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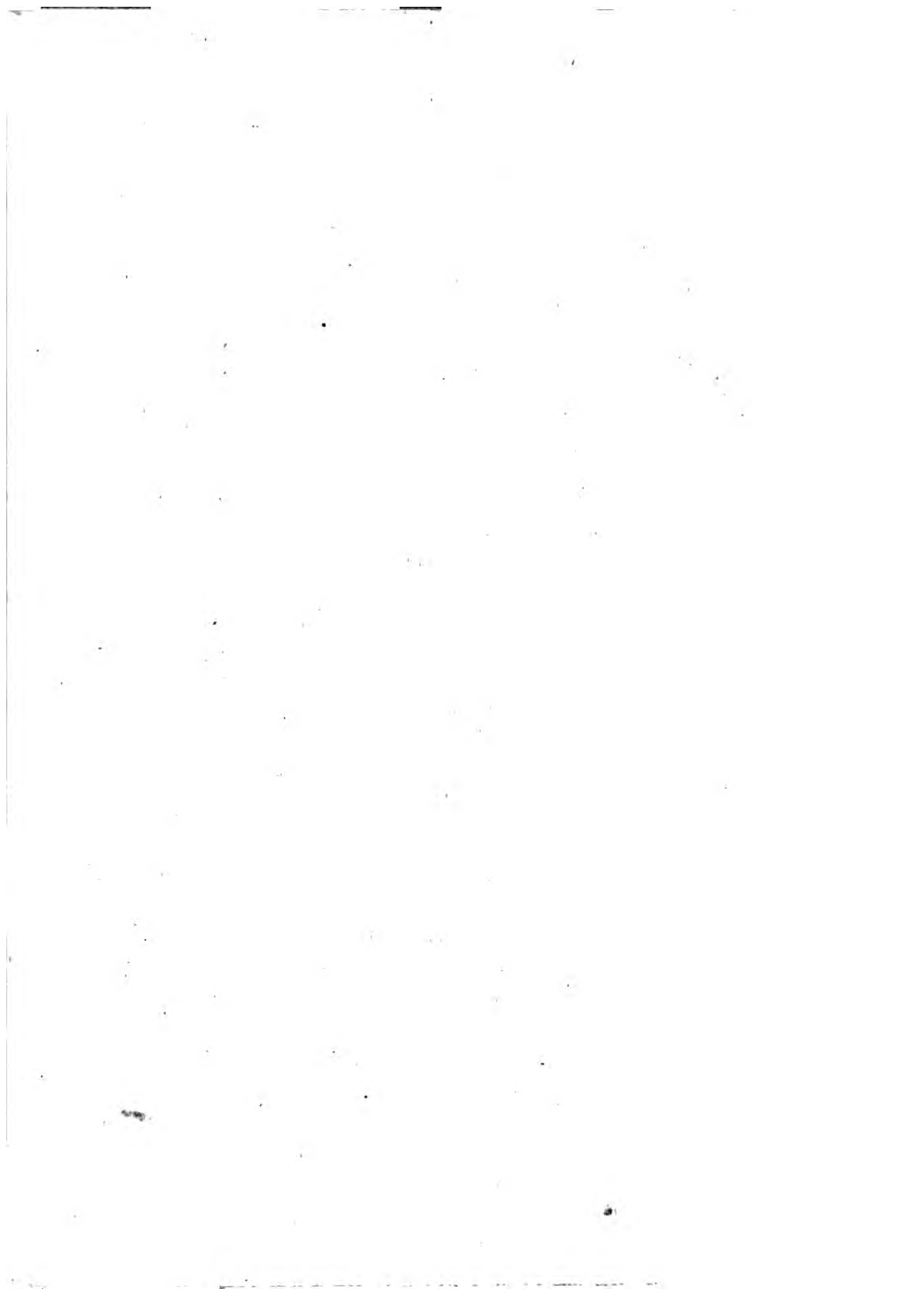


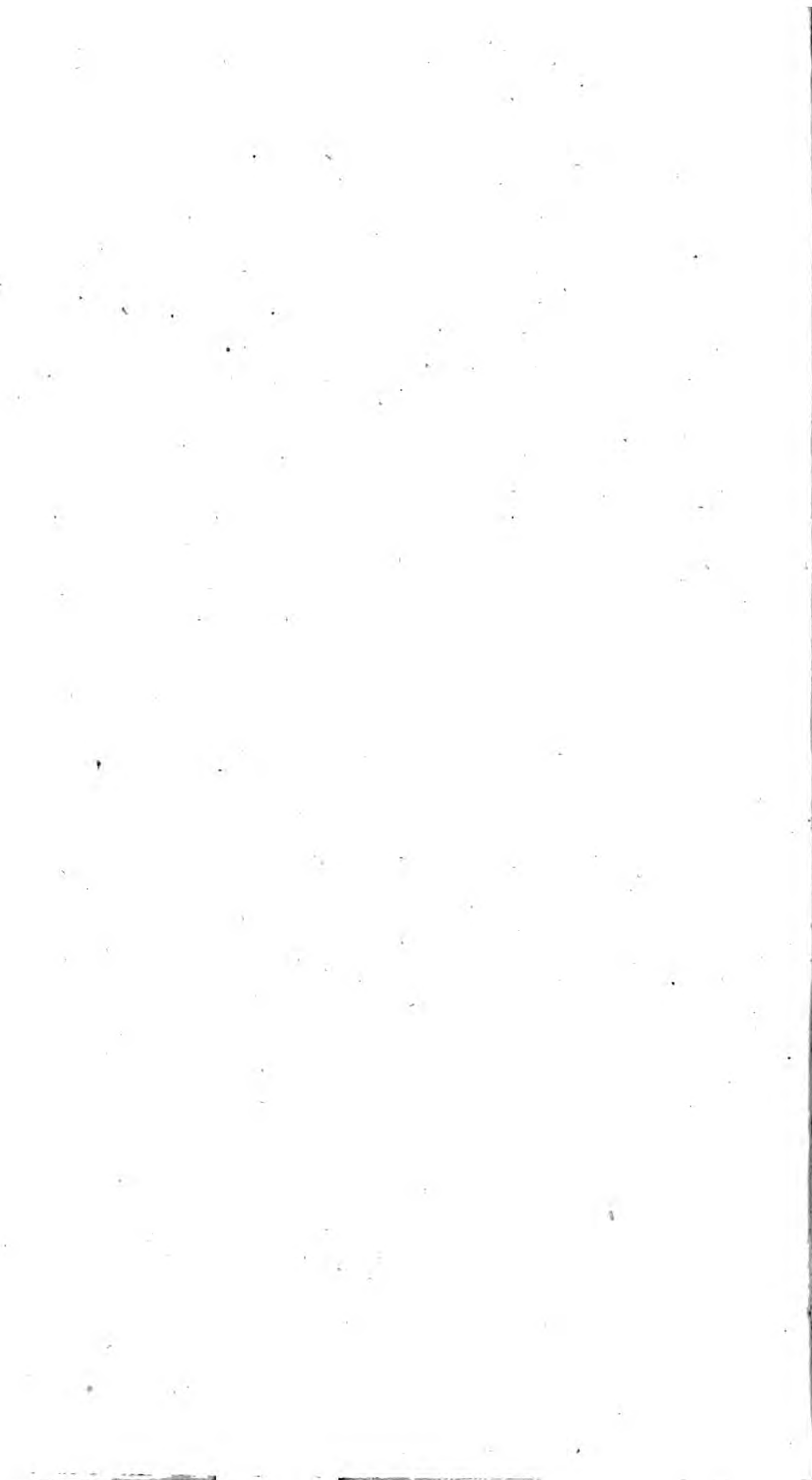
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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,  
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of ENGLAND,  
AND  
CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD.  
CONTAINING,

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

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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

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

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

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





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THE  
CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON, &c.

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THE King expected, that as soon as the Ambassadors should meet at the *Hague*, a Cessation would be the first Thing that would be agreed upon: And the *French* Ambassadors did in the first Place propose it, and in such a Manner, as made it evident that They depended upon it as a Thing resolved upon; and their Master had with their Consent dismissed his own Fleet, and theirs yet in their Ports. Nor did the *Dutch* seem to refuse it; but answered, “ that the “ adjusting all Things in Order to a Cessation would “ require as much Time as would serve to finish the “ Treaty, considering all material Points were upon “ the Matter already stated and agreed upon, the “ King having already chosen the Alternative:” And notwithstanding all the Earnestness used by the *French* Ambassadors, no other Answer could be obtained as to a Cessation; which, together with the supercilious Behaviour of the Commissioners from *Holland*, made it apparent, that They had no other Mind at that Time to Peace, than as They were compelled to it by *France*, that was impatient to have it concluded. They would not hear any Mention

Negotiations  
at Breda.

The Dutch  
defer agreeing  
to a Cessation.

for the Redelivery of *Poleroone*, "which," They said, "the King of *France* had promised should not be demanded;" and as little for any Recompence in Money; nor would suffer the Merchant-Deputies from the *English* Company to go to *Amsterdam*, to confer with the *East-India* Company there for any Composition. It quickly appeared, that They had Revenge in their Hearts for their last Year's Affront, and Damage at the *Flie*; and *De Wit* had often said, "that before any Peace They would leave some such Mark of their having been upon the *English* Coast, as the *English* had left of their having been upon that of *Holland*."

The Attempts  
of the Dutch  
to take  
Sheer-  
ness and  
Cromwell.

After the Treaty was entered into, about the Beginning of *June*, *De Ruyter* came with the Fleet out of the *Wierings*; and joining with the rest from the *Texel* sailed for the Coast of *England*: And having a fair Wind stood for the River of *Thames*; which put the County of *Kent* into such an Alarm, that all near the Sealeft their Houses and fled into the Country. The Earl of *Winchelsea*, who was Lord Lieutenant of that County, was at that Time Ambassador at *Constantinople*, and the Deputy-Lieutenants had all equal Authority: So that no Man had Power to command in that large County in so general a Distraction. Hereupon the King sent down Lieutenant General *Middleton* with Commission to draw all the Trainbands together, and to command all the Forces that could be raised: And He immediately went thither, and was very well obeyed, and quickly drew all the Trainbands of Horse and Foot to *Rochester*; and other Troops resorted to him from the neighbour

Counties, all the People expressing a great Alacrity in being commanded by him.

There had been enough Discourse all that Year of erecting a Fort at *Sheerness* for the Defence of the River: And the King had made two Journies thither in the Winter, and had given such Orders to the Commissioners of the Ordnance for the overseeing and finishing the Fortifications, that every Body believed that Work done; it having been the principal Defence and Provision directed and depended upon (as hath been said before); when the Resolution had been taken for the standing only upon the Defence for this Summer. But whatever had been thought or directed, very little had been done. There were a Company or two of very good Soldiers there under excellent Officers; but the Fortifications were so weak and unfinished, and all other Provisions so entirely wanting, that the *Dutch* Fleet no sooner approached within a Distance, but with their Cannon They beat all the Works flat, and drove all the Men from the Ground: Which as soon as They had done, with their Boats They landed Men, and seemed resolved to fortify and keep it.

This put the Country into a Flame, and the News of it exceedingly disturbed the King. He knew the Consequence of the Place, and how easily it might have been secured, and was the more troubled, that it had been neglected: And with what Loss soever, it must be presently recovered out of those Hands. The General was immediately ordered to march to *Chatham*, for the Security of the Navy, with such Troops of Horse and Foot as could be presently

drawn together out of the Guards, and from the neighbour Counties; and the City appeared very forward to send such Regiments of their Trainbands as should be required. When the General came to *Chatham* He found *Middleton* in so good a Posture, and so good a Body of Men, that, He had no Apprehension of any Attempt the *Dutch* could make at Land; and He writ very cheerful and confident Letters to the King and the Duke, “ that if the Enemy  
 “ should make any Attempt, which He believed  
 “ they durst not do, They would repent it. That  
 “ He had put a Chain over the River, which would  
 “ hinder them from coming up: And if They should  
 “ adventure to land any where, He would quickly  
 “ beat them to their Ships;” as no Doubt He had been very well able to have done.

There was indeed no Danger of their landing, and They were too wise to think of it: Their Business was in an Element They had more Confidence in and more Power upon. They had good Intelligence how loosely all Things were left in the River: And therefore as soon as the Tide came to help them, They stood full up the River, without any Consideration of the Chain, which their Ships immediately brake in Pieces, and passed without the least Pause; there being either no such Device to be made that can obstruct such an Enterprize, or that which was made was so weak, that it was of no Signification, but to raise an unseasonable Confidence in unskilful Men, that being disappointed must increase the Confusion, as it did. For all Men were so confounded to see the *Dutch* Fleet advance over the Chain, which

They looked upon as a Wall of Brass, that They knew not what They were to do.

The General was of a Constitution and Temper so void of Fear, that there could appear no Signs of Distraction in him: Yet it was plain enough that He knew not what Orders to give. There were two or three Ships of the Royal Navy negligently, if not treacherously, left in the River, which might have been very easily drawn into Safety, and could be of no imaginable Use in the Place where they then were: Into one of those the General put himself, and invited the young Gentlemen who were Volunteers to accompany him; which They readily did in great Numbers, only with Pikes in their Hands. But some of his Friends whispered to him, "how unadvised that Resolution was, and how desperate, without Possibility of Success, the whole Fleet of the Enemy approaching as fast as the Tide would enable them." And so He was prevailed with to put himself again on Shore: Which except He had done, both himself and two or three hundred Gentlemen of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the Kingdom had inevitably perished; for all those Ships, and some Merchant-Men laden and ready to put to Sea, were presently in a Flame; the *Dutch*, knowing that They could not carry them off, giving Order to burn them, the General standing upon the Shore, and not knowing what Remedy to apply to all this Mischief. The People of *Chatham*, which is naturally an Army of Seamen and Officers of the Navy, who might and ought to have secured all those Ships, which They had Time enough to have done, were in Distraction;

their chief Officers having applied all those Boats and lighter Vessels which should have towed up the Ships, to carry away their own Goods and Household-stuff, and given what They left behind for lost. And without Doubt, if the *Dutch* had prosecuted the present Advantage they had, with that Circumspection and Courage that was necessary, They might have fired the Royal Navy at *Chatham*, and taken or destroyed all the Ships which lay higher in the River, and so fully revenged themselves for what They had suffered at the *Flie*: But They thought They had done enough, and so made Use of the Ebb to carry them back again.

Great Confusion in the City and Court.

But the Noise of this, and the Flame of the Ships which were burned, made it easily believed in the City of *London* that the Enemy had done all that They conceived They might have done: They thought that They were landed in many Places, and that their Fleet was come up as far as *Greenwich*. Nor was the Confusion there greater than it was in the Court itself: Where They who had most advanced the War, and reproached all them who had been or were thought to be against it, “as Men who had no public Spirits, and were not solicitous for the Honor and Glory of the Nation;” and who had never spoken of the *Dutch* but with Scorn and Contempt, as a Nation rather worthy to be cudgelled than fought with; were now the most dejected Men that can be imagined, railed very bitterly at those who had advised the King to enter into that War, “which had already consumed so many gallant Men, and would probably ruin the Kingdom,” and

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 7

“ wished “ that a Peace, as the only Hope, were  
“ made upon any Terms.” In a Word; the Distrac-  
tion and Consternation was so great in Court and  
City, as if the *Dutch* had not been only Masters of  
the River, but had really landed an Army of one  
hundred thousand Men.

They who remember that Conjunction, and were  
then present in the Galleries and privy Lodgings at  
*Whitehall*, whither all the World flocked with equal  
Liberty, can easily call to Mind many Instances of  
such wild Despair and even ridiculous Apprehen-  
sions, that I am willing to forget, and would not that  
the least Mention of them should remain: And if the  
King’s and Duke’s personal Composure had not re-  
strained Men from expressing their Fears, there want-  
ed not some who would have advised them to have  
left the City. And there was a Lord, who would  
be thought one of the greatest Soldiers in *Europe*, to  
whom the Custody of the *Tower* was committed,  
who lodging there only one Night, declared “ that  
“ it was not tenable,” and desired not to be charged  
with it: And thereupon many, who had carried  
their Money and Goods thither, removed them from  
thence that they might be farther from the River.  
Nor did this unreasonable Distemper pass away, when  
it was known that the *Dutch* Fleet had not only left  
the River, but had taken away all their Men from  
*Sheerness*, which was a Manifestation very sufficient  
that They had no Design upon the Land: But there  
remained still such a Chagrin in the Minds of many,  
as if They would return again; in which They were  
confirmed, when They heard that They were still



upon the Coasts, and gave the same Alarm now to *Essex* and *Suffolk*, as They had done to *Kent*, not without making a Show as if They meant to attempt *Harwich* and *Landguard Point*; which drew all the Trainbands of those Counties to the Seaside, and the Duke of *York* went thither to conduct them, if there should be Occasion.

The King advised to convene the Parliament during the Prorogation.

In this Perplexity the King was not at Ease, and the less that every Man took upon him to discourse to him of the Distemper of the People generally over the Kingdom; and to give him Counsel what was to be done: And some Men had advised him to call the Parliament, which at the last Session had been prorogued to the twentieth of *October*; and it was now the Middle of *June*. And surely most discerning Men thought such a Conjunction so unseasonable for the Council of a Parliament, that if it had been then fitting, the most wholesome Advice that could be given would be to separate them till that Occasion should be over, which could be best provided for by a more contracted Council: However not knowing else what to do disposed the King to incline to that Remedy. And it being a current Opinion, or rather an unquestioned Certainty, that upon a Prorogation a Parliament cannot be convened before the Day, though upon an Adjournment it may; They had brought Mr. *Pryme* privately to the King to satisfy him, "that upon an extraordinary Occasion He might do it:" And his Judgment, which in all other Cases He did enough undervalue, very much confirmed him in what He had a Mind to.

In the Beginning of the Summer, when He had

resolved to have no Fleet at Sea, there were many Reasons which induced him to increase his Forces at Land. And that He might do it without Jealousy of the People, He gave Commission to three or four Persons of the Nobility, of great Fortunes and good Names, to raise Regiments of Foot, and to others for Troops of Horse; which was done at their own Charge, and with wonderful Expedition: And upon their first Musters They all received one Month's Pay. Of these Levies some were sent to repossess *Sheerneys*, and extraordinary Care was taken for the better Advancement of those Fortifications; and others were disposed to other Posts upon the Coast: But it was in View, that upon the Expiration of that Month, there must be new Pay provided for those Regiments and Troops. Then the Trainbands, which had been drawn together, had continued for one Month, which was as long as the Law required: And now they required, or were said to require, to be relieved or dismissed, or that They might receive Pay. There were Discontents and Emulations upon Command; and They who had usually professed, "that They would willingly serve the King in the Offices of Corporals or Serjeants, whatever Command They formerly had," now disputed all the Punctilios, and would not receive Orders from any who had been formerly in inferior Offices. And all these Waywardnesses were brought to the King, as Matters of the highest Consequence, who found Difficulty enough in determining Points of more Importance.

They who for their own private Designs desired

The Privy  
Council con-

sulted about  
the re-assembly  
of the Par-  
liament.

that the Parliament might meet, and cared not in what Humor They met, urged the King very importunately, “that He would issue out a Proclamation  
“to summon them, as the only Expedient to give  
“himself Ease, and to provide for all that was to be  
“done:” And his Majesty was most inclined to it, and in Truth resolved it; though knowing that it was contrary to the Sense of many, He resolved to debate it at the Council. And there He told them,  
“that They all saw the Straits that He was in,  
“the Insolence of the Enemy, and the general Dis-  
“temper of the Nation, which made it manifest  
“that it was necessary for him to have an Army,  
“that might be ready against any Thing that might  
“fall out. That He had no Money, nor knew  
“where to get any; nor could imagine any other  
“Way to provide against the Mischiefs which were  
“in View, than by calling the Parliament to come  
“together, of which or any other Expedient He was  
“willing to receive their Advice;” expressing so much of his own Sense, that it was plain enough that He thought that Remedy the best that could be applied. Three or four of those who sat at the lower End of the Board, and who were well enough known to have given the Counsel, and to be industrious that it might be followed, enlarged themselves in the Debate, “that the Soldiers could not be kept toge-  
“ther without Money; and They could not advise  
“any other Way to get Money but by the conven-  
“ing the Parliament, which They were confident  
“might justly and regularly be done:” And They desired, “that They who were of another Opinion

“ would propose some other Way how the King  
 “ might get Money.”

The Chancellor discerned that the Matter was already concluded what Advice soever should be given; and that three new Commissioners of the Treasury, since They could find no Way to procure Money, had been very importunate with the King to try that Expedient, and the more, because They well knew that He was against it, He having not been at all reserved upon several Occasions in private Discourses, when They were present, to give many Reasons against it: And He knew as well, that They would gladly make any Use of any Expressions which might fall from him, when the Remembrance might be applied to his Prejudice. Yet his natural Unwari-ness in such Cases with Reference to himself, when He thought his Majesty's Service concerned, to which He did really believe the present Advice would produce much Prejudice, prevailed with him to dissuade it.

He said, “ He knew well upon what Disadvan-  
 “ tage He spake, and how unpopular a Thing it was  
 “ to speak against the convening the Parliament in  
 “ those Straits, which seemed to be capable of no  
 “ other Remedy: Yet since He thought the Remedy  
 “ neither proper to the Disease, nor that it could be  
 “ applied in Time, He could not concur with those  
 “ who advised it. That most Men who had any  
 “ Knowledge in the Law did confess, that when the  
 “ Parliament stood prorogued to a certain Day, the  
 “ convening them upon a sooner Day was very  
 “ doubtful; and to him, upon all the Disquisition

The Chancel-  
 lor opposes it.

“ He could make, it was very clear that it could  
“ not be done: And therefore He desired the Jud-  
“ ges might be consulted in that Point, before any  
“ Resolution should be taken. That the Temper  
“ of Both Houses was well known; and that it could  
“ not but be presumed, that when They came toge-  
“ ther, the first Debate They would fall upon would  
“ be of the Manner of their coming together, and  
“ whether They were in a Capacity to act: And  
“ He doubted there would be very few who would  
“ be forward to pass an Act in a Season, when the  
“ Validity of it might be questioned by those who  
“ had no Mind to pay any Obedience to it. And  
“ then if their Meeting were only to confer toge-  
“ ther upon all Occurrences, and They might pre-  
“ sume of Liberty to say what They had a Mind  
“ to say, without Power to conclude any Thing;  
“ it was well worth the considering, whether, in so  
“ general a Distemper, such an Assembly might not  
“ interrupt all other Consultations and Expedients,  
“ and yet propose none, and so increase the Confu-  
“ sion. If the Necessities were so urgent, that it was  
“ absolutely necessary that a Parliament should be  
“ convened, and that which stood prorogued could  
“ not lawfully re-assemble till the twentieth of *Octo-*  
“ *ber*, as He was confident it could not; there was  
“ no Question to be made, but that the King might  
“ lawfully by his Proclamation presently dissolve  
“ the prorogued Parliament, and send out his Writs  
“ to have a new Parliament, which might regularly  
“ meet a Month before the prorogued Parliament  
“ could come together.” And many of the Council

were of Opinion, that it would most conduce to his Majesty's Service to dissolve the one, and to call another Parliament.

This was an Advice They believed no Man had the Courage to make, and were sorry to find so many of the Opinion, which They had rather should have appeared to be single. Many very warmly opposed this Expedient, magnified the Affections and Inclinations of Both Houses: " And though  
 " there appeared some ill Humor in them at their  
 " last being together, and Aversion to give any  
 " Money, for the present; yet in the Main their  
 " Affections were very right for Church and State.  
 " And that the King was never to hope to see a Par-  
 " liament better constituted for his Service, or so  
 " many of the Members at his Disposal: But that  
 " He must expect that the *Presbyterians* would be  
 " chosen in all Places, and that They who were most  
 " eminent now for opposing all that He desired  
 " would be chosen, and all They who were most  
 " zealous for his Service would be carefully ex-  
 " cluded;" which was a Fancy that sunk very deep in the Minds of the Bishops, though their best Friends thought them like to find more Friends and a stronger Support in any, than They would have in that Parliament. But the King quickly declared his Confidence in the Parliament that was prorogued, and his Resolution not to dissolve it; which put an End to that Debate. And the other was again resumed, " what the King was to do towards the raising  
 " Money; or how He should be able to maintain  
 " his Army, if He should defer calling the Parlia-

“ ment till the Day upon which They were to  
 “ assemble by the Prorogation:” And all Men were  
 to restrain their Discourse to that Point.

The old Argument, “ that there could be no other  
 “ Way found out,” was renewed, and urged with  
 more Earnestness and Confidence; and that They  
 who were against it might be obliged to offer their  
 Advice what other Course should be taken: And  
 this was often demanded, in a Manner not usual in  
 that Place, as a Reproach to the Persons. His  
 Majesty himself with some Quickness was pleased  
 to ask the Chancellor, “ what He did advise.” To  
 which He replied, “ that if in Truth what was pro-  
 “ posed was in the Nature of it not practicable, or  
 “ being practised could not attain the Effect proposed,  
 “ it ought to be laid aside, that Men might unbiaſſed  
 “ apply their Thoughts to find out some other Ex-  
 “ pedient. That He thought it very clear that the  
 “ Parliament could not assemble, though the Procla-  
 “ mation should issue out that very Hour, within less  
 “ than twenty Days; and that if They were met,  
 “ and believed themselves lawfully qualified to grant  
 “ a Supply of Moneys, all Men knew the Formality  
 “ of that Transaction would require so much Time,  
 “ that Money could not be raised Time enough to  
 “ raise an Army, or to maintain that Part of it that  
 “ was raised, to prevent the landing of an Enemy  
 “ that was already upon the Coast, and (as many  
 “ thought or seemed to think) ready every Day to  
 “ make their Descent: And yet the sending out a  
 “ Proclamation for re-assembling the Parliament  
 “ would inevitably put an End to all other Counsels.

“ That for his Part He did believe, that the *Dutch*  
 “ had already satisfied themselves in the Affront  
 “ They had given, and could not be in any Condi-  
 “ tion to pursue it, or have Men enough on Board  
 “ to make a Descent, without the King’s having  
 “ Notice of it; and that the *Dutch*, without a Con-  
 “ junction with the *French*, had not Strength for  
 “ such an Undertaking: And that the *French* had  
 “ no such Purpose his Majesty had all the Assurance  
 “ possible, and that their Fleet was gone far from the  
 “ Coast of *England*. And his Majesty had Reason  
 “ to believe, that the present Treaty would put an  
 “ End to this War in a short Time, though the Power  
 “ and Artifice of *De Wit* had prevented a Cessation.  
 “ However, for the present Support of those  
 “ Troops which were necessary to guard the Coasts,  
 “ since Money could not be found for their present  
 “ constant Pay, without which free Quarter could  
 “ not be avoided; the only Way that appeared to  
 “ him to be practicable, and to avoid the last Evil,  
 “ would be, to write Letters to the Lieutenants and  
 “ Deputy Lieutenants of those Counties where the  
 “ Troops were obliged to remain, *that They would*  
 “ *cause Provisions of all Kinds to be brought into those*  
 “ *Quarters*, that so the Soldiers might not be com-  
 “ pelled to straggle abroad to provide their own  
 “ Victual, which would end in the worst Kind of  
 “ free Quarter: And that the like Letters might be  
 “ written to the neighbour Counties, wherein no  
 “ Soldiers were quartered, to raise Money by Way  
 “ of Contribution or Loan, which should be abated  
 “ out of the next Impositions, that so the Troops



“ might be enabled to stay and continue in their  
 “ Posts where They were, for Defence of the King-  
 “ dom; in which those other Counties had their  
 “ Share in the Benefit, and without which They  
 “ must themselves be exposed to the Disorder of the  
 “ Soldiers, and possibly to the Invasion of the  
 “ Enemy.”

It is very probable, that in the Earnestness of this Debate, and the frequent Interruptions which were given, He might use that Expression (which was afterwards objected against him) “ of raising Con-  
 “ tribution as had been in the late civil War.” What-  
 ever it was He said, it was evident at the Time that some Men were well pleased with it, as Somewhat They meant to make Use of hereafter, in which his Innocence made him little concerned.

The Parlia-  
 ment sum-  
 moned to  
 meet.

The Conclusion was, though many of the Lords spake against it, and much the major Part thought it not counselable; that a Proclamation should forth-  
 with issue out, to require all the Members of Par-  
 liament to meet upon a Day appointed in the Begin-  
 ning of *August*, to consult upon the great Affairs of  
 the Kingdom: And this Proclamation was presently  
 issued accordingly.

The Treaty  
 advanced.

All this Time the Treaty proceeded at *Breda*, as  
 fast as the insolent Humor of the *Dutch* would suffer  
 it. The *French* King declared himself much offended  
 with their Proceedings at Sea: And his Ambassadors  
 spake so loud, that the *States* gave Order to their  
 Deputies to bring the Treaty to a Conclusion; and  
 sent such Orders to *De Ruyter*, that there was no  
 more Hostility of any Moment; only the Fleet  
 remained

remained at Sea, that it might appear They were Masters of it. It cannot be denied that the *French* Ambassadors, except in what referred to *Poleroone*, behaved themselves as candidly as could be wished: And it is probable, that the same Reason which moved the *French* to use all possible Diligence to bring the Treaty to an End, prevailed likewise with the *Dutch* to use all the Delays They could, that it might be prolonged.

Though there was no War declared, it had been long notorious that *Flanders* would be invaded: And it was as notorious, that there was no Provision made there towards a Resistance or Defence; the Marquis of *Castel-Roderigo*, who came Governor thither with a great Reputation, not making good the Expectation in the Sagacity He was famed for, nor offering at any Levies of Men, or mending Fortifications, until the *French* Army was upon the Borders. Then He sent into *England* to press the King to assist him with an Army of Horse and Foot; and it easily appeared the Nation would gladly have engaged in that War, not being willing that *Flanders* should be in the Possession of *France*: But the King was engaged not to give any Assistance to the Enemies of *France* until the Treaty should be ended, which yet it was not. However He suffered the Earl of *Castle-Haven*, under Pretence of recruiting a Regiment in *Flanders* which He had formerly, to raise a Body of one thousand Foot, which He quickly transported to *Ostend*.

The King of *France* was impatient to march, and yet desired the Treaty might be first concluded, that

both himself and the King of *England* might be at Liberty to enter into such an Alliance as They should think proper for their Interest: And the *Dutch*, who had no Mind that the Expedition should be prosecuted, and as much feared the Consequence of such an Alliance, though They were not wise enough to consider the right Means to prevent it, desired that the Treaty might not be concluded till the Winter drew nearer. But the *French* quickly put an End to that their Hope by marching into the Heart of *Flanders*, and so giving them new Matter for their present Consultations; not without Intimation, "that  
 " if They would not finish the Treaty, that King  
 " would conclude for what concerned himself:" And this put an End to it. Yet there were some Alterations of small Importance in some Articles of the former Treaty, besides that of *Poleeroone*, which the Ambassadors would not consent to without farther Knowledge of the King's Pleasure: And so one of them (Mr. *Henry Coventry*) came to attend his Majesty to give him an Account of all Particulars, and receive his own final Determination.

The French  
 to the Flan-  
 ders.

The King in the first Place sent for the *East-India* Company, and let them know, "that the *Dutch*  
 " would not consent to the former Article for the  
 " Redelivery of *Poleeroone*, nor give any Recom-  
 " pence for it; and that He was resolved not to de-  
 " part from them, and so release their Right without  
 " their Consent: And therefore that They should  
 " consider what would be for their Good " They  
 answered, that They thought a Peace to be so ne-  
 cessary for the Kingdom, that They would not

The East-India  
 Company  
 to their  
 to Pole-  
 roone.

“ that any Particular Interest of theirs should give  
 “ any Interruption to it:” And They acknowledged,  
 “ that if the War continued, They should in many  
 “ Respects be greater Losers, than the Redelivery  
 “ of *Poleroone* would repair; and that They would  
 “ gladly sacrifice that Pretence to the public Peace.”

Upon which Answer the Ambassador made his Report of all the Particulars which were consented to on Both Sides in the Treaty, and what remained yet in Suspense; and made Answer to all Questions which any of the Council thought fit to ask. And the King requiring him to deliver his own Opinion upon his Observation, and “ whether He believed,  
 “ that if his Majesty should positively insist upon  
 “ what They had hitherto refused to consent to,  
 “ the *Dutch* would chuse to continue the War;  
 “ and whether the *French* would join with them in  
 “ it:” He answered, “ that it was very evident that  
 “ the *Dutch* did not at present desire the Peace,  
 “ otherwise than to comply with *France* and for  
 “ Fear of it; and that *France* was obliged not to  
 “ abandon them in the Point of *Poleroone*, which  
 “ the other would never part with, nor give any  
 “ Recompence for, though the *French* Ambassadors  
 “ had used all the Arguments to persuade them to  
 “ it. But if that were agreed, He was confident  
 “ They would be compelled to consent to whatso-  
 “ ever was else of Moment. And that the *French*  
 “ had used some threatening Expressions, upon some  
 “ insolent Propositions made by the *Dane*, which  
 “ They thought proceeded from the Instigation of  
 “ *Holland*. And that at his coming away, the *French*

“ Ambassadors had used great Freedom with him,  
 “ and advised *in what Particulars which were yet*  
 “ *unagreed They wished his Majesty would not consent,*  
 “ *and in which They could not serve him, but believed*  
 “ *a Time would come, in which He would be repaired*  
 “ *for those Condescensions: In other Particulars He*  
 “ *should positively insist, at least with some little Varia-*  
 “ *tion of Expression; in which He expressed both his*  
 “ *own and the Opinion of the other Ambassador. ”*

And the Whole being in this Manner clearly stated, the King required all the Lords severally to deliver their Judgment what He was to do; and every Man did deliver his Opinion in more or fewer Words. And it may be truly said, that, though one or two adorned their Passion with some Expressions of Indignation against the *Dutch* for their Presumption, and as if They did believe that the Parliament would concur with the King in all Things which might vindicate his Honor from their insolent Demands, the Advice was upon the Matter unanimous,

The Privy-Council advises the King to conclude the Treaty.

“ that the Ambassador should immediately return,  
 “ and conclude the Peace upon those Conditions  
 “ which were stated at the Board.” And He did presently return: And all Matters were, within few Days after his Arrival, adjusted, and put into proper ministerial Hands for Engrossment, and all Forms and Circumstances agreed upon for the Proclamation of the Peace, and the Day appointed for the proclaiming thereof; and such Forms of Passes as should be given on all Sides to Merchants Ships (which would be impatient for Trade before the Days could be expired), in which all Ships of War

The Peace made.

should be obliged to take Notice that the Peace was proclaimed.

All this was done before the Day of the Parliament's convening upon the King's Proclamation: So that there being now no Use of an Army, and Reason enough to disband those Regiments which had been raised towards it, his Majesty thought it not reasonable that They should enter upon the Debate of any Business, but be continued under the former Prorogation to the Day appointed; and in this there appeared not one Person of a different Opinion. And so, upon the Day, the King went to the House, and told them, "that since the Condition of his Affairs was not so full of Difficulty as it had been when He sent out his Proclamation, and since many were of Opinion, that there might be Doubts arise upon the Regularity of their Meeting; He was content to dismiss them till the twentieth of *October*:" And so They separated without any Debate.

The Public no sooner entered into this Repose, than the Storm began to arise that destroyed all the Prosperity, ruined the Fortune, and shipwrecked all the Hopes, of the Chancellor, who had been the principal Instrument in the providing that Repose. The Parliament, that had been so unseasonably called together from their Business and Recreations, in a Season of the Year that They most desired to be vacant, were not pleased to be so soon dismissed: And very great Pains were taken by those, who were thought to be able to do him the least Harm, because They were known to be his Enemies, to

persuade the Members of Parliament, " that it was  
 " the Chancellor only who had hindered their con-  
 " tinuing together, and that He had advised the King  
 " to dissolve them;" which exceedingly inflamed  
 them.

Sir William  
 Coventry in-  
 censes the  
 Members of  
 the House of  
 Commons  
 against him.

And Sir *William Coventry* was so far from being reserved in his Malice, that the very Day that the Parliament was dismissed, after He had incensed them against the Chancellor, in the Presence of six or seven of the Members, who were not all of the same Mind, He declared, " that if at their next Meeting, which would be within little more than two Months, They had a Mind to remove the Chancellor from the Court, They should easily bring it to pass:" Of all which He had quickly Information, and had several other Advertisements from Persons of Honor, " that there was a strong Combination entered into against him;" and They mentioned some Particulars to have been told the King concerning him, which had exceedingly offended his Majesty. All which Particulars, being without any Color or Ground of Truth, He believed were Inventions (though not from those who informed him) only to amuse him.

Yet He took an Opportunity to acquaint the King with it, who, with the same Openness He had always used, conferred with him about his present Business, but only of the Business. He besought his Majesty to let him know, " whether He had received any Information that He had done or said such and such Things," which He made appear to him to be in themselves so incredible and improbable, that

it could hardly be in his Majesty's Power to believe them; to which the King answered, "that Nobody had told him any such Thing." To which the other replied, "that He did really think They had not, though He knew that They had bragged They had done so, and thereby incensed his Majesty against him; which They desired should be generally believed."

The Truth is; the Chancellor was guilty of that himself which He had used to accuse the Archbishop *Laud* of, that He was too proud of a good Conscience. He knew his own Innocence, and had no Kind of Apprehension of being publicly charged with any Crime. He knew well He had many Enemies who had Credit with the King, and that They did him all the ill Offices They could: And He knew that the Lady's Power and Credit increased, and that She desired Nothing more than to remove him from his Majesty's Confidence; in which He never thought her to blame, since She well knew that He employed all the Credit He had to remove her from the Court. But He thought himself very secure in the King's Justice: And though his Kindness was much lessened, He was confident his Majesty would protect him from being oppressed, since He knew his Integrity; and never suspected that He would consent to his Ruin. He was in Truth weary of the Condition He was in, and had in the last Year undergone much Mortification; and desired Nothing more, than to be divested of all other Trusts and Employments than what concerned the Chancery only, in which He could have no Rival, and in the Administration



whereof He had not heard of any Complaint: And this He thought might have satisfied all Parties; and had sometimes desired the King, ‘ that He might retire from all other Business, than that of the Judiciary;’ for He plainly discerned He was not able to contend with other Struggles.

A Particular relating to the Duke of Buckingham who hastens the Fate of the Chancellor

I cannot avoid in this Place mentioning an Accident that fell out in this Time, and enlarge upon all the Circumstances thereof, which might otherwise be passed over, but that it had an immediate Influence on the Fate of the Person who is so near his Fall. The King had been very much offended with the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had behaved himself much worse towards him than could be expected from his Obligations and Discretion, and had been in Truth the original Cause of all the ill Humor which had been in Both Houses of Parliament in the last Session; after the End of which He went into the Country without taking his Leave of the King, and in several Places spake with greater Licence of the Court and Government and of the Person of the King, than any other Person presumed to do; of all which his Majesty had Intelligence and Information, and was at that Time without Doubt more offended with him than with any Man in *England*, and had really great Provocation to Jealousy of his Fidelity, as well as of his Respect and Affection. The Lord *Arlington*, as Secretary of State, had received several Informations of dangerous Words spoken by him against the King, and of his Correspondencies with Persons the most suspected for seditious Inclinations, the Duke having made himself very popular amongst

the *Levellers*, and amongst them who clamored for Liberty of Conscience, which Pretence He seemed very much to cherish.

The King was very much awakened to be jealous of him, besides his Behaviour in the Parliament, by some Informations He received from his own Servants. There was one *Braythwaite* a Citizen, who had been a great Confident of *Cromwell* and of the *Council of State*, a Man of Parts, and looked upon as having a greater Interest with the discontented Party than any Man of the City. Upon the King's Return this Man fled beyond the Seas, and after near a Year's Stay there came again to *London*, but remained there as *Incognito*, came not upon the *Exchange*, nor was seen in public, and returned again into *Holland*; and so made frequent Journies backward and forward for several Months, and then came and resided publicly in the City. This being taken Notice of by Sir *Richard Browne*, who was Major-General of the City, upon whose Vigilance the King very much and very justly depended, and the Man being well known to him. He had long endeavoured to apprehend him, till He understood that He was a Servant to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and in great Trust with him, as He was; for the Duke had committed the whole Managery of his Estate to him, and upon his Recommendation had received many other inferior Servants to be employed under him, all of the same Level with him, and all notorious for their Disaffection to the Church and State. The Major-General, being one Day to give the King an Account of some Business, told him likewise of this

An Account  
of the Duke's  
Behaviour.

Man, "as one as worthy to be suspected for all dis-loyal Purposes, and as like to bring them to pass, as any Man of that Condition in *England*;" and seemed to wonder "that the Duke would entertain such a Person in his Service."

At that Time the Duke had by his Diligence, and those Faculties towards Mirth in which He excelled, made himself very acceptable to the King; though many wondered that He could be so, considering what the King himself knew of him: Infomuch that his Majesty told him what He had been informed of his Steward, and how much He suffered in his Reputation for entertaining such Servants. The Duke received the Animadversion with all possible Submission and Acknowledgment of the Obligation, and then enlarged upon the Commendation of the Man, "of his great Abilities, and the Benefit He received by his Service;" and besought his Majesty "that He would vouchsafe to hear him, for He believed He would give an Account of the State of the City, and of many Particulars which related to his Majesty's Service, better than most Men could do." And the King shortly after supping at the Duke's House, He found an Opportunity to present Mr. *Braythwaite* to him, who was a Man of a very good Aspect, which that People used not to have, and of notable Insinuation. He made the King a Narration of the whole Course of his Life, in which He did not endeavour to make himself appear a better Man than He had been reported to be; which Kind of Ingenuity, as Men call it, is a wonderful Approach towards being believed. He related "by what Degrees,

“ and in what Method of Conviction, He had expli-  
 “ cated himself from all those ill Principles in which  
 “ He had been entangled: And that it had been a  
 “ principal Motive to him to embrace the Opportu-  
 “ nity of serving the Duke, that He might totally  
 “ retire from that Company and Conversation to  
 “ which He had been most accustomed. And yet He  
 “ thought He had so much Credit with the chief of  
 “ them, that They could never enter into any active  
 “ Combination, but He should have Notice of it:  
 “ And assured his Majesty that Nothing should pass  
 “ of Moment amongst that People, but his Majesty  
 “ should have very seasonable Information of it,  
 “ and that He would always serve him with great  
 “ Fidelity.” In Fine, the King was well satisfied  
 with his Discourse, and often afterwards upon the  
 like Opportunities conferred with him. and believed  
 him to be well disposed to do him any Service.

During the last Session of Parliament, in which the  
 Duke carried himself so disrespectfully to the King,  
 this Man found an Opportunity to get Access to his  
 Majesty, which He was willing to give him; when  
 He said, “ that He thought it his Duty, and accord-  
 “ ing to his Obligation, to give his Majesty an Ac-  
 “ count of what He had lately observed, and of his  
 “ own Resolutions.” He told him, “ that his Lord  
 “ was of late very much altered, and was fallen into  
 “ the Acquaintance and Conversation of some Men  
 “ of very mean Condition, but of very desperate  
 “ Intentions; with whom He used to meet at unsea-  
 “ sonable Hours, and in obscure Places, where Per-  
 “ sons of Quality did not use to resort; and that He

“ frequently received Letters from them: All which  
 “ made him apprehend that there was a Design on  
 “ Foot, which, how unreasonable soever, the Duke  
 “ might be engaged in. And for these and other Rea-  
 “ sons, and the irregular Course of his Life, He was  
 “ resolved to withdraw himself from his Service:  
 “ And that He hoped, into what Extravagancies  
 “ soever the Duke should cast himself, his Majesty  
 “ would retain a good Opinion of him, who would  
 “ never swerve from his Affection and Duty.”

The Information and Testimony, which the Lord  
*Arlington* brought to the King shortly after this Ad-  
 vertisement, made the greater Impression; and there  
 were many Particulars in the Informations that could  
 not be suspected to be forged. And it appeared that  
 there was a poor Fellow, who had a poorer Lodging  
 about *Tower-Hill*, and professed Skill in Horoscopes,  
 to whom the Duke often repaired in Disguise in the  
 Night: And the Lord *Arlington* had caused that  
 Fellow to be apprehended, and his Pockets and his  
 Chamber to be searched; where were found several  
 Letters to the Duke of *Buckingham*, one or two  
 whereof were in his Pocket sealed and not sent, and  
 the rest Copies, and one original Letter from the  
 Duke to him, in all which there were many unusual  
 Expressions, which were capable of a very ill Inter-  
 pretation, and could not bear a good one. This Man  
 and some others were sent close Prisoners to the  
*Tower*, where the Lord *Arlington* and two other  
 Privy-Counsellors by the King's Order, took their  
 several Examinations, and confronted them with  
 those Witnesses, who accused them and justified

their Accufations; all which were brought to the King.

And then his Majesty was pleased to acquaint the Chancellor with all that had passed, who to that Minute had not the least Imagination of any Particular relating to it: Nor had He any other Prejudice to the Person of the Duke (for He behaved himself towards him with more than ordinary Civility), than what was necessary for any Man to have upon Account of the Extravagancy of his Life; and which He could not be without, upon what He had often received from the Duke himself upon his own Knowledge. The King now showed him all those Examinations and Depositions which had been taken; and that Letter to the Fellow, "which," his Majesty said, "He knew to be every Word the Duke's own Hand;" and the Letters to the Duke from the Fellow, which still gave him the Style of Prince, and mentioned what *great Things his Stars promised to him, and that He was the Darling of the People, who had set their Hearts and Affections and all their Hopes upon his Highness*, with many other foolish and fustian Expressions. His Majesty told him in what Places the Duke had been since He left *London*; "that He stayed few Days in any Place; and that He intended on such a Day, that was to come, to be in *Staffordshire* at the House of Sir *Charles Wolseley*," a Gentleman who had been of great Eminency in *Cromwell's* Council, and one of those who had been sent by the House of Commons to persuade him to accept the Crown with the Title of King. Upon the whole Matter his Majesty asked him,

“ what Way He was to proceed against him :” To which He answered, “ that He was first to be apprehended ; and when He should be in Custody and examined, his Majesty would better judge which Way He was to proceed against him.”

The King issues out his Warrant to apprehend him.

Upon farther Consideration with the Chancellor and Lord *Arlington* and others of the Council, the King sent a Sergeant at Arms, with a Warrant under his Sign Manual, “ to apprehend the Duke of *Buckingham*, and to bring him before one of the Secretaries of State, to answer to such Crimes as should be objected against him ;” or to that Purpose. The Sergeant made a Journey into *Northamptonshire*, where He was informed the Duke was : But still, when He came to the House where He was said to be, it was pretended that He was gone from thence some Hours before ; by which He found that He had Notice of his Business. And therefore He concealed himself, and appointed some Men to watch and inform themselves of his Motions, it being generally reported that He would be at the House of the Earl of *Exeter* at such a Time. And Notice was given him, that He was then in a Coach with Ladies going to that House : Upon which He made so good Haste, that He was in View of the Coach, and saw the Duke alight out of the Coach, and lead a Lady into the House ; upon which the Door of the Court was shut before He could get to it. He knocked loudly at that and other Doors that were all shut ; so that He could not get into the House, though it were some Hours before Sunset in the Month of *May*. After some Hours Attendance, one Mr. *Fairfax*, who

waited upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, came to the Door, and without opening it asked him, "what He would have:" And He answered, "that He had a Message to the Duke from the King, and that He must speak with him;" to which He replied, "that He was not there, and that He should seek for him in some other Place." The Sergeant told him, "that He saw him go into the House; and that if He might not be admitted to speak with him, He would require the Sheriff of the County to give him his Assistance:" Upon which the Gentleman went away, and about Half an Hour after returned again, and threatened the Sergeant so much, after He had opened the Door, that the poor Man had not the Courage to stay longer; but returned to the Court, and gave a full Relation in Writing to the Secretary of the Endeavours He had used, and the Affronts He had received.

Why all the particular Circumstances of this Affair are so punctually related will appear anon. The King was so exceedingly offended at this Carriage and Behaviour of the Duke, that He made Relation of it to the Council Board, and publicly declared, "that He was no longer of that Number," and caused his Name to be left out in the List of the Counsellors, and "that He was no longer a Gentleman of his Bedchamber," and put the Earl of *Rocheſter* to wait in his Place. His Majesty likewise revoked that Commission by which He was constituted Lord Lieutenant of the East-Riding in *Yorkshire*, and granted that Commission to the Earl of *Burlington*: So that it was not possible for his Majesty to give

He is removed  
from all his  
Employments.



A Proclamation for apprehending him.

more lively Instances of his Displeasure against any Man, than He had done against the Duke. And at the same Time, with the Advice of the Board, a Proclamation issued out for his Apprehension, and inhibiting all Persons to entertain, receive or conceal him. Upon which He thought it fit to leave the Country, and that He should be less discovered in London, whither He resorted, and had many Lodgings in several Quarters of the City. And though his Majesty had frequent Intelligence where He was, and continued Advertisements of the Liberty He took in his Discourses of his own Person and of some others, of which He was no less sensible; yet when the Sergeant at Arms, and others employed for his Apprehension, came where He was known to have been but an Hour before, He was gone thence, or so concealed there that He could not be found: And in this Manner He continued sleeping all the Day, and walking from Place to Place in the Night, for the Space of some Months.

The Duke desires the Chancellor to interpose in his Behalf.

At last being advertised of renewed Instances of the King's Displeasure, and that it every Day increased upon new Intelligence that He received of his Behaviour, He grew weary of the Posture He was in, and employed several Persons to move the King on his Behalf; for He was informed that the King resolved to proceed against him for his Life, and that his Estate was begged and given. Upon this one Night He sent his Secretary, Mr. *Clifford*, to the Chancellor, with whom He had never entered into any Dispute, with some Compliments and Expressions of Confidence in his Friendship. He professed "great Innocence

“ cence and Integrity in all his Actions with Refer-  
 “ ence to the King, though He might have been  
 “ passionate and indiscreet in his Words; that there  
 “ was a Conspiracy against his Life, and that his  
 “ Estate was granted or promised to Persons who  
 “ had begged it:” And in Conclusion He desired  
 “ that He would send him his Advice what He  
 “ should do, but rather, that He would permit him  
 “ to come to him in the Evening to his House that  
 “ He might confer with him.”

The Chancellor answered his Secretary, who was well known to him, “ that He might not confer  
 “ with him till He rendered himself to the King; that  
 “ He was confident, having seen Testimony enough  
 “ to convince him that the Duke was not innocent;  
 “ and that He had much to answer for disrespectful  
 “ Mention of the King, which would require much  
 “ Acknowledgment and Submission: But that He  
 “ did not know that his Crimes were of that Mag-  
 “ nitude as would put his Life into Danger; and  
 “ that He was most confident that there was no  
 “ Conspiracy to take that from him, except his  
 “ Faults were of another Nature than they yet ap-  
 “ peared to be; and which no Conspiracy, which  
 “ He need not fear, could deprive him of. And He  
 “ did not believe that there had been any Attempt  
 “ to beg his Estate: But He was sure there had not  
 “ been, nor could be, any Grant of it to any Man,  
 “ which must have passed by the Great-Seal.” He  
 did advise him, and desired him to follow his Ad-  
 vice, “ that if He did know himself innocent as to  
 “ unlawful Actions and Designs, and that his Fault,

The Chancel-  
 lor's Advice  
 to him.

“ consisted only in indiscreet Words, as He seemed  
 “ to confess; He would no longer aggravate his Of-  
 “ fence by contemning his Warrants, which He  
 “ would not be long able to avoid, but deliver  
 “ himself into the Custody of the Lieutenant of the  
 “ Tower, which He was at Liberty by the Procla-  
 “ mation to do, and send then a Petition to the  
 “ King, that He might be heard: And that when  
 “ He had done this, He would be ready and willing  
 “ to do him all the Offices which would consist with  
 “ his Duty.”

