the Parliament , that They might all be as
 “ watchful to prevent , as They were to contrive
 “ their Mischief .” He said , “ He could not upon
 “ this Occasion omit to tell them , that these de-
 “ perate Men in their Counsels (as appeared by
 “ several Examinations) had not been all of one
 “ Mind in the Ways of carrying on their wicked
 “ Resolutions . Some would still insist upon the Au-
 “ thority of the long Parliament , of which They
 “ say They have Members enough willing to meet :
 “ Others have fancied to themselves , by some Com-
 “ putation of their own , upon some Clause in the
 “ *Triennial Bill* , that this present Parliament was at
 “ an End some Months since ; and that for Want of new
 “ *Writs* They may assemble themselves , and chuse
 “ *Members for Parliament* ; and that this is the best
 “ Expedient to bring themselves together for their
 “ other Purposes . For the Long Parliament ,” his
 Majesty said , “ that He and They together could
 “ do no more than He had done to inform and
 “ compose the Minds of Men ; let them proceed
 “ upon that at their Peril . But He thought there
 “ had been Nothing done , to disabuse Men in respect
 “ of the *Triennial Bill* . He confessed that He had
 “ often himself read over that Bill ; and though there
 “ is no Color for the Fancy of the Determination
 “ of this Parliament ; yet He would not deny to
 “ them , that He had always expected that They
 “ would , and even wondered that They had not
 “ considered the wonderful Clauses in that Bill ,

“ which had passed in a Time very uncareful for
 “ the Dignity of the Crown , or the Security of the
 “ People.” His Majesty desired the Speaker and
 the Gentlemen of the House of Commons , “ that
 “ They would once give that *Triennial Bill* a
 “ Reading in their House ; and then in God’s Name
 “ They might do what They thought fit for him,
 “ themselves, and the whole Kingdom.” His Ma-
 “ jesty said, “ that He needed not tell them how
 “ much He loved Parliaments : Never King was so
 “ much beholden to Parliaments as He had been ;
 “ nor did He think that the Crown could ever be
 “ happy without frequent Parliaments. But He
 “ wished them to assure themselves , that if He
 “ should think otherwise , He would never suffer a
 “ Parliament to come together, by the Means pre-
 “ scribed by that Bill .”

He renewed his Thanks to them “ for the free
 “ Supply They gave him the last Session of four
 “ Subsidies ; yet He could not but tell them , that
 “ that Supply was fallen much short of what He ex-
 “ pected and They intended. That it would hardly
 “ be believed , yet They knew it to be true, that
 “ very many Persons, who have Estates of three or
 “ four thousand Pounds by the Year, do not pay
 “ for these four Subsidies sixteen Pounds : So that
 “ whereas They intended and declared , *that they*
 “ *should be collected according to former Precedents* ,
 “ they do not now arise to Half the Proportion
 “ they did in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth* ; and yet
 “ sure the Crown wants more now than it did then ,
 “ and the Subject is at least as well able to give.”

His Majesty said, " the Truth is, by the Licence
 " of the late ill Time, and ill Humor of this, too
 " many of the People, and even of those who
 " make fair Professions, believe it to be no Sin to
 " defraud the Crown of any Thing that is due to
 " it. That They no sooner gave him *Tonnage* and
 " *Poundage*, than Men were devising all the Means
 " They could to steal Custom; nor could the Far-
 " mers be so vigilant for the Collection, as others
 " were to steal the Duties. They gave him the
 " *Excise*, which all People abroad believed to be the
 " most insensible Imposition that can be laid upon
 " a People: What Conspiracies and Combinations
 " were entered into against it by the Brewers, who
 " He was sure did not bear the Burden themselves,
 " even to bring that Revenue to Nothing, They
 " would hear in *Westminster-Hall*. They had given
 " him the *Chimney-Money*, which They had Rea-
 " son to believe was a growing Revenue, for Men
 " build at least fast enough; and They would there-
 " fore wonder, that it was already declined, and
 " that this Half Year brings in less than the former
 " did." He desired them therefore, " that They
 " would review that Bill; and since He was sure
 " that They would have him receive whatsoever
 " They gave, that He might have the collecting
 " and husbanding of it by his own Officers, and
 " then He doubted not but to improve that Re-
 " ceipt, and He would be cozened as little as He
 " could."

His Majesty concluded with " desiring and conju-
 " ring them to keep a very good Correspondence

“ together, that it might not be in the Power of
 “ any seditious or factious Spirits to make them
 “ jealous of each other, or either of them jealous
 “ of him, till They see him pretend one Thing
 “ and do another, which He was sure They had
 “ never yet done.” He assured them, “ it should
 “ be in Nobody’s Power to make him jealous of
 “ them.” And so desired them, “ that They would
 “ despatch what They found necessary, that They
 “ might be ready for a Session within two Months
 “ or thereabout, because the Season of the Year
 “ would invite them all to take the Country-Air.”

It was very happy for his Majesty, that He did cut out their Work to their Hand, and asked no Money of them, and limited them a short Time to continue together. It made their Counsels very unanimous: And though They raised no new Taxes and Impositions upon the People, They made what They had before raised much more valuable to the King than it was before, by passing other Acts and Declarations for the explaining many Things, and the better collecting the Money They had formerly given; which much added to his Majesty’s Profit without grieving the People, who were rather gratified in the Remedies which were provided against Frauds and Cozenage.

The Triennial
 Bill repealed.

The Parliament had sat but very little more than ten Days, when They presented a Bill to his Majesty for the Repeal of the *Triennial Bill*, which He had recommended to them; which was so grateful to him, that He came in Person to the House to pass it and to thank them: And He told them,

“ that every good *Englishman* would thank them
 “ for it; for it could only have served to discredit
 “ Parliaments, to make the Crown jealous of Par-
 “ liaments and Parliaments of the Crown, and per-
 “ suaded neighbour-Princes that *England* was not
 “ governed under a Monarch.” The Truth is: It
 had passed in a very jealous and seditious Time,
 when the Wickedness was first in hatching, that
 ripened afterwards to a dismal Perfection; and when
 all, who were sworn never to consent to the Dishe-
 rison of the Crown, thought only of preserving
 their own Inheritance which They had gotten, or
 improving it at the Expence of the Crown; and
 made it manifest enough, that it should wither,
 at least while it stood upon the Head of that King;
 for at that Time the Conspiracy went no farther,
 that is amongst those who had then Credit to pro-
 mote its Passage, though They were weak Men
 who thought it could rest there.

As They made this Entrance, so They were Some Acts
passed. wholly intent upon Matters of Moment, and des-
 patched all They intended to do within the two
 Months, in which the King desired They would
 be ready for a Prorogation. And as there was
 greater Order and Unanimity in their Debates, so
 They despatched more Business of public Import-
 ance and Consequence, than any other Parliament
 hath done in twice the Time: For, besides the
 Repeal of the odious Bill before mentioned, They
 made a very good additional Bill for the Chimney-
 Money, which made that Revenue much more
 considerable; and They passed likewise another Bill

against the frequenting of Conventicles, which was looked upon as the greatest Discountenance the Parliament had yet given to all the Factions in Religion, and if it had been vigorously executed would no Doubt have produced a thorough Reformation. They made likewise a very good Act, and very necessary for a Time of such Corruption, that had contracted new Ways of Dishonesty and Villany that former Times had not thought of, when many unworthy and cowardly Masters of Ships and Seamen had been contented to be robbed, and to suffer all their Owners Goods to be taken, upon an Allowance made to them by the Pirates; for the Discovery and Punishment whereof the Law had not enough provided. They therefore presented a Bill to the King, “for the Discovery and Punishment of all such treacherous and infamous Actions; and for the Reward of such honest and stout Seamen, as should manfully and courageously defend their Owners Goods, and therein maintain the Honor of the Nation”

All this They presented to his Majesty, and it was confirmed by his Royal Assent on the 17th of *May*; when his Majesty, after giving such Thanks to them as They deserved, told them, “He did not intend to bring them together again till the Month of *November*, that They might enjoy the Summer in the Transaction of their own Affairs: Yet because there might some emergent Occasion fall out, that might make him wish to find them together sooner, He would prorogue them only to *August*; and before the Day They should have



“ feasonable Notice, by Proclamation, not to give
 “ their Attendance, except fuch Occafion fhould fall
 “ out.” And fo They were prorogued to a Day in The Parlia-
ment pro-
togued.
Auguft, but met not till *November* following.

During this fhort Seflion of Parliament, They, who were very folicitous to promote a War with *Holland*, forgot not what They had to do; but They quickly difcerned that it was not a good Season to mention the giving of Money (which the King himfelf had forborne to mention, that the People might fee one Seflion of Parliament pafs without granting new Impositions, which They had not yet feen), and therefore it would be as unfeasonable to fpeak of a War. However They made fuch an Approach towards it, as might make a farther Advance much more eafy.

The Merchants in the Committee of Trade much The Mer-
chants remon-
strate againft
the Dutch.
 lamented the Obftruction and Discouragements, which They had long found in their Commerce by Sea with other Nations, and which were not removed even by the bleffed Return of the King; all which They imputed to the Pride and Infolence of the *Hollanders*, “ who,” They faid, “ obferved no Laws
 “ of Commerce, or any Conditions which them-
 “ felves confented to. That by their Fraud and Prac-
 “ tice the *Englilh* were almoft driven out of the *East*
 “ and *West-Indies*, and had their Trade in *Turkey*
 “ and in *Africa* much diminished. In Sum, that be-
 “ fides many infufferable Indignities offered by them
 “ to his Majefty and to the Crown of *England*, his
 “ Subjects had in few Years fufained the Damage
 “ of feven or eight hundred thoufand Pounds
 “ *Sterling*.”

All which with some particular Instances being reported from the Committee of Trade to the House, They had desired an Audience from his Majesty, and then presented this Grievance to him, and desired his Majesty, "that He would give such Order in it; as "to his Wisdom should seem fit, that might produce "just and honorable Satisfaction." The King, who continued firm to his former Resolution, answered them, "that He would transmit the Address They "had presented to him to his Resident at the *Hague*, "with Order that He should inform the *States* of it, "and require Satisfaction, which He hoped the "*States General* would yield unto, rather than compel him to demand Justice in another Way." The Answer pleased them well, nor could They wish that the Prosecution should be put into a better Hand than the Resident's, who was a Member of the House, and a Man who had inflamed them more than the Merchants themselves against the *Dutch*.

Character of
Sir George
Downing the
Resident in
Holland.

That Resident was Sir *George Downing*, a Man of an obscure Birth, and more obscure Education, which He had received in Part in *New England*: He had passed through many Offices in *Cromwell's Army*, of Chaplain, Scoutmaster, and other Employments, and at last got a very particular Credit and Confidence with him, and under that Countenance married a beautiful Lady of a very noble Extraction, which was the Fate of many bold Men in that presumptuous Time. And when *Cromwell* had subdued the *Dutch* to that Temper He wished, and had thereupon made a Peace with them, He sent this Man to reside as his Agent with them, being a Man of a

proud and insolent Spirit, and who would add to any imperious Command of his somewhat of the Bitterness of his own Spirit.

And He did so fully execute his Charge in all Things, especially when He might manifest his Animosity against the Royal Party, that when the King himself had once, during his Residence at *Brussels*, for his Divertisement made a Journey *incognito*, with not above four Persons, to see *Amsterdam* and from thence the Towns of *North Holland*; *Dowing* coming to have Notice of it delivered a Memorial to the *States of Holland*, wherein He inclosed the third Article of their Treaty, by which They were obliged “not to suffer any Traitor, Rebel or any other Person, who was declared an Enemy to the *Commonwealth of England*, to reside or stay in their Dominions;” and told them, “that *Charles Stuart* and the Marquis of *Ormond* had been lately in *Amsterdam*, and were still in some Places adjacent;” and required “that They might not be permitted to remain in any Part of their Dominions.” Whereupon the *States of Holland* sent presently to the Princess Royal, who was then at her Country-House at *Hounslerdike*, “that if her Brother were then with her or should come to her, He should forthwith depart out of their Province:” And not satisfied herewith, They published an Order in the *Hague* to the same Purpose, which was sent to *Amsterdam* and other Towns according to their Custom.

With this rude Punctuality He behaved himself during the Life of *Cromwell*, and whilst his Son retained the Usurpation; but when He saw him thrown

out with that Contempt, and that the Government was not like to be settled again till there was a Resort to the old Foundation, He bethought himself how He might have a Reserve of the King's Favor. And the Marquis of *Ormond* making about that Time a Journey *incognito* to the *Hague*, to treat of a Marriage for his eldest Son with a noble Lady whose Friends lived there, *Downing* found Opportunity to have a private Conference with him. and made Offer of his Service to the King, if his Devotion might be concealed, without which it would be useless to his Majesty. And for an Earnest of his Fidelity, He informed him of some Particulars which were of Moment for the King to know: Amongst which one was, "that a Person, who in Respect of
 " his very honorable Extraction, and the present
 " Obligations himself had to the Royal Family, was
 " not suspected, gave him, as He had long done,
 " constant Intelligence of what the King did, and of
 " many particulars which in their Nature deserved
 " to be more secret, which He had always sent to
 " *Cromwell* whilst He was living; but since his
 " Death, having a Resolution to serve the King,
 " He had never diserved him, and would hereafter
 " give him Notice of any Thing that it would be
 " necessary for him to be informed of with Reference to *England* or to *Holland*."

The Marquis thought it very fit to accept of such an Instrument, and promised him "to acquaint his
 " Majesty with his good Affection, who He presumed would receive it graciously, and give him
 " as much Encouragement to continue it as his pre-

“sent Condition would permit.” To which the other replied, “that He knew the King’s present Condition too well to expect any Reward from him: But if his Majesty would vouchsafe, when He should be restored, to confirm to him the Office He then held of a Teller in the Exchequer, and continue him in this Employment He then had in *Holland*, where He presumed He should be able to do him more Service than a Stranger could do, He would think himself abundantly rewarded.”

Of all which when the Marquis advertised the King at his Return to *Brussels*, He had Authority to assure him “of the King’s Acceptation, and that all that He expected should be made good.”

This was the Ground and Reason, that when the King came to the *Hague* the Year following to embark for *England*, He received *Dowing* so graciously, and knighted him, and left him there as his Resident; which They who were near the King, and knew Nothing of what had passed, wondered at as much as Strangers who had observed his former Behaviour. And the *States* themselves, who would not at such a Time of public Joy do any Thing that might be ingrateful to his Majesty, could not forbear to lament in private, “that his Majesty would depute a Person to have his Authority, who had never used any other Dialect to persuade them to do any Thing He proposed, but Threats if They should not do it, and who at several Times had disoblged most of their Persons by his Insolence.” And from the Time of his Majesty’s Departure from thence, He never made those Representations which Men in

those Ministeries used to do, but put the worst Commentaries upon all their Actions. And when He sat afterwards as a Member of the House, returning still in the Interval of Parliament to his Employment at the *Hague*, He took all Opportunities to inveigh against their Usurpations in Trade; and either did or pretended to know many of their Mysteries of Iniquity, in opening of which He rendered himself acceptable to the House, though He was a voluminous Speaker, which naturally They do not like.

He endeavours to bring on a War.

When this Province was committed to him of Expostulation for the Injuries sustained in several Places from the *Dutch*, He had his Wish, and used little Modesty in the urging of it. They answered, “ that most of the Particulars of which He complained were put under Oblivion by the late Treaty, and that in Consideration thereof They had yielded to many Particulars for the Benefit of the *English*; and that for the other Particulars, they were likewise by the same Treaty referred to a Process in Justice, of which They had yet no Cause to complain: Nor had there been any Action pretended to be committed since the Treaty was concluded,” which was not many Months before, “ that might occasion a Misunderstanding.” And surely at this Time when these Things were urged all this was true: But He, according to the Method He had been accustomed to, insisted upon his own Demands; and frequently reproached them with their former Submissions to *Cromwell*, and their present Presumptions upon the Goodness and Generosity of the King.

It is without Question, that the *States General* did, by the Standard of their own Wariness and Circumspection, not suspect that the King did intend to make a War upon them. They well knew the Straits and Necessities in which his Affairs stood, with Reference to Money, and to the several Distempers of the Nation in Matters of Religion, which might probably grow more dangerous if there were a foreign War; and concluded, that *Downing's* Importunities and Menaces were but the Results of his own Impetuosity, and that the King would not be solicitous to interrupt and part with his own Peace. And therefore their own Ships They sent out as They used to do, and those for the Coast of *Guinea* better prepared and stronger than of Course. Nor was the Royal Company less vigilant to carry on that Trade, but about the same Time sent a stronger Fleet of Merchants Ships than They had ever before done; and for their better Encouragement the King lent them two of his own Ships for a Convoy.

And at this Time They gave the King an Advantage in Point of Justice, and which concerned all other Nations in Point of Traffic and Commerce. It had been begun by them in the *East-Indies*; where They had planted themselves in great and strong Towns, and had many Harbours well fortified, in which They constantly maintained a great Number of good and strong Ships; by which They were absolute Masters of those Seas, and forced the neighbour Kings and Princes to enter into such Terms of Amity with them as They thought fit to require. And if They found that any advantageous Trade was

The insolent
Behaviour of
the Dutch on
the Coast of
Guinea.

driven in any Port by any other Nation, They presently sent their Ships to lie before that Port, and denounced War against the Prince to whom that Port belonged; which being done, They published a Declaration, “that it should not be lawful for any Nation whatsoever to trade in the Territories of that Prince with whom They then were in War.” And upon this Pretence They would not suffer an *English* Ship, belonging to the *East-India* Company, to enter into a Port to lade and take in a *Cargason* of Goods, that had been provided by their Factors there before there was any Mention or Imagination of such a War, and of which there was no other Instance of Hostility than the very Declaration. And at this Time They transplanted this new Prerogative to *Guinea*: And having as They said, for there was no other Evidence of it, a War with one of those Princes, They would not suffer the *English* Ships to enter into those Harbours where they had always traded. The King received Animadversion of this unheard of Insolence and Usurpation, and added this more just Complaint to the former, and required his Resident “to demand a positive Renunciation of all Pretence to such an odious Usurpation, and a Revocation of those Orders which their Officers had published.” To this Complaint and Demand They deferred to make Answer, till their Ambassador had presented a Grievance to the King.

An English
Captain seizes
a Dutch Fort
on the Coast
of Africa.

One of those Ships of War, which the King had lent to the Royal Company for the Convoy of their Fleet to *Guinea*, had in the Voyage thither assaulted
and

and taken a Fort belonging to the *Dutch* near Cape Verde; which was of more Incommodity to them than of Benefit to the *English*. Of this Invasion their Ambassador made a loud Complaint, and demanded, "that the Captain might be punished severely; and in the Mean Time that the King would give a present Order to him, the Ambassador, for the Redelivery of the Place and all that was in it, and He would send it to his Masters, who would forthwith send a Ship to demand it." The King had in Truth heard Nothing of it; and assured the Ambassador, "that the Captain, if He had done any such Thing, had not the least Commission or Authority for the doing it; and that He was sure He was upon his Way homeward, so that He might be expected speedily; and then He should be sure to undergo such Punishment as the Nature of his Offence required, when the Matter should be examined, and They should then receive full Reparation." This Answer how reasonable soever satisfied them not: Nothing would serve their Turn but a present Restitution, before his Majesty could be informed of the Provocation or Ground that had produced so unwarrantable an Action. They gave present Orders for the equipping a very great Fleet, and the raising many Land-Soldiers, making greater Preparations for War than They had made in many Years before. They likewise prepared a strong Fleet for *Guinea*, and granted a Commission (which was published in Print) to the Commander in Chief, "to make War upon

The Dutch
prepare a
strong Fleet
for Guinea.

“ the *English* in those Parts , and to do them all
 “ the Mischief He could.”

Prince *Rupert* , who had been heretofore with the Fleet then under his Command , in the Beginning of the King’s Reign , upon the Coast of *Guinea* (and by the Report and Testimony He gave of that Coast the Royal Company had received greater Encouragement) , now upon this insolent Demeanour of the *Dutch* , and publishing the Commission They had sent to their Commander in Chief , offered his Service to the King , “ to sail into those Parts with such a
 “ Fleet as his Majesty thought fit to send , with
 “ which He made little Doubt to secure Trade ,
 “ and abate the Presumption of the *Dutch* .” And hereupon a Fleet was likewise preparing for that Purpose , to be commanded by Prince *Rupert* .

The English
 prepare one
 likewise.

The Parliament had before declared , when They made their Address to the King against the *Dutch* for obstructing the Trade , “ that They would with
 “ their Lives and Fortunes assist his Majesty against
 “ all Oppressions whatsoever , which He should meet
 “ with in the Removal of those Obstructions ;” which They believed would terrify , but in Truth made the *Dutch* merry : And in some of their Declarations or Answers to *Downing’s* Memorials , They mentioned it with too much Pride and Contempt . And in this Posture the Disputes were when the Parliament met again in *November* , which came together for the most Part without a Desire either to give Money or make War . And *Downing* , who labored heartily to incense us and to provoke them , in all his Despatches declared , “ that all those

The Parlia-
 ment meets.

" Infolencies proceeded only from the Malignity
 " of the *States of Holland*, which could vent itself
 " no farther than in Words; but that the *States Ge-*
 " *neral*, without whose Concurrence no War could
 " be made, abhorred the Thought of it:" And
 there is no Doubt that was true. And the *Dutch*
 Ambassador, who remained at *London*, and was
 a very honest weak Man, and did all the Offices
 He could to prevent it, did not think it possible it
 could come to pass; " and that there might be some
 " Scuffles upon the Coast of *Guinea*, by the Direc-
 " tion of the *West India* Company, of whose Actions
 " the *States General* took Notice, but would cause
 " Justice to be done upon Complaint, and not suffer
 " the public Peace to be disturbed upon their Pre-
 " tences." And so the King forbore to demand any
 Supply from the Parliament, because an ordinary
 Supply would rather discredit his Demands than
 advance them, and He could not expect an extraor-
 dinary Supply but when the War was unquestion-
 able. And the *States General* at this Time were made
 a Property by the *States of Holland* (who had given
 private Orders for their own Concernments), and
 presented an humble Desire to the King by their
 Ambassador, " that Prince *Rupert's* Fleet might stay
 " in Harbour, as theirs likewise that was prepared
 " for *Guinea* should do, till some Means might be
 " found for the Accommodation of all Differences."
 Whereas before They pretended, that They would
 send their *Guinea* Fleet through the Channel, con-
 voyed by their Admiral with a Fleet of fifty Sail;
 which Report had before stopped Prince *Rupert*,

when He was under Sail for *Guinea*, to wait and expect that Piece of Bravery. But this Address from the *States General* made all Men believe there would be an Accommodation, without so much as any Hostility in *Guinea*.

The treacherous Behaviour of the Dutch.

But it was quickly discovered, that They were the honestest Men when They gave the worst Words. For before the *States General* sent to the King to stop Prince *Rupert* in Harbour, "and that their Fleets should likewise remain in their Harbours," the *States of Holland*, or that Committee that was qualified by them, had with great Privacy sent Orders to *De Ruyter*, who was in the *Mediterranean*, "to make all possible Haste with his Fleet to go to the Coast of *Guinea*, and not only to retake the Fort near *Cape Verde* that the *English* had taken from them, but likewise to take what Places He could which were in Possession of the *English*, and to do them what Damage He could in those Parts:" So that They might well offer that their Fleet should now remain in their Harbours in *Holland*.

When *De Ruyter* had been sent into the *Mediterranean*, the Pretence was, that it was against the Pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, who had in Truth preyed very much upon the *Dutch*, taken very many of their Ships, and had Abundance of their Subjects in Chains. And when that Fleet was sent into the *Mediterranean*, their Ambassador had desired the King, "that his Majesty's Fleet that was then in those Parts might upon all Occasions join with *De Ruyter*, when Opportunity should be

“ offered thereby to infest the *Turks* ;” which the King consented to, and sent Orders accordingly. But the *Dutch* had no such Purpose: His Business was to ransom their Captives with Money, and not to exact the Delivery of them by Force; and to make an Accommodation for the Time to come as well as He could. And when the *English* Fleet was at any Time in Pursuit of any of the *Turks* Vessels, and expected that the *Dutch*, by whom they must pass, would have given a little Stop to their Flight, which They might easily have done; They rather assisted than obstructed their Escape. And having made a very dishonorable Peace with the Pirates, He made Haste to prosecute his Orders for the Coast of *Guinea*.

As soon as the King knew of this impudent Af-
front and that *De Ruyter* was in Truth gone out of
the *Mediterranean*, He thought He might justly
seize upon any Ships of theirs, to satisfy the Da-
mages that He could not but sustain by *De Ruyter*
in *Guinea*: And so, it being the Season of the Year
that the *Dutch* Fleet returned with their Wines from
Bordeaux, *Rochelle*, and other Parts of *France*,
such of them as were forced by the Weather to
put into the *English* Harbours were seized upon.
And the Duke of *York*, having put himself on Board
with a Fleet of about fifty Sail, upon the Report of
the *Dutch* being come out to defend their Ships,
took many others, even upon their own Coasts;
which They chose rather to suffer, than to venture
out of their Ports to relieve them. However there
was not any one of all those Ships suffered to be

Upon which
their Ships
are seized.

