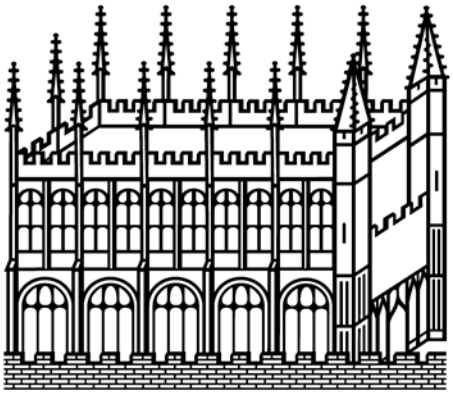


Bodleian Libraries

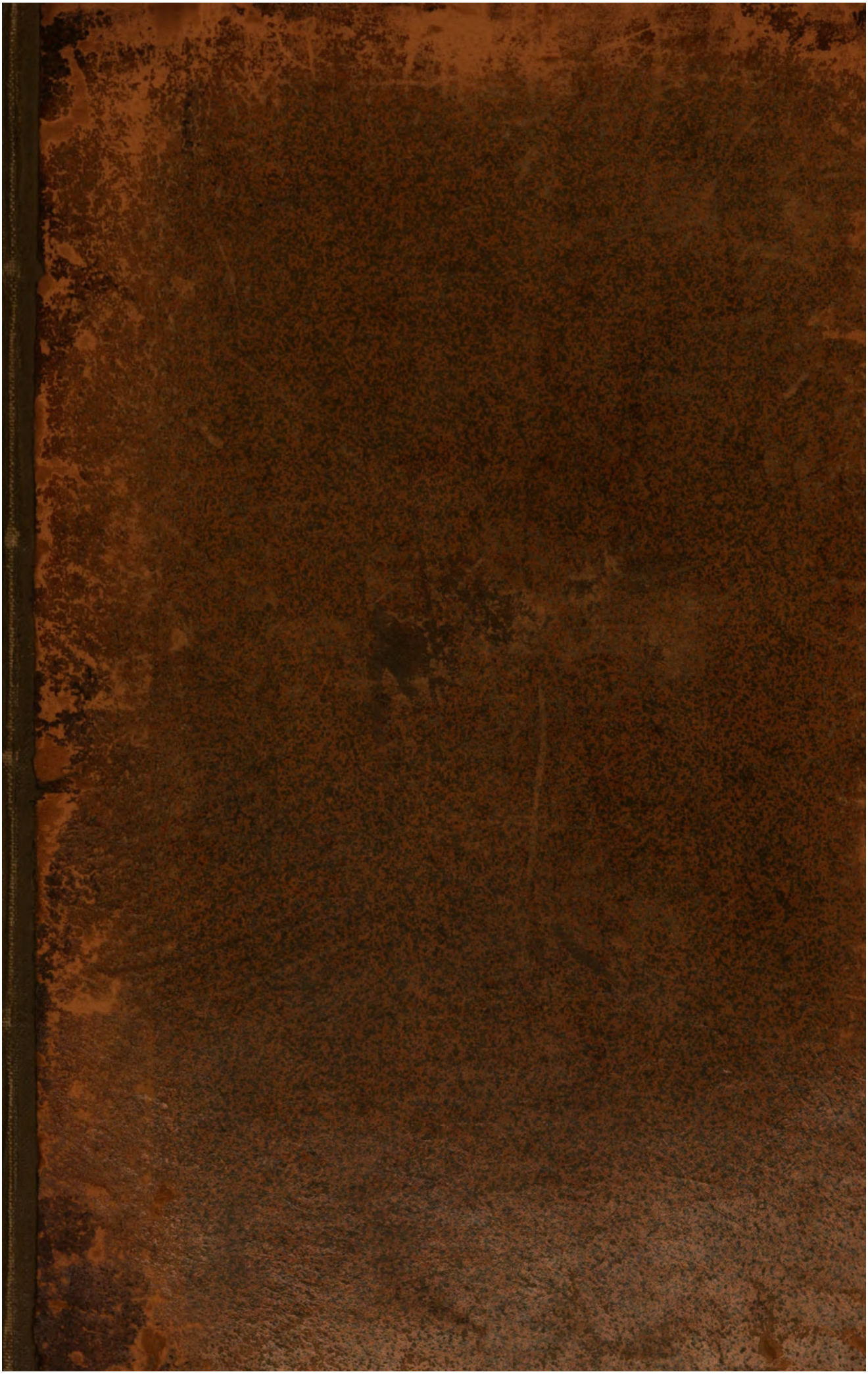
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.