And the next Day He gave his Majesty a particular Account of the Message which He had received, and of the Answer which He had returned; which his Majesty approved, and showed him a Letter that He had received from the Duke that Morning, which seemed to have been written after his Secretary had returned from the Chancellor. The Letter contained a large Profession of his Innocence, and Complaint of the Power of his Enemies, and a very earnest Desire “ that his Majesty would give him Leave to  
 “ speak with him, and then dispose of him as He  
 “ pleased;” to which his Majesty had answered to the Person who brought the Letter, who, as I remember, was *Sir Robert Howard*, “ that the Duke  
 “ need not fear the Power of any Enemies, but  
 “ would be sure to have Justice if He would sub-  
 “ mit to it.”

The King  
 grows weary  
 of the Prose-  
 cution.

But his Majesty in his Discourse seemed to be as weary of the Prosecution, as the Duke was of the concealing himself to avoid it, and to have much Apprehension of his Interest and Power in the Par-

liament; and to be troubled that the principal Witnesses, upon whose Testimony He relied, was at that Time sick of the Smallpox, and in Danger of Death, and that another retracted Part of that Evidence that He had given. In a Word; his Majesty appeared less angry than He had been, and willing that an End should be put to the Business without any public Prosecution. To which the Chancellor made no other Answer, than "that no Advice could be given  
 " with Preservation of his Majesty's Dignity, till  
 " the Duke rendered himself into the Hand of Justice:" Which He was very unwilling to do, and sent again to the Chancellor by Sir *Robert Howard*, to press him, "that He might be admitted first to the  
 " King's Presence, and then sent to the *Tower*." The other told him, "that if the King were inclined to  
 " admit him in that Manner, He would dissuade him  
 " from it, as a Thing dishonorable to him after so  
 " long a Contest;" and repeated the same to him that He said formerly to Mr. *Clifford*: Nor could He be persuaded by any others (for others did speak to him to the same Purpose) to recede a Title from what He had insisted upon, "that He should put  
 " himself in the *Tower*." In all which He still gave the King a faithful Account of every Word that passed: For He knew well that the Lord *Arlington* endeavoured to persuade the King, "that the Chancellor favored the Duke, and desired that He  
 " should be at Liberty;" when at the same Time He used all the Way He could to have it insinuated to the Duke's Friends, "that He knew Nothing of the  
 " Business, but that the whole Prosecution was made

“ by the Information and Advice of the Chancellor.”

The Duke surrenders himself.

In the End, the Duke was persuaded to render himself to the *Tower*: And from thence He sent a Petition to the King, who presently appeared very well inclined to give over any farther Prosecution; which Alteration all Men wondered at, nor could any Man imagine the Ground or Reason of it. For though the principal Witness was dead, as the Lord *Arlington* declared He was, and that so much could not be proved as at the first Discovery was reasonably suspected; yet the Meanness and Vileness of the Persons with whom He kept so familiar Correspondence, the Letters between them which were ready to be produced, the disrespectful and scandalous Discourses, which He often held concerning the King's Person, and many other Particulars which had most inflamed the King, and which might fully have been proved, would have manifested so much Vanity and Presumption in the Duke, as must have lessened his Credit and Reputation with all serious Men, and made him worthy of severe Censure. But whether the King thought not fit to proceed upon the Words and scandalous Discourses, which He thought would more disperse and publish the Scandals; or whether He did really believe that it would disturb and obstruct all his Business in Parliament; or what other Reason soever prevailed with his Majesty, as without Doubt some other there were: His Majesty was very impatient to be rid of the Business, and would have been easily persuaded to have given present Order for setting the Duke at Liberty, and so to

silence all farther Discourse. But He was persuaded,  
 “ that that would most reflect upon his own Honor,  
 “ by making it believed, that there had been in  
 “ Truth a foul Conspiracy against the Person of the  
 “ Duke, which would give him more Credit in the  
 “ Parliament and every where else;” for the King  
 had not yet, with all his Indulgence, a better Opinion  
 of his Affection and Fidelity than He had before.

In Conclusion; it was resolved, “ that the Lieu- He is exam-  
 “ tenant of the *Tower* should bring the Duke of ined at the  
 “ *Buckingham* to the Council-Chamber, his Majesty Council.  
 “ being present; and there the Attorney and Solicitor Board.  
 “ General should open the Charge that was against  
 “ him, and read all the Examinations which had  
 “ been taken, and the Letters which had passed be-  
 “ tween them:” All which was done. And the Duke  
 denying “ that He had ever written to that Fellow,  
 “ though He knew him well, and used to make him-  
 “ self merry with him,” the Letter was produced  
 (which the King and the Lord *Arlington*, who Both  
 knew his Hand well, made no Doubt to be his  
 Hand) and delivered to the Duke; who, as soon as  
 He cast his Eye upon it, said, “ it was not his Hand,  
 “ but He well knew whose it was.” And being  
 asked whose Hand it was, He said, “ it was his Sis-  
 “ ter’s, the Dutches of *Richmond*, with whom,” He  
 said, “ it was known that He had no Correspond-  
 ence.” Whereupon the King called for the Letter,  
 and, having looked upon it, He said, “ He had been  
 “ mistaken,” and confessed “ that it was the Dut-  
 “ ches’s Hand;” and seemed much out of Counte-  
 nance upon the Mistake: Though the Letter gave

still as much Cause of Suspicion, for it was as strange that She should write to such a Fellow in a Style very obliging, and in Answer to a Letter; so that it seemed very reasonable still to believe, that She might have written it upon his Desire and dictating.

The Duke denied most of the Particulars contained in the Examinations: And for the other Letters which had been written to him by the Fellow who was in the *Tower* (whereof one was found in his Pocket sealed to be sent to the Duke, and the others were Copies of others which had been sent; and the Witness who was dead had delivered one of them into the Duke's own Hand, and related at large the Kindness He expressed towards the Man, and the Message He sent to him by him); He denied that He had ever received those Letters; but acknowledged, " that the Man came often to him, and pretended great Skill in Horoscopes, but more in Distillations, in which the Duke delighted and exercised himself. but looked upon the Fellow as cracked in his Brain and fit only to be laughed at."

The King easily satisfied with his Defence.

When the Duke was withdrawn, the King declared, " that He had been deceived in being confident that the Letter had been written by the Duke, which He now discerned not to be his Hand, and He knew as well to have been written by the Dutchess;" and thereupon seemed to think that there was Nothing else worth the-examining: And so Order was given to set the Duke at Liberty, who immediately went to his own House, and went not in some Days afterwards to the Court.

The Chancellor loses his Wife.

About this Time, or in a few Days afterwards, a

great Affliction befel the Chancellor in his Domesticks, which prepared him to bear all the unexpected Accidents that suddenly succeeded that more insupportable Misfortune. His Wife, the Mother of all his Children, and his Companion in all his Banishment, and who had made all his former Calamities less grievous by her Company and Courage, having made a Journey to *Tunbridge* for her Health, returned from thence without the Benefit She expected, yet without being thought by the Physicians to be in any Danger; and within less than three Days died: Which was so sudden, unexpected and irreparable a Loss that He had not Courage to support; which Nobody wondered at who knew the mutual Satisfaction and Comfort They had in each other. And He might possibly have sunk under it, if his Enemies had not found out a new Kind of Consolation to him, which his Friends could never have thought of.

Within few Days after his Wife's Death, the King vouchsafed to come to his House to condole with him, and used many gracious Expressions to him: Yet within less than a Fortnight the Duke (who was seldom a Day without doing him the Honor to see him) came to him, and with very much Trouble told him, "that such a Day, that was past, walking  
 " with the King in the Park, his Majesty asked him  
 " *how the Chancellor did: To which his Highness had*  
 " *made Answer, that He was the most disconsolate Per-*  
 " *son He ever saw; and that He had lamented himself*  
 " *to him not only upon the Loss of his Wife, but out of*  
 " *Apprehension that his Majesty had of late withdrawn*

The Duke of  
 York sent by  
 the King to  
 desire the  
 Chancellor to  
 resign.



“ his Countenance from him; to which his Majesty  
 “ replied, that He wondered He should think so, but  
 “ that He would speak more to him of that Subject the  
 “ next Day. And that that Morning his Majesty had  
 “ held a long Discourse with him, in which He told  
 “ him, that He had received very particular and certain  
 “ Intelligence, that when the Parliament should meet  
 “ again They were resolved to impeach the Chancellor,  
 “ who was grown very odious to them, not only for his  
 “ having opposed them in all those Things upon which  
 “ They had set their Hearts, but that They had been  
 “ informed that He had proposed and advised their Dissol-  
 “ lution; which had enraged them to that Degree, that  
 “ They had taken a Resolution, as soon as They came  
 “ together again to send up an Impeachment against  
 “ him; which would be a great Dishonor to his Majesty  
 “ and obstruct all his Affairs, nor should He be able to  
 “ protect him or divert them: And therefore that it  
 “ would be necessary for his Service, and likewise for the  
 “ Preservation of the Chancellor, that He should deliver  
 “ up the Seal to him. All which He desired the Duke”  
 (who confessed that He had likewise received the  
 same Advertisement) “ to inform him of: And that  
 “ the Chancellor himself should chuse the Way and the  
 “ Manner of delivering up the Seal, whether He would  
 “ wait upon the King and give it into his own Hand,  
 “ or whether the King should send a Secretary or a Privy-  
 “ Counsellor for it.” When the Duke had said all  
 that the King had given him in Charge, He declared  
 himself “ to be much unsatisfied with the King’s  
 “ Resolution; and that though He had received the  
 “ same Advertisement, and believed that there was a

“ real Combination and Conspiracy against him, yet  
 “ He knew the Chancellor’s Innocence would not  
 “ be frighted with it.”

The Chancellor was indeed as much surpris’d with this Relation, as He could have been at the Sight of a Warrant for his Execution. He told the Duke, “ that He did not wonder that the King and his Highness had been informed of such a Resolution; “ for that They who had contrived the Conspiracy, “ and done all They could to make it prevalent, “ could best inform his Majesty and his Highness of “ what would probably fall out.” And thereupon He informed the Duke “ of what had pass’d at the “ Day of the last Prorogation, and the Discourse “ and Promise Sir *William Coventry* had made to them, “ if They had a Mind to be rid of the Chancellor: “ But,” He said, “ that which only afflicted him was, “ that the King should have no better Opinion of “ his Innocence and Integrity, than to conclude that “ such a Combination must ruin him. And He was “ more troubled to find, that the King himself had so “ terrible an Apprehension of their Power and their “ Purposes, as if They might do any Thing They “ had a Mind to do. He did not believe that He “ was so odious to the Parliament as He was reported “ to be; if He were, it was only for his Zeal to his “ Majesty’s Service, and his insisting upon what his “ Majesty had resolv’d: But He was confident that “ when his Enemies had done all that their Malice “ could suggest against him, it would appear that “ the Parliament was not of their Mind. He wish’d “ that He might have the Honor to speak with the

“ King, before He returned any Answer to his Com-  
 “ mands.” The Duke was pleased graciously to  
 reply, “ that it was the Advice He intended to  
 “ give him, that He should desire it; and that He  
 “ doubted not but that He should easily prevail with  
 “ the King to come to his House, whither He had  
 “ used so frequently to come, and where He had  
 “ been so few Days before:” And at this Time the  
 Chancellor was not well able to walk; besides that  
 it was against the common Rules of Decency to go  
 so soon out of his House. When the Duke desired  
 the King, that He would vouchsafe to go to *Clarendon-*  
*House*; his Majesty very readily consented to it, and  
 said, “ He would go thither the next Day.” But  
 that and more Days passed: And then He told the  
 Duke, “ that since He resolved to take the Seal, it  
 “ would not be so fit for him to go thither; but He  
 “ would send for the Chancellor to come to his own  
 “ Chamber in *Whitehall*, and He would go thither  
 “ to him.”

Many Persons  
 of Eminence  
 interpose on  
 his Behalf.

In the mean Time it began to be the Discourse of  
 the Court: And the Dutchess, from whom the Duke  
 had yet concealed it, came to be informed of it; who  
 presently went to the King with some Passion; and  
 the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the General accom-  
 panied her, who all besought the King not to take  
 such a Resolution. And many other of the Privy-  
 Council, with none of whom the Chancellor had  
 spoken, taking Notice of the Rumor, attended the  
 King with the same Suit and Advice. To all whom  
 his Majesty answered, “ that what He intended was  
 “ for his Good, and the only Way to preserve him.”

He held longer Discourse to the General, "that He  
 " did believe by what his Brother had told him,  
 " of the extreme Agony the Chancellor was in upon  
 " the Death of his Wife, that He had himself desired  
 " to be dismissed from his Office;" and bade the  
 " General " go to him, and bid him come the next  
 " Morning to his own Chamber at *Whitehall*, and  
 " the King would come thither to him." And the  
 General came to him with great Professions of Kind-  
 ness, which He had well deserved from him, gave  
 him a Relation of all that had passed with the King,  
 and concluded, "that what had been done had been  
 " upon Mistake; and He doubted not, but that upon  
 " Conference with his Majesty all Things would be  
 " well settled again to his Content;" which no Doubt  
 He did at that Time believe as well as wish.

Upon *Monday*, the twenty-sixth of *August*, about The Chanc  
lor attends the  
King at White-  
hall. Ten of the Clock in the Morning, the Chancellor  
 went to his Chamber in *Whitehall*, where He had not  
 been many Minutes, before the King and Duke by  
 themselves came into the Room, His Majesty looked  
 very graciously upon him, and made him sit down; Conference  
between them  
 when the other acknowledged "the Honor his Ma-  
 " jesty had done him, in admitting him into his Pre-  
 " sence before He executed a Resolution He had  
 " taken." He said, "that He had no Suit to make  
 " to him, nor the least Thought to dispute with  
 " him, or to divert him from the Resolution He had  
 " taken; but only to receive his Determination from  
 " himself, and most humbly to beseech him to let  
 " him know what Fault He had committed, that  
 " had drawn this Severity upon him from his

“ Majesty.” The King told him; “ He had not any  
 “ Thing to object against him; but must always  
 “ acknowledge, that He had always served him  
 “ honestly and faithfully, and that He did believe  
 “ that never King had a better Servant: and that  
 “ He had taken this Resolution for his Good and  
 “ Preservation, as well as for his own Convenience  
 “ and Security; and that He had verily believed that  
 “ it had been upon his Consent and Desire.” And  
 thereupon his Majesty entered upon a Relation of  
 all that had passed between him and the Duke, and  
 “ that He really thought his Brother had concurred  
 “ with him in his Opinion, as the only Way to pre-  
 “ serve him.” In that Discourse the Duke sometimes  
 positively denied to have said Somewhat, and ex-  
 plained other Things as not said to the Purpose his  
 Majesty understood, or that He ever implied that  
 himself thought it fit.

The Sum of what his Majesty said was, “ that He  
 “ was most assured by Information that could not  
 “ deceive him, that the Parliament was resolved,  
 “ as soon as They should come together again, to  
 “ impeach the Chancellor; and then that his Inno-  
 “ cence would no more defend and secure him against  
 “ their Power, than the Earl of *Strafford* had defend-  
 “ ed himself against them: And,” He said, “ He was  
 “ as sure, that his taking the Seal from him at this  
 “ Time would so well please the Parliament, that his  
 “ Majesty should thereby be able to preserve him,  
 “ and to provide for the Passage of his own Business,  
 “ and the obtaining all that He desired.” He said,  
 “ He was sorry that the Business had taken so much

“ Air, and was so publicly spoken of, that He knew  
 “ not how to change his Purpose ;” Which He seem-  
 ed to impute to the Passion of the Dutchess, that had  
 divulged it.

The Chancellor told him, “ that He had not con-  
 “ tributed to the Noise, nor had imparted it to his  
 “ own Children, till They with great Trouble in-  
 “ formed him, that They heard it from such and such  
 “ Persons,” whom They named, “ with some Com-  
 “ plaint that it was concealed from them: Nor did  
 “ He then come in Hope to divert him from the  
 “ Resolution He had taken in the Matter itself.” He  
 said, “ He had but two Things to trouble him with.  
 “ The first, that He would by no Means suffer it to  
 “ be believed that He himself was willing to deliver  
 “ up the Seal ; and that He should not think himself  
 “ a Gentleman, if He were willing to depart and  
 “ withdraw himself from the Office, in a Time when  
 “ He thought his Majesty would have Need of all  
 “ honest Men, and in which He thought He might  
 “ be able to do him some Service. The second, that  
 “ He could not acknowledge this Deprivation to be  
 “ done in his Favor, or in Order to do him Good ;  
 “ but on the Contrary, that He looked upon it as the  
 “ greatest Ruin He could undergo, by his Majesty’s  
 “ own declaring his Judgment upon him, which  
 “ would amount to little less than a Confirmation of  
 “ those many libellous Discourses which had been  
 “ raised, and would upon the Matter expose him to  
 “ the Rage and Fury of the People, who had been  
 “ with great Artifice and Industry persuaded to  
 “ believe, that He had been the Cause and the Coun-

“ fellow of all that They liked not. That He was  
 “ so far from fearing the Justice of the Parliament,  
 “ that He renounced his Majesty’s Protection or In-  
 “ terposition towards his Preservation: And that  
 “ though the Earl of *Strafford* had undergone a Sen-  
 “ tence He did not deserve, yet He could not ac-  
 “ knowledge their Cases to be parallel. That though  
 “ that great Person had never committed any Offence  
 “ that could amount to Treason, yet He had done  
 “ many Things which He could not justify, and  
 “ which were Transgressions against the Law:  
 “ Whereas He was not guilty of any Action, whereof  
 “ He did not desire the Law might be the Judge.  
 “ And if his Majesty himself should discover all that  
 “ He had said to him in Secret, He feared not any  
 “ Censure that should attend it: If any Body could  
 “ charge him with any Crime or Offence, He would  
 “ most willingly undergo the Punishment that  
 “ belonged to it.”

“ But,” He said, “ He doubted very much, that  
 “ the throwing off an old Servant, who had served  
 “ the Crown in some Trust near thirty Years ( who  
 “ had the Honor by the Command of his blessed  
 “ Father, who had left good Evidence of the Esteem  
 “ He had of his Fidelity, to wait upon his Majesty  
 “ when He went out of the Kingdom, and by the  
 “ great Blessing of God had the Honor to return  
 “ with him again; which no other Counsellor alive  
 “ could say), on the Sudden, without any Suggestion  
 “ of a Crime, nay with a Declaration of Innocence,  
 “ would call his Majesty’s Justice and good Nature  
 “ into Question; and Men would not know how

“ securely to serve him, when They should see it  
 “ was in the Power of three or four Persons who  
 “ had never done him any notable Service, nor were  
 “ in the Opinion of those who knew them best like  
 “ to do, to dispose him to so ungracious an Act.”

The King seemed very much troubled and irresolute; then repeated “ the great Power of the Parlia-  
 “ ment, and the clear Information He had of their  
 “ Purposes, which They were resolved to go through  
 “ with right or wrong; and that his own Condition  
 “ was such, that He could not dispute with them,  
 “ but was upon the Matter at their Mercy.”

The Chancellor told him, “ it was not possible for  
 “ his Majesty to have any probable Assurance what  
 “ the Parliament would do. And though He knew  
 “ He had offended some of the House of Commons,  
 “ in opposing their Desires in such Particulars as his  
 “ Majesty thought were prejudicial to his Service;  
 “ yet He did not doubt but his Reputation was much  
 “ greater in Both Houses, than either of theirs who  
 “ were known to be his Enemies, and to have this  
 “ Influence upon his Majesty, who were all known  
 “ to be guilty of some Transgressions, which They  
 “ would have been called in Question for in Parlia-  
 “ ment, if He had not very industriously, out of the  
 “ Tenderness He had for his Majesty’s Honor and  
 “ Service, prevented it; Somewhat whereof was not  
 “ unknown to his Majesty.” He concluded “ with  
 “ beseeching him, whatever Resolution He took in  
 “ his Particular, not to suffer his Spirits to fall, nor  
 “ himself to be dejected with the Apprehension of  
 “ the formidable Power of the Parliament, which



“ was more or less or Nothing, as He pleased to  
 “ make it: That it was yet in his own Power to  
 “ govern them; but if They found it was in theirs  
 “ to govern him, Nobody knew what the End would  
 “ be.” And thereupon He made him a short Relation  
 of the Method that was used in the Time of  
*Richard* the Second, “ when They terrified the King  
 “ with the Power and the Purposes of the Parlia-  
 “ ment, till They brought him to consent to that  
 “ from which He could not redeem himself, and  
 “ without which They could have done him no  
 “ Harm.” And in the Warmth of this Relation He  
 found a seasonable Opportunity to mention the Lady  
 with some Reflections and Cautions, which He might  
 more advisedly have declined.

The King  
 leaves him in  
 Displeasure.

After two Hours Discourse the King rose without  
 saying any Thing, but appeared not well pleased  
 with all that had been said; and the Duke of *York*  
 found He was offended with the last Part of it. The  
 Garden, that used to be private, had now many in  
 it to observe the Countenance of the King when He  
 came out of the Room: And when the Chancellor  
 returned, the Lady, the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *May*,  
 looked together out of her open Window with great  
 Gaiety and Triumph, which all People observed.

Four or five Days passed without any farther Pro-  
 ceedings, or the King's declaring his Resolution:  
 And in that Time the Chancellor's Concern was the  
 only Argument of the Court. Many of the Council,  
 and other Persons of Honor and Interest, presumed  
 to speak with the King, and to give a very good  
 Testimony of him, of his unquestionable Integrity,  
 and

and of his Parts, and Credit with the sober Part of the Nation: And to those his Majesty always commended him, with Profession of much Kindness; but said, "He had made himself odious to the Parliament, and so was no more capable to do him Service." On the other Side the Lady and Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* exceedingly triumphed, the last of which openly and without Reserve declared, "that He had given the King Advice to remove him as a Man odious to the Parliament, and that the King would be ruined if He did it not; that He was so imperious that He would endure no Contradiction;" with many other Reproaches to that Purpose. But except those three, and Mr. *May* and Mr. *Brounker*, there seemed none of Name in the Court who wished that the Resolution should be pursued.

The Duke of *York* concerned himself wonderfully on the Chancellor's Behalf, and with as much Warmth as any private Gentleman could express on the Behalf of his Friend. He had great Indignation at the Behaviour of Sir *William Coventry* and Mr. *Brounker*, that being his Servants They should presume to show so much Malice towards a Person They knew He had Kindness for. And the former had so much Sense of it, that He resolved to quit the Relation by which He had got vast Wealth, and came to him, and told him, "that since He was Commissioner for the Treasury, He found He should not be able to attend his Service so diligently as He ought to do; and therefore desired his Highness's Favor in his Dismission, and that He would give him

The Duke of York interests himself on the Chancellor's Behalf.

“ Leave to commend an honest Man to succeed him  
“ in his Service :” To which his Highness shortly  
answered, “ that He might dispose himself as He  
“ would, with which He was well content ; and that  
“ He would chuse another Secretary for himself with-  
“ out his Recommendation.” And his Highness pre-  
sently went to the Chancellor, and informed him of  
it, with Displeasure enough towards the Man, and  
much Satisfaction that He was rid of him ; and asked  
him “ whom He would recommend to him for a  
“ Secretary.” He told his Highness, “ that if He  
“ would trust his Judgment, He would recommend  
“ a Person to him, who He believed was not un-  
“ known to him, and for whose Parts and Fidelity  
“ He would pass his Word, having had good Ex-  
“ perience of Both in his having served him as a  
“ Secretary for the Space of above seven Years ;”  
and named Mr. *Wren*. The Duke said, “ He knew  
“ him well, being a Member of the Royal Company,  
“ where He often heard him speak very intelli-  
“ gently, and discerned him to be a Man of very  
“ good Parts, and therefore He would very willingly  
“ receive him ; and the rather, that He knew it  
“ would be looked upon as an Evidence of his Kind-  
“ nefs to him, which He would always own and  
“ testify to all the World :” And within two Days  
after, He received him into his Service with the  
King’s Approbation, the Gentleman’s Abilities being  
very well known, and his Person much loved.

In this Suspension, the common Argument was,  
“ that it was not now the Question whether the  
“ Chancellor was innocent ; but whether, when the

“ King had so long resolved to remove him, and had  
 “ now proceeded so far towards it, He should retract  
 “ his Resolution, and be governed by his Brother:  
 “ It was enough that He was not beloved, and that  
 “ the Court wished him removed.” And Mr. *Broun-*  
*ker* openly declared, “ that the Resolution had been  
 “ taken above two Months before; and that it  
 “ would not consist with his Majesty’s Honor to be  
 “ hector’d out of it by his Brother, who was wrought  
 “ upon by his Wife’s Crying.” And this Kind of  
 Argumentation was every Moment inculcated by  
 the Lady and her Party: Infomuch as when the Duke  
 made his Instances with all the Importunity He could  
 use, and put his Majesty in Mind “ of many Dis-  
 “ courses his Majesty had formerly held with him,  
 “ of the Chancellor’s Honesty and Discretion, con-  
 “ juring him to love and esteem him accordingly,  
 “ when his Highness had not so good an Opinion  
 “ of him;” and complained, “ that now He had  
 “ found by good Experience that He deserved that  
 “ Character, his Majesty would withdraw his Kind-  
 “ nefs from him, and rather believe others, who He  
 “ knew were his Enemies, than his own Judgment:”  
 The King gave no other Answer, than “ that He had  
 “ proceeded too far to retire; and that He should be  
 “ looked upon as a Child if He receded from his  
 “ Purpose.”

And so being reconfirmed, upon the thirtieth of The great Seal  
 taken from the  
 Chancellor.  
*August* in the Year 1667 He sent Secretary *Morrice*,  
 who had no Mind to the Employment, with a War-  
 rant under the Sign Manual, to require and receive  
 the Great-Seal; which the Chancellor immediately

delivered to him with all the Expressions of Duty to the King. And as soon as the Secretary had delivered it to the King in his Closet, Mr. *May* went into the Closet, and fell upon his Knees, and kissed his Majesty's Hand, telling him "that He was now King, " which He had never been before."

The Chancellor believed that the Storm had been now over; for He had not the least Apprehension of the Displeasure of the Parliament, or of any Thing They could say or do against him: Yet He resolved to stay at his House till it should meet (without going thither, which He was informed would be ill taken), that He might not be thought to be afraid of being questioned; and then to retire into the Country, and to live there very privately. And there was a Report raised without any Ground, that He intended to go to the House of Peers, and take his Precedence as Chancellor, with which the King was much offended: But as soon as He heard of it, He desired the Lord Chamberlain to assure his Majesty, "that He never intended any such Thing, nor would " ever do any Thing that He believed would dis- " please him;" with which He seemed well satisfied.

However a new Tempest was quickly raised against him. Many Persons of Honor and Quality came every Day to visit him with many Expressions of Affection and Esteem; and most of the King's Servants, except only those few who had declared themselves his Enemies, still frequented his House with the same Kindness They had always professed: But They were looked upon quickly with a very ill Countenance by the other Party, and were plainly

told, "that the King would take it ill from all his  
 " Servants who visited the Chancellor;" though  
 when some of them asked his Majesty, "whether their  
 " visiting him, to whom They had been formerly  
 " much beholden, would offend his Majesty;" He  
 answered, "No, He had not forbid any Man to visit  
 " him." Yet it appeared more every Day, that  
 They were best looked on who forbore going to  
 him, and the other found themselves upon much  
 Disadvantage; by which however many were not  
 discouraged.

The chief Prosecutors behaved themselves with  
 more Insolence than was agreeable to their Discre-  
 tion: And the Lord *Arlington*, who had long before  
 behaved himself with very little Courtesy towards  
 all Persons whom He believed to be well affected  
 to the Chancellor, even towards Ambassadors and  
 other foreign Ministers, now when any of his Friends  
 came to him for the Despatch of Business in his Office,  
 asked them "when They saw the Chancellor," and  
 bade them "go to him to put their Business into a  
 " Method." The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had  
 after his Enlargement visited the Chancellor, and  
 acknowledged the Civilities He had received from  
 him, came now again to the Court, and was received  
 with extraordinary Grace by the King, and restored  
 to all the Honors and Offices of which He was  
 deprived; and was informed and assured, "that all  
 " the Proceedings which had been against him were  
 " upon the Information and Advice of the Chan-  
 " cellor:" And whatever He had spoken in Council  
 was told him in that Manner (and without the true

The Duke of  
 Buckingham  
 restored to all  
 his Employ-  
 ments.

Circumstances) that might make most Impression on him.

One Day whilst that Matter was depending (which is not mentioned before) the Lord *Arlington*, after He found the King had acquainted the Chancellor with the Business, and showed him the Information and Examinations which had been taken, proposed, there being more or the same Witnesses to be farther examined, "that the Chancellor might be present with the rest who had been formerly employed at their examining:" Which the King seeming to consent to, the other desired to be excused, "for that the Office He held never used to be subject to those Employments;" and in the Debate added, "that if the Testimony of Witnesses made good all that was suggested, and the Duke should be brought to a Trial, it might probably fall out, that the King might command him to execute the Office of High Steward, as He had lately done in the Trial of the Lord *Morley*; and in that Respect it would be very incongruous for him to be present at the Examinations." The Duke was now informed, without any of the Circumstances, that the Chancellor had said that He was to be High Steward at the Trial of the Duke

He is inflamed  
against the  
Chancellor.

The Duke, who always believed, and could not but upon the Matter know, that the Lord *Arlington* (with whom He had Enmity) had been very solicitous in his Prosecution had, after his having visited the Chancellor, sent a Friend whom He thought He would trust, to him "to desire him to deal freely with him concerning the Lord *Arlington*, whom

“ He knew to be an Enemy to Both of them; and  
 “ that He must have him examined upon that Con-  
 “ spiracy, which He hoped He would not take ill:”  
 To which He answered, “ that He neither would nor  
 “ could be examined concerning any Thing that  
 “ had been said or done in Council; but that He  
 “ would as his Friend, and to prevent his exposing  
 “ himself to any new Inconveniencies, very freely  
 “ and faithfully assure him, that He did not believe  
 “ that there had been any Conspiracy against him,  
 “ nor did know that the Lord *Arlington* had done  
 “ any Thing in the Prosecution, but what was  
 “ according to the Obligation and Duty of his  
 “ Office; which Testimony,” He said, “ could pro-  
 “ ceed only from Justice, since He well knew that  
 “ Lord did not wish him well.” This Answer, it  
 seems, or the Despair of drawing any other from  
 him to his Purpose, disposed him to give entire  
 Credit to the other Information; and the King took  
 great Pains to reconcile him to the Lord *Arlington*,  
 who made many Vows to him of his future Service,  
 and desired his Protection: And hereupon the Duke  
 openly professed his Resolution of Revenge, and  
 frankly entered into the Combination with the Lord  
*Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* against the  
 Chancellor.

And induced  
 to concur in  
 the Prosecu-  
 tion.

But the Knowledge of all this did not give him  
 much Trouble (so much Confidence He had in his  
 own Innocence, and so little Esteem of the Credit  
 and Interest of his Enemies), until He heard that the  
 King himself expressed great Displeasure towards  
 him, and declared “ that He had misbehaved him- The King



expresses great  
Displeasure  
against the  
Chancellor.

“ self towards his Majesty, and that He was so im-  
 “ perious that He would endure no Contradiction;  
 “ that He had a Faction in the House of Commons,  
 “ that opposed every Thing that concerned his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Service, if it were not recommended to them  
 “ by him; and that He had given him very ill Ad-  
 “ vice concerning the Parliament, which offended  
 “ him most:” All which They to whom his Majesty  
 said it divulged to others, that They might thereby  
 lessen the Chancellor’s Credit and Interest. It is very  
 true, They who had taken all Advantages to alienate  
 the King’s Affections from him, had at first only  
 proposed his Removal “ as a Person odious to the  
 “ Parliament, and whom They were resolved to  
 “ impeach, which put his Majesty into a Strait,  
 “ either to renounce and desert an old Servant,  
 “ which would not be for his Honor, or, by pro-  
 “ tecting him, to deprive himself of all those Bene-  
 “ fits which He expected from the Parliament;  
 “ whereas the removing him would so gratify the  
 “ Houses, that They would deny Nothing that his  
 “ Majesty should demand of them;” and his Majesty  
 did believe it the only Way to preserve him. But  
 when They had prevailed so far, and rendered them-  
 selves more necessary to him, They prosecuted what  
 They had begun with more visible Animosity, and  
 told him, “ that if the Parliament suspected that his  
 Majesty retained still any Kindness towards him,  
 They would not be satisfied with his Removal, but  
 “ apprehend that He would be again received into  
 “ his Favor; and He would in the mean Time have  
 “ so much Credit in Both Houses, especially if He

“ sat in the House of Peers” which They undertook to know He intended to do, “ that He would  
 “ be able to obstruct whatsoever his Majesty desired:  
 “ And therefore it was necessary that his Majesty  
 “ should upon all Occasions declare, and that it should  
 “ be believed, that He had so full a Prejudice against  
 “ him, that Nobody should have Cause to fear, that  
 “ He would ever again be received into any Trust.”  
 And this disposed his Majesty to discourse to many  
 in that Manner that is before set down.

And when the Duke of *York* lamented to his Majesty the Reports which were generally spread abroad, of the Discourses which He made to many Persons of the Chancellor’s Misbehaviour towards himself, and his own Displeasure against him; the King denied many of the Particulars, as that concerning his ill Counsel against the Parliament, which He denied to have spoken: But said withal, “ that  
 “ if the Chancellor had done as He advised him, and  
 “ delivered up the Seal to him as of his own Inclination, all would have been quiet. But since He insisted so much upon it, and compelled him to send  
 “ for it in that Manner, He was obliged in the Vindication of his Honor to give some Reasons for  
 “ what He had done, when other Men took upon  
 “ them so loudly to commend the Chancellor, and  
 “ to justify his Innocence, not without some Reflection upon his own Honor and Justice, which He  
 “ could not but take very ill: But He should not  
 “ suffer” (He said) for what other Men did, and that  
 “ He would use his two Sons as kindly as ever He  
 “ had done.” And it must be always acknowledged

that though great Importunity was used to his Majesty to discharge his two Sons from his Service, as a Thing necessary by all the Rules of Policy, not to suffer the Sons to remain so near his Person, when their Father lay under so notorious a Brand of his Displeasure (in which They believed They had so far prevailed, that They took upon them to promise their Places to other Men); yet the King positively refused to yield to them, and continued his Favor still to them Both in the same Manner He had done. And though He was long after persuaded to suspend his eldest Son from waiting, under which Cloud He continued for many Months, yet at last He was restored to his Place with Circumstances of extraordinary Favor and Grace: Nor did his Majesty afterwards recede from his Goodness towards either of them, notwithstanding all the Attempts which were made.

The Parli-  
ment meets:  
The King re-  
jects on the  
Chancellor.

The Parliament met upon the tenth of *October*, when the King in a short Speech told them, “ that  
“ there had been some former Miscarriages, which  
“ had occasioned some Differences between him and  
“ them: But that He had now altered his Counsels,  
“ and made no Question but that They should hence-  
“ forward agree, for He was resolved to give them  
“ all Satisfaction; and did not doubt but that They  
“ would supply his Necessities, and provide for the  
“ Payment of his Debts;” with an Insinuation, that  
“ what had been formerly done amiss had been by  
“ the Advice of the Person whom He had removed  
“ from his Counsels, and with whom He should  
“ not hereafter advise.”

Unfair Me-  
thods used to

When the House of Commons came together,

one *Tomkins*, a Man of very contemptible Parts and of worse Manners (who used to be encouraged by Men of Design to set some Motion on Foot, which They thought not fit to appear in themselves till They discerned how it would take), moved the House, "that They might send a Message of Thanks to the King for his gracious Expressions, and for the many good Things which He had done, and particularly for his removing the Chancellor;" which was seconded by two or three, but rejected by the House as a Thing unreasonable for them who knew not the Motives which had disposed his Majesty: And so a Committee was appointed to prepare such a Message as might be fit for them to send. And the House of Lords the same Day sent to the King, without consulting with the House of Commons, to give his Majesty Thanks for the Speech He had made to them in the Morning, which commonly used to be done. The King declared himself very much offended that the Proposition in the House of Commons for returning Thanks to him had not succeeded, and more that it had been opposed by many of his own Servants; and commanded them "to press and renew the Motion: That his Honor was concerned in it; and therefore He would expect Thanks, and would take it very ill of any of his own Servants who refused to concur in it." Hereupon it was again moved: But notwithstanding all the Labor that had been used contrary to all Custom and Privilege of Parliament, the Question held six Hours Debate, very many speaking against the Injustice and Irregularity of it; They on the

induce Both Houses to thank the King to removing him. D

other Side urging the King's Expectation of it. In the End the Question being put, it was believed the *Noes* were the greater Number: But the Division of the House was not urged for many Reasons; and so the Vote was sent to the House of Lords, who were desired to concur with them.

But it had there a greater Contradiction. They had already returned their Thanks to the King; and now to send again, and to add any Particular to it, would be very incongruous and without any Precedent: And therefore They would not concur in it. This Obstinacy very much displeas'd the King: And He was perswaded by those who had hitherto prevail'd with him, to believe that this Contradiction, if He did not master it, would run through all his Business that should be brought into that House. Whereupon his Majesty reproach'd many of the Lords for presuming to oppose and cross what was so absolutely necessary for his Service: And sent to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, "that He should in his Majesty's Name command all the Bishops Bench to concur in it; and if They should refuse it, He would make them repent it;" with many other very severe Reprehensions and Animadversions. This being done in so extraordinary a Manner, the Duke of *York* told his Majesty, "how much it was spoken of and wondered at:" To which his Majesty replied, "that his Honor was engaged, and that He would not be satisfied if Thanks were not returned to him by Both Houses; and that it should go the worse for the Chancellor if his Friends oppos'd it." And He commanded his Royal

Highness that He should not cross it, but was contented to dispense with his Attendance, and gave him Leave to be absent from the Debate; which Liberty many others likewise took: And so when it was again moved, though it still was confidently opposed, it was carried by a major Part, many being absent.

And so Both Houses attended the King and gave him Thanks, which his Majesty graciously received as a Boon He looked for, and said Somewhat that implied that He was much displeas'd with the Chancellor; of which some Men thought They were to make the best Use They could. And therefore, after the King's Answer was reported to the House of Peers, as of Course whatsoever the King says upon any Message is always reported, it was reported, "that the King's Answer might be entered into the Journal Book;" which was rejected, as not usual, even when the King himself spoke to Both Houses: Nor was what He now said entered in the House of Commons. However when They had consulted together, finding that They had not yet so particular a Record of the Displeasure against the Chancellor, as what He had said upon this Message did amount unto, They moved the House again, "that it might be entered in the Book:" And it was again rejected. All which would not serve the Turn; but the Duke of *Buckingham* a third Time moved it, as a Thing the King expected: And thereupon it was entered.

And his Majesty now declared to his Brother and to many of the Lords, "that He had now all He

“ desired, and that there should be no more done  
 “ to the Chancellor.” And without Doubt the King  
 had not at this Time a Purpose to give any farther  
 Countenance to the Animosity of his Enemies, who  
 thought that what was already done was too easy a  
 Composition. and told his Majesty, “ that, if He were  
 “ not prosecuted farther, He would gain Reputa-  
 “ tion by it: For that the Manner in which all Votes  
 “ had been yet carried was rather a Vindication than  
 “ Censure of him; and He would shortly come to  
 “ the House with more Credit to do Mischief, and  
 “ to obstruct whatsoever related to his Service. But  
 “ that such Things would be found against him, as  
 “ soon as Men were satisfied that his Majesty had  
 “ totally deserted him (which yet They were not),  
 “ that He would have no more Credit to do Good  
 “ or Harm.” Hereupon there were several Cabals  
 entered into, who invited and sent for Persons of all  
 Conditions, who had had any Business depending  
 before the Chancellor, or Charters passed the Seal;  
 and examined them whether He had not received  
 Money from them, or They were otherwise grieved  
 by him, promising that They should receive ample  
 Satisfaction.

Persons sought  
 after to fur-  
 nish Matter of  
 Impeachment  
 against him.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, and some others with  
 him, sent for Sir *Robert Harlow*, who had the Year  
 before gone to the *Barbadoes* with the Lord *Willoughby*,  
 who had much Friendship for him; yet after  
 They came thither, They grew unsatisfied with each  
 other to that Degree, that the Lord *Willoughby*, who  
 was Governor of those Islands, removed him from  
 the Office He had conferred on him, and sent him

by the next Shipping into *England*; where He arrived full of Vexation for the Treatment He had received, and willing to embrace any Opportunity to be revenged on the Governor. Him the Duke of *Buckingham* sent for, who He knew was privy to all the Lord *Willoughby's* Counsels, and asked him, "what Money the Lord *Willoughby* had given the Chancellor for that Government" (for it was well known that the Chancellor had been his chief Friend in procuring that Government for him, and in discountenancing and suppressing those who in *England* or in the Islands had complained of him), "and what Money He had received from those Islands; and that it was probable that He had some Influence upon the Lord *Willoughby* towards the Disgrace himself had undergone:" And added, "that He would do the King a very acceptable Service, in discovering any Thing of the Chancellor's Mischances, of which his Majesty himself knew so much." To which the Gentleman answered, "that He had no Obligation to the Chancellor that would restrain him from declaring any Thing that might be to his Prejudice; but that He was not able to do it: Nor did He believe that He had ever received any Money from the Lord *Willoughby* or from the Islands." And this Kind of Artifice and Inquisition was used to examine all his Actions; and They who were known to be any Way offended with him, or disobliged by him, were most welcome to them.

After many Days spent in such close Contrivances and Combinations, Mr. *Seymour*, a young Man

Mr. Seymour  
accuses him of  
High-Treason



in the House  
of Commons.

of great Confidence and Boldness, stood up in the House of Commons, and spake long and with great Bitterness against the Chancellor, and “of his great  
“Corruption in many Particulars, by which,” He said, “He had gotten a vast Estate. That He had  
“received great Sums of Money from *Ireland*, for  
“making a Settlement that every Body complained  
“of, and that left that Kingdom in as great Distrac-  
“tion as ever it had been. That He had gotten  
“great Sums of Money indirectly and corruptly from  
“the Plantations, the Governments whereof He  
“had disposed; by Preferments in the Law and in  
“the Church; and for the passing of Charters: And  
“that He had received four thousand Pounds from  
“the *Canary-Company* for the establishing that  
“Company, which was so great and general a Grie-  
“vance to the Kingdom. And, which was above  
“all this, that He had traiterously persuaded, or  
“endeavoured to persuade, the King to dissolve the  
“Parliament, and to govern by a standing Army;  
“and that He had said, *that four hundred Country-*  
“*Gentlemen were only fit to give Money, and did not*  
“*understand how an Invasion was to be resisted.*” He  
mentioned many other odious Particulars “which”  
He said “He would prove,” and therefore proposed,  
“that They would presently send up to the Lords  
“to accuse him of High-Treason, and require that  
“his Person might be secured.” Some others se-  
conded him with very bitter invectives: And as  
many gave another Kind of Testimony, and many  
Reasons which made it improbable that He could  
be guilty of so many heinous Crimes; and “that it  
would

“ would be unreasonable that He should be accused  
 “ of High Treason by the House, before such Proofs  
 “ should be presented to them of Crimes, that They  
 “ had Reason to believe him guilty.” And so after  
 many Hours Debate, what They proposed for the  
 present accusing him was rejected, and a Committee  
 appointed to consider of all Particulars which should  
 be presented against him; “ upon reporting whereof  
 “ to the House, it would give such farther Order  
 “ as should be just.”

The confident Averment of so many Particulars,  
 and the so positively naming the particular Sums of  
 Money which He had received, with Circumstances  
 not likely to be feigned; and especially the mention-  
 ing of many Things spoken in Council, “ which,”  
 They said, “ would be proved by Privy-Counsel-  
 “ lers;” and other particular Advices given in pri-  
 vate to the King himself, “ which,” They implied,  
 and confidently affirmed in private, “ the King him-  
 “ self would acknowledge;” made that Impression  
 upon many who had no ill Opinion of the Chan-  
 cellor, and upon others who had always thought  
 well of him, and had in Truth Kindness for him, that  
 of Both Sorts several Messages of Advice were secretly  
 sent to him, “ that He would preserve his Life by  
 “ making an Escape, and transporting himself into  
 “ foreign Parts; for that it was not probable there  
 “ could be so extreme and violent a Prosecution, if  
 “ They had not such Evidence against him as would  
 “ compass their Ends.” To all which He answered,  
 “ that He would not give his Enemies that Advan-  
 “ tage as to fly from them: And in the mean Time

Many advise  
 him to make  
 his Escape.

Which He re-  
 fuses to do.

“ desired his Friends to retain the good Opinion  
 “ They had always had of him, until They heard  
 “ Somewhat proved that would make him unworthy  
 “ of it; and then He would be well contented They  
 “ should withdraw it.” And it appeared afterwards,  
 that though some of his good Friends had advised  
 that He should secure himself by Flight, it proceeded  
 from the Advertisements that They had received  
 through other Hands, which came originally from  
 his chiefest Enemies, who desired that He might  
 appear to be guilty by avoiding a Trial; and who  
 confidently informed many Men, “ that the Impeach-  
 “ ment was ready, and had been perused by the  
 “ King, and that his Majesty had with his Hand  
 “ struck out an Article which related to the Queen’s  
 “ Marriage, and another that concerned the Mar-  
 “ riage of the Duke; but that there was enough  
 “ left to do the Business; and that the Duke of  
 “ *Buckingham* should be made Lord High Steward  
 “ for the Trial.”

The King’s  
 Declaration of  
 the Chancel-  
 lor’s Inno-  
 cence.

These Reports, being spread abroad, wrought  
 upon the Duke to desire the King, “ that He would  
 “ let him know what He did intend; and whether  
 “ He desired to have the Chancellor’s Life, or that  
 “ He should be condemned to perpetual Imprison-  
 “ ment:” To which his Majesty protested, “ that  
 “ He would have neither, but was well satisfied;  
 “ and that He was resolved to stop all farther Pro-  
 “ secution against him,” which his Majesty likewise  
 said to many others. The Duke then asked the King,  
 “ whether the Chancellor had ever given him Coun-  
 “ sel to govern by an Army, or any Thing like it;

“ which,” He said, “ was so contrary to his Humor,  
 “ and to the Professions which He had always made,  
 “ and the Advices He had given him, that if He  
 “ were guilty of it, He should doubt his Sincerity  
 “ in all other Things:” To which his Majesty answered,  
 “ that He had never given him such Counsel  
 “ in his Life; but, on the Contrary, his Fault was  
 “ that He always insisted too much upon the Law.”  
 Whereupon his Royal Highness asked him, “ whether  
 “ ther He would give him Leave to say so to others;”  
 and his Majesty replied, “ with all his Heart.”

The Duke then told it to his Secretary Mr. *Wren*,  
 and to many other Persons, and wished them to publish  
 it upon any Occasion: Upon which it was spread  
 abroad, and Mr. *Wren* informed many of the Members  
 of the House of Commons of all that had passed  
 between the King and the Duke in that Discourse;  
 which so much disheartened the violent Prosecutors,  
 that when the Committee met that was to present  
 the Heads of a Charge against him to the House,  
 Nobody appeared to give any Evidence, so that  
 They adjourned without doing any Thing. Hereupon  
 Sir *Thomas Osborne*, a Dependant and Creature  
 of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and who had told many  
 Persons in the Country before the Parliament met,  
 “ that the Chancellor would be accused  
 “ of High Treason; and if He were not hanged, He  
 “ would be hanged himself;” this Gentleman went  
 to the King, and informed him what Mr. *Wren* confidently  
 reported in all Places, “ which very much  
 “ dissatisfied that Party that desired to do him Service;  
 “ so that They knew not how to behave

Which He  
afterwards  
disowns.

“ themselves:” To which his Majesty answered, “ that  
“ *Wren* was a lying Fellow, and that He had never  
“ held any such Discourse with his Brother.” This  
gave them new Courage, and They resolved to call  
Mr. *Wren* to an Account for traducing the King.  
And his Majesty expostulated with the Duke for  
what Mr. *Wren* had so publicly discoursed: And  
his Highness declared, “ that Mr. *Wren* had pursued  
“ his Order, his Majesty having not only said all  
“ that was reported, but having given him Leave to  
“ divulge it;” to which the King made no other An-  
“ swer, “ but that He should be hereafter more careful  
“ of what He said to him.”

All this begot new Pauses, and no Advance was  
made in many Days; so that it was generally believed  
that there would be no farther Prosecution: But the  
old Argument, that They were gone too far to  
retire, had now more Force, because many Members  
of Both Houses were now joined to the Party in  
declaring against the Chancellor, who would think  
themselves to be betrayed and deserted if no more  
should be done against him. And hereupon the  
Committee was again revived, that was appointed  
to prepare Heads for a Charge, which sat many  
Days, there being little Debate upon the Matter;  
for such of the Committee, who knew him well,  
were so well pleased to find him accused of Nothing  
but what all the World did believe him not guilty  
of, that They thought They could not do him more  
Right, than to suffer all that was offered to pass,  
since there appeared no Person that offered to make  
Proof of any Particular that was suggested. But

three or four Members of the House brought several Papers, containing Particulars "which," They said, "would be proved:" All which They reported to the House.

The Heads were;

I. "That the Chancellor had traiterously, about Articles of the Charge against him.  
 " the Month of *June* last, advised the King to dis-  
 " solve the Parliament, and said *there could be no*  
 " *farther Use of Parliaments; that it was a foolish*  
 " *Constitution and not fit to govern by; and that it*  
 " *could not be imagined, that three or four hundred*  
 " *Country-Gentlemen could be either prudent Men or*  
 " *Statesmen: And that it would be best for the King to*  
 " *raise a standing Army and to govern by that; where-*  
 " upon it being demanded how that Army should  
 " be maintained, He answered, *by Contribution and*  
 " *free Quarter, as the last King maintained his Army*  
 " *in the War.*"

II. "That He had, in the Hearing of several Per-  
 " sons, reported *that the King was a Papist in his*  
 " *Heart, or popishly affected, or had used Words to*  
 " *that Effect.*"

III. "That He had advised the King to grant a  
 " Charter to the *Canary-Company*, for which He had  
 " received great Sums of Money."

IV. "That He had raised great Sums of Money  
 " by the Sale of Offices which ought not to be sold,  
 " and granted Injunctions to stop Proceedings at  
 " Law, and dissolved them afterwards for Money."

V. "That He had introduced an arbitrary Go-  
 " vernment into his Majesty's several Plantations,  
 " and had caused such as had complained to his Ma-

“ jesty and Privy-Council of it to be imprisoned  
 “ long for their Presumption; and that He had fruf-  
 “ trated and rejected a Propofition that had been  
 “ made for the Prefervation of *Nevis* and *St Chri-  
 “ tophers*, and for the reducing the *French* Planta-  
 “ tions to his Majesty’s Obedience.”

VI. “ That He had caufed *Quo Warrantos* to be  
 “ iffued out againft moft Corporations in *England*,  
 “ although the Charters were newly confirmed by  
 “ Act of Parliament, till They paid him good Sums  
 “ of Money, and then the *Quo Warrantos* were dif-  
 “ charged.”

VII. “ That He had received great Sums of Mo-  
 “ ney for the Settlement of *Ireland*.”

VIII. “ That He had deluded the King and be-  
 “ trayed the Nation in all foreign Treaties and Ne-  
 “ gotiations, efppecially concerning the late War.”

IX. “ That He had procured his Majesty’s Cuf-  
 “ toms to be farmed at Underrates, knowing them  
 “ to be fo; and caufed many pretended Debts to be  
 “ paid by his Majesty, to the Payment whereof his  
 “ Majesty was not in Strictnefs bound; for all which  
 “ He had received great Sums of Money.”

X. “ That He had received Bribes from the Com-  
 “ pany of Vintners, that They might continue the  
 “ Prices of their Wines, and might be freed from the  
 “ Penalties which They were liable to.”