The Dutch
commence
Hostilities in
Guinea.

unladen, or any Prejudice done to them; but they were all preserved unhurt, till Notice might arrive from *Guinea* what *De Ruyter* had done there. But undoubted Intelligence arrived in a very short Time after, that *De Ruyter* had declared and begun the War upon the Coast of *Africa*, not only by a forcible retaking the Fort which had been taken from them, and which his Majesty had offered to deliver, but by seizing upon several *English* Ships in those Parts, and by assaulting and taking other his Majesty's Forts and Places, and exercising all the Acts of Hostility which his Commission authorized him to do.

They refuse to
deliver the
Island of Po-
leroone.

And in a very short Time after, the *East-India* Company complained and informed the King, "that when their Officer had demanded the Redelivery of the Isle of *Poleroone* according to the Article of the late Treaty, and delivered the Letters and Orders from the *States General* and *States of Holland*, which their Ambassadors had given at *London*, to the Governor and Captain of that Island; He, after making him stay two or three Days there with his Ship and the Men He had brought with him, told him, *that upon a better Perusal of the Orders which He had brought, He found that they were not sufficient; and therefore till He should receive fuller Orders, He could not give up the Place.*" And so their Officer and Ship, which had been sent at a great Charge, were necessitated to return without any other Effect than the Affront and Indignity to his Majesty.

When there was now no Remedy, and the War

was actually made upon the King upon what Provocation soever, there was Nothing to be done but to resort to the Parliament, which had been so earnest to enter into it. A Fleet must be prepared equal to what the *Dutch* would infallibly make ready against the Spring, and worthy of the Presence of the Duke of *York*, who was impatient to engage his own Person in the Conduct of it; and the King had given his Promise to him that He should, when He had, God knows, no Purpose that there should be a War. It was quickly discovered, that there was not the same Alacrity towards a War now, after it was begun, in the Parliament, as there had been when They made their Vote: And They would have been glad that any Expedient might have been found for a Reconciliation, and that the Captain might have been called in Question, who first gave Offence by taking the Fort from the *Dutch* near *Cape Verde*, which some had pressed for when He came Home, before any more Mischief was done; and the not calling him in Question made many believe, that He had done Nothing without Warrant or Promise of Protection.

The *Dutch* still disclaimed all Thought or Purpose of War, and seemed highly offended with their Governor of *Poloerone*, and protested, “ that the Not-
 “ delivery of the Place proceeded only from Want
 “ of an Order from the Governor of *Batavia*, which
 “ Order came the next Day after the *English* Ship
 “ was departed: But that They had given Notice
 “ of it to the *English* Factory at *Bantam*, that the
 “ same or another *English* Ship might return and
 “ receive it; and They were confident that it was

then in the Hand of the *English*." But it was now too late to expect any honorable Peace, at least without making very notable Preparations for a War, which could not be done without ready Money. And whatever Orders had been given for the Preservation of the *Dutch* Ships, it quickly appeared that much of them had been embezzled or disposed of, before they were brought to any Judicatory, or adjudged to be Prize; and there was too much Cause to fear, that the rest would be disposed of to other Purposes than the Support of the War; though Nothing was more positively spoken, than that the War would maintain itself.

Measures
taken to dis-
pose the Par-
liament to
grant supplies
for a War.

The Parliament still promised fairly, and entered upon Consultation how and what Money to raise. And now the King commanded the Chancellor and the Treasurer to meet with those Members of the House of Commons, with whom They had used to consult, and to whom the King had joined others upon whom He was told He might more depend, and to adjust together what Sum should be proposed, and how and in what Manner to propose and conduct it. It was about the Month of *January*. And though the Duke took indefatigable Pains, by going himself sometimes to *Portsmouth* and sometimes to *Chatham*, to cause the Ships and all Provisions to be ready, that He might be at Sea before the *Dutch*; yet let what Advance could be made, as indeed there was great, Nothing could be said to be done, till a great Stock of ready Money could be provided; and it would be long after the Parliament had done their Part, before ready Money would be got. And there-

fore no more Time must be lost, without taking a particular Resolution.

The Meeting of those Persons the King appointed was at *Worcester-House*, where the Chancellor and Treasurer (who were known to be averse from the War) told the rest, "that there was no more Debate now to be, War or no War: It was come upon us, and We were now only to contrive the best Way of carrying it on with Success; which could only be done by raising a great present Sum of Money, that the Enemy might see that We were prepared to continue it as well as to begin." They who were most desirous of the War, as Sir *Henry Bennet* and Mr. *Coventry* (who were in Truth the Men who brought it upon the Nation), with their Friends, were of the Opinion, "that there should not be a great Sum demanded at present, but only so much as might carry out the Fleet in the Spring, and that sufficient Provisions might be made for the Summer Service: And then, when the War was once thoroughly entered into, another and a better Supply might be gotten about *Michaelmas*, when there was Reason to hope, that some good Success would dispose all Men to a frank Prosecution of the War." Whereas these Gentlemen had hitherto inflamed the King with an Assurance, "that He could not ask more Money of the Parliament than They would readily give him, if He would be engaged in this War which the whole Kingdom so much desired."

A meeting of some Lords and principal Commoners for that Purpose.

The Chancellor and the Treasurer were of Opinion "that the House of Commons could never be.

“ in a better Disposition to give, than They were
“ at present; that hereafter They might grow weary,
“ and apt to find Fault with the Conduct, especially
“ when They found the Country not so well plea-
“ sed with the War as They were now conceived to
“ be: Whereas, now the War was begun, and the
“ King engaged in it as much as He could be after
“ ten Battles, and all upon their Desire and their
“ Promise; They could not refuse to give any
“ Thing proposed within the Compass of that Rea-
“ son, which all understanding Men might examine
“ and judge of. That it was evident enough, that
“ the true Gound of all the Confidence the *Dutch*
“ had was from their Opinion of the King's Necessi-
“ tities and Want of Money, and their Belief that
“ the Parliament would supply him very sparingly,
“ and not long to continue such an Expense, as
“ They very well knew that a War at Sea would
“ require: And They would be much confirmed in
“ this their Imagination, if at the Beginning They
“ should see the Parliament give him such a Sum of
“ Money, as seemed to be implied by what had
“ been said. That They therefore thought it abso-
“ lutely necessary, that the King should propose as
“ much, that is, that his Friends should move for
“ such a Sum, as might upon a reasonable Compu-
“ tation, which every Man would be ready to make,
“ and of which wise Men upon Experience would
“ easily make an Estimate, carry on the War for a
“ full Year; that is, for the setting out the present
“ Fleet and paying it off upon its Return, and for
“ the setting out another Fleet the next Spring. If

“ this were now done, his Majesty would not be
 “ involved in importunate Necessities the next
 “ Winter; but He might calmly and deliberately
 “ consult upon such farther Supplies, as the Expe-
 “ rience of what would be then past should suggest
 “ to be necessary: And that this would give his
 “ Majesty such a Reputation with all his Neigh-
 “ bours, and such Terror to his Enemies, that it
 “ would probably dispose them to Peace.”

They told them, “ the best Method to compute
 “ what the Expense might amount to in a Year,
 “ would be by reflecting upon the vast Dispropor-
 “ tion of the Charge We were now already engaged
 “ in, and what had been estimated four Months
 “ since, when the War was designed. That it was
 “ well known to Mr *Coventry*, who had been always
 “ present at those Conferences, that it had been said
 “ by the most experienced Sea Officers, and those
 “ who had fought all the late Battles against the
 “ *Dutch*, that a Fleet of forty or fifty such Ships, as the
 “ *King's* were, would be Strength sufficient to beat all
 “ the Ships the Dutch had on *of the narrow Seas*; and
 “ one very eminent Man amongst them said, He
 “ would not desire above fifty Ships to fight with all
 “ They had, and that He was confident that a greater
 “ Number than fifty could never be brought to fight or-
 “ derly or usefully: And yet that there were at pre-
 “ sent no fewer than fourscore good Ships preparing
 “ for the Duke. And the Charge in many other Par-
 “ ticulars appeared already to amount to double the
 “ Sum that was first computed.”

They concluded, “ that a less Sum than two Mil-

“ lions and a Half” (which is five-and-twenty hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*) “ ought not to be
 “ proposed, and being once proposed ought to be
 “ insisted on and pursued without consenting to any
 “ Diminution; for Nobody could conceive that it
 “ would do more than maintain the War one Year,
 “ which the Parliament could not refuse to provide
 “ for in the Beginning, as there was so much in
 “ Truth of it already expended in the Preparations
 “ and Expedition the Duke had made in *November*,
 “ when He went to Sea upon the Fame of the *Dutch*
 “ Fleet’s Intention to convoy their *Guinea Ships*
 “ through the Channel.”

There was not a Man in the Company, who did not heartily wish that that Sum or a greater might be proposed and granted: But They all, though They agreed in few other Things, protested, “ that They
 “ could not advise that so prodigious a Sum should
 “ be as much as named; and that They did not
 “ know any one Man, since it could not be thought
 “ fit that any Man who had Relation to the King’s
 “ Service should move it, who had the Courage to
 “ attempt it or would be persuaded to it.”

The two Lords continued very obstinate, “ that
 “ a less Sum should not be named for the Reasons
 “ They had given,” which the other confessed to be just; and They acknowledged too, “ that the
 “ Proposition ought not to be made by any Man
 “ who was related to the Court, or was thought to
 “ be in any Grace there that might dispose him, nor
 “ yet by any Gentleman, how well soever thought
 “ of, who was of a small Estate, and so to pay little

“ of so great a Sum He was so liberal to give.” They therefore desired them “ to name some of those Mem-
 “ bers, who were honest worthy Men, and looked upon as Lovers of their Country, and of great Fortunes, unsuspected to have any Designs at Court; and if They were not enough acquainted with them, the Lords would find some Way by themselves or others to move them to it.” Whereupon They named five or six Persons very well known, of whom the House had a very good Esteem, but without any Hope that any of them would be prevailed with to undertake it. The Lords said, “ They would try what might be done, and give them Notice the next Day, that if it were possible it might be the Business of the following Day.”

The Chancellor and the Treasurer chose three *Norfolk* Gentlemen of those who had been named, because They were good Friends and grateful to each other, and desired them the next Day “ that They might confer together.” They told them, “ They knew well the State of Affairs; the Parliament had engaged the King in a War, that could not be carried on without a vast Expence: And therefore if at the Entrance into it there should be a small or an ordinary Supply given, it would blast all their Hopes, and startle all other Princes from joining, with whom the *Dutch*, were not in Favor, and who would be inclined to the King, if They saw such a Provision for the War as would be sufficient to continue it for some Time. And therefore They desired to confer with them, who upon all Occasions manifested good Affections to the King, and

“ whose Advice had a great Influence upon the House,
 “ upon the whole Matter how it might be con-
 “ ducted.” They all consented to what had been
 said, and promised their own Concurrence and utmost
 Endeavours to compass what the King should desire.
 The Lords said, “ They promised themselves more
 “ from them, and that They would not only concur,
 “ but propose what should be necessary to be grant-
 “ ed.” And thereupon They enlarged upon the
 Charge which was already in View, and upon what
 was to be expected, and concluded “ that two Mil-
 “ lions and a Half were necessary to be insisted on;”
 and desired, “ that when the Debate should be entered
 “ upon, which They hoped might be the next Day,
 “ one of them would propose this Sum and the other
 “ would second it.”

They looked long one upon another, as if They
 were surpris'd with the Sum. At last one of them
 said, “ that the Reasons were unanswerable for a
 “ liberal Supply; yet He did not expect that so pro-
 “ digious a Sum, which He believed had never yet
 “ been mentioned in Parliament to be granted at one
 “ Time, would be propos'd: However He did not
 “ think it too much, and that He would do the best
 “ He could to answer any Objections which should
 “ be made against it, as He doubted many would;
 “ but He confess'd He durst not propose it.” Ano-
 ther was of the same Mind, and with many good
 Professions desired to be excus'd as to the first pro-
 posing it. The third, who was Sir *Robert Paston*,
 a Person of a much greater Estate than Both the other
 who had yet very good Fortunes, and a Gentleman

of a very ancient Extraction by his Father (and his Mother was Daughter to the Earl of *Lindsey*), declared very frankly, "that He was satisfied in his Conscience, " that it would be very good for the Kingdom as " well as for the King that such a Sum should be " granted: And, therefore if They thought him fit " to do it, He would propose it the next Morning, " let other Men think what They would of him " for it."

The Lords gave him the Thanks They ought to do, and said what was necessary to confirm him, and to thank the other Gentleman for their Promise to second him, and gave Notice to the rest of the Resolution, that They might call for the Debate the next Day; which was entered into with a general Cheerfulness, every Man acknowledging the Necessity and the Engagement of the House, but no Man adventuring to name the Proportion that should be given. When the House was in a deep Silence expecting that Motion, Sir *Robert Paston*, who was no frequent Speaker, but delivered what He had a Mind to say very clearly, stood up, mentioned shortly the Obligation, the Charge of the War, and " that the present Supply " ought to be such as might as well terrify the Enemy " as assist the King; and therefore He proposed that " They might give his Majesty two Millions and a " Half, which would amount to five-and-twenty " hundred thousand Pounds." The Silence of the House was not broken; They sat as in Amazement, until a Gentleman, who was believed to wish well to the King, without taking Notice of what had been proposed, stood up, and moved that They might

Sir Robert
Paston moves
for a Supply of
2,500,000 l.

give the King a much less Proportion. But then the two others, who had promised to second, renewed the Motion one after the other; which seemed to be entertained with a Consent of many, and was contradicted by none: So that, after a short Pause, no Man who had Relation to the Court speaking a Word, the Speaker put it to the Question, "whether
 " They would give the King five-and-twenty hundred thousand Pounds for the carrying on the War
 " against the *Dutch*;" and the Affirmative made a good Sound, and very few gave their Negative aloud, and it was notorious very many sat silent. So the Vote was presently drawn up into an Order; and the House resolved the next Day to be in a Committee, to agree upon the Way that should be taken for the raising this vast Sum, the Proportion whereof could no more be brought into Debate.

Which is agreed to by the House.

This brave Vote gave the King the first Liking of the War: It was above what He had expected or indeed wished to be proposed. And They, who had been at the first Conference, and delivered the Resolution of the two Lords as impossible to be compassed, not without Insinuation as if it were affected only to indispose the House to the War (yet They did not think fit to vary from the Proportion, till They saw the Success of the Proposition, which the Lords were engaged to procure a fit Person to make); when They found the Conclusion to be such as could be wished, They commended the Counsel, and fell into another Extreme, that in the Thing itself and in the Consequence did very much Harm; which shall be next mentioned, after I have said that there
 appeared

appeared great Joy and Exaltation of Spirit upon this Vote, and not more in the Court than upon the Exchange, the Merchants generally being unskillfully inclined to that War, above what their true Interest could invite them to, as in a short Time afterwards They had Cause to confess.

The King sent to the Lord Mayor to call a Common Council, and commanded the Chancellor, Treasurer, and other Lords of his Council, to go thither; who, upon the Credit of this Vote of the House of Commons for this noble Supply, prevailed with the City presently to furnish the King with the Loan of two hundred thousand Pounds (which being within few Days paid into the Hands of the Treasurer of the Navy, all Preparations for the Fleet, and of whatever else was necessary for the Expedition, were provided with marvellous Alacrity: And the Parliament made what Haste was possible to despatch the Bill, by which their great Present might be collected from the People.

It hath been said before, that in most vacant Places, upon the Death of any Members, Ways were found out to procure some of the King's domestic Servants to be elected in their Places; so that his Majesty had many Voices there at his Devotion; which did not advance his Service. These Men confidently ran out of the House still to inform the King of what was doing, commended this Man, and discommended another who deserved better; and would many Times, when his Majesty spake well of any Man, ask his Majesty "if He would give them Leave to let that Person know how gracious his Majesty was

“ to him, or to bring him to kiss his Hand.” To which He commonly consenting, every one of his Servants delivered some Message from him to a Parliament-Man, and invited him to Court as if the King would be willing to see him. And by this Means the Rooms at Court, where the King was, were always full of the Members of the House of Commons; this Man brought to kiss his Hand, and the King induced to confer with that Man, and to thank him for his Affection, which never could conclude without some general Expression of Grace or Promise, which the poor Gentleman always interpreted to his own Advantage, and expected some Fruit from it that it could never yield: All which, being contrary to all former Order, did the King no Good, and rendered those unable to do him Service who were inclined to it.

Sr H. Bennet
and Sir C. Berkeley
carefs
and amuse Sir
Rob. Paston.

The new Secretary, and Sir *Charles Berkeley*, who by this Time was entered very far into the King's Favor and his Confidence, were the chief, and by their Places had Access to him in all Places and Hours: And They much disliked the Officiousness of the others, as if They presumed to invade their Province. They thought it but their Due, that the King should take his Measures of the House of Commons by no other Report but theirs, nor dispense his Graces there through any other Conduit. They took this Occasion to carefs Sir *Robert Paston*, who was a Stranger to them, and to magnify the Service He had done the King, and the great Sense the King had of it, and that He did long to give him his own Thanks: They invited him to come to the Court,

and Sir *Charles Berkeley* told him as from the King, "that his Majesty resolv'd to make him a Baron." And by these daily Courtships and Importunities the Gentleman, who was well satisfied with what He had done, and never propos'd any Advantage to himself from it, was amus'd, and thought He was not to refuse any Honor the King thought him worthy of, nor to neglect those Graces, which were offer'd to him by Persons of their Interest. Yet He made not Haste to go to the Court, believing that it might make him less capable of serving the King, and that any Favor his Majesty should do him would be more seasonable hereafter than at present, lest He might be thought to have made that Motion in the House upon Promise of the other Reward. Yet after continued Invitations He went thither, and those Gentlemen presented him to the King, who spake very graciously to him, told him, "He had done him great Service, which He would never forget," and many other princely Expressions, and "that He should be glad to see him often," but no Particular to that Purpose which had been mentioned to him.

When He went next, He found his Majesty's Countenance the same: But They, who had courted and amus'd him so much, grew every Day more dry and reserv'd towards him; of which He complain'd to a Friend of his who He knew had Interest in the Chancellor, and desired him to acquaint him with all that had pass'd, who had not till then heard that He had been at Court, and when He was inform'd of the whole Relation was very much troubled, well

knowing, that how acceptable soever those Kinds of Courtships were for few Days, they were attended with many Inconveniencies when the End was not correspondent with the Beginning. He knew well the Resolution the King had taken to create no more Noblemen, the Number whereof already too much exceeded: However He was very sorry, that a Person of that Quality and Merit should be exposed to any Indignity, for having endeavoured in such a Conjunction to do his Majesty a signal Service, and succeeded so well; and spake with the King at large of it, and gave his Majesty a full Account of the Modesty and Temper of the Gentleman, of his Quality and Interest, and what had been said and promised to him. The King was troubled, owned all that He had said himself to him, as being very hearty, and "that He would never forget the Service He had done, but requite it upon any Opportunity;" but protested, "that He had never made any such Promise, nor given Sir *Charles Berkeley* any Authority to mention any such Thing to him, which would prove very inconvenient;" and therefore wished, "that his Friend would divert him from prosecuting such a Pretence, which He knew to be contrary to his Resolution."

The Chancellor knew not what to say, but truly advertised his Friend of all the King had said, who again informed Sir *Robert Paston*, who thought himself very hardly treated, and went to Sir *Charles Berkeley*, who had not the same open Arms, yet assured him, "that He had said Nothing to him but by the King's Direction, which He must aver. That He

“ did not use to interpose or move the King in any
 “ of his Affairs: But if He would desire the Chan-
 “ cellor to take Notice of it, who He knew had a
 “ great Affection for him, and upon whose Desire
 “ He had performed that great Service, He was
 “ confident it would be attended with the Success
 “ He wished, to which He would contribute all his
 “ Endeavours;” intimating, “ that if He had not
 “ what He desired, He might impute it to the Chan-
 “ cellor.” Upon which Sir *Robert*, who was well
 assured of the Chancellor’s Kindness, concluded that
 his Court-Friends had deluded him, or expected
 Money, which He would not give: And so the Mat-
 ter ended, with Prejudice to the King.

Notwithstanding these and the like very incon-
 venient Activities, which lost more Friends than
 were gotten by them, the Noise of this stupendous
 Supply, given to the King at one Time, made
 good Impressions upon all who had any Affections
 for the King, and was wondered at in those Places
 where Money was most plenty. In *Holland* it
 wrought even to Consternation, and the *States* pre-
 tended to have great Hope as well as Desire of it,
 and sent their Ambassador, who remained still in
England, new Orders to solicit it.

The Condi-
 tion of Eng-
 land in Ref-
 spect to its
 Neighbours

In the Mean Time the King neglected not to
 apply what Endeavours He could use, to dispose
 his Allies to act such Parts as their own Interest
 might reasonably invite them to. From *France* He
 expected only Neutrality, by Reason He knew He
 had renewed the Alliance with the *States*; but never
 suspected, that it was in such a Manner as would

hinder the Neutrality. *Spain* could do little Good or Harm, nor durst it to engage against *Holland*: Yet all was done that was necessary towards a good Correspondence with it. The two Northern Kings would find themselves concerned, at least to wish better to one Side than to the other; and had been Both so disobliged by the *Dutch*, that had it not been for the irreconcilable Jealousy They had of each other. They might have been united to the Interest of *England*. But *Denmark* had in the late War given what They could not keep nor recover, and yet could hardly be without; and *Sweden* looked with too much Contempt upon the Weakness and Unactivity of their Neighbour, to give back any Thing They had got: And this restrained them Both from provoking an Enemy that might give Strength to the other.

Yet *Denmark* had the Year before by *Hannibal Zestled*, who went Ambassador into *France* and made *England* his Way, made many Complaints to the King "of the Oppression the Crown of *Denmark* underwent by the *Dutch*, and the Resolution it had "to shake off that Yoke as soon as an Opportunity "should be offered;" and made a Request to the King, "that He would endeavour to make the "Alliance so fast between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, "that the Jealousy of each other might hinder neither of them from doing any Thing that was for "their own Interest, without Prejudice to the "other." And when the Difficulty was alledged, in Regard that *Sweden* would never be persuaded to part with *Elfenore*, and those other Places which

had been given up in the late Treaty; *Hannibal* *Zestled* consented that what was done in that Treaty should be again confirmed, and said "his Master was willing and desirous that the King of *England* should undertake and be Caution for the Observation of this Treaty;" implying, "that if this were done, and thereby the Fear of any further Attempt from *Sweden* were extinguished, *Denmark* would not be long without redeeming itself from the Vexation which it endured from *Holland*, which, upon former Necessities and ill Bargains, upon the Matter had an Exemption from paying all Duties upon their own great Trade through the *Sound*, as much to the Prejudice of all other Princes as of the poor Crown of *Denmark*." This having so lately passed from a Minister of that Crown, the King thought it a good Time to endeavour to do that Office between the two Crowns, and thereby to unite them Both to the King in this Conjunction against the *Dutch*; at least that They might Both remain good Friends to his Majesty, and supply him with all those Provisions without which his Navy could not be supported, and as far as was possible restrain the *Dutch* from those Supplies, by making such large Contracts with the *English*, that there would not be enough left for the other.

Upon this Ground He sent Mr. *Henry Coventry* Ambassadors sent to Denmark and Sweden. of his Bedchamber to the *Swede*, whose Friendship He much more valued, as more able to assist him, and upon whose Word He could more firmly depend. And to *Denmark* He sent Sir *Gilbert Talbot*,

who was acceptable to that Crown by his having performed many Offices of Respect to the Prince of *Denmark*, when He had been *incognito* in *England*, and waited upon him to several Parts of the Kingdom which He had a Mind to see, and so caused him to be entertained in several Gentlemen's Houses in his Journey, of which the Prince seemed very sensible when He departed. That which was expected from that Negotiation, except the Confidence could be created between the two Crowns, was only to preserve *Denmark* a Friend, that He might not favor the *Dutch*, and might recal all his Subjects out of their Service; and that We might have the same Freedom of Trade, and the Security of his Ports for our Men of War.

Proposals
made by the
Bishop of
Munster for
an Alliance
against the
Dutch.

Whilst the King took this Care for the Advancement of his Affairs abroad, there was an Advantage offered him that looked as if it came from Heaven. There came one Day a Gentleman, who looked rather like a Carter, who spoke ill *English*, and desired that He might have a private Audience with the Chancellor; who presently sent for him, and in a short Time knew him to be a *Benedictine* Monk, who had been sometimes with him at *Cologne*, and belonged to the *English* Abbey at *Lamspring* in *Westphalia*, where a very reverend Person of the Family of *Gascoigne* in *Yorkshire* was Abbot, with whom the Chancellor had much Acquaintance, and esteemed him very much; and He had, during the Time the King stayed in *Cologne*, sent this Monk several Times thither, who was likewise a Gentleman, but by living long in *Germany* had almost forgot the

Language as well as the Manners of his own Country. His Business now was to deliver him a Letter (whereof He knew little of the Contents) from the Bishop of *Munster*, upon the Edge of whose Dominions that *English* Abbey was seated, which had likewise a Territory that extended to the Principality of the other, and received much Favor and Protection from the other; who desired the Abbot to give him an honest Man, that would carry a Letter from him to the Court of *England*, Upon which this Monk was deputed, the rather because He was known to the Chancellor. The Matter of the Letter was no more, than "that if the War against *Holland* was to be resolutely prosecuted by the King of *England*, He (the Bishop) conceived that a Conjunction with those Allies, who could infest the *Dutch* by Land as his Majesty would do by Sea, might not be unacceptable to his Majesty; and in that Case, upon the Answer to this Letter, He would send a fit Person to make some Propositions to the King and to treat with him." The Instructions the Monk had, were "to make all possible Haste back, and that as soon as He returned on that Side the Sea, He should send the Answer He had received, by the Post, so directed as was appointed; and then that himself should stay at *Brussels* till He received farther Orders."