25
337

SYDNEY PAPERS.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY C. ROWORTH, BELL YARD,
TEMPLE BAR.

S. H. 1825

SYDNEY PAPERS,

CONSISTING OF

A JOURNAL OF THE EARL OF LEICESTER, AND ORIGINAL LETTERS OF ALGERNON SYDNEY.

EDITED, WITH NOTES, &c.

By R. W. BLENCOWE, A. M.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
MDCCCXXV.

337

PREFACE.

HAVING been resident, during a considerable portion of the last three years, in the neighbourhood of Penshurst, in the county of Kent, I was frequently induced to visit that ancient seat of the Earls of Leicester. Independently of its general interest, the place had peculiar attractions for myself, from the circumstance of my having been permitted, by the kindness of its present possessor, Sir John Sydney, to examine the papers and manuscripts which are preserved there. I found, indeed, as was to have been expected, that, with the exception of a manuscript journal of the Earl of Leicester, and some few other papers which appear to have escaped observation, all of what is most interesting, with reference to general or family history, had been already published in Mr. Collins's valuable Collection of the Sydney Papers.

The Journal alluded to is the work of Robert, second Earl of Leicester, the nephew of Sir Philip, and the father of Algernon Sydney, a nobleman, as appears from the concurring testimony of his contemporaries, distinguished for his ability, integrity, and learning.* Though thrown, by the circumstances of the times, into active life, and occupying several important public stations, Lord Leicester found leisure and opportunity for the indulgence of his favourite habits of study.† He wrote much;‡ and recorded, with great care, almost every fact and circumstance as it occurred, either of public or private nature, to which he attached any importance. A part of what he thus wrote has

* Sir William Temple, speaking of Lord Leicester, says "that he was a person of great learning and observation, as well as of truth;" and Lord Clarendon's character of him corresponds with this account.

† Lady Leicester writes thus to her husband, when at Paris—"If either business or ceremonie to such persons as may be useful to you be the occasion of your seldom writing, I do dispense with the omition; but if your old inclination to reading be the cause, I do not forgive it."—*Collins's Sydney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 456.

‡ I believe there is a brother of mine here has forty quires of paper written by my father, and never one sheet of them was published; but he writ his own mind, to see what he could think of it another time, and blot it out again may be.—*Sydney's Defence, State Trials*, vol. ix. p. 878.

been published by Mr. Collins; more, of course, has been lost in the lapse of time; but some letters and manuscripts still remain, which, perhaps, are not altogether unworthy the attention of the public. Amongst these manuscripts is the Journal, which commences its account of public transactions, about the beginning of the year 1647. Whether Lord Leicester ceased to record events, because they no longer excited any other feeling than that of painful interest, or whatever else may have been the cause, the work, towards its conclusion, is very meagre and irregular in its details; but this is not the case with the earlier and much the greater part of the Journal, which is remarkable for its general accuracy and precision: and it appeared to me, considering the distinguished character of the writer, and the interest attached to that period of our history to which it refers, that a work of this nature, contemporary with the events which it records, would not be considered altogether uninteresting in these times, when a spirit of research after all authentic historical documents so generally prevails.

The Journal consists principally of the records of the Acts and Ordinances of the Parliament, which are recited almost in the precise terms in which they were passed; and of

extracts from the newspapers of the day, accompanied occasionally with Lord Leicester's observations and remarks. The passages thus extracted, though of little importance, perhaps, at the time that they were first published; like coins, of small intrinsic worth when first struck off, or passing in general currency; have acquired a value from the lapse of time. The originals from whence they are taken have become rare, and are accessible only to a few; and they are curious, as illustrative of the feelings and opinions of an age that has passed away. As far as they relate to public events, it may be presumed from the care with which Lord Leicester has copied them, that he considered them faithful accounts of the transactions which they record; and the circumstance of the Journal having been written (which is evidently the case) only for the author's private use, without any view to publication, is satisfactory as affording the best proof that we have therein his genuine and sincere opinions.

But whatever may be the merits of the Journal, it would probably never have been published, had I not accidentally become possessed of some other interesting original manuscripts, which are now for the first time offered to the public. During a visit which I was paying to

Mr. Lambard, of Sevenoaks, the conversation happened to turn upon the Sydneys: upon which Mr. Lambard produced a number of manuscripts, which I immediately recognized to be in the hand-writing of the Earl of Leicester, and of his son Algernon Sydney, with whose writing I had become familiar in the library at Penshurst. Upon discovering their importance, I applied to their possessor for permission to publish them; a request which was granted with that kindness, of which this is but one among many instances which I have experienced from him.