XI. “ That He had raifed in a fhort Time a great-  
 “ er Eftate than could be lawfully got; and that  
 “ He had gotten the Grant of feveral of the Crown-  
 “ Lands contrary to his Duty.”

XII. “ That He had advifed and effected the Sale

“ of *Dunkirk* to the *French King*, for less Money  
 “ than the Ammunition, Artillery and Stores were  
 “ worth.”

XIII. “ That He had caused the King’s Letters  
 “ under the Great-Seal to one *Dr. Crowther* to be al-  
 “ tered, and the Enrolment thereof to be rased.”

XIV. “ That He had in an arbitrary Way exa-  
 “ mined and drawn into Question divers of his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Subjects concerning their Lands and Pro-  
 “ perties, and determined thereof at the Council-  
 “ Table, and stopped the Proceedings at Law, and  
 “ threatened some that pleaded the Statute of 17  
 “ *Car.*”

XV. “ That He was a principal Author of that  
 “ fatal Counsel of dividing the Fleet in *June 1666*”

The Committee reported another Article for his  
 Charge, which was, “ that He had kept Correspond-  
 “ ence with *Cromwell* during the Time of the King’s  
 “ being beyond the Seas, and had sent over his Se-  
 “ cretary to him, who was shut up with him for  
 “ many Hours :” But there were many Members  
 of the House, who wished it had been true, knew  
 well enough that foolish Calumny had been exa-  
 mined at *Paris* during the Time that his Majesty  
 resided there, when Persons of the highest Degree  
 were very desirous to have kindled a Jealousy in  
 the King of the Chancellor’s Fidelity ; and that the  
 Scandal appeared so gross and impossible, that his  
 Majesty had then published a full Vindication of his  
 Innocence ; with a farther Declaration, “ that when  
 “ it should please God to restore him to his own  
 “ Dominions, He should receive such farther Justice



“ and Reparation, as the Laws would enable him  
“ to procure.” And it was well known to divers of  
the Members present, that the Persons who were  
suborned in that Conspiracy had acknowledged it  
since the King’s Return; and the Persons themselves  
who had suborned them had confessed it, and begged  
the Chancellor’s Pardon: Of all which his Majesty  
had been particularly and fully informed. And that  
it might be no more ripped up or looked into, They  
seemed to reject it as being included under the *Act of  
Indemnity*, which They would have left him to have  
pleaded for the Infamy of it, if They had not very  
well known the Grossness of the Scandal.

Though the Fierceness of the Malice that was con-  
tracted against him was enough known and taken  
Notice of, yet the Heads for the Charge, which up-  
on so much Deliberation were prepared and offered  
to the House against him, were of such a Nature,  
that all Men present did in their own Conscience ac-  
quit him: And therefore it was generally believed  
the Prosecutors would rather have acquiesced with  
what They had done to blast his Reputation, than  
have proceeded farther to bring him to answer for  
himself. But They had gone too far to retire. And  
They who had first wrought upon the King, only  
by persuading him, “ that there was so universal a  
“ Hatred against the Chancellor, that the Parliament  
“ would the first Day accuse him of High Treason;  
“ and that the removing him from his Office was  
“ the only Way to preserve him, except He would  
“ in such a Conjunction, and when He had so much  
“ Need of the Parliament, sacrifice all his Interest

‘ for the Protection of the Chancellor ’ ( and this was the sole Motive that had prevailed with him, as his Majesty not only assured him the last Time He spake with him, with many gracious Expressions, but at large expressed it to very many Persons of Honor, who endeavoured to dissuade him from pursuing that Counsel, “ that it was the only Expedient “ for the Chancellor’s Preservation, ” with as great a Testimony of his Integrity and the Services He had done him as could be given ): The same Men now importuned him “ to prosecute with all his Power, “ and to let those of his Servants, and others who “ regarded his Commands, know that They could “ not serve him and the Chancellor together; and “ that He should look upon their adhering to him as “ the abandoning his Majesty’s Service. That the “ Chancellor had so great a Faction in Both Houses, “ that no Proposition on his Majesty’s Behalf would “ have Effect; and that He would shortly come to “ the House of Peers, and obstruct all Proceedings “ there. ”

The King per-  
suaded to en-  
courage the  
Prosecution.

This prevailed so far that They resumed their former Courage, and pressed “ that He might be “ accused by the House of Commons of High Treason: Upon which the Lords would presently com-  
mit him to the *Tower*; and then Nobody would “ have any longer Apprehension of his Power to do “ Hurt. ” Hereupon They resolved again to consider the several Heads of the Charge They had provided, to see if They could find any one upon which They could ground an Accusation of High Treason. They spent a whole Day upon the first Head, which They

Proceedings  
against him in  
the House of  
Commons.

thought contained enough to do their Work, it containing the most unpopular and ungracious Reproach that any Man could lie under; " that He had  
 • " designed a standing Army to be raised, and to  
 • " govern the Kingdom thereby; He advised the  
 " King to dissolve the present Parliament, to lay  
 " aside all Thoughts of Parliaments for the future,  
 " to govern by military Power, and to maintain the  
 " same by free Quarter and Contribution."

The Chancellor had been bred of the Gown; and in the first War, in which the last King had been involved by a powerful Rebellion, was known always to have advanced and embraced all Overtures towards Peace. Since the King's Return He labored Nothing more, than that his Majesty might enter into a firm Peace with all his Neighbours, as most necessary for the reducing his own Dominions into that Temper of Subjection and Obedience, as they ought to be in. It was notorious to all Men, that He had most passionately dissuaded the War with *Holland*, with much Disadvantage to himself; and that no Man had taken so much Pains as He to bring the present Peace to pass, which at that Time was grateful to all Degrees of Men: And, in a Word, that He had no Manner of Interest or Credit with the Soldiers; but was looked upon by them all, as an Enemy to the Privileges which They required, of being exempted from the ordinary Rules of Justice, in which He always opposed them.

But let the Improbability of this Charge be what it would, there were Persons of the House who pretended that it should be fully proved; and so the

Question was only, "whether upon it They should charge him with an Accufation of Treason:" And after a Debate of eight Hours, it was declared by all the Lawyers of the Houfe, "that how foul foever the Charge feemed to be, yet it contained no High Treason;" and in that Conclufion They at laft concurred who were moft relied upon to fupport the Accufation. But when the Speaker directed the Order to be drawn, "that the Earl of *Clarendon* fhould not be accufed of High Treason," it was alledged that the Order was only to relate to that firft Head; fome Men declaring, "that though that Article had miffed him, yet there were others which would hit him." And fo the Night being come, the farther Debate was adjourned to another Day.

When the Day appointed came (in which Interval all imaginable Pains and Arts were ufed, by Threats and Promifes, to allure and terrify as many as could be wrought upon, either to be againft the Chancellor, or to be abfent at the next Debate that concerned him), upon reading the feveral other Heads as they had been prefented from the Committee, it appeared to all Men, that though all that was alledged were proved, the Whole would not amount to make him guilty of High Treason. And They got no Ground by throwing Afperfions upon him upon the feveral Arguments, which They did with extraordinary Licence who were known to be his Enemies; for thereby other Men of much better Reputations, and who had no Relation to the Chancellor, took Occafion to anfwer and contradict their Calumnies, and to give him fuch a Teftimony, as

made him another Man than They would have him understood to be; and their Testimony had more Credit: So that They declined the Pursuit of that Licence, and intended wholly the Discovery of the Treason, since no other Accusation would serve their Turn.

When They had examined all their Store, They pitched at last upon that Head, "that He had deluded and betrayed his Majesty and the Nation in all foreign Treaties and Negotiations relating to the late War:" Which when read and considered, it was said, "that in those general Expressions there was not enough contained upon which They could accuse him of High Treason, except it were added, that being a Privy-Counsellor He had discovered the King's secret Counsels to the Enemy." Which was no sooner said, than a young confident Man, the Lord *Vaughan*, Son to the Earl of *Carbery*, a Person of as ill a Face as Fame, his Looks and his Manners Both extreme bad, asked for the Paper that had been presented from the Committee, and with his own Hand entered into that Place those Words, "that being a Privy-Counsellor He had discovered the King's Secrets to the Enemy," which He said He would prove; whilst many others whispered into the Ears of those who sat next to them, "that He had discovered all the secret Resolutions to the King of *France*, which," They said, "was the Ground of the King's Displeasure towards him." Upon this confident Insinuation from Persons who were near the Person of his Majesty, and known to have much Credit with him; and the positive Aver-

ment by a Member, "that the disclosing the King's  
 "Secrets to the Enemy," which Nobody could deny  
 to be Treason, "would be positively and fully prov-  
 "ed against him," and the rather because no Man  
 believed it to be true; it was voted, "that They  
 "should impeach him of High Treason in the usual  
 "Manner to the House of Peers." Whereupon Mr. Mr. Seymour  
*Seymour*, who had appeared very violent against him, accuses him  
 was sent up to the Lords; and at the Bar He accused of High Treas-  
*Edward Earl of Clarendon* of High Treason and other on at the  
 Crimes and Misdemeanors, and desired "that He Bar of the  
 "might be sequestered from that House, and his House of  
 "Person secured." Lords.

And as soon as He was withdrawn, some of the  
 Lords moved, "that He might be sent for:" And Debates in  
 now the Warmth that had been so long within the the House  
 Walls of the House of Commons appeared in the concerning his  
 House of Peers. Many of the Lords, who were not Commitment  
 thought much inclined to the Person of the Chan-  
 cellor, represented, "that the Consequence of such  
 "a Proceeding would reflect to the Prejudice of  
 "every one of the Peers. If upon a general Accu-  
 "sation from the House of Commons of High Treas-  
 "on, without mentioning any Particular, They  
 "should be obliged to commit any Peer; any Mem-  
 "ber that House should be offended with, how un-  
 "justly soever, might be removed from the Body:  
 "Which would be a greater Disadvantage than the  
 "Members of the House of Commons were liable  
 "to." And therefore They advised, "that They  
 "should for Answer let the House of Commons  
 "know, that They would not commit the Earl of

“ *Clarendon* until some particular Charge was exhibited against him.”

On the other Side, it was urged with much Passion, “ that They ought to comply with the House of Commons in satisfying their Requests, according to former Precedents:” And the Case of the Earl of *Strafford*, and some other Cases in that Parliament, were cited; which gave those who were of another Mind Opportunity to inveigh against that Time, and the accursed Precedents thereof, which had produced so many and great Mischiefs to the Kingdom. They put them in Mind, “ that They had committed eleven Bishops at one Time for High Treason, only that They might be removed from the House, whilst a Bill passed against their having Votes any more in that House, which was no sooner passed than They were set at Liberty; which had brought great Reproach upon the Honor and Justice of the Parliament: And that Both those Bills, for the Attraction of the Earl of *Strafford* and for the excluding the Bishops out of the House of Peers, stand at present repealed by the Wisdom and Authority of this Parliament.” In a Word, after many Hours Debate with much Passion, either Side adhering obstinately to their Opinion, no Resolution was taken; but the House adjourned, without so much as putting the Question, to the next Day.

From the Time of the Parliament's coming together, and after the King's Displeasure was generally taken Notice of, many of the Chancellor's Friends advised him to withdraw, and transport himself into foreign Parts; and some very near the King, and

who were Witnesses of the very great Displeasure his Majesty every Day expressed towards him, were of the same Opinion: But He positively refused so to do, and resolved to trust to his Innocence, which He was sure must appear.

The Debate continued still between the two Houses, which would entertain no other Business; The House of Commons in frequent Conferences demanding the Commitment of the Chancellor; and the major Part of the House of Peers, notwithstanding all the indirect Prosecution and Interposition from the Court, remaining as resolved not to commit him. In this unhappy Conjunction, the Duke of York, who expressed great Affection and Concernment for the Chancellor, fell sick of the Smallpox; which proved of great Disadvantage to him. For not only many of the Peers who were before restrained by their Respect to him, and supported by his Countenance in the Debates, either changed their Minds, or absented themselves from the House; but the General, who had always professed great Friendship to the Chancellor, who had deserved very well from him, and had endeavoured to dissuade the King from withdrawing his Favor from him with all possible Importunity, was now changed by the unruly Humor of his Wife, and the frequent Instances of the King; and made it his Business to solicit and dispose the Members of Both Houses, with many of whom He had great Credit, “no longer to adhere to the Chancellor since the King resolved to ruin him, and would look upon all who were his Friends as Enemies to his Majesty.” Notwithstanding

Differences  
between the  
Houses.



all which, the major Part by much of the House of Peers continued still firm against his Commitment: With which the King was so offended, that there were secret Consultations of sending a Guard of Soldiers, by the General's Authority, to take the Chancellor out of his House, and to send him to the *Tower*; whither Directions were already sent what Lodging He should have, and Caution given to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who was thought to have too much Respect for the Chancellor, "that He should not treat him with more Civility than He did other Prisoners."

The Chancellor is again advised to withdraw.

He had many Friends of the Council and near the King, who advertised him of those and all other Intrigues, and thereupon renewed their Importunity that He would make his Escape; and some of them undertook to know, and without Question did believe, "that his withdrawing would be grateful to the King," who every Day grew more incensed against him, for the Obstinacy his Friends in Both Houses expressed on his Behalf. They urged "the ill Condition He must in a short Time be reduced to, wherein his Innocence would not secure him; for it was evident that his Enemies had no Purpose or Thought of bringing him to a Trial, but to keep him always in Prison, which They would in the End one Way or other bring to pass: Whereas He might now easily transport himself, and avoid all the other Inconveniences." And They undertook to know, "that if He were gone, there would be no farther Proceeding against him."

There could not be a more terrifying or prevalent  
Argument

Argument used towards his withdrawing, than that of a Prison; the Thought and Apprehension whereof was more grievous to him than of Death itself, which He was confident would quickly be the Effect of the other. However He very resolutely refused to follow their Advice; and urged to them <sup>But refuses.</sup> “the Advantage He should give his Enemies, and the Dishonor He should bring upon himself by flying, in having his Integrity condemned, if He had not the Confidence to defend it.” He said, “He could now appear, wherever He should be required, with an honest Countenance, and the Courage of an innocent Man: But if He should be apprehended in a Disguise running away, which He could not but expect by the Vigilance of his Enemies (since He could not make any Journey by Land, being at that Time very weak and infirm), He should be very much out of Countenance, and should be exposed to public Scorn and Contempt. And if He should make his Escape into foreign Parts, it would not be reasonable to expect or imagine that his Enemies, who had so far aliened the King’s Affection from him, and in Spite of his Innocence prevailed thus far, would want Power to prosecute the Advantage They should get by his Flight, which would be interpreted as a Confession of his Guilt; and thereupon They would procure such Proceedings in the Parliament, as might ruin both his Fortune and his Fame.”

His Friends, how unsatisfied soever with his Resolution, acquiesced for the present, after having first prevailed with him to write himself to the King;

The King of-  
fended with  
him about the  
Duke of  
Richmond's  
Marriage.

which He did, though without any Hope that it would make any Impression upon him. He could not comprehend or imagine from what Fountain, except the Power of the great Lady with the Conjunction of his known Enemies, which had been long without that Effect. that Fierceness of his Majesty's Displeasure could proceed. He had, before this Storm fell upon him, been informed by a Person of Honor who knew the Truth of it, "that some  
" Persons had persuaded the King, *that the Chan-*  
" *cellor had a principal Hand in the Marriage of the*  
" *Duke of Richmond, with which his Majesty was*  
" *offended in the highest Degree: And the Lord*  
" *Berkeley had reported it with all Confidence.*"  
Whereupon the Chancellor had expostulated with the Lord *Berkeley*, whom He knew to be his secret Enemy, though no Man made more outward Professions to him: But He denied He had reported any such Thing. And then He took Notice to the King himself of the Discourse, and desired to know, "whether any such Story had been represented to  
" his Majesty, since there was not the least Shadow of  
" Truth in it:" To which the King answered with some Dryness, "that no such Thing had been told  
" to him." Yet now He was assured, "that that  
" Business stuck most with his Majesty, and that  
" from that Suggestion his Enemies had gotten Credit to do him the worst Offices; and his Majesty  
" complained much of the Insolence with which He  
" used to treat him in the Agitation and Debate of  
" Business, if He differed from him in Opinion."  
Upon these Reasons He writ this Letter in his own

Hand to the King, which was delivered to him by the Lord Keeper, who was willing to perform that Office. The Letter was in these Words.

“ May it please your Majesty, ”

“ I am so broken under the daily insupportable  
 “ Instances of your Majesty’s terrible Displeasure, His Letter to  
the King upon  
that Subject.  
 “ that I know not what to do, hardly what to wish.  
 “ The Crimes which are objected against me, how  
 “ passionately soever pursued, and with Circum-  
 “ stances very unusual, do not in the least Degree  
 “ fright me. God knows I am innocent in every  
 “ Particular as I ought to be; and I hope your Ma-  
 “ jesty knows enough of me to believe that I had  
 “ never a violent Appetite for Money, that could  
 “ corrupt me. But alas! your Majesty’s declared  
 “ Anger and Indignation deprives me of the Com-  
 “ fort and Support even of my own Innocence, and  
 “ exposes me to the Rage and Fury of those who  
 “ have some Excuse for being my Enemies; whom I  
 “ have sometimes displeas’d, when ( and only then )  
 “ your Majesty believed them not to be your  
 “ Friends. I hope They may be changed; I am sure I  
 “ am not, but have the same Duty, Passion and Af-  
 “ fection for you, that I had when You thought it  
 “ most unquestionable, and which was and is as great  
 “ as ever Man had for any mortal Creature. I should  
 “ die in Peace ( and truly I do heartily wish that God  
 “ Almighty would free you from further Trouble, by  
 “ taking me to himself ), if I could know or guess at  
 “ the Ground of your Displeasure, which I am sure  
 “ must proceed from your believing, that I have said

“ or done Somewhat I have neither said nor done.  
 “ If it be for any Thing my Lord *Berkeley* hath re-  
 “ ported, which I know He hath said to many,  
 “ though being charged with it by me He did as  
 “ positively disclaim it; I am as innocent in that  
 “ whole Affair, and gave no more Advice or Coun-  
 “ sel or Countenance in it, than the Child that is  
 “ not born: Which your Majesty seemed once to  
 “ believe, when I took Notice to you of the Report,  
 “ and when You considered how totally I was a  
 “ stranger to the Persons mentioned, to either of  
 “ whom I never spake Word, or received Message  
 “ from either in my Life. And this I protest to your  
 “ Majesty is true, as I have Hope in Heaven: And  
 “ that I have never wilfully offended your Majesty  
 “ in my Life, and do upon my Knees beg your  
 “ Pardon for any over-bold or faucy Expressions I  
 “ have ever used to you; which, being a natural  
 “ Disease in old Servants who have received too  
 “ much Countenance, I am sure hath always pro-  
 “ ceeded from the Zeal and Warmth of the most  
 “ sincere Affection and Duty.”

“ I hope your Majesty believes, that the sharp  
 “ Chastisement I have received from the best-natured  
 “ and most bountiful Master in the World, and  
 “ whose Kindness alone made my Condition these  
 “ many Years supportable, hath enough mortified  
 “ me as to this World; and that I have not the Pre-  
 “ sumption or the Madness to imagine or desire ever  
 “ to be admitted to any Employment or Trust  
 “ again. But I do most humbly beseech your Ma-  
 “ jesty by the Memory of your Father, who recom-

“ mended me to you with some Testimony, and by  
 “ your own gracious Reflection upon some one Ser-  
 “ vice I may have performed in my Life, that hath  
 “ been acceptable to you; that You will by your  
 “ Royal Power and Interposition put a Stop to this  
 “ severe Prosecution against me, and that my Con-  
 “ cernment may give no longer Interruption to the  
 “ great Affairs of the Kingdom; but that I may  
 “ spend the small Remainder of my Life, which  
 “ cannot hold long, in some Parts beyond the Seas,  
 “ never to return; where I will pray for your Ma-  
 “ jesty, and never suffer the least Diminution in the  
 “ Duty and Obedience of,

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ Your Majesty’s

“ From my House

“ Most humble and most

“ this 15th of November.”

“ Obedient Subject and Servant,  
 Clarendon.”

The King was in his Cabinet when the Letter was delivered to him; which as soon as He had read, He burned in a Candle that was on the Table, and only said, that there was Somewhat in it that He did not understand, but that He wondered that the Chancellor did not withdraw himself:” Of which the Keeper presently advertised him, with his earnest Advice that He would be gone.

The King ex-  
 presses a De-  
 sire of his  
 withdraw-  
 ing.

The King’s Discourse was according to the Persons with whom He conferred. To those who were engaged in the violent Prosecution He spake with great Bitterness of him, repeating many particular Passages, in which He had showed much Passion because his Majesty did not concur with him i

what He advised. To those who He knew were his Friends He mentioned him without any Bitterness, and with some Testimony of his having served him long and usefully, and as if He had Pity and Compassion for him: Yet “ that He wondered that He “ did not absent himself, since it could not but be “ very manifest to him and to all his Friends, that it “ was not in his Majesty’s Power to protect him “ against the Prejudice that was against him in Both “ Houses: which,” He said, “ could not but be in- “ created by the Obstruction his particular Concern- “ ment gave to all public Affairs in this Conjun- “ ture; in which,” He said “ He was sure He would “ prevail at last.” All these Advertisements could not prevail over the Chancellor for the Reasons mentioned before; though He was very much afflicted at the Division between the two Houses, the evil Consequence whereof He well understood, and could have been well content that the Lords would have consented to his Imprisonment.

The Bishop of Hereford sent to advise him to leave the Kingdom.

The Bishop of *Hereford*, who had been very much obliged to the Chancellor, and throughout this whole Affair had behaved himself with very signal Ingratitude to him, and thereby got much Credit in the Court, went to the Bishop of *Winchester*, who was known to be a fast and unshaken Friend to the Chancellor; and made him a long Discourse of what the King had said to him, and desired him “ that He “ would go with him to his House;” which He presently did, and leaving him in a Room, went himself to the Chancellor, and told him what had passed from the Bishop of *Hereford*, “ who was in the next

“ Room to speak with him, but would not in direct  
 “ Words to him acknowledge that He spake by the  
 “ King’s Order or Approbation; but that He had  
 “ confessed so much to him with many Circumstan-  
 “ ces, and that the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *Coventry*  
 “ had been present.” The Chancellor had no Mind  
 to see or speak with the Bishop, who had carried him-  
 self so unworthily towards him, and might probably  
 misreport any Thing He should say: But He was  
 over-ruled by the other Bishop, and so They went  
 Both into the next Room to him.”

The Bishop of *Hereford* in some Disorder, as a Man  
 conscious to himself of some Want of Sincerity to-  
 wards him, desired “ that He would believe that He  
 “ would not at that Time have come to him, with  
 “ whom He knew He was in some Umbrage, if it  
 “ were not with a Desire to do him Service, and if  
 “ He had not a full Authority for whatsoever He  
 “ said to him.” Then He enlarged himself in Dis-  
 course more involved and perplexed without any  
 Mention of the King, or the Authority He had for  
 what He should say; the Care to avoid which was  
 evidently the Cause of the Want of Clearness in all  
 He said. But the Bishop of *Winchester* supplied it  
 by relating all that He had said to him: With which  
 though He was not pleased, because the King and  
 others were named, yet He did not contradict it; but  
 said, “ He did not say that He was sent by the King  
 “ or spake by his Direction, only *that He could not*  
 “ *be so mad as to interpose in such an Affair without*  
 “ *full Authority to make good all that He should pro-*  
 “ *mise.*” The Sum of all was, “ that if the Chancellor



“ would withdraw himself into any Parts beyond  
 “ the Seas, to prevent the Mischiefs that must befall  
 “ the Kingdom by the Division and Difference be-  
 “ tween the two Houses; He would undertake upon  
 “ his Salvation,” which was the Expression He used  
 more than once, “ that He should not be interrupted  
 “ in his Journey; and that after He should be gone,  
 “ He should not be in any Degree prosecuted, or  
 “ suffer in his Honor or Fortune by his Absence.”

Which He  
 refused to do  
 without re-  
 ceiving a Com-  
 mand from his  
 Majesty.

The Chancellor told him, “ that He well under-  
 “ stood what He must suffer by withdrawing himself,  
 “ and so declining the Trial, in which his Innocence  
 “ would secure him, and in the mean Time preserve  
 “ him from being terrified with the Threats and  
 “ Malice of his Enemies: However He would ex-  
 “ pose himself to that Disadvantage, if He received  
 “ his Majesty’s Commands to that Purpose, or if He  
 “ had but a clear Evidence that his Majesty did wish  
 “ it, as a Thing that He thought might advance his  
 “ Service. But without that Assurance, which He  
 “ might receive many Ways which could not be  
 “ taken Notice of, He could not with his Honor or  
 “ Discretion give his implacable Enemies that Ad-  
 “ vantage against him, when his Friends should be  
 “ able to alledge Nothing in his Defence.”

The Bishop replied, “ that He was not allowed to  
 “ say that his Majesty required or wished it, but  
 “ that He could not be so mad as to undertake what  
 “ He had promised, without sufficient Warrant;”  
 and repeated again what He had formerly said. To  
 which the other answered, “ that the Vigilance and  
 “ Power of his Enemies was well known: And that

“ though the King might in Truth wish that He  
 “ were safe on the other Side of the Sea, and give no  
 “ Direction to interrupt or trouble him in his Jour-  
 “ ney; yet that it was liable to many Accidents in  
 “ Respect of his Weakness and Infirmity,” which was  
 so great at that Time, that He could not walk without  
 being supported by one or two; so that He could  
 not be disguised to any Body that had ever known  
 him. Besides that the Pain He was already in, and  
 the Season of the Year, made him apprehend, that  
 the Gout might so seize upon him within two or  
 three Days, that He might not be able to move:  
 And so the Malice of those who wished his Destruction  
 might very probably find an Opportunity, with-  
 out or against the King’s Consent, to apprehend and  
 cast him into Prison, as a Fugitive from the Hand of  
 Justice. For the Prevention of all which, which no  
 Man could blame him for apprehending, He pro-  
 posed, “ that He might have a Pass from the King,  
 “ which He would not produce but in such an Exi-  
 “ gent: And would use all the Providence He could,  
 “ to proceed with that Secrecy that his Departure  
 “ should not be taken Notice of; but if it were, He  
 “ must not be without such a Protection, to preserve  
 “ him from the present Indignities to which He  
 “ must be liable, though possibly it would not pro-  
 “ tect him from the Displeasure of the Parliament.”  
 The Bishop thought this Proposition to be reason-  
 able, and seemed confident that He should procure  
 the Pass: And so that Conference ended.

The next Day the Bishop sent Word, “ that the  
 “ King could not grant the Pass, because if it should

“ be known, by what Accident soever, it would  
 “ much incense the Parliament : But that He might  
 “ securely go as if He had a Pass;” which moved  
 no farther with him, than his former Undertaking  
 had done. Nor could the Importunity of his Chil-  
 dren, or the Advice of his Friends, persuade him to  
 depart from his Resolution.

The French  
 Ambassador  
 urges him to  
 retire to  
 France.

About the Time of the Chancellor's Disgrace,  
*Monfieur Ruvigny* arrived at *London* as Envoy Ex-  
 traordinary from the *French* King, and came the next  
 Day after the Seal was taken from him. He was a  
 Person well known in the Court, and particularly  
 to the Chancellor, with whom He had been for-  
 merly assigned to treat upon Affairs of Moment,  
 being of the Religion and very nearly allied to the  
 late Earl of *Southampton*. And as these Considera-  
 tions were the chief Motives that He was made  
 Choice of for the present Employment, so the chief  
 Part of his Instructions was to apply himself to the  
 Chancellor, through whose Hands it was known that  
 the whole Treaty that was now happily concluded,  
 and all the Preliminaries with *France*, had entirely  
 passed. When He found that the Conduct of Affairs  
 was quite changed, and that the Chancellor came not  
 to the Court, He knew not what to do, but imme-  
 diately despatched an Express to *France* for farther  
 Instructions. He desired to speak with the Chan-  
 cellor; which He refused, and likewise to receive  
 the Letters which He had brought for him and offered  
 to send to him, all which He desired might be de-  
 livered to the King. When the Proceedings in Par-  
 liament went so high, *Ruvigny*, who had at all Hours

Admission to the King, and intimate Conversation with the Lord *Arlington*, and so easily discovered the extreme Prejudice and Malice that was contracted against the Chancellor, sent him frequent Advertisements of what was necessary for him to know, and with all possible Earnestness advised him, when the Divisions grew so high in the Houses, “that He would withdraw and retire into *France*, “where” He assured him “He would find himself “very welcome.” All which prevailed no more with him than the rest. And so another Week passed after the Bishop’s Proposition with the same Passion in the Houses: And Endeavours were used to incense the People, as if the Lords obstructed the Proceeding of Justice against the Chancellor by refusing to commit him; and Mr. *Seymour* told the Lord *Ashley*, “that the People would pull down the Chancellor’s House first, and then those of all the Lords “who adhered to him.”

Which He declines.

By this Time the Duke of *York* recovered so fast, that the King, being assured by the Physicians that there would be no Danger of Infection, went on Saturday Morning, the twenty-ninth of *November*, to visit him: And being alone together, his Majesty bade him “advise the Chancellor to be gone,” and blamed him that He had not given Credit to what the Bishop of *Hereford* had said to him. The King had no sooner left the Duke, but his Highness sent for the Bishop of *Winchester*, and bade him tell the Chancellor from him, “that it was absolutely necessary for him speedily to be gone, and that He “had the King’s Word for all that had been undertaken by the Bishop of *Hereford*.”

At length the King sends to him to withdraw.

He unwillingly obeys, and leaves the Kingdom.

As soon as the Chancellor received this Advice and Command, He resolved with great Reluctancy to obey, and to be gone that very Night: And having, by the Friendship of Sir *John Wolstenholme*, caused the Farmers Boat to wait for him at *Erith*, as soon as it was dark He took Coach at his House, *Saturday Night*, the twenty-ninth of *November 1667*, with two Servants only. And being accompanied with his two Sons and two or three other Friends on Horseback as far as *Erith*, He found the Boat ready; and so embarked about Eleven of the Clock that Night, the Wind indifferently good: But before Midnight it changed, and carried him back almost as far as He had advanced. And in this Perplexity He remained three Days and Nights before He arrived at *Calais*, which was not a Port chosen by him, all Places out of *England* being indifferent, and *France* not being in his Inclination, because of the Reproach and Calumny that was cast upon him: But since it was the first that offered itself, and it was not reasonable to affect another, He was very glad to disembark there, and to find himself safe on Shore.

He lands at Calais.

All these Particulars, of which many may seem too trivial to be remembered, have been thought necessary to be related, it being a principal Part of his Vindication for going away, and not insisting upon his Innocence; which at that Time made a greater Impression upon many worthy Persons to his Disadvantage, than any Particular that was contained in the Charge that had been offered to the House. And therefore though He forbore, when all the Promises were broken which had been made to him,

and his Enemies Malice and Insolence increased by his Absence, to publish or in the least Degree to communicate the true Ground and Reasons of absenting himself to avoid any Inconvenience that in so captious a Season might thereby have befallen the King's Service; yet it cannot be thought unreasonable to preserve this Memorial of all the Circumstances, as well as the substantial Reasons, which disposed him to make that Flight, for the clear Information of those, who in a fit Season may understand his Innocence without any Inconvenience to his Majesty, of whose Goodness and Honor and Justice it may be hoped, that his Majesty himself will give his own Testimony, both of this Particular of his withdrawing, and a Vindication of his Innocence from all the other Reproaches with which it was aspersed.

I will not omit one other Particular, for the Manifestation of the Inequality that was between the Nature of the Chancellor and of his Enemies, and upon what Disadvantage He was to contend with them. Before the Meeting of the Parliament, when it was well known that the Combination was entered into by the Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* against the Chancellor, several Members of the House informed him of what They did and what They said, and told him, " that there was but one Way to prevent the Prejudice intended towards him, which " was by falling first upon them; which They would " cause to be done, if He would assist them with " such Information as it could not but be in his " Power to do. That They were Both very odious " generally: The one for his insolent Carriage

An Instance of  
his generous  
Behaviour to  
his Enemies.

“ towards all Men, and for the Manner of his getting  
“ into that Office by dispossessing an old faithful  
“ Servant, who was forced to part with it for a very  
“ good Recompence of ten thousand Pounds in  
“ Money and other Releases and Grants, which  
“ was paid and made by the King to introduce a  
“ Secretary of very mean Parts. and without Induf-  
“ try to improve them, and one who was generally  
“ suspected to be a Papist, or without any Religion  
“ at all; it being generally taken Notice of, that He  
“ was rarely seen in a Church, and never known  
“ to receive the Communion. The other was known  
“ by his corrupt Behaviour, and selling all the Offi-  
“ ces in the Fleet and Navy for incredible Sums of  
“ Money, and thereby introducing Men, who had  
“ been most employed and trusted by *Cromwell*, into  
“ the several Offices; whilst loyal and faithful Sea-  
“ men who had always adhered to the King, and  
“ many of them continued in his Service abroad  
“ and till his Return into *England*, could not be  
“ admitted into any Employment: The ill Conse-  
“ quence of which to the King's Service was very  
“ notorious, by the daily manifest stealing and  
“ embezzling the Stores of Ammunition, Cordage,  
“ Sails, and other Tackling, which were commonly  
“ sold again to the King at great Prices. And when  
“ the Persons guilty of this were taken Notice of  
“ and apprehended, They talked loudly of the Sums  
“ They had paid for their Offices, which obliged  
“ them to those Frauds: And that it might not be  
“ more notorious, They were, by Sir *William Co-*  
“ *ventry's* great Power and Interest, never proceeded

“ against, or removed from their Offices and Em-  
 “ ployments.”

They told him, “ that He never said or did any  
 “ Thing in the most secret Council, where They  
 “ two were always present, and where there were  
 “ frequent Occasions of mentioning the Proceedings  
 “ of Both Houses, and the Behaviour of several  
 “ Members in Both, but those Gentlemen declared  
 “ the same, and all that He said or did, to those  
 “ who would be most offended and incensed by it,  
 “ and who were like in some Conjunction to be  
 “ able to do him most Mischief: And by those ill  
 “ Arts They had irreconciled many Persons to him.  
 “ And that if He would now, without its being  
 “ possible to be taken Notice of, give them such In-  
 “ formation and Light into the Proceedings of those  
 “ Gentlemen, They would undertake to divert the  
 “ Storm that threatened him, and cause it to fall  
 “ upon the others.” And this was with much Ear-  
 nestness pressed to him, not only before the Meet-  
 ing of the Parliament, and when He was fully in-  
 formed of the ill Arts and ungentlemanly Practice  
 those two Persons were engaged in to do him Hurt,  
 but after the House of Commons was incensed against  
 him; with a full Assurance, “ that They were much  
 “ inclined to have accused the other two, if the least  
 “ Occasion was given for it.”

But the Chancellor would not be prevailed with,  
 saying, “ that no Provocation or Example should  
 “ dispose him to do any Thing that would not be-  
 “ come him: That They were Both Privy-Coun-  
 “ sellors, and trusted by the King in his most weighty



“ Affairs; and if He discerned any Thing amiss in  
 “ them He could inform the King of it. But the  
 “ aspersing or accusing them any where else was not  
 “ his Part to do, nor could it be done by any without  
 “ some Reflection upon the King and Duke, who  
 “ would be much offended at it: And therefore He  
 “ advised them in no Degree to make any such  
 “ Attempt on his Behalf; but to leave him to the  
 “ Protection of his own Innocence and of God’s  
 “ good Pleasure, and those Gentlemen to their own  
 “ Fate, which at some Time would humble them.”

And it is known to many Persons, and possibly to the King himself, for whose Service only that Office was performed, that one or Both those Persons had before that Time been impeached, if the Chancellor’s sole Industry and Interest had not diverted and prevented it.

When the Chancellor found it necessary for the Reasons aforesaid, to withdraw himself He thought it as necessary to leave some Address to the House of Peers, and to make as good an Excuse as He could for his Absence without asking their Leave; which should be delivered to them by some Member of their Body (there being many of them ready to perform that civil Office for him), when his Absence should be known, or some Evidence that He was safely arrived on the other Side of the Sea. And that Time being come (for the Packet-Boat was ready to depart when the Chancellor landed at *Calais*), the Earl of *Denbigh* said, “ He had an Address to the House from the  
 “ Earl of *Clarendon*, which He desired might be  
 “ read;” which contained these Words.

To

*To the Right Honorable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled; the humble Petition and Address of Edward Earl of Clarendon.*

The Chancellor's Apology to the House of Lords for withdrawing.

“ May it please your Lordships.”

“ I cannot express the insupportable Trouble and Grief of Mind I sustain, under the Apprehension of being misrepresented to your Lordships; and when I hear how much of your Lordships Time hath been spent upon my poor Concern (though it be of no less than of my Life and Fortune), and of the Differences in Opinion which have already or may probably arise between your Lordships and the honorable House of Commons; whereby the great and weighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be obstructed in a Time of so general a Dissatisfaction.”

“ I am very unfortunate to find myself to suffer so much under two very disadvantageous Reflections, which are in no Degree applicable to me: The first, from the Greatness of my Estate and Fortune, collected and made in so few Years; which, if it be proportionable to what is reported, may very reasonably cause my Integrity to be suspected. The second, that I have been the sole Manager and chief Minister in all the Transactions of State since the King's Return into *England* to *August* last; and therefore that all Miscarriages and Misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, and to my Counsels.”

“ Concerning my Estate, your Lordships will not believe, that after Malice and Envy hath been so inquisitive, and is so sharp-sighted, I will offer any Thing to your Lordships but what is exactly true:

“ And I do assure your Lordships in the first Place,  
 “ that, excepting from the King’s Bounty, I have  
 “ never received or taken one Penny, but what was  
 “ generally understood to be the just and lawful Per-  
 “ quisites of my Office by the constant Practice of  
 “ the best Times, which I did in my own Judgment  
 “ conceive to be that of my Lord *Coventry* and my  
 “ Lord *Ellesmere*, the Practice of which I constantly  
 “ observed; although the Office in Both their Times  
 “ was lawfully worth double to what it was to me,  
 “ and I believe now is.”

“ That all the Courtesies and Favors, which I  
 “ have been able to obtain from the King for other  
 “ Persons in Church or State or in *Westminster-Hall*,  
 “ have never been worth me five Pound: So that  
 “ your Lordships may be confident I am as innocent  
 “ from Corruption, as from any disloyal Thought;  
 “ which, after near thirty Years Service of the Crown  
 “ in some Difficulties and Distresses, I did never sus-  
 “ pect would have been objected to me in my Age.”

“ That I am at present indebted about three or  
 “ four-and-twenty thousand Pounds, for which I pay  
 “ Interest; the Particulars whereof I shall be ready  
 “ to offer to your Lordships, and for which I have  
 “ assigned Lands and Leases to be sold, though at  
 “ present Nobody will buy or sell with me. That  
 “ I am so far from having Money, that from the  
 “ Time the Seal was taken from me I have lived  
 “ upon the coining some small Parcels of Plate,  
 “ which have sustained me and my Family, my  
 “ Rents being with-held from me.”

“ That my Estate, my Debts being paid, will not

“ yield me two thousand Pounds *per Annum*, for the  
 “ Support of myself, and providing for two young  
 “ Children, who have Nothing: And that all I have  
 “ is not worth what the King in his Bounty hath be-  
 “ stowed upon me, his Majesty having out of his  
 “ Royal Bounty, within few Months after his com-  
 “ ing into *England*, at one Time bestowed upon me  
 “ twenty thousand Pounds in ready Money, without  
 “ the least Motion or Imagination of mine; and,  
 “ shortly after, another Sum of Money, amounting  
 “ to six thousand Pounds or thereabouts, out of  
 “ *Ireland*, which ought to have amounted to a much  
 “ greater Proportion, and of which I never heard  
 “ Word, till Notice was given me by the Earl of  
 “ *Orrery* that there was such a Sum of Money for me.  
 “ His Majesty likewise assigned me after the first  
 “ Year of his Return an annual Supply towards my  
 “ Support, which did but defray my Expenses, the  
 “ certain Profits of my Office not amounting to  
 “ above two thousand Pounds a Year or thereabouts,  
 “ and the Perquisites not very considerable and very  
 “ uncertain: So that the said several Sums of Money,  
 “ and some Parcels of Land his Majesty bestowed  
 “ upon me, are worth more than all I have amounts  
 “ to. So far I am from advancing my Estate by any  
 “ indirect Means. And though this Bounty of his  
 “ Majesty hath very far exceeded my Merit or my  
 “ Expectation; yet some others have been as fortu-  
 “ nate at least in the same Bounty, who had as small  
 “ Pretences to it, and have no great Reason to envy  
 “ my good Fortune.”

“ Concerning the other Imputation, of the Credit

“ and Power of being chief Minister, and so causing  
 “ all to be done that I had a Mind to ; I have no more  
 “ to say , than that I had the good Fortune to serve  
 “ a Master of a very great Judgment and Understand-  
 “ ing, and to be always joined with Persons of great  
 “ Ability and Experience , without whose Advice  
 “ and Concurrence never any Thing hath been  
 “ done. Before his Majesty’s coming into *England*,  
 “ He was constantly attended by the then Marquis  
 “ of *Ormond*, the late Lord *Colepepper*, and Mr. Sec-  
 “ retary *Nicholas* ; who were equally trusted with  
 “ myself, and without whose joint Advice and Con-  
 “ currence, when They were all present ( as some of  
 “ them always were ), I never gave any Counsel.”  
 “ As soon as it pleased God to bring his Majesty  
 “ into *England*, He established his Privy-Council,  
 “ and shortly out of them a Number of honorable  
 “ Persons of great Reputation, who for the most  
 “ Part are still alive, as a Committee for foreign  
 “ Affairs, and Consideration of such Things as in  
 “ the Nature of them required much Secrecy ; and  
 “ with these Persons He vouchsafed to join me. And  
 “ I am confident this Committee never transacted  
 “ any Thing of Moment, his Majesty being always  
 “ present, without presenting the same first to the  
 “ Council-Board : And I must appeal to them con-  
 “ cerning my Carriage, and whether We were not  
 “ all of one Mind in all Matters of Importance. For  
 “ more than two Years I never knew any Difference  
 “ in the Councils, or that there were any Complaints  
 “ in the Kingdom ; which I wholly impute to his  
 “ Majesty’s great Wisdom, and the entire Concur-



" rence of his Council, without the Vanity of affu-  
 " ming any Thing to myself: And therefore I hope  
 " I shall not be singly charged with any Thing that  
 " hath since fallen out amifs. But from the Time  
 " that Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* was removed from  
 " his Place, there were great Alterations; and who-  
 " soever knows any Thing of the Court or Coun-  
 " cils, knows well how much my Credit since that  
 " Time hath been diminished, though his Majesty  
 " graciously vouchsafed still to hear my Advice in  
 " most of his Affairs. Nor hath there been, from that  
 " Time to this, above one or two Persons brought  
 " to the Council, or preferred to any considerable  
 " Office in the Court, who have been of my intimate  
 " Acquaintance, or suspected to have any Kindness  
 " for me; and many of them notoriously known to  
 " have been very long my Enemies, and of different  
 " Judgment and Principles from me both in Church  
 " and State, and who have taken all Opportunities  
 " to lessen my Credit to the King, and with all other  
 " Persons, by misrepresenting and misreporting all  
 " that I said or did, and persuading Men that I had  
 " done them some Prejudice with his Majesty, or  
 " crossed them in some of their Pretences; though  
 " his Majesty's Goodness and Justice was such, that  
 " it made little Impression upon him. "

" In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes  
 " of the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to  
 " which it is notoriously known that I was always  
 " averse; and may without Vanity say, I did not  
 " only foresee but did declare the Mischiefs We  
 " should run into, by entering into a War before

“ any Alliance made with the neighbour Princes.  
 “ And that it may not be imputed to his Majesty’s  
 “ Want of Care. or the Negligence of his Counsel-  
 “ lers that no such Alliances were entered into; I  
 “ must take the Boldness to say, that his Majesty  
 “ left Nothing unattempted in Order thereunto:  
 “ And knowing very well, that *France* resolved to  
 “ begin a War upon *Spain*, as soon as his *Catholic*  
 “ Majesty should depart this World (which being  
 “ much sooner expected by them, They had two  
 “ Winters before been at great Charge in providing  
 “ plentiful Magazines of all Provisions upon the  
 “ Frontiers, that They might be ready for the War),  
 “ his Majesty used all possible Means to prepare  
 “ and dispose the *Spaniard* to that Apprehension, of-  
 “ fering his Friendship to that Degree, as might be  
 “ for the Security and Benefit of Both Crowns. But  
 “ *Spain* flattering itself with an Opinion that *France*  
 “ would not break with them, at least, that They  
 “ would not give them any Cause by administering  
 “ Matter of Jealousy to them. never made any real  
 “ Approach towards a Friendship with his Majesty;  
 “ but both by their Ambassador here, and to his  
 “ Majesty’s Ambassador in *Madrid*, always insisted,  
 “ as Preliminaries, upon the giving up of *Dunkirk*,  
 “ *Tangier*, and *Jamaica*.”

“ Though *France* had an Ambassador here, to  
 “ whom a Project for a Treaty was offered, and the  
 “ Lord *Hollis*, his Majesty’s Ambassador at *Paris*,  
 “ used all Endeavours to promote and prosecute the  
 “ said Treaty: yet it was quickly discerned, that the  
 “ principal Design of *France* was to draw his Ma,

“ jesty into such a nearer Alliance as might advance  
 “ their Designs; without which They had no Mind  
 “ to enter into the Treaty proposed. And this was  
 “ the State of Affairs when the War was entered  
 “ into with the *Dutch*, from which Time neither  
 “ Crown much considered their making an Alliance  
 “ with *England*. ”

“ As I did from my Soul abhor the entering into  
 “ this War, so I never presumed to give any Advice  
 “ or Counsel for the Way of managing it, but by  
 “ opposing many Propositions which seemed to the  
 “ late Lord Treasurer and myself to be unreasonable,  
 “ as the Payment of the Seamen by Tickets, and  
 “ many other Particulars which added to the Ex-  
 “ pense. My Enemies took all Occsions to inveigh  
 “ against me: And making Friendship with others  
 “ out of the Council of more licentious Principles,  
 “ and who knew well enough how much I disliked  
 “ and complained of the Liberty They took to them-  
 “ selves of reviling all Councils and Counsellors,  
 “ and turning all Things serious and sacred into  
 “ Ridicule: They took all Ways imaginable to  
 “ render me ingrateful to all Sorts of Men (whom  
 “ I shall be compelled to name in my own Defence),  
 “ persuading those who miscarried in any of their  
 “ Designs, that it was the Chancellor’s doing;  
 “ whereof I never knew any Thing. However They  
 “ could not withdraw the King’s Favor from me,  
 “ who was still pleased to use my Service with  
 “ others; nor was there ever any Thing done but  
 “ upon the joint Advice of at least the major Part  
 “ of those who were consulted with. And as his



“ Majesty commanded my Service in the late Treasuries, so I never gave the least Advice in private, nor writ one Letter to any Person in either of those Negotiations, but upon the Advice of the Council, and after it was read in Council, or at least by the King himself and some others: And if I prepared any Instructions or Memorials, it was by the King’s Command, and the Request of Secretaries, who desired my Assistance. Nor was it any Wish of my own, that any Ambassadors should give me an Account of the Transactions, but to the Secretaries, with whom I was always ready to advise; nor am I conscious to myself of having ever given Advice that hath proved mischievous or inconvenient to his Majesty. And I have been so far from being the sole Manager of Affairs, that I have not in the whole last Year been above twice with his Majesty in any Room alone, and very seldom in the two or three Years preceding. And since the Parliament at *Oxford*, it hath been very visible that my Credit hath been very little, and that very few Things have been hearkened to which have been proposed by me, but contradicted *eo Nomine*, because proposed by me.”

“ I most humbly beseech your Lordships to remember the Office and Trust I had for seven Years; in which, in Discharge of my Duty, I was obliged to stop and obstruct many Men’s Pretences, and to refuse to set the Seal to many Pardons and other Grants, which would have been profitable to those who procured them, and many whereof, upon my Representation to his Majesty, were for ever stop-

“ ped; which naturally have raised many Enemies  
 “ to me. And my frequent concurring with the late  
 “ Lord Treasurer, with whom I had the Honor to  
 “ have a long and a fast Friendship to his Death, in  
 “ representing several Excesses and Exorbitances  
 “ (the yearly Issues so far exceeding the Revenue),  
 “ provoked many Persons concerned, of great  
 “ Power and Credit, to do me all the ill Offices  
 “ They could. And yet I may faithfully say, that  
 “ I never meddled with any Part of the Revenue or  
 “ the Administration of it, but when I was desired  
 “ by the late Lord Treasurer to give him my Assist-  
 “ ance and Advice (having had the Honor formerly  
 “ to serve the Crown as Chancellor of the Exche-  
 “ quer), which was for the most Part in his Majesty’s  
 “ Presence: Nor have I ever been in the least Degree  
 “ concerned in Point of Profit in the letting any Part  
 “ of his Majesty’s Revenue, nor have ever treated  
 “ or debated it but in his Majesty’s Presence; in  
 “ which, my Opinion concurred always with the  
 “ major Part of the Counsellors who were present.  
 “ All which, upon Examination, will be made ma-  
 “ nifest to your Lordships, how much soever my  
 “ Integrity is blasted by the Malice of those, who  
 “ I am confident do not believe themselves. Nor  
 “ have I in my Life, upon all the Treaties or other-  
 “ wise, received the Value of one Shilling from all  
 “ the Kings and Princes in the World (except the  
 “ Books of the *Louvre*-Print sent me by the Chan-  
 “ cellor of *France* by that King’s Direction), but  
 “ from my own Master; to whose entire Service,  
 “ and to the Good and Welfare of my Country, no  
 “ Man’s Heart was ever more devoted.”

“ This being my present Condition , I do most  
 “ humbly beseech your Lordships to retain a favor-  
 “ able Opinion of me , and to believe me to be inno-  
 “ cent from those foul Aspersions, until the Contrary  
 “ shall be proved ; which I am sure can never be by  
 “ any Man worthy to be believed. And since the  
 “ Distemper of the Time , and the Difference be-  
 “ tween the two Houses in the present Debate, with  
 “ the Power and Malice of my Enemies , who give  
 “ out , that I shall prevail with his Majesty to pro-  
 “ roge or dissolve this Parliament in Displeasure ,  
 “ and threaten to expose me to the Rage and Fury  
 “ of the People , may make me looked upon as the  
 “ Cause which obstructs the King’s Service, and the  
 “ Unity and Peace of the Kingdom ; I must humbly  
 “ beseech your Lordships , that I may not forfeit  
 “ your Lordship’s Favor and Protection, by with-  
 “ drawing myself from so powerful a Persecution ; in  
 “ Hopes I may be able, by such withdrawing, here-  
 “ after to appear , and make my Defence ; when his  
 “ Majesty’s Justice , to which I shall always submit,  
 “ may not be obstructed nor controlled by the  
 “ Power and Malice of those who have sworn my  
 “ Destruction.”

The Chancellor knew very well , that there were  
 Members enough in Both Houses who would be  
 very glad to take any Advantage of his Words and  
 Expressions : And therefore as He weighed them the  
 best He could himself in the short Time from which  
 He took his Resolution to be gone ; so He consulted  
 with as many Friends as that Time would allow, to  
 the End that their Jealousy and Wariness might

better watch, that no Expression might be liable to a sinister Interpretation, than his own Passion and Indisposition could provide. And as They all thought it necessary that He should leave Somewhat behind him, that might offer an Excuse for his Absence; so They did not conceive, that the Words before-mentioned could give any Offence to equal Judges. But the least Variety or Change of Wind moved those Waters to wonderful Distempers and Tempests.