The Chancellor quickly informed the King of this Despatch, to whom the Monk was likewise known; and his Majesty immediately assembled those Lords with whom He consulted in the most

secret Cafes. Every Body knew fo much of the Bifhop of *Munfter*, that He was a warlike Prince, having had Command in Armies before He dedicated himfelf to the Church, and that He had a great Animofity againft *Holland*, which had difobliged him in the higheft Point, by encouraging his Subjects to rebel againft him, and thofe of his City of *Munfter* to fhut their Gates againft him: And when He endeavoured to reduce them by Force, and to that Purpose had befieged them with his Army, the *Dutch* fent an Army to relieve it, and declared that They would protect that City. And by this Means, and by the Mediation of the neighbour Princes, who had no Mind that the Peace of their Country fhould be difturbed by fuch an Incurfion, the Bifhop was hindered from taking that Vengeance upon his rebel Subjects which He intended, and compelled to accept of fuch Conditions as did not pleafe him. And all this was but two Years before, and boiled ftill in his Breaft, that was naturally very hot. But He was a poor Prince, unable to give any Difurbance to the *United Provinces*, whose Dominions extended within a Day's March of his. However every Man was of Opinion, that the Proposition ought to be very kindly received, and the Bifhop invited to fend his Agent. And to that Purpose the Chancellor wrote to him, and the Monk was defpatched the next Day, And having obferved his Orders in fending away the Answer, He was very few Days at *Bruffels*, when a Servant of the Bifhop arrived with Orders that the Monk fhould accompany him back into *England*: And fo

They Both arrived in *London* in less Time than could be expected.

The Gentleman who came from the Bishop was a very proper Man, well bred, a Baron of that Country, but a Subject to the Bishop: He brought with him a Letter of Credit from the Bishop to the King, and full Authority to treat and conclude according to his Instructions, which He likewise presented to his Majesty. He brought likewise a Letter to the Chancellor from the Elector of *Mentz*, in which He recommended to him the Person whom the Bishop of *Munster* should send, and declared "that He believed the Bishop of *Munster* would be able to perform whatsoever He should undertake:" Which Letter was a very great Encouragement to the King: For his Majesty knew the Elector of *Mentz* very well to be a very wise Prince and notoriously his Friend, and that He would not say so much of the Ability of the Bishop to perform, except He knew particularly his Design, and what He would undertake to do.

The Baron's Instructions were to propose, "that his Majesty would cause one hundred thousand Pounds to be immediately paid, by Bills of Exchange at *Hamburgh* or *Cologne* or *Francfort*, to such Persons as the Bishop should appoint to receive it; and should promise to pay fifty thousand Pounds by the Month in the same Places for three Months to come: Afterwards He hoped the Army would provide for its own Support. This being undertaken on his Majesty's Part, the Bishop would be engaged, within one Month

“ after the first Bills of Exchange for the one hun-
 “ dred thousand Pounds should be delivered into
 “ the Hands of his Agent the Baron, that He would
 “ be in the Dominions of the *States General* with
 “ an Army of sixteen thousand Foot and four thou-
 “ sand Horse; with which He was very confident
 “ He should within few Days be possessed of *Arn-*
 “ *heim*, and shortly after of *Utrecht*: And if the
 “ King’s Fleet came before *Amsterdam*, that Army
 “ of the Bishop should march to what Place or
 “ Quarter his Majesty should direct.”

The Baron was asked, “ how it could be possible
 “ for the Bishop, though a gallant Prince and very
 “ active, to draw together such an Army in so short
 “ a Time out of his small Province; and how He
 “ was sure that his Neighbours, who two Years
 “ before had compelled him to make so disadvan-
 “ tageous a Peace with the *Dutch*, would not again
 “ use the same violent Importunity to obstruct his
 “ Proceedings ” To which He answered, “ that
 “ the Bishop would never undertake to bring such
 “ an Army together in so short a Time, in which
 “ They could not be levied, but that He knows
 “ They are already levied, and upon an Assurance
 “ of Money can be brought together in the short
 “ Time proposed: For the other, the Interposition
 “ of his Neighbours, He had not then, when They
 “ prevailed, Half that Army which He was sure
 “ He should now have; besides those Neighbours
 “ were now as much incensed against the *Dutch* as
 “ his Master was, and would all engage with him
 “ against them; and that many of the Army that

“ is designed were at present quartered in their
 “ Dominions; and that the Bishop intended not to
 “ march in his own private Capacity, but as General
 “ of the Empire, for which the Elector of *Mentz*
 “ had undertaken to procure him a Commission.”
 He was demanded “ how his Master stood with
 “ *France*, and whether He did not fear that it would
 “ either prevent the Enterprize by Mediation, or
 “ disappoint it by sending Aid to *Holland*.” He
 answered, “ his Master was confident *France*
 “ would not do him any Harm: That He had sent
 “ an Agent, from whom He should be sure to re-
 “ ceive Letters by every Post.” And within few
 Days after, He showed a Letter that He had re-
 ceived from that Agent, in which He said, “ that
 “ *Monsieur de Lionne* bade him assure the Bishop,
 “ that his *Christian* Majesty would do Nothing to
 “ his Prejudice.”

This being the State of that Affair, the King con-
 sidered what He was to do. The Propositions made
 by the Bishop were such, as it was not possible for
 him to comply with. But then it was presumed by
 every Body, that very much would be abated of the
 Money that was demanded: For it was not an auxi-
 liary Army that was to be raised for the King's Ser-
 vice, whose Conquests were to be applied to his Be-
 nefit, but an Army raised to revenge the Injuries
 which himself had received, and what He should get
 must be to his own Account; and his Majesty's
 Hostility at Sea would as much facilitate his Enter-
 prise at Land, as the marching of his Army might
 probably disturb and distract their Preparations for

the Sea. Yet it could not be expected, that the Bishop could draw this Army together (and the Attempt was not to be made with less Force) without a good Supply of Money, nor keep it together without Pay.

The Advantage, that would with God's Blessing attend this Conjunction, spread itself to a very large Prospect. That the People generally in the *Provinces* were very unsatisfied with this War, was a Thing notorious; and that the Province of *Holland* which began it, and was entirely governed by *De Wit*, did even compel the other Provinces to concur with them, partly upon Hope that a farther Progress would be prevented by Treaty, or that a Peace would follow upon the first Engagement. But when They should see an Army of twenty thousand Men, which They suspected not, to invade their Country at Land, and in that Part where They were most secure, and from whence so much of their necessary Provisions were daily brought; They must be in great Consternation, and draw all their Land Army together, which They had not done in near twenty Years, and could not be done to any Effect without vast Charge, which would put the People into a loud Distraction. Finally, there was great Reason to cherish the Design: And therefore the King resolved by an unanimous Advice to undertake any Thing towards it, that could be in his Power to perform.

There was one Difficulty occurred, that had not been thought of nor so much as apprehended by the Baron, which was the Return of the Money, whatsoever should be assigned to that Service; for of the

three Places proposed by him, besides the Secrecy that was requisite, all the Trade of *London* could not assign one thousand Pounds in the Month to be paid upon *Cologne* and *Francfort*; nor could *Hamburgh* itself be charged with twenty thousand Pounds in three Months Time: Which when the Agent knew, He seemed amazed, and said, "They had believed that it had been as easy to have transmitted Money to those three Towns, as it was for them to receive it from thence."

In Conclusion, the King gave his Answer in Writing, what Sum of Money He would cause to be paid at once for the first Advance, that the Bishop might begin his March, and what He would afterwards cause to be paid by the Month; which being less than the Baron's Instructions would admit him to accept, He sent an Express with it to the Bishop: And "till his Return," He desired, "that the King would appoint some Person of Experience to confer with him; and They might together inform themselves of the best Expedients to return Money into *Germany*, since his Majesty had hitherto only undertaken to pay his Assignations in *London*." What Success this Treaty afterwards had will be related in its Place.

These Advantages from abroad being in this Manner deliberated and designed, it may be very reasonable to look back, and consider what Preparations were made at Home towards the carrying on this War, for which the Parliament had provided so bountifully: And if ordinary Prudence had been applied to the Managery, if any Order and Method

had been consulted and steadily pursued for the conducting the Whole, the Success would have been answerable, and at least any Inconvenience from the sudden Want of Money would have been prevented. But whoever was at any near Distance in that Time when those Transactions were in Agitation, as there are yet many worthy Men who were, or shall be able to procure a sincere Information of the Occurrences of that Time, will be obliged to confess, that They who contrived the War had the entire conducting it, and were the sole Causes of all the ill Effects of it; which cannot be set down particularly without wounding those, who were by their Confidence in ill Instruments made accessary to those Mischiefs, in which themselves suffered most. Nor is it the End of this true Relation to fix a Brand upon the Memory of those, who deserve it from the Public and from very many worthy Men, but is to serve only for a Memorial to cast my own Eyes upon, when I cannot but reflect upon those Proceedings; and by my Consent shall never come into any Hands but theirs, who for their own Sakes will take Care to preserve it from any public View or Perusal.

The State of
the Navy from
the King's
Restoration.

It cannot be denied and may very truly be averred, that from the Hour of the King's Return and being possessed of the entire Government, the Naval Affairs were never put into any Order. That Province, being committed to the Duke as Lord High Admiral of *England*, was entirely engrossed by his Servants, in Truth by Mr. *Coventry*, who was newly made his Secretary, and who made Use of his other Servants, who were better known to him, to infuse
into

into his Highness the Opinion, “ that whoever presumed to meddle in any Thing that related to the Navy or the Admiralty, invaded his Jurisdiction, and would lessen him in the Eyes of the People; and that He ought to be jealous of such Men, of those who would undermine his Greatness; and that as He was superior to all Men by being the King’s Brother, so being High Admiral He was to render Account to none but to the King, nor suffer any Body else to interpose in any Thing relating to it.” Whereas in Truth there is no Officer of the Crown more subject to the Council-Board than the Admiral of *England*, who is to give an Account of all his Actions and of every Branch of his Office constantly to the Board, and to receive their Orders: Nor hath He the Nomination of the Captains of the Ships, till upon the Presentation of their Names He receives their Approbation, which is never denied: Nor was there any Counsellor who had ever sat at the Board in the last King’s Time, to whom this was not as much known as any Order of the Table.

But there was no retrieving this Authority, not only from the Influence Mr. *Coventry*, and They of the Family who adhered to him, had upon the Duke, but from the King’s own Inclination, who thought that those Officers, who immediately depended upon himself and only upon himself, were more at his Devotion than They who were obliged to give an Account to any other Superior. And from the Time that He came first into *France*, He had not been accustomed to any Discourse more than to the undervaluing the Privy-Council, as if it shadowed the King

too much, and usurped too much of his Authority, and too often superseded his own Commands. And the Queen his Mother had, upon these Discourses, always some Instances of the Authority which in such a Case the Council had assumed against the King's Judgment; the Exception to which according to the Relation which Nobody could question, seemed to be very reasonable. This Kind of Discourse, being the Subject of every Day, made so great Impression that it could never be defaced, and made the Election and Nomination of Counsellors less considered, since They were to be no more advised with afterwards than before.

Another Argument, that used to be as frequently insisted upon by the Queen, and with more Passion and Indignation, was of the little Respect and Reverence, that by the Law or Custom of *England* was paid to the younger Sons of the Crown; and though there was Nobody present in those Conversations who knew any Thing of the Law or Custom in those Cases, yet all that was said was taken as granted. And not only the Duke but the King himself had a marvellous Prejudice to the Nation in that Part of good Manners: And it was easily agreed, that the Model of *France* was in those and other Cases much more preferable, and which was afterwards observed in too many.

This being then the State and Temper of the Royal Family when the King returned, which then consisted of the Duke of *Glocester*, and two Princesses more than it now hath; the very next Morning after the Fleet came to *Scheveling*, the Duke went on Board and took

Possession of it as Lord High Admiral: And so his Secretary provided new Commissions for all the Officers who were in present Command, for which it is probable They all paid very liberally; for with him the Custom began to receive five Pounds for every Warrant signed by the Duke, and for which no Secretary to any Lord Admiral formerly had ever received above twenty Shillings. Mr. *Coventry*, who was utterly unacquainted with all the Rules and Customs of the Sea, and knew none of the Officers, but was much courted by all, as the Secretary to the Admiral always is, made Choice of Captain *Pen*, whom the King knighted as soon as He came on Board; who from a common Man had grown up under *Cromwell* to the highest Command, and was in great Favor with him till He failed in the Action of *St. Domingo*, when He went Admiral at Sea, as *Venables* was General at Land, for which They were Both imprisoned in the *Tower* by *Cromwell*, nor ever employed by him afterwards: But upon his Death He had Command again at Sea, as He had at this Time under *Mountague* when He came to attend the King. With this Man Mr. *Coventry* made a fast Friendship, and was guided by him in all Things.

All the Offices which belonged to the Ships, to the Navy, to the Yards, to the whole Admiralty (except the three superior Officers, which are not in the Disposal of the Admiral), were now void, and to be supplied by the Duke, that is, by Mr. *Coventry*; who by the Advice of Sir *William Pen*, who was solely trusted by him in the Brokage, conferred them upon those (without observing any other Rule) who

would give most Money, not considering any honest Seaman who had continued in the King's Service, or suffered long Imprisonment for him. And because an incredible Sum of Money did and would rise this Way, some principal Officers in the Yards, as the Master Smith and others, and the Keepers of the Stores, yielding seven, eight hundred or a thousand Pounds; He had the Skill to move the Duke to bestow such Money as would arise upon such Place upon Sir *Charles Berkeley*, for another to another, and for some to be divided between two or three: By which Means the whole Family was obliged, and retained to justify him; and the Duke himself looked upon it as a Generosity in Mr. *Coventry*, to accommodate his Fellow Servants with what He might have asked or kept for himself. But it was the best Husbandry He could have used: For by this Means all Men's Mouths were stopped, and all Clamor secured; whilst the lesser Sums for a Multitude of Officers of all Kinds were reserved to himself, and which, in the Estimation of those who were at no great Distance, amounted to a very great Sum, and more than any Officer under the King could possibly get by all the Perquisites of his Place in many Years. By this Means, the whole Navy and Ships were filled with the same Men who had enjoyed the same Places and Offices under *Cromwell*, and thereby were the better able to pay well for them; whereof many of the most infamous Persons which that Time took Notice of were now become the King's Officers, to the great Scandal of their honest Neighbours, who observed that They retained the same Manners and

Affections, and used the same Discourses They had formerly done.

Besides many other irreparable Inconveniencies and Mischiefs which resulted from this Corruption and Choice, one grew quickly visible and notorious, in the stealing and embezzling all Manner of Things out of the Ships, even when they were in Service: But when they returned from any Voyages, incredible Proportions of Powder, Match, Cordage, Sails, Anchors, and all other Things, instead of being restored to the several proper Officers which were to receive them, were embezzled and sold, and very often sold to the King himself for the setting out other Ships and for replenishing his Stores. And when this was discovered (as many Times it was) and the criminal Person apprehended, it was alledged by him as a Defence or Excuse, "that He had paid so dear for his Place, that He could not maintain himself and Family without practising such Shifts:" And none of those Fellows were ever brought to exemplary Justice, and most of them were restored to their Employments.

The three superior Officers of the Navy were possessed of their Offices by Patents under the Great-Seal of *England* before the King's Return; and They are the natural established Council of the Lord High Admiral, and are to attend him when He requires it, and always used of Course to be with him one certain Day in a Week, to render him an Account of all the State of the Office, and to receive his Orders and to give their Advice. And now because these three depended not enough upon him, but especially

out of Animosity against Sir *George Carteret*, who besides being Treasurer of the Navy was Vice-Chamberlain of the King's Household, and so a Privy-Counsellor; Mr. *Coventry* proposed to the Duke, "that in
 " Regard of the Multiplicity of Business in the
 " Navy, much more than in former Times, and the
 " setting out greater Fleets than had been accus-
 " tomed in that Age when those Officers and that
 " Model for the Government of the Navy had been
 " established, his Royal Highness would propose to
 " the King to make an Addition, by Commissioners,
 " of some other Persons always to sit with the other
 " Officers with equal Authority, and to sign all Bills
 " with them;" which was a Thing never heard of
 before, and is in Truth a lessening of the Power of
 the Admiral. It is very true, there have frequently
 been Commissioners for the Navy; but it hath been
 in the same Place of the Admiral and to perform his
 Office: But in the Time of an Admiral Commissioners
 have not been heard of. One principal End in
 this was, to draw from the Treasurer of the Navy
 (whose Office Mr. *Coventry* thought too great, and
 had implacable Animosity against him from the first
 Hour after He had made his Friendship with *Pen*)
 out of his Fees (which, though no greater than were
 granted by his Patent and had been always enjoyed
 by his Predecessors, were indeed greater than had
 used to be in Times of Peace, when much less
 Money passed through his Hands) what should be
 enough to pay those Commissioners; for it was not
 reasonable They should serve for Nothing, nor that
 They should be upon the King's Charge, since the
 Treasurer's Perquisites might be enough for all.

The Duke liked the Proposition well, and without conferring with any Body else upon it proposed it to the King at the Council-Board, where Nobody thought fit to examine or debate what the Duke proposed; and the King approved it, and ordered "that the Commissioners should receive each five hundred Pounds by the Year:" But finding afterwards that the Treasurer of the Navy's Fees were granted to him under the Great-Seal, his Majesty did not think it just to take it from him, but would bear it himself, and appointed the Treasurer to pay and pass those Pensions in his Account. The Commissioners named and commended by the Duke to the King were the Lord *Berkeley*, Sir *John Lawson*, Sir *William Pen*, and Sir *George Ayscue*, the three last the most eminent Sea-Officers under *Cromwell*, but it must not be denied but that They served the King afterwards very faithfully. These the King made his Commissioners, with a Pension to each of five hundred Pounds the Year, and in some Time after added Mr. *Coventry* to the Number with the same Pension: So that this first Reformation in the Time of Peace cost the King one Way or other no less than three thousand Pounds yearly, without the least visible Benefit or Advantage. The Lord *Berkeley* understood Nothing that related either to the Office or Employment, and therefore very seldom was present in the Execution. But after He had enjoyed the Pension a Year or thereabout, He procured Leave to sell his Place, and procured a Gentleman, Mr. *Thomas Harvey*, to give him three thousand Pounds for it: So soon this temporary Commission, which

might have expired within a Month, got the Reputation of an Office for Life by the good Managery of an Officer.

The State of
the Navy at
the Commencement of
the War.

This was the State of the Navy before the War with *Holland* was resolved upon. Let us in the next Place see what Alterations were made in it, or what other Preparations were made, or Counsels entered upon, for the better Conduct of this War: And a clear and impartial View or Reflection upon what was then said or done, gave discerning Men an unhappy Prefage of what would follow. There was no Discourse now in the Court, after this Royal Subsidy of five-and-twenty hundred thousand Pounds was granted, but, “of giving the Law to the whole
“ Trade of *Christendom*; of making all Ships which
“ passed by or through the narrow Seas to pay an
“ Imposition to the King, as all do to the King of
“ *Denmark* who pass by the *Sound*; and making all
“ who pass near to pay Contribution to his Majesty;” which must concern all the Princes of *Christendom*: And the King and Duke were often desired to discountenance and suppress this impertinent Talk, which must increase the Number of the Enemies: Commissioners were appointed to reside in all or the most eminent Port-Towns, for the Sale of all Prize-Goods; and these were chosen for the most Part out of those Members of the House of Commons, who were active to advance the King’s Service or who promised to be so, to whom liberal Salaries were assigned.

Commissioners
of Appeals
appointed.

There were then Commissioners appointed to judge all Appeals, which should be made upon and

against all Sentences given by the Judge of the Admiralty and his Deputies; and these were all Privy-Counsellors, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, the Lord *Ashley*, and the Secretaries of State, who were like to be most careful of the King's Profit. But then the Rules which were prescribed to judge by were such as were warranted by no former Precedents, nor acknowledged to be just by the Practice of any neighbour Nation, and such as would make all Ships which traded for *Holland*, from what Kingdom soever, lawful Prize; which was foreseen would bring Complaints from all Places, as it did as soon as the War begun. *French* and *Spaniard* and *Swede* and *Dane* were alike treated; whilst their Ambassadors made loud Complaints every Day to the King and the Council for the Injustice and the Rapine, without Remedy, more than References to the Admiralty, and then to the Lords Commissioners of Appeal, which increased the Charge, and raised and improved the Indignity. Above all, the *Hanse-Towns* of *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, and the rest (who had large Exemptions and Privileges by Charter granted by former Kings and now renewed by this) had the worst Luck; for none of them could ever be distinguished from the *Dutch*. Their Ships were so like, and their Language so near, that not one of their Vessels were met with, from what Part of the World soever they came, or whithersoever they were bound, but they were brought in; and if the Evidence was such as there could be no Color to retain them, but that they must be released, they always carried with them sad Remembrances of the Company they had been in.

The Injustice
of their Sen-
tences.

There was one sure Rule to make any Ship Prize, which was, *if above three Dutch Mariners were aboard it there need no further Proof for the Forfeiture*; which being no where known could not be prevented, all Merchants Ships, when they are ready for their Voyage, taking all Seamen on Board of what Nation soever who are necessary for their Service: So that those *Dutchmen* who run from their own Country to avoid fighting (as very many did, and very many more would have done), and put themselves on Board Merchants Ships of any other Country, where They were willingly entertained, made those Ships lawful Prize in which They served, by a Rule that Nobody knew nor would submit to.

Too much Encouragement given to Privateers.

It was resolv'd that all possible Encouragement should be given to Privateers, that is, to as many as would take Commissions from the Admiral to set out Vessels of War, as They call them, to take Prizes from the Enemy; which no Articles or Obligations can restrain from all the Villany They can act, and are a People, how countenanced soever or thought necessary, that do bring an unavoidable Scandal, and it is to be feared a Curse, upon the justest War that was ever made at Sea. A Sail! A Sail! is the Word with them; Friend or Foe is the same; They possess all They can master, and run with it to any obscure Place where They can sell it (which Retreats are never wanting), and never attend the Ceremony of an Adjudication. Besides the horrible Scandal and Clamor that this *Classis* of Men brought upon the King and the whole Government for Defect of Justice, the Prejudice which resulted from thence

to the Public and to the carrying on the Service is unspeakable: All Seamen run to them. And though the King now assigned an ample Share of all Prizes taken by his own Ships to the Seamen, over and above their Wages; yet there was great Difference between the Condition of the one and the other: In the King's Fleet They might gain well, but They were sure of Blows, Nothing could be got there without fighting; with the Privateers there was rarely fighting, They took all who could make little Resistance, and fled from all who were too strong for them. And so those Fellows were always well manned, when the King's Ships were compelled to stay many Days for Want of Men, who were raised by pressing and with great Difficulty. And whoever spake against those lewd People, upon any Case whatsoever, was thought to have no Regard for the Duke's Profit, nor to desire to weaken the Enemy.

In all former Wars at Sea, as there was great Care taken to appoint Commissioners for the Sale of all Prize-Goods, who understood the Value of those Commodities They had to sell, yet were compelled to sell better Bargains than are usually got in public Markets; so there was all Strictness used in bringing all Receivers to as punctual an Account, as any other of the King's Receivers are bound to make, and to compel them to pay in all the Money They receive into the Exchequer, that it might be issued out to the Treasurer of the Navy or to other Officers for the Expence of the War. And it had been a great Argument in the first Consultations upon this War, "that it would support

“ itself; and that after one good Fleet should be
 “ fet out once to beat the *Dutch*” (for that was
 never thought worthy of a Doubt), “ the Prizes,
 “ which would every Day after be taken, would
 “ plentifully do all the rest: Besides the great Sum
 “ that the *Dutch* would give to purchase their Peace,
 “ and the yearly Rent They would give for the
 “ Liberty of fishing;” with all which it was not
 thought fit to allow them “ to keep above such a
 “ Number of Ships of War, limited to so many
 “ Ton and to so many Guns;” with many Parti-
 culars of that Nature, which were carefully digested
 by those who promoted the War. But now, after
 this Supply given by the Parliament, there was no
 more Danger of Want of Money: And many Dis-
 courses there were, “ that the Prize-Money might
 “ be better disposed in rebuilding the King’s Houses,
 “ and many other good Uses which would occur;”
 and the King forbore to speak any more of appoint-
 ing Receivers and Treasurers for that Purpose,
 when all or most other Officers, who were judged
 necessary for the Service, were already named; and
 the Lord Treasurer, who by his Office should have
 the Recommendation of those Officers to the King,
 had a List of Men, who for the Reputation and Ex-
 perience They had were in his Judgment worthy
 to be trusted, to be presented to the King when He
 should enter upon that Subject.