The first of the following series of letters was written from the Continent, a short time before the period of the Restoration, when Sydney was employed by the Parliament as one of the mediators of peace between the hostile kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark; a difficult and embarrassing negociation, but which he appears to have managed with characteristic spirit and ability. These letters were given to Mr. Lambard by his sister, who received them from her friend, Lady Smythe, the widow of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Mr. Smythe, the lineal ancestor of the Chief Baron, married Lady Sunderland, the sister of Algernon Sydney, and the widow of Lord Sunderland, who

fell at the battle of Newbury; by her it is probable they were first brought from the storehouse at Penshurst. They have been carefully compared with the manuscripts which remain there, and there cannot be a doubt of the identity of the hand-writing. These circumstances are mentioned, to account for their not having appeared in Mr. Collins's work with the other papers of the family, and for the complete satisfaction of the reader; but, perhaps, unnecessarily, as the internal evidence afforded by the letters themselves is too strong to admit a moment's doubt of their authenticity. Other letters, which have already appeared at different times, and in various publications, have been added to this small collection, as being interesting in themselves, and in some degree necessary to preserve the thread of the correspondence.

There is probably no one at all distinguished in history, who is more differently estimated, with respect to character and conduct, than Algernon Sydney. As the partialities or prejudices of those who judge of him prevail, he is either admired as a patriot and a martyr, or condemned as a restless and relentless enemy to all legitimate order and authority. The publication of the following letters will probably

tend rather to confirm than to change these several opinions. The bold and uncompromising avowal which they contain of the same sentiments, under all circumstances, will be regarded by one party as a criminal obstinacy in error, which no experience of its mischief could shake; and by the other it will be looked upon as an honourable consistency of principle, from which no selfish views of interest could induce him to swerve. There are points, however, in Sydney's character and life, upon which no difference of opinion can exist, and which would give importance to any relics of him less interesting than those which are now offered to the public. He was a man of great natural powers of mind, which he had cultivated and improved by habits of deep thought and extensive reading; and he possessed extraordinary resolution, spirit, and energy of character; and such was his behaviour in the last scenes of his life, in the hour of his trial and his death, that it is impossible even for those who most condemn the principles, and mistrust the motives which influenced his public conduct, to regard him without strong feelings of interest and respect.

Of the spirit and talents of their writer the following lettters will not, I conceive, be deemed unworthy. Some of them are written with that

power and force, both of style and matter, for which Sydney was remarkable; and although in the course of the correspondence, many proofs will occur of that sternness of character, which had been tempered to a greater degree of hardness in the fiery times in which he lived and acted, yet the tone of duty and affection towards his father which generally prevails, notwithstanding occasional bursts of irritation, which circumstances explain and justify, proves that he was not altogether a stranger to more kindly feelings.*

† Both Hume and Sir John Dalrymple, speaking of Sydney, have not hesitated to class him among the deists of his time; assertions which

* It appears that Algernon Sydney when a child was remarkable for his sweetness of disposition. The following passage occurs in a letter written by Lady Leicester to her husband when at Paris. "To Algernoone I do send a blessing, whom I do hear much commended by all that comes from you; and Nic who spake well of verie few, saide he had a huge deal of wit, and much sweetness of nature."—*Collins's Sydney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 445.

† "The second were the Deists, who had no other object than political liberty, who denied entirely the truth of revelation, and insinuated that all the various sects, so heated against each other, were alike founded in folly and in error." . . . . . "Martin, Challoner, Harrington, Sidney, Wildman, Nevil, were esteemed the heads of this small division."—*Hume*, vol. vii. p. 226. See *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, 1st book, p. 21, 4to edition.

are not only unsupported by proof, but are made in contradiction of direct evidence to the contrary. Many of those with whom he generally acted, such as Martin, Neville, and others, though upon the great question of the trial and execution of the king, he differed and separated from them; avowedly were so. But Sydney in his writings, not only frequently adopts the language of the Scriptures, but defers to their authority as paramount and conclusive; and the last words he ever wrote are these: "God will not suffer this land, where the Gospel hath of late flourished more than in any part of the world, to become a slave of the world; he will not suffer it to be made a land of graven images; he will stir up witnesses of the truth, and in his own time spirit his people to stand up for his cause and deliver them. I lived in this belief, and am now about to die in it. I know that my Redeemer lives, and, as he hath in a great measure upheld me in the day of my calamity, hope that he will still uphold me by his spirit in this last moment, and, giving me grace to glorify him in my death, receive me into the glory prepared for those that fear him, when my body shall be dissolved—Amen."