This Address was no sooner read, by which They perceived He was gone, but They who had contributed most to the absenting himself, and were privy to all the Promises which had invited him to it, seemed much troubled that He had escaped their Justice; and moved, "that Orders might be forthwith sent to stop the Ports, that so He might be apprehended;" when They well knew that He was landed at *Calais*. Others took Exceptions at some Expressions, "which," They said, "reflected upon the King's Honor and Justice:" Others moved, "that it might be entered in their Journal-Book, to the End that They might farther consider of it when They should think fit;" and this was ordered.

The Houses till this Time had continued obstinate in their several Resolutions; the Commons every Day pressing, "that He might be committed upon their "general Accusation of Treason" (for though They had amongst themselves and from their Committee offered those Particulars which are mentioned before, yet They presented none to the House of Peers); and the Lords as positively refusing to com-

mit him, till some Charge should be presented against him that amounted to Treason. But now all that Debate was at an End by his being out of their Reach, so that They pursued that Point no farther; which, being Matter of Privilege, should have been determined as necessarily as before, for the Prevention of the like Disputes hereafter. But the Commons wisely declined that Contention, well knowing that their Party in the House, that was very passionate for the Commitment of the Chancellor, would be as much against the general Order as any of the rest had been: And the Lords satisfied themselves with sending a Message to the House of Commons, “ that They found by the Address which They had “ received that Morning, and which They likewise “ imparted to them, that the Earl of *Clarendon* had “ withdrawn himself; and so there was no farther “ Occasion of Debate upon that Point.”

The Apology  
burned by Order  
of Both  
Houses.

The Address was no sooner read in that House, but They who had industriously promoted the former Resolution were inflamed, as if this very Instrument would contribute enough to any Thing that was wanting; and They severally arraigned it, and inveighed against the Person who had sent it with an imaginable Bitterness and Insolence: Whilst others, who could not in the hearing it read observe that Malignity that it was accused of, sat still and silent, as if They suspected that Somewhat had escaped their Observations and Discovery, that so much transported other Men; or because They were well pleased that a Person, against whom there was so much Malice and Fury professed, was got out of their

Reach. In Conclusion, after long Debate it was concluded, " that the Paper contained much Untruth " and Scandal and Seditious in it, and that it should " be publicly burned by the Hand of the Hangman ;" which Vote They presently sent to the Lords for their Concurrence, who, though They had not observed any such Guilt in it before. would maintain no further Contests with them, and so concurred in the Sentence: And the poor Paper was accordingly with Solemnity executed by the appointed Officer, which made the more People inquisitive into the Contents of it; and having gotten Copies of it, They took upon them to censure the Thing and the Person with much more Clemency and Compassion, and thought He had done well to decline such angry Judges.

When the Chancellor found himself at *Calais*, He was unresolv'd how to dispose of himself, only that He would not go to *Paris*, against which He was able to make many Objections: And in this Irresolution He knew not how to send any Directions to his Children in *England*, to what Place They should send his Servants and such other Accommodations as He should want; and therefore stay'd there till He might be better inform'd, and know Somewhat of the Temper of the Parliament. In the mean Time He writ Letters to the Earl of *St. Albans* at *Paris*, from whose very late Professions He had Reason to expect Civility, and that was all He did expect; never imagining that He should receive any Grace from the Queen, or that it was fit for him to cast himself at her Feet, whilst He was in his Majesty's Dis-

The Chancellor writes to the French Court for Leave to remove to Rouen.

Which is granted.

He begins his Journey.

pleasure. Only He desired to know, "whether there  
 " would be any Objection against his coming to  
 " *Rouen*," and desiring, "if there were no Objection  
 " against it, that a Coach might be hired to meet  
 " him on such a Day at *Abbeville*." The Lieutenant  
 Governor of *Calais* had, upon his first Arrival there,  
 given Advertisement to the Court of it: And by the  
 same Post that He received a very dry Letter from  
 the Earl of *St. Albans*, in which He said, "He thought  
 " that Court would approve of his coming to *Rouen*;"  
 He received likewise a Letter of great Civility from  
 the Count *De Louvois*, Secretary of State, in which  
 He congratulated his safe Arrival in *France*, and told  
 him, "that his Majesty was well pleased with it, and  
 " with his Purpose of coming to *Rouen*, where He  
 " should find himself very welcome." At the same  
 Time Letters were sent to the Lieutenant-Governor  
 of *Calais*, *Boulogne*, and *Montreuil*, "to treat him as  
 " a Person of whom the King had Esteem, and to  
 " give him such an Escort as might make his Jour-  
 " ney secure;" of all which He received Advertise-  
 ment, and, "that a Coach would be ready at *Abbeville*  
 " to wait for him at the Day He had appointed."

And now He thought He might well take this  
 Resolution; and thereupon gave Direction, "that  
 " such of his Family, whose Attendance He could  
 " not be well without, might with all Expedition  
 " be with him at *Rouen*; and such Monies might be  
 " likewise returned thither for him, as were neces-  
 " sary," for He had not brought with him Supply  
 enough for long Time. And so He provided to leave  
*Calais*, that He might be warm in his Winter-Quar-

ters as soon as might be, which both the Season of the Year, it being now within few Days of *Christmas*, and his Expectation of a speedy Defluxion of the Gout, made very requisite. When He came to *Boulogne*, He found Orders from the Marechal *D'Aumont* to his Lieutenant for a Guard to *Montreuil*, the *Spanish* Garrisons making frequent Incurfions into those Quarters: And at *Montreuil* the Duke *D'Elboeuf* visited him, and invited him to Supper, which the Chancellor was so much tired with his Journey that He accepted not; but was not suffered to refuse his Coach the next Day to *Abbeville*, where He found a Coach from *Paris* ready to carry him to *Rouen*.

It was *Christmas* Eve when He came to *Dieppe*, and it was a long Journey the next Day to *Rouen*; which made him send to the Governor, to desire that the Ports might be open much sooner than their Hour, which was granted; So that He came to a very ill Inn well known at *Toftes*, near the middle Way to *Rouen*, about Noon. And when He was within View of that Place, a Gentleman, passing by in a good Gallop with a Couple of Servants, asked, "whether the Chancellor of *England* was in that Coach;" and being answered, "that He was," He alighted at the Coach-Side, and gave him a Letter from the King, which contained only Credit to what that Gentleman, *Monsieur Le Fonde*, his Servant in Ordinary, should say to him from his Majesty. The Gentleman, after some Expressions of his Majesty's Grace and good Opinion, told him, "that the King had lately received Advertise-



But receives  
on the Way  
Orders to  
leave France  
instantly.

“ ment from his Envoy in *England*, that the Par-  
“ liament there was so much incensed against him,  
“ the Chancellor, that if He should be suffered to stay  
“ in France, it would be so prejudicial to the Affairs  
“ of his Christian Majesty (to whom He was confi-  
“ dent the Chancellor wished well), that it might  
“ make a Breach between the two Crowns: And there-  
“ fore He desired him to make what Speed He  
“ could out of his Dominions; and that He might  
“ want no Accommodation for his Journey, that  
“ Gentleman was to accompany him till He saw  
“ him out of *France*.”

He was marvellously struck with this Encounter, which He looked not for, nor could resolve what to do, being at Liberty to make his Journey which Way He would so He rested not, which was the only Thing He desired: So He desired the Gentleman (for all his Conversation was in the Highway) “ to come into the Coach, and to accompany him “ to *Rouen*, where They would confer farther.” The Gentleman, though He was a very civil Person, seemed to think that it would be better to return to *Dieppe*, and so to *Calais*, as the shortest Way out of *France*: But He had no Commission to urge that, and so condescended to go that Night to *Rouen*; with a Declaration, “ that it was necessary for him “ to be the next Day very early in the Coach, “ which Way soever He intended to make his “ Journey.”

It was late in the Night before They reached *Rouen*: And the Coach was overthrown three Times in the Gentleman's Sight, who chose to ride  
his

his Horfe; fo that the Chancellor was really hurt and bruifed, and fcarce able to fet his Foot to the Ground. And therefore He told the Gentleman plainly, "that He could not make any Journey the next Day: But that He would prefently write to *Paris* to a Friend, who fhould inform the King of the ill Condition He was in, and defire fome Time of Reft; and that as foon as He had finifhed his Letter. He would fend an Expreff with it, who fhould make all poffible Haste in going and coming." *Monsieur Le Fonde* affured him, "the Matter was fo fully refolved, that no Writing would procure any Time to ftay in *France*; and therefore defired him to haften his Journey, which Way foever He intended it." But when He faw there was no Remedy, He likewise writ to the Court, and the Chancellor to the Earl of *St. Albans*, from whom He thought He fhould receive Offices of Humanity, and to another Friend, upon whose Affection He more depended: And with thofe Letters the Expreff was defpatched.

He represents  
his ill State of  
Health to the  
Court.

They who had prevailed fo far againft him in *England* were not yet fatisfied, but contrived thofe Ways to difquiet him as much in *France*, by telling *Monsieur Ruvigny* (who was too eafily difpofed to believe them), "that the Parliament was fo much offended with the Chancellor, that it would never consent that the King fhould enter into a clofe and firm Alliance with *France*," which it was his Bufinefs to folicit, "whilft He fhould be permitted to ftay within that Kingdom:" When in Truth all the Malice againft him was contained

The Occafion  
of his ill  
Treatment.  
*France*.

within the Breasts of few Men, who by incensing the King, and infusing many false and groundless Relations into him, drew such a numerous Party to contribute to their Ends.

Proceedings  
against him in  
England.

When He was now gone, They observed to the King, "what a great Faction there was in Both Houses that adhered to the Chancellor," who were called *Clarendonians*; and when any Opposition was made to any Thing that was proposed, as frequently there was, "it was always done by the *Clarendonians*:" Whose Condition They thought was not desperate enough, except They proceeded farther than was yet done. They labored with all their Power, that He might be attainted of High Treason by Act of Parliament, and that Both his Sons might be removed from the Court: Both which, notwithstanding all their Importunity, his Majesty positively refused to consent to. Then They told him, "that the Chancellor only waited the Season that the Parliament should be confirmed in ill Humor, to which They were inclined; and then He would return and sit in the House to disturb all their Counsels, and obstruct all his Service: And therefore They proposed, since He had fled from the Hand of Justice, that there could be no more Prosecution for his Guilt" (which was untrue, for They might as well have proceeded and proved the Crimes objected against him if They could), "a Bill of Banishment," which They had prepared, "might be brought in against him;" which his Majesty consented to, notwithstanding all that

the Duke of *York* urged to the Contrary upon the King's Promise to him, and which had only betrayed the Chancellor to making his Escape. But the King alledged, "that the Condescension was necessary for his Good, and to compound with those who would else press that which would be more mischievous to him."

Whereupon a Bill for his Banishment was preferred, only upon his having declined the Proceeding of Justice by his Flight, without so much as endeavouring to prove one of the Crimes They had charged upon him: And this Bill was passed by the two Houses and confirmed by the King; of whom They had yet so much Jealousy, that They left it not in his Power to pardon him without the Consent of the two Houses of Parliament. And this Act was to be absolute, "except by a Day appointed" (which was so short, that it was hardly possible for him to comply with it, except He could have rode Post) "He should appear before one of the Secretaries of State, or deliver himself to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who was to detain him in Custody till He had acquainted the Parliament with it: In the mean Time no Person was to presume to hold any Correspondence with him or to write to him, except his own Children or his menial Servants, who were obliged to show the Letters which They sent or received to one of the Secretaries of State."

A Bill of Banishment passed against

The Express that had been sent to *Paris* returned with reiterated Orders to *Monfieur le Fonde* to

He receives Orders a fe

cond Time to  
quit France.

hasten the Chancellor's Journey, and not to suffer him to remain there; who executed the Commands He had received with great Punctuality and Importunity. The Earl of *St. Albans* did not vouchsafe to return any Answer to his Letter, or to interpose on his Behalf, that He might rest till He might securely enter upon his Journey: Only Abbot *Mountague* writ very obligingly to him, and offered all the Offices could be in his Power to perform, and excused the Rigor of the Court's Proceedings, as the Effect of such Reason of State, as would not permit any Alteration whilst They had that Apprehension of the Parliament; and therefore advised him "to comply with their Wishes, and make no longer Stay in *Rouen*, which would not be permitted." But the general Indisposition of his Body, the Fatigue of his Journey, and the Bruises He had received by the Falls and Overturnings of the Coach, made him not able to rise out of his Bed; and the Physicians, who had taken much Blood from him, exceedingly dissuaded it. All which, how visible soever, prevailed not with his *French* Conductor to lessen his Importunity that He would go, though it was evident He could not easily stand; of which no Doubt He gave true and faithful Advertisement to the Court, though the Jealousy of being not thought active enough in his Trust made his Behaviour much less civil, than is agreeable to the Custom of that Nation.

He again represents his ill State of Health to the French Court.

However the Chancellor, hardened by the Inhumanity of his Treatment, writ such a Letter in *Latin* to *Monsieur De Lionne*, by whose Hand all the

ungentle Orders to *Monsieur Le Fonde* had been transmitted, as expressed the Condition He was in, and his Disability to comply with his Majesty's Commands until He could recover more Strength; not without Complaint of the little Civility He had received in *France*. And He writ likewise to the Abbot *Mountague*, "to use his Credit with *Monsieur De Tellier*," upon whose Humanity He more depended, "to interpose with his *Christian Majesty*, "that He might not be pressed beyond what his Health would bear." And since at that Time He resolved to make his Journey to *Avignon*, that He might be out of the Dominions of *France*, He desired, "that He might have Liberty to rest some Days at *Orleans*, until his Servants who were upon the Sea, and brought with them many Things which He wanted, might come to him; and that He might afterwards, in so long a Journey in the worst Season of the Year, have Liberty to take such Repose as his Health would require; in which He could not affect unnecessary Delay, for the great Charge and Expense it must be accompanied with."

The Answer He received from *Monsieur de Lionne* was the renewing the King's Commands for his speedy Departure, "as a Thing absolutely necessary to his Affairs, and which must not be disputed." But that which affected him the more tenderly, was the Sight of a Billet which Abbot *Mountague* sent to him, that He had received from *Monsieur De Tellier*, in which He said, "that He had, according to his Desire, moved his *Christian Ma-*

“ jesty concerning the Chancellor of *England*; and  
 “ that his Majesty was much displeas'd that He  
 “ made not more haste to comply with what was  
 “ most necessary for his Affairs, and that it must be  
 “ no longer delayed; and that if He chose to pass  
 “ to *Avignon*, He might rest one Day in ten, which  
 “ was all his Majesty would allow.”

This unexpected Determination, without the least Ceremony or Circumstance of Remorse, signified by a Person who He was well assured was well inclin'd to have returned a more grateful Answer, in the Instant suppress'd all Hopes of finding any Humanity in *France*, and rais'd a Resolution in him to get out of those Dominions with all the Expedition that was possible: Which his *French* Conductor urged with new and importunate Instance; insomuch as though there was sure Information, that the Ship, in which the Chancellor's Servants and Goods were embarked, was arriv'd at the Mouth of the River, and only kept by the cross Wind from coming up to the Town; He would by no Means consent to the Delay of one Day in Expectation of it, or that his Servants might come to him by Land, as He had sent to them to do.

At this very Time arriv'd an Express, a Servant of his, sent by his Children, with a particular Account of all the Transactions in Parliament, and of the Bill of Banishment; of Nothing of which He had before heard, and upon which the Duke of *York*, who look'd upon himself as ill us'd by that Prosecution, was of Opinion, “ that the Chancellor

“ should make all possible Haste, and appear by  
 “ the Day appointed, and undergo the Trial, in  
 “ which He knew his Innocence would justify him.”  
 This Advice, with a little Indignation at the Dis-  
 courtesy of the Court of *France*, diverted him from  
 any farther Thought of *Avignon*. And though He  
 did not imagine that his Strength would be suffi-  
 cient to perform the Journey by the Day assigned  
 (for the Gout had already seized upon Both his  
 Feet), nor did the Arguments for his Return satisfy  
 him; and the Breach of all the Promises which  
 had been made was no Sign that They meant  
 speedily to bring him to Trial, towards which  
 They had not yet made any Preparation: Yet He  
 resolved to make all possible Haste to *Calais*, that  
 it might be in his Power to proceed according to  
 such Directions as He might reasonably expect to  
 receive there from his Friends from *England*, and  
 from whence He might quickly remove into the  
*Spanish Dominions*; though the Climate of *Flanders*,  
 well known to him, terrified him in Respect of  
 the Season and his approaching Gout. And with  
 this Resolution He despatched the Express again  
 for *England*; and left Order with a Merchant at  
*Rouen*, “ to receive his Goods when the Ship should  
 “ arrive, and detain both them and his Servants  
 “ till He should send farther Orders from *Calais*.”  
 And at the same Time He writ to a Friend in  
*Flanders*, to speak to the Marquis of *Carracena*,  
 with whom He had formerly held a fair Corres-  
 pondence, “ to send him a Pass to go through that  
 “ Country to what Place He should think fit.”



And having thus provided for his Journey, He departed from *Rouen*, after He had remained there about twenty Days.

The returns  
to Calais.

Where He is  
confined in his  
Bed by a dan-  
gerous Illness.

In how ill a Condition of Health soever He was to travel when the Days were at shortest, He resolved to make no Stay till He should reach *Calais*, to the End, that if He met with no Advice there to the Contrary He might be at *London* by the Day limited by the Proclamation, which was the first of *February* that Style: And it was the last of *January* the *French* Style when He arrived at *Calais*, so broken with the Fatigue of the Journey and the Defluxion of the Gout, that He could not move but as He was carried, and was so put into a Bed; and the next Morning the Physicians found him in a Fever, and thought it necessary to open a Vein, which They presently did. But the Pains in all his Limbs so increased, that He was not able to turn in his Bed; nor for many Nights closed his Eyes. Many Letters He found there from *England*, but was not in a Condition to read them, nor in Truth could speak and discourse with any Body. *Monsieur Le Fonde*, out of pure Compassion, suffered him to remain some Days without his Vexation, until He received fresh Orders from *Paris*, “that the Chancellor might not, in what Case soever, be suffered to remain in *Calais*.” And then He renewed his Importunity, “that He would the next Day leave the Town, and either by Sea or Land, if He thought it not fit to pass for *England*, put himself into the *Spanish* Dominions, which He might do in few Hours.”

Yet He is re-  
quired to re-  
tire out of the  
French Ter-  
ritories.

He was so confounded with the Barbarity, that He

had no Mind to give him any Answer; nor could He suddenly find Words, their Conversation being in *Latin*, to express the Passion He was in. At last He told him, "that He must bring Orders from God Almighty as well as from the King, before He could obey: That He saw the Condition He was in, and conferred every Day with his Physicians, by which He could not but know, that He could neither help himself, nor endure the being carried out of that Chamber, if the House were in a Flame; and therefore that He did not use him like a Gentleman, in adding his unreasonable Importunities to the Vexation He suffered by Pain and Sicknes. That He might be very confident, his Treatment had not been so obliging to make him stay one Hour in *France*, after He should be able to go out of it: But He would not willingly endanger himself by Sea to fall into the Hands of his Enemies. That He knew" (for He had showed him his Letter), "that He had written into *Flanders* for a Pass, which was not yet come: As soon as it did, if He could procure a Litter and endure the Motion of it, He would remove to *St. Omers* or *Newport*. which were the nearest Places under the *Spanish* Government."

To all which He replied with no Excess of Courtesy, that He must and would obey his Orders as He had done; and that He had no Power to judge of his Disability to remove, or of the Pain He underwent. And there is no Doubt the Gentleman, who was well bred and in his Nature very civil, was not pleased with his Province, and much

troubled that He could not avoid the Delivery of the Orders He received: And the Conjunction of their Affairs was such with Reference to the Designs then on Foot, that every Post brought reiterated Commands for the Chancellor's Remove; which grew every Day more impossible, by the Access of new Pain to the Weakness He was in for Want of Sleep without any Kind of Sustainance.

Notwithstanding which, within few Days after the last Encounter, upon fresh Letters from *Monfieur De Lionne*, the Gentleman came again to him, told him what Orders He had received, and again proposed, "that He would either make Use of a Boat to *Newport* or *Ostend*, or a *Brancard* to *St. Omers*; either of which He would cause to be provided against the next Morning, for the King's Service was exceedingly concerned in the Expedition." And when He saw the other was not moved with what He said, nor gave him any Answer, He told him plainly, "that the King would be obeyed in his own Dominions; and if He would not chuse to do that which the King had required, He must go to the Governor, who had Authority and Power to compel him, which He durst not but do." Upon which, with the Supply of Spirit that Choler administered to him, He told him, "that though the King was a very great and powerful Prince, He was not yet so omnipotent, as to make a dying Man strong enough to undertake a Journey. That He was at the King's Mercy, and would endure what He should exact from him as well as He was able: It was in his Majesty's Power to send him

“ a Prisoner into *England*. or to cause him to be  
 “ carried dead or alive into the *Spanish Territories*;  
 “ but He would not be *Felo de se*, by willingly at-  
 “ tempting to do what He and all who saw him  
 “ knew was not possible for him to perform.” And  
 in this Passion He added some Words of Reproach  
 to *Le Fonde*, which were more due to *Monsieur De*  
*Lionne*, who in Truth had not behaved himself with  
 any Civility : Whereupon He withdrew in the like  
 Disorder, and for some Days forbore so much as to  
 see him, in which He had never before failed a Day.

And the Chancellor, who really did believe that  
 some Force and Violence would be used towards  
 him, presently sent to desire the chief Magistrates of  
 the Town and the Lieutenant Governor to come to  
 him; and then told them all the Treatment He had  
 received from *Monsieur Le Fonde*, and appealed to  
 them, “ whether They thought him in a Condition  
 “ to perform any Journey.” And the Physicians  
 being likewise present, He required them to sign such  
 a Certificate and Testimony of his Sickness as They  
 thought their Duty, which They readily performed ;  
 very fully declaring under their Hands, “ that He  
 “ could not be removed out of the Chamber in  
 “ which He lay, without manifest Danger of his  
 “ Life.” And the Lieutenant Governor and the  
 President of Justice seemed much scandalized at what  
 had been so much pressed, of which They had taken  
 Notice many Days : And the one of them wrote to  
 the Count of *Charrou*, Governor of the Town and  
 then at Court, and the other to *Monsieur De Lionne*,  
 what They thought fit ; and the Certificate of the

Physicians was enclosed to the Abbot *Mountague*, with a full Relation of what had passed. And it was never doubted, but that *Monsieur Le Fonde* himself made a very faithful Relation of the Impossibility that the Chancellor could comply with what was required, in the State of Sickness and Pain that He was in at present.

The French Court suddenly alters its Behaviour.

By this Time the *French* Court discovered, that They were prevented of entering into the strict Alliance They hoped with *England* ( and for obtaining whereof They had gratified the proud and malicious Humors of the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Arlington* in the Treatment of the Chancellor), by the *Triple League* which They had used all those Compliances to prevent: So that by the next Post after the Receipt of the Certificate from the Physicians, *Monsieur De Lionne* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor, in which He protested, "that He had the same Respect for him which He had always professed to have in his greatest Fortune, and that it was never in the Purpose of his *Christian* Majesty to endanger his Health by making any Journey that He could not well endure; and therefore that it was left entirely to himself to remove from *Calais* when He thought fit, and to go to what Place He would." And *Monsieur Le Fonde* came now again to visit him with another Countenance, by which a Man could not but discern, that He was much better pleased with the Commission He had received last than with the former; and told him, "that He was now to receive no Orders but from himself, which He would gladly obey."

He has Leave to reside in France.

This gave him some little Ease in the Agony He was in, for his Pains increased to an intolerable Degree, insomuch that He could not rise out of his Bed in six Weeks. And it was the more welcome to him, because at the same Time He received an Account from his Friend in *Flanders*, “ that the Marquis of *Castel Roderigo*, with as much Regret as a civil Man could express, protested, *that the Fear He had of offending the Parliament at that Time would not permit him to grant a Pass: But if He would come to Newport, He should find the Governour there well prepared and disposed to show him all possible Respect, and to accommodate him in his Passage throughout the Country, where it would not be convenient for him to make any Stay: and that He looked upon it as a great Misfortune to himself, that He might not wait upon him in his Passage.*” This made it easy for him to discern, that his Enemies would not give him any Rest in any Place where their Malice could reach him: And since They were so terrible that the Marquis of *Castel Roderigo* durst not grant him a Pass, He thought it would be no hard Matter for them to cause some Affront to be put on him when He should be without any Pass; though He had not the least Suspicion of the Marquis his failing in Point of Honor or Courtesy.

At the same Time He received Advice from his Friends in *England*, “ that the Storm from *France* was over, and that He might be permitted to stay in any Part thereof; and for the present Time They wished that He would repair to the Waters of *Bourbon* for his Health, and then chuse such

“ a Place to reside in, as upon Inquiry He should  
 “ judge most proper.” But He was not yet so far  
 reconciled to that Court, though He liked the Cli-  
 mate well, as to depend upon its Protection: And  
 therefore He resumed his former Purpose of going  
 to *Avignon*, and, if He could recover Strength for  
 the Journey before the Season should be expired for  
 drinking the Waters of *Bourbon*, to pass that Way.  
 And to that Purpose He sent to the Court for a  
 Pass to *Avignon*, with Liberty to stay some Days at  
*Rouen*,” where his Goods and his Monies were (for  
 his Servants had come from thence to him to *Calais*),  
 “ and to use the Waters of *Bourbon* in his Way:”  
 All which was readily granted.

He returns to  
 Rouen.

It was the third of *April*, before He recovered  
 Strength enough to endure a Coach: And then,  
 having bought a large and easy Coach of the Pre-  
 sident of *Calais*, He hired Horses there. And so He  
 began his Journey for *Rouen*, being still so lame and  
 weak that He could not go without being supported:  
 And the first Day had a very ill Omen by the Negli-  
 gence of the Coachman, who passing upon the Sands  
 between *Calais* and *Boulogne*, when the Sea was  
 flowing, drove so unadvisedly (which He might have  
 avoided, as the Horsemen and another Coach did),  
 that the Sea came over the Boot of the Coach, to the  
 Middle of all those who sat in it; and a Minute's  
 Pause more had inevitably overthrown the Coach  
 (the Weight whereof only then prevented it), and  
 They had been all covered with the Sea. And two  
 Days after, by the Change of the Coachman for a  
 worse, He was overthrown in a Place almost as bad,

into a deep and dirty Water, from whence He was with Difficulty and some Hurt drawn out. Both which wonderful Deliverances were comfortable Instances that God would protect him, of which He had within few Days a fresh and extraordinary Evidence.

When He came to *Rouen*, He received all those Orders He had desired from the Court. And a Letter from Abbot *Mountague* assured him, "that He need no more apprehend any Discommodity from Orders of the Court, but might be confident of the Contrary, and of all Respect that could be showed him from thence: That He might stay at *Rouen* as long as his Indisposition required; and when He had made Use of the Waters of *Bourbon*, He might retire to any Place He would chuse to reside in." *Monsieur Le Fonde* had Orders, "after He had accompanied the Chancellor two or three Days Journey towards *Bourbon*, except He desired his Company longer, to return to Court. Only *Monsieur De Lionne*," desired, "that He would not in his Journey come nearer *Paris* than the direct Way required him to do, because the Emperor's Agent at *London*, the Baron of *Isola*, had confidently averred, that the King had one Day gone incognito from the Bois de Vincennes to meet the Chancellor, and had a long private Conference with him."

When He had stayed as long at *Rouen* as was necessary for the taking a little Physic and recovering a little Strength, the Season required his making Haste to *Bourbon*: And so on the twenty-third of *April* He began his Journey from thence; and that He

From whence  
He begins his  
Journey to  
*Avignon*.



might comply with the Directions of *Monsieur De Lionne*, He chose to go by the Way of *Evreux*, and to lodge there that Night. And because He was unable to go up a Pair of Stairs, He sent a Servant before, as He had always done, to chuse an Inn where there was some Ground Lodging, which often was attended with Discommodity enough, and now (besides being forced to go through the City into the Suburbs) was like to cost him very dear.

He is greatly  
abused by  
some English  
at *Evreux*.

There happened to be at that Time quartered there a Foot-Company of *English* Seamen, who had been raised and were entertained to serve the *French* in attending upon their Artillery, some of them being Gunners; and none of them had the Language, but were attended by a *Dutch* Conductor, who spake ill *English*, for their Interpreter. Their Behaviour there was so rude and barbarous, in being always drunk, and quarrelling and fighting with the Townsmen who would not give them any Thing They demanded, that the City had sent to the Court their Complaints, and expected Orders that Night for their Remove. They quickly heard of the Chancellor's being come to the Town; and calling their Company together declared, "that there were many Months Pay due to them in *England*, and that They would make him pay it before He got out of the Town."

He was scarce gotten into his ill Ground-Lodging, when many of them flocked about the House: Upon which the Gates of the Inn were shut, They making a great Noise, and swearing They would speak with the Chancellor; and, being about the Number of  
fifty,

fifty, They threatened to break open the Gate or pull down the House. The Mutiny was notorious to all the Street; but They had not Courage to appear against them: The Magistrates were sent to; but there was a Difference between them upon the Point of Jurisdiction, this Uproar being in the Suburbs. In short, They broke open the Door of the Inn: And when They were entered into the Court, They quickly found which was the Chancellor's Chamber. And the Door being barricadoed with such Things as were in the Room, They first discharged their Pistols into the Window, with which They hurt some of the Servants, and *Monfieur Le Fonde*, who with his Sword kept them from entering in at the Window with great Courage, until He was shot with a Brace of Bullets in the Head, with which He fell: And then another of the Servants being hurt, They entered in at the Window, and opened the Door for the rest of their Company, which quickly filled the Chamber.

The Chancellor was in his Gown, sitting upon the Bed, being not able to stand: upon whom They all came with their Swords drawn: And one of them gave him a Blow with a great Broadsword upon the Head, which if it had fallen upon the Edge must have cleft his Head; but it turned in his Hand, and so struck him with the Flat, with which He fell backward on the Bed. They gave him many ill Words, called him "Traitor," and swore, "before He should get out of their Hands " He should lay down all their Artears of Pay." They differed amongst themselves what They should

do with him, some crying, "that They would kill him," others, "that They would carry him into *England*:" Some had their Hands in his Pockets, and pillaged him of his Money and some other Things of Value; others broke up his Trunks and plundered his Goods. When himself recovered out of the Trance in which He was stunned by the Blow, They took him by the Hand who spake of carrying him into *England*, and told him, "it was the wisest Thing They could do to carry him thither, where They would be well rewarded:" Another swore, "that They should be better rewarded for killing him there." And in this Confusion, the Room being full and all speaking together, the Fellow who had given him the Blow, whose Name was *Howard*, a very lusty strong Man, took him by the Hand, and swore, "They should hurt one another if They killed him there; and therefore They would take him into the Court, and despatch him where there was more Room." And thereupon others laid their Hands upon him and pulled him to the Ground, and then dragged him into the Court, being in the same Instant ready to run their Swords into him together: When in the Moment their Ensign, and some of the Magistrates with a Guard, came into the Court, the Gate being broken; and so He was rescued out of their bloody Hands, and carried back into his Chamber.

*Howard* and many of the other, some whereof had been hurt with Swords as They entered at the Window, were taken and carried to Prison, and the rest dispersed, vowing Revenge when They

should get the rest of their Company together: And it cannot be expressed with how much Fear the Magistrates, and the poor Guard that attended them, apprehended their coming upon them together again.

The Chancellor himself had the Hurt before mentioned in his Head, which was a Contusion, and already swollen to a great Bigness; *Monsieur le Fonde* was shot into the Head with a Brace of Bullets, and bled much, but seemed not to think himself in Danger; two of the Chancellor's Servants were hurt with Swords, and lost much Blood: So that They all desired to be in some secure Place, that Physicians and Surgeons might visit them. And by this Time many Persons of Quality of the Town, both Men and Women, filled the little Chamber; bitterly inveighing against the Villany of the Attempt, but renewing the Dispute of their Jurisdiction. And the Provost, who out of the City was the greater Officer, would provide an Accommodation for them in his own House in the City, and appoint a Guard for them; which the Magistrates of the City would not consent to, nor He to the Expedient proposed by them. And this Dispute with Animosity and very ill Words continued in the Chamber till Twelve of the Clock at Night, the hurt Persons being in the mean Time without any Remedy or Ease: So that the Magistrates, though They were not so dangerous, were as troublesome as the Seamen, against whom They were not yet secure upon a second Attempt.

In the End; *Monsieur le Fonde* was forced to raise

his Voice louder than was agreeable to the State He was in, to threaten to complain of them to the King, for their Neglect before and after the Mischief was done: By which They were much moved, and presently sent to the Governor of the Duke of *Bouillon's* Castle (which is a good and noble House in the Town). “ that He would receive the Chancellor and *Monfieur le Fonde*, with such Servants “ as were necessary for their Attendance;” which He did with great Courtesy, and gave them such Accommodation as in an unfurnished House could on the Sudden be expected. And so Physicians and Surgeons visited their Wounds, and applied such present Remedies as were necessary, till upon some Repose They might make a better Judgment.

The same Night there were Expresses despatched to the Court to give Advertisement of the Outrage, and to *Rouen* to inform the Intendant in whose Province it was committed: And He the next Day with a good Guard of Horse arrived at *Evreux*. After He had visited the Chancellor, with the just Sense of the Insolence He had undergone, and of the Indignity that the King and his Government had sustained; He proceeded in the Court of Justice to examine the whole Proceedings, and much blamed the Magistrates on all Sides for their Negligence and Remissness. Upon the whole Examination there appeared no Cause to believe, that there was any formed Design in which any others had concurred than They who appeared in the Execution, who defended themselves by being drunk, which did not appear in any other Thing than in the Barbarity

of the Action. Yet it was confessed, that upon their first Arrival at *Dieppe*, and whilst They were quartered there, the Chancellor then passing by between *Rouen* and *Calais*, They had a Resolution to have robbed or killed him, if They had not been prevented by his getting the Gates opened, and so going away before the usual Hour.

The Surgeons found *Monsieur Le Fonde's* Wound to be more dangerous than They had apprehended, and that at least one of the Bullets remained still in the Wound, and doubted that it might have hurt the Skull, in which Case trepanning would be necessary; which made him resolve, though He was feverish, presently to have a *Brancard* made, and to be put into it in his Bed, and so with Expedition to be carried to *Paris*, where He was sure to find better Operators, besides the Benefit and Convenience of his own House and Family. And so the third Day after his Misadventure, and after He had given his Testimony to the Intendant, He was in that Manner, and attended by a Surgeon, conveyed to *Paris*; and, by the Blessing of God, recovered without the Remedy that had been proposed.

The Chancellor, after He had been bled once or twice, found himself only in Pain with the Blow, without any other Symptoms which frequently attend great Contusions; and therefore He positively rejected the Proposition of trepanning, which had been likewise earnestly urged by the Surgeons: And upon Application of such Plasters and Ointments as were prescribed, He found both the Pain and

Swelling lessen by Degrees, though the Memory of the Blow lasted long; so that He thought himself fit enough for his Journey, and was impatient to be out of that unlucky Town; and his Servants, having only Flesh-Hurts, could endure the Coach as well as He. The Intendant, who knew his Desire, and was willing to defer his Judgment till He was gone from thence, was very well content that He should proceed in his Journey, and sent his Sons with his own Troop to convoy him two or three Leagues out of the Town; and appointed the Provost with his Troop of Horse to attend him to his Lodging that Night, and farther if He desired it. And the next Day He condemned *Howard* and two others, an *Englishman*, a *Scotchman*, and an *Irishman* (for the Company consisted of the three Nations), to be broken upon the Wheel; which was executed accordingly. And shortly after his Arrival at *Bourbon*, *Monfieur de Lionne* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor, “ of the Trouble the King  
 “ sustained for the Affront and Danger He had un-  
 “ dergone; and that his Majesty was very ill satis-  
 “ fied, that so few as three had been sacrificed to  
 “ Justice for so barbarous a Crime.”

He removes  
 from thence to  
 Bourbon.

And from  
 thence to A-  
 vignon.

When He had stayed as long at *Bourbon* in the Use of the Waters, as the Physicians perscribed (in which Time He found a good Recovery of his Strength, save that the Weakness of his Feet still continued in an uneasy Degree); and had received great Civilities during his Abode there from all the *French* of Quality, Men and Women, who came thither for the same Remedies, and with whom the

Town then abounded; He prosecuted his Journey to *Avignon*: And having stayed a Week at *Lyons*, without any new ill Accident, He arrived about the Middle of *June* there, by the pleasant Passage of the *Rhone*.

Though He desired to make his Journey as privately as He could, and had no more Servants in his Train than was necessary to the State of Health He was in; yet He was known in most Places by the Presence of *English*, or by some other Accident. And some Friends at *Paris* had given His good Reception there. such Advertisement to *Avignon*, that when He arrived there, He had no sooner entered into a private Lodging, which He procured the next Day, but the Vice-Legate came to visit him in great State and with much Civility, offering all the Commodities of that Place if He would reside there. The Archbishop a very reverend and learned Prelate, a *Genoese*, as the Vice-Legate likewise was, performed the same Ceremony to him; and afterwards the Consuls and Magistrates of the City in a Body (who made a Speech to him in *Latin*, as all the rest treated him in that Language), and all the principal Officers of the Court: So that He could not receive more Civility and Respect in any Place; which, together with the Cheapness and Convenience of Living, and the Pleasantness of the Country about it, might have inclined him to reside there. Yet the ill Savor of the Streets by the Multitude of Dyers and of the Silk-Manufactures, and the worse Smell of the *Jews*, made him doubt that it could be no pleasant Place to make an Abode in



during the Heat of Summer : And therefore receiving new Confirmation by Letters from *Paris*, “ that He “ was entirely at Liberty to reside where He would “ in *France*, ” He resolved to take a View of some Places before He would conclude where to fix ; and the Fame of *Montpelier*, that was within two little Days Journey, invited him thither. And so after a Week’s Stay at *Avignon*, and after having returned all the Visits He had received, He went from thence, and came to *Montpelier* in the Beginning of *July*.

He goes to  
Montpelier.

Where He re-  
ceiv’s great  
Civilities from  
the Lady Mor-  
daunt.

It was his very good Fortune, that an *English* Lady of eminent Virtue and Merit, the Lady Viscountess *Mordaunt*, who had in the Beginning of the Winter before, in as great Weakness of Body as Nature can subsist with, transported herself thither, remained still at *Montpelier*; where She had miraculously, by the Benefit of that Air, recovered a comfortable Degree of Health: And the News of her being still there was a great Motive to his Journey from *Avignon* thither. The Chancellor had no Mind to be taken Notice of; but some Relations which that Lady made to his Advantage, and the great Esteem that City had of her, made his Reception there more formal and ceremonious than He desired.

Great Respect  
paid to him  
there.

The Marquis *De Castro*, Governor of the City and Castle, visited him and welcomed him to the Town, though He had not so much as a Pass to come thither. The *Premier* President, and all the other Courts, and the Consul and other Magistrates of the City, visited him in their several Bodies,

and entertained him in *Latin*. It is true, that some Days after, the Intendant of the Province (who was not then in the Town) came thither; and He had received Orders from the Court, as soon as it was known that the Chancellor was in *Montpelier*, "that He should be looked upon and treated as a Person of whom the *Most Christian* King had a good Esteem:" And so, as soon as He came to the Town, He visited him with much Ceremony, and told him, "that He had received a particular Command from the King to do him all the Services He could in that City, and in the Province of *Languedoc*." And it must be confessed, that during his Residence in *Montpelier*, which was not above one or two Months less than three Years, He did receive as much Civility and formal Courtesy from all Persons of all Conditions in that Place, or who occasionally resorted thither, as could have been performed towards him, if He had been sent thither as a public Person. And when the Duke of *Verneuil* (who was Governor of the Province, and used to convene the States thither every Year) came to *Montpelier*, as He did three Times in those three Years, He always visited the Chancellor, and showed a very great Respect to him: Which was as great a Countenance as He could receive.

Yet He did always acknowledge, that He owed all the Civilities which He received at his first coming thither, and which were upon the Matter the first Civilities He had received in *France*, purely to the Friendship of the Lady *Mordaunt*, and to the great Credit She had there: And for which,

Which He im-  
putes to the  
Friendship of  
Lady Mor-  
daunt.

and the Consolation He received from her during the Time of her Stay there, He had ever a great Respect for her and her Husband; who, coming likewise thither, when He received Information from *England* of a Design to assassinate him by some *Irish*, manifested a noble Affection for him, and stayed some Months longer than He intended to have done, that He might see the Issue of that Design. Of which He had a just Sense, and transmitted the Information of it to his Children, to the End that They and his Friends might, upon all Opportunities, acknowledge it to them Both.

And in Truth the great Respect the Place had for him was notorious, when any *English* came thither, and forbore to pay any Respect to the Chancellor; as only one Gentleman did, Sir *Richard Temple*, who publicly declared "that He would not visit him," and dissuaded others from it as a Matter the Parliament would punish them for, and showed much Vanity and Insolence in his Discourses concerning him: But He found so little Countenance from any Person of Condition, though He called himself "the *Premier* President of the Parliament of *England*," and such a general Aversion towards him; that as They who came with him, and his other Friends, deserted him and paid their Civilities to the Chancellor, so himself grew so ridiculous, that He left the Town sooner than He intended, and left the Reputation behind him of a very vain, humorous and sordid Person.

And having thus accompanied the Chancellor through all his ill Treatments and Misadventures

to *Montpelier*, where He resolv'd to stay, it will be to no Purpose farther to continue this Relation; otherwise than as himself afterwards communicated his private Thoughts and Reflections to his Friends.

When He found himself at this Ease, and with those convenient Accommodations, that He might reasonably believe He should be no more expos'd to the Troubles and Distresses which He had pass'd through; He began to think of composing his Mind to his Fortune, and of regulating and governing his own Thoughts and Affections towards such a Tranquillity, as the Sickness of Mind and Body, and the continued sharp Fatigue in the six or seven precedent Months had not suffer'd to enter into any form'd Deliberation. And it pleas'd God in a short Time, after some Recollections, and upon his entire Confidence in him, to restore him to that Serenity of Mind, and Resignation of himself to the Disposal and Good Pleasure of God, that They who convers'd most with him could not discover the least Murmur or Impatience in him, or any Unevenness in his Conversations. He resolv'd to improve his Understanding of the *French* Language, not towards speaking it, the Defect of which He found many Conveniences in, but for the reading any Books; and to learn the *Italian*: Towards Both which He made a competent Progress, and had Opportunity to buy or borrow any good Books He desired to peruse.

But in the first Place He thought He was indebted to his own Reputation, and oblig'd for the

He writes a  
Vindication of  
himself

Information of his Children and other Friends, to vindicate himself from those Aspersions and Reproaches which the Malice of his Enemies had cast upon him in the Parliament; which, though never reduced into any formal or legal Charge, nor offered to be proved by any one Witness, were yet maliciously scattered abroad and divulged to take away his Credit. And the Performance of this Work, that was so necessarily incumbent to him, was the more difficult, by his constant and uninterrupted Fidelity and Zeal for the King's Service, and his Resolution to say Nothing on his own Behalf and for his own Vindication, that might in the least Degree reflect upon his Majesty; which Consideration had before kept him from charging those who persecuted him, with such indirect and naughty Proceedings as might have put an End to their Power. Nor did He think fit in that Conjunction, when his Majesty had not yet met with that Compliance and Submission from the Parliament since the Chancellor's Remove, as had been promised to him as the Effect of that Counsel, to publish that his coming away (which was the greatest Blot upon his Reputation) was with the King's Privity, and at least with his Approbation. However He was resolved to commit into the Custody of his Children, who He knew could never commit a Fault against his Majesty, such a plain particular Defence of his Innocence upon every one of the Reproaches He had been charged with, that themselves might infallibly know his Uprightness and Integrity in all his Ministry, which They observed and knew too

much of to suspect; and might likewise manifestly convince other Men, who were willing to be undeceived: But the Manner of doing it in Respect of the former Consideration, He left to their Discretion. And having prepared this, and caused it to be fairly transcribed, before the Lord and Lady *Mordaunt* returned for *England*; He committed it to their Care, who delivered it safely to the Hands of his Sons.

They were themselves upon that Disadvantage under the Reproach of their Relation, that the eldest of them was removed from his Attendance upon the Queen for many Months without the Allegation of any Crime; and the other was retained only by the Goodness of the King, against the greatest importunity that could be applied: And therefore it concerned them to be very wary in giving any Offence, of which their Adversaries might take any Advantage. Besides, They observed that They, whose Credit and Interest had done all the Mischief to their Father, were now fallen out amongst themselves with equal Animosity, and had all carried themselves so ill with Reference to the Public, and so loofely and licentiously in Order to a good Name, that their being Enemies brought little Prejudice to any Man's Reputation; and many of those, who had been made Instruments to deprave the Chancellor, were not scrupulous in declaring how They had been cozened, and how unjustly He had been traduced and accused: So that They made no other Use of the Answer and Vindication They had received, than to be thereby enabled to make a perfect

Relation of some particular Matters of Fact which were variously reported, and could not be understood by any but those who had been conversant in the Transactions.

It will be therefore necessary in this Place, since there hath been before so methodical an Account of all that the Committee brought into the House of Commons against him, and never after mentioned when They had once accused him, to insert such a short Answer and Defence to all that was alledged, out of that Vindication which He sent from *Montpelier*, that Nothing may remain in the possible Thoughts of any worthy and uncorrupted Man that may reflect upon his Sincerity, or leave any Taint upon his Memory; the Preservation of which from being sullied by the Misfortunes which beset him, is the only End of this Discourse, never to be communicated, or perused by any but his nearest Relations; who, by the Blessing of God, can never but retain that Affection and Duty to the Crown and for the Royal Family, that by the Laws of God and Man is due to it and them, and without which They can never expect God's Blessing in this or the World to come. And in this I shall observe the Order I used before in the Mention of the several Allegations, omitting upon any Particular the Repetition of what hath been at large already said in this Discourse, which shall be referred to for Answer.

His Answer  
to the several  
Articles of the  
Charge against  
him

The first  
Article.

To the First then, *That He had designed a standing Army, and to govern the Kingdom thereby; advised the King to dissolve the present Parliament, and to*

*lay aside all Thoughts of future Parliaments; to govern by military Power, and to maintain the same by free Quarter and Contribution (which, if true, whether it was Treason or no, must worthily have made him odious to all honest Men):*

The Answer which He then made, and which was **His Answer** dated at *Montpelier*, upon the twenty-fourth of *July* 1668, within few Days after his Arrival there and Resolution to stay there, was in these Words. He said, As Nothing could be more surprizing to him, nor He thought to any Man else, than to find himself, after near thirty Years Service of the Crown in the highest Trust; after having passed all the Time of his Majesty's Exile with him beyond the Seas and in his Service, and in which the indefatigable Pains He took was notorious to many Nations; and after He had the Honor and Happiness to return again with his Majesty into *England*, and to receive from him so many eminent Marks of his Favor, and to serve him near eight Years after his Return in the Place of the greatest Trust, without ever having discovered that his Majesty was offended with him, or in Truth that He had ever the least ill Success from any Counsel He had ever given him; or that any Persons of Honor and Reputation, or Interest in the Nation, had ever made the least Complaint against him, or had any Thought that the Miscarriages (for Miscarriages were enough spoken of) had proceeded from him, or from any Advice of his: He said, that as after all this He could not but be exceedingly surprized to find himself on a Sudden, when He had not the least Ima-



gination of it, bereft of the King's Favor, and fallen so far from his Kindness, even within three or four Days after his Majesty had vouchsafed to condole with him in his House for the Death of his Wife, that He resolved to take the Great Seal from him; so it was no small Comfort to him to see and know, that very few Men of Honor and Reputation approved or liked what was done; but that the same was contrived, pursued, and brought to pass by Men and Women of no Credit in the Nation; by Men, who had never served his Majesty or his blessed Father eminently or usefully, but most of them of Trust and Credit under *Cromwell*, or never of Credit to do the King the least Service; and who were only angry with him for not being pleased with their vicious and debauched Lives, or for opposing and dissuading their loose and unreasonable Counsels, which They were every Day audaciously administering in Matters of the highest Moment, with great Licence and Presumption.

But above all, He said, it was of the highest Consolation to him, when it was publicly and industriously declared, "that the King was firmly resolved  
 " to destroy him, and would take it very well from  
 " all Men who would contribute thereunto, by  
 " bringing in any Charge or Accusation against  
 " him:" when the most notorious Enemies He had were the only Persons trusted in Employment, Men who had most eminently deserved and maliciously traduced the King, and had been to that Time looked upon as such by his Majesty; and when all, who were believed to have any Kindness for the Chancellor,

cellor, were discountenanced and ill looked upon; when Men of all Conditions and Degrees were daily solicited and importuned, by Promises and Threats, to declare themselves against him, at least if They would not be wrought over to do any Thing against their Conscience; that They would absent themselves from those Debates: That all this Malice and Conspiracy, with so long Deliberation and Consultation, should not be able at last to produce and exhibit any other Charge and Accusation against him, but such a one as most Men who knew him, or who had any Trust or Employment in the public Affairs, were well able to vindicate him from the Guilt of, and even his Enemies themselves did not believe. The Particulars whereof, He said, as far as He could take Notice of them, they having not been to that Day reduced into any Form, so much as in the House of Commons itself, He would then examine: And if He should appear too tedious in the Examination and Disquisition of them, and to say more than was necessary in his own Defence, and to mention many particular Persons in another Manner than is usual upon Occasions of this Kind; He desired it might be remembered and considered, that this was not written as a formal Answer to an Impeachment, nor like to be published in his Life-Time, a Judgment of Banishment being passed against him (without the least Proof made or offered for the making good any one Article of Treason or Misdemeanor) by Act of Parliament; but that it was a Debt due to his Children and Posterity, that They might know (how much soever They were involved or might be in the Effects

of the sharp Malice against him) how far He was from any Guilt of those odious Crimes, which had been so odiously laid to his Charge.

And that being his End, He might be excused if He did so far enlarge upon all Particulars, that it might be manifest unto them how far He had been from treading in those Paths, or having been accessory to those Counsels, which had been the Source from whence all those bitter Waters had flowed, that had corrupted the Taste even almost of the whole Nation. And in Order to that so necessary Discourse and Vindication of his Integrity and Honor, He could only take Notice of the printed Paper of those Heads for a Charge, that had been reported from the Committee to the House; all Correspondence and Communication being so strictly inhibited to all Kind of Men to hold any Kind of Commerce with him, except his Children and menial Servants, who only had Liberty to write unto him of his own domestic Affairs; and the Letters which They should write or receive were to be first communicated to one of the Secretaries of State.

To the Charge of the first Article itself He said; it was no great Vanity to believe, that there was not one Person in *England* of any Quality to whom He was in any Degree known, who believed him guilty of that Charge: And that He wanted not a Cloud of Witnesses (besides the Testimony that He hoped his Majesty himself would vouchsafe to give him in that Particular) who, from all that They had heard him say in Council and in Conversation, could vindicate him from having that odious Opinion. Having had

the Honor, by the special Command of his late Majesty of blessed Memory, to attend the Prince, his now Majesty, into the Parts beyond the Seas, and to be always with him and in his Service those many Years of his Exile, and till his happy Return; He had always endeavoured to imprint in his Majesty's Mind an Affection, Esteem and Reverence for the Laws of the Land; "without the trampling of which under Foot," He told him "that himself could not have been oppressed; and that by the Vindication and Support of them, He could only hope and expect Honor and Security to the Crown." Upon that Foundation and declared Judgment (He said) He came into the Service of the King his Father, by opposing all irregular and illegal Proceedings in Parliament; and that He had never swerved from that Rule in any Advice and Counsel He had given to him or to his Son.