Lord Ashley
 obtains a
 Grant ap-
 pointing him
 Treasurer of
 Prize-Money.

But one Evening a Servant of the Lord *Ashley*
 came to the Chancellor with a Bill signed, and de-
 sired in his Master’s Name, “ that it might by seal-
 “ ed that Night.” The Bill was, “ to make and

“ constitute the Lord *Ashley* Treasurer of all the
 “ Money that should be raised upon the Sale of
 “ all Prizes, which were or should be taken in this
 “ present War, with Power to make all such Offi-
 “ cers as should be necessary for the Service; and
 “ that He should account for all Monies so received
 “ to the King himself, and to no other Person what-
 “ soever, and pay and issue out all those Monies
 “ which He should receive, in such Manner as his
 “ Majesty should appoint by Warrant under his
 “ Sign Manual, and by no other Warrant; and that
 “ He should be free and exempt from accounting into
 “ the Exchequer.” When the Chancellor had seen
 the Contents, He bade the Messenger tell his Lord,
 “ that He would speak with the King before He
 “ would seal that Grant, and that He desired much
 “ to speak with himself.”

The next Morning He waited upon the King, and informed him. “ of the Bill that was brought
 “ to him, and doubted that He had been surpris’d:
 “ That it was not only such an Original as was with-
 “ out any Precedent, but in itself in many Particu-
 “ lars destructive to his Service and to the Right of
 “ other Men. That all Receivers of any Part of his
 “ Revenue were accountable in the Exchequer, and
 “ could receive their Discharge in no other Place:
 “ And that if so great a Receipt, as this was already”
 (for the Fleet of Wine and other Ships already seized
 were by a general Computation valued at one hun-
 dred thousand Pounds), “ and as it evidently would
 “ be, should pass without the most formal Account;
 “ his Majesty might be abominably cozened, nor

The Chancel-
 lor remon-
 strates against
 sealing this
 Grant.

“ could it any other Way be prevented. And in
 “ the next Place, that this Grant was not only dero-
 “ gatory to the Lord Treasurer, but did really de-
 “ grade him, there being another Treasurer made
 “ more absolute than himself, and without Depen-
 “ dence upon him.” And therefore He besought his
 Majesty, “ that He would reconsider the Thing itself
 “ and hear it debated, at least that the Treasurer
 “ might be first heard, without which it could not
 “ be done in Justice:” To which He added, “ that
 “ He would speak with the Lord *Ashley* himself, and
 “ tell him how much He was to blame to affect such
 “ a Province, which might bring great Inconveni-
 “ ences upon his Person and his Estate.”

He quickly found that the King had not been sur-
 prised in what He had done, “ which,” He said,
 “ was absolutely in his own Power to do; and that
 “ it would bring Prejudice only to himself, which
 “ He had sufficiently provided against.” However
 He seemed willing to decline any Thing that looked
 like an Affront to the Treasurer, and therefore was
 content that the sealing it might be suspended till He
 had further considered.

The Lord *Ashley* came shortly to the Chancellor,
 and seemed “ to take it unkindly that his Patent was
 “ not sealed:” To which He answered, “ that He
 “ had suspended the immediate sealing it for three
 “ Reasons; whereof one was, that He might first
 “ speak with the King, who He believed would re-
 “ ceive much Prejudice by it; another, that it would
 “ not consist with the Respect He owed to the Lord
 “ Treasurer, who was much affronted in it, to seal it

“ before He was made acquainted with it. And in
 “ the last Place, that He had stopped it for his, the
 “ Lord *Ashley's*, own Sake: And that He believed
 “ He had neither enough considered the Indignity
 “ that was offered to the Lord Treasurer, to whom
 “ He professed so much Respect, and by whose Fa-
 “ vor and powerful Interposition He enjoyed the
 “ Office He held, nor his own true Interest, in sub-
 “ mitting his Estate to those Incumbrances which
 “ such a Receipt would inevitably expose it to. And
 “ that the Exemption from making any Account
 “ but to the King himself would deceive him: And
 “ as it was an unusual and unnatural Privilege, so it
 “ would never be allowed in any Court of Justice,
 “ which would exact both the Account and the
 “ Payment or lawful Discharge of what Money He
 “ should receive; and if He depended upon the Ex-
 “ emption He would live to repent it.”

He answered little to the Particulars more than
 with some Sullenness, “ that the King had given him
 “ the Office, and knew best what is good for his own
 “ Service; and that except his Majesty retracted his
 “ Grant, He would look to enjoy the Benefit of it.
 “ That He did not desire to put an Affront upon the
 “ Lord Treasurer; and if there were any Expressions
 “ in his Commission which reflected upon him, He
 “ was content they should be mended or left out:
 “ In all other Respects He was resolved to run the
 “ Hazard.”

The Treasurer himself, though He knew that He
 was not well used, and exceedingly disdained the
 Behaviour of his Nephew (for the Lord *Ashley* had

The King
obliges him to
seal it.

married his Niece), who He well knew had by new Friendships cancelled all the Obligations to him, would not appear to oppose what the King resolved, but sat unconcerned and took no Notice of any Thing. And so within a short Time the King sent a positive Order to the Chancellor to seal the Commission; which He could no longer refuse, and did it with the more Trouble, because He very well knew, that few Men knew the Lord *Ashley* better than the King himself did, or had a worse Opinion of his Integrity. But He was now gotten into Friendships which were most behooveful to him, and which could remove or reconcile all Prejudices: He was fast linked to Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *Coventry* in a League offensive and defensive, the same Friends and the same Enemies, and had got an entire Trust with the Lady, who very well understood the Benefit such an Officer would be to her. Nor was it difficult to persuade the King (who thought himself more rich in having one thousand Pounds in his Closet that Nobody knew of, than in fifty thousand Pounds in his Exchequer) how many Conveniences He would find in having so much Money at his own immediate Disposal, without the Formality of Privy-Seals and other Men's Warrants, and the Indecency and Mischief which would attend a formal Account of all his generous Donatives and Expence, which should be known only to himself.

Measures
taken to pre-
judice the
King against
the Chancellor,

Though the King seemed to continue the same gracious Countenance towards the Chancellor which He had used, and frequently came to his House when
He

He was indisposed with the Gout, and consulted all his Business, which He thought of public Importance, with him with equal Freedom; yet He himself found, and many others observed, that He had not the same Credit and Power with him. The nightly Meetings had of late made him more the Subject of the Discourse; and since the Time of the new Secretary They had taken more Liberty to talk of what was done in Council, than They had done formerly: And the Duke of *Buckingham* pleased himself and all the Company in acting all the Persons who spake there in their Looks and motions, in which Piece of Mimickry He had an especial Faculty; and in this Exercise the Chancellor had a full Part. In the Height of Mirth, if the King said "He would go such a Journey or do such a trivial Thing tomorrow," Somebody would lay a Wager that He would not do it; and when He asked Why, it was answered, "that the Chancellor would not let him:" And then another would protest, "that He thought there was no Ground for that Imputation; however He could not deny that it was generally believed abroad, that his Majesty was entirely and implicitly governed by the Chancellor." Which often put the King to declare in some Passion, "that the Chancellor had served him long, and understood his Business, in which He trusted him: But in any other Matter than his Business, He had no other Credit with him than any other Man;" which They reported with great Joy in other Companies.

A proposal
made to the
King for Li-
berty of Con-
science.

In the former Session of the Parliament, the Lord *Ashley*, out of his Indifferency in Matters of Religion, and the Lord *Arlington* out of his Good Will to the *Roman Catholics*, had drawn in the Lord Privy-Seal, whose Interest was most in the *Presbyterians*, to propose to the King an Indulgence for Liberty of Conscience: For which They offered two Motives; the one, "the Probability of a War with the *Dutch*;" though it was not then declared; "and in that Case the Prosecution of People at Home for their several Opinions in Religion would be very inconvenient, and might prove mischievous." The other was, "that the Fright Men were in by Reason of the late Bill against Conventicles, and the Warmth the Parliament expressed with Reference to the Church, had so prepared all Sorts of Non-Conformists, that They would gladly compound for Liberty at any reasonable Rates: And by this Means a good yearly Revenue might be raised to the King, and a firm Concord and Tranquillity be established in the Kingdom, if Power were granted by the Parliament to the King to grant Dispensations to such whom He knew to be peaceably affected, for their Exercise of that Religion which was agreeable to their Conscience, without undergoing the Penalty of the Laws." And They had prepared a Schedule, in which They computed what every *Roman Catholic* would be willing to pay yearly for the Exercise of his Religion, and so of every other Sect; which, upon the Estimate They made, would indeed have amounted to a very great Sum of Money yearly.

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 259

The King liked the Arguments and the Project very well, and wished them to prepare such a Bill; which was done quickly, very short, and without any Mention of other Advantage to grow from it, than "the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and an entire Reference to the King's own Judgment and Discretion in dispensing his Dispensations." This was equally approved: And though hitherto it had been managed with great Secrecy, that it might not come to the Knowledge of the Chancellor and the Treasurer, who they well knew would never consent to it; yet the King resolved to impart it to them. And the Chancellor being then afflicted with the Gout, the Committee that used to be called was appointed to meet at *Worcester-House*: And thither likewise came the Privy-Seal and the Lord *Ashley*, who had never before been present in those Meetings.

The King informed them of the Occasion of their Conference, and caused the Draught for the Bill to be read to them; which was done, and such Reasons given by those who promoted it, as They thought fit; the chief of which was, "that there could be no Danger in trusting the King, whose Zeal to the Protestant Religion was so well known, that Nobody would doubt that He would use his Power, when granted to him, otherwise than should be for the Good and Benefit of the Church and State." The Chancellor and the Treasurer, as had been pre-faged, were very warm against it, and used many Arguments to dissuade the King from prosecuting it, "as a Thing that could never find the Conurrence of either or Both Houses, and which would

The King approves it.

The Chancellor and Treasurer oppose it at the private Committee.

“ raise a Jealousy in Both, and in the People gene-
 rally, of his Affection to the *Papists*, which would
 “ not be good for either, and every Body knew that
 “ He had no Favor for either of the other Factions.”
 But what the others said, who were of another Opin-
 ion, prevailed more; and his Majesty declared,
 “ that the Bill should be presented to the House of
 “ Peers as from him, and in his Name; and that He
 “ hoped none of his Servants, who knew his Mind
 “ as well as every Body there did, would oppose
 “ it, but either be absent or silent:” To which Both
 the Lords answered, “ that They should not be ab-
 “ sent purposely, and if They were present, They
 “ hoped his Majesty would excuse them if they
 “ spake according to their Conscience and Judge-
 “ ment, which They could not forbear to do;”
 with which his Majesty seemed unsatisfied, though
 the Lords of the Combination were better pleased
 than They would have been with their Concurrence.

The Bill pre-
 sented to the
 House of
 Lords.

The Treasurer
 and Bishops
 oppose it at
 the first
 Reading.

Within few Days after, the Chancellor remaining
 still in his Chamber without being able to go, the
 Bill was presented in the House of Peers by the Lord
 Privy-Seal, as by the King's Direction and Appro-
 bation, and thereupon had the first Reading: And
 as soon as it was read, the Lord Treasurer spake
 against it, “ as unfit to be received and to have the
 “ Countenance of another Reading in the House,
 “ being a Design against the Protestant Religion
 “ and in Favor of the *Papists*,” with many sharp
 Reflections upon those who had spoken for it; and
 many of the Bishops spake to the same Purpose,
 and urged many weighty Arguments against it.

However it was moved, "that since it was averred
 " *that it was with the King's Privy*, it would be a
 " Thing unheard of to deny it a second Reading:"
 And that there might be no Danger of a Surprifal
 by its being read in a thin House, it was ordered
 " that it should be read the second Time" upon a
 Day named "at ten of the Clock in the Morning;"
 with which all were satisfied.

In the mean Time great Pains were taken to per-
 suade particular Men to approve it: And some of
 the Bishops were sharply reprehended for opposing
 the King's Prerogative, with some Intimation "that
 " if They continued in that Obstinacy They would
 " repent it;" to which They made such Answers as
 in Honesty and Wisdom They ought to do, with-
 out being shaken in their Resolution. It was rather
 insinuated than declared, "that the Bill had been
 " perused," some said "drawn, by the Chancellor,"
 and averred "that He was not against it:" Which
 being confidently reported, and believed or not be-
 lieved as He was more or less known to the Persons
 present, He thought himself obliged to make his
 own Sense known. And so on the Day appointed
 for the second Reading, with Pain and Difficulty He
 was in his Place in the House: And so after the se-
 cond Reading of the Bill, He was of Course to pro-
 pose the Commitment of it. Many of the Bishops
 and others spake fiercely against it, as a Way to
 undermine Religion; and the Lord Treasurer with
 his usual Weight of Words showed the ill Conse-
 quence that must attend it, and "that in the Bottom
 " it was a Project to get Money at the Price of Re-

The Treasurer
 and Bishops
 oppose it at
 the second
 Reading.

“ ligious; which he believed was not intended or
 “ known to the King, but only to those who had
 “ projected it, and it may be imposed upon others
 “ who meant well.”

Lord Ashley
 speaks for it.

The Lord Privy-Seal, either upon the Observation of the Countenance of the House or Advertisement of his Friends, or unwilling to venture his Reputation in the Enterprize, had given over the Game the first Day, and now spake not at all: But the Lord *Ashley* adhered firmly to this Point, spake often and with great Sharpness of Wit, and had a Cadence in his Words and Pronunciation that drew Attention. He said, “ it was the King’s Misfortune that a
 “ Matter of so great Concernment to him, and such
 “ a Prerogative as it may be would be found to be
 “ inherent in him without any Declaration of Par-
 “ liament, should be supported only by such weak
 “ Men as himself, who served his Majesty at a
 “ Distance, whilst the great Officers of the Crown
 “ thought fit to oppose it; which he more wondered
 “ at, because Nobody knew more than They the
 “ King’s unshakeable Firmness in his Religion, that
 “ had resisted and vanquished so many great Temp-
 “ tations; and therefore He could not be thought
 “ unworthy of a greater Trust with Reference to
 “ it, than he would have by this Bill.”

The Chancel-
 lor speaks
 against it.

The Chancellor, having not been present at the former Debate upon the first Day, thought it fit to sit silent in this, till He found the House in some Expectation to hear his Opinion: And then He stood up and said, “ that no Man could say more, if it
 “ were necessary or pertinent, of the King’s Con-

“ stancy in his Religion, and of his understanding
 “ the Constitution and Foundation of the Church
 “ of *England*, than He; no Man had been Witness
 “ to more Assaults which He had sustained than He
 “ had been, and of many Victories; and therefore
 “ if the Question were how far He might be trusted
 “ in that Point, He should make no Scruple in de-
 “ claring, that He thought him more worthy to be
 “ trusted than any Man alive. But there was No-
 “ thing in that Bill that could make that the Question,
 “ which had confounded all Notions of Religion,
 “ and erected a Chaos of Policy to overthrow all
 “ Religion and Government: So that the Question
 “ was not, whether the King were worthy of that
 “ Trust, but whether that Trust were worthy of
 “ the King. That it had been no new Thing for
 “ Kings to divest themselves of many particular
 “ Rights and Powers, because They were thereby
 “ exposed to more Trouble and Vexation, and so
 “ deputed that Authority to others qualified by
 “ them: And He thought it a very unreasonable
 “ and unjust Thing to commit such a Trust to the
 “ King, which Nobody could suppose He could
 “ execute himself, and yet must subject him to daily
 “ and hourly Importunities, which must be so much
 “ the more uneasy to a Nature of so great Bounty
 “ and Generosity, that Nothing is so ungrateful to
 “ him as to be obliged to deny.”

In the Vehemence of this Debate, the Lord *Ashley* And drops
 having used some Language that He knew reflected some unguard-
 upon him, the Chancellor let fall some unwary Ex- ed Expressions.
 pressions, which were turned to his Repröach and

remembered long after. When He insisted upon the Wildness and Unlimitedness in the Bill, He said, " it was Ship-Money in Religion, that Nobody could know the End of, or where it would rest; that if it were passed, Dr. *Goffe* or any other Apostate from the Church of *England* might be made a Bishop or Archbishop here, all Oaths and Statutes and Subscriptions being dispensed with: " Which were thought two envious Instances, and gave his Enemies Opportunities to make Glosses and Reflections upon to his Disadvantage. In this Debate it fell out that the Duke of *York* appeared very much against the Bill; which was imputed to the Chancellor, and served to *heap Coals of Fire upon his Head*. In the End, very few having spoken for it, though there were many who would have consented to it, besides the Catholic Lords, it was agreed that there should be no Question put for the Commitment; which was the most civil Way of rejecting it, and left it to be no more called for.

The King offended with the Chancellor and Treasurer.

The King was infinitely troubled at the ill Success of this Bill, which He had been assured would pass notwithstanding the Opposition that was expected; and it had produced one Effect that was foreseen though not believed, in renewing the Bitterness against the *Roman-Catholics*. And They, who watched all Occasions to perform those Offices, had now a large Field to express their Malice against the Chancellor and the Treasurer, " whose Pride only had disposed them to show their Power and Credit in diverting the House from gratifying the King, to which They had been inclined; " and his

Majesty heard all that could be said against them without any Dislike. After two or three Days He sent for them Both together into his Closet, which made it generally believed in the Court, that He resolved to take Both their Offices from them, and They did in Truth believe and expect it: But there was never any Cause appeared after to think that it was in his Purpose. He spake to them of other Business, without taking the least Notice of the other Matter, and dismissed them with a Countenance less open than He used to have towards them, and made it evident that He had not the same Thoughts of them He had formerly.

And when the next Day the Chancellor went to him alone, and was admitted into his Cabinet, and began to take Notice "that He seemed to have Dissatisfaction in his Looks towards him;" the King, in more Choler than He had ever before seen him, told him, "his Looks were such as they ought to be; that he was very much unsatisfied with him, and thought he had used him very ill; that He had deserved better of him, and did not expect that He would have carried himself in that Manner as He had done in the House of Peers, having known his Majesty's own Opinion from himself, which it seemed was of no Authority with him if it differed from his Judgment, to which He would not submit against his Reason."

The other, with the Confidence of an honest Man, entered upon the Discourse of the Matter, assured him "the very proposing it had done his Majesty much Prejudice, and that They who were best

“ affected to his Service in Both Houses were much
 “ troubled and afflicted with it: And of those who
 “ advised him to it, one knew Nothing of the Con-
 “ stitution of *England*, and was not thought to wish
 “ well to the Religion of it; and the other was so
 “ well known to him, that Nothing was more won-
 “ derful than that his Majesty should take him for a
 “ safe Counsellor.” He had Recourse then again to
 the Matter, and used some Arguments against it
 which had not been urged before, and which seemed
 to make Impression. He heard all He said with
 Patience, but seemed not to change his Mind, and
 answered no more than “ that it was no Time to
 “ speak to the Matter, which was now passed; and
 “ if it had been unseasonably urged, He might still
 “ have carried himself otherwise than he had done;”
 and so spake of Somewhat else.

His Majesty did not withdraw any of his Trust or
 Confidence from him in his Business, and seemed to
 have the same Kindness for him: But from that Time
 He never had the same Credit with him as He had
 before. The Lord *Ashley* got no Ground, but Sir
Harry Bennet very much, who, though He spake very
 little in Council, showed his Power out of it, by per-
 suading his Majesty to recede from many Resolutions
 He had taken there. And afterwards in all the De-
 bates in Council which were preparatory to the
 War, and upon those Particulars which have been
 mentioned before, which concerned the Justice and
 Policy that was to be observed, whatsoever was
 offered by the Chancellor or Treasurer was never
 considered. It was Answer enough, “ that They were

“ Enemies to the War;” which was true, as long as it was in Deliberation: But from the Time it was resolved and remediless, none of them who promoted it contributed any Thing to the carrying it on proportionably to what was done by the other two.

There was another and a greater Mischief than hath been mentioned, that resulted from that unhappy Debate; which was the Prejudice and Disadvantage that the Bishops underwent by their so unanimous Dislike of that Bill. For from that Time the King never treated any of them with that Respect as He had done formerly, and often spake of them too slightly; which easily encouraged others not only to mention their Persons very negligently, but their Function and Religion itself, as an Invention to impose upon the free Judgments and Understandings of Men. What was preached in the Pulpit was commented upon and derided in the Chamber, and Preachers acted, and Sermons vilified as labored Discourses, which the Preachers made only to show their own Parts and Wit, without any other Design than to be commended and preferred. These grew to be the Subjects of the Mirth and Wit of the Court; and so much Licence was manifested in it, that gave infinite Scandal to those who observed it, and to those who received the Reports of it: And all serious and prudent Men took it as an ill Presage, that whilst all warlike Preparations were made in Abundance suitable to the Occasion, there should so little Preparation of Spirit be for a War against an Enemy, who might possibly be without some of our Virtues, but assuredly was without any of our Vices.

And with the
Bishops.

The Plague
breaks out.

There begun now to appear another Enemy, much more formidable than the *Dutch*, and more difficult to be struggled with; which was the Plague, that brake out in the Winter, and made such an early Progress in the Spring, that though the weekly Numbers did not rise high, and it appeared to be only in the Outskirts of the Town, and in the most obscure Alleys, amongst the poorest People; yet the ancient Men, who well remembered in what Manner the last great Plague (which had been near forty Years before) first brake out, and the Progress it afterwards made, foretold a terrible Summer. And many of them removed their Families out of the City to Country Habitations; when their Neighbours laughed at their Providence, and thought They might have stayed without Danger: But They found shortly that They had done wisely. In *March* it spread so much, that the Parliament was very willing to part: Which was likewise the more necessary, in Regard that so many of the Members of the House of Commons were assigned to so many Offices and Employments which related to the War, and which required their immediate Attendance. For though the Fleet was not yet gone out, yet there were many Prizes daily brought in, besides the first Seizure, which by this Time was adjudged lawful Prize; in all which great Loss was sustained by the Licence of Officers as well as common Men, and the Absence of such as should restrain and punish it: So that, as soon as the Bill was passed the Houses for the good Aid They had given the King, and was ready for the Royal Assent, his Majesty passed it, and prorogued the Parliament in

April (which was in 1665) till *September* following; his Majesty declaring, "that if it pleased God to extinguish or allay the Fierceness of the Plague," which at that Time raged more, "He should be glad to meet them then; by which Time They would judge by some Success of the War, what was more to be done. But if that Visitation increased, They should have Notice by Proclamation that they might not hazard themselves."

The Parli-
ment pro-
rogued.

The Parliament being thus prorogued, there was the same Reason to hasten out the Fleet; towards which the Duke left Nothing undone, which his unwearied Industry and Example could contribute towards it, being himself on board, and having got all Things necessary into his own Ship that He cared for. But He found that it was absolutely requisite to put out to Sea, though many Things were wanting in other Ships, even of Beer and other Provision of Victual; not only to be before the Enemy, but because he saw it would be impossible, whilst the Ships were in Port, to keep the Seamen from going on Shore, by which They might bring the Plague on Board with them; and there was already a Suspicion that the Infection was got into one of the smaller Ships.

The Fleet pre-
pared.

It hath been said before, that all Things relating to the Fleet were upon the Matter wholly governed by Mr. *Coventry*. It is very true, that the Officers of the Navy constantly attended the Duke together with those three Sea Captains who have been named before: But from the Time that the War was declared, his Highness consulted daily, for his own

The Duke of
York con-
sults much
with three
eminent Sea
Officers.

Information and Instruction, with Sir *John Lawson* and Sir *George Ayscue* and Sir *William Pen*, all Men of great Experience, and who had commanded in several Battles. Upon the Advice of these Men the Duke always made his Estimates and all Propositions to the King. There was somewhat of Rivalship between the two last, because They had been in equal Command: Therefore the Duke took Sir *William Pen* into his own Ship, and made him Captain of it; which was a great Trust, and a very honorable Command, that exempted him from receiving any Orders but from the Duke, and so extinguished the other Emulation, the other two being Flag-Officers and to command several Squadrons.

In all Conferences with these Men Mr. *Coventry's* Presence and Attendance was necessary, both to reduce all Things into Writing which were agreed upon, and to be able to put the Duke in Mind of what He was to do. *Lawson* was the Man of whose Judgment the Duke had the best Esteem: And He was in Truth of a Man of that Breeding (for He was a perfect Tarpawlin), a very extraordinary Person; He understood his Profession incomparably well, spake clearly and pertinently, but not pertinaciously enough when He was contradicted. *Ayscue* was a Gentleman, but had kept ill Company too long, which had blunted his Understanding, if it had been ever sharp: He was of few Words, yet spake to the Purpose and to be easily understood. *Pen*, who had much the worst Understanding, had a great Mind to appear better bred, and to speak like a Gentleman; He had got many good Words which He used

at Adventure; He was a formal Man, and spake very leisurely but much, and left the Matter more intricate and perplexed than He found it. He was entirely governed by Mr. *Coventry*, who still learned enough of him to offer any Thing rationally in the Debate, or to cross what was not agreeable to his own Fancy, by which He was still swayed out of the Pride and Perverseness of his Will.