From the Time of his Majesty's happy Return from beyond the Seas, He had taken Nothing so much to Heart, as the Establishment of the due Administration of Justice throughout the Kingdom according to the known Laws of the Land, as the best Expedient He could think of for the composing the general Distempers of the Nation, and uniting the Hearts of the People in a true Obedience unto and Reverence for his Majesty's Person and Government. And with what Success He had served his Majesty in that Province (which He had been pleased principally to commit to his Care and Trust), He did appeal to the whole Nation; and whether the oldest Man could remember, that in the best Times Justice was ever

more equally administered, and with less Complaint and Murmur; which had been frequently acknowledged from all the Parts of the Kingdom, and had been often taken Notice of by the King himself with great Approbation, and confessed by most of the Nobility upon several Occasions. He said, He had often declared in Parliament the King's Affection and Reverence for the Laws, and his Resolution neither to swerve from them himself, nor to suffer any Body else to do so: And upon the public Occasions of swearing the Judges in any Courts, He had always enjoined them "to be very strict and precise in the  
" Administration of Justice according to Law, with  
" all Equality, and without Respect of Persons,  
" which the King expected from them; and that as  
" his Majesty resolved never to interpose by Message  
" or Letter for the Advancement or Favor of any  
" Man's Right or Title, so He would take it very ill  
" if any Subject (how great soever) should be able to  
" pervert them." And He did believe there had never passed so many Years together in any Age, in which the Crown had not in the least Degree interposed in any Cause or Title depending in *Westminster-Hall*, to incline the Court to this or that Side; or in which the Crown itself hath had so many Causes judged against it in several Courts: At least in which former Practice and Usage on the Behalf of the Crown hath been less followed. And Nothing is more known, than that from the Time of the King's blessed Return into *England*, even to the Preparation of that Charge against him, He had been reproached with Nothing so much as his too much adhering to the Law, and

subjecting all Persons to it: And this Reproach had not been cast upon him so bitterly and so maliciously by any, and in Places where They thought it might produce most Prejudice to him, as by those who now contrived that Charge, and who had been always great Enemies to the Law.

All this, and much more of the same Kind, He said, was manifest to all the World: And therefore He needed not more to labor in that Vindication. Yet He could not but observe, that there was not in all the King's Forces, nor was when his Forces were much greater than They were at that present, one Officer recommended by him: And most of them were such who professed publicly a great Animosity against him, having been, by the Malice of some Men, very unreasonably persuaded that the Chancellor was their Enemy; that He desired that They might be disbanded, or at least so obliged to the Rules of the Law, that They should be every Day cast into Prison. And They had indeed found, that in some Insolencies which the Soldiers had committed contrary to the Law, and some Pretences which They made to Privileges against Arrests, and the like, He had always opposed their Desires with more Warmth than other Men had done; as believing it might be the Cause of notable Disorders, and more alienate the Affection of the People from the Soldiers: So that it could not be thought probable, that He should contribute his Advice *for the raising a Standing Army, and that the Kingdom should be governed thereby;* when there were very few Men so like to be destroyed by that Army as himself, who was so industriously rendered to be odious to it.

To the other Part of that first Article, *that He did advise the King to dissolve the present Parliament, and to lay aside all Thoughts of Parliaments for the future, &c.* which it was said two Privy-Counsellors were ready to prove; He made a Relation of all that had passed in that Conternation when the *Dutch Fleet* came into the River as far as *Chatham*, and when the Debate was in Council upon the reconvening the Parliament in *August*, when it stood prorogued till *October*, which the Chancellor affirmed could not legally be done; all which is more at large related in this Discourse \* of the Time when those Transactions passed, and so need not to be repeated in this Place.

The second Article.

The Second Article was, *That He had, in the Hearing of many of his Majesty's Subjects, falsely and maliciously said, That the King was in his Heart a Papist, popishly affected, or Words to that Effect.*

His Answer.

He said, that He had Occasion too often, throughout the whole Charge, to acknowledge and magnify the great Goodness of God Almighty, that, since He thought not fit (for his greater Humiliation, and it may be to correct the Pride of a good Conscience) to preserve him entirely from those Aspersions of Infamy, and those *Flagella Linguae*, those Strokes of the Tongue, which always leave some Mark or Scar in the Reputation they desire to wound; He had yet infused into the Hearts of his Enemies, who had suggested and contrived this Persecution against him, to lay such Crimes to his Charge as his Nature is known most to abhor, and which cannot only not

\* Vol. v. P. 1. &c.

be believed, but must be contradicted, and a Vindication of him from that Guilt must be made, by all Men who know him to any Degree, or who have been much in his Company. And as Justice would have required it, so the usual Form in Cases of this Nature doth exact, that in so general a Charge They should have named one single Person of those many, in whose Hearing He had laid that odious Imputation upon the King: And every Man will presume, that one such Person would have been named, if He could have been found.

There was no Man then alive, He said, who had the Honor to be so many Years about or near the Person of the King as He had been: No Man who knew more of the Temptation his Majesty had undergone, and the Assaults He had sustained, in the Matter of Religion, during the whole Time of his Exile; when almost a total Despair possessed the Spirits of most Men of his own Religion, that He would recover his Regality; and the Hopes and Promises and Assurances were so pregnant of very many of all Conditions, that He would suddenly recover it if He would change it. No Man knew so well, with what Christian Courage his Majesty had repelled those Assaults, or with what pious Contempt and Indignation He resisted and rejected those Temptations. Nor had any Man, He thought, held so many Discourses with his Majesty concerning Religion as He had done; and sooner and more clearly discerned the Reproaches He would undergo from that innate Candor in his princely Nature, which disposed him to receive any Addresses, or to hear any Discourses, which



those of several Factions in Religion with great Presumption have used to present to him: Whilst his Majesty hath, with equal Temper and singular Benignity, heard all; and pitying their Errors, dismissed them with Evidence, that their Arguments were too weak to make Impression upon his Judgment. Which though They knew well, yet either Party, out of the Vanity of their Hearts, used all the Endeavours They could to get it believed, that the King was propitious to them and their Party. And the *Papists*, being most presumptuous in particular, and in their dark Walks in several Counties making it a special Argument to their Profelytes, and those They endeavoured to make so, that the King favored them, and was of their Religion in his Heart (of which, and the great Prejudice it brought upon his Majesty, He frequently received Advertisements from many Persons of Honor, and of warm Affections to the Government); of which He had always informed the King, who was exceedingly offended at their Folly and Presumption, and wished "that  
 " some of them might be apprehended, and prosecuted with the utmost Rigor; and that some such  
 " Prosecution might be made against all the *Roman Catholics*, and that They might be convicted; which He always gave in Charge to the Judges accordingly. And upon that and the like Occasions He had a just and necessary Opportunity to enlarge, in the Presence of many Persons of Honor and Interest in the Kingdom, upon the Sincerity of the King's Religion, and his constant Exercise of it when He suffered by it; giving such Instances of many Parti-

culars as were pertinent to the Discourse : Of which Endeavours of his, and of some Fruit thereof, He doubted not but that many of as considerable Persons as are in *England* would be ready to give him their Testimony. And (He said) He might without Vanity say, that He had more than an ordinary Part in the framing and promoting that Act of Parliament. that hath made those seditious Discourses, *of the King's being a Papist in his Heart, or popishly affected*, so very penal as they are: And therefore there would be Need of an undoubted and uncontrolable Evidence, that He had so soon run into that Crime himself. Which was all He would for the present say upon that second Article.

The Third Article was, *That He had received great Sums of Money for passing the Canary-Patent, and other illegal Patents; and granted several Injunctions to stop Proceedings at Law against them, and other illegal Patents formerly granted.* The third Article.

To which He said, that He had presumed in his humble Address to the House of Peers to assure their Lordships, *that He had never received one Penny over and above the just Perquisites of his Office, according to the Precedents and Practice of the best Times, which He conceived to be those of the Lord Coventry and the Lord Ellesmere, and which He had made his Rule in all that He had received, excepting only what He had from the immediate Bounty of the King.* And as He had always done all that was in his Power to prevent and stop all illegal Patents, so He did believe that there would be more Patents then found in the Office, which had been stopped by him, than by any of his His Answer.

Predecessors in so short a Time. He never granted any Injunctions in the Cases mentioned in the Charge, nor in any Case, where, by the Course of the Court and the Rules of Justice, it was not warranted. And for the *Canary-Patent*, and the Original, and all the Proceedings thereupon, so much is said in the Body of this Discourse according to the Time it was transacted in \*, that there needs no Repetition of it in this Place.

The fourth  
Article.

The Fourth Article was, *that He had advised and procured divers of his Majesty's Subjects to be imprisoned against Law in remote Islands, Garrisons and other Places; thereby to prevent them from the Benefit of the Law, and to introduce Precedents for imprisoning of other of his Majesty's Subjects in like Manner.*

His Answer.

To which He said, He knew not what Answer to make to that Article, it being so general, and no particular Person being named: But, He said, it was generally known, that He had never taken it upon him to commit any Man to Prison, but such, who by the Course of the Chancery, for Matters of Contempt are justly and necessarily to be committed. It was probable that He had been present at the Council-Board, when many Persons had been ordered to be committed, and whose Commitment hath by the Wisdom of that Board been thought just and necessary; and therefore He was not to answer apart for any Thing done by them. Only He might say, that He was frequently of Opinion that the Commitments were very necessary: And it was notoriously

\* Vol. iii. P. 278.

known, that by such Commitments some Rebellions or Insurrections had been prevented; and that other Persons, who were afterwards attainted and executed for High Treason, had upon their Examinations and at their Death confessed, that their Purpose had been to rise in Arms at such and such Times, if their Friends upon whom They had principally relied had not been then committed to Prison. And, He said, He did well remember, that it was thought fit that most of the Persons who stand attainted for the Murder of the late King, his Majesty's Royal Father, should be removed out of the *Tower*, and dispersed into several Islands and Garrisons; And if any other Persons had been likewise sent thither, He presumed it was upon such Reasons, as upon a due Examination thereof would make it appear to be very just.

The Fifth Article was, *That He had corruptly sold several Offices contrary to Law.* The fifth Article.

This He positively denied. His Answer.

The Sixth was, *That He had procured his Majesty's Customs to be farmed at Under-rates, knowing the same; and great pretended Debts to be paid by his Majesty; to the Payment whereof his Majesty was not in Strictness bound, and that He had received great Sums of Money for procuring the same.* The sixth Article.

To this He said, He had never had any Thing to do in the disposing his Majesty's Customs, or any other Part of his Revenue, except for some short Time after his Majesty's first Arrival in *England*; when He, amongst others of the Lords of the Council, was a Commissioner for the Treasury: During which Time there was no Farm let of any of the His Answer.

Revenue, and the Customs were put into the Hands of Commissioners, to the End that a Computation might be made as near as was possible of the full Value of them, before that it should be put into a Farm, which every Man conceived would be fit to be done as soon as might be. The White Staff was shortly after given to the Earl of *Southampton* (to whom his Majesty had designed it before He returned), and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to the Lord *Ashley*, the Lord Chancellor having resigned it into his Majesty's Hands, which He had been possessed of for many Years in the Time of the late King, and retained it till after his Majesty's Return; And from the Time that those two Officers of the Revenue were made, which determined the former Commission, He never intermeddled in the Customs, or in any other Branch of the Revenue; except when the King commanded him to be present in some Consultations which He had with the Lord Treasurer, and when there were other Lords of the Council present. That excellent Person, the Lord Treasurer, always resorted to the King for his Direction, in all Matters of the least Difficulty which occurred to him in the Administration of his Office; and frequently did desire to confer with the Chancellor (with whom He was known to have held a long and a fast Friendship) upon many Particulars of his Office, believing that He was not altogether ignorant in that Administration, with which He had been formerly so well acquainted. And that He conceived might be the Reason, why He did oftentimes procure him to be joined with him in References from the King, upon Matters wholly

relating to his own Office. But the Chancellor did never then suffer any particular Application to be made to him in those Cases, nor had ever secret Conferences with any Persons who were concerned in those Pretensions.

What was meant *by his having procured his Majesty's Customs to be farmed at Under-rates, knowing the same; and great pretended Debts to be paid by his Majesty to the Payment whereof his Majesty was not in Strictness bound;* He said, He could not imagine, except it did relate to the Payment of a Debt due from his late Majesty to some of the Farmers. In which though He had no more to do, than in giving Information and his Particular Advice to his Majesty, in the Presence of the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other of the Lords, and so was not himself responsible for what his Majesty did thereupon; yet He thought himself obliged upon this Particular, which so much concerned the Honor and Justice of the late King and of his present Majesty, to enlarge, and relate all He knew of what their Majesties did, and what induced his present Majesty to do his Part in it.

He said, it was notoriously known, that before the late Troubles, and in the very first Entrance into them, his Majesty was necessitated to borrow very great Sums of Money from his then Farmers of his Customs, and to oblige them to stand personally bound for many other great Sums of Money, which other Men lent to his Majesty upon their Security. That thereupon, and for the Repayment of those Sums which the Farmers had advanced, and for

securing them from any Damage for those Monies which others had lent upon their Obligations; his late Majesty, with the Advice of the then Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had granted a farther Lease of his Customs to those Farmers for three or four Years to come, after the Expiration of their former Lease; with a Covenant on his Majesty's Part, to pay the just Interest for all such Monies as were advanced by them, or for which They stood bound; and likewise that They should, out of their growing Rent, deduct such Sums of Money by the Year, as They had lent or been bound for, according to such Proportions yearly as was agreed upon. That it was as well known, that shortly after the Beginning of the Parliament in 1640, and before the Commencement of the second Lease, the House of Commons did not only force the said Farmers to pay a very great Sum of Money for their Presumption in receiving Customs and Impositions upon Merchandise in the former Years, when They pretended such Payments were not due; but took also from them their new Lease granted to them by the King, and so left them without any Capacity of reimbursing themselves of the Money They had lent, and likewise at the Mercy of their Creditors to whom They stood bound; many of whom quickly began to exercise that Severity towards them, that many of the poor Gentlemen had their Estates extended upon Judgments and Recognizances, and their Persons taken in Execution and committed to Prison; where some of them who had been known to have great Estates, as *Sir Paul Pindar* and others, were forced to end their Lives,

There were very few Circumstances in the late King's Misfortunes, which gave him more Trouble, or so much afflicted him as the Sense He had of the horrid and unjust Sufferings those poor Gentlemen underwent for him, and their Affection for his Service; which He often publicly mentioned, and as often declared, "that He held himself obliged to make them full Reparation as soon as God should enable him." And He frequently spake to the Chancellor, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, of that Affair; of the good Opinion He had of the Men, and of the great Services They had done for his Majesty; and commanded him expressly, when it should fall within his Power, He should do them all the Right He could. And of this He had often informed his Majesty during the Time He was abroad, and after his Return, without any other Motive than his Father's Command and his own Honor, having himself never had any Degree of Friendship with any of the Persons concerned, and a very ordinary Acquaintance with some of them. Upon his Majesty's happy Return, those Gentlemen who were alive of the old Farmers, who were Sir *John Jacob*, Sir *Job Harby*, Sir *Nicholas Crispe* and Sir *John Harrison*, applied themselves to the King, having lain several Years and at that Time remaining in Execution in several Prisons, and having had their Estates sold, upon the Prosecution of those Creditors to whom They were bound for Money lent to his Majesty.

As soon as Measures were taken for collecting the Revenue, those four Gentlemen named before, and two others who had served his Majesty very well,



were appointed his Commissioners for the collecting the Customs and Duties upon Trade; in which Collection They continued a Year or thereabouts; during which Time many of their Creditors, who had generously forbore to prosecute them whilst They were in Prison and undone, began now to commence their Actions against them, presuming They were then or would shortly be able to satisfy them. Whereupon the King commanded the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor, with some other Lords to send for those Creditors, and to declare to them, " that his Majesty would in a short Time enable his Farmers to pay their just Debts, which He well knew were contracted for his Service; and that He would take it very well from them, if They would for the present give no Obstruction to his Service, by the Prosecution of those Persons at Law, whose Time was solely taken up in the necessary Service of his Majesty." Whereupon They willingly desisted from that Prosecution; and many of them finding now, that by his Majesty's Favor They were like to recover their Debts They before thought to be desperate, They frankly remitted the Whole or Part of the Interest, that in Strictness of Law was still due to them.

His Majesty shortly after, finding it best for his Profit to determine the Collection by Commission, and to let the whole to Farm, gave Direction to the Lord Treasurer to confer and treat with any fit Persons who desired to contract for the same. Many Overtures were made by several Persons, and some applied themselves directly to his Majesty. Upon  
which

which. and after a competent Time in considering all that had been proposed, the King appointed a Day, when He would be attended by the Lord Treasurer and other of the Lords, and when all the Pretenders should likewise be present, and He would then and there declare his own Judgment; having first declared to the Commissioners, whereof four were the old Farmers to whom such Money was due, “ that  
 “ whosoever should take the Farm, They should  
 “ be obliged to pay them their just Debt at such  
 “ Times, and by such Proportions, as his Service  
 “ could bear. But as to the letting the Farm itself,  
 “ He would neither consider the Debt He owed  
 “ them, nor the Sufferings They had undergone,  
 “ but only the Rent They should offer; which if as  
 “ much as any Body else would give, He would  
 “ prefer their Persons before others; but if any  
 “ other fit Man would offer more than They thought  
 “ fit to give, They should be his Farmers: And there-  
 “ fore wished them well to consider what They  
 “ would propose to him.”

After two Days spent by his Majesty with the several Pretenders apart, and finding that the Propositions made to him by the old Farmers, with whom the other two were to be joined who had served with them as Commissioners, were at least as much if not more for his Profit than any that had been made by any of the rest; He did declare, that the Farm should be let to those who had been his Commissioners: Which at that Time was understood to be so far from being a good Bargain, that the two Commissioners, who were not concerned in

the great Debt, utterly refused to meddle with the Farm at so great a Rent; the other four publicly declaring at the same Time, "that They would not give the Rent but in Contemplation of their Debt, which They thought They should sooner and better receive, when it should be assigned upon their own Collections, than when it should be charged upon new Farmers." But They were Suitors to his Majesty, that He would oblige the other two (Sir *John Wolstenholme* and Sir *John Shaw*) to be joint Farmers with them; which his Majesty did, by making a gracious Promise to them, "that if They should be Losers He would repair them:" And thereupon Directions were given to Mr. Attorney General to prepare a Grant accordingly. And, He said, He did not know that there was one dissenting Voice from what his Majesty inclined to do upon the whole Matter, the same appearing to every Man to be most just and reasonable.

The Farm being thus settled, the old Farmers were directed "to bring their Accompts to the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer, by which it should manifestly appear how much the King was justly and truly indebted to them, and how the Debts were incurred; that so upon a just Computation such Satisfaction might be made to them as was consistent with the present State of his Majesty's Affairs and Occasions." Many Months, if not a whole Year, were spent in the Examination of those Accompts before the Auditors: Who, besides the Exceptions They took

for Want of some Formalities in the Proof of some Money paid, which after twenty Years of Licence (in which all their Books and Papers had been taken, their Houses plundered, and their Persons imprisoned; and in which so many Persons employed by the King to receive, and by them to pay Money were dead) could hardly be made with the usual Exactness; made likewise several Certificates of particular Cases, which required farther Directions. And the Lord Treasurer would never take upon himself to give those Directions, only declaring to them, as He had frequently done, "that in Regard  
 " his Majesty was not strictly bound in Justice to  
 " pay that Debt due from his Father, but that his  
 " present Majesty's generous and Royal Disposi-  
 " tion had prevailed with him to pay that just Debt,  
 " whereby They might be preserved from Ruin,  
 " in which," He said, "He had fully concurred  
 " with his Majesty; but that He would never ad-  
 " vise him, on the Contrary He would always dis-  
 " suade his Majesty from paying or allowing any  
 " Interest, though paid by them, which would  
 " swell the Debt to such a Proportion, that his Ma-  
 " jesty could never undertake the Payment of it."  
 Which Determination, how great soever their Loss appeared to be, seemed to be so just, at least so necessary for the King, that They wholly referred it to his Majesty; hoping that it might prevail with many of their Creditors not to exact it from them, though the Sale of their whole Estates had made Satisfaction to others for the whole Interest, as well as for the Principal.

When the Auditors Certificate was ready, and all the Doubts and Questions that did arise thereupon were clearly stated, his Majesty vouchsafed again to be present with the other Lords, who had from the Beginning assisted in the Examination of that Business: And then the Lord Treasurer declared to his Majesty, what He had before said to the Persons concerned, “that though He willingly  
“ approved his Majesty’s Goodness in taking upon  
“ himself that great Debt, yet that He would by  
“ no Means give his Advice or Consent that He  
“ should pay or allow any Interest for it.”

Upon the whole Matter, and upon all the Doubts stated to his Majesty, and after the Rejection of several of the Sums of Money which were demanded by them, and for the Payment whereof such direct Proof was not made as is required by the Course of the Exchequer (though, He said, He thought most Persons who were present were in their private Consciences well satisfied, that those Sums had been in Truth paid to his Majesty’s Use, as had been alledged); there appeared to his Majesty to be justly due to them the Sum of two hundred thousand Pounds, Principal - Money, for almost twenty Years, and for which They had paid the Interest for many Years out of their own Estates. And his Majesty thought it very just; and, with many gracious Expressions of his Purpose and Resolution further to repair them as He should be able, gave Order to the Lord Treasurer, “that the said Debt of two hundred thousand  
“ Pounds should be paid to them in five Years,

“ that is, by forty thousand Pounds for every  
 “ Year, out of the Rent of the Farm; and that all  
 “ Instruments necessary for their Satisfaction and  
 “ Security should be presently given to them,  
 “ whereby They might be able to comply with  
 “ their Creditors, and avoid their Importunity,”  
 wherewith his Majesty begun to be troubled as  
 much as themselves.

He did confess himself to have been present at  
 those Agitations, and to have contribued his humble  
 Advice and Opinion to his Majesty that He should  
 pay this Debt; which He thought himself obliged  
 to do, as well as a faithful Counsellor to his present  
 Majesty, as in Discharge of his Duty and Obliga-  
 tion to his Father. And, He said, He had very  
 good Reason to believe, that if that two hundred  
 thousand Pounds be paid according to his Ma-  
 jesty's Direction, and of which the Heirs and Exe-  
 cutors of those Farmers who are dead, as well as  
 the four present Farmers, have their equal Propor-  
 tions; the said Persons have not at this Day Half  
 the Estates They had in the Year 1640, when They  
 entered into those Engagements for his Majesty.  
 Nor was there any one Person present at the Agi-  
 tation of this Affair, who seemed in the least De-  
 gree to differ in the Opinion, or to dissuade his  
 Majesty from giving that Satisfaction for that Debt.

He said, He did likewise very willingly confess,  
 that He had in the Manner aforesaid, and being  
 called to advise, given his Opinion for the Payment  
 of many other considerable Debts incurred by his  
 late Majesty, and for which many Persons of

Honor, who adhered to him during that War, were personally bound for him, and whose Estates had been extended and their Persons imprisoned for the same; many of whom were in Execution and in Prison for the same when his Majesty returned, and others were then sued in *Westminster-Hall*, in his Majesty's own Courts. His late Majesty having granted under his Great-Seal of *England*, to several Persons intrusted for the rest, many of his Forests, Parks and other Lands, for their Security and Indemnity who were or should stand bound for him, for Money that was then borrowed for and applied to the necessary Support of himself and his Army, and to no other Purpose; in that Grant He had been particularly trusted, as well by the Desire of the Persons particularly concerned, as by his Majesty's Command to be solicitous for their Satisfaction. And He did not deny, that He was never more glad, than when He was able to procure Satisfaction for those Persons who were so bound and so secured; nor more troubled, than that He could do no more, and that there remained still so many unsatisfied, and almost undone, for those Debts so contracted; of which Number He believed there were still too many.

But having made those clear Confessions of what was Truth, and what He did do in those Transactions, He said, He must as positively deny, that ever He procured or advised the letting his Majesty's Customs, or any other Part of his Revenue, at Under-rates: On the Contrary, that He used all the Ways He could to advance the Rents, without

Respect of Persons; and that He was never present at the letting any Farm that any Man would have given more for, than They did to whom it was let, what Offers soever were made afterwards, when his Majesty himself had made a Contract, and when a Grant was issued accordingly under the Great-Seal of *England*. And He did as positively deny, that ever He received or expected the least Sum of Money, or Money-worth, for any Lease made by his Majesty of his Customs, or any other Part of his Revenue; or for the Payment of any one Debt made by his Majesty, to which He was or was not bound: He having (He said) never had any other Motive for the Performance of those Offices, but the pure and entire Consideration of his Majesty's Honor, Justice and Profit, and his own Inclination to gratify worthy Persons, who in Justice ought to be or might with Justice be gratified and obliged, and who had commonly been such Persons to whom He had had no Kind of Obligation.

The Seventh Article was, *That He had received great Sums of Money from the Company of Vintners, or some of them or their Agents, for enhancing the Prices of Vines, and for freeing them from the Payment of legal Penalties which They had incurred.* The seventh Article.

He said, if He had been in the least Degree guilty of that Charge, it would very easily have been proved; and the Vintners would very gladly have helped them in it, being Persons who never thought themselves beholden to him, and so not obliged to conceal any of his Corruptions. They well knew, that His Answer.



He could never be prevailed with to consent to the enhancing the Prices of their Vines, and that He never had received from them the least Sum of Money, or other Gratuity from them, in his Life. He said, He did remember, that at a Time when his Majesty had refused to grant all their other Petitions, the Company of Vintners did complain, "that there  
 " were so many Informations against them prosecuted by Informers in the Exchequer, that They  
 " must give over their Trades, and be likewise undone, if They should be severely pursued for  
 " what was past:" And therefore They besought his Majesty in Council, "that He would pardon  
 " what was past; and that for the future They  
 " would trespass no more." Whereupon his Majesty thought it worthy of his Mercy to shelter them for the present from that Prosecution; and thereupon commanded his Attorney General "to call the Informers before him, and to appoint the Vintners  
 " to pay them such reasonable Rewards for their Pains as He thought fit; and thereupon He should  
 " enter a *Noli Prosequi*;" But his Majesty charged them "for the future not to run into the same  
 " Danger." And as this Grace from his Majesty was not upon his Promotion, but purely from his own Bounty and Goodness, from which Nobody dissuaded him; so He never received the least Profit from the same.

The eighth  
 Article.

The Eighth is, *That He had in a short Time gained to himself a far greater Estate, than can be imagined to be lawfully gained in so short a Time; and contrary to his Oath He had procured several*

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 169

*Grants under the Great-Seal from his Majesty, to himself and to his Relations, of several of his Majesty's Lands, Hereditaments and Leases, to the Disprofit of his Majesty.*

To this He said, that He wished with all his His Answer. Heart, that the Truth of that Article (which He presumed had drawn on all the rest) were clearly known to all the World: And that They, who in Truth do believe that He hath so great an Estate, were well informed what it is; and They would then clearly discern that He needed not be ashamed of having gotten such an Estate, nor that He needed to have any Recourse to any ill Arts or Means for the obtaining thereof. They would know, that He had been so far from *procuring several Grants under the Great-Seal of England from his Majesty, to himself and his Relations, of several of his Majesty's Lands, Hereditaments and Leases, to the Disprofit of his Majesty*; that He never moved his Majesty in his Life for any one Grant to himself or any of his Relations. If his Majesty's Royal Bounty had disposed him to confer Somewhat of Benefit and Advantage upon an old Servant, who had waited upon his Father and himself near thirty Years in some Trust and Employment; He said, He hoped it should not be imputed as a Crime in him to receive his Favors. He was far from believing or imagining, that the poor Services He had ever done, or could do, were in any Degree proportionable to his Majesty's Bounty: Yet since his Majesty's Goodness had thought him fit for it, He hoped many others would think so too, at least as fit as some Men, who had

received greater Marks and Proportions of it than He had done, and who, though They might serve much better, had not served so long.

He said, He forbore to enlarge upon that Charge, because He conceived that it was now evident to many, who had been wrought upon by those who did not believe it themselves, to think his Estate to be very great, that the Information They received was without Ground: And whoever considers, that the first Year after the King's Return yielded justly more Profit to the Great-Seal than He ever received in all the Years following, and some particular Acts of Bounty conferred on him by his Majesty, without the least Suit from him, and unthought of by him, will believe that his Fault was greater in having no better an Estate, than that what He is said to have gotten by Corruption. He said, He hath none of his Majesty's Lands, but what He had bought, for as much as any Body would pay for it, of those who had the same granted to them by his Majesty's Bounty, and that Grant confirmed to them by Act of Parliament. And He presumed that it could not have fallen from his Majesty's Memory, and was sure was well known to some Persons of Honor yet alive, that when his Majesty was graciously pleased, upon his first coming over, to offer him some Land that had never yielded any Thing to the Crown, He absolutely refused to receive it, because it was generally thought to be of great Value; and therefore He would not expose himself to the Envy which naturally attends those Donations, having in Truth never had an immo-

derate. Appetite *to make Haste to be rich*; and had as much apprehended the being accused of Witchcraft or Burglary, as of Bribery and Corruption.

In a Word: He did declare, that, his Debts being discharged, for which He paid Interest, all his Estate was not worth, being sold, the Money that He had received from his Majesty's own Royal Bounty, and far from being suitable to the Quality He yet held, and which was never obtained by his own Ambition, as many Persons of Honor could testify.

The Ninth Article was, *That He had introduced an arbitrary Government in his Majesty's foreign Plantations; and had caused such as complained thereof before his Majesty and his Council, to be long imprisoned for so doing.* The ninth Article.

To this He said, that though He could not possibly comprehend the full Meaning of that Article, yet because He had heard of many Discourses made of the Authority that He assumed to himself over the Plantations, and the great Advantage and Benefit that He had drawn to himself from thence, He was very willing to take that Occasion to relate all that He knew, and all that He had done, with Reference to any of his Majesty's Plantations; declaring in the first Place, that at his Majesty's Return, and before, He had used all the Endeavours He could to prepare and dispose the King to a great Esteem of his Plantations, and to encourage the Improvement of them by all the Ways that could reasonably be proposed to him. And He had been confirmed in that Opinion and Desire, as soon as He had a His Answer.

View of the Entries in the Customhouse ; by which He found what a great Revenue accrued to the King from those Plantations , infomuch as the Receipts from thence had upon the Matter repaired the Decrease and Diminution of the Customs , which the late Troubles had brought upon other Parts of Trade , from what it had formerly yielded.

The first Consideration that offered itself before the King that related to the Plantations , was concerning the *Barbadoes* ; which having been most discourfied of since , and , as He had heard , with some Reflections upon him of Partiality and Injustice , He said , He would in the first Place set down all He knew in that Affair , and how He came to meddle in it.

Before the Beginning of the late Troubles , the King had granted the Island of the *Barbadoes* to the Earl of *Carlisle* and his Heirs for ever , upon a Supposition that it had been first discovered , possessed and planted at his Charge : And the said Earl sent a Governor and People thither , and enjoyed it to his Death ; and by his Will settled it for the Payment of his Debts , which were very great. The Troubles falling out in a short Time after , little or no Profit had been drawn from thence towards the Satisfaction of those Debts ; and the Executors and Trustees totally neglected the taking Care of it , or prosecuting the Plantation. But in and after the War many Citizens , Merchants and Gentlemen , who were willing or forced to withdraw themselves from *England* , transported themselves thither , and

planted without asking any Body's Leave, and without being opposed or contradicted by any Body.

About the Year 1647, or thereabouts, the late Earl of *Carlisle*, Son and Heir of the former Earl, to whom the Inheritance of that Island belonged, treated with the late Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, how that Island might be so husbanded, that the Plantation might be advanced, and Profit made by it; which would at last redound to himself, when the Debt should be paid. The late King was then in the Hands of the Army: And with his Majesty's Approbation and Consent, it was agreed between the said Earl and the said Lord, "that a Lease  
" should be made by the Earl of *Carlisle* to the Lord  
" *Willoughby*, of all the Profits which should arise  
" out of that Plantation, for the Term of twenty-  
" one Years or thereabouts; a Moiety of the whole  
" Profits to be received by the Lord *Willoughby*  
" himself for his own Use, in Recompence for his  
" Pains and Charge. And He was likewise to re-  
" ceive a Commission from the said Earl, to be Go-  
" vernor of that and the rest of the *Caribbee* Islands"  
(all which were comprehended in the Charter granted by the King to the Earl of *Carlisle*); "and  
" that a Commission should be likewise procured  
" from the King or the Prince of *Wales*, by which  
" the Lord *Willoughby* was to be constituted Go-  
" vernor of the said Islands."

About that Time the Fleet in the *Downs* returned to their Obedience to the King, withdrawing themselves to the Coast of *Holland* to offer their Service to the Prince of *Wales*, his Majesty that now is;

the Lord *Willoughby* then likewise coming over to him, to serve him in any Condition his Highness would employ him in. That Summer being passed without any good Success, the Lord *Willoughby* then informed the Prince of what had passed between the Earl of *Carlisle* and him with the King his Father's Consent; which his Highness had likewise received from his Majesty himself, with much Recommendation of the Lord *Willoughby*. He said, He was then attending upon the Prince in *Holland*, as one of the King's Council assigned by his Majesty for that Service. Upon the understanding this whole Case, the Prince, upon the unanimous Advice of the Council, thought fit to grant such a Commission of Governor of the *Barbadoes* and the others Islands, as He desired: And He had the more Reason to desire it (notwithstanding the Earl of *Carlisle's* Grant and Commission), because the principal Planters upon the *Barbadoes* had been Officers in the King's Army, or of manifest Affections to him, and always looked upon as of his Party.

With this Commission the Lord *Willoughby* had, at his great Charge and Expense, transported himself to the *Barbadoes*, and was there received as Governor; and made a Contract with the Planters, "that so much should be paid upon the Hundred " to the Earl of *Carlisle*," to whom the Propriety of the Whole belonged. But before this Agreement could be well executed, or any Profit drawn from thence, the Island was reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament and of *Cromwell*, and a Governor appointed by them; the Lord *Willoughby* being sent

into *England*, where He remained till the King's Return, and had given unquestionable Evidence of his Affection to the King's Service, for which He had often been committed to Prison before and after *Cromwell's* Death.

As soon as the King returned, the Lord *Willoughby* (who had then eight or nine Years to come of his Lease formerly granted to him by the Earl of *Carlisle*, who was then likewise living, and ready to do any other Act, to the Lord *Willoughby's* Advantage) resolved to return himself to the *Barbadoes*, and desired the King to renew his Commission to him for the Government; which his Majesty was very willing to do, as to a Person He esteemed very much, and who had spent very much of his own Fortune, as was notoriously known, in that Service. But the *Barbadoes* and all those other Islands were now become of another Consideration and Value, than they had been of before the Troubles: The *Barbadoes* itself was (by that Confluence and Resort thither as was mentioned before) so fully planted, that there was no Room for new Comers, and They had sent very many of their People to the other Islands to plant; many Citizens of *London* had raised very great Estates there, and every Year received a very great Revenue from thence; and the King's Customs from that one Island came to a very great Sum of Money yearly.

All these Men, who had entered upon that Plantation as a waste Place, and had with great Charge brought it to that Perfection, with great Trouble, begun now to apprehend, that They must depend



upon the Good-Will of the Earl of *Carlisle* and Lord *Willoughby* for the Enjoyment of their Estates there, which They had hitherto looked upon as their own. All these Men joined together in an Appeal to the King, and humbly prayed "his Protection, and that  
 " They might not be oppressed by those two  
 " Lords." They pleaded, "that They were the  
 " King's Subjects; that They had repaired thither  
 " as to a desolate Place, and had by their Industry  
 " obtained a Livelihood there, when They could  
 " not with a good Conscience stay in *England*. That  
 " if They should be now left to those Lords to  
 " ransom themselves and compound for their Es-  
 " tates, They must leave the Country; and the Plan-  
 " tation would be destroyed, which yielded his  
 " Majesty so good a Revenue. That They could  
 " defend themselves by Law against the Earl of  
 " *Carlisle's* Title, if his Majesty did not counte-  
 " nance it by a new Grant of the Government to  
 " the Lord *Willoughby*: And therefore They were  
 " Suitors to his Majesty, that He would not destroy  
 " them by that Countenance."

At the same Time, the Creditors of the late Earl of *Carlisle* (whose Debts were to be satisfied by the Profits of that Plantation, by the Will and Settlement of the said Earl) petitioned the King, "that  
 " They might be in the first Place provided for:  
 " The Principal-Money due to them at the Death  
 " of the Earl amounted to no less than fifty thousand  
 " Pounds, of which They had never yet received  
 " one Penny; and therefore that the Profits which  
 " should arise ought in the first Place to be applied  
 " to

“ to them, there having been many Families utterly  
 “ ruined for Want of their Monies so due to them.”  
 The King appointed to hear all their several Pre-  
 tences at the Council-Board, where They all at-  
 tended with their Council: And after his Majesty  
 had spent three or four Days himself in hearing the  
 several Allegations, finding new Pretences and  
 Difficulties every Day to arise ( which shall be men-  
 tioned anon ) the King appointed several of the Lords  
 of the Council “ to consider of the whole Matter,  
 “ and to confer with the several Parties, and, if it  
 “ were possible, to make an End between them by  
 “ their own Consent; otherwise to report the se-  
 “ veral Titles to his Majesty, with such Expedients  
 “ as in their Judgments They thought most like to  
 “ produce a general Satisfaction, without endan-  
 “ gering the Plantation,” the Preservation whereof  
 his Majesty took to Heart. The Chancellor was one  
 of that Committee, and took very much Pains in  
 reading the Charters, Grants and Leases, and many  
 other Papers and Despatches which concerned that  
 Affair; and conferred with several of the Persons  
 interested; to the End that He might the better dis-  
 cern what could be done, having never understood  
 or heard any Thing of the Matter, or that con-  
 cerned that Plantation, otherwise than what He hath  
 before set down upon the Despatch of the Lord  
*Willoughby* to *Holland*; nor had He the least Inclina-  
 tion or Bias to any Party. Upon the hearing all  
 the Allegations before the Lords, the several Pre-  
 tences and Titles appeared to them to be these;  
 which They afterwards reported to the King.

The Lord *Willoughby* demanded Nothing from the King, but his Commission to be Governor for the Remainder of the Years which had been granted to him by the Earl of *Carlisle*; to the End that He might receive one Moiety of those Profits which should arise to the Earl, and which had been assigned to him with the Consent and Approbation of the late King, and of his Majesty that now is; upon which He had undertaken that Voyage, and spent so much of his Estate.

The Earl of *Carlisle*, whilst this Contention was depending, died, and by his Will devised his Interest in the *Barbadoes* to the Earl of *Kinnoul*, who likewise petitioned the King for the Preservation of his Right: But neither He, nor the Person under whom He claimed, had any Pretence till all the Debts should be satisfied; nor did the Earl of *Kinnoul* demand any Thing till then, but believed the Profit would arise yearly to so much, that the Debts would quickly be satisfied, and then the Whole was to come to him.

There was another Title that preceded the Earl of *Carlisle's*, which was that of the Earl of *Marlborough*, who alledged, and proved it to be true,  
 “ that the *Barbadoes* and those adjacent Islands  
 “ were first granted by the King to his Grandfather  
 “ the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was then Lord  
 “ High Treasurer of *England*, before the Earl of  
 “ *Carlisle* had any Pretence thereunto; and that the  
 “ Lord Treasurer had afterwards consented that the  
 “ same should be granted to the Earl of *Carlisle*,  
 “ upon a full Contract, that He should first receive

“ for ever the Sum of three hundred Pounds by the Year  
 “ out of the first Profits of the Plantations; which  
 “ Sum of three hundred Pounds had never been yet  
 “ paid: And therefore the Earl of *Marlborough*  
 “ desired, as Heir to his Grandfather, to have Sa-  
 “ tisfaction for the Arrears, and that the growing  
 “ Rent might be secured to him.”

The Creditors were of two Kinds: The first, and who had first petitioned the King, as was said before, had an Assignment made to them by the Executors and Trustees of the Earl of *Carlisle* upon his Will, and who at his Death owed them the full Sum of fifty thousand Pounds or thereabouts. The other Creditors consisted of several Tradesmen and Artificers, to whom the said Earl was indebted for Wares and Goods which They had delivered for his Use; and of several Servants for their Arrears of Wages: And all those had, during the late Troubles, exhibited their Bill in Chancery against the Executors and Overseers of the late Earl, and had obtained a Decree in that Court for their Satisfaction out of the Profits of those Plantations (which Decree stood confirmed by the late Act of Judicial Proceedings); and, as He remembered, their Debts amounted to thirty thousand Pounds or thereabout. None of the Creditors in general, of one or the other Sort, had ever received one Shilling from the Time that the Earl had first assigned it.

The Planters insisted positively, “ that the Charter granted to the Earl of *Carlisle* by the King was “ void in Point of Law:” For which their Council alledged many Reasons. And having spent much

Time upon that Argumentation, They concluded with two humble Propositions to the King. (1) "That  
" his Majesty would give them Leave to prosecute  
" in his Name in the Exchequer, and at their own  
" Charge, to repeal that Grant to the Earl of *Carlisle*;  
" by which They should be freed from the arbitrary  
" Power and Oppression which would be  
" exercised upon them under the Color of that  
" Charter, and his Majesty might receive a great  
" Benefit to himself, by taking the Sovereignty  
" into his own Hands, to which it belonged. And  
" in that Case They offered in their own Names,  
" and for the rest of the Planters who were in the  
" Island, to consent to an Imposition of so much in  
" the Hundred, which They confidently averred  
" would amount in the Year to ten thousand Pounds  
" at the least; out of which his Majesty's Governor  
" might be well supported, and his Majesty dispose  
" of the Overplus as He should think fit." (2) "If  
" his Majesty would not suffer the Charter to be  
" repealed, that He would leave those who claimed  
" under the Earl of *Carlisle*'s Patent to their Remedy  
" at Law, and leave the Planters to their own Defence;  
" which They hoped in Justice could not be denied to them,  
" since They alone had been at the Charge to settle the  
" Plantation, which brought every Year so great a Revenue  
" to the Crown, when the Earl had not been at the least  
" Expence thereupon: And if his Majesty should not assist  
" their Pretences with his Royal Authority, They  
" must all quit the Plantation."

These being the several Pretences of the several

Persons, and Nothing being to be done by Agreement between themselves, their Interests being so distinct and inconsistent with each other; his Majesty thought fit, in the first Place, to refer the Consideration of the Validity and Legality of the Patent to his Council at Law; who, upon full Deliberation and after the Hearing of all Parties, returned their Opinion "that their Patent was void, and that his Majesty might take the same into his own Power." This Report was no sooner made to his Majesty, but that He very graciously declared, "that He would not receive from hence any Benefit or Advantage to himself, until all their Pretences had received Satisfaction; and that He would make no farther Use of avoiding the said Charter, than to dispose the Profits of the Plantation to those, who in Justice had any Pretence in Law or Equity to receive the same: And therefore that the Lord *Willoughby* should proceed in his Voyage to the *Barbadoes*, and should receive according to his Bargain a Moiety of the Profits; and that the other Part should be disposed of for the Satisfaction of the Debts and other Incumbrances." In Order to which, his Majesty appointed the same Committee of the Lords to meet again, and to adjust the several Proportions.

When They met again, They had all the Persons concerned with them, or ready to be called in upon any Occasion; and They all appeared very glad that the King had taken the Care and Protection of the Plantation upon himself, which was all the Security the Planters had or could desire. And the Lords first

Care was, to make some Computation that might be depended upon, as the yearly Revenue that would arise upon the Imposition within the Island. But the Planters would not be drawn to any particular Agreement in that Point, not so much as to consent to what should be imposed upon every Hundred; but on the Contrary declared, “that too much had been undertaken in that Kind by one of their own Number, Mr. *Kendall*, in his Discourse before the King in the Council,” and declared “that the Plantation could not bear the Imposition He had mentioned. That whatsoever was to be done of that Nature was to be transacted by an Assembly in the Island: And that all that They could promise for themselves was, that They would use their utmost Endeavours with their Friends in the Island, that when the Lord *Willoughby* should arrive there and call an Assembly, They should consent to as great an Imposition as the Plantation would bear; by which,” They said, “a good Revenue would arise to the King for the Purposes afore said.”

The Creditors had great Reason to be glad of the Resolution his Majesty had taken: For though it would be a long Time before They could be fully satisfied out of a Moiety of the Profits, though it should arise to the highest Computation, yet in Time They should receive all, and should every Year receive some; which would lessen their Debt, and relieve those who were in the highest Necessities, of which there was a great Number. Whereas They had hitherto in so many Years received not one

Penny: And it was evident, that without his Majesty's Authority They never should, since the Planters were resolved never to consent to any Imposition, nor submit to any Authority that should be exercised under the Earl of *Carlisle's* Patent, without a due Course of Law; the Way to obtain which would be very difficult to find out. And They understood well enough, that, without his Majesty's Grace and Bounty to them, the Repeal or avoiding the Earl of *Carlisle's* Patent would put a quick End to all their Pretences.

The greatest Difficulty that did arise was from the Earl of *Kinnoul*, to whom the last Earl of *Carlisle* had devised these Islands by his Will: And He had a great Mind to go thither himself, and take Possession of his Right; and his Council had persuaded him, " that the King's Charter granted to the first Earl of *Carlisle* was good and valid in Law, and that " They believed They could defend and maintain " it in any Court of Justice." Then his own Estate in *Scotland* was so totally lost by the Iniquity of the Time, and his Father's having so frankly declared himself for the King, when very few of that Nation lost any Thing for their Loyalty, that He had very little left to support himself; and therefore was willing to retire into any Place abroad, where He might find but a bare Subsistence. But when He considered again, that He could have no Pretence to any Thing till after the Creditors were fully satisfied, and how long it was like to be before They could be satisfied, there remaining still due to the Creditors of Both Kinds no less than fourscore



thousand Pounds, Principal Money; He did not believe that his insisting upon the Patent would be worth the Charge and Hazard He must inevitably be put to: And therefore, upon farther Deliberation with his Friends, He willingly referred himself and all his Interest to the King's gracious Determination, as all the rest of the Pretenders and interested Persons had done.

The Case being thus fully stated to the Lords, and every Man's Interest and Pretence clearly appearing before them, They considered seriously amongst themselves what They might reasonably propose to the several Persons, in Order to their Agreement amongst themselves; or, that proving ineffectual, what Advice They might reasonably give his Majesty. They were unanimously of Opinion, "not to advise his Majesty to cause the Patent to be called in Question: For though They doubted not, upon the Opinion of his learned Council, that the same would be judged void and illegal; yet They did not think it a seasonable Time, when the Nation was so active and industrious in foreign Plantations, that They should see a Charter or Patent questioned and avoided, after it hath been so many Years allowed and countenanced, and under which it hath so long flourished, and was almost grown to Perfection. And that since his Majesty had declared, *that, notwithstanding any Right of his own, all possible Care should be taken for the Satisfaction of the Creditors, as well as for the Preservation and Support of the Plantation:* it would be equally equitable and honorable in

" his Majesty, not to leave the Earl of *Kinnoul* the  
 " only Person unconsidered, and bereaved of all his  
 " Pretence. But that They would humbly move  
 " his Majesty, that He would graciously vouchsafe  
 " to assign some present Maintenance to the said  
 " Earl, which his unhappy Condition required, out  
 " of the Revenue that should be there settled, and  
 " until the Debts should be paid; and that after  
 " that Time such an Augmentation might be made  
 " to him, as his Majesty in his Royal Bounty  
 " should think fit: In Consideration whereof, the  
 " Earl should procure the Patent to be brought in  
 " and surrendered;" which He promised should be  
 done accordingly, as soon as the Settlement should  
 be made of that Proportion which should be  
 assigned to him.

" That the Lord *Willoughby* should enjoy the Be-  
 " nefit of his former Contract with the Earl of *Car-*  
 " *lisle*, and approved by his Majesty, during the Re-  
 " mainder of those Years which are not yet expired;  
 " that He should make what Haste He could thither,  
 " and call an Assembly, to the End that such an Im-  
 " position might be agreed upon to be paid to his  
 " Majesty as should be reasonable, in Consideration  
 " of the great Benefit They had already and should  
 " still enjoy, in being continued and secured in their  
 " several Plantations, in which as yet They were  
 " as it were but Tenants at Will, having no other  
 " Pretence of Right but the Possession: And there-  
 " fore, that those Merchants and Planters who had  
 " petitioned the King should, according to their  
 " Obligation and Promise made by them to his

“ Majesty, use all their Credit with those in the  
 “ Island, that the Imposition might arise to such a  
 “ Proportion, that the Revenue might answer the  
 “ Ends proposed; and that one Moiety of that  
 “ Revenue should be enjoyed by the Lord *Willoughby*  
 “ for his Term.”

“ That the Annuity of three hundred Pounds by  
 “ the Year should be paid to the Earl of *Marlborough*,  
 “ according to the original Contract mentioned be-  
 “ fore; and that the Assignment, that his Majesty  
 “ would likewise be pleased to make to the Earl of  
 “ *Kinnoul*, should be first paid: And then that the  
 “ Remainder of that Moiety should be received to  
 “ the Use of the Creditors. And that when the  
 “ Lord *Willoughby's* Term should be expired, his  
 “ Majesty should be desired, after the Reservation  
 “ of so much as He should think fit for the Support  
 “ of his Governor, that all the Remainder might be  
 “ continued towards the Creditors, until their just  
 “ Debts should be paid.”

These Particulars appearing reasonable to the  
 Lords, all Persons concerned were called, and the  
 same communicated to them, who appeared all well  
 contented: And thereupon the Lords resolved to  
 present the same to his Majesty, which They did  
 accordingly at the Board; and his Majesty with a  
 full Approbation and Advice of the whole Council  
 ratified the same. Whereupon that Order was made  
 by the King in Council, which comprehends all the  
 Particulars mentioned before; which was delivered  
 to the Lord *Willoughby*, with his Majesty's express  
 Command, “ that He should see it punctually and

“precisely executed;” and the like Order was delivered by the Clerk of the Council to every other Person mentioned, who desired the same: To which Order He did for the more Certainty refer himself, being in no Degree confident (having then no other Help than his Memory), that all was set down with that Exactness as it ought to be. And, He said, as He had throughout the whole Affair taken very great Pains to reduce it to that Agreement, which at that Time seemed to be satisfactory to all the Persons concerned, so He had not the least Temptation of particular Benefit to himself; and He did still believe it to be very just, reasonable, and agreeable to his Majesty’s Justice and Goodness, all Circumstances being considered. And though it may be, in Strictness of Law, and by the avoiding the Grant made to the Earl of *Carlisle*, his Majesty might have possessed himself of the whole Island, without any tender Consideration of the Planters or the Creditors; He said, He was not ashamed that He had never given his Majesty that or the like Counsel, in that or any other Matter of the like Nature; and if He had, He was confident his Majesty would have abhorred it, and not have thought the better of him for giving it.

The other Part of that Article, *That He had caused such, as complained of the arbitrary Government in the Plantations before the King and Council, to be long imprisoned for so doing*, did refer, He supposed, to the Commitment of one *Farmer*; who, being sent over a Prisoner by the Lord *Willoughby* in a Ship that came from thence, made his Appear-

ance at *Oxford*, his Majesty being then there in the Sickness-Time, which, He said, was the first Moment that He had ever heard of the Man or the Matter. And at the same Time one of the Secretaries of State received a Letter from the Lord *Willoughby*, which was sent by the same Ship, in which his Lordship had sent a direct, full Charge of Mutiny, Sedition and Treason, against the said *Farmer*; and by his Letter informed the Secretary of all his Behaviour and Carriage, with all the Circumstances thereof; and “that He had, by his “ seditious Practices, prevailed so far upon a “ disaffected Party in that Island, that the Lord “ *Willoughby* found himself obliged in the Instant “ to send him on Board the Ship, without which “ He did apprehend a general Revolt in the Island “ from his Majesty’s Obedience:” And He did therefore desire, “ that *Farmer* might not be suffered “ to return thither before the Island should be re- “ duced to a better Temper.” The Man was called in before the King and Council, and the Charge that the Lord *Willoughby* had sent read to him, the greatest Part whereof He could not deny; and in his Discourse upon it He behaved himself so peremptorily and insolently before the King, that his Majesty thought it very necessary to commit him; nor did any one Counsellor then present appear to think otherwise.