Upon Debate and Conference with these Men, the Duke brought Propositions to the King reduced into Writing by Mr. *Coventry*; and the King commonly consulted them with the Lord Treasurer in his Presence, the Propositions being commonly for Increase of the Expense, which Mr. *Coventry* was solicitous by all the Ways possible to contrive. To those Consultations the Duke always brought the Sea-Officers, and Mr. *Coventry*, who spake much more than They, to explain especially what Sir *William Pen* said, who took upon himself to speak most, and often what the others had never thought though They durst not contradict; and Sir *John Lawson* often complained, "that Mr. *Coventry* put that in Writing which had never been proposed by them, and would continue disputing it till They yielded." Every Conference raised the Charge very much; and what They proposed Yesterday as enough was To-day made twice as much; if They proposed six Fire-Ships to be provided within two or three Days They demanded twelve: So there could be no possible Computation of the Charge.

By this Means the Fleet that was now ready to put to Sea amounted to fourscore Sail; and the King

The Duke puts
out to Sea.

Many Noble-
men go as Vo-
lunteers.

willingly consented, upon the Reasons the Duke presented to him, that they should set Sail as soon as was possible. And before the End of *April* the Duke was with the whole Fleet at Sea, and visited the Coast of *Holland*, and took many Ships in their View, their Fleet being not yet in Readiness. Many Noblemen, the Earl of *Peterborough*, the Lord Viscount *Ferrers*, and others, with many Gentlemen of Quality, went as Volunteers, and were distributed into the several Ships with much Countenance by the Duke, and as many taken into his own Ship as could be done with Convenience.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had from the first Mention, which He promoted all He could, declared "that He would make one in it." And when it was declared, He desired to have the Command of a Ship, which the Duke positively denied to give him, except the King commanded it (and his Majesty was content to refer that, as He did the Nomination of all the other Officers, to his Brother), and did not think fit that a Man, of what Quality soever, who had never been at Sea, should his first Voyage have the Command of any considerable Ship (and a small one had not been for his Honor); at which He was much troubled. Yet his Friends told him that He was too far engaged, to stay at Home when his Royal Highness ventured his own Person: And thereupon He resolved to go a Volunteer, and put himself on Board a Flag-Ship, the Captain whereof was in his Favor. And then He desired, "that in Respect of his Quality, and his being a Privy-Counsellor, He might be present in all Councils of War." The Duke thought

thought this not reasonable, and would not make a new Precedent. There were many of the ancient Nobility, Earls and Barons, who were then on Board as Volunteers; and if the Consideration of Quality might entitle them to be present in Council, all Orders would be broken, there being none called but Flag-Officers: And therefore his Royal Highness positively refused to gratify him in that Point; which the Duke of *Buckingham* thought (it being enough known that the Duke had neither Esteem or Kindness for him) to be such a personal Disobligation, that would well excuse him for declining the Enterprize. And pretending that He did appeal to the King in Point of Right, He left the Fleet, and returned to the Shore to complain. And We return back too to the View of other Particulars.

There were two Persons, whom the King and his Brother did desire to make remarkable by some extraordinary Favors: One of which was equally grateful to Both, Sir *Charles Berkeley*, who had been lately created an *Irish* Viscount by the Name of Lord *Fitzharding*, the old and true Surname of the Family; upon whom the King had, for Reasons only known to himself, set his Affection so much, that He had never denied any Thing He asked for himself or for any Body else, and was well content that He should be looked upon as his Favorite. He had been long thought so to the Duke, who was willing to promote any Thing to his Advantage: And the King had deferred those Instances only till the Parliament should be prorogued, lest it should raise the Appetites of others to make Suits, which He had hitherto

Some new
Peers made:

Sir Charles
Berkeley
created Earl
of Falmouth.

defended himself from, by declaring He would make no more Lords. But the Parliament was no sooner prorogued, than it was resolved to be put in Execution: And when it was to be done, the Chancellor had the Honor to be present alone with the King and Duke, when it seemed to be first thought of. And when the Duke proposed it as a Suit to the King, that He would make the Lord *Fitzharding* an Earl, extolling his Courage and Affection to the King; He was pleased with the Motion to that Degree, that He extolled him with Praises which could be applied to few Men: And it was quickly resolved that he should be an Earl of *England*, and a Title was as soon found out; and so He was created Earl of *Falmouth*, before He had one Foot of Land in the World.

And Sir H.
Bennet Lord
Arlington.

And to gratify the King for this Favor, the Duke likewise proposed that the King would make Sir *Harry Bennet* a Lord, whom all the World knew He did not care for; which was as willingly granted: And He had no more Estate than the other, and could not so easily find a Title for his Barony. But because He had no Mind to retain his own Name, which was no good one, his first Warrant was to be created *Cheney*, which was an ancient Barony expired, and to which Family He had not the least Relation: And for some Days upon the signing the Warrant he was called Lord *Cheney*, until a Gentleman of the best Quality in *Buckinghamshire*, who though he had no Title to the Barony was yet of the same Family, and inherited most Part of the Estate, which was very considerable, and was married to a Daughter of the Duke of *Newcastle*, heard of it, and made Haste to stop it. He went

first to Sir *Harry Bennet* himself, and desired him
 “ not to affect a Title to which he had no Relation;
 “ and to which though He could not pretend of
 “ direct Right, yet he was not so obscure but that
 “ himself or a Son of his might hereafter be thought
 “ worthy of it by the Crown; and in that Respect
 “ it would be some Trouble to him to see it vested
 “ in the Family of a Stranger.” The Secretary did
 not give him so civil an Answer as He expected,
 having no Knowledge of the Gentleman. Yet shortly
 after, upon Information of his Condition and Qua-
 lity (as he was in all Respects very worthy of Consi-
 deration), the Patent being not yet prepared, He was
 contented to take the Title of a little Farm that had
 belonged to his Father and was sold by him, and now
 in the Possession of another private Person; and so
 was created Lord *Arlington*, the proper and true
 Name of the Place being *Harlington*, a little Village
 between *London* and *Uxbridge*.

The King took the Occasion to make these two
 Noblemen from an Obligation that lay upon him to
 confer two Honors at the same Time; the one upon
 M. *Frescheville*, of a very ancient Family in *Derbyshire*
 and a fair Estate, who had been always bred in the
 Court, a menial Servant of the last King, and had
 served him in the Head of a Troop of Horse raised at
 his own Charge in the War, and whom his late
 Majesty had promised to make a Baron.

Mr. Fresche-
 ville created
 Lord Fresche-
 ville.

The other was Mr. *Richard Arundel* of *Trevice* in
Cornwall, a Gentleman as well known by what He
 had done and suffered in the late Time, as by the Emi-
 nency of his Family, and the Fortune He was still

And Mr. Ri-
 chard Arundel
 Lord Arundel
 of Trevice.

The eminent
Services of
this Gentle-
man and his
Family.

Master of after the great Depredation of the Time. *John Arundel*, his Father, was of the best Interest and Estate of the Gentlemen of *Cornwall*: And in the Beginning of the Troubles, when the Lord *Hopton* and the other Gentlemen with him were forced to retire into *Cornwall*, He and his Friends supported them, and gave the first Turn and Opposition to the Current of the Parliament's Usurpation; and to them, their Courage and Activity, all the Success that the Lord *Hopton* had afterwards was justly to be imputed as to the first Rise. The old Gentleman was then above seventy Years of Age, and infirm; but all his Sons He engaged in the War: The two eldest were eminent Officers, Both Members of the House of Commons, and the more zealous Soldiers by having been Witnesses of the naughty Proceedings of those who had raised the Rebellion. The eldest was killed in the Head of his Troop, charging and driving back a bold Sally that was made out of *Plymouth* when it was besieged: And this other Gentleman of whom we now speak, and who was then the younger Brother, was an excellent Colonel of Foot to the End of the War.

When Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, who was Governor of *Pendennis*, lost his Life bravely in the Siege of *Bristol*, the King knew not into what Hands to commit that important Place so securely, as by sending a Commission to old *John Arundel* of *Trerice* to command, well knowing that it must be preserved principally by his Interest; and in Respect of his Age joined his eldest Son with him: And after his Death He added the younger Brother to the Command, of

whom We are speaking, who was in Truth then looked upon as the most powerful Person in that County.

When the King, then Prince, was compelled after almost the whole *West* was lost to retire into *Cornwall*, He remained in *Pendennis Castle*, and from thence made his first Embarkation to *Scilly*: And at parting, out of a princely Sense of the Affection and Service of that Family, He took the old Gentleman aside, and in the Presence of his Son wished him "to defend the Place as long as He could, because Relief might come, of which there was some Hope from abroad;" and promised him, "if He lived to come back into *England* He would make him a Baron, and if He were dead He would make it good to his Son." The old Man behaved him bravely to his Death, having all his Estate taken from him; and his Son remained as eminently faithful, and had as deep Marks of it as any Man: So that at the King's Return, who never forgot his Promise, He might have received the Effect of it in the first Creation, if He had desired it; but He chose rather to recover the Bruises his Fortune had endured by Seizures and Sequestrations, before He would embark him in a Condition that must presently raise his Expence in his Way of Living. And as soon as He found himself at Ease in that Respect, He got a Friend to inform the King, "that he was ready to receive his Bounty."

And his Majesty, being under these two Obligations, was willing to take the same Opportunity to prefer the two other Persons He loved so well. But

at the same Time that He declared his Resolution for the last two (but what concerned the others had been long known and expected), his Majesty reflected upon the Number of the House of Peers, which was in many Respects found grievous, and declared to his Brother and the Chancellor, who were only present, "that no Importunity should prevail with him " to make any more Lords in many Years, and till " the present Number should be lessened;" in which Resolution the Duke willingly concurred, and protested "that He would never more importune him " in that Point." The Reason of mentioning this Declaration and Resolution will appear hereafter. This Creation was no sooner over, than the new Earl of *Falmouth* went with the Duke to Sea: For though his Relation was now immediately to the King and near his Person, yet He thought himself obliged not to be from the Duke when He was engaged in so much Danger; and He was confessed by all Men to abound in a most fearless Courage.

A particular
Relation of
passing the Ca-
nary Patent.

It will not be unseasonable in this Place to take a View of an Act of State that passed about this Time, and which afterwards administered Matter of Reproach against the Chancellor, and was made Use of by his Enemies as an Evidence of his Corruption; for the better understanding whereof, it will be necessary to begin the Relation from the original Ground of the Counsel. About the first *Christmas* after the King's happy Return into *England*, the Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy-Seal, and the two Chief Justices (being the Persons appointed by the Statute for that Purpose) met together to set the Prices upon the

several Sorts of Wines; and were attended, according to Custom, by the Company of Vintners, and the chief Merchants in the City who traded in that Commodity. And being first to limit the Merchants to a reasonable Rate, before They could prescribe any Price to the Vintners upon the Retail, They found, by the best Inquiry They could make, that the first Prices beyond the Seas which the Merchants paid for their Wines were so excessive, that the Retail could not be brought within any Compass; and that since the Beginning of the Troubles the Price of Wines in general was exceedingly increased, and particularly that of the *Canaries* was almost double to what it had been in the Year 1640.

The Chancellor knew very well, by the Correspondence He had held in the *Canaries* (during the Time that He had served his Majesty as his Ambassador in *Spain*), that the whole Trade for the *Canary* Wine was driven solely by the *English*, and the Commodity entirely vended in the King's Dominions, all *Christendom* beside not spending any Quantity of that Wine: And thereupon He asked the Merchants “ whether what He had reported was not true, and “ what would be the Way to remedy that Mischief.”

They all confessed it to be very true, and “ that it “ was a great Reproach to the Nation to be so much “ imposed upon in a Trade that They might govern “ themselves: And that the unreasonable Prices of “ the Wine were not the greatest Prejudice that was “ befallen that Trade. That before the Troubles “ They had been so far from employing any Stock of “ Money for the Support of that Traffic, that They

“ used to send their Ships fully laden with all Com-
“ modities thither, which yielded very good Mar-
“ kets, being sent from thence into the *West-Indies*
“ with their *Plate Fleets*; and that the very Pipe-
“ Staves which They carried did very near supply
“ the Value of their Wine, so that They brought
“ Home the Proceed of their Commodities either
“ in Pieces of *Eight*, or such other Merchandises as
“ had been brought thither from the *Indies*, and upon
“ which They received great Profit. On the con-
“ trary, that the Trade was now wholly driven by
“ ready Money; that the Commodities They send
“ thither are not taken off, except at their own Prices,
“ so that They have for the late Years sent their
“ Vessels empty thither, except only with some few
“ Pipe-Staves, which by the Destruction in *Ireland*
“ They could not send in any great Proportion;
“ and that their Ships return from thence with no
“ other Lading but those Wines, which They trade
“ for in ready Money, either by Pieces of *Eight* sent
“ in their Ships from hence, or by Bills of Exchange
“ charged upon some known Merchants in *Spain*.
“ That over and above these Disadvantages, the *Spa-*
“ *niards* in those Islands had of late imposed new
“ Duties upon the Wine, and laid other Impositions
“ upon the Merchants than the *English* Nation had
“ been ever accustomed to.” They said, “ all these
“ Inconveniencies proceeded from the immoderate
“ Appetite this Nation hath for that Sort of Wine,
“ and therefore They take from them as much as
“ They can make; and from our own Disorder and
“ Irregularity in buying them, and contending who

“ shall get the most, and so raising the Price upon
 “ one another, and making the *Spaniards* themselves
 “ the Judges what the Merchants shall pay.”

The Lords, upon Consultation between themselves, found the Matter too hard for them, and that the Reformation of so much Evil must be made by Degrees, and upon a Representation of the Whole, with the Difficulties which attended it, to the King and his Privy-Council, whose Wisdoms only could provide a Remedy proportionable to the Mischiefs. For the present, as They resolved not to raise the Prices at which Wine was at that Time bought and sold (which They believed, how reasonably soever it might be done, would yet be very unpopular), so They thought it not just to draw down and abate those Prices, since it appeared to them that the Wines cost more in Proportion upon the Places of their Growth. They declared therefore to the Merchants and to the Vintners, “ that though for the present
 “ They would permit the same Prices to continue
 “ for the next Year, which they had been sold for
 “ the present Year,” and which indeed were confirmed by the late Act of Parliament, “ They should
 “ hereafter take Care what Markets They made ;
 “ for that They were resolved the next Year to make
 “ the Prices much lower both to the Merchant and
 “ to the Vintner:” And so, upon the Report made by the Lords of the whole Matter to the King in Council, and of what They thought fit to be done for the present, a Proclamation was published accordingly.

The next Year both the Merchants and Vintners

were very earnest Suitors to the Lords at their accustomed Meeting, that greater Prices might be allowed, or at least that the same might be continued; making it very evident, that their Wines cost them more than they had done the Year before. Upon the Debate the *Canary* Merchants were much divided. Some of them insisted very importunately to have the Price raised, "because it was notorious that They had paid much more than formerly, by Reason," as They alledged, "that the Vintage had not yielded near the Proportion that it used to do." Others, though confessing the Increase of Price, yet pretended a more public Spirit and the Necessity of a Reformation: And therefore They pressed as earnestly, "that the Price might not be raised, but that They might be permitted to take what They had done already for this Year." It was quickly discovered whence this Moderation proceeded; and that the last Proposers had a great Quantity of Wine upon their Hands, which had been provided the Year before, and so might well be sold at the same Price; but that the former had no old Wine left, but were supplied with a full Provision of new, which had cost them so much dearer. Both the one and the other desired the Lords, "that whatever Resolution They took for the present, a Clause might be inserted in the Proclamation, *That, the next Year which followed, Canary Wine should not be sold for above four-and-twenty Pounds the Pipe, and that every Year after it should be drawn lower,*" as it might well be, it having been sold in the Year 1640 for twenty Pounds the Pipe; though, in the Year when his Majesty returned, it had been

permitted to be sold at six-and-thirty Pounds the Pipe. "Such a Clause," They said, "would give Notice to the Islanders, and oblige them to sell their Wines at more reasonable Rates, and would render the Merchants unexcusable if They should give greater." Notwithstanding all their Allegations, the Lords remembered what They had declared to them the last Year, which was as fair a Warning as any Thing They could now say would be. And accordingly They set lower Prices upon all Wines for the Year to come than had been allowed the last, as the most effectual Warning for the future: Which was thought a very rigorous Proceeding; but being reported to the King and Council, what They had done was allowed and confirmed, and his Majesty was well contented that such a Clause as They had proposed should be inserted in the Proclamation; which was accordingly done.

The Year following, when the Lords met again according to Custom, which is as hath been said about *Christmas*, They found not the least Reformation; on the contrary, that the *Canary* Merchants had paid dearer than ever, which made them all more solicitous to have the Price raised, and the Vintners as importunate for their Retail. And indeed the Vintners seemed to be in a much worse Condition than the Merchants. And They made it appear, "that They were often compelled to pay higher Prices to the Merchant than were imposed by their Lordships; without which They could get no good Wine, and so must give over their keeping House: That the Penalty upon the Merchant was very

“ small, being not above forty Shillings a Pipe, and
 “ the Crime not easy to be discovered, as was evident
 “ by there not having been one Merchant questioned
 “ in many Years for that common Transgression ;
 “ whereas on the Vintner’s Part the Penalty was
 “ very severe, and easily discovered by any Man
 “ who went to a Tavern and would be an Informer,
 “ and that most of the Vintners in *London* were at
 “ that very Time sued in the *Exchequer* upon those
 “ very Penalties, which if exacted must produce
 “ their Ruin.”

The Merchants excused themselves for their present Pretence, and for their having given more for their Wines than was lawful for them to have done by their own Desire: “ That They had done their
 “ best, and that the greatest Traders amongst them
 “ had consented between themselves not to suffer
 “ the Prices to be raised upon them ; but that They
 “ found it ineffectual, and that though They should
 “ give over their Trades, it would produce no Re-
 “ formation. That the Trade was open to all Advent-
 “ turers, and that there had been many Ships sent
 “ from *England* in that very Year by *Jews*, and
 “ People of several Trades, who had never been
 “ before known to trade to the *Canaries*: Infomuch
 “ as when They who had been long bred up to the
 “ Trade, and had been long Factors in those Islands,
 “ sent their Ships thither, They found other *English*
 “ Ships there, and the Wines bought at a greater
 “ Price than They had allowed their Factors to give ;
 “ so that They must either have their Ships return
 “ empty and unladen, or take the Wines at the

“ Prices other Men gave. That They had chosen
 “ the latter, as well to continue their Trade, as to
 “ draw Home some Part of the Stock They had in
 “ that Country. That They could imagine but two
 “ Ways to reform that Excess: The one, by putting
 “ the Trade into such a Method and under such
 “ Rules, as might restrain that Licence, and not leave
 “ it in the Power of Persons who never had been in
 “ the Trade to give the Law to it; and by this
 “ Means the Islanders would find it necessary to set
 “ reasonable Prices upon their Commodities, and to
 “ yield such other Advantages and Privileges to the
 “ Merchants as They had heretofore enjoyed. The
 “ other, that the King would by his Proclamation
 “ prohibit the Importation of any *Canary Wines* into
 “ his Dominions: And hereby He would quickly
 “ receive such Propositions from *Spain*, as would
 “ put it into his own Power to make the Reforma-
 “ tion; otherwise the Islanders had been persuaded
 “ that *England* could not live without their Wines.”

The Lords were resolved, notwithstanding all that
 had been said, that They would execute the former
 Proclamation, and reduce the Prices of the Wines to
 what had been then determined: And after They
 had given a full Account of the whole Business to
 the King in Council, the Resolution was approved,
 and a Proclamation was issued out to that Purpose.
 The Merchants and Vintners applied themselves to
 his Majesty, and to many of the Lords of the Council,
 and thought They had Encouragement enough to
 hope for a Relief in an Appeal to the King and
 Council by Petition; and They had thereupon a Day

assigned to be heard. Many of the Lords thought it very hard, if not unjust, to compel Men to sell cheaper than They bought, which was the Truth of the Case, and which must oblige both Merchants and Vintners to sophisticate and corrupt their Wines to preserve their Estates; which might probably turn to the great Damage of the whole Kingdom, in producing Sickness and Diseases: And this charitable and generous Consideration prevailed with the major Part of the Lords to be well contented, and to wish that some Indulgence might be exercised towards them. On the contrary, when the King had well weighed the whole Proceedings, and with Trouble and Indignation considered the obstinate Vice of the Nation, which made it ridiculous to all the World, He expressed a positive Resolution to vindicate himself and his Government from this Reproach. He thought the adhering firmly to the Prices which had been resolved upon by the Lords would be the best Preface to this Reformation, though it might be attended with particular Damage to particular Persons, who had yet less Cause to complain, because their own Advice had been followed. And thereupon his Majesty declared, "that He would make no Alteration;" but withal told them, "that if They could make any Proposition to him for the better Regulation of the Trade" (for They had themselves mentioned a Charter), "He would graciously receive any Propositions They would make, and gratify them in what was just:" And so, notwithstanding all Attempts which were often repeated, the Price set by the Lords was ratified for the Year following.

Shortly after, many of the Merchants who had always traded to the *Canaries* did petition the King, "that They might be incorporated; and that none might be permitted to trade thither but such who would be of that Corporation, and observe the Constitutions which should be made by them:" Which Petition was presented to the King at the Council-Board; and being read, his Majesty (according to his Custom in Matters of Difficulty and public Concernment) directed it to be read again on that Day Month, at which Time his Majesty presumed that all who would oppose it would present their Reasons and Objections against it, which he desired to hear. At the Day appointed, though there was no Petition against it, yet it was observed that there were many of the most eminent Merchants of that Trade, whose Names were not to the Petition, nor who otherwise appeared desirous to have a Charter granted: Which his Majesty considering, He put off the Debate for another Week, and directed "that the other Merchants by Name should be desired to be present, and to give their Advice freely upon the Point."

The principal
Canary Mer-
chants petition
for a Charter.

And there was at that Day a very full Appearance; when his Majesty directed, "that a Relation should be made to them of the whole Progress that had been in the Business, and the Damage and Dishonor the Nation underwent in the carrying on that Trade: That many Merchants had presented a Petition to him, containing an Expedient to bring it into better Order; but finding them not to appear in it, and being informed that They were

“ best acquainted with and most engaged in that
 “ Trade, He had sent for them to know their Opi-
 “ nion, whether they thought what was proposed
 “ to be reasonable and fit to be granted, and if so,
 “ why They did not concern themselves in it.”
 They answered, “ that the Reason why They had
 “ not appeared in it was, because They thought
 “ They should be Losers by it, and therefore were
 “ not solicitous to procure a Grant from his Majesty
 “ to their own Damage;” and so enlarged “ upon
 “ the Nature of the Trade, their long Experience
 “ in it, and the Greatness of their Stock, which They
 “ should not be allowed to continue under any Re-
 “ gulation. But as They did not think themselves
 “ in a Situation to be solicitous for a Change, so
 “ They could not deny, being required by his Ma-
 “ jesty to speak the Truth, but that the Proposition
 “ that was made was for the public Good and Benefit
 “ of the Kingdom, and that They conceived no other
 “ Way to redeem that Trade, and the Nation from
 “ the Insolence which the *Spaniard* exercised upon
 “ them;” implying, “ that if his Majesty would com-
 “ mand them, They would likewise concur and
 “ join in the carrying on the Service:” To which
 his Majesty giving them gracious Encouragement,
 They all seemed to depart of one Mind; and his
 Majesty remained confirmed in the former Opinion
 He had of it.

The King ap-
 proves the Pe-
 tition.

But there remained yet an Objection, which was
 principally insisted on by the Ministers of the Reve-
 nue, who alledged very reasonably, “ that this
 new-modelling the Trade must produce some
 Alteration,

" Alteration, and would meet some Opposition from
 " the *Spaniard*, which for the Time would lessen
 " the Customs and entitle the Farmers to a Defal-
 " cation." The Petition was therefore referred to
 the Farmers of the Customs, who were to attend
 the next Council-Day: And being then called, They
 did acknowledge, " that the Design proposed would
 " prove very profitable to the Kingdom in many
 " Respects," upon which They enlarged, " and that
 " in the End it would not be attended with any
 " Diminutions of the Customs; but for the present,"
 They said, " They could not but expect, that the
 " Obstinacy and Contradiction of the *Spaniard* would
 " give such a Stop to Trade, at least for one Year,
 " that if his Majesty did not reimburse them for what
 " should fall short in the Receipt of Custom, They
 " must look to be very great Losers." The Mer-
 chants on the other Hand offered " to be bound,
 " that if They did not the first Year bring in as much
 " as had been usually entered, They would make
 " good what should be wanting to the Farmers upon
 " a Medium." Whereupon his Majesty himself
 declared, " that He would not, for a small Damage
 " to himself, hinder the Kingdom from enjoying so
 " great a Benefit:" And He commanded his Solicitor
 General, who then attended the Board, " to prepare
 " such a Charter as might provide for all those good
 " Ends which were desired in the Petition," and
 which had been so largely debated; and it was
 notorious, that there had never been a greater
 Concurrence of the Board in any Direction.