And He did confess, that the discharging him from his Imprisonment was some Time afterwards moved, and that He was always against his Discharge; being of Opinion that it would be impossible

for the Lord *Willoughby*, or any other Governor in any of the Plantations, to preserve his Majesty's Right and to support the Government, if He should be so far discountenanced, that a Man, being sent over by him as a Prisoner under so particular and heinous a Charge, should be upon his Appearance here set at Liberty. But his Opinion was, "that He  
 " should be sent back a Prisoner thither, that He  
 " might be tried by the Law and Justice of the  
 " Island, and receive condign Punishment for his  
 " Offence:" And, He said, He could not deny but that He was still of the same Opinion; and, if it were an Error, it proceeded from the Weakness of his Understanding, which was not in his Power to reform.

He said, what He had here set down was all that occurred to his Memory with Reference to the Island of the *Barbadoes*, which being not particularly mentioned in the Article, but comprehended under the general Expression of his Majesty's foreign Plantations, and secretly and maliciously insinuated in private Discourses, He took himself to be obliged to give some Answer to what, how generally soever, had been charged. And He hoped it would not be imputed as a Crime to him, if He had taken more Pains than other Men in that important Service of his Majesty concerning his foreign Plantations, which He did not think had been enough taken to Heart: And if his Desire and Readiness to take any Pains, or give any Assistance to the Advancement of that Service, had induced many Persons to apply themselves to him on those

Occasions, He hoped it should not be charged upon him as Over-Activity, or Ambition to engross more Business into his Hands than He was entitled to; for which He had this Excuse to make for himself, that He found the Pains He took to be acceptable to his Majesty. And He was so far from having any particular Design of Advantage to himself, that He did profess and declare, that from all or any of his Majesty's Plantations He never had the least Reward, or least Present made to him; except that the now Lord *Willoughby* once told him, "that his Brother had sent over some Pieces of the speckled Wood which grows in *Surinam*, with Direction, that if He liked it He might have what He would of it;" whereupon He had some Pieces of it, which He thought might have been applied to the making of Cabinets or the adorning of Wainscot (but as they were very small, so the Middle of every Piece was wind-shaken and rotten, that they could not be applied to any considerable Use); and except some Blocks of Walnut-Tree which the Governor of *Virginia* sent to him, and of which He made some Table-Boards and Frames for Chairs; the Workmanship whereof cost much more than the Wood was worth. And these two Particulars contained all the Rewards and Presents or Profit, that ever He received from all his Majesty's Plantations, or any Body to his Use.

The tenth  
Article.

The Tenth Article was, *That He did reject and frustrate a Proposal and Undertaking approved by his Majesty, for the Preservation of Nevis and St. Christophers, and reducing the French*

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 191

*Plantations to his Majesty's Obedience, after the Commissions were drawn for that Purpose: which was the Occasion of such great Losses and Damages in those Parts.*

To which He answered, that He never did reject His Answer. or frustrate any such Proposal or Undertaking, never taking upon him in the least Degree to make a Judgment of Enterprises of that Nature; nor was ever any such Proposition made to him. But He did very well remember, that his Majesty himself did once deliver to the Council a Paper, which He said one of his Servants (Mr. *Marsh*) had presented to him, containing some Propositions for Ships and Men to be sent by his Majesty for the Recovery of *St. Christophers*, which had been newly taken by the *French*. Upon the reading which Paper and Propositions, the same were referred to the Consideration of the General, one of the Secretaries of State, and to the Vice-Chamberlain, who were to confer with Mr. *Marsh*, and such others as joined with him. And They were at the same Time appointed to consider of another Proposition delivered in Writing by the now Lord *Willoughby*, and some Merchants of *London* who were Planters in the *Barbadoes*, for the supplying and better securing that Island, and the rest of those *Caribbee* Islands; and for the reducing and recovering any of them which were or might be taken by the Enemy. Upon the latter of which Somewhat was afterwards done: And if the other concerning *Nevis* and *St. Christophers* was rejected, of which, He said, He knew Nothing, He presumed it was,



because it either appeared unpracticable, or not consistent with his Majesty's other Affairs.

The eleventh Article.

The Eleventh Article was, *That He advised and effected the Sale of Dunkirk to the French King, being Part of his Majesty's Dominions, together with the Ammunition, Artillery, and all Sorts of Stores there; and for no greater Value than the said Ammunition, Artillery and Stores were worth.*

His Answer.

This whole Transaction of the Sale of *Dunkirk*, with all the Circumstances, is so fully related in this Discourse, in the Place and at the Time when this Affair was transacted \*, that any Repetition here is to no Purpose: And whosoever turns back and reads it will clearly see, that He had no Hand in the Counsel; though He is far from condemning it, or believing that it was not necessary, as his Majesty's Affairs at that Time stood. To which may be added, that the Treatment He received after his coming into *France* was an unquestionable Evidence, that the King did never take himself to be beholden to him for that or any other Service; as in Truth He never was.

The twelfth Article.

The Twelfth Article was, *That He did unduly cause his Majesty's Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England to one Dr. Crowther to be altered, and the Enrolment thereof to be unduly rased.*

His Answer.

To which He said, that when He heard of this Charge, He could not comprehend what the Meaning thereof was, being most assured that He had never *caused any Alteration to be made in any*

\* Vol. iii. p. 153.

of his Majesty's Letters Patent under the Great Seal, or the Enrolment thereof to be rased. But upon Inquiry He was informed, that Dr. *Crowther*, who was Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, and had attended upon his Person during the whole Time that his Highness was beyond the Seas, upon his Majesty's Return into *England*, had obtained from the King his Royal Presentation to the Parsonage of *Treddington* in the County of *Worcester*; which Presentation, according to Course, passed under the Great Seal of *England*. That when He brought his Action against the Intruder, who refused to give him Possession, and the Record was carried down to the Assizes in the County; when the Doctor's Council were to open his Title, and thereupon to produce the King's Presentation, They found upon Perusal thereof, that either by Misinformation or Negligence of the Clerk, instead of the County of *Worcester*, where the Rectory was, the County of *Warwick* was inserted: Upon which Mistake the Doctor was necessitated to be nonsuited. And thereupon He forthwith made a Journey to *London* to advise with his Council, and the most experienced Clerks, how to recover the Misfortune that had befallen him, and that his Majesty's Right might not be destroyed by such an Oversight in the Clerk. And it seems He was by them advised, as the usual Way in "Cases of  
 " that Nature, to petition the King, that in his  
 " Majesty's Presence the Presentation might be  
 " mended, and *Worcester* inserted instead of *War-*  
 " *wick*, and that thereupon the Great Seal might

“ be again affixed to it;” all which was done accordingly, as in such Cases is usual.

The thirteenth  
Article.

The Thirteenth Article was, *That He had in an arbitrary Way examined and drawn into Question divers of his Majesty's Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, and Properties; determined thereof at the Council-Table, and stopped Proceedings at Law, and threatened some that pleaded the Statute of 17 Car.*

His Answer.

To this He said, He must here again lament his own Misfortunes, that He was exposed to public Reproach under a general odious Charge, without inserting any one Particular to which He might make his Defence. He had therefore no more to say, but that He was very innocent as to any Crime laid to his Charge in that Article: And that He had been so far from *examining and drawing into Question any of his Majesty's Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, and Properties, and determining the same at the Council-Table, and stopping Proceedings at Law*; that He did not know or believe, that any one Case of that Nature had been ever determined there, at least when He had been present. That He had always discountenanced such Addresses, and procured all Petitions of that Kind to be rejected as often as they have been tendered: And, He said, He took himself obliged to say, for the Vindication of his Majesty's Honor and Justice, that there had not been so many Years passed, since the Erection of the Council-Table, with so little Disturbance or Disquiet to the Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods and

Properties, as have been since his Majesty's happy Return; nor hath the ordinary Course of Proceedings at Law been less obstructed.

The Fourteenth Article was, *That He had caused Quo Warrantos to be issued out against most of the Corporations in England, to the Intent that He might receive great Sums of Money from them for renewing their Charters; which when They complied withal, He caused the said Quo Warrantos to be discharged, and Prosecution thereon to cease.* The fourteenth Article.

To this He answered, *That He never caused any Quo Warranto to issue out against any one Corporation in England, but by his Majesty's express Command, or by Order of the Board; which was always upon some Miscarriage or Misbehaviour in the Corporation: And that He did not remember that He had ever moved the King against any particular Corporation but that of Woodstock, and which his Duty to his Majesty had obliged him to do, being intrusted by his Majesty with the Command of his House and Park there, and being his Majesty's Steward of his Majesty's Honor and Manor of Woodstock, upon which that Borough had always depended.* His Answer.

He said, his Majesty having conferred that Charge upon him, He was no sooner possessed of it by the Death of the late Earl of *Lindsey*, who enjoyed that Place before, than He received a Petition from several Inhabitants and Burgesses of the Borough of *Woodstock*, who complained, "that the Mayor and  
" Justices had lately procured their Charter to be

“ renewed, without the Privity or Consent of the  
 “ Borough; and that under Pretence of renewing  
 “ it, They procured many new Clauses to be in-  
 “ serted, and thereby reduced much of the Govern-  
 “ ment, which before depended on the whole  
 “ Corporation, into their own Hands; and had  
 “ thereby likewise procured a Piece of Ground,  
 “ the Benefit whereof did formerly belong to all  
 “ the Burgeffes, and was usually applied to the  
 “ Relief of such of them who were decayed in  
 “ their Estates, to be now granted to the Mayor  
 “ and a select Number of the Justices, and the  
 “ Profits thereof to be at their Disposal, to the  
 “ great Prejudice of the Borough and the Inhabit-  
 “ ants thereof.” He referred this Petition to Mr.  
 Justice *Morton*, who lived within four or five Miles  
 thereof, and desired him to examine the Truth of  
 those Allegations, and to certify him whether the  
 Complaints were just and reasonable. Whereupon  
 He took the Pains to go to the Town, and to  
 confer with the Mayor and Justices, and heard  
 the Allegations of the Petitioners; and upon the  
 whole Matter certified, “ that He found several im-  
 “ portant Alterations in the new Charter from what  
 “ had been in the old, and some new Concessions.”

And at the same Time Sir *William Fleetwood*,  
 who was Ranger of the Parks, certified him, “ that  
 “ since the renewing their Charter, the Mayor and  
 “ Justices were not so good Neighbours to his  
 “ Majesty’s Game as They had formerly been,  
 “ and had withdrawn many of those Services which  
 “ They had used to perform: And that when any

“ Trespasses were committed by those of the  
 “ Borough upon his Majesty’s Woods or Game,  
 “ which happened very frequently, and Complaint  
 “ was thereof made to the Mayor and Justices,  
 “ who had the sole Jurisdiction within the Borough;  
 “ there was so slight and perfunctory Examination  
 “ thereof, that the Prosecutors were wearied out,  
 “ and no Justice could be obtained.”

That it was his Duty to inform the King of those Proceedings, who was much offended thereat, and thereupon gave his Direction to his Attorney General to bring a *Quo Warranto*, and to repeal the Charter which had been so unduly procured, and in which his Majesty had been so grossly deceived and abused: And He did believe that there was the less Vigor used in the Prosecution of that *Quo Warranto*, because the Mayor and Justices for some Time had pretended that They would surrender the said Charter, and receive a new one in such a Manner as his Majesty thought fit, though They afterwards changed their Mind. And this was the only Charter, He said, which He gave Direction for the Prosecution of.

Nor did He ever give Order, upon the Receipt of any Money, to discourage any *Quo Warranto*, or cause the Prosecution thereupon to cease: Nor did He ever receive the least Sum of Money for the granting or renewing any Charter, other than the usual Fees received for the same by the Clerk of the *Hanaper*, and accounted to the Seal; which Fee, as He did remember, did amount to thirteen Shillings and four Pence, or thereabouts.

The fifteenth  
Article.

The Fifteenth Article was, *That He procured the Bills of Settlement for Ireland, and received great Sums of Money for the same, in a most corrupt and unlawful Manner.*

His Answer.

To this Article needs no other Answer than what is contained in two \* several Places of this Discourse, in which so full a Relation is made of the whole Settlement of *Ireland*, with all the Circumstances that accompanied it, that it would be to no Purpose to repeat it in this Place. And therein it appears what Money the Chancellor received from *Ireland*, and how He came to receive any, and by what Injustice He came to receive no more; all which was not only well known to the King himself, but to very many of those, who promoted the Accusation directly contrary to what They knew to be true.

The sixteenth  
Article.

The Sixteenth Article was, *That He had deluded and betrayed his Majesty and the Nation in all foreign Treaties and Negotiations relating to the late War.*

His Answer.

To which He said, that He did heartily wish that those particular Treaties, and the Particulars in those Treaties, had been mentioned, wherein it was conceived that He had deluded and betrayed his Majesty, that He might at large have set down whatsoever He had known or done in those Treaties; and then it would easily have been made appear, how far He had been from betraying or deluding him. That it was never any Ambition of his own that brought him to have a Part in any Treaty: He said, God knew, that He heartily wished to have meddled in Nothing but the

\* Vol. ii. p. 246, &c. Vol. iii. p. 133, &c.

Administration of that great Office the King had thought fit to have trusted him with. But his Majesty had then so good an Opinion of him, that He required and commanded his Service in many of those Treaties: And therefore it would be necessary for him according to the Method He had hitherto used, to mention every particular Treaty that had been entered into since the Time of his Majesty's Return into *England*, and the Part that He had in it; being as willing to be called to the strictest Account for any other Treaty He had been engaged in when He had been abroad, or for any Counsel He had ever given in his Life, public or private; wherein, He doubted not, He should be found to have behaved himself (according to the weak Abilities God had given him) with Fidelity to his Master, and with all imaginable Affection to his Country, how unhappily soever He had been represented.

The first Treaty, He said, was with the Crown of *Portugal*; in which He was none of the Commissioners who treated, and was only present when any Report was made by the Commissioners to the King, or to the Council-Board, where all the Articles were debated; and He did not remember that there had been any Difference of Opinion upon any of them: And that Treaty had been generally held the best that hath been made with any Crown, the Merchants having thereby greater Advantages in Trade than They have in any other Place, besides many other great Benefits, with a great Enlargement of his Majesty's Empire.



The second Treaty was with the *States* of the *United Provinces*; in which likewise He was none of the Commissioners who treated: But all that was by them transacted was still brought to the Council-Board, and debated there in his Majesty's Presence; in which the Rule by which his Majesty guided himself was, that He would not remit any of those Concessions which had been formerly made by them in their last Treaty with *Cromwell*; and their Unwillingness to consent to that was the Reason that their Ambassadors proceeded so slowly. And his Majesty had the less Reason to be solicitous for Expedition, because the King of *France* had given his Royal Word, and proposed it himself, "that the two Crowns might proceed in the several Treaties with the *Dutch* together, that so They might be brought to those good Conditions, that They might live like good Neighbours with Both the Crowns, which," He observed, "They were not naturally inclined to do;" and promised positively, "that for his Part He would not conclude any Thing with the *Dutch*, before He had entirely communicated the same to his Majesty." Notwithstanding which Engagement, *France* entered into and finished their Treaty; and in it made that secret Article, which They declared afterwards to be the Ground of their Obligation to assist the *Dutch* in the ensuing War. However, his Majesty proceeded not till the *Holland* Ambassadors consented to all that had been before granted to *Cromwell*: Which being done, the Peace was made and ratified on Both Sides; and without Doubt was

with more Advantage and Honor to the *English*, than ever had been provided by any former Treaty between the Crown of *England* and those *States*.

From the two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* Ambassadors Extraordinary arrived at *London* shortly after the King's Return, and the several Treaties were made with Both those Crowns before the Departure of the Ambassadors: In neither of which Treaties the Chancellor was a Commissioner, nor knew any Thing that passed in either, but as it was represented at the Council-Board, and debated in his Majesty's Presence; nor did He ever hear that either of them was reckoned a disadvantageous Treaty, Both of them containing as much Benefit to the *English* as any Treaties which had been made before with those Crowns. He said, it was very true, that there were some unusual Expressions of Kindness and Friendship in the Treaty with *Denmark*; which, in Respect of that King's being at that Time in a very low Condition, under the disadvantageous Conditions of the Treaty at *Copenhagen* newly submitted to, and under almost as ill a Treaty extorted from that Crown by the *Dutch*, and yet being in terrible Apprehension of some new Oppression from the one and from the other, the Ambassador did very earnestly solicit to have inserted; and which were upon great Deliberation allowed and inserted by his Majesty's own particular Direction, in Consideration of the near Alliance in Blood between his Majesty and that King, and the Civilities and Obligations his Majesty had received from *Denmark*, during his being in

*Holland* after the Murder of his Father, and during his being in *Scotland*, when the King of *Denmark* sent him Horses, Arms and Ammunition. Of which his Majesty had so great a Sense, that He was often heard to say, "that if it had pleased God to have brought him Home before that disadvantageous Peace at *Copenhagen* had been made" (which had been done by the Countenance of the *English* Ships, and the Threats of those who were then Ambassadors from the governing Power in *England*), "He would have done the best He could to have defended and protected him:" And therefore He did very readily yield to that Article drawn by the Ambassador, his Majesty declaring at the same Time, "that He was very willing that those Princes who were Neighbours to *Denmark*, and from whom that Kingdom apprehended new Oppressions, should know his Majesty's Resolutions to support that King, and to defend him from new Injuries;" to which the Policy of his Government, as well as his Friendship, inclined and obliged him; though it is very true, the King of *Denmark* did shortly after make very ill Returns to his Majesty for that his so signal Affection.

These were all the Treaties made by the King before the War with the *Dutch* (for there was very little Progress made either with *France* or *Spain* for the Reasons mentioned before), except only a short Treaty with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; which Treaty was, for the most Part, particular with Reference only to the Prince of *Orange*, his Majesty's Nephew, and for the better

ordering his Affairs. In which Treaty his Majesty likewise employed five or six of his Council: And the few Articles between his Majesty and that Elector in Point of State were likewise transacted by them, and debated and considered at the Council-Board, and in which all Things were inserted for his Majesty's Benefit and Service; and if They had not been afterwards violated by the Elector, the King would have reaped much Fruit and Advantage even from that Treaty.

After the War was entered into with *Holland*, his Majesty sent Mr. *Coventry* to *Sweden*, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot* to *Denmark*, to dispose those two Crowns to a Confidence in each other, and then to dispose them Both to adhere to his Majesty, or at least not to assist or favor the *Dutch*. The Treaty with *Sweden* succeeded to his Majesty's Wish, and was concluded in a League defensive, very much to the King's Satisfaction, and with the full Approbation of the whole Board; that Crown having manifested so much Affection, and such an Inclination to an entire Conjunction with him, that upon very reasonable Conditions They would have been induced to have entered into a League offensive, and even into the present War against the *Dutch*: In order to which, They sent their Ambassadors to the King at the same Time when Mr. *Coventry* returned, and They became the Mediators for the Peace; having first declared to his Majesty, "that if the Treaty should prove ineffectual, the Crown of *Sweden* would immediately join with his Majesty against the *Dutch*." What became of the

other Treaty with *Denmark* is publicly known, his Majesty having declared to all the World how perfidiously He was treated by the *Dane*.

There remains only one other Treaty to be mentioned, which is the last with the *Dutch*, upon which the Peace was made: And therefore it will be necessary to set down the Inducement to that Treaty, the whole Progress and Conclusion of it; by all which it will easily appear that his Majesty was neither betrayed nor deluded in it, or, if He were; that it was not done by him.

After so many Encounters and various Successes in the War, which had been carried with a much greater Expense than his Majesty at his first Entrance into it was persuaded it would cost him; when He saw the Strength and Power of the *Dutch* so much increased by the Conjunction of *France* and *Denmark*, who supplied them with Money, Ships, and, what They more wanted, with Men as many as They desired; and that all the Propositions He could make to *Spain* could not induce them to enter into such an Alliance with him, as might embark them against *France*, notwithstanding it was evident to all but themselves, that the *French* resolved to break the Peace with them, having at that Time published those Declarations which They afterwards made the Ground of the War: His Majesty clearly discerned, that the *Dutch* grew less weary of the War than They had before seemed to have been; and that They would be able with that Assistance and Conjunction, to continue the War with less Inconvenience than his Majesty was like to do.

He had found it necessary for streightening the Trade of the Enemy (the depriving them of which could only induce them to desire a Peace, and which He could not do by the Strength of his own Ships, which were still kept together to encounter their Fleet), to grant Commissions upon Letters of Marque to as many private Men of War as desired the same, and with such strict Orders and Limitations as are necessary in those Cases; and He found indeed the Advantage very great, in the Damage those Men of War did to the Enemy, which was considerable, and gave them great Trouble. On the other Side, the common Seamen chose much rather to go on Board those Men of War, where their Profit out of their Shares of the Booty was greater, and their Hazards much less, than in the King's Ships, where They got only Blows without Booty, though their Pay and Provisions were much greater than They had been in any former Time: So that when the Royal Fleet was to be set out, there was greater Difficulty in procuring Seamen and Mariners to man it.

And then, whereas the Advancement of Trade was made the great End of the War, it was now found necessary to suppress all Trade, that there might be Mariners enough to furnish the Ships for the carrying on the War. And this Inconvenience produced another Mischief: For by the great Diminution and even Suppression of Trade, there was likewise so great a Fall in the Customs, Excise, and all other Branches of the King's Revenue, that it was evident enough that his Majesty would have

little to carry on the War, but what should arise by Imposition in Parliament upon the People; who already complained loudly of the Decay of their Rents, of the small and low Prices which their Commodities yielded by the Cessation of Trade, and especially by the carrying all the Money *in Specie* from the several Counties to *London*, for the carrying on the War. And the Parliament itself appeared so weary of it, that instead of granting a new Supply proportionable to the Charge, They fell upon Expedients to raise Money by the Sale of Part of the King's Revenue, which was already too small to support the ordinary and necessary Expence of the Crown.

But above all, his Majesty was most discouraged by the extreme Licence of the Seamen in general; but especially of those who were called Privateers, set out in the particular Ships of War upon Adventure, who made no Distinction between Friends and Foes; but, as if the Sea had been their own Quarters, They seized upon all Ships which passed within their View, and either pillaged them entirely and so dismissed them (which They usually did to those which They foresaw would be delivered by the Course of Justice), or else brought them into the Harbours, after They had taken from them what They best liked. And then the formal Proceedings in the Court of Admiralty were so dilatory, and involved in so many Appeals, that the Prosecution of Justice for Injuries received grew as grievous as the Injury itself; which drew an universal Clamor from all Nations, " that

“ without being Parties to the War They were all  
 “ treated as Enemies. ”

*France* had made the Damage They had this Way received, and the Interruption of their Trade, a great Part of their Quarrel, and one Ground of their Conjunction with the *Dutch*. From *Spain*, which really wished better to us than to our Enemies, the Complaints were as great; “ that  
 “ their whole Trade was destroyed; their Ships of  
 “ *Flanders*, which supplied *Spain* with what They  
 “ wanted for themselves, and with what was  
 “ necessary for their Trade and Intercourse with  
 “ the *Indies*, were all taken as *Dutch*, because it  
 “ was very hard to distinguish them by their  
 “ Language:” Which was likewise the Case of all the *Hanse-Towns*, which made grievous Complaints, and had without Doubt received great Damage. Those Princes of *Italy* whose Dominions reached to the Sea, as the two Republics of *Venice* and *Genoa*, and the Duke of *Florence*, expostulated very grievously for their Ships taken by those Freebooters of *Scotland* and of *Ireland*, Both which Nations enriched themselves very much upon such Depredations. And how much soever the Royal Navy was weakened every Day, the Number of those Men of War daily increased; so that those Kind of Ships of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, covered the whole Ocean: And of those Ships which were taken and carried into *Scotland* or *Ireland* (in *England* there were many Redeliveries), it was observed, that there were *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*. Even *Sweden* itself, with whom a new



stricter Alliance was entered into at that Time, with as severe Restrictions to that Licence of the Men of War as could be contrived for the Liberty and Security of the Trade of that Crown, complained exceedingly of the Violation of all those Concessions and Provisions, and that their Ships were every Day taken and plundered. And this universal Complaint began to awaken all Princes to a Jealousy, that the *English* endeavoured to restrain all Trade, till They could make themselves the entire Masters of it, and by their naval Power put some Imposition upon the whole Traffic of *Europe*.

It is very true, at the first Entrance into the War there had been many unskilful Expressions even in the Parliament itself, as well as in the frequent Discourses of Parliament-Men, "that by this War, " and by suppressing the Power of the *Dutch* at " Sea" (of which They made not the least Doubt), " the King would be able to give the Law to all " the Trade of the World, and that no Ships " should pass the Sea without paying some Tribute " to *England*:" Which Liberty and Rashness of Discourse made great Impression upon those who wished Mischief enough to the *Dutch*, till They saw what Danger might ensue to themselves by the Success of the *English*; and thereupon wished that They might break themselves upon each other, without Advantage to either Party. And this general Distemper and Complaint made the deeper Impression upon the King, by his discerning an extreme Difficulty, if not an Impossibility, to give any just Remedy to it; and consequently,  
that

that He should be shortly looked upon as a common Enemy.

He had taken very great Pains, upon deliberate Consultations, to suppress that odious Irregularity and destructive Licence that was practised amongst the Seamen, and had in many particular Cases himself examined the Excess, and caused exemplary Justice to be done upon the Offenders, and Restitution to be made of what had been taken, at least of what was left; for no Justice could preserve the injured Persons from being Losers. He had granted such Rules and Privileges and Protection to the Ports in *Flanders*, and to others of his Allies, as themselves desired, and looked upon as full Security; but then He quickly found, that from those very Ports and in those very Ships which enjoyed those Privileges, the Trade of the *Dutch* was driven on: So that it was evident that by that Liberty, which other Nations thought themselves in Justice entitled to, if not restrained, the *Hollanders* themselves would be easily able to carry on their whole Trade in the Ships of *Flanders*, *Hamburgh*, and the other free Towns, or in their own Ships owned by the other; and that the Restraint would likewise be impossible, without a total Suppression of those Men of War, and a Revocation of all Commissions granted to them or any of them, which would likewise be attended with the Freedom and Security of Trade to all his Majesty's Enemies.

In the last Encounter at Sea, the *Prince Royal*, and three other of his Majesty's Navy, had been lost; and another, the *London*, had been burned in

the River by the Negligence of the Seamen; for there was never any Discovery made, that there was any Purpose or Malice in it. The *French* had obliged themselves, that the Duke of *Beaufort*, Admiral of *France*, should, with the whole Fleet under his Command, amounting to eighteen good Ships, join with the *Dutch*; and the King of *Denmark* was likewise engaged to send all his great Ships, which were Ten or a Dozen, in Order to the like Conjunction: So that it was evident to his Majesty, that the Enemy would be much superior to him in Strength and Power, though He had been able to have manned and set out all his Royal Navy; which He well foresaw He should not be able to do, both for Want of Money and Want of Seamen, who were already in great Disorder and Mutiny for Want of their Pay, of which there was indeed a great Arrear due to them. And, which was worse, there was grown such an Animosity amongst the principal Officers of the Fleet between themselves, that the whole Discipline was corrupted; so that it was hard to resolve into what Hands to put the Government thereof, if it could have been made ready.

Upon which, and the whole State of Affairs, and upon Deliberation and frequent Consultation with the principal Officers of the Sea, and such others whose Experience in such Matters rendered them most capable to give Advice, the King found it most counselable to resolve to make a defensive War the next Year, and to lay up all his great Ships, and to have some Squadrons of the lighter

Vessels to continue in several Quarters assigned to them, which should be ready to take all Advantages which should be offered; and that there should be likewise ready in the River an other good Squadron of Ships against the End of the Summer, which being ready to join with those which lay out, when the Enemy was weary and their Ships foul, would be able to take many notable Advantages upon them; of which They who advised it were so confident, that They did believe this defensive War thus ordered and prosecuted would prove a greater Damage to the Enemy in their Trade, and all other Respects, than They had ever undergone. And in all this Counsel and Resolution the Chancellor had no other Part than being present; and not understanding the Subject Matter of Debate, could not be able to answer any of the Reasons that had been alledged.

These Considerations, upon a full Survey of his ill Condition at Home and abroad, induced the King to wish that there was a good End of the War; of which Inclination his Majesty vouchsafed to inform the Chancellor, well knowing that He would be very glad to contribute all He could to it, as a Thing He desired most in this World, and which He thought would prove the greatest Benefit to the King and Kingdom; and his Majesty likewise told him, "that He found all those, who had  
 " been most forward and impatient to enter into  
 " this War, were now weary of it, and would be  
 " glad of a Peace:" So that there remained now Nothing to do, but for his Majesty to advise with

those whom He thought fit (for there seemed many Reasons to conceal both the Inclination to Peace, and the Resolution not to set out a Summer Fleet, from being publicly known), what Method to observe, and what Expedients to make Use of, for the better procuring this wished for Peace, without appearing to be too solicitous or importunate for it, or so weary of the War as in Truth He was. And to this Consultation the King was pleased to call together with his Royal Brother, Prince *Rupert*, the Chancellor, the General, the Lord Treasurer, and those other honorable Persons with whom He used to advise in his most secret and most important Affairs.

That which occurred first to consider was, whether there were any Hope to divide the *French* from the *Dutch*; upon which Supposition the Prospect was not unpleasant, the War with one of them being hopefully enough to be pursued; the Conjunction was only formidable. And to this Purpose several Attempts had been made both in *France* and in *Holland*; Both Sides being equally resolved not to separate from each other, till a joint Peace should be made with *England*, though They Both owned a Jealousy of each other: Those of *Holland* having a terrible Apprehension and Foresight of the King of *France's* Designs upon *Flanders*, which would make his Greatness too near a Neighbour to their Territories; besides that the Logic of his Demands upon the Devolution and Nullity of the Treaty upon the Marriage was equally applicable to their whole Interest, as it was to their Demands

from the King of *Spain*. And *France*, upon all the Attacks They had made both in *France* with the *Dutch* Ambassador there, and in *Holland* by their own Ambassador, found clearly, that They were to expect no Assistance from the *Dutch* in their Designs, and that at least They wished them ill Success, and would probably contribute to it upon the first Occasion: And this made them willing to put an End to their so strict Alliance, which was already very chargeable to them, and not like to be attended with any notable Advantage, except in weakening an Ally from whom They might probably receive much more Advantage.

However, neither the one nor the other would be induced to enter into any Treaty apart, though They Both seemed willing and desirous of a Peace; in Order to which, the *Dutch*, through the *Swedes* Ambassadors Hands, had writ to the King, "to offer a Treaty in any such neutral Place as his Majesty should make Choice of;" professing, "that They should make no Scruple of sending their Ambassadors directly to his Majesty, but that their Conjunction with the other two Crowns, who required a neutral Place, would not admit that Condescension." And at the same Time They intimated to the *Swedes* Ambassadors, "that the King of *France* would not send his Ambassadors into *Flanders*, or any Place of the King of *Spain's* Dominions;" and therefore wished, "that his Majesty would make Choice of *Dusseldorp*, *Cologne*, *Francfort*, or *Hamburgh*, or any other Place that his Majesty should think more con-

“venient than the other, under that Exception:” All which Places, and in Truth any other out of the King of *Spain's* Dominions, were at such a Distance (the Winter being now near over), that there could be no reasonable Expectation of the Fruit of the Treaty in Time to prevent more Acts of Hostility.

How the Treaty came afterwards to be introduced by Overtures from *France*, and what Preliminaries were first proposed from thence by the Earl of *St. Albans*, and how agreed to by his Majesty; how the Place of the Treaty came to be adjusted, the Ambassadors chosen, and the whole Progress thereupon, and the Publication of the Articles of the Peace; is so particularly set forth in this Narrative before \*, that it needs not to be repeated here. And one of the Ambassadors repairing (as is there said) to the King, and giving him an Account of all that had passed before any Thing was concluded, and every Particular having been debated at the Council-Board and consented to; He said, He could not understand how his Majesty could be deluded or betrayed in that Treaty, which passed with such a full Examination and Disquisition, and in all which Debates his Majesty himself had taken the Pains to discourse more, and to enlarge in the Answer to all Objections which were foreseen, than He had been ever known to have done upon any other Article.

It is very true, that the Chancellor had been commanded by the King to write most of the Letters

\* Vol. iv. p. 273, &c. and Vol. v. p. 15, &c.

which had been sent to the Earl of *St. Albans*, from the Time of his going over concerning the Treaty, his Lordship having likewise directed most of his Letters to him; and most of the Despatches to the Ambassadors were likewise prepared by him. They being by their Instructions (without his Desire or Privity) to transmit all Accounts to one of the Secretaries or to himself. But, He said, it was as true, that He never received a Letter from either of them, but it was read entirely, in his Majesty's Presence, to those Lords of the Council who were assigned for that Service, where Directions were given what Answer should be returned; and He never did return any Answer to either of them, without having first read it to the Council, or having first sent it to one of the Secretaries to be read to his Majesty. And He did with a very good Conscience protest to all the World, that He never did the least Thing, or give the least Advice, relating to the War or relating to the Peace, which He would not have done if He had been to expire the next Minute, and to have given an Account thereof to God Almighty.

And as his Majesty prudently, piously and passionately desired to put an End to that War, so no Man appeared more delighted with the Peace when it was concluded, than his Majesty himself did; though (He said) as far as He could make any Judgment of public Affairs; the Publication of that Peace was attended with the most universal Joy and Acclamation of the whole Nation, that can be imagined. Nor is it easy to forget the general



Consternation that the City and People of all Conditions were in, when the *Dutch* came into the River as high as *Chatham*; and when the Distemper in the Court itself was so great, that many Persons of Quality and Title, in the Galleries and Privy Lodgings, very indecently every Day vented their Passions in bitter Execrations against those who had first counselled and brought on the War, wishing that an End were put to it by any Peace; some of which Persons, within very few Days after, as bitterly inveighed against the Peace itself, and against the Promoters of it. But, He said, He was yet so far from repenting or being ashamed of the Part He had in it, that He looked upon it as a great Honor, that the last Service He performed for his Majesty was the sealing the Proclamations, and other Instructions for the Conclusion and Perfection of that Peace, the Great Seal of *England* being that very Day sent for and taken from him.

The seven-  
teenth Article.

The Seventeenth and last Article was, *That He was a principal Author of that fatal Counsel of dividing the Fleet about June 1666.*

His Answer.

For Answer to this, He set down at large an Account of all the Agitation that was in Council upon that Affair, and that the dividing and Separation of the Fleet at that Time was by the Election and Advice of the two Generals, and not by the Order or Direction of the Council: All which hath been at large, in that Part of this Discourse which relates the Transactions of that Time \*, set down, and therefore needs not to be again inserted.

\* Vol. iv, p. 134, &c.

He took Notice of the Prejudice that might befall him, in the Opinion of good Men, by his absenting himself, and thereby declining the full Examination and Trial which the public Justice would have allowed him; which obliged him to set down all the Particulars which passed from the taking the Seal from him, the Messages He had received by the Bishop of *Hereford*, and finally the Advice and Command the Bishop of *Winchester* brought him from the Duke of *York* with the Approbation of the King. Upon all which, and the great Distemper that appeared in the two Houses at that Time, and which was pacified upon his withdrawing, He did hope, that all dispassioned Men would believe that He had not deserted and betrayed his own Innocence; but on the Contrary, that He had complied with that Obligation and Duty which He had always paid to his Majesty and to his Service, in chusing at that Time to sacrifice his own Honor to the least Intimation of his Majesty's Pleasure, and when the least Inconvenience might have befallen it by his Obstinacy, though in his own Defence: And concluded, that though his Enemies, who had by all the evil Arts imaginable contrived his Destruction, had yet the Power and the Credit to infuse into his Majesty's Ears Stories of Words spoken and Things done by him, of all which He was as innocent as He was at the Time of his Birth, and other Jealousies of a Nature so odious, that themselves had not the Confidence publicly to own; yet, He said, notwithstanding all those Disadvantages for the present, He did not despair,

but that his Majesty, in his Goodness and Justice, might in due Time discover the foul Artifices which had been used to gain Credit with him, and would reflect graciously upon some poor Services (how over-rewarded soever) heretofore performed by him, the Memory whereof would prevail with him to think, that the banishing him out of his Country, and forcing him to seek his Bread in foreign Parts at this Age, is a very severe Judgment. However, He was confident that Posterity will clearly discern his Innocence and Integrity in all those Particulars, which have been as untruly as maliciously laid to his Charge by Men who did Nothing before, or have done any Thing since, that will make them be thought to be wise or honest Men; and will believe his Misfortunes to have been much greater than his Faults.

The Chancellor enjoys great Tranquillity of Mind in his Banishment.

As soon as He had digested and transmitted this his Answer and Vindication to his Children, which He did in a short Time after his Arrival at *Montpelier*, He appeared to all Men who conversed with him to be entirely possessed of so much Tranquillity of Mind, and so unconcerned in all that had been done to him or said of him, that Men believed the Temper to be affected with much Art; and that it could not be natural in a Man, who was known to have so great an Affection for his own Country, the Air and Climate thereof; and to take so much Delight and Pleasure in his Relations, from whom He was now banished, and at such a Distance, that He could not wish that They should undergo the Inconveniences in many Respects

which were like to attend their making him many Visits. But when there was visibly always in him such a Vivacity and Cheerfulness as could not be counterfeited, that was not interrupted nor clouded upon such ill News as came every Week out of *England*, of the Improvement of the Power and Insolence of his Enemies; all Men concluded, that He had Somewhat about him above a good Constitution, and prosecuted him with all the Offices of Civility and Respect They could manifest towards a Stranger.

There were two Inconveniences which He foresaw might happen, and could not but discompose the Serenity of his Mind. The first, and that which gave him least Apprehension, though He could not avoid the thinking of it, nor the Trouble of those Thoughts which could not be separated from it, was, how He should be able to draw as much Money out of *England* as would support his Expense; which, though husbanded with as much Frugality as could be used with any Decency, He foresaw would amount to a greater Proportion than He had proposed to himself. His Indisposition and Infirmary, which either kept him under the actual and sharp Visitation of the Gout, or, when the Vigor of that was abated, in much Weakness of his Limbs when the Pain was gone, were so great, that He could not be without the Attendance of four Servants about his own Person; having in those Seasons when He enjoyed most Health and underwent least Pain, his Knees, Legs and Feet so weak, that He could not walk, especially up or

Two Apprehensions give him some Uneasiness.  
1. The Insufficiency of his Fortune.

down Stairs, without the Help of two Men; and when He was seized upon by the Gout, They were not able to perform the Office of watching: So that to the *English* Servants which He had brought with him, which with a Cook, and a Maid to wash his Linen, amounted to six or seven, He was compelled to take four or five *French* Servants for the Market and other Offices of the House; and his Lodging cost him above two hundred *Pistoles*. But all the Apprehensions of this Kind were upon short Reflections composed, in the Assurance He had of the Affection and Piety of his Children, who He believed out of his and their own Estate would raise enough for his unavoidable Disbursements.

This soon removed by his Confidence in the Piety of his Children.

2. The Fear of being again persecuted abroad.

The other Apprehension stuck closer to him, and made him even tremble in the very Reflection. He could not forget the Treatment He had between *Calais* and *Rouen*, and the strange violent Importunity that was used to him to get out of the Kingdom, when He had not Strength to get out of his Bed. And though He was now at Ease from such inhuman Pressures; yet his Enemies, who had even extorted that Importunity from a People not inclined to such Incivilities, had still the same Power, and the same Malice, and a foppish Kind of Insolence, that delighted to deprive him of any Thing that pleased him, and manifestly pleased itself in vexing him. And if They should again prevail with the same Ministers to remove him from his Quiet, and oblige him to new Journies, the same Spirit would chase him from Place to Place; there being none in View like to be superior to their

Influence, when *France* had been subdued by it. So that besides the Impossibility of preserving the Peace and Repose of his Mind in so grievous a Fatigue, and continual Torture of his Body, He saw no Hope of Rest but in his Grave. And against this Kind of Tyranny He could by no reasonable Discourse with himself provide any Security, or Stock of Courage to support it.

His Friend the Abbot *Moutague*, who was the only Advocate He had to that Court, used all his powerful Rhetoric to allay those Fears, and to comfort him against those melancholic Apprehensions, by assuring him, "that the Ministers were far from such Inclinations, and that Nothing but Reason of State could dispose them to that Severity:" Yet He prepared him not to think of removing from *Montpelier*, without first acquainting that Court with it. And when afterwards He proposed to him, "that He might have Leave to reside in *Orleans*, or some other City, at such a nearer Distance from *England*, that his Children or Friends might more easily repair to him;" the Court did not like the Proposition, but proposed *Moulins*, whither They would not yet give him a Pass, till first their Ambassador in *England* should know that it would not be unacceptable to his Majesty: So that He found himself upon the Matter not only banished from his Country, but confined to *Montpelier*, without any Assurance that He should not be again shortly banished from thence.

However after He had revolved all the Expedients that occurred to him for the Prevention of

This removed  
by an entire

**Resignation to  
Providence.**

such a Mischief, He concluded there was no other Remedy to be applied to those Contingencies, than in acquiescing in the good Pleasure of God, and depending upon him to enable him to bear what no Discretion or Foresight of his own could prevent. And in this Composure of Mind He betook himself to his Books, and to the Entertainment and Exercise of such Thoughts, as were most like to divert him from others which would be more unpleasant.

**Reflections on  
his undeserved  
Treatment.**

God blessed him very much in this Composure and Retreat. And the first Consolation He administered to himself was, from the Reflection upon the wonderful and unusual Proceedings and Prosecution that had been against him, in another Kind of Manner, and after another Measure, than used to be practised by the most bitter Enemies, and than was necessary to their Ends and Advantages who had contrived them: Not to mention the Malice and Injustice of their first Design of removing him from the Trust and Credit He had with the King, and to alienate his Majesty's Affection and Kindness from him, to which the corrupt Hopes and Expectation of Benefit to themselves might incline them; and then such unrighteous Ends cannot naturally be prosecuted but by as unrighteous Means. When They were not only privy to but Contrivers of his Escape, which They looked upon as attended with more Benefit to them than his Imprisonment, or the taking his Life, could have been; when They were secure of his Absence, and of no more being troubled or contradicted by him,

by the Bill of Banishment, by which They broke their Faith and Promises to the King, and made him depart from his own Resolutions: To what Purpose was all their other Prosecution of him both at Home and Abroad, more derogatory to the King's Honor, and that innate Goodness of Nature and Clemency that all Men know He abounds in, than mischievous to him? Why must He be absurdly charged with Counsels and Actions, of which He could never be suspected? And why must his Name be struck out of all Books of Council, and Catalogues and Lists of Servants, that it might not appear that He had ever been a Counsellor of State, or a Magistrate of Justice; a Method that was never practised towards the greatest Malefactor? To what worthy or necessary End could that exorbitant Demand be made and pursued in *France*, to expose him and the Honor of that Crown to the general Reproach of all Men, with such unparalleled Circumstances?

These very extraordinary Attempts and unheard of Devices seemed to all wise Men but the last Effort of vulgar-spirited Persons, and the faint grasping of impotent Malice; and instead of depressing the Spirits of him They hated, raised his Confidence, that God would not permit such gross Inventions of very ill and shortsighted Men to triumph in the Ruin of an honest Man, whose Heart was always fixed upon his Protection, and whom He had so often preserved from more powerful Stratagems: And He did really believe, that the divine Justice would at some Time expose the Pride

which raise  
his Confidence  
in God.



and Ambition of those Men to the Infamy They deserved.

He reflects on his Conduct from the Time of the King's Return.

And blames himself chiefly for his Expence in Building.

To those Persons with whom He did with the most Freedom communicate, He did often profess, that upon the strictest Inquisition He could make into all his Actions from the Time of the King's Return, when his Condition was generally thought to have been very prosperous, though at best it was exercised with many Thorns which made it uneasy, He could not reflect upon any one Thing He had done (amongst many which He doubted not were justly liable to the Reproach of Weakness and Vanity), of which He was so much ashamed, as He was of the vast Expence He had made in the Building of his House; which had more contributed to that Gust of Envy that had so violently shaken him, than any Misdemeanour that He was thought to have been guilty of; and which had infinitely discomposed his whole Affairs, and broken his Estate. For all which He had no other Excuse to make, than that He was necessitated to quit the Habitation He was in at *Worcester-House*, which the Owner required, and for which He had always paid five hundred Pounds yearly Rent, and could not find any convenient House to live in except He built one himself (to which He was naturally too much inclined); and that He had so much Encouragement thereunto from the King himself, that his Majesty vouchsafed to appoint the Place upon which it should stand, and graciously to bestow the Inheritance of the Land upon him after a short Term of Years, which He purchased from the present

present Possessor: Which Approbation and Bounty of his Majesty was his greatest Encouragement. And his own Unskillfulness in Architecture, and the positive Undertaking of a Gentleman (who had Skill enough, and a good Reward for his Skill), that the Expence should not amount to a third Part of what in Truth it afterwards amounted to, which He could without eminent Inconvenience have disbursed, involved him in that rash Enterprise, that proved so fatal and mischievous to him; not only in the Accumulation of Envy and Prejudice that it brought upon him, but in the Entanglement of a great Debt, that broke all his Measures; and, under the Weight of his sudden, unexpected Misfortune, made his Condition very uneasy, and near insupportable.

And this He took all Occasions to confess, and to reproach himself with the Folly of it. And yet, when his Children and his nearest Friends proposed and advised the Sale of it in his Banishment, for the Payment of his Debts, and making some Provision for two younger Children; He remained still so much infatuated with the Delight He had enjoyed, that, though He was deprived of it, He hearkened very unwillingly to the Advice; and expressly refused to approve it, until such a Sum should be offered for it, as held some Proportion to the Money He had laid out; and could not conceal some Confidence He had, that He should live to be restored to it, and to be vindicated from the Brand He suffered under, except his particular complete Ruin were involved in the general

His three Acquiescences, or Retreats from public Business.

Distraction and Confusion of his Country, of which He had a more sensible and serious Apprehension. He was wont to say, "that of the infinite Blessings which God had vouchsafed to confer upon him almost from his Cradle" amongst which He delighted in the reckoning up many signal-Instances, "He esteemed himself so happy in none as in his three Acquiescences," which He called *his three Vacations and Retreats He had in his Life enjoyed from Business of Trouble and Vexation*; and in every of which God had given him Grace and Opportunity to make full Reflections upon his Actions, and his Observations upon what He had done himself, and what He had seen others do and suffer; to repair the Breaches in his own Mind, and to fortify himself with new Resolutions against future Encounters, in an entire Resignation of all his Thoughts and Purposes into the Disposal of God Almighty, and in a firm Confidence of his Protection and Deliverance in all the Difficulties He should be obliged to contend with; towards the obtaining whereof, He renewed those Vows and Promises of Integrity and hearty Endeavour to perform his Duty, which are the only Means to procure the Continuance of that Protection and Deliverance.

The first of these Recesses or Acquiescences was, his remaining and residing in *Jersey*, when the Prince of *Wales*, his now Majesty, first went into *France* upon the Command of the Queen his Mother, contrary, as to the Time, to the Opinion of the Council the King his Father had directed him to

govern himself by, and, as They conceived, contrary to his Majesty's own Judgment, the knowing whereof They only waited for; and his Stay there, during that Time that his Highness first remained at *Paris* and *St. Germain's*, until his Expedition afterwards to the Fleet and in the *Downs*. His second was, when He was sent by his Majesty as his Ambassador, together with the Lord *Cottington*, into *Spain*; in which two full Years were spent before He waited upon the King again. And the third was his last Recess, by the Disgrace He underwent, and by the Act of Banishment. In which three Acquiescences, He had learned more, knew The great Benefits He received in them. himself and other Men much better, and served God and his Country with more Devotion, and He hoped more effectually, than in all the other more active Part of his Life.

He used to say, that He spent too much of his younger Years in Company and Conversation, and too little with Books; which was in some Degree repaired, by the greatest Part of his Conversation being with Persons of very eminent Parts of Learning and Virtue, and never with Men of loose and debauched Manners. And He took great Pleasure frequently to remember and mention the Names of those with whom He kept most Company, when He first entered into the World; many whereof lived to be very eminent in Church and State: To whose Information and Example, and to the Affection, Awe and Reverence He had to their Persons, He did acknowledge to owe all that was commendable in him. He did very much affect to be

loved and esteemed amongst Men of good Name and Reputation, which made him warily avoid the Company of loose and dissolute Men, and to preserve himself from any notable Scandal of any Kind, and to live *cautè*, if not *castè*. Nor was the Conversation He lived in liable to any other Exception, than that it was with Men superior to him in their Quality and their Fortunes, which exposed him to greater Expense than his Fortune would warrant: And yet it pleased God to preserve him from ever undergoing any Reproach of Inconvenience.

He accused himself of entering too soon out of a Life of Ease and Pleasure and too much Idleness, into a Life of too much Business, that required more Labor and Experience and Knowledge than He was supplied for; for He put on his Gown as soon as He was called to the Bar; and, by the Countenance of Persons in Place and Authority, as soon engaged himself in the Business of the Profession as He put on his Gown, and to that Degree in Practice, that gave little Time for Study, that He had too much neglected before; besides that He still indulged to his beloved Conversation. Few Years passed before the Troubles in *Scotland* appeared, and *The little Parliament* was convened; which being dissolved and presently a new one called, He was a Member in Both, and wholly gave himself up to the public Affairs agitated there, and where He was enough esteemed and employed, till the Spirit reigned there, and drove Men of his Principles from thence.

He was entirely and without Reserve trusted, with two other of his Friends, in all the King's Affairs which related to the Parliament. before the Rebellion appeared; which brought him into Prejudice and Jealousy with many of Both Houses, who were before very kind to him. And in the Beginning of the Rebellion He was sworn of the Privy-Council and made Chancellor of the Exchequer: And from this Time the Pains He took, and the great Fatigue He underwent, were notorious to all Men; infomuch as the Refreshment of Dinner excepted, for He never supped, He had very little of the Day, and not much of the Night, vacant from the most important Business.

When the Prince was separated from his Father, the King commanded him to attend his Highness into the *West*, under a more than common Trust: And the Inequality of Humors amongst the Counsellors, the Wants and Necessities of the Prince his little Court and Family, the Want of Wisdom in his Governor, that made him want that Respect from the Prince and all other People that was due to him, the Faction amongst all the Country Gentlemen, and above all, the ill Success in the King's Affairs, and the Prevalence of the Parliament in all Places, made the Province He had very uncomfortable and uneasy. The unavoidable Necessity of transporting the Person of the Prince out of the Kingdom (which was intrusted only to four of the Council by the King, and by his Command reserved from his Governor and another) when there should be apparent Danger of his falling into the Hands of

the Rebels, and the as necessary deferring it till that Danger was even in View, and the Designs of some of the Prince his Servants with the County to obstruct and prevent it when it was in View; the executing of it in a seasonable Article of Time before or in the Moment that it was suspected, and disguising it by a Retreat to *Scilly*, and staying there till They could be provided for a farther Voyage; and then the Prince's Remove from thence to *Jersey*, the Contests which happened there between the Counsellors upon the Queen's Commands for his Highness's present Repair into *France*, her Majesty's declared Displeasure, and the personal Animosities which grew from thence between the Persons in the greatest Trust, were all Particulars of that Weight and Distraction, that made great Impression upon his Mind and Faculties, which needed much Reflection and Contemplation to compose them.

His first Retreat in the Island of Jersey.

This first Retreat gave him Opportunity and Leisure to call himself to a strict Account for whatsoever He had done, upon revolving of all his particular Actions, and the Behaviour of other Men; and to compose those Affections and allay those Passions, which, in the Warmth of perpetual Actions and chafed by continual Contradictions, had Need of Rest and cool and deliberate Cogitations. He had now Time to mend his Understanding, and to correct the Defects and Infirmities of his Nature, by the Observation of and Reflection upon the Grounds and Successes of those Counsels He had been privy to, upon the several Tempers and

Distempers of Men employed both in the martial and civil Affairs of the greatest Importance, and upon the Experience He had and the Observation He had made in the three or four last Years, where the Part He had acted himself differed so much from all the former Transactions and Commerce of his Life.