Many Months passed before the Charter was

The City of
London op-
poses it.

prepared; in which Time there was never the least new Objection made against it, nor was it known that any Man was unsatisfied with it. After it was engrossed and had passed the King's Hand, it was brought to the Great-Seal; and there the Lord Mayor of *London* and the Court of Aldermen had entered a Caveat to stop the passing of it. The Chancellor, according to Course, appointed a Time when He would hear all Parties. The City alledged an Order made a Year or two before by the King in Council, upon a Complaint then exhibited by the Court of Aldermen against the *Turkey* Company and other Corporations, "in which," They said, "there were
 " very many Merchants of the best Trade and of the
 " greatest Estates in the City, who would never take
 " out their Freedom, and so refused to bear any
 " Charge or Office in it, to the very great Prejudice
 " and Dishonor of the City and of the Government
 " thereof; since They were thereby compelled to
 " call inferior Citizens to be Aldermen, before They
 " had Estates to bear the Charge of it, whilst the
 " gravest and the richest Men, who were most fit,
 " could not be obliged to accept of it, because They
 " were not Freemen." The Persons concerned, which were indeed a great Number of very valuable and substantial Men and of great Estates, answered, "that They had traded very many Years without
 " finding any Reason to take out their Freedom,
 " which They might do or not do as They thought
 " best for themselves; that They had always paid
 " Scot and Lot in the several Parishes where They
 " lived with the highest of the Inhabitants, and were

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 007

“ taxed the more because They had not taken out
“ their Freedom, They who taxed them being
“ always Freemen; that They were grown old now,
“ and had no Mind to become young Freemen,
“ but would rather give over their Trade, and retire
“ into the Country where They had Estates.”

Besides the Rules which the King gave upon the
Difference then in Question, He was pleased to de-
clare, and appointed it to be entered as an Order in
the Council-Book, “ that Care should be taken, that
“ in all Charters which He should hereafter renew
“ or grant to any Companies or Corporations in the
“ City of *London*, They should first make themselves
“ Freemen of the City; by which They might be
“ liable to the Charges of it, as other Citizens are.”
They said, “ that there were many of this Company
“ that was now to be incorporated who were not
“ Freemen:” And therefore the Lord Mayor and
Court of Aldermen desired the Benefit of the King’s
Order, which was read.

The Merchants confessed, “ that many of them
“ were not Freemen, and resolved not to be:” They
said, “ They had never heard of this Order, and
“ were sorry that They had spent so much Money
“ to no Purpose.” The Chancellor declared to them,
“ that He could not seal their Charter till They had
“ complied with the King’s Determination, and
“ given the Court of Aldermen Satisfaction;” and
They all seemed as positive that They would rather
be without their Charter, than They would submit
to the other Inconveniencies: And so They departed.
But after some Days Deliberation and Consultation

The Chancellor
refuses to
put the Seal
till the Mer-
chants had
satisfied the
City.

between themselves, and when They found that there was no Possibility to procure a Dispensation from that Order, They treated with the City, and agreed with them in the preparing a Clause to be inserted in their Charter, by which They were obliged in so many Years to become Freemen; which Clause, being approved by all Parties, was in the King's Presence entered in the Bill that his Majesty had signed, and being afterwards added to the Engrossment, it was again thus reformed and sent to the Great Seal, and presented to the Chancellor to be sealed.

There were by this Time several new Caveats entered against it at the Seal; all which the Chancellor heard, and settled every one of them to the joint Satisfaction of all Parties, and all Caveats were withdrawn. There was then a Rumor, that there would be some Motions made against it in the House of Commons: And some Parliament-Men, who served for the Western Boroughs, came to the Chancellor, and desired him "that He would defer the sealing it for some Days till They might be heard, since it would undo their Western Trade; and" They said "They resolved to move the House of Commons to put a Stop to it." The Chancellor informed them of the whole Progress it had passed, and told them, "He believed that They would hardly be able to offer any good Reasons against it:" However, since it was then well known that the Parliament would be prorogued within ten or twelve Days, He said "He would suspend the sealing it till then, to the End that They might offer any Objections against it there or any where-else." But

though the Parliament sat longer than it was then conceived it would have done, there was no Mention or Notice taken of it: And after the Prorogation no Application was farther made for the stopping it, and the Merchants pressed very importunately that it might be sealed, alledging with Reason "that the deferring it so long had been very much to their Prejudice." Whereupon the Chancellor conceived that it would not consist with his Duty to delay it longer, and so affixed the Great-Seal to it.

The Company then chose a Governor and other Officers according to their Charter, and made such Orders and By-Laws as They thought fit for the carrying on and Advancement of their Trade, which They might alter when They thought convenient; and for the present They resolved upon a joint Stock, and assigned so many Shares to each particular Man. In this Composition and Distribution there fell out some Difference between themselves, which could not be taken Notice of abroad: And even some of them, who first petitioned and were most solicitous to procure the Charter, did what They could to hinder the Effect of it; sent privately to their Factors at the *Canaries*, "to oppose any Orders that should be sent from the Governor and the Company, and that They should do all They could to incense the *Spaniards* against the Charter," and bade them promise "that all their Wine should be taken off in Spite of the Corporation." Whereupon great Disorders did arise in the *Canaries* between the *English* themselves; and by the Conjunction of the *Spaniards* with those few *English* who opposed the

Some Differences in the Company after their Incorporation.

Charter, They proceeded so far as to send the principal Factors for the Company out of the Island into *Spain*, and to make a public Act by the Governor and Council there, “ that no Ship belonging to the Company should be suffered to come into the Harbour, “ or to take in any Lading from the Island :” All which was transacted there many Months before it was known in *England*, and probably would have been prevented or easily reformed, if it had not pleased God that the Plague at this Time spread very much in *London*, and if the War with the *Dutch* had not restrained all *English* Ships from going to the *Canaries* for the Space of a Year ; which Intermiſſion, not to be prevented nor in Truth foreſeen, gave ſome Advantage to the Merchants at Home who opposed their Charter, who complained for the Not-Return of their ſeveral Stocks within the Time that the Company had promiſed they ſhould be returned.

I am not willing to reſume this Diſcourſe in another Place, which I ſhould be compelled to do if I diſcontinued the Relation in this Place, as in Point of Time I ſhould do ; but I chuſe rather to inſert here what fell out afterwards, and to finiſh the Account of that Affair, that there may be no Occaſion in the Current of this Narration to mention any Particulars that related to it.

When the King was at *Oxford*, and was informed of what had paſſed at the *Canaries*, ſome Merchants appeared there to petition againſt the Charter, whereof there were ſome who were the firſt Petitioners for it. His Maſteſty appointed a Day for the ſolemn

which are

hearing it in the Prefence of his Privy-Council, the Governor being likewise summoned and present there. Upon opening all their Grievances the Petitioners themselves confessed, "that They could not complain of the Charter; that it was a just and necessary Charter, and for the great Benefit of the Kingdom, though some private Men might for the present be Losers by it: That their Complaint was only against their Constitutions and By-Laws, and the severe Prosecution thereupon contrary to the Intention of the Charter itself;" instancing, amongst other Things, "the very short Day limited by the Charter, after which They could not continue their Trade without being Members of the Corporation; and that Day was so soon after the sealing the Charter, that it was not possible for them to draw their Stocks from thence in so short a Time."

When They had finished all their Objections, the King observed to them, "that They complained only of what themselves had done, and not at all of the Charter, which gave them only Authority to chuse a Governor and to make Constitutions and By-Laws, but directed not what the Constitutions and By-Laws should be, which were the Result of their own Consultations, in which the major Part must have concurred; and of that Kind the Resolution for a joint Stock was one, which and all the rest They might alter again at the next Court, if the major Part were grieved with it." But because They had complained of some Particulars, in which They might have Reason on their Side, his Majesty expressed a Willingness to mediate

and to make an Agreement between them: And thereupon He required the Governor to answer such and such Particulars which seemed to have most of Justice; but the Governor answered all at large, and made it clearly appear, that They had in Truth no Cause of Complaint. As to the short Day that was assigned for the drawing away their Stocks, which had the greatest Semblance of Reason in all They complained of, He said, "They had no Reason to mention their Want of Warning, for that the Day was well enough known to them long before the sealing the Charter, and might very well have been complied with" (the Reasons why the sealing the Charter was so long deferred are set down before), "and could be no Reason to them to neglect the giving Direction in their own Concernments; but that They knew likewise, that the Day was enlarged to a Day desired by themselves, that there might be no Pretence for Discontent:" And thereupon the Order of the Court to that Purpose was read to his Majesty, and They could not deny it to be true.

Who satisfies
all Parties.

In Conclusion, since it did appear that their Stock did in Truth still remain in the *Canaries*, and in Justice belonged to them, whether it was their Fault or their Misfortune that it had not been drawn over in Time; the King persuaded the Governor and his Assistants to give them such Satisfaction in that and other Particulars, that before They retired from his Majesty's Presence They were unanimously agreed upon all their Pretences: And though some of the Lords, upon some Insinuations and Discourses which

They had heard, had believed the Company to have been in the Wrong, They were now fully convinced of the contrary, and believed the Charter to be founded upon great Reason of State, and that the Execution of it had been very justifiable and with great Moderation. And it is to be observed, that the Parliament being then assembled at *Oxford*, there was not the least Complaint against that Charter or Corporation.

And this was the whole Progress of that Affair, until it served some Men's Turns to make it afterwards Matter of Reproach to the Chancellor, in a Time when He had too great a Weight of the King's Displeasure upon him to defend himself from that and other Calumnies, which few Men thought him guilty of. And if the Motives of State were not of Weight enough to support the Patent, more ought not to be objected to him than to every other Counsellor, there having never been a more unanimous Concurrence at that Board in any Advice They have given: And the Delays He used in the passing the Charter after it came to his Hand, his giving so long Time for the making Objections against it, and his so positively opposing the Company with Reference to their being Freemen of the City, are no Signs that He had such a Mind to please them, as a Man would have who had been corrupted by them, or who was to have a Share in the Profit of the Patent, as was afterwards suggested, but never believed by any to whom He was in any Degree known, who knew well that He frequently refused to receive Money that He might very lawfully have done, and never

A Vindication
of the Chan-
cellor in this
Affair.

took a Penny which He was obliged to refuse. He was indeed, as often as that Affair came to be debated, very clear in his Judgment for the King's granting it, and always continued of the same Opinion: Nor did He ever deny, that some Months after the Patent was sealed the Governor made him a Present in the Name of the Corporation, as it is presumed He did to many other Officers through whose Hands it passed, and which was never refused by any of his Predecessors when it came from a Community upon the passing a Charter; which He never concealed from the King, who thought He might well do it. In the last Place it is to be remembered, that after all the Clamor against this Charter in Parliament, and upon the arguing against the Legality of it by eminent Lawyers before the House of Peers, it was so well supported by the King's Attorney General and other learned Lawyers, that the Lords would not give Judgment against it: But the Governor and the Corporation durst not dispute it farther with the House of Commons, but chose to surrender their Charter into the King's Hands.

The *French* had their Ambassador, *Monsieur Comminge*, remaining still in *England*, who pretended to be ready to finish still the Treaty of Commerce, but formalized so much upon every Article, though Nothing was demanded but what had been granted to *Cromwell*, that it was concluded that He wanted Power, though Somewhat was imputed to the Capriciousness of his Nature, which made him hard to treat with, and not always vacant at the Hours himself assigned, being hypochondriac and seldom

sleeping without Opium. As soon as the War was declared the King of *France* sent two other Ambassadors, whereof, for the Countenance and Splendor of it, the Duke of *Verneuil* was one, who being Uncle to Both the Kings was received rather under that Relation than in the other Capacity, and was lodged and treated by the King during the whole Time of his Stay. With him came likewise *Monfieur Courtine*, a Master of Requests, and much the quickest Man of the three, and upon whose Parts and Address most of the Business depended. The former Ambassador was joined in Commission with the other two: And their declared Business was to mediate a Peace between the King and the *Dutch*, when there had been yet little Harm done, only great Preparations made on Both Sides for the War; which They did not seem very solicitous to interrupt, but contented themselves with declaring at their first Audience, "that the King their Master out
 " of Christianity, and to prevent the Effusion of
 " Christian Blood, desired to mediate a Peace. which
 " the *States* of the *United Provinces* were very willing
 " He should do, and professed to have a very great
 " Desire of Peace; which made his *Christian* Majesty
 " hope that He should find the same good Inclina-
 " tions here, and if He might be informed what his
 " Majesty did require or what would be grateful to
 " him, He did not doubt but that He should persuade
 " the *States* to submit to it."

The French
 send Ambassa-
 dors into
 England un-
 der Pretence
 of Mediation.

And with this general Discourse, and without delivering any Memorial in Writing, the Ambassadors acquiesced for many Months, as if their Business

was only that the *Dutch* Ambassador, who remained still in *London*, might know and send Word to his Masters that They had begun their Mediation. Otherwise They seemed in all their Discourses to make some Kind of Apology for being sent, implying "as if the extraordinary Importunity of the *Dutch* had prevailed with the King to undertake this Mediation, and which He did the rather, upon their Promise that They would yield to any Thing He should advise them; and He was very far from desiring that his Majesty might not receive ample Satisfaction in whatsoever He required:" So that the King did not imagine, whatever Information He had received before, and whatever Jealousy He had entertained, that this Embassy would be concluded in the Denunciation of a War against him. Nor is it probable that the Ambassadors themselves at that Time knew that They were to perform that Office, though it was afterwards evident that the Matter had been long before resolved in *France*. They lived between the two Courts, for the Queen-Mother was likewise at that Time at her *Palace of Somerset-House*, in much Jollity, and as vacant from any Affairs till They might receive new Orders from Court, but spending much Time with the *Dutch* Ambassador, whom They persuaded "that They were very intent upon and had much advanced the Treaty," as appeared by the Ambassador's Letters to the *Hague*.

The Queen-Mother leaves England.

The Plague increased so fast, that the Queen-Mother, who had all the Winter complained of her Indisposition of Health, and declared that She would in the Summer go again into *France*, took that



Occasion, albeit She was recovered to a very good State; and about the End of *July* removed and embarked for *France*, and took so many Things with her, that it was thought by many that She did not intend ever to return into *England*. Whatever her Intentions at that Time were, She never did see *England* again, though She lived many Years after.

It was in *April* that the Duke went to Sea: And from the Day of his going thither with the Fleet, Letters and Orders came from him to the Day of the Battle for an Addition of more Ships, upon Intelligence of an Increase of Strength added to the Enemy, though They yet lay still in the Harbours, whilst the Duke was upon their Coasts. But Mr. *Coventry* still made new Demands, and wrote to the Chancellor, " that whilst the King's Brother was at Sea and " ventured his own Person, Nobody who wished " him well would, for saving Money, hinder any " Thing from being sent that his Highness thought " necessary for his Defence:" And all Things were sent, though procured with wonderful Difficulty.

The Duke continually sends for Reinforcements.

The Treasurer had believed, when all the Provisions were delivered which had been demanded, and all Computations satisfied which had been made, and the Fleet at Sea, that there would have been no more Expence till its Return; whereas every Day added new Expence which had not been thought of: And the requiring of more Ships was then believed, and more afterwards, to proceed from the restless Spirit of Mr. *Coventry*, who cared not how much He increased the Expence, and was willing to put the Treasurer and all the King's Ministers to contend

He retires to
the English
Coast.

with all Difficulties, that He might reproach their Laziness or Want of Ability. But They did not gratify him in that, but all the Ships and whatever else was sent for were sent; insomuch as the Fleet amounted to no less than one hundred Sail, and was now retired for Want of Somewhat to do to our own Coast, where They resolved to attend the Motion of the Enemy: And in this Time most of the Volunteers, having endured the Unpleasantness of the Sea above a Month, begun to think that the War was not so necessary as They had thought it to be.

The Duke's Family that was numerous in his own Ship were not at Ease, and found less Respect from the Seamen than They had looked for: They grew into Factions between themselves, and the Earl of *Falmouth* and Mr. *Coventry* were Rivals who should have most Interest in the Duke, who loved the Earl best but thought the other the wiser Man, who supported *Pen* (who disoblged all the Courtiers) even against the Earl, who contemned *Pen* as a Fellow of no Sense, and not worthy of the Charge and Trust that was reposed in him. In this Discomposure and having Nothing to do, every Body grew angry at the Occasion that brought them thither, and wished for Peace.

The Earl of *Falmouth*, as in a Time of Leisure, was sent by the Duke with Compliments to the King, and to give him an Account of the good State of the Fleet: He visited the Chancellor, to whom He had always paid great Respect and made many Professions; and He told him, " that They were all mad " who had wished this War, and that himself had

“ been made a Fool a contribute to it, but that his
 “ Eyes were open, and a Month’s Experience at
 “ Sea had enough informed him of the great Hazards
 “ the King ran in it.” He reproached *Pen* as a Sot,
 “ and a Fellow that He thought would be found
 “ without Courage.” He told him, “ that the King
 “ and the Duke too were Both inclined to Peace,
 “ and discerned that the Charge and Expence of
 “ the War would be insupportable;” and concluded,
 “ that as soon as this Action should be over, which
 “ could not be avoided many Days if the *Dutch* Fleet
 “ put to Sea, as it could not be doubted it would,
 “ it would be good Time to make a Peace, which
 “ He desired him to think of, and to speak with the
 “ King, whom He would find disposed to it:” And
 so He returned to the Fleet.

And by that Time the *Dutch* were come out, and
 the next Day were in View. They were near of
 equal Number, and well manned, under the Com-
 mand of *Opdam* the Admiral of the whole Fleet,
 upon whom the *States* had conferred that Charge,
 that the Prince of *Orange* his Party might conclude,
 that They never intended that He should have the
 Charges of his Father and Grandfather, and likewise
 to gratify the Nobility of *Holland*, that had a very
 small Share in the Government. And this Gentle-
 man, who had never been at Sea before, and had
 but a small Fortune, was of that Number, and had
 joined with that Faction which was averse from the
 Family of *Orange*. The Fleets came within Sight
 of each other on the first of *June*, and had some Skir-
 mishes which continued on the second, the Wind

The Dutch
 Fleet puts out
 to Sea under
 Opdam.

favoring neither Party, as willing to keep them afunder: But upon the third it served Both their Turns, and brought them as near each other as They could desire to be.

The first general Engagement.

Nor did the *Dutch* seem to advance with less Courage and Resolution. *Opdam* the *Dutch* Admiral with his Squadron bore directly upon the Duke with a Resolution to board him: But before He came near enough, and very little before, whether by an Accident within his own Ship, or from a Grenado or other Shot out of the Duke's Ship, his Gun-Room took Fire, and in a Moment the Ship sunk without any Man being saved. The Vice-Admiral of the same Squadron, being a *Zealander*, pursued the same Resolution, and had boarded the Duke if Captain *Jeremy Smith*, a Captain of the Duke's Squadron, had not put himself between and boarded the Vice-Admiral, who was equally attacked by the Duke: And so that Ship was taken after most of the Men were killed; and the Captain himself was so wounded, that He only lived to be brought on Board the Duke's Ship, and to complain of his Companions "for not having seconded him according to an Oath They had taken on Board their Admiral the Day before," and died within Half an Hour to the great Trouble of the Duke, who gave him a great Testimony for a very gallant Man, and much desired to preserve him.

The Dutch are worsted.

The Fight continued all the Day with very great Loss of Men on all Sides, though after the first two Hours the *Dutch*, seeing many of their best Ships burned and more taken, did all that the Wind would give

give them Leave to separate themselves from the *English* Fleet. which pursued them so close, that They found They lost more by flying than by fighting, and did lessen their Sails to give some Stop to the Pursuit till the Night might favor them: And the Evening no sooner came, but They hoisted up all their Sails, and intended Nothing but their Escape.

When there was no more to be done by the Approach of the Night, the Duke, who was infinitely tired with the Labor of the Day, having lost above two hundred Men aboard his own Ship, whereof some were Persons of Quality, who stood next his own Person and shall be named anon, was prevailed with to repose himself after He had taken some Sustenance; which He did, after He had given the Master of the Ship, an honest and a skilful Seaman, direct and positive Charge “to bear up in that Manner upon the *Dutch* Fleet that He might lose no Ground, but find himself as near, when the Day should appear, as He was then when He went to Sleep.” The Fleet had no Guide but the Lanthorn of the Admiral, and were not to outfail him of Course, and behaved themselves accordingly. But when the Duke arose and the Day appeared, the *Dutch* Fleet was out of View; and before He could reach them, They were got into their Ports or under the Shelter of their Flats, that it was not counselable for the great Ships to pursue them farther: Yet some of those Ships which made not so much Way, or had not steered so directly, were taken by the lesser Ships that followed them. And the Duke had received so many Blows on his own and the

The Remainder of their Fleet escapes by Night.

other Ships, that it was necessary to retire into Port, where they might be repaired.

The great Loss
of the Dutch.

It was a Day of signal Triumph, the Action of it having much surpassed all that was done in *Cromwell's* Time, whose Navals were much greater than had ever been in any Age: but the *Dutch* had never then fought with so much Courage and Resolution; nor were their Ships then in Strength to be compared to the *English*, as *Van Trump* assured them, "and that" "except They built better Ships They would be as" "often beaten as They fought with the *English*." And from that Time They new-built all their Navy, and brought now with them as good Ships as any the King had: And the Men for some Hours behaved themselves well. In that Day the Duke sunk, burned, and took eighteen good Ships of War, whereof Half were of the best They had, with the Loss of one single small Ship, for there was no more missing of his whole Fleet. It is true the Number of the killed and wounded Men was very great, and was thought the greater, because in the great Massacre that was on the other Side there was no Man, except *Opdam* their Admiral, who had a Name. There were many excellent Officers killed and taken, Men of Courage and great Experience in naval Affairs, and therefore an irreparable Damage to them; but They had grown up from common Seamen, and so were of no other Quality than every Mariner of the Fleet.

Persons slain
on the Side of
the English.
The Earl of
Falmouth.

On the Part of the *English*, besides above two hundred Men that were killed on Board the Duke's own Ship, there fell the Earl of *Falmouth*, who hath been lately spoken of, and the Lord *Muskerry*, eldest

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 307

Son to the Earl of *Clancarty*, a young Man of extra-ordinary Courage and Expectation, who had been Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in *Flanders* under the Duke, and had the general Estimation of an excellent Officer: He was of the Duke's Bedchamber, and the Earl and He were at that Time so near the Duke, that his Highness was all covered with their Blood. There fell likewise in the same Ship Mr. *Richard Boyle*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Burlington*, a Youth of great Hope, who came newly Home from Travel, where He had spent his Time with singular Advantage, and took the first Opportunity to lose his Life in the King's Service. There were many other Gentlemen Volunteers in the same Ship, who had the same Fate.

Lord Muskerry.

Mr. Richard Boyle.

In Prince *Rupert's* Ship, who did Wonders that Day, and in that of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who behaved him with notable Courage and Conduct, there were very many Men slain, and some Gentlemen Volunteers of the best Families whose Memories should be preserved. The Earl of *Marlborough*, who had the Command of one of the best Ships, and had great Experience at Sea, having made many long Voyages at Sea, and being now newly returned from the *East-Indies*, whither the King had sent him with a Squadron of Ships to receive the Island of *Bombayne* from *Portugal*, was in this Battle likewise slain. He was a Man of wonderful Parts in all Kinds of Learning, which He took more Delight in than his Title; and having no great Estate descended to him, He brought down his Mind to his Fortune, and lived very retired, but with more

The Earl of Marlborough.

**The Earl of
Portland.**

Reputation than any Fortune could have given him. The Earl of *Portland* was a Volunteer on Board his Ship, and lost his Life by his Side, being a young Man of very good Parts, newly come of Age, and the Son of a very wise and worthy Father, who died few Months before: And he having a long and entire Friendship with the Earl of *Marlborough*, his Son, though of a melancholic Nature, intended to lead an active Life, and to apply himself to it under the Conduct of his Father's Friend, with whom He died very bravely.

**And Sir John
Lawson.**

There was another almost irreparable Loss this Day in Sir *John Lawson*, who was Admiral of a Squadron, and of so eminent Skill and Conduct in all maritime Occasions, that his Counsel was most considered in all Debates, and the greatest Seamen were ready to receive Advice from him. In the Middle of the Battle He received a Shot with a Musket-Bullet upon the Knee, with which He fell: And finding that He could no more stand and was in great Torment, He sent to the Duke to desire him to send another Man to command his Ship; which He presently did. The Wound was not conceived to be mortal; and They made Haste to send him on Shore, as far as *Deptford* or *Greenwich*, where for some Days there was Hope of his Recovery; but shortly his Wound gangrened, and so He died with very great Courage, and Profession of an entire Duty and Fidelity to the King.

His Character.

He was indeed of all the Men of that Time, and of that Extraction and Education, incomparably the modestest and wisest Man, and most worthy to be

confided in. He was of *Yorkshire* near *Scarborough*, of that Rank of People who are bred to the Sea from their Cradle. And a young Man of that Profession He was, when the Parliament first possessed themselves of the Royal-Navy; and *Hull* being in their Hands, all the Northern Seamen easily betook themselves to their Service: And his Industry and Sobriety made him quickly taken Notice of, and to be preferred from one Degree to another, till from a common Sailor He was promoted to be a Captain of a small Vessel, and from thence to the Command of the best Ships.

He had been in all the Actions performed by *Blake*, some of which were very stupendous, and in all the Battles which *Cromwell* had fought with the *Dutch*, in which he was a signal Officer and very much valued by him. He was of that *Classis* of Religion which were called *Independents*, most of which were *Anabaptists*, who were generally believed to have most Aversion to the King, and therefore employed in most Offices of Trust. He was Commander in Chief of the Fleet when *Richard* was thrown out: And when the Contest grew between the *Rump* and *Lambert*, He brought the whole Fleet into the River, and declared for that which was called the Parliament; which brake the Neck of all other Designs, though he intended only the better Settlement of the *Commonwealth*.

When the *Council of State* was settled between the Dissolution of the *Rump* and the calling the Parliament, They did not like the Temper of the Fleet, nor especially of *Lawson*, who under the Title of

Vice-Admiral had the whole Command of the Fleet, which was very strong, and in which there were many Captains They liked well: Yet they durst not remove the Vice-Admiral, lest his Interest in the Seamen, which was very great, should give them new Trouble. The Expedient They resolved upon was to send Colonel *Mountague* as Admiral to command the Fleet, without removing *Lawson*, who continued still in his Command, and could not refuse to be commanded by *Mountague*, who had always been his superior Officer, and who had likewise a great Interest in very many of the Officers and Seamen. Yet *Mountague*, who brought with him a firm Resolution to serve the King, which was well known to his Majesty, had no Confidence in *Lawson* till the Parliament had proclaimed the King: And when He brought the Fleet to *Scheveling* to receive the King, all Men looked upon the Vice-Admiral as a great *Anabaptist* and not fit to be trusted. But when the King and the Duke had conferred with him, They liked him very well: And He was from Time to Time in the Command of Vice-Admiral in all the Fleets which were sent into the *Mediterranean*. Nor did any Man perform his Duty better: He caused all Persons, how well qualified soever, who He knew were affected to a Republic, to be dismissed from the Service, and brought very good Order into his own Ship, and frequented the Church-Prayers himself, and made all the Seamen do so. He was very remarkable in his Affection and Countenance towards all those who had faithfully served the King, and never commended any Body to the

Duke to be preferred but such; and performed to his Death all that could be expected from a brave and an honest Man.

It looked like some Prefage that He had of his own Death, that before He went to Sea He came to the Treasurer and the Chancellor, to whom He had always borne much Respect, and spake to them in a Dialect He had never before used, for He was a very generous Man, and lived in his House decently and plentifully, and had never made any the least Suit or Pretence for Money. Now He told them, “ that He was going upon an Expedition in which
 “ many honest Men must lose their Lives: And
 “ though He had no Apprehension of himself, but
 “ that God would protect him as He had often done
 “ in the same Occasions, yet He thought it became
 “ him against the Worst to make his Condition
 “ known to them, and the rather, because He knew
 “ He was esteemed generally to be rich.” He said,
 “ in Truth He thought himself so some few Months
 “ since, when He was worth eight or nine thousand
 “ Pounds: But the Marriage of his Daughter
 “ to a young Gentleman in Quality and Fortune
 “ much above him (Mr. *Richard Norton* of *Southwick*
 “ in *Hampshire*, who had fallen in Love with her,
 “ and his Father out of Tenderness to his Son had
 “ consented to it) had obliged him to give her
 “ such a Portion as might in some Degree make her
 “ worthy of so great a Fortune; and that He had
 “ not reserved so much to himself and Wife, and
 “ all his other Children which were four or five, as
 “ He had given to that Daughter.” He desired them

therefore, " that if He should miscarry in this Enter-
 " prise, the King would give his Wife two hundred
 " Pounds a Year for her Life; if He lived He desired
 " Nothing. He hoped He should make some Pro-
 " vision for them by his own Industry: Nor did
 " He desire any other Grant or Security for this
 " two hundred Pounds yearly, than the King's
 " Word and Promise, and that They would see it
 " effectual." The Suit was so modest, and the
 Ground of making it so just and reasonable, that
 They willingly informed his Majesty of it, who as
 graciously granted it, and spake himself to him of
 it with very obliging Circumstances; so that the
 poor Man went very contentedly to his Work, and
 perished as gallantly in it with an universal Lamen-
 tation. And it is to be presumed that the Promise
 was as well performed to his Wife: Sure it is, it
 was exactly complied with whilst either of those
 two Persons had any Power.

The Victory and Triumph of that Day was surely
 very great, and a just Argument of public Joy:
 How it came to be no greater shall be said anon. And
 the Trouble and Grief in many noble Families, for
 the Loss of so many worthy and gallant Persons,
 could not but be very lamentable in Wives, in
 Fathers and Mothers, and the other nearest Rela-
 tions: But no Sorrow was equal, at least none so
 remarkable, as the King's was for the Earl of *Fal-*
mouth. They who knew his Majesty best, and had
 seen how unshaken He had stood in other very
 terrible Assaults, were amazed at the Flood of Tears
 He shed upon this Occasion. The Immenseness of

The King
 greatly trou-
 bled at the
 Death of the
 Earl of Fal-
 mouth.

the Victory, and the Consequences that might have attended it; the Safety and Preservation of his Brother with so much Glory, on whose Behalf He had had so terrible Apprehensions during the three Days Fight, having by the Benefit of the Wind heard the Thunder of the Ordnance from the Beginning, even after by the lessening of the Noise as from a greater Distance He concluded that the Enemy was upon Flight: Yet all this, and the universal Joy that He saw in the Countenance of all Men for the Victory and the Safety of the Duke, made no Impression in him towards the Mitigation of his Passion for the Loss of this young Favorite, in whom few other Men had ever observed any Virtue or Quality which They did not wish their best Friends without; and very many did believe that his Death was a great Ingredient and considerable Part of the Victory. He was young and of insatiable Ambition; and a little more Experience might have taught him all Things which his weak Parts were capable of. But They who observed the strange Degree of Favor He had on the sudden arrived to, even from a Detestation the King had towards him, and concluded from thence, and more from the deep Sorrow the King was possessed with for his Death, to what a prodigious Height He might have reached in a little Time more, were not at all troubled that He was taken out of the Way.

The Duke, after He had given Directions for the speedy repairing of the Fleet, and for the present sending out such Ships as could quickly be made ready to ride before the Coast of *Holland*, made

Haste to present himself to the King, and to the Queen his Mother, who was ready to begin her Journey to *France*, and had stayed some Days to see the Success of the naval Fight, and afterwards to see the Duke; and within few Days after his Arrival her Majesty left the Kingdom.

The Reason why the Victory was no farther improved.

And now the Whisper began in the Duke's Family of the Reason, why the Victory after so great Advantages had not been pursued with that Vigor that might have made it more destructive to the Enemy than it proved to be. The Master of the Duke's Ship (Captain.....) pursued his Orders very punctually after the Duke was gone to Sleep, and kept within a just Distance of the *Dutch* Fleet that remained in Order together, for many fled in Confusion and singly to that Part of the Coast that They thought They knew best; and many of them were taken. But the Duke was no sooner in Sleep, but Mr. *Brounker* of his Bedchamber, who with wonderful Confusion had sustained the Terror of the Day, resolved to prevent the like on the Day succeeding. He first went to Sir *William Pen*, who commanded the Ship, and told him, "that He knew
 " well how miraculously the Duke was preserved
 " that Day, and that They ought not farther to
 " tempt God;" wished him to remember, "that
 " the Duke was not only the King's Brother but
 " the Heir Apparent of the Crown, and what the
 " Consequence would be if He should be lost. And
 " therefore it would concern him not to suffer the
 " Duke's known and notorious Courage to engage
 " him in a new Danger, which He would infallibly

“ be expos'd to the next Morning, if They con-
 “ tinued to make so much Sail as They did, and
 “ to keep so near the *Dutch*, who fled, but if They
 “ were press'd and in Despair would fight as stout-
 “ ly as They had done in the Beginning. And there-
 “ fore He desired and advis'd him to give the
 “ Master Order to slacken the Sails, that the *Dutch*
 “ might get what Ground They could, to avoid
 “ a farther Encounter.” *Pen* answer'd him honestly,
 and told him, “ He durst give no such Orders except
 “ He had a Mind to be hanged, for the Duke had
 “ himself given positive Charge to the contrary.”

Mr. *Brounker*, when He could not prevail there,
 confidently went to the Master of the Ship, who
 was an honest and a stout Man, and carefully kept
 the Steerage himself that He might be sure to observe
 the Order He had received from his Highness, and
 told him, “ that it was the Duke's Pleasure that He
 “ should slack the Sails without taking Notice of it
 “ to any Man.” Whereupon the Master did as He
 was commanded, making no Doubt that a Servant
 so near the Person of his Highness, and in so much
 Favor with him, would not have brought such an
 Order without due Authority.

And by this Means the Remainder of the Fleet
 escaped, which otherwise would probably have
 been all taken: For it was afterwards known, that
 there was such a Confusion amongst the Officers,
 that Nobody would obey; for though in Truth the
 Right of commanding, according to the Course
 amongst them, after the Death of *Opdam* was in the
 Vice-Admiral of *Zealand*, yet, He being likewise

killed, the other could not agree. But young *Trump*, the Son of the old famous Admiral, who had behaved himself very bravely all the Day, challenged the Command in the Right of *Holland*; but *John Evertson* of *Zealand*, Brother to him that was killed, required it as his Right: Which begat so great an Animosity as well as Confusion amongst them, that the Morning, if They had been pursued, would in all Probability have proved as dismal to them as the Day before had done.

But the Duke never suspected this, nor did any presume to tell him of it, which made many Men presume that it was done with Privity of Mr. *Coventry*, not only for the great Friendship between him and *Brounker*, but because both *Pen* and the Master were so silent when the Duke was so much troubled the next Morning: Nor did the Duke come to hear of it till some Years after, when Mr. *Brounker's* ill Course of Life and his abominable Nature had rendered him so odious, that it was taken Notice of in Parliament, and upon Examination found to be true, as is here related; upon which He was expelled the House of Commons, whereof He was a Member, as an infamous Person, though his Friend *Coventry* adhered to him, and used many indirect Arts to have protected him, and afterwards procured him to have more Countenance from the King than most Men thought He deserved, being a Person throughout his whole Life never notorious for any Thing but the highest Degree of Impudence, and stooping to the most infamous Offices, and play-

ing very well at Chefs, which preferred him more than the most virtuous Qualities could have done.

With this Victory a new vast Charge and Expence (beside the repairing the hurt Ships, Masts and Rigging, and fitting out new Ships of War, and buying more Fireships) appeared, that was never foreseen or brought into any Computation; which was a Provision for sick and wounded Men, which amounted to so great a Number upon all the Coast, that the Charge amounted in all Places, notwithstanding the general Charity of the People, and the Convenience that many Hospitals yielded, to above two thousand Pounds the Week for some Weeks, and though less afterwards by the Death and Recovery of many; yet continued very great; besides the Charge of keeping the *Dutch* Prisoners, which were above two thousand, and every Day increased.

The Duke was very impatient to repair and set out the Fleet again to Sea, and resolved Nothing more than to go in Person again to command it, his Family remaining still on Board, and preparing such Things as were wanting for his Accommodation: But the Queen-Mother had prevailed with the King at parting to promise her, "that the Duke should not go again in Person in that Expedition;" which was concealed from the Duke, his Majesty believing that the Confidence of his Royal Highness's going contributed very much to the setting out the Fleet, as it did so much, that but for that, it had been impossible to have procured so much Money as was with infinite Difficulty procured, to satisfy

The Queen-Mother prevents the Duke's going to Sea again.

the Expenses of so many Kinds, whereof many had been unthought of. And towards this there was a Benefit that flowed from a Fountain of extreme Misery, which was the Increase of the Plague, which spread so fast that the King's staying so long in Town was very dangerous. Yet the Approach of this great Calamity, that in other Respects produced great Mischiefs, advanced the present Enterprize: For all People who had Money knew not what to do with it, not daring to leave it in their Houses where They durst not stay themselves; so that They willingly put it into the Bankers Hands, who supplied the King upon such Assignations as the late Act of Parliament and other Branches of the King's Revenue would yet bear.

The French Ambassadors neglect an Opportunity of making Peace.

And if at this Time the *French* Ambassadors had pursued their Office of Mediation, it is very probable that it might have been with Success. For besides the great Loss the *Dutch* had received in the Battle and in their being deprived of so many of the Merchant Ships, the Factions were irreconcilable in the Fleet: There were many Officers who had behaved themselves very basely and cowardly in the Action, but They knew not how to punish them; *Evertson* and *Trump*, who were their best Seamen, would not submit to be commanded by each other; the People were ready to rise upon *De Wit*, upon whom They looked as the Occasion of the War, and cried aloud for Peace. And the Faction amongst the *States* themselves was very visible: All the other complained bitterly against the Province of *Holland*, "which" They said "had engaged them in a War

“ against their Will and without their Privity,
 “ which was directly contrary to the Form and
 “ Constitution of their Government.” In a Word,
 Peace was universally desired and prayed for; and
 in the Opinion of all Men, any reasonable Condi-
 tions would at that Time have been yielded to. And
 as the People of *England* generally had not been
 pleased with the Beginning the War, so the Court
 was weary of it; and the King would have been
 willing to have received any good Overtures for
 the composing it, and the Duke, since He was kept
 from bearing a Part in it, would not have opposed
 it. But the Ambassadors pressed no such Matter,
 but congratulated the Victory with the same Joy
 They found in the Court, and seemed to think that
 any Misfortune that could befall the *Dutch* would
 be but a just Punishment for their Pride and Inso-
 lence towards all their neighbour Princes: The two
 Nations had not yet worried themselves enough,
 entirely to submit to the Arbitration of *France*;
 which it resolved They should do.

Within less than a Month the Fleet was again pre-
 pared and ready for the Sea, as strong and in as
 good a Condition as it had been before the Battle;
 and the King and the Duke went thither, the Duke
 making no Doubt of putting his Person on Board.
 And the King at that Time resolved that Prince
Rupert and the Earl of *Sandwich* should have the
 joint Command of it: In order to which Prince
Rupert was prepared, of whose easy Concurrence
 only there was some Doubt, his Majesty promising
 himself all Conformity and Resignation from the

The Fleet
 again pre-
 pared.

Earl of *Sandwich*; which He met with in Both, for the Prince very cheerfully submitted to his Majesty's Pleasure. In the Journey the King acquainted his Brother with his Resolution, and the Promise He had made to the Queen their Mother; with which the Duke was much troubled, and offered many Reasons to divert his Majesty from laying his Command upon him: But when He found there was no Remedy, He submitted, and gave Orders for disembarking his Family and Goods.

But when this was communicated to Mr. *Coventry*, who was to prepare such Commissions and Warrants as upon this Alteration of Counsels were necessary, He persuaded the Duke, and prevailed with him to believe, "that it would be much better to commit the sole Command of the Fleet to the Earl of *Sandwich*, than to join Prince *Rupert* in it with him," who, for no other Reason but for not esteeming him at the Rate He valued himself, had been long in his Disfavor. He suggested some Defects in the Prince, which Nobody could absolve him from, and which the gentle Temper of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who knew him as well as the other, could have complied with: And many thought it would have in the Conjunction produced a very good Mixture, the Danger from the Prince being too sudden Resolutions from too much Heat and Passion, and the Earl having enough of Phlegm and Wariness in deliberating, and much Vigor in the executing what was concluded; and They were Both well prepared and inclined to perform the Function.

But Mr. *Coventry's* Advice prevailed both with
the

the Duke and King: And so in the Instant that the King and Duke were to return from the Fleet that was ready to set Sail with the first fair Wind, and not till then, the King told Prince *Rupert*, without enlarging upon the Reasons, "that He would have him to return with him to *London*, and accompany him this Summer, and that the Earl of *Sandwich* should have the sole Command of the Fleet;" with which the Prince was wonderfully surpris'd and perplexed and even heart-broken, but there was no contending. He stay'd behind the King only till He could get his Goods and Family disembarked, and then returned with very much Trouble to the Court: And the Earl of *Sandwich* set Sail with the Fleet, with Direction first to visit the Coast of *Holland* and if He found that the *Dutch* Fleet was not ready to come out, that He should go to the Northward to watch the *East-India* Fleet, which had Orders from their Superiors to come by the *North*, that They might avoid the *English* Fleet, that was Master of the Sea.

The Fleet puts out to Sea under the Earl of Sandwich.

It was in the End of *June* or Beginning of *July* that the King and Duke returned from the Fleet; and within few Days after it set Sail: When the Plague increased so fast, that there died about two thousand in a Week; so that all Men cried out against the King's staying so long at *Whitehall*, the Sickness being already in *Westminster*. Whereupon the King, after He had taken the best Care He could with the Lord Mayor for the good ordering the City, and published such Orders as were thought necessary for the Relief and Regulation of infected Persons,

The King removes to Hampton-Court on Account of the Plague.

and prevailed with some Justices of the Peace in the *Strand* and in *Westminster* to promise to reside there (which They were the more easily persuaded to do by the General's declaring that He would stay in his Lodgings at *Whitehall*, which He did during the whole Time of the Pestilence; and the Lord *Craven* out of Friendship to him stayed likewise in his House in *Drury-Lane*: And it cannot be denied that the Presence of those two great Persons prevented many Mischiefs which would have fallen out by the Disorder of the People, and was of great Convenience and Benefit to that End of the Town): I say, when the King had settled all this, He removed to *Hampton*, resolving there to consider how to dispose of himself for the Remainder of the Summer. And because there were many Particulars still unresolved concerning the Business of *Ireland*, his Majesty for some Days appointed that numerous People, that They might have no Pretence to come to *Hampton-Court*, to attend at *Sion*; where for many Days together his Majesty spent many Hours, till He had composed that Affair as well as it was for the present capable of.

The Plague still increased at *London*, and spread about the Country; so that it was not thought safe for the Court to remain longer where it then was, the Sicknefs being already in some of the adjacent Villages. Whereupon the King resolved that his own Family and his Brother's should remove to *Salisbury*, and spend the Summer there. And because it was already in View, that it would not be fit for the Parliament to assemble again at *Westminster* in *September*, to which Time it was prorogued, nor

could it be computed at what Time it could be safe to meet in that Place; and it was as notorious that if the Parliament met not somewhere, whereby the King might have another Supply before the Winter, there would be very great Confusion for Want of Money: He caused therefore a Proclamation to issue out, “ that He intended to adjourn the Parliament to meet at *Oxford* upon the tenth of *October* next, “ and that the Members need not to attend at *Westminster* in *September*.” And then He directed the Speaker of the House of Commons, who lived within Half a Day of *London*, and the General and the Lord *Craven*, to give Notice to the Members of Both Houses, who lived within that Distance, to be present in Both Houses at the Day to which They were prorogued, and then to adjourn to *Oxford* according to the Proclamation. And this being settled, his Majesty appointed a Day for beginning his Progress from *Hampton-Court* to *Salisbury*; against which Time all Carriages and whatsoever was necessary for the Journey were prepared.

In the Morning, when every Body believed that the King and Queen and Duke and Dukes, with Both their Families, were to go together one Way, Mr. *Coventry* found a Way to break that Resolution, having no Mind to be in so great a Court that his Greatness would not appear. He told the Duke, “ that there were general Discontents throughout the Kingdom,” which was true, “ and a Probability of Insurrections,” which were much spoken of and apprehended; “ and therefore it might be better that the King and the Duke might not be

The Parliament adjourned to Oxford.

Mr. W. Coventry persuades the Duke to spend the Summer at York.

“ together, but in several Places, that They might
 “ draw what Forces were necessary to them, which
 “ the Presence of their own Persons would easily do:
 “ That the Fleet would probably be all the Summer
 “ upon the Northern Coast in Expectation of the
 “ *Dutch East-India Fleet* ;” for it was not then
 thought that the *Hollanders* would have been able
 to have set out another Fleet able to have encoun-
 tered ours. Upon the whole Matter He proposed
 to him, * that since the King meant to spend the
 “ Summer in the *West*, with which there could very
 “ hardly be any Correspondence from the Fleet, his
 “ Highness should go into the *North* and reside at
 “ *York* ; by which He would have an Influence upon
 “ all those Parts where the most disaffected Persons
 “ were most inhabitant, and from *Hull* and those
 “ maritime Parts He could not be long without
 “ receiving some Intelligence from the Fleet.”

The Truth is ; the Constitution of the Court at
 this Time was such, the Prevalence of the Lady so
 great, and the Queen’s Humor thereupon so incon-
 stant, and all together so discomposed the King, that
 there was no Pleasure in being a Part of it : And
 therefore the Advice was as soon embraced, as given,
 by the Duke and his Wife who were well content
 to enjoy themselves in their own Family apart. And
 the Duke presently proposed it to the King, and
 Mr. *Coventry* discoursed all the Motives to him so
 fully that his Majesty approved it. And then, if
 it were to be done at all, the first attending the King
 to *Salisbury*, which was so much out of the Way,
 would be to no Purpose : And therefore it was

resolved (all the Coaches and Carriages being then at the Doors to go to *Farnham*, which was the first Day's Journey towards *Salisbury*), that the King and his Brother would part upon the Place, and that the King and Queen should continue their Purpose for *Farnham*, and the Duke and his Wife should go that Night to *St. Albans*, and so prosecute his Journey for *York*; and all Orders were in the Instant given out to this Purpose.

The King
removes to
Salisbury.

Whether the Reasons of this Counsel were of Importance or not, the Alteration on such a sudden from what had been before determined was thought very strange, and wondered at, and made many believe that some Accident was fallen out that must not be discovered: For on the sudden it was, there having been no such Thought Overnight, when the Chancellor left the Court to go to his own House at *Twickenham*. And when He returned the next Morning, the Resolution was taken, and every Body well pleased with the Change, and both the King and the Duke told him with Satisfaction of it; nor did He understand it enough to make Objections against it, which would have been ingrateful; nor was it convenient to spend longer Time in Deliberation at that Place, where some of the inferior Servants had died the Night before of the Plague: And so They all entered upon their Journey by Nine of the Clock the same Morning.

It is necessary in this Place to remember, that the Express, that had been sent by the Bishop of *Munster's* Agent with the Conditions which were offered by the King, returned with great Expedition, and

The Bishop
of Munster
engages to
invade the
United Pro-
vinces.

brought the Bishop's Acceptation and Engagement, " that, upon the Payment of the first Sum that was " agreed upon, He would draw his Army together, " and march with an Army of twenty thousand Horse " and Foot into the *States* Dominions." And the King before He left *London* had signed the Treaty, and made the first Payment, and provided for the second: So that He now expected that the Bishop should be shortly upon his March, and fix his Winter-Quarters in those *Provinces*; which He did resolve and intend with Courage and Sincerity, and which in that Conjunction must have put the Counsels of *Holland* into great Confusion, when they began to be again reduced into some Order.

De Wit per-
suades the
Dutch to pre-
pare another
Fleet.

The indefatigable Industry and Dexterity of the Pensionary *De Wit* prevailed with the *States* to believe, " that He thought a Peace to be necessary " for their Affairs, and desired Nothing but that it " might be upon honorable and safe Conditions, " and that *France* was very real in the endeavouring " it: But that the Enemy was so insolent upon their " late Success, that They neglected all Overtures, " and believed that the Factions and Divisions " amongst themselves would hinder them from being " able to set out another Fleet; and therefore that " ought to be the first Design. And if their Fleet " were ready to go out, He doubted not but a " Peace would quickly follow: For that *France* was " engaged, if the King should not consent to what " is just and reasonable, to declare a War against " *England*, and to assist them with Men and Money, " and all his own naval Power, which the Duke of

“ *Beaufort* was then preparing and making ready in
 “ all the Ports of *France*. But that it was not to
 “ be expected that They would send out their Fleet,
 “ which was much inferior to the *English*, except
 “ They first saw a *Dutch* Fleet at Sea ready to join
 “ with them.” He wished them to consider “ how
 “ much They were all concerned in their *India*
 “ Ships, which were in their *Voyage*, and could not
 “ be far from their Coasts in a short Time ; all which
 “ would inevitably fall into the Hands of the *English*,
 “ if They had no Fleet at Sea to relieve them.”

These Reasons, of Weight in themselves, and the Concernment of most of them in the Preservation of the *Indian* Ships, prevailed with them to do all that could be done to set out a new Fleet: And to that Purpose They sent very strict and severe Orders to their several Admiralties, for the proceeding against all, without Distinction of Persons, who had misbehaved themselves in the late Battle, and to provide new Ships and all necessary Provisions, to the End that their Fleet might be at Sea by a Time. And this grew the more easy to them, by the seasonable Return of *De Ruyter* with his Fleet from *Guinea*, which brought a present Addition of good Strength ; and He had began the War upon the *English*, and was the best Sea-Officer They had, and had exercised those Commands that no other Officer could refuse to obey him.

For the speedy carrying on these present Preparations, They made, according to their usual Custom in extraordinary Occurrences, Committees of the *States* to assist in the Admiralties of *Zealand*,

The Dutch
make a Refor-
mation in their
Navy.

Amsterdam, and *Rotterdam*; and to that Purpose *De Wit*, and such other as He thought fittest at this Time to join with him, were appointed. They went first to the Fleet to reform the Disorders there: And though They durst not proceed with that Severity as had been fit, yet They cashiered many Captains and other Officers, and put some other Marks of Disgrace upon others, and caused one or two to die.

De Wit's Malice against Van Trump.