He had originally in his Nature so great a Tenderness and Love towards Mankind, that He did not only detest all calumniating and Detraction towards the lessening the Credit or Parts or Reputation of any Man, but did really believe that all Men were such as They seemed or appeared to be; that They had the same Justice and Candor and Goodness in their Nature, that They professed to have; and thought no Men to be wicked and dishonest and corrupt, but those who in their Manners and Lives gave unquestionable Evidence of it; and even amongst those He did think most to err and do amiss, rather out of Weakness and Ignorance, for Want of Friends and good Counsel, than out of the Malice and Wickedness of their Natures.

But now, upon the Observation and Experience He had in the Parliament (and He believed He could have made the Discovery no where else, without Doubt not so soon), He reformed all those Mistakes, and mended that easiness of his Understanding. He had seen those there, upon whose Ingenuity and Probity He would willingly have deposited all his Concernments of this World, behave themselves with that signal Uningenuity and Improbity that must pull up all Confidence by



the Roots; Men of the most unsuspected Integrity, and of the greatest Eminence for their Piety and Devotion, most industrious to impose upon and to cozen Men of weaker Parts and Understanding, upon the Credit of their Sincerity, to concur with them in mischievous Opinions, which They did not comprehend, and which conduced to dishonest Actions They did not intend. He saw the most bloody and inhuman Rebellion contrived by them who were generally believed to be the most solicitous and zealous for the Peace and Prosperity of the Kingdom, with such Art and Subtilty, and so great Pretences to Religion, that it looked like Illnature to believe that such sanctified Persons could entertain any but holy Purposes. In a Word, Religion was made a Cloak to cover the most impious Designs; and Reputation of Honesty, a Stratagem to deceive and cheat others who had no Mind to be wicked. The Court was as full of Murmuring, Ingratitude and Treachery, and as willing and ready to rebel against the best and most bountiful Master in the World, as the Country and the City. A barbarous and bloody Fierceness and Savageness had extinguished all Relations, hardened the Hearts and Bowels of all Men; and an universal Malice and Animosity had even covered the most innocent and best-natured People and Nation upon the Earth.

These unavoidable Reflections first made him discern, how weak and foolish all his former Imaginations had been, and how blind a Surveyor He had been of the Inclinations and Affections of the Heart of Man; and it made him likewise conclude

from thence, how uncomfortable and vain the Dependance must be upon any Thing in this World, where whatsoever is good and desirable *suddenly perisheth*, and Nothing is lasting but *the Folly and Wickedness of the Inhabitants thereof*. In this first Vacation, He had Leisure to read many learned and pious Books; and here He began to compose his MEDITATION UPON THE PSALMS, by applying those Devotions to the present Afflictions and Calamities of his King and Country. He began now by the especial Encouragement of the King, who was then a Prisoner in the Army, to write THE HISTORY OF THE LATE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS, and finished the four first Books thereof; and made an Entry upon some Exercises of Devotion, which He lived to enlarge afterwards.

When He had enjoyed, in that pleasant Island of *Jersey*, full two Years, in as great Serenity of Mind as the Separation from Country, Wife and Children can be imagined to admit, He received a Command from the Queen, then at *St. Germans*, and an express Order from the King, upon which the other had been sent, his Majesty being then Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, that He should forthwith attend the Person of the Prince of *Wales*, who, upon the Revolt of the Ships under the Command of the Parliament in the *Downs*, and their Profession of Obedience to the King, was advised to make all possible Haste to them; and the Chancellor was required to wait upon his Highness at *Rouen* upon a Day assigned, which was past before the Orders came to him.

And then without any Delay He used all possible Diligence to find the Prince; who with greater Expedition, without coming to *Rouen*, passed to *Calais*, and from thence to *Holland* to possess the Ships which He found there, and possessed with all that Alacrity (which is always very loud) that Seamen can express; and by the Assistance of the Prince of *Orange* got more Victual quickly on Board, that He might be in the *Downs* with the Fleet to second some Attempt which was already on Foot in *Kent*, and others expected in several Parts of the Kingdom. And the Chancellor having in his Way called upon the Lord *Cottington* at *Rouen*, and together with him, and some other Persons of Honor and Quality, made what Haste They could to *Dieppe*, that They might there embark for any Place where They should hear the Prince to be; there They were informed, that his Highness was at the *Brill* in *Holland*. And thereupon They put themselves on Board a *French* Man of War, and upon the Sea were taken Prisoners by *Ostenders*, who, upon the Advantage of being in the Ship of an Enemy, concluded them to be lawful Prize, and treated them accordingly, with all the Circumstances of Barbarity; and after having plundered them thoroughly of Money and Jewels of great Value, and stripped most of their Servants to their Shirts, They carried them in great Triumph to *Ostend*; where though their Persons were used with Civility and Respect, and presently set at Liberty, yet They were compelled to stay there many Days, in Hope to obtain the Jewels

and Money of which They had been robbed, and, finding that not to be done (those Privateers being subject to no Discipline, nor regarding the Orders of the Admiralty, or any other Governor), to make such Provision as was necessary for a further Voyage. And at last They got from *Ostend* to *Flushing*, having found Means to inform the Prince of their Misadventures, and of their Readiness at *Flushing* to receive and obey his Commands.

The Fleet was then in the *Downs* in so good a Posture, by the Access of other Ships and Vessels to it, and by some notable Commotions on Land, that the Prospect was fair and hopeful. And the Prince received the Advertisement no sooner, than He was pleased to send a Frigate to *Flushing* for those who had been so long expected. But the Winds proved then so cross and tempestuous in the gentlest Season of the Year, that after several Attempts at Sea, They were so often driven back again into the Harbour, sometimes by very dangerous Storms, that in the End They received new Directions to attend the Prince at the *Hague*, the Fleet being at the same Time under Sail for that Coast.

The Earl of *Lautherdale* was at that Time come to the Fleet as Commissioner from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to inform the Prince, that Duke *Hamilton* with a powerful Army was already marched into *England*; and thereupon to invite his Highness to make what Haste He could, to put himself in the Head of that Army, according to a Promise the King had made in some private Treaty with the *Scots*; and which the Queen had sent very positive

Commands to be observed and obeyed. This was the Reason, not without other more reasonable Motives, so suddenly to quit the *Downs*, that He might get more Victual for the Fleet, and therewith sail to the *North*, and disembark in such a Place as should be nearest to the *Scots* Army with which He doubted not to find a very considerable Conjunction of the *English*; since He knew that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had possessed himself with a Body of *English* Officers and Gentlemen, of *Berwick*, and Sir *Philip Musgrave* had done the same with the like Assistance, at *Carlisle*, before the *Scots* began their March.

The Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor came to the *Hague* the next Day after the Prince his Arrival, and were very graciously received by his Highness, and with a wonderful Kindness by all the Court, and all the Gentlemen who had attended upon him; not so much out of Affection to them, as out of Detestation of one another, who had kept Company for the Space of two Months last past.

The Prince had found the common Seamen full of such a keen Devotion for his Service upon the true Principles of the Cause, and for the Redemption of the King his Father out of Prison, and so full of Indignation against those who had formerly misled them into Rebellion, especially the *Presbyterians*; that as They had before the Declaration set all those Officers on Shore by Force, who were appointed by the Parliament to command them, so now They thought the new ones which They had chosen for themselves, not fierce and resolute

enough for their Purposes. The Truth is; there had been much unskilful Tampering amongst them by Emissaries from *Paris*, and other Attempts. And the Duke of *York*, having made his Escape very little Time before, and being then at the *Hague* when the Fleet came to *Helvoetsluys*, upon the first Notice lost no Time in making Haste to them. It was generally known, that the King his Father had long designed to make him High Admiral of *England*; and the Commission which had been formerly granted to the Earl of *Northumberland* They all knew to be repealed and cancelled: So that He no sooner came to the Fleet, but He was received with the usual Acclamations of Joy as their Admiral, and He as cheerfully assumed the Command. And his small Family presently began to propagate their several Factions and Animofities, with which They abounded, to make such Parties amongst the Seamen as might advance their several Pretences. And in this Posture the Prince found the Fleet when He came to it, and resolved to take the Command immediately into his own Hand, and that the Duke should remain at the *Hague* with his Sister, till that Expedition were over; and so He made Haste with the Fleet into the *Downs*, hoping that some present Occasion would be the best Expedient to extinguish that Fire, and compose those Distempers, which He discerned already to be kindled amongst the Seamen.

The Advice and Instruction which were brought from *Paris* were grounded upon the Treaty with *Scotland*, the marching of that Army, and the

Expectation of some notable Attempt by the Presbyterian Party in *London*; in Order to which, all Address was to be made to that City, and a Declaration to be published to gratify that Party. This Secret was intrusted only to one of the Council, and one other who was to be ministerial in whatsoever the other directed. And this Temper was quickly discovered when They came into the *Downs*, by the great Care that was taken to give no Offence or Interruption to the Trade of the City, which all Men believed would be the best Means to reduce it. Ships of Return, richly laden, were suffered quietly to pass thither; others coming from thence, very well freighted, were likewise quietly permitted to prosecute their Voyage: All which was passionately opposed by Prince *Rupert* and all the rest of the Council. And this Contradiction was quickly known to the Lords of the Bed-chamber, and others, who had no Reverence for that Council, and were now the more inflamed upon this Division of Opinion. And the Seamen likewise coming to take Notice of it cried out, "the Prince was betrayed;" and grew into such Rage and Fury, that They declared, "that They would throw those overboard who gave the Prince such evil Counsel." Two or three unprosperous Attempts at Land, and then the Lord *Lautherdale's* coming thither, and the Order thereupon for the Fleet to sail presently for *Holland* for the Reasons aforesaid, kindled all those Sparkles into a bright Flame of Dissension, so universal, that there were very few who spake with any Civility of one

another, or without the highest Animosity that can be imagined.

This was the distracted Condition of Affairs when the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor came to be *Hague*; the Council divided between themselves, and more offended with the Court for Presumption in making themselves of the Council, and opposing whatsoever the other directed, by their private Whispering to the Prince in Reproach of them, and their public Murmurings against their Persons for the Counsel They gave, every Man endeavouring to incense others against those who were not affected by him; and this ill Humor increased by such an universal Poverty, that very few knew where to find a Subsistence for three Months to come, or how to dispose of themselves. The Clamor from the Fleet was so high for new Victual and for Money, that there was Apprehension just enough, that They would provide for themselves by returning to their old Station; to which They had both Opportunity and Invitation, by the Parliament's having set out another Fleet superior in Power to them, that were already at Anchor in their View, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, to block them up in that inconvenient Harbour. The sudden News of the total Defeat of the *Scots* Army; and shortly after the Loss of *Colchester*, and taking the Persons of so many gallant Gentlemen, and murdering some of them in cold Blood; the daily warm Contests in Council upon the insolent Behaviour and the unreasonable Demands of the Lord *Lautherdale*, who as peremptorily insisted upon the Prince's going



immediately with the Fleet into *Scotland*, as He had done before the total Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, and without expecting to hear what Alteration that fatal Change had produced in that Kingdom, which was very reasonable to apprehend, and in Truth had at that Time really fallen out: These and many other ill Presages made the Chancellor quickly find, that in his two Years Repose in *Jersey* He had not fortified himself enough against future Assaults, nor laid in Ballast to be prepared to ride out the Storms and Tempests that He was like to be engaged in.

The Preservation of the Fleet was a Consideration that would bear no Delay; and was in a short Time, though with infinite Difficulties and Contests full of Animosity, resolved to be by committing the Charge of it to Prince *Rupert*, who was to carry it into *Ireland*, where there were many good Ports in his Majesty's Obedience. But that was no sooner done, but the horrid Murder of the King, and the formed Dissolution of the Monarchy there, and erecting and establishing the Government in that Kingdom with a seeming general Consent, at least without any visible Appearance or Possibility of Contradiction or Opposition; the faint Proclamation of the present King in *Scotland*, under the same Conditions which They would have imposed, and with all the Circumstances with which They had prosecuted the Rebellion against his Father; the Resolution what was fit for the young King to undertake in his own Person, and the dismal Prospect, how all the neighbour Princes were solicitous not to pay him any such Civilities, as might encourage him to  
expect

expect any Thing from them; were all Arguments of Perplexity and Consternation to all Men, who had been moderately versed in the Transaction of Affairs; and were too many Things to be looked upon at once, and yet could not be effectually looked upon but together. So that the Chancellor used to say, "that all the Business He had been  
 " conversant in, from the Beginning to his coming  
 " to the *Hague*, had not administered Half the  
 " Difficulties and Disconsolation, had not Half so  
 " much disturbed and distracted his Understanding,  
 " and broken his Mind, as the next six Months  
 " from that Time had done." Nor could He see any Light before him to present a Way to the King, by entering into which He might hopefully avoid the greatest Misery that ever Prince had been exposed to. His own particular Condition (under so general a Mortification) afflicted him very little, having long composed himself by a Resolution, with God's Blessing, to do his Duty without Hesitation, and to leave all the rest to the Disposition of Providence.

When the Fleet was committed to the Government of Prince *Rupert* to embark for *Ireland*, it was enough foreseen by those who foresaw what naturally might fall out, that *Ireland* was probably like to be the Place whither it might be the most counselable for the Prince himself to repair. But as it was not then seasonable in many Respects to publish such an Imagination; so it was not possible to keep the Fleet where it then was, or in any Port of the Dominions of *Holland*, where the *States*

were already perplexed what Answer They should return if the new Commonwealth should demand the Ships, or whether They were not obliged to deliver them: And therefore no Time was to be lost. Nor was the Voyage itself like to be secure, but by the Benefit of the Winter Season, and the unquiet Seas They were to pass through; which would have made it too dangerous a Voyage for the Person of the Prince, who must find a shorter Passage thither, when it should be necessary.

When that inhuman Impiety was acted at *London*, and the young King had in some Degree recovered his Spirits from the sudden Astonishment, and had received the vile Proclamation and Propositions from *Scotland*, his Majesty with those few who were of nearest Trust concluded, "that it would be shortly of Necessity to transport himself into *Ireland*;" which was to be the highest Secret, that it might be equally unsuspected in *England* and in *Scotland*. "That He should *incognito*, or with a light Train, pass through *France* to *Nantes*, or some other Port of *Bretagne*, where two or three Ships of War, which He could not doubt of obtaining by the Favor of his Brother the Prince of *Orange*, might attend him; and from thence He might with the least Hazard embark for the nearest Coast of *Ireland*, where the Marquis of *Ormond* might meet him."

This being concluded in that Manner, the Lord *Cottington* went in a Morning to the King before He was dressed; and desired, "that when He was ready, He would give him a private Audience

“ in his Closet.” He there told him, “ that his Majesty had taken the most prudent Resolution that his Condition would admit, for *Ireland*; where there remained yet some Foundation for Hope. That for himself He was so old and infirm ” (for to his seventy-five Years, which was then his Age, He had frequent and painful Visitations of the Gout and the Stone), “ that his Majesty could not expect his personal Attendance in so many Journies by Land as He must be exposed to: Yet having served the Crown throughout the Reign of his Grandfather and his Father, He was very desirous to finish his Life in his Majesty’s Service.”

“ That He had reflected upon the woful Condition his Affairs were in, not more by the Power of his Rebels, than by being abandoned by all his neighbour Princes. That it was too apparent, that neither of them would embark themselves in his Quarrel; so that the utmost He could hope from them was, that in some secret Manner They might contribute such a Supply and Relief to him, as might give him a Subsistence, till some new Accidents and Alterations at Home or abroad might produce a more seasonable Conjunction. That even in that Particular, He doubted the Magnanimity or Generosity of Princes would not be very conspicuous: However it being all his present Dependance, He must try all the Ways He could to provoke them to that Disposition.”

“ That He knew the Crown of *Spain* was so  
“ low at that Time, that whatever their Inclina-  
“ tions might be, They could neither supply him  
“ with Ships or Men or Money towards the raising  
“ or supporting of an Army: Yet that He knew  
“ too, that there is such a Proportion of Honor,  
“ and of a generous Compassion and Bounty, that  
“ is unseparable from that Crown, and even runs  
“ through that People, which other Nations are  
“ not inspired with. And He was confident, that  
“ if his Majesty sent an Ambassador thither, how  
“ necessitous soever that Court might be, it would  
“ never refuse to make such an Assignment of  
“ Money to him as might, well husbanded, pro-  
“ vide a decent Support for him in *Ireland*; where  
“ likewise the King of *Spain* had Power to do his  
“ Majesty more Offices than any other Prince  
“ could do, or He any where else, by the universal  
“ Influence He had upon the *Irish* Nation. And  
“ General *Owen O Neile*, who was the only Man  
“ that then obstructed the Union of that People in  
“ a Submission to the King, had been bred up in  
“ the Court of *Spain*, and had spent all his Time  
“ in the Service of that Crown, and had still his  
“ sole Dependance upon it; and therefore it was  
“ to be presumed, that He might be induced by  
“ Direction from *Madrid*, to conform himself to a  
“ Conjunction with the Marquis of *Ormond*, the  
“ King’s Lieutenant there.” He said, “ that his  
“ Majesty knew well that He had spent a great  
“ Part of his Life in that Court, in the Service of  
“ his Grandfather and Father; and He would be

“ willing to end his Days there, if it were thought  
 “ of Use to his Affairs.”

The Discourse was too reasonable not to make Impression upon the King; which discovering in his Countenance, the other desired him, “ that He  
 “ would think that Day upon all that He had said,  
 “ without communicating it to any Body, till the  
 “ next Morning, when He would again wait on  
 “ him to know his Opinion upon the Whole; for  
 “ if his Majesty should approve of what He pro-  
 “ posed, He had another Particular to offer, before  
 “ the Matter should be publicly debated.” When  
 He came the next Morning, and found the King was much pleased with what He had before discoursed, and asked what the other Particular was that He intended to offer; the Lord *Cottington* told him, “ that He was very glad his Majesty  
 “ was so well pleased with what He had proposed,  
 “ which He confessed the more He had revolved  
 “ himself, the more hopeful the Success appeared  
 “ to him, which made him the more solicitous,  
 “ that through any Inadvertency such a Design  
 “ might not miscarry.”

He put him then in Mind again “ of his great  
 “ Age, how unlike it was that He should be able  
 “ to hold out such a Journey, or, if He did, the  
 “ Fatigue thereof would probably cast him into a  
 “ Fit of the Gout or the Stone, or Both, which  
 “ if He should outlive, He should be long detained  
 “ from the Prosecution of his Business, which the  
 “ less vigorously pursued would be more ineffec-  
 “ tual;” and therefore proposed, “ that He might

“ have a Companion with him, of more Youth  
 “ and a stronger Constitution, who would receive  
 “ some Benefit by the Information and Advice He  
 “ should be able to give him, the Advantage  
 “ whereof would redound for the present, and  
 “ might more in the future, to the King’s Service;”  
 and in Fine proposed, “ that the Chancellor of the  
 “ Exchequer might be joined in the Commission  
 “ with him, and accompany him into *Spain*, from  
 “ whence if They made Haste in their Journey,  
 “ They might make such a Progress in that Court,  
 “ that He might be able to attend his Majesty in  
 “ *Ireland* in a very short Time after his Arrival  
 “ there; whilst himself remained still at *Madrid*,  
 “ to prosecute all farther Opportunities to advance  
 “ his Service.”

The King was surpris’d with the Overture;  
 and asked, “ whether the Chancellor would be  
 “ willing to undertake the Employment, and  
 “ whether He had spoken with him of it.” To  
 which the other presently replied, “ that He knew  
 “ not, nor had ever spoke to him of it, nor would  
 “ do, till his Majesty, if He liked it, should first  
 “ prepare him; for He knew well He would at  
 “ first be startled at it, and it may be might take  
 “ it unkindly. That He knew well how much of  
 “ the Weight of his Business lay upon the Chan-  
 “ cellor’s Shoulders, and in that Respect that  
 “ many others would not be willing He should  
 “ be absent: Yet that there was a long Vacation  
 “ in View, and there could be little to be done  
 “ till the King should come into *Ireland*; and by

“ that Time He might be with him āgain, with  
 “ such a Return from *Spain* as might be welcome  
 “ and convenient to him. And therefore if his  
 “ Majesty would first break the Matter to him,  
 “ He would then take the Work upon him; and  
 “ He believed He should give him such Reasons,  
 “ since He could not suspect his Frieadship ”  
 (which was very notorious), and They lived  
 then together), “ as would dispose him to the  
 “ Journey.”

When the King spake to him of it, as a Thing  
 that had resulted from his own Thoughts; “ that  
 “ He had more Hope to obtain some Supply from  
 “ *Spain*, than from any other Place; that no Man  
 “ could be so fit to solicit is as the Lord *Cotting-*  
 “ *ton*, and Nobody so fit to accompany him as He,  
 “ who might be with him in *Ireland* in a short  
 “ Time;” He said, “ He had spoken with Lord  
 “ *Cottington* to undertake the Employment, to  
 “ which He was not averse; but He had expressly  
 “ refused to undertake it alone, and He knew  
 “ that no Companion would be so acceptable to  
 “ him as He would be.”

The Chancellor did not at first dissemble the  
 Apprehension, that this Device had been contriyed  
 at *Paris*, where He knew that neither of them  
 were acceptable, nor were wished to be about the  
 King, or to have so much Credit with him as  
 They were Both thought to have: But the King  
 quickly expelled that Jealousy. And He desired a  
 short Time to consider of it; and received such  
 Reasons (besides Kindness in the Invitation) from



the Lord *Cottington*, that He did not submit only to the King's Pleasure, but very willingly undertook the Employment: And, though it was afterwards delayed by the Importunity of many, and the Queen's own Advice, who thought the Chancellor's Attendance about the Person of the King her Son to be more useful to his Service, than it was like to be in the other Climate, the King was firm to his Purpose; and despatched them shortly after his coming into *France*, when He resolved and prepared for his own Expedition into *Ireland*, in Order to which there were then some *Dutch* Ships of War that waited for him at *St. Maloes*.

His second  
Retreat in  
Spain.

This was the Occasion and Ground of his second Retreat and Recess from a very uneasy Condition, of which He was not more weary in Respect of the Difficulty and Melancholy of the Business, from which He could not entirely disentangle himself by Absence, than in Respect of the Company He was to keep in the conducting it, who had Humors and Inclinations uneasy to him, irresolute in themselves, and contrary for the most Part to his Judgment. And He did still acknowledge, that He did receive much Refreshment and Benefit by that Negotiation. For though the Employment proved ineffectual to the Purposes for which it was intended, by the King's finding it necessary to divert his intended Journey for *Ireland*, into that of *Scotland*; yet He had Vacancy to recollect and compose his broken Thoughts; and mended his Understanding, in the Observation and

Experience of another Kind of Negotiation than He had formerly been acquainted with, under the Assistance, Advice and Friendship of the most able Person, and the best acquainted with foreign Negotiations and the general Interests of the several Kings and States in *Christendom*, of any Statesman then alive in *Europe*, and who delighted in giving him all the Information He could. He was conversant in a Court of another Nature and Humor, of another Kind of Grandeur and Gravity, of another Constitution and Policy; and where Ambassadors are more esteemed and regarded, and live with more Conversation and a better Intelligence amongst themselves, than in any other Court in the World.

The less of Business He had, He was the more vacant to study the Language and the Manners and the Government of that Nation. He made a Collection of and read many of the best Books which are extant in that Language, especially in the Histories of their Civil and Ecclesiastical State. Upon the reading the Pontifical History written by *Illescas* in two Volumes, and continued by one or two others in three other Volumes, He begun there first his ANIMADVERSIONS UPON THE SUPERIORITY and SUPREMACY OF THE POPE, which He afterwards continued to a perfect Work. Here He resumed the Continuation of his DEVOTIONS ON THE PSALMS, and other Discourses of Piety and Devotion, which He reviewed and enlarged in his later Times of Leisure. Though He underwent in this Employment many Mortifications

of several Kinds, yet He still acknowledged that He learned much during the Time of his being in *Spain*, from whence He returned a little before the Battle of *Worcester*; and after the King's miraculous Escape into *France*, He quickly waited upon his Majesty, and was never separated from his Person, till sixteen or seventeen Years after by his Banishment.

His third Retreat after his Banishment.

This He called his third and most blessed Retreat, in which God vouchsafed to exercise many of his Mercies towards him. And though He entered into it with many very disconsolate Circumstances; yet in a short Time, upon the Recovery of a better State of Health, and being remitted into a Posture of Ease and Quietness, and secure from the Power of his Enemies, He recovered likewise a marvellous Tranquillity and Serenity of Mind, by making a strict Review and Recollection into all the Actions, all the Faults and Follies, committed by himself and others in his last continued Fatigue of seventeen or eighteen Years; in which He had received very many signal Instances of God's Favor, and in which He had so behaved himself, that He had the good Opinion and Friendship of those of the best Fame, Reputation and Interest, and was generally believed to have deserved very well of the King and Kingdom.

In all this Retirement He was very seldom vacant, and then only when He was under some sharp Visitation of the Gout, from reading excellent Books, or writing some Animadversions and

Exercitations of his own, as appears by the Papers and Notes which He left. He learned the *Italian* and *French* Languages, in which He read many of the choicest Books. Now He finished the Work which his Heart was most set upon, THE HISTORY OF THE LATE CIVIL WARS AND TRANSACTIONS TO THE TIME OF THE KING'S RETURN IN THE YEAR 1660; of which He gave the King Advertisment. He finished his REFLECTIONS AND DEVOTIONS UPON THE PSALMS OF DAVID, which He dedicated to his Children; which was ended at *Montpelier* before the Death of the Dutchess. He wrote and finished his ANSWER TO MR. HOBES HIS LEVIATHAN, to which He prefixed an Epistle dedicatory to the King, if his Majesty would permit it. He wrote a good Volume of ESSAYS, DIVINE, MORAL, AND POLITICAL, to which He was always adding. He prepared a DISCOURSE HISTORICAL OF THE PRETENCE AND PRACTICE OF THE SUCCESSIVE POPES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THAT JURISDICTION THEY ASSUME; in which He thought He had fully vindicated the Power and Authority of that odious Usurpation. He entered upon the forming a METHOD FOR THE BETTER DISPOSING THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, THAT IT MAY BE MORE PROFITABLY AND EXACTLY COMMUNICATED THAN IT HATH YET BEEN. He left so many Papers of several Kinds, and cut out so many Pieces of Work, that a Man may conclude, that He never intended to be idle.

In a Word, He did not only by all possible Administrations subdue his Affections and Passions,

to make his Mind conformable to his present Fortune; but did all He could to lay in a Stock of Patience and Provision, that might support him in any future Exigent or Calamity that might befall him: Yet with a cheerful Expectation, that God would deliver him from that powerful Combination which then oppressed him.



# I N D E X.

N. B. *The Roman Numbers direct to the Volume ;  
the others to the Page.*

## A.

- Abbot*, Arch-Bishop, his Behaviour, i. 75.
- Act* for attaining the *English* in the *Dutch* Service, iv. 6. for inspecting public Accounts, 198. against the Importation of *Irish* Cattle, 205. a Bill of Divorce, 247.
- Acts*, 1. of Settlement, ii. 270. 2. of Settlement, 272. 3. of Settlement, 313. of Indemnity, iii. 2. of Uniformity, 36. the Triennial Bill repealed, 198. a Bill for Chimney-Money, and several other Acts passed, 199. a Bill for Liberty of Conscience, 258.
- Adventurers*, a Committee deputed by them, ii. 137. an Account of them, *ibid.* another Class of them, 145. their Answer to the Plea of *Irish* Catholics, 251. other Answers to the Pleas of the *Irish*, 263-268.
- African*, Company Royal, erected, iii. 142. a Charter granted to it, 143.
- Albemarle*, Duke of, f. General Monk.
- Allen*, Cardinal, his Kindness to Mr. *Henry Hyde*, i. 4.
- Antrim*, Marquis of, a Particular Relation of his Case, ii. 298.
- Antwerp*, the Chancellor's Family settled there, i. 248.
- Argyle*, Marquis of, sent to the Tower, ii. 120. his Character, 121. is sent into *Scotland*, to be tried, 123. is tried, condemned, and executed, iii. 178.
- Arlington*, Lord, f. *Bennet*.
- Army*, the Nature and Inclination of it, ii. 22.
- Arundel-Castle*, Mr. *Chillingworth* taken Prisoner in it, i. 67.
- - - Earl of, *Earl Marshal*, the arbitrary Proceedings of his Court, i. 83. his Court suppressed, 88. his Behaviour to, and Sentiments of Mr. *Hyde*, *ibid.*
- - - Mr. *Richard*, created Lord *Arundel of Trerice*, iii. 275. the eminent Services of him and his Family, 276.
- Ashburnham*, John, his Friendship with Sir *John Colepepper*, i. 110. his Invasion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Office, 186. his Credit with the King, 213. the King's Character of him, 216.
- Ashley*, Lord, Commissioner of Appeals, iii. 249. obtains a Grant appointing him Treasurer of Prize-Money, 252. He speaks in the House of Lords in Favor of the Bill for Liberty of Conscience, 262.

I N D E X.

*Aylesbury*, Sir *Thomas*, Master of Requests to the King, the Father of Mr. *Hyde's* second Wife, i. 18.

*Ayliffe*, Sir *George*, Father to Mr. *Hyde's* first Wife, i. 13.

*Ayscue*, Sir *George*, much consulted by the Duke of *York*, iii. 269.

B.

*Bankers*, a Clamor raised against them, iv. 70. the Advantages arising from them, *ibid.* the Method of treating with them, 71.

*Bajadonna*, *Pietro*, the Venetian Ambassador at *Madrid*, his Character, i. 259.

*Batteville*, the Baron of, the Spanish Ambassador; some Account of him, ii. 196. joins with the Earl of *Bristol*, in obstructing the King's Marriage, 199. his extravagant Behaviour, 208. for which he is ordered to leave the Kingdom, *ibid.*

*Baynard*, *Thomas*, i. 2.

*Bennet*, Mr. Secretary to the Duke of *York*, i. 277.

- - - Sir *Henry*, his Character, iii. 106. an Intrigue in the Court to advance him, 133. he is made Secretary of State, 139. is desirous of a War with the *Dutch*, 217. He caresses and amuses Sir *Robert Paston*, 226. is created Lord *Arlington*, 274. laments to the Chancellor the King's Course of Life, iv. 175. which upon the Chancellor's repeating it to the King, he puts off with Railery, 177.

*Bergen*, a particular Account of the Attempt upon the *Dutch* there, iii. 334. the ill Success of it, 338.

*Berkeley*, Sir *John*, his Intrigues in the Duke of *York's* Family, i. 273.

- - - Sir *Charles*, traduces the Duchess of *York's* Reputation, ii. 75. but confesses the falshood of his Charge, 80. begs Pardon of the Duchess, 85. makes Professions to the Chancellor, *ibid.* he is made Privy-Purse, iii. 139. caresses and amuses Sir *Robert Paston*, 226. is created Earl of *Falmouth*, 273. is killed in the first Engagement with the *Dutch*, 306.

*Bewett*, Monsieur, a Gentleman of great Weight in *Holland*, his Character, iv. 110. his Endeavours to bring about a Peace, 112. He enters into a Correspondence with the *English* Court, with *De Wit's* Consent, 115. he soon suspects *De Wit's* Sincerity, and resolves to get a Peace in Opposition to him, *ibid.* he settles a secret Correspondence with the *English* Court, 116. this Correspondence is accidentally discovered by *De Wit*, 122. upon which he is executed, 123. his Friends obliged to fly, *ibid.*

*Bishops* removed out of the House of Peers, i. 114. new ones appointed, ii. 227. a Clamor raised against them by their Tenants, 228. the Injustice of it, 229. a Bill passed for the Restoration of them to their Seats in Parliament, iii. 4. some of them are against all Alterations in the Liturgy, 24. 24. others press for some earnestly, *ibid.* the first more prudent, 25. they oppose the Bill for Liberty of Conscience, 260.

*Bordeaux*, Ambassador from *France*, to the late Powers, is

## I N D E X

- commanded to quit the Kingdom, *Buckingham, Duke of, his Death,* ii. 178. i. 12.
- Boyle, Mr. Richard,* killed in the first Engagement with the *Dutch,* iii. 307. - - - Duke of, at the Head of the Opposition in the House of Peers, iv. 201. his Hatred to the Duke of *Ormond,* 203. he informs the House of a Challenge sent him by the Lord *Offory,* 218. he is sent to the Tower, 222. a Scuffle between him and the Marquis of *Dorchester,* 223. for which he is again sent to the Tower, 224. he obstructs the Bill for Lord *Roos'* Divorce, 248. a Particular relating to him which hastens the Fall of the Chancellor, v. 24. an Account of his Behaviour, 25. the King issues out his Warrant to apprehend him, 30. he is removed from all his Employments, 31. a Proclamation for apprehending him, 32. he desires the Chancellor to interpose on his Behalf, *ibid.* surrenders himself, 36. is examined at the Council-Board, 37. and clears himself, 38. he is restored to all his Employments, 53. is inflamed against the Chancellor, and induced to concur in his Prosecution, 54.
- Bridgman, Sir Orlando,* his Character, i. 201.
- Bristol, Earl of,* his Dispute with Lord *Cottington,* and Return to *Caen,* i. 233. an Account of his Behaviour abroad, ii. 192. He appears devoted to the *Spanish* Interest, 198. endeavours to obstruct the King's Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal,* 199. is sent by the King to see some Ladies in *Italy,* 205. obstructs the passing a Bill for restoring Bishops to their Seats in Parliament, iii. 5. his extraordinary Behaviour to the King, 170. he accuses the Chancellor of High-Treason, 171. absconds upon the King's Warrant to apprehend him, 174.
- Broghill, Lord,* one of the Commissioners from the State of *Ireland,* ii. 133. some Account of him, 135. made Earl of *Orrery,* and appointed one of the Lords Justices in *Ireland,* 270.
- - - Earl of *Orrery,* the Cause of some improvident Acts of Bounty in the King, ii. 310. and this without the Chancellor's knowledge, *ibid.*
- Brooke, Earl of,* his Contest with Lord *Pembroke,* i. 158-162.
- Brown, Sir Richard,* Lord-Mayor of *London,* quells the Insurrection of Fanatics, ii. 167.
- Burford, House of Lord Falkland,* i. 49.

### C.

- Cesar, Sir Charles,* Master of the Rolls, his Death, i. 163.
- Calthurst, Matthew,* i. 3.
- Cambridge, Mr. Hyde's* Arrival and Sicknes there, i. 11.
- Canary-Merchants,* the principal of them petition for a Charter, iii. 287. the King approves the Petition, 288.
- Canary-Patent,* an Account of the passing it, iii. 278. some Differ-



## I N D E X.

- ences in the Company after their Incorporation, 293. which are referred to the King, 294.
- Canterbury**, the King's Arrival at it, ii. 10.
- Capel**, Lord, his Residence at *Jersey*, i. 226. removes to Middleburgh, 228.
- Carew**, *Th.* his Character, i. 41.
- Carey**, Sir *Lucius*, his Friendship with the Chancellor, i. 43. his Education, *ibid.* his Fortunes, 44. his Marriage, 45. Voyage to *Holland*, 46. Retirement to his Studies, 47. his Father's Death, *ibid.* Return to his Studies, 48. Progress in Learning, 50. see *Falkland*, Lord Viscount.
- Carteret**, Sir *George*, receives the Chancellor in his House at *Jersey*, i. 229.
- Casilian**, i. 2.
- Cavendish**, Sir *Charles*, his Character, i. 281.
- Chaloner**, Dr. Principal of *Alban-Hall* in *Oxford*, dies of the Plague, i. 8.
- Charles I.** King, calls a Parliament, *April* 1640. i. 83. dissolves it, *May* 1640. 86. calls another in *November* 1640. 87. sends for Mr. *Edward Hyde*, 95. thanks him for his Services, 96. Offers him the Post of Solicitor-General, 101. passes the Bill for removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers, 115. accompanies the Queen to *Dover*, 119. his Promise of Secrecy to Mr. *Hyde*, 124. begins his Progress Northward, 130. takes the Prince with him, *ibid.* resides at *York*, 133. his March to *Hull*, 149. Progress in *Nottinghamshire* and *Leicestershire*, 155. return to *York*, *ibid.* his Dislike to a Cessation of Arms, 170. against which he encourages an Address, 179. rejects the Earl of Northumberland's Proposition, 175. his Promise to the Queen, 179. he sets out for *Bristol*, 185. commands the Chancellor to attend the Prince into the West, 218. sends him two MSS. containing all the Passages of the Years 1645, 1646. 230. thanks him for his Vindication of him, 232. the Removal and solemn Interment of his Body intended, but his Body not to be found, ii. 235.
- Charles II.** King (see *Wales*, Prince of) Report of his Death, i. 275. desires to recommend the Chancellor's Daughter to the Princess of *Orange*, 293. commands the Chancellor to write an Answer to *Cromwell's* Declaration, 298. his Council at the Restoration, ii. 4. his Mortification upon his Arrival at *Canterbury*, at the importunate Solicitations made to him by some Royalists, 10. and at the List of Privy-Counsellors recommended to him by General *Monk*, 12. of these he informs the Chancellor, 13. to whom he gives the Paper, and desires him to discourse the matter with the General, *ibid.* He is satisfied by *Monk's* Enplanation, 14. his triumphant Entry into *London*, on the 29th of *May*, 15. arrives at *White-hall*, 16. is mortified at the Disunion of his Friends, 24. neglecting his Business, he gives himself up to Pleasure, 47. restores the old Course of Justice, 51. He sends two of the Chancellor's Friends to inform him of his Daughter's Marriage with the Duke

I N D E X.

Duke of *York*, 65. his Behaviour upon it to the Chancellor, 66. makes him a Present of 20,000 Pounds, 73. creates him a Baron, 74. is greatly pleased with the Queen's Change of Behaviour, 85. Reproves the Chancellor for not being so, 86. disposes of many of the great offices of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, 119. is inclined on Account of *Lautherdale's* Discourse to defer the Re-establishment of Episcopacy in *Scotland*, 129. is greatly perplexed at the contradictory Addresses from *Ireland*, 151. is concerned at the Delays in passing the Act of Indemnity, 103. He interposes with the Parliament, 164. and gets it passed, *ibid.* He publishes a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, 172. confers with the Chancellor upon the Proposals of Marriage made to him by the *Portugal*-Ambassador, 181. is himself pleased with it, 184. he appoints a Committee by his Advice to enter into a Treaty with the Ambassador, 186. refuses to enter into a War with *Spain*, 190. writes to the King of *Portugal*, the Queen-Regent and the Infanta, 191. his sudden Coldness towards the Treaty, 201. receives the Ambassador coldly some Time after his Return from *Portugal*, 206. commands the Ambassador from *Spain* to quit the Kingdom, 208. readily embraces some Overtures from the Court of *France*, in regard to the Treaty with *Portugal*, 213. He discovers the Treaty to a full Privy-Council, and desires their Advice, 219.

his Speech to the new Parliament, 221. he presses them to confirm the Act of Indemnity, *ibid.* acquaints them with his intended Marriage, 223. his Coronation, 230. he hears all Parties relating to the Settlement in *Ireland*, 243. his Friends restored to their Estates by Act of Parliament, 244. he is inclined to favor the *Irish* Catholics, 247. is distressed with Regard to the Settlement in *Ireland*, 262. passes the first Act of Settlement, 270. appoints three Lords Justices in *Ireland*, *ibid.* gives the different Parties there another Hearing, 273. passes the second Act of Settlement, *ibid.* hears the different Parties a third Time, 284. increases the Difficulty of a Settlement by some improvident Acts of Bounty, 208. an extraordinary Clause inserted in his Grants, 311. he passes the third Act of Settlement, 313. he strenuously urges the Parliament to confirm the Act of Indemnity, *ibid.* 3. and prevails with them, *ibid.* he adjourns them, 8. the true Ground of his Favor to the *Roman*-Catholics, 9. his Speech at the Meeting again of the Parliament, 17. he sends for the House of Commons to attend him at *White-Hall*, 30. his Speech to them, *ibid.* he confirms the Act of Uniformity, 45. which is in general well received, 47. he permits the *Presbyterian* Ministers to have too free Access to him, 50. he promises them to suspend the Execution of the Act of Uniformity, 52. endeavours to fulfil his promise, 54. but finds it not in his Power, 56.

I N D E X.

his Speech to the Parliament, 63. he prorogues it, 67. he receives the Queen from *Portugal* at *Portsmouth*, and after a few Days conducts her to *Hampton-Court*, 72. Endeavours are used to alienate his Affections from her, *ibid.* Some Circumstances which contribute to a Misunderstanding between them, *ibid.* the King's Speech at the Prorogation of the Parliament, 122. he resolves to prepare two Bills against the *Papists* and *Sectaries*, 123. he designs to have them convicted, 125. but recedes from his Purpose, 129. he grants a Charter to the *Royal African* Company, and becomes an Adventurer in it, 142. is not inclined to enter into a War with the *Dutch*, 148. he sells *Dunkirk* to *France*, 162. consults the Chancellor about the Manner in which he should act towards his natural Son Mr. *Crofts*, 166. declares his Son Duke of *Monmouth* and publicly owns him, 168. he appoints *Scotch* Bishops, 181. a Petition made to him for the withdrawing *English* Garrisons from *Scotland*, *ibid.* he is inclined to favor it, 186. he proposes it to the Parliament, 188. he informs them of an Insurrection in *Yorkshire*, 192. his Speech at their Meeting, 194. he confirms several Acts, 200. and prorogues the Parliament, 201. he transmits the Merchants Remonstrance against the *Dutch* to Sir *George Downing* Resident at the *Hague*, 202. is inclined to engage in a War with the *Dutch* by the generous Supply granted to him by the Parliament, 224. he kindly receives

Proposals of an Alliance against the *Dutch* from the Bishop of *Munster*, 232. he obliges the Chancellor to seal a Grant appointing Lord *Ashley* Treasurer of Prize-Money, 253. Measures taken to prejudice him against the Chancellor, 256. a proposal made to him for Liberty of Conscience, 258. he approves it, 259. is offended with the Treasurer and Chancellor for opposing it, 264. and with the Bishops, 267. He prorogues the Parliament, 269. he approves of the *Canary*-Merchants Petition for a Charter, 288. he settles some Differences in the Company, 295. and satisfies all Parties, 296. is greatly troubled at the Death of the Earl of *Falmouth*, 312. he removes to *Hampton-Court* on Account of the Plague, 321. removes to *Salisbury*, 325. he removes with his Court to *Oxford*, 343. his Negotiation with the *French* Ambassadors, 344. His Speech to both Houses of Parliament on their Meeting at *Oxford*, iv. 1. a Prospect of dividing *France* and *Holland*, 15. he refuses to make Sir *George Saville* a Viscount, 32. is offended with the Earl of *Sandwich*, 41. but is satisfied by the Apology he makes for himself, 48. is persuaded to remove Lord *Sandwich* from the Command of the Fleet, 49. resolves to dismiss him with Honor, 51. He thinks of appointing Prince *Rupert* and the General joint Admirals, 58. he consults the private Committee concerning a *Proviso* in the Bill for the Supply, 78. Objections made against it there, 80. he is much

I N D E X.

offended with the Chancellor in this Affair, 86. but is satisfied by him, 88. he is persuaded to desire the Treasurer would resign, 90. applies to the Chancellor to advise him to it, 92. is dissuaded from this Measure by him, 96. he removes from *Oxford* to *Hampton-Court*, 97. returns to *White-Hall*, 98. is desirous of uniting with *Holland* against *France*, 109. an Attempt to raise Jealousies in him of his Brother, 127. endeavours used to lessen his Esteem of the Dukes of *York*, 131. he is seriously affected by the Fire of *London*, 168. Measures taken to efface such good Impressions in him, *ibid.* and to lessen his Esteem of the Privy-Council, 169. he complains to the Chancellor of the Liberties taken with his Character, 179. is somewhat displeas'd with him for the Freedom with which he discours'd, 182. his Speech to the Parliament, 192. he consults the private Committee upon a Bill for inspecting public Accounts, 199. he is against the Bill for prohibiting the Importation of *Irish* Cattle, 207. he passes the *Irish* Bill with a Speech, 250. his Speech to the Parliament at the Prorogation, 253. he appoints Commissioners for inspecting public Accounts, 255. is involved in great Difficulties, 257. consults with the private Committee, *ibid.* takes a Resolution to act on the Defensive in the War, 259. inspects the Fortifications of *Sheerneys*, 263. he approves of the Overtures towards Peace made by *France*, 282. Difficulties about settling

the Place for a Treaty, *ibid.* he is highly offended with the Breach of the Overtures made by *France*, 290. and resolves to continue the War, 291. new Overtures from *France*, 292. he consults the Privy-Council upon the Overtures made by *France*, 296. They advise him to enter upon the Treaty, 297. *Breda* is fix'd upon for it, 298. he resolves to put the Treasury into Commission, 312. is advis'd against it by the Chancellor, 313. but appoints Commissioners, 318. he is perplexed by the Attempts of the *Dutch* on *Sheerneys* and *Chatham*, v. 6. is advis'd to convene the Parliament during the Prorogation, 8. he consults the Privy-Council upon it, 10. he issues out his Warrant for apprehending the Duke of *Buckingham*, 30. removes him from all his Employments, 31. grows weary of the Prosecution, 34. orders him to appear at the Council-Board, 37. is satisfied with his Defence, 38. he sends the Duke of *York* to the Chancellor to desire him to resign, 39. many Persons of Eminence interpose with him on the Chancellor's Behalf, 42. he has a Conference with the Chancellor at *White-Hall*, 43. and leaves him in Displeasur, 48. expresses great Displeasur against him, 56. his Speech at the Meeting of the Parliament, wherein he reflects on him, 58. he makes a Declaration of the Chancellor's Innocence to the Duke of *York*, 66. which he afterwards disowns, 68. he is persuaded to encourage the Prosecution of the Chancellor,

I N D E X.

73. is offended with him about the Duke of *Richmond's* Marriage, 82. receives a Letter from him on that Subject, 83. expresses a Desire of his withdrawing, 85. sends to him to withdraw, 91.
- Chatham*, the Attempts of the *Dutch* on it, v. 2.
- Chillingworth*, Mr. his Conversion to the Church of *Rome*, i. 65. Return to the Church of *England*, 66. conducts Mr. *Edward Hyde* from *Oxford* to *Yorkshire*, 136. Character, 65. Death, 67.
- Clarendon*, Earl of, see *Hyde, Edward*.
- Clergy*, a Clamor raised against them by their Tenants, ii. 228. the Injustice of it, 229.
- Clotworthy*, Sir *John*, one of the Commissioners from the State of *Ireland*, ii. 133. his Animosity against the Bishops, 136.
- Colepepper*, Sir *John*, called to the Privy-Council, i. 101. joins with Lord *Falkland* and Mr. *Edward Hyde*, in conducting the King's Affairs in Parliament, 103. his Character and political Principles, 107. advises the King to pass the Bill against the Bishops, 114. and prevails with him by Means of the Queen, 115. discovers a Design of sending Lord *Falkland*, Mr. *Edward Hyde*, and himself to the Tower, 131. defeats it, 132. repairs to the King at *York*, 149. is made Master of the Rolls, 164. unwillingly resigns the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, 165. is made of the *Junto*, 192.
- - - Lord, one of the King's Council, ii. 4. his great Parts, his Favor with the late King, and good Correspondence with the Chancellor, 7.
- Commissioners*, of Appeals, appointed, iii. 248. the Injustice of their Sentences, 249.
- - - - - for inspecting public Accounts, iv. 255.
- - - - - *Irish*, the Partiality of those appointed by the first Act of Settlement, ii. 270. new ones appointed to execute the second Act, 272. they publish their intended Method of proceeding, 281. their Decrees much in Favor of the *Irish*, 282. Reflections on their Proceedings, 284. they put many out of their Estates who had served the King, 287. they make many Decrees upon Settlements notoriously forged, 292. their Defence of these Measures, *ibid.* which was not satisfactory, 296. their Decree in Favor of the Marquis of *Antrim*, universally complained of, 297.
- - - - - of the Treasury appointed, iv. 312.
- Committee* of Lords for relaxing the penal Laws against *Roman-Catholics*, iii. 13. is discontinued, 16. one appointed to inquire into the Causes of the Fire of *London*, iv. 196.
- Commons*, the House of, its Character at the Time of the Restoration, ii. 16. see Parliament.
- Common-Prayer*, the *Presbyterians* endeavour to abolish the Use of it, ii. 19.
- Convocation* summoned, ii. 226.
- Conway*, Lord, i. 79. Secretary of State, 7.
- Cooper*, Sir *Antony-Ashley*, sworn of the Council, ii. 15. is made

I N D E X.

- Chancellor of the Exchequer, 60.
- Cooté*, Sir Charles, made Earl of *Montrath*, and appointed one of the Lords Justices in *Ireland*, ii. 270. his Death, 275.
- Coronation*, two Accidents that attended it, ii. 232.
- Cosins*, Dr. forbidden to officiate in the *Louvre*, i. 267.
- Cottington*, Lord, Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, i. 22. embarks from *Dieppe* for *Dunkirk*, 234. is plundered by some *Ostend-Frigates*, 237. goes to the *Hague*, 245. declared Ambassador to *Spain* by King *Charles II.* 248.
- Cotton*, Charles, his Character and Writings, i. 36.
- Coventry*, Lord Keeper, i. 22. 70.
- - - - Mr. *Henry*, sent Ambassador to *Sweden*, iii. 231. his Success in that Embassy, 331. he is appointed Plenipotentiary to conclude a Treaty of Peace with *France*, iv. 299.
- - - - Mr. *William*, his Character, iii. 109. he is desirous of a War with the *Dutch*, 217. persuades the Duke of *York* to spend the Summer at *York* on Account of the Plague, 323. he is admitted of the Privy-Council and private Committee, iv. 35. where he constantly opposes the Chancellor and Treasurer, 36. his unjust Reflections on the Earl of *Sandwich*, 39. he incenses the House of Commons against the Chancellor, v. 22.
- Country*, Discontents in it, iii. 129.
- Court*, Disquietudes in it on Account of a Misunderstanding between the King and the Queen, iii. 72. 92. an Intrigue there to advance Sir *H. Bennet*, 133. great Licence there, iv. 125. an Attempt to raise Jealousies in the King of his Brother, 128.
- Courtine*, M. sent Ambassador from *France* under Pretence of a Mediation between the *English* and *Dutch*, iii. 299.
- Cowley*, Mr. his Character, i. 35.
- Coyet*, Ambassador from *Sweden*, iv. 268.
- Crawford*, *Lindsey*, Earl of, some Account of him, ii. 120.
- Crofts*, Mr. a natural Son of the King, is brought to *England* by the Queen-Mother, iii. 164. he is contracted to the Countess of *Buccleugh*, 165. is publicly owned by the King, and created Duke of *Monmouth*, 168.
- Cromwell*, *Oliver*, the first Cause of his Enmity to the Chancellor, i. 92.

D.

- Debts*, the Reason of the Greatness of the King's, iii. 20.
- Denmark*, an Ambassador sent thither from *England*, iii. 231. an Alliance with the *Dutch*, iv. 101.
- De Ruyter* is sent with the *Dutch* Fleet to commence Hostilities on the Coast of *Guinea*, iii. 212.
- D'Estrades*, Monsieur, comes over from *France*, to treat about *Dunkirk*, iii. 161.
- De Vic*, Sir *Henry*, the King's Resident at *Brussels*, i. 278.
- De Wit* persuades the *Dutch* to prepare a second Fleet against the *English*, iii. 326. his Malice against *Van Trump*, 328. he pretends to desire a Peace with *England*, iv. 113. his Intimacy

I N D E X.