But that which *De Wit's* Heart was most set upon was to take Revenge upon *Van Trump*, and to remove him from ever having any Command at Sea: For though He was an excellent Officer, and upon the Stock of his Father's Credit of great Estimation with the Seamen, and inferior to no Man but *De Ruyter*, and had behaved himself in the Battle with signal Courage; yet his Dispute with *Evertson* upon Command had brought much Prejudice to them. But that which was worst of all and incensed *De Wit* implacably was, that He was of entire Devotion to the Prince of *Orange*, as his Father had always been and all his Children continued to be, and He knew well had an especial Part, how covertly soever, in fomenting the Murmurs of the People against him and the War: And he resolved to take this Opportunity of the good Temper the *States* were in in their Concurrence for the setting out the Fleet, not only to provide for the better Government of their Ships and marine Conduct, but to punish and prevent the Murmurs at Land, by removing all those out of any Power whom He suspected to have secretly contributed to them. He did all

He could to make *Van Trump's* Offence capital, as if the Right of Command had been to clear in *Evertson* that the other could not dispute it: But *Van Trump* defended himself so well and had so many Friends, that He was absolved from that Guilt. Yet for some passionate and indiscreet Words in which He did naturally abound, He was deprived of his Command, with a Declaration "that He should no more be employed in the Service of the *States*;" which whilst the Government was in those Hands He cared not for, and had a good Estate to subsist without it. And so for the present all Differences were composed so far, as to have a general Concurrence in whatsoever was necessary, and in order to the making ready and setting out their Fleet to Sea.

The King had been few Days at *Salisbury* before the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors arrived there, and then They made some Instance with the King, that there might be a Treaty for Peace; and the *French* Ambassadors declared, "that the King their Master was so far engaged by Treaty with the *Dutch*, that if the King would not accept of a just and an honorable Peace, his Majesty must declare himself on their Behalf, which He was unwilling to do" The King answered, "that if there were any such Engagement He had not been well dealt with; for that the *French* King had given his Word to him, that He would not enter into any Treaty with the *Dutch* but *pari passu* with his Majesty" (and when his Majesty had been informed that there was some Treaty concluded with them,

The French Ambassadors seem desirous of mediating a Peace.

He was assured from *France* " that it was only a
 " Treaty of Commerce, which He had been obliged
 " to enter into to prevent an Edict in *Holland*, by
 " which strong Waters and other *French* Commo-
 " dities would have been inhibited to be brought
 " into those *Provinces*, but that there was Nothing
 " in that Treaty that could be to his Majesty's Pre-
 " judice"): That his Majesty had been always
 " ready to embrace Peace, which had been never
 " yet offered by the *Dutch*, nor did He know what
 " Conditions They expected."

The Ambassadors seemed to be much offended with the insolent Behaviour of the *Dutch*; and confessed " that they were not solicitous for Peace, but
 " only desired to engage the King their Master in
 " the War: But that if his Majesty would make his
 " Demands, which They presumed would be rea-
 " sonable, the other should be brought to consent
 " to them." To which the King replied, " that
 " They had begun the War upon him and not He
 " upon them, and that God had hitherto given him
 " the Advantage, which He hoped He should im-
 " prove; and till They were as desirous of Peace as
 " He, it would not become him to make any Pro-
 " positions." And in this Manner that Affair stood whilst the Court remained at *Salisbury*.

And there now fell out an unexpected Accident, which looked as if Providence had been inclined to repair the Mischiefs and the Damage that the Plague had produced to the Affairs of the King. It hath been mentioned before, that upon the first Thoughts of a War with the *Dutch*, the King had sent Mr. *Henry Coventry* to *Sweden*, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot* to *Denmark*,

to engage those Crowns as far as might be on his Majesty's Behalf, Both of them being enough disoblighed and provoked by the *Dutch*.

Mr. *Coventry* in *Sweden* found a frank and open Reception, avowing a hearty Affection to the King, and an Inclination to join in any Thing that might not be destructive to their own Affairs: Nor did They dissemble the Injuries They had received from the *Hollander* even to the *Dutch* Ambassador himself, who was at the same Time sent thither to unite that Crown to their Interest, to which Purpose He had made several specious Overtures. Nor did They conceal the Jealousy They had of the *French*, who had not complied with the Payment of the yearly Sum of Money which They were obliged to make to them for the Support of their Army, of which they were in a great Arrear, that discomposed their Affairs very much. And though *M. Pomponne*, who had been long Resident in that Court as an Envoy, was now come thither as Ambassador from *France*, and brought with him a good Sum of Money to retain them fast to their Dependance upon them; yet the Money was not Half that was due to them, and They well knew what dark Ends it was for: And They did exceedingly fear the Omnipotence of *France*.

Success of Mr.
Henry Co-
ventry's Em-
bassy to
Sweden.

There were two Things, which kept them from a full Declaration on the King's Behalf, and engaging presently in his Interest. The first was the Apprehension that They had of *Denmark*, that it would take this Opportunity to unite themselves more firmly to the *Hollander*, and so attempt to deprive *Sweden* of all their late Conquest, which was con-

firmed to them by their own Treaty of *Copenhagen*, which They were resolved never to part from: And in this Particular They were to expect some Satisfaction and Security from the Negotiation of Sir *Gilbert Talbot*. The other was, that They might see the Bishop of *Munster* fully engaged, upon whose Expedition They had much Expectation. And Mr. *Coventry* had informed them of that whole Agreement, which would have given them Opportunity to have prosecuted their own Design upon *Bremen*, to which their Hearts were most devoted.

Sir *Gilbert Talbot* had been as well received in *Denmark*, with all the Professions imaginable of Affection to the King, and of their Detestation of the *Dutch*, who in Truth had exercised a strange Tyranny over them by the Advantage of their Necessities; nor is the Injustice, Oppression and Indignities which They had sustained from them to be expressed and described, without entering into a large Discourse of Particulars which are foreign to this Relation: Let it suffice, that there needed few Arguments to persuade that King to any Thing that was within his Power, and which would have done signal Mischief to the *Dutch*. But the Truth is, the Kingdom was very poor, the People unwarlike, the King himself very good and very weak, jealous of all the great Men, and not yet recovered of the Fright that *Wolfelt* had put him into. His chief Minister, one *Gabell*, had gotten his Credit by having been his Barber, an illiterate and unbred Man, yet his sole Confident in his Business of greatest Trust; which made all the Persons of Quality in the Kingdom, who are as proud of their Nobility as any

And of Sir
Gilbert Tal-
bot's to Den-
mark.

Nation, full of Indignation. And They were able to cross many Resolutions after they were taken, though They could not establish others in the Place; which made the King very irresolute and unfixed: So that what was concluded To day was reversed or not pursued To morrow. They professed a great Jealousy of the *Swede* as the greatest Argument, but their Weakness, against a War with the *Dutch*; yet were not willing to propose any Expedients which might secure them against those Jealousies. And the King absolutely denied that He had ever given *Hannibal Zestel* Authority to declare, "that He would again confirm the Treaty He had made;" and seemed to take it unkindly that his Majesty should think it reasonable, who therefore thought it so, because it was proposed by himself, and because He still confessed, "that He could make no Attempt to recover what He had parted with." That which He did unreasonably design, in all the Disguises which were put on, was to engage the King to endeavour to persuade the *Swede* to give up and restore *Elsnore* and other Places to *Denmark*, or to assist him with Force for the Recovery of them when there should be a Peace concluded with *Holland*: So that the King despaired of any Good from that Negotiation, and resolved shortly to recal his Minister from thence.

But there was on a sudden a Change to Wonder. *Gabell* came early in a Morning to Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and told him, "his Master was now resolved to unite his Interest entirely to that of the King of *England*, having now an Opportunity to do it securely to Both their Benefits." He told him,

A particular
Account of the
Attempt upon
the Dutch at
Bergen.

“ that there were Letters arrived that Night from
“ *Bergen*, with News that the *Dutch East-India* Ships
“ were all arrived in that Port with Orders to re-
“ main there till they received new Orders from
“ *Holland*, which they should have as soon as their
“ Fleet should be ready to join with them. This
“ had disposed the King to resolve to give the King
“ of *England* Opportunity to possess himself of all
“ that Treasure, out of which He presumed He
“ would allow him such a Share, as might enable
“ him to declare, and assist his Majesty vigorously
“ in his War against the *Dutch*. That if He gave
“ speedy Notice to the King’s Fleet, which every
“ Body knew was then at Sea, it might easily go to
“ *Bergen*, where They might as easily surprize all
“ those Ships in the Port, since They should re-
“ ceive no Opposition from the Castles under whose
“ Protection they lay.”

And when He had done his Relation. He offered
him to go with him to the King, that He might re-
ceive the Obligation from himself; which Sir *Gilbert*
Talbot presently did, and found his Majesty as cheer-
ful in the Resolution as *Gabell* had been. He repeat-
ed all that the other had said, and more particu-
larly “ that He thought it reasonable that He might
“ expect Half of the Value that the Whole would
“ amount to; which He would rely upon the King’s
“ Honor and Justice for, after the Ships should be in
“ *England*, that He might not be suspected by the
“ *Hollander*, for He would protest against the Act
“ as a Violence that He could not resist: And that
“ He would expect so many of his Majesty’s Ships
“ to arrive in *Denmark*, and to assist him, before

“ He positively declared against the *Dutch*. ” He wished Sir *Gilbert Talbot* “ to send an Express forth-
 “ with to the King with all these Particulars ; ” which He did the next Day.

This Express arrived within few Days after the King came to *Salisbury*, and was despatched presently back again with Letters to the King of *Denmark* of his Majesty’s Consent and Ratification of all that He had proposed , and with Letters likewise to the Earl of *Sandwich* , who according to his former Orders had sailed Northward in Hope to meet with that Fleet, which was before got into *Norway*. The King’s Letters to him came in a very good Season, and He immediately continued his Course for *Norway*: And when He came to that Length, and near enough to that Land of Rocks which are terrible to all Seamen, He thought it best to remain at Sea with his Fleet, lest *De Ruyter* might by this Time be come out with his Fleet (since his being come Northward could not be concealed, nor the Arrival of the *East-India* Fleet at *Bergen*; which would hasten the other), and sent a Squadron of fifteen or sixteen good Ships (of Strength sufficient for the Business) into the Harbour of *Bergen* with a Letter to the Governor. And with it He sent in a Gentleman that was a Volunteer on Board him, who hath been often mentioned before, Mr. *Clifford*, the Confident of the Lord *Arlington*, who was well instructed in all the Transactions which had been at *Copenhagen*. Before They went into the Harbour, Mr. *Clifford* and another Gentleman or two went by Boat to the Town, where He found all the *Dutch* Ships (about a Dozen in Number) riding very near the Shore, and all

under the Protection of the Castle, into which They had put much of their richest Lading from the Time of their first coming thither, as to a Place of unquestionable security.

The Governor was not surpris'd with the Messengers or the Letter, as appeared by the Reception of Both, but seem'd troubled that They were come so soon, before the Manner of performing the Action was enough adjust'd: He could not deny but "that
 " He had received Orders from *Copenhagen*: but
 " that He expected more perfect Directions within
 " four-and-twenty Hours, and expected likewise
 " the Presence of the Vice-King of *Norway*, who
 " was his superior Officer, and would infallibly be
 " there the next Day." The Behaviour of the Man was such as made them believe it sincere, as in Truth it was, for He meant well, and was content that the Ships, which though they were not come into the Port did not ride safe amongst the Rocks, should come into the Port, upon Assurance that They would not attempt any hostile Act without his Consent, which was till all Things should be agreed between them: And so the Fleet entered; which the *Dutch* perceived with great Consternation, yet changed the Posture of some of their Ships, and new-moor'd the rest, and put themselves upon their Defence.

It is a Port like no other that the World knows, a very great Number of formidable Rocks, between each of which the Sea runs deep enough for the greatest Ships to ride securely; so that the Ships were as in so many Chambers apart between the Rocks: And the *Dutch*, which came thither first, had possess'd

feffed themselves of that Line of the Sea that lay next to the Shore, to which They lay so near that They could descend from their Vessels on Land; which had been much the better for the Enterprife, if the *Dane* had concurred in it.

It was so late before the *English* Ships had taken their Places, which was as near the *Dutch* as the Rocks would permit, that they remained quiet all Night, which was spent in Consultation between the Commander in Chief of the *English* Ships (who was a stout and a good Officer but a rough Man, who knew better how to follow his Instructions than to debate the Ground of them; but He was advised by Mr. *Clifford* and conformed to his Judgment) and the Governor of the Town and Castle, who seemed still inclined not only to suffer the *English* to do what They would, but to be willing to act a Part in it himself from the Shore, and to expect hourly Orders to that Purpose, as likewise the Arrival of the Vice-King, whose Authority was more equal to that Attempt, and who was a Man well known to have a particular Reverence for the King, and as particular a Prejudice and Animosity against the *Dutch*. The Night being over, the Governor continued all the next Day as desirous and importunate that the Enterprife might be longer deferred; upon which there were some choleric Words between the Governor and a Gentleman of Quality who was a Volunteer on Board the Ships, which many thought in some Degree irreconciled the Governor to the Affair.

In Conclusion: The Commander of the Squadron

was willing to think that the Governor had rather it should be done without his declared Consent than by it, and so told him, "that the next Morning He " was resolved to weigh his Anchors and fall upon " the *Dutch*;" to which the other made such a Reply as confirmed him in his former Imagination. And in the Morning the Ships were brought out of their several Channels, and placed as near the Sides of the *Dutch* as they could be, from whence They resolved to board them as soon as They had sent their Broadfides upon them. But They found that the *Dutch* had spent their Time well; for in the two Days and two Nights that the *English* had been in the Harbour, besides the unlading the richest of their Commodities that were sent into the Castle, They had drawn all their Ordnance, which lay on that Side of the Ships which was to the Shore, on Land, and planted them upon a rising Ground, That they could shoot over their own Ships upon the *English*: And a Breastwork was cast up, behind which all the Inhabitants of the Town were in Arms.

The ill Success,
of it.

It was a fair Warning, and might very well have persuaded our Men to be glad to retire out of the Harbour, which yet They might have done: But their Courage or their Anger disposed them to make farther Trial of the Governor, for They feared not the Ordnance from the Land which the *Dutch* had planted, nor the Muskets from the Breastworks, if the Castle did them no Harm, under the Power of which They all were. And so They fell upon their Work: And in some Time, and with the Loss of many Men from the Ships and from the Land, They had dismounted many of the Ordnance upon the

Shore, and were even ready to board the Ships; when out of absurd Rage or Accident a Ship or two of the *English* discharged some Guns both upon the Breastworks, from whence They had received no Prejudice, and upon the Town, which beat down some Houses. But then all the Muskets from the Breastworks were poured out, and Guns from the Castle, which killed very many common Men, and five or six Officers of very good Account, and some Gentlemen Volunteers, amongst which was *Edward Mountague*, eldest Son to the Lord *Mountague of Boughton* and Cousin German to the Earl of *Sandwich*, a proper Man and wellbred but not easy to be pleased, and who was then withdrawn from the Court, where He was Master of the Horse to the Queen, and in some Discontent had put himself on Board the Fleet with a Captain, without the Privy of the Earl of *Sandwich*, and was now slain. There was now no farther Experiment to be made, but how They could get to Sea, which might easily have been prevented from the Shore and from the Rocks: But from the Minute that They prepared to be gone and gave over shooting, there was no more done against them, and They had Pilots from the Country that carried them safe out.

The Noise of the Guns had called the Earl of *Sandwich* as near the Mouth of the Harbour as could safely be, to discover what became of his Squadron; so that They came shortly to him with the whole Account of their ill Success, and within a short Time after a Shallop from the Governor, with a Letter to the Officer who had commanded the Squadron, com-

plaining as much as He could do of the Misbehaviour of the *English* in shooting upon the Town, and desiring "that Mr *Clifford* would give him a Meeting " at a Place He appointed, to which the Shallop " should convey him." Mr. *Clifford* was more willing to go than the Earl was to permit him; yet at last upon his earnest Desire He consented, and He put himself into the Shallop. It happened that when the Action was over and the *English* under Sail, the Vice-King arrived at *Bergen* with two or three Regiments of the Country; and the Orders were likewise come from *Copenhagen*, whereby, at least as They pretended, They were required to permit all that the *English* desired: And the Vice-King had caused the Shallop to be sent, and was himself with the Governor at the Place whither Mr. *Clifford* was to come, and there He spake with them together.

The Governor with many Protestations excused himself for shooting from the Castle, after the Town was assaulted, and many of the Burghers killed, who had stood in Arms only to defend the Town, without being concerned for the *Dutch* or their Ships; and made it an Argument of his Integrity and Respect, "that He had permitted them to depart when " it was in his Power to have sunk them." He complained, "that the Commander would not have the " Patience to defer the Assault one Day longer, " which if He had done the Orders from *Copenhagen* " had been come, and the Vice-King had been present with his Forces, which would have secured " the Enterprize." The Vice-King seemed very much troubled for what had been done, and earnestly desired "that the same or another Squadron might

“ be again sent in, when They should be at Liberty
 “ to do what They would upon the *Dutch*, and if
 “ They stood in Need of Assistance They should
 “ have as much as was necessary.”

Mr. *Clifford* replied to many of the Excuses which were made, and urged “ the suffering the *Dutch* to
 “ bring their Ordnance on Shore, and the Towns-men
 “ being in Arms to assist them;” and proposed, “ that
 “ They would first begin by seizing upon some of
 “ their Ships, and then that their Fleet should an-
 “ swer:” But this the Vice-King did absolutely refuse, and made another Proposition that startled more and was directly new. “ that when the *English* had seized
 “ upon all the *Dutch* Ships, They should not have
 “ carried any of them away till a perfect Division
 “ of the Goods was made, that the King of *Denmark*
 “ might have his just Proportion.” Mr. *Clifford* made
 “ no Answer but that He would present all that They
 “ proposed to the Earl of *Sandwich*, in whom the
 “ Power of concluding and executing remained
 “ solely:” And so He returned to the Fleet, and
 They to the Town and expected an Answer.

The Earl of *Sandwich* thought not fit to run any more Hazards, and was not satisfied that They had proceeded sincerely. But that which most prevailed with him was, that He had received Intelligence
 “ that *De Ruyter* was come out with the Fleet,” and He would not He should find him entangled in those Rocks, or obliged to fight with him upon that Coast; and the Season of the Year now made that Station very unsecure, for it was already the Beginning of *October*, when those Seas run very high and

The Earl of
Sandwich de-
 clines making
 another At-
 tempt.

boisterous: And therefore He resolved to be Master of more Sea-Room, that He might fight *De Ruyter* if He came, and if He did not He might then meet those *East-India* Ships more securely in their Way to *Holland*, than by making another Attempt in the Harbour. And so, after some Letters had passed and repassed between the Vice-King and him, and both the Vice-King and Governor had undertaken to keep the *Dutch* Ships there for the Space of six Weeks, for They desired to see the Success of another Engagement between the two Fleets; the Earl steered that Way with his Fleet that most probably might bring him and *De Ruyter* together, which above all Things He desired.

The Author's
Reflections
upon this Af-
fair.

This whole Affair of *Bergen* and the Managery thereof was so perplexed and intricate, that it was never clearly understood. That which seemed to have most Probability was, that as soon as the *Dutch* Fleet came to *Bergen*, They had unladen many of their richest Commodities and put them into the Castle, before the Governor had received his Orders from *Copenhagen*: And so both his own and his Master's Faith and Honor were engaged to discharge the Trust, of which He made Haste to send an Account to the King, and thereupon expected new Directions, which were not arrived when the *English* Fleet came thither. And when they did come, whether that Court according to its Custom did change its Mind, and believe They should make a better Bargain by keeping what was already deposited in their Hands in the Castle, than by making an uncertain Division with the King; or whether They did in Truth continue firm to the first Agreement, and that the

Messenger was stopped by extraordinary Accidents in his Journey (which was positively alledged), so that he did not arrive in Time; or whether the Governor was not able to master the Town that was much inclined to the *Hollanders*, before the Vice-King came with his Troops, who did make all possible Haste as soon as He heard that the *English* were arrived; or whether the *English* did proceed more unadvisedly and rashly than They ought to have done; remains still in the Dark: And Both Parties reproached each other afterwards, as They found most necessary for their several Defences and Pretences; of which more hereafter.

The King stayed not altogether so long at *Salisbury* as He had intended to have done: For besides a little accidental Indisposition which made him dislike the Air, some inferior Servants and their Wives came from *London* or the Villages adjacent, and brought the Plague with them; so that the Court removed to *Oxford* before the End of *September*, the Parliament being to assemble there on the tenth of the next Month. And before He left *Salisbury*, his Majesty sent an Express to *York* to his Brother, "that He would meet him as soon as He could." The Duke had lived in great Lustre in *York* all that Summer, with the very great Respect and continual Attendance of all the Persons of Quality of that large County: And the Duke no sooner received his Majesty's Summons than He took Post, and left his Wife and Family to follow by ordinary Journeys, and himself came to *Oxford* the next Day after the King, where there were

The King and
the Court re-
move to Ox-
ford.

indeed Matters of the highest Importance to be consulted and resolved.

The King had sent Mr. *Clifford* to *Denmark* to be satisfied, upon Conference with Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, concerning the Miscarriage at *Bergen*, and if the Ships remained still there according to the Promise the Vice-King had made, and if that King were ready to perform what He had undertaken, that all Particulars might be so adjusted that there might be no farther Mistake; and if He found that the Jealousy of *Sweden* was a real Obstruction to that Alliance, that He should make a Journey to *Sweden*, and upon Conference with Mr. *Coventry*, who by his Dexterity and very good Parts had reconciled the Affections of that Court to a very great Esteem of him, endeavour to remove all those Obstructions: And as soon as his Majesty should receive full Information of that whole Affair, He must consider what He was to do to vindicate himself in that Business of *Bergen*; for He knew well that He must suffer with all the World, for violating the Peace of a Port that was under the Government of a neighbour Prince with whom He was allied, if He did not make it appear that He had the Consent of that Prince, which He was not willing to do till He first knew what that King would do.

A farther Negotiation with the French Ambassadors.

In the next Place his Majesty was to resolve what Answer to make to the *French* Ambassadors, who now desired frequent Audiences, and positively declared, “ that their Master was engaged by his
 “ Treaty with the *Dutch* that in Case They were
 “ invaded or assaulted by any Prince, He would
 “ assist

“ assist them with Men, Money and Ships, which
 “ He had hitherto deferred to do out of Respect
 “ to the King, and in Hope that He would accept
 “ his Mediation, and make such Propositions
 “ towards Peace as He might press the others to
 “ consent to.” The *Dutch* Ambassador was likewise
 come to Town, rather to treat concerning the Pri-
 soners and to observe what the *French* Ambassadors
 did, than that He had any Thing to propose in Order
 to Peace, there appearing now since their Fleet was
 at Sea more Insolence in the *Dutch*, and a greater
 Aversion from the Peace, than had been formerly.

The King complained to the Ambassadors of the
French King's Proceedings, “ that the entering into
 “ that Treaty was expressly against his Word given
 “ to the King: That the *Dutch* had first began the
 “ War, and ought to make the first Approach
 “ towards Peace, but that their Ambassador had no
 “ Instruction to make any such Instance; and there-
 “ fore it seemed very strange to his Majesty, that
 “ the *French* King should press for that which They
 “ had no Desire to have.”

The Ambassadors confessed “ that the *Dutch* did
 “ not desire a Peace; that They thought They were
 “ too much behindhand, and that They had at
 “ present great Advantages; that They looked upon
 “ the great Plague in *London*” (which continued
 in its full Rage and Vigor, insomuch as at that Time,
 in the End of *September*, there died not so few as
 six thousand in the Week, amongst which some
 were of the best Quality in the City) “ as of such
 “ insupportable Damage to the King, that He would

“ not be able to set out another Fleet the Year
 “ following: And therefore that, when They had
 “ been pressed by the *French* King to make some
 “ Propositions towards Peace, He could get no
 “ other Answer from them, than *that They expected*
 “ *that the Island of Poleroone should be released to*
 “ *them, and that the Fort at Cabo Corso in Guinea*
 “ *should be thrown down and slighted,* which They
 “ confessed was an insolent Proposition. That They
 “ complained *that the King their Master, instead of*
 “ *giving them the Assistance He was obliged to do,*
 “ *spent the Time in procuring a Peace, which They*
 “ *cared not for:* So that,” They said, “ their Master
 “ continued the same Christian Office principally
 “ to do his Majesty of *Great Britain* a Service, who
 “ He in Truth believed would be reduced to great
 “ Straits by the terrible Effect of the Plague;
 “ and in the next Place to defend himself from
 “ entering into the War, which He could no longer
 “ defer to do, if his Majesty did not. by consenting
 “ to some reasonable Overture, give him a just
 “ Occasion to press them to yield to it, and in that
 “ Case He would behave himself in that Manner
 “ that the King should have no Cause to complain
 “ of his Partiality.” The King’s Indignation was
 so provoked by the Pride and Impudence of the
Dutch Demands, that He gave the Ambassadors no
 other Answer, than “ that He hoped God Almighty
 “ had not sent that heavy Judgment of the Plague
 “ upon him and his People on the Behalf of the
 “ *Hollanders,* and to expose him to their Insolence.”

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME,