- with *Bewett*, and the Transactions between them, 115. 121.
- Diego Silvas*, is sent from *Portugal* with the Effects and Merchandise out of which the Queen's Fortune is paid, iii. 71.
- Digby*, Sir *Kenelm*, his Character, i. 39.
- - - Lord, prevails on Mr. *Edward Hyde* to publish his Answer to the Parliament's Remonstrance, i. 100. carries Mr. *Edward Hyde* to the King and Queen, 101. made Secretary of State, 191. He founds the Chancellor on the Subject of the Prince's going to *France*, 203.
- Dinton*, the Place of Mr. *Edward Hyde's* Birth, i. 1.
- Dissenters*, s. *Presbyterians*.
- Disunion* of the King's Friends, ii. 24. the Causes of it, 25.
- Dorchester*, Marquis of, a Scuffle between him and the Duke of *Buckingham*, iv. 223. he is sent to the *Tower*, 224.
- Dorset*, Earl of, i. 79.
- Dort*, Synod of, Mr. *Hale's* Account thereof, i. 60.
- Downing*, Sir *George*, Resident in *Holland*, his Character, iii. 202. he endeavours to bring on a War with the *Dutch*, 206. his Project to new-model the Treasury, iv. 68. he offers a new *Proviso* in the Bill for the Supply, 73. which is passed by the Commons, 76.
- Drinking*, many of the King's Friends much addicted to it, ii. 42.
- Dunkirk*, the Sale of it, iii. 153.
- Dutch*, the first Rise of a War with them, iii. 141. their insolent Behaviour on the Coast of *Guinea*, 207. a Fort belonging to them on the Coast of *Africa*, seized by an *English* Captain, 208. they prepare a strong Fleet for *Guinea*, 209. their treacherous Behaviour, 212. upon which their Ships are seized, 213. they commence Hostilities in *Guinea*, 214. they refuse to deliver the Island *Polerone*, *ibid.* their Fleet puts out to Sea under *Opdam*, 303. the first Engagement, 304. They are worsted, and escape with the Remainder of their Fleet by Night, 305. their great Loss in the Engagement, 306. they make a Reformation in their Navy, 327. they are jealous of *France*, iv. 109. the *Dutch* Fleet comes out again, 138. the second General Engagement, 139. both Sides claim the Victory, 142. the third Engagement, in which they are beaten, 143. their Fleet puts to Sea again, 146. they are jealous of the *French*, 273. they refuse to restore *Polerone* to the *English* according to *Overtures*, 285. they defer agreeing to a Cessation, v. 1. their Attempts on *Sheerness* and *Chatham*, 2.
- E.
- Earles*, Dr. his Character, i. 59.
- East-India* Company consulted in Relation to *Polerone*, iv. 295. they give up their Claim to it, v. 18.
- - - Prizes, the Sale of them for the Service of the War, iv. 48.
- Elliot*, Mr. his Account of his taking the Seal from the Lord Keeper *Lyttleton*, i. 38. consulted by Mr. *Edward Hyde*, 144. the King's Dislike and Fear of him, 217.

I N D E X.

- England*, its State in the Year 1629. i. 81. the Condition of it with Respect to its Neighbours, iii. 229. great Consternation on the Attempts made by the *Dutch* at *Sheerness* and *Chatham*, v. 2.
- - - - Church of, Mr. *Edward Hyde's* Attachment to its Doctrines and Discipline, i. 80.
- English*, a Captain of theirs takes a *Dutch Fort* on the Coast of *Africa*, iii. 208. they prepare a Fleet against the *Dutch*, 210. they seize the *Dutch Ships*, 213. Expedition used in getting ready a Fleet, 269. it sets Sail, 271. many Noblemen go in it as Volunteers, 272. it engages and beats the *Dutch*, 304. Reasons why the Victory was not improved to the best Advantage. 314. a Fleet is again prepared, 319. and puts to Sea under the Earl of *Sandwich*, 321. ill Success at *Bergen*, 338. Success after that Attempt, iv. 37. Preparations for setting out the Fleet again, 100. it puts to Sea under Prince *Rupert* and the General, 134. the Occasion of the Division of it, *ibid.* the second general Engagement, 139. both Sides claim the Victory, 142. the third general Engagement, 143. the *English* victorious, *ibid.* an Attempt made upon the Island of *Schelling*, 145. the chief Town and a large Fleet of Merchant-Ships burned, 146. the Fleet is dispersed by a Storm, 148.
- Escalona*, Duke of, receives the Chancellor at *Pampeluna*, i. 266.
- Essex*, Earl of, i. 71. his Character, 126.
- Europe*, general State of, in the Year 1639. i. 81.
- Eustace*, Sir *Morrice*, Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, one of the Lords justices there, ii. 271.
- F.
- Falkland*, Lord Viscount, the Father, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, i. 43.
- - - - the Son, see *Carey*, Sir *Lucius* called to the Privy-Council, i. 101. conducts the King's Affairs in Parliament, 103. his Temper and political Principles, 105. repairs to the King at *York*, 149. prepares an Answer to the nineteen Propositions of the Parliament, 150. his Wager with the King concerning Mr. *Hyde's* Style, 157. solicits the King to make Mr. *Hyde* Chancellor of the Exchequer, 164. attends the King to *Bristol*, 185. his Death and Character, 188. his Children, 190.
- Falmouth*, Earl of, f. *Berkeley*.
- Fanshaw*, Mr. i. 227.
- - - - Sir *Richard*, an Account of his Embassy in *Spain*, iv. 52. he is recalled, 55.
- Felton*, John, i. 12.
- Fiennes*, Nathaniel, foretels the Destruction of Episcopacy, i. 93.
- Fleet* prepared, iii. 269. f. *English*, *Dutch* and *French*.
- Flemming*, Ambassador from *Sweden*, iv. 268.
- Fouquet*, Monsieur, Prime Minister in the Court of *France*, his Negotiation with the King and Chancellor, ii. 209.
- French*, Ambassadors sent by them into *England*, under Pretence of a Mediation between the *English*



I N D E X.

and *Dutch*, iii. 299. they neglect an Opportunity of making Peace, 318. they seem desirous of mediating a Peace, 329. a farther Negotiation with the *French* Ambassadors, 344. they remonstrate warmly against the *English*, iv. 7. a Conference between them and the *English* Ministers upon their Remonstrance, 8. a final Answer given to them, 14. they leave the Kingdom, *ibid.* a Fleet prepared, 101. Negotiations, 104. the *French* deter the neighbouring States from assisting the Bishop of *Munster*, 105. and force him to make a Peace with the *Dutch*, 108. their Fleet has a narrow Escape, 148. they are jealous of the *Dutch*, 273. Overtures of a Peace with *England*, 281. Difficulties about settling the Place for a Treaty, 282. new Overtures are made, 292. they invade *Flanders*, v. 18.

*Frescheville*, Mr. created Lord *Frescheville*, iii. 275.  
*Fuy*, Sir *George*, i. 2.

G.

*Gilapsi*, a Fanatic, executed, iii. 179.  
*Glencarne*, Earl of, one of the *Scottish* Commissioners, ii. 116. his Character, 117. made Chancellor of *Scotland*, 119.  
*Godolphin*, Sidney, his Character and Death, i. 53.  
*Grana*, Marquis of, his Character, i. 259.  
*Grandison*, William, Lord Viscount, i. 14. 121. 127. taken Prisoner in *Winchester*, 166. escapes to *Oxford*, 167.

H.

*Hales*, John, his Interview with Archbishop *Laud*, i. 63. his Discourse, on Schism, *ibid.* made Prebend of *Windfor*, 64. his Character, 60.  
*Hamilton*, Marquis of, his Friendship with Mr. *Hyde*, i. 15.  
*Hammond*, Dr. i. 49.  
*Hampden*, John, his Reply to Mr. *Hyde*, on the Subject of Privilege, i. 104.  
*Harcourt*, Count of, his Arrival in *England*, i. 191. Negotiations and Return, 193.  
*Harvey*, Daniel, recommends Mr. *Hyde* to Archbishop *Laud*, i. 28.  
*Haslerig*, Sir *Arthur*, i. 93.  
*Herbert*, Sir *Edward*, Attorney-General, advises the King to declare the Parliament dissolved, i. 197. his Character, 200. persuades the Duke of *York* to leave his Mother, 274. his Credit with the Duke of *York*, 280.  
*Hereford*, Bishop of, sent to advise the Chancellor to quit the Kingdom, v. 86.  
*Hertford*, Earl of, reconciled to Archbishop *Laud* by Mr. *Hyde*, i. 71.  
- - - - Marquis of, Governor to the Prince, i. 119. carries the Prince to *Greenwich*, *ibid.* inserted in the List of Privy-Councillors recommended to the King on his Arrival at *Canterbury*, ii. 12.  
*Holland*, Earl of, i. 70. Surprises Mr. *Hyde* with the King, 125. his Journey to *Beverley*, 152. the King's reception of him, 154.  
*Hollis*, Lord, made Plenipotentiary to conclude a Peace with *France*, iv. 299.

I N D E X.

*Hopton*, Lord, i. 67. his Residence at *Jersey*, 226.

*Hubert*, his strange Confession, iv. 160. upon which he is executed, 163.

*Huffey*, Sir *James*, carries the Plague to *Oxford*, i. 8.

*Hyde*, Edward, Time of his Birth, i. 6. Education, 7. sent to the University of *Oxford*, *ibid.* disappointed at *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, *ibid.* entered in the *Middle-Temple*, *ibid.* takes the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, 8. leaves the University, *ibid.* is seized with an Ague, 9. is sent to *Pirton*, *ibid.* returns to *London*, *ibid.* rides the *Norfolk-Circuit*, 10. is taken ill at *Cambridge* of the *Small-Pox*, 11. removes to *Pirton*, *ibid.* returns to his Studies at the *Temple*, 12. marries the Daughter of Sir *George Ayliffe*, 13. who dies within half a Year at *Reading*, 14. introduced to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, 15. marries a second Time, 18. loses his Father, 20. is introduced to Archbishop *Laud*, 29. acquires great Reputation by his Practice, 31. his Companions, 34. his more intimate Friends, 42. he reconciles Archbishop *Laud* to the Earl of *Hertford*, 71. his free Expostulation with Archbishop *Laud*, 72. devotes himself to his Profession, 76. his Family, 77. his Character, 79. chosen Member of Parliament for *Wotton-Basset*, 83. his first Speech in the House of Commons, *ibid.* endeavours to prevail on Archbishop *Laud* to oppose the Dissolution of the first Parliament, 85. is chosen to serve in

the second Parliament of 1640. 87. he procures the Suppression of the *Earl Marshall's Court*, *ibid.* receives the Thanks of the Earl of *Arundel* for his Behaviour on the Occasion, 88. he lays aside his Gown and gives himself to public Business, 89. he is in the Chair of the Committee against the Court of *York*, 90. in the Committee against the Judges, *ibid.* in that concerning the Lord President and Council of the *Marches of Wales*, *ibid.* in the Chair of a Committee upon an Inclosure, *ibid.* the Enmity contracted against him by *Oliver Cromwell*, 92. he is much courted by the discontented Party, 93. is first sent for by King *Charles I.* 95. the King's Discourse to him, *ibid.* undertakes the Preservation of Episcopacy till the King goes to *Scotland*, 96. Receives the King's Thanks by Secretary *Nicholas*, *ibid.* draws up an Answer to the Parliament's Remonstrance, 98. shows it to Lord *Digby*, *ibid.* but refuses to communicate it to the King, 99. is prevailed on to suffer it to be printed, 101. declines the Office of Solicitor-General, 102. refuses another Post, 103. is intrusted with the Conduct of the King's Affairs in Parliament, *ibid.* Account of his Temper and Principles, 110. he is sent on a Message to the King at *Canterbury*, 120. prevails with the King to alter his Answer to the Parliament, 122. is directed by the King to prepare Answers for him, to the Parliament's Declarations and Messages, 125. he is surpris'd with the King at

I N D E X.

*Greenwich* by the Earls of *Essex* and *Holland*, *ibid.* in Danger of being sent to the Tower, 131. is sent for by the King to *York*, 133. prevails on Lord-Keeper *Lyttleton*, to send the Great-Seal and go himself to the King, 134. begins his Journey to *York*, *ibid.* stops at *Ditchley*, 136. arrives at *Nothal*, 137. writes from thence to the King in Favor of the Lord-Keeper, 140. goes to *York*, 141. he reconciles the King to the Lord-Keeper, 144. he is required by the Committee from the Parliament to attend the House, 146. his Answer, *ibid.* he is exempted from Pardon by a Vote of the Houses, 153. declines the Office of Secretary of State, 161. made Chancellor of the Exchequer, sworn of the Privy-Council, and Knighted, 164. attends the King to *Bristol*, 186. declines the Office of Secretary of State a second Time, 191. he is made one of the *Junto*, 192. he dissuades the King from dissolving the Parliament, 194. he is commanded by the King to attend the Prince into the West, 203. forms a Friendship with the Duke of *Richmond*, 210. whom he endeavours in vain to reconcile to the King, 213. his Promise to the King at parting, 218. sets out from *Oxford* and arrives at *Bath*, 219. he has there the first Fit of the Gout, *ibid.* arrives at *Bristol*, *ibid.* goes to *Scilly*, 221. and from thence to *Jersey*, 222. receives the Prince's Permission to remain there, 224. lives there with Sir *George Carteret*, 229. and

builds a Lodging, *ibid.* begins the History of the Troubles, 230. the King's Encouragement and Assistance to him therein, *ibid.* he writes an Answer to the Parliament's Declaration of the 15th of *February*, 1647. 232. goes from *Dieppe* to *Dunkirk*, 234. and embarks from thence for the Prince's Fleet, 235. but is taken by some Frigates of *Ostend*, plundered, and carried into that Port, 237. set at Liberty, and promised Satisfaction, 238. but cannot obtain it, 241. he goes to *Flushing*, 242. embarks to attend the Prince in the River of *Thames*, 244. but is driven back, *ibid.* arrives at the *Hague*, 245. his Content on being declared Ambassador to *Spain*, 248. settles his Wife and Children at *Antwerp*, *ibid.* has a Box provided for him to see the *Toros*, 254. is visited by the other Ambassadors at *Madrid* before his Audience, 258. his Design of appearing in Mourning, 261. changed at the Request of *Don Lewis de Haro*, 262. applies himself to learning *Spanish*, 264. begins his Devotions upon the *Psalms*, *ibid.* begins his Journey from *Madrid*, and arrives at *Paris*, 265. his Reception by the Queen-Mother, 266. who desires him to bring back the Duke of *York* to *Paris*, 267. his Representations to the Queen-Mother on Mr. *Cofins'* being prevented from officiating, 268. he goes to *Brussels*, 271. and thence to *Antwerp*, *ibid.* goes to the Duke of *York* at *Breda*, 272. persuades him to return to *Paris*, 281. resides at

I N D E X.

*Antwerp, ibid.* and then at *Paris*, 290. declines the Offer made by the Princess Royal, 292. to which he at length consents, 296. answers *Cromwell's Declaration*, 298.

*Hyde*, Lord Chancellor, one of the King's Council, ii. 4. highest in Place, and thought to be so in Trust, reasons why? *ibid.* his Intimacy with the Marquis of *Ormond*, 5. some Intimations made to the King at the *Hague*, of his being very much in the Prejudice of the Presbyterian Party, with Advice to leave him there till he himself should be settled in *England*, which the King receives with Indignation, *ibid.* his Request to the King, to decline giving him any Protection, 6. His Resolution of withdrawing himself, *ibid.* he receives from the King the List of Privy-Counsellors recommended by *Monk*, 13. his Conference with *Morris*, concerning this List, *ibid.* takes his Place in the House of Peers with general Respect at the Restoration, 16. he is principally engaged in the public Transactions, 53. resigns his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, 59. is struck to the Heart with the News of his Daughter's Marriage with the Duke of *York*, 65. and breaks into an immoderate Passion with his Daughter, 66. whom he commands to keep her Chamber, 69. He is created a Baron, 74. is graciously received by the Queen-Mother on her Return, 76. his Reply to the Duke of *York's* threats, 79. refuses by any Application to appease the Queen's Anger, 82. is visited by the Abbot *Mountague*, and informed of the Reason of the Queen's altering her Behaviour, 84. receives Sir *Charles Berkeley* civilly, 85. his Reply to the King's Reproof, 86. he desires Leave to quit the Kingdom, 88. is introduced to the Queen-Mother at *White-Hall*, by the Earl of *St. Alban's*, 91. is graciously received by her, *ibid.* is not elated with his Daughter's Marriage, 93. his Disinterestedness, 95. refuses an Offer of Crownlands, *ibid.* declines being made Knight of the Garter, 99. is with Difficulty prevailed upon to accept an Earldom, 103. is urged by the Duke of *Ormond* to resign his Office of Chancellor, 104. and to assume the Character of Prime-Minister, 105. which he refuses, 107. is consulted by the King concerning a Treaty of Marriage, with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, 180. whom he advises to refer it to a Committee, 186. some Overtures made to him by Mr. *Fouquet* the *French* Minister, concerning the Treaty with *Portugal*, 210. with which he acquaints the King, 213. his Integrity in refusing Money offered him by that Gentleman, 216. he keeps up Correspondence with him, 217. expresses his Concern at the Duke of *Ormond's* being made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 276. he vindicates himself with Regard to his having any Concern in the *Irish* Affairs, 315. his Speech to the Parliament, iii. 65. he endeavours to reconcile the King and Queen to each other, 81-96. his endeavours prove unsuccessful, 99. his

I N D E X.

Interest declines upon Sir *Henry Bennet's* and Sir *Charles Berkeley's* Promotion, 139. he still enjoys the King's Favor, 140. opposes the entering into a War with the *Dutch*, 149. by which he gains the Duke of *York's* Displeasure, 151. but soon satisfies him, *ibid.* he vindicates himself with Respect to the Sale of *Dunkirk*, 162. his Advice to the King about his natural Son, 166. he is accused of High-Treason by the Earl of *Bristol*, 171. but no Proof brought against him, 174. he receives Proposals from the Bishop of *Munster* for an Alliance against the *Dutch*, 232. which he communicates to the King, 233. he remonstrates against sealing a Grant appointing Lord *Ashley* Treasurer of Prize-Money, 253. but is obliged by the King to do it, 256. he opposes a Bill for Liberty of Conscience, 259. he speaks against it in the House of Lords, 262. and drops some unguarded Expressions, 263. he gains the Displeasure of the King by it, 264. refuses to seal the *Canary-Merchants* Charter, till they had satisfied the City, 291. a Vindication of him in this Affair, 297. his Reflections upon the Attempt made on the *Dutch* of *Bergen*, 242. his Speech to the Parliament on their Meeting at *Oxford*, iv. 3. an Attempt to break the Friendship between him and the Treasurer, 17. the Occasion of it, *ibid.* he is consulted by the Duke of *York* about two Suits, which he intends making to the King, 29. he opposes the Removal of Lord

*Sandwich* from the Command of the Fleet, 51. he confers with that Lord concerning this Affair, 55. he confers with the General about his accepting a joint Command of the Fleet with Prince *Rupert*, 60. is applied to by the King to advise the Treasurer to resign, 90. dissuades the King from this Measure, 94. and at length prevails, 96. his interest declines, 173. whilst the Courtiers affect to represent it at the highest, 174. he represents to the King the wrong Way of Life he is in, 176. He remonstrates seriously with the King, 179. he delivers his Opinion freely on the Bill for inspecting public Accounts, 200. which is soon reported to his Disadvantage, 201. He offends the Commons by desiring the Peers to restrain their Encroachments, 233. he offends the Lords by advising them not to insist unreasonably upon Privilege, 238. dissuades the King from putting the Treasury into Commission, 313. Opposes the convening the Parliament during the Prorogation, v. 11. the Storm begins to arise against him, 21. his Advice to the Duke of *Buckingham*, 33. He loses his Wife, 38. the Duke of *York* comes to him from the King to desire him to resign, 39. many Persons of Eminence interpose on his Behalf, 42. he attends the King at *White-Hall*, 43. the Conference between them, *ibid.* the King leaves him in Displeasure, 48. the Duke of *York* interests himself on his Behalf, 49. the Great-Seal is taken from him, 51. unfair Methods

I N D E X.

used to induce both Houses to thank the King for removing him, 58. Persons thought after to furnish Matter of Impeachment against him, 62. he is accused of High-Treason by Mr. *Seymour* in the House of Commons, 63. many advise him to make his Escape, which he refuses to do, 65. Articles of the Charge against him, 69. Proceedings against him in the House of Commons, 73. he is accused of High-Treason by Mr. *Seymour* at the Bar of the House of Lords, 77. is again advised to withdraw, 80. but refuses, 81. the King offended with him about the Duke of *Richmond's* Marriage, 82. he writes a Letter to the King on that Subject, 83. the Bishop of *Hereford* sent to advise him to leave the Kingdom, 86. which he refuses to do without receiving a Command from the King, 88. the *French* Ambassador urges him to retire to *France*, 90. which he declines, 91. he receives Orders from the King to withdraw, *ibid.* he obeys unwillingly, and quits the Kingdom, 92. he lands at *Calais*, *ibid.* an Instance of his generous Behaviour to his Enemies, 93. his Apology to the House of Lords for his withdrawing, 97. which is burned by Order of both Houses, 108. he writes to the *French* Court for Leave to remove to *Rouen*, 110. which is granted, 177. he begins his Journey, *ibid.* but receives Orders, while he is on the Way, to leave *France* instantly, 112. he represents his ill State of Health to the Court, 113. the

Occasion of his ill Treatment in *France*, *ibid.* Proceedings against him in *England*, 114. a Bill of Banishment passed against him, 115. he receives Orders a second Time to quit *France*, *ibid.* he again represents his State of Health to the *French* Court, 116. receives fresh Orders to remove immediately, *ibid.* he returns to *Calais*, 120. where he is confined to his Bed by a dangerous Illness, *ibid.* notwithstanding which he is required to retire out of *France*, *ibid.* the *French* Court suddenly alters its Behaviour, 177. he has Leave to reside in *France*, *ibid.* returns to *Rouen*, 126. from whence he begins his Journey to *Avignon*, 127. he is greatly abused by some *English* at *Evreux*, 128. he removes from thence to *Bourbon*, 134. and from thence to *Avignon*, *ibid.* his good Reception there, 135. he goes to *Montpelier*, 136. where he receives great Civilities from Lady *Mordaunt*, *ibid.* great Respect paid to him there, *ibid.* which he imputes to the Friendship of Lady *Mordaunt*, 137. he writes a Vindication of himself, 139. his Answer to several Articles of the Charge laid against him, 142. 216 he enjoys great Tranquillity of Mind, 218. two Apprehension, which are soon removed, 219-221. Reflections on his undeserved Treatment, 222. Reflections on his Conduct from the Time of the King's return, 224. he blames himself for his Expense in Building, *ibid.* his three Acquiescences, 226. the great Benefit he

I N D E X.

- receives in them, 227. a summary Recapitulation of his Life, *ibid.* his Writings, 251.
- Hyde*, Henry, Father to the Chancellor, i. 1. his Profession, 3. Travels, 4. Return, *ibid.* Marriage, 5. lives at *Dinton*, *ibid.* serves in Parliament, *ibid.* Character, *ibid.* Age, *ibid.* Family, 6. moves to *Salisbury*, 19. Sickness, 20. Death and Character, 21.
- - - Henry, elder Brother to the Chancellor, 6. his Death, 7.
- - - Laurence, Grand-Father to the Chancellor, i. 1. his Marriage, 2. his Children, viz. *Robert*, *Laurence*, *Henry*, *Nicholas*, *Johanne Alice*, *Anne*, *Sufanna*, *ibid.* his Death, 3.
- - - Sir *Laurence*, Attorney-General to the Queen, i. 3. Uncle to the Chancellor, *ibid.*
- - - Sir *Nicholas*, Uncle to the Chancellor, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, i. 2. Death and Character, 12.
- - - Robert, Great-Grand-Father to the Chancellor, i. 1.
- I.
- James I.* King recommends Mr. *Edward Hyde* to Dr. *Langton*, i. 7. his Death, *ibid.*
- Importunity* of those Men the greatest, who had deserved the least of the King, ii. 43. they undervalue the more eminent Services of others, 45.
- Insurrection*, the Likelihood of there being one, iii. 131.
- Jonson*, Ben, his Character, i. 34.
- Ireland*, Commissioners sent to the King from thence, ii. 112. the State of that Kingdom, 131.
- Commissioners sent from the State, 133. and Deputies from the Bishops and Clergy, 136. a Committee from the Army in Pay there, 146. and from the Officers who had served the King, 148. another from the *Roman-Catholics*, 149. Churchlands restored and new Bishops appointed there, 244. the first Act of Settlement passed, relating to that Kingdom, 270. a second transmitted to the King, 272. the Difficulties of a Settlement there increase, on Account of some improvident Acts of Bounty in the King, 308. the different Parties there agree upon an Expedient for a Settlement, 313. the third Act of Settlement passed, *ibid.* the Privy-Council remonstrates against the Bill for the Prohibition, of the Importation of *Irish Cattle*, iv. 206.
- Irish*, their different Pleas, ii. 261. 265.
- - - Catholics the King inclined to favor them, ii. 247. their Plea, *ibid.* many of them, who had served the King, restored, 261.
- - - Rebels, a great Number of them restored to their Estates, ii. 287.
- Italy*, its Factions, i. 81.
- K.
- Killigrew*, Mr. Ambassador to *Venice*, his Behaviour there, i. 259.
- - - Mrs. her Death, i. 292.
- L.
- Lambert* kept close Prisoner in the Tower, ii. 23.
- Lane*, Mr. Attorney to the Prince

I N D E X.

- of *Wales*, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Keeper of the Great-Seal, i. 69.
- Langford*, Edward, i. 5.
- - - - Mary, Mother to the Chancellor, i. 5.
- Langton*, Mr. President of *Magdalen-College Oxford*, i. 7.
- Laud*, Archbishop, made Commissioner of the Treasury, i. 22. his Diligence in the Execution of that Office, 24. Mr. *Hyde's* Introduction to him, 29. his free Expostulation with him, 72. his Reverence for his Memory, 74. Opinion of him, 76.
- Lautherdale*, Earl of, one of the *Scottish Commissioners*, ii. 117. his Character, *ibid.* is made Secretary of State of *Scotland*, 119. opposes the Re-establishment of Episcopacy in that Kingdom. 124. and afterwards attempts to delay it, 125. but is prevented, 130. is made Commissioner of Appeals, iii. 249.
- Lawson*, Sir *John*, much consulted by the Duke of *York*, iii. 270. is Killed in the first Engagement with the Dutch, 308. his Character, *ibid.*
- Lindsey*, Earl of, made Knight of the Garter by the Chancellor's Means, ii. 101.
- Liturgy*, an Account of the Revival of it, iii. 23. it is presented to the House of Lords by the two Archbishops, with the King's Confirmation, 34. is consented to by them, 35.
- London*, the City of, opposes the *Canary-Merchants* Petition for a Charter, iii. 290. the great Fire there, iv. 149. it decreases, 156. the inestimable Loss sustained by it, 164.
- Lords*, House of, *f. Parliament.*
- Lorne*, Lord, Son to the Marquis of *Argyle*, is restored and created Earl of *Argyle*, iii. 190.
- Lorraine*, Duke of, his Character, i. 276. his Reception of the Duke of *York*, 279.
- Lucas*, Sir *John*, purchases a title by Means of Mr. *Ashburnham*, i. 213.
- Lugar*, Mr. converted to Popery by Mr. *Chillingworth*. i. 66.
- Lumley*, Lord, i. 79.
- Lyttleton*, Lord-Keeper, sends the Great-Seal to the King, i. 134. goes himself to *York*, 135. is reconciled to the King, 144. and comforted by Mr. *Hyde*, *ibid.*

M.

- Magdalen-College Oxford*, Mr. *Hyde* recommended to be a Demy there, i. 7.
- - - - Hall, Mr. *Hyde* admitted there, i. 7.
- Manchester*, Earl of, made Lord-Chamberlaine, ii. 57. one of the Committee appointed to enter into a Treaty with the *Portugal-Ambassador*, concerning the King's Marriage, 186.
- Mandevil*, Lord, his Contest with *Oliver Cromwell*, i. 92.
- Manly*, Sir *Richard*, i. 92.
- Marlborough*, Earl of, killed in the first Engagement with the *Dutch*, iii. 307.
- Martin*, Sir *Henry*, asserts the Legality of the *Earl Marshall's* Court, i. 88.
- - - - Harry, declares himself a Republican, i. 94.
- Masquerade*, Description of it in *Spain*, i. 253.



I N D E X.

- May*, Thomas, his Character and Writings, i. 34.
- Meeting* of some Lords and principal Commoners, to contrive Means to dispose the Parliament to grant Supplies for a War, iii. 217.
- Merchants*, they are very desirous of a *Dutch* War, iii. 145. they remonstrate against the *Dutch*, 201.
- Mervin*, Sir *Audly*, one of the Commissioners from the State of *Ireland*, ii. 133.
- Middleton*, Commissioner of *Scotland*, ii. 119. created Earl, 124. very earnest for the rescinding the Act of Covenant, *ibid.* and for the Re-establishment of Episcopacy in *Scotland*, *ibid.* discovers *Lautherdale's* Design, 130. and prevents it, 131. he returns to *London*, iii. 180. he goes back again with the Bishops to *Scotland*, 191.
- Monk*, General, recommends a list of Privy-Counsellors to the King, ii. 11. his Reasons for so doing, 14. he is made Knight of the Garter and admitted of the Council, *ibid.* he is confirmed in the Offices assigned him by the Parliament, 55. is sworn Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Master of the Horse, *ibid.* continues Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 154. but resigns this Office, when Duke of *Albemarle*, 275. he represents the Earl of *Sandwich* in the worst Light, iv. 41. accepts a joint Command of the Fleet with Prince *Rupert*, 63.
- - - a Benedictine brings Proposals for an Alliance against the *Dutch* from the Bishop of *Munster* to the Chancellor, iii. 232.
- Monmouth*, Duke of, *s. Crofts*.
- Montague*, Walter, his Character, i. 268.
- Montrose*, Marquis of, grows cold in his Friendship towards the Chancellor, i. 247.
- Mordaunt*, Mr. unjustly censured and reproached, ii. 45.
- Morley*, Dr. his Character, i. 57. acquaints Mr. *Hyde* with the Design of impeaching him, 135. resides with the Chancellor's Family during his Banishment, 296.
- Morrice*, Mr. his Friendship with General *Monk*, ii. 13. his Conference with the Chancellor on the List of Privy-Counsellors recommended to the King at *Canterbury* by General *Monk*, 14. he has the Signet given him, *ibid.* is sworn of the Council and Secretary of State, *ibid.* his Character, iii. 134.
- Mountague*, Abbot, gives the Chancellor a Reason for the Alteration of the Queen's Behaviour, ii. 84.
- Munster*, the Bishop of, makes Proposals to *England*, for an Alliance against the *Dutch*, iii. 232. engages to invade the United Provinces, 325.
- Muskerry*, Lord, killed in the first Engagement with the *Dutch*, iii. 306.

N.

- Navy*, the State of it from the King's Restoration, iii. 240. the State of it at the Commencement of the War with the *Dutch*, 248.
- New-Castle*, Marquis of, resides with his Wife at *Antwerp*, i. 281.

*Nicholas*,

I N D E X.

**Nicholas**, Secretary, thanks Mr. *Hyde* in the King's Name, i. 96. is willing to accept the Mastership of the Wards, 163. dissuaded by Mr. *Hyde*, *ibid.* one of the King's Council, ii. 4. his Reputation, Integrity and Experience, 7. his Trust with the late King, 8. Inveteracy against him, *ibid.* his Friendship with the Chancellor, *ibid.* one of the Committee appointed to enter into a Treaty with the *Portugal*-Ambassador concerning the King's Marriage, 186. his Character, iii. 133. He resigns his Office of Secretary, 139.

**Norbury**, an Estate of the *Hyde*-Family, i. 1.

**Northumberland**, Earl of, his Proposition to the King, i. 171. the King's Sentiments of him, 175.

O.

**Oliver**, John, Tutor to Mr. *Hyde*, i. 7.

**Oneile**, Daniel, his Friendship with the Chancellor, i. 291. proposes to him to place his Daughter in the Family of the Princess Royal, 292.

**Opdam** puts to Sea with the *Dutch* Fleet, engages the *English*, and is destroyed with his Ship, iii. 304.

**Orange**, Prince of, dies of the Small-Pox, i. 267.

- - - Princess of, her Kindness to the Family of the Chancellor, i. 291. whose Daughter she makes one of her Maids of Honor, 292.

**Ormond**, Marquis of, one of the King's Council, ii. 4. his Courage and Constancy in the King's

Service, 6. his Friendship with the Chancellor, 7. is made Lord Steward of the Household, 56. is sent by the King to inform the Chancellor of his Daughter's Marriage with the Duke of *York*, 64. made Duke, 103. urges the Chancellor to resign his Office, 104. and to assume the Character of Prime-Minister, 105. one of the Committee appointed by the King to enter into a Treaty with the *Portugal* Ambassador concerning his Marriage, 186. is restored to his Estate, 244. accepts the Office of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, upon the Resignation of the Duke of *Albemarle*, 276. acquaints the Chancellor with his Reasons for so doing, 278. sets out for *Ireland* with the Commissioners, 280.

**Ormond**, Marchioness of, present at the Duchess of *York*'s Delivery, ii. 77.

**Orrery**, Earl of, s. Lord *Broghill*.

**Offory**, Lord, challenges the Duke of *Buckingham*, iv. 217. He is sent to the Tower, 222.

**Ostend**, some Account of the Freebooters there, i. 237. an Observation relating to them, 242.

**Oxford-Treaty**, the secret Transactions therein, i. 172. broken off, 175. both Houses of Parliament meet there, iv. 1.

P.

**Palmer**, Geoffrey, Attorney-General, i. 69.

**Papists**, s. *Roman-Catholics*.

**Parliament**, the first of 1640. Mr. *Hyde*'s Opinion of it, i. 84. endeavours to prevent its Dissolution, 85. it is dissolved, 86.

## I N D E X

the second of 1640, its Temper, i. 89. its Numbers, 148. the Meeting of it at the Restoration, ii. 16. Transactions in it concerning the Act of Indemnity, 159. its Adjournment, 165. is dissolved, 176. a new one summoned to meet, 177. it meets on the eighth of *May*, 221. both Houses express their Approbation of the King's intended Marriage, 225. an Act to restore the King's Friends, 243. the King's Prerogative asserted by it, iii. 1. is unwilling to pass the Act of Indemnity, 2. but prevailed upon to do it by the King, 3. it passes a Bill for the Restoration of Bishops to their Seats in Parliament, 4. is adjourned, 8. meets again, 17. attends the King at *White-Hall*, 30. the House of Lords consents to the Liturgy, 35. Debates there upon the Act of Uniformity, 36. upon the Clause requiring Episcopal Ordination, *ibid.* the Act is passed by the Lords, 39. Amendments made in it by the Commons, 40. is returned to the Lords, *ibid.* Debates upon the Amendments made by the Commons, 41. the Lords consent to most of them, 44. the Commons agree with the Lords, 45. great Animosities in Parliament about private Bills, 58. great Duty shown towards the King, 62. the Parliament is prorogued, 67. it meets again, 104. Character of it, and particularly of two leading Men in the House of Commons, 106. an Alteration in the Management of that House, 119. Remarks on the Proceedings in Parliament, 120. it grants the King four

Subsidies, 121. prorogued, 122. is inclined to favor a Petition from *Scotland*, for withdrawing the *English* Garrisons, 188. it meets again, 191. repeals the Triennial Bill, 198. passes several Acts, 199. is prorogued, 201. meets again, 210. Measures taken to dispose them to grant Supplies for a War, 216. they vote a Supply of two Millions and a half upon Sir *Robert Paston's* Motion, 223. a Bill presented to the House of Lords for Liberty of Conscience, 259. which is opposed, *ibid.* the Parliament is prorogued, 269. is adjourned to *Oxford*, on Account of the Plague, 323. meets there, iv. 1. grants a farther Supply, 5. passes a new Proviso suggested by Sir *George Downing* in the Bill for the Supply, 76. some Lords remonstrate against this Proviso, 78. the Lords pass it, 86. the Parliament is prorogued, *ibid.* meets again, 192. Discontents in the House of Commons, 196. an Opposition in both Houses, 201. the Bill against the Importation of *Irish* Cattle is passed by the Commons after a great Opposition, 211. the Bill for inspecting public Accounts passed likewise by them, 212. great Animosities in the House of Lords upon the Bill against *Irish* Cattle, 214. Arguments urged there against it, 224. and against Clauses in it derogatory to Prerogative, 225. these Clauses amended by the Lords, 227. the Commons adhere to their Bill, 228. an Instance of their Passion in this Affair, 229. the Bill is at Length consented

I N D E X.

- to by the House of Lords, 233. a Bill of Divorce for Lord Roos brought into Parliament, 247. some Lords against a Precedent of this Nature, 248. it is at Length passed, 249. a Supply granted, 253. the Parliament prorogued, *ibid.* is summoned to meet, v. 16. meets and is immediately prorogued, 21. meets again, 58. unfair Methods used to induce both Houses to thank the King for removing the Chancellor, *ibid.* He is accused of High-Treason in the House of Commons, 63. Proceedings against him in that House, 73. He is accused likewise of High-Treason in the House of Lords, 77. Debates in that House concerning his Commitment, *ibid.* Differences between the Houses, 79.
- Pafton*, Sir Robert, moves in Parliament for a Supply of two Millions and a half, iii. 223. is caressed and amused by Sir Henry Bennet, and Sir Charles Berkeley, 226.
- Peace made, v. 20.
- Peard*, Mr. his Speech against Mr. Hyde, i. 38.
- Peircey*, Mr. conducts Mr. Hyde to the King, i. 95.
- Pembroke*, Earl of, his Dispute with Lord Brooke, i. 158.
- Pen*, Sir William, much consulted by the Duke of York, iii. 270.
- Peterborough*, Earl of, made Governor of *Tangiers*, iii. 69.
- Philips*, Father, Confessor to the Queen, i. 270.
- Pierrepoint*, Mr. his Proposition at the Treaty of *Oxford*, i. 171.
- Pirton*, the House of Mr. Hyde's Father, i. 9.
- Plague* breaks out, iii. 268. it decreases, iv. 98. the Number supposed to have died of it, 99.
- Portland*, Earl of, Lord High-Treasurer, his Death, i. 21. Complaints against him by Mr. Harvey, 25. Archbishop Laud's Enmity to him, 23. killed in the first Engagement with the *Dutch*, iii. 308.
- Portsmouth*, the Queen arrives there from *Portugal*, iii. 71.
- Portugal*, the Ambassador from thence, to the late Powers kindly received, ii. 179. he proposes Marriage to the King with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, 180. and mentions the Portion, 183. goes into *Portugal* for farther Powers, 192. returns, but meets with a cold Reception, 205. is however afterwards graciously treated by the King, 208. He gives an Account of the measures in *Portugal* relative to the Treaty of Marriage, 218.
- Portuguese* not able to pay the Queen's Portion, iii. 70.
- Preachers* of all Sects assume much Licence, iii. 28.
- Presbyterians*, their Party in the House of Commons, their Character, ii. 18. they urge the Settlement of the Ecclesiastical Government according to the Covenant, 19. the Disingenuity of the Presbyterian Ministers, 173. the wrong Policy of making Concessions to them, iii. 26. none of them gained by the Concessions made, 27. their Ministers complain of the King's Violation of his Declaration by passing the Act of Uniformity, 46. Reflections on their Behaviour, 48. they have too free Access to the

## I N D E X.

- King, 49. they obtain a Promise from him of a Suspension of the Execution of the Act of Uniformity, 52. their great Disingenuity, 56. their Ministers endeavour to raise Discontents in the People, 57. most of them conform at length, 58.
- Private Committee*, s. *Charles II.*
- Privateers* too much Encouragement given to them, iii. 250.
- Privy-Council* advises the King to conclude the Treaty with *Portugal*, ii. 220. divided in their Opinions upon the Bill against importing *Irish Cattle*, iv. 208. consulted by the King upon the Overtures made by *France*, 296. advise the King to conclude the Treaty, v. 20. s. *Charles II.*
- Pyrenees*, the Chancellor's Passage over them by Mules, i. 266.
- Q.
- Queen* endeavours to persuade Mr. *Hyde* to accept the Office of Solicitor-General, i. 101. prevails on the King to pass the Bill against Bishops, 115. her Journey towards *Dover*, in Order to leave the Kingdom, 116. lands in the North, 180. her Design of drawing the Prince into *France*, 208. is displeas'd at the Chancellor's going into *Spain*, 249. her Testimony of his Sincerity, 251. her Complaints to him of the Duke of *York*, 266. her Frugality, 273. her Behaviour to the Duke of *York*, 275. endeavours to attach the Chancellor to her Interests, 287. her Behaviour to him, 288. greatly incens'd at the Duke of *York's* Marriage, ii. 71. is congratulated by the Privy-Council on her Return into *England*, 76. greatly offended at the Change of the Duke of *York's* Behaviour towards the Duchefs, 82. suddenly alters her Behaviour, 83. the Reason of it, 84. is reconciled to the Chancellor, 91. and to the Duchefs of *York*, 90. she brings a natural Son of the King into *England*, iii. 163. she leaves *England*, 301. she prevents the Duke of *York's* going a second Time to Sea, 317. endeavours to bring about a Peace with *France*, iv. 274. she sends the Earl of *St. Alban's* to *England* for that Purpose, 275.
- Queen* from *Portugal* arrives at *Portsmouth*, iii. 71. is received there by the King, and in few Days conducted to *Hampton-Court*, 72. Circumstances which contribute towards a Misunderstanding between her and the King, *ibid.* her *Portuguese* Servants sent back, 100. She makes some Kind of Condescension, 102. but does not wholly regain the King's Affection, 103. She miscarries, iv. 125.
- R.
- Rantzaw*, Marechal, Governor of *Dunkirk*, his Character, i. 234, 235.
- Ratcliffe*, Sir *George*, his Character, i. 274. persuades the Duke of *York* to go to *Brussels*, *ibid.* accompanies him thither, 277.
- Rents*, a sudden Fall of them, iii. 131.
- Restoration*, excessive Joy upon it, ii. 16.
- Richmond*, Duke of, i. 121. the

I N D E X.

- Beginning of his Friendship with the Chancellor, 210. his Character, 211. his Coldness towards the King, 212. the Cause of it, 214.
- Roberts**, Lord, some Account of him, ii. 155. is made Deputy of *Ireland*, 158. his Character, 238. He accepts the Privy-Seal and quits the Place of Deputy, 241.
- Roman-Catholics**, the true Ground of the King's Favor to them, iii. 8. a Committee of Lords for relaxing the penal Laws against them, 13. they Disagree amongst themselves, 14. the Committee discontinued, 16. two Bills intended to be prepared against them by the King, 123. their imprudent Behaviour, 124. a Design to have them convicted, 125. which they frustrate, 128.
- Roos**, Lord, moves for a Bill to set aside the Issue of his Lady, iv. 241.
- Rospigliosi**, Julio, the Pope's Nuncio at *Madrid*, his Character, i. 259.
- Roths**, Earl of, one of the *Scottish* Commissioners, made President of the Council, ii. 119.
- Rupert**, Prince, offers his Service to the King to command the Fleet against the *Dutch*, iii. 210. he willingly accepts a joint Commission, iv. 59.
- Rymer**, the principal Leader of the *Yorkshire-Rebels*, iii. 193. is executed, *ibid.*
- S.
- Sandwich**, Earl of, sent Ambassador into *Portugal* to receive the Queen and conduct her into *England*, ii. 227. he takes Possession of *Tangiers*, iii. 67. a Design of not giving it up to him, 68. He comes to *Lisbon* in a critical Conjunction, 69. finds the Portuguese not able to pay the Queen's Portion, 70. but suffers Effects and Merchandise to be brought to *England*, by the Sale of which the Portion might be raised, 71. he puts to Sea with a Fleet against the *Dutch*, 321. declines making a second Attempt upon the *Dutch* at *Bergen*, 341. is not able to come to an Engagement with *De Ruyter*, iv. 38. but takes many of his Ships in their Fleet, *ibid.* an imprudent Action after his Return, 40. his Character, 42. He is injuriously treated, 43. he clears himself from the Charge of Misconduct at Sea, 46. and makes an ingenuous Acknowledgment of his Imprudence, *ibid.* with which he satisfies the King, 48. a Conference between him and the Chancellor, 55. he is sent Ambassador extraordinary into *Spain*, 58.
- Saville**, Sir *Henry*, Warden of *Merton-College Oxford*, i. 60. Provost of *Eton-College*, *ibid.*
- Schelling**, the Island of, an Attempt made upon it by the *English*, iv. 145.
- Scotland**, Commissioners sent from thence to the King, ii. 112. the State of that Kingdom, 113. Transactions there, iii. 175. Proceedings of the Parliament there, 179. They petition the King to restore Episcopacy, *ibid.* they prepare an Abjuration of the Covenant, 180. and settle a standing Force, *ibid.* Bishops

## I N D E X.

- consecrated, 181. a Petition for the *English* Garrisons to be withdrawn, *ibid.* Circumstances that facilitate this Petition, 183.
- Scottish* Commissioners desire the Abolition of Episcopacy, i. 180. return to *London*, 184. f. *Middleton*.
- Selden*, John, his Character, i. 35.
- Selkirk*, Lord, Chief of the *Scottish* Commissioners, ii. 115. some Account of him, *ibid.*
- Seymour*, Mr. accuses the Chancellor of High-Treason in the House of Commons, v. 63. and likewise at the Bar of the House of Lords, 77.
- Shaftsbury*, Mr. *Hyde* chosen for that Borough, i. 83.
- Sheerneys*, the Attempts of the *Dutch* on it, v. 2.
- Shelden*, Dr. Warden of *All Souls*-College *Oxford*, his Character, i. 56.
- Sixtus Quintus*, his personal Animosity to Queen *Ellizabeth*, i. 4.
- Soissons*, the Count of, sent from *France* as Ambassador in the Room of *Bordeaux*, ii. 179.
- Southampton*, Earl of, inserted in the List of Privy-Counsellors, recommended to the King on his Arrival at *Canterbury*, ii. 12. is made Lord High-Treasurer, 59. is sent by the King to inform the Chancellor of his Daughter's Marriage with the Duke of *York*, 65. one of the Committee appointed to enter into a Treaty with the *Portugal*-Ambassador concerning the King's Marriage, 186. he opposes the Bill for Liberty of Conscience, iii. 259. the King is offended with him for this Behaviour, 264. an Attempt to break the Friendship between him and the Chancellor, iv. 17. the Occasion of it, *ibid.* an Attempt to remove him, 68. his Death and Character, 300.
- St. Alban*s, Earl of, introduces the Chancellor to the Queen-Mother, ii. 90. He is sent by the Queen-Mother from *France* to negotiate a Peace, iv. 275. he returns to *France* to promote it, 279.
- Steward*, Dr. his Character, i. 276.
- St. John*, Mr. Solicitor-General, i. 102. Mr. *Hyde*'s Character of him to the King, *ibid.*
- Stuart*, the Temper and Disposition of that Family, particularly of the King and Duke, iv. 128.
- Sunderland*, Countess of, present at the Duchess of *York*'s Delivery, ii. 76.
- Sweden*, an Ambassador sent thither from *England*, iii. 231. the Swedes are disposed to assist the *English*, iv. 266. they send Ambassadors to *England*, *ibid.* Characters of the Ambassadors, 268. they are desirous of a separate Treaty with *Holland*, 271. the Ambassadors Mediators between the *English* and *French*, 299.

## T.

- Talbot*, Sir *Gilbert*, sent Ambassador to *Denmark*. iii. 231. his Success in that Embassy, 332.
- - - an *Irishman*, designs to assassinate the Duke of *Ormond*, iv. 183. an Account of him and his Family, 185. he is sent to the Tower by the Chancellor's Advice, 190. but soon released by the Artifice of the Chancellor's Enemies, 192.

## I N D E X

- Tangler** is delivered into the Possession of the Earl of *Sandwich*, iii. 67. a Design of not giving it up to him, 68.
- Tew**, House of Lord *Falkland*, i. 49.
- Thynne**, Sir *John*, i. 1.
- Time**, the Temper and Spirit of it at the Restoration, ii. 8.
- Toros**, Description of one in *Spain*, i. 254. forbidden by Pope *Pius V.* 257.
- Tyrconnell**, Earl of, the ill Treatment he met with from the Commissioners, ii. 287.
- Wenman**, Sir *Francis*, his Character, i. 52.
- White-Hall**, the King arrives at it, ii. 16.
- Whitloke**, *Bulstrode*, his Character, ii. 69.
- Wickedness**, all Kinds of it introduced by the late Anarchy, ii. 47.
- Williamson**, Don *Henrique*, the Resident of *Denmark* at *Madrid*, his Character, i. 260.
- Winchester**, Bishop of, present at the Ducheſs of *York*'s Delivery, ii. 76.

### V.

**Van Trump**. Enmity between him and *De Wit*, iii. 328.

**Varney**, Sir *Edmund*, his remarkable Declaration to Mr. *Hyde*, i. 155. his Death, 156.

**Vaughan**, *John*, his Character, i. 37.

**Venner** raises an Insurrection of the Fanatics in *London*, ii. 166. for which he is executed with his Associates, 169.

**Verneuil**, Duke of, sent Ambassador from *France* under Pretence of a Mediation between the *English* and *Dutch*, iii. 299.

### W.

**Wales**, Prince of, sent by the King into the West, i. 219. sends for the Chancellor to the Fleet, 243. goes to the *Hague*, 245. s. *Charles II.*

- - - the Court of its Marches, i. 90.

**Waller**, *Edmund*, his Character, i. 54.

**Warwick**, Earl of, proclaimed a Traitor, i. 154.

### X.

**Ximenes**, Cardinal, his Buildings at *Alcala*, i. 265.

### Y.

**York**, Duke of left at *Richmond*, i. 130. sent for by the King, *ibid.* his Education neglected, 274. leaves *Paris* against the Advice of the Queen, 276. arrives at *Brussels*, *ibid.* returns to *Paris*, 281. his Marriage with the Chancellor's Daughter discovered, ii. 61. He declares it to the King, 64. desires the Chancellor not to be offended with his Daughter, 71. resolves to deny his Marriage, 75. is incensed against the Chancellor, 78. grows melancholic, 80. is pleased with Sir *Charles Berkeley's* Confession, 81. and behaves tenderly to the Dutcheſs, *ibid.* is greatly pleased with the Queen's Change of Behaviour, 86. proposes to the Chancellor to accept of the Garter, 99. is displeased with his Refusal, *ibid.* made President of the Royal *African* Company, iii. 143.



I N D E X.

procures a Charter for it, *ibid.* is very desirous of a War with the *Dutch*, 144, endeavours to persuade the King to engage in it, 148. is offended with the Chancellor for opposing it, 151. but satisfied by his Explanation, *ibid.* he consults much with three eminent Sea-Officers, 269. He sets Sail with a Fleet under his Command to the Coasts of *Holland*, 271. many Noblemen attend him as Volunteers, 272. he continually sends for Reinforcements, 301. he returns to the *English* Coast, 302. he engages the *Dutch* and beats them, 304. he moves the King to make *Sir George Saville* a Viscount, iv. 32. which is refused, 33. he is offended with the Earl of *Sandwich*, 41. is sent by the King to the Chancellor to desire him to resign, v. 39. interests

himself on the Chancellor's Behalf, 49.

*York*, Dukes of, delivered of a Son, ii. 76. accepts Sir Charles *Berkeley's* Submission, 85. is graciously received by the Queen-Mother, 90.

- - - the Court of, suppressed, i. 99.

- - - City of, the King's Residence there, i. 130.

*Yorkshire*, an Insurrection intended there, iii. 192: but prevented, *ibid.* some of the Plotters executed, 193.

*Younge*, Edward, i. 2.

Z.

*Zestel*, Hannibal, Ambassador from the Court of *Denmark* at *Madrid*, i. 261. his Transactions in *England*, iii. 230.

E N D,