Sydney's character* and fate have naturally

* Those who are not acquainted with the principal circum-

attracted much of the public attention to his life; but this is not the case with his father, the Earl of Leicester, who though a considerable person from his character, ability, and rank, took a less active and decided part in the transactions of his day; a short account, therefore, of the principal events of his life may not be considered altogether uninteresting or unnecessary.

Robert, the youngest and only surviving son of Sir Robert, first created Viscount Lisle and afterwards Earl of Leicester, by James I., was born in the year 1595. He was sent to Oxford, according to the custom of that age, when very young, and it would appear from a letter written from thence by his tutor to his mother, Lady Lisle, when he was only thirteen years old, that he was remarkable even then for those studious habits which distinguished him in after-life.* Upon leaving the university he engaged

stances of Sydney's life are referred to Mr. Meadley's zealous and accurate history of him published in 1813.

* *Collins, Sydney Papers*, vol. i.

It is uncertain to which of Lord Lisle's sons, a Mr. Edmund Lascelles alludes in the following letter, written to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in the year 1605; but probably he refers to an elder brother of the second Earl of Leicester, of whom there were several, who died young. "Some tow dayes since came newes to the Court from Nonsuch, that young Mr. Sydney my

in the service of the United Provinces, where he had the command of a regiment, and upon his return home was chosen to represent the county of Kent, and in the two succeeding parliaments the county of Monmouth, till upon the death of his father, in 1626, he was called to the House of Peers.

Lord of Lyells his sonn, that was with the Prince (Henry), had stabbed his schoolemaster with a knife, for offering to whip him, so dangerously as it is thought he cannot live. The King, when he was told of it, was very much displeased, and gave commandement presently that he should be discharged from attending the Prince any longer, and so he is sent away to his father. His father was gone over to Flushing before this mischance happened."—*Lodge's Illustrations of British History*, vol. iii. p. 289.

This young nobleman was not the first of his family who was disposed to avenge himself in the same manner. Sir Philip Sydney writes thus to his father's secretary in Ireland.

Mr. Mollineux,

Few words are beste. My letters to my father have come to the eyes of some, neither can I condemne any but you for it. If it be so, you have plaide the very knave with me, and so I will make you know if I have good proofe of it. But that for as much as is past—For that which is to come, I assure you before God, that if I know you do so much as reede any letter I write to my father without his commaundment or my consente, I will thrust my dagger into you and truste to it, for I speak it in earnest, in the mean time, farwell. From Court, the last day of May.—By me,

PHILIPPE SYDNEY.

Collins's Sydney Papers, vol. i.

In 1618 he married Lady Dorothy Percy, the eldest daughter of Henry, Earl of Northumberland. Many of Lady Leicester's letters, written to her husband during his absence in France, are still preserved, and prove her to have been a person of considerable talents, and gifted with much of the hereditary spirit of her line.* With her brother, Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, represented by Clarendon as the greatest and proudest peer of his time, Lord Leicester appears to have lived upon terms of the strictest intimacy and friendship, and their opinions upon the great public questions of the day (though Lord Clarendon claims the Earl of Leicester as an adherent to the king's cause,) seem to have been in many respects the same.

In 1632 Lord Leicester went as ambassador to Denmark, and in 1636 he filled the same high station at the court of France.† He remained

* Of the six sons and nine daughters, the offspring of this marriage, many died young. Four of the sons survived their father: Philip, who succeeded to the title, Algernon, Robert, and Henry, who was created Earl of Romney, by William III. Of the daughters, Lady Dorothy and Lady Lucy Sydney have been celebrated by Waller, the former under the name of Saccharissa.

† A manuscript of Lord Leicester, preserved in the British Museum, contains a curious account of a conversation between

there till the year 1639, when Charles, seeing the storm, which soon afterwards burst forth with so much violence, gathering over his head, and having then great and just confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the Earl of Leicester, summoned him to attend his councils in England. The king was then at York with the army which had been raised to oppose the Scots, who had risen in arms to repel the rash and unjustifiable attempts which had been made to force upon them a liturgy and a system of church government from which they were averse. The counsel which Lord Leicester gave on this occasion is thus recorded in a manuscript at Penshurst—"King Charles sent for me to come out of France at the beginning of our unhappy troubles and differences with the Scots. I was then in good favour at the Court, made a Privy Counsellor, and the King commanded me to follow him to York, which I did;—but it was not God's will that the King should follow the advice which I gave him, to accommodate his differences with the Scotts,

himself and Archbishop Laud, upon the subject of his attending, as ambassador, the Protestant service at Charenton. It is evident what Lord Leicester thought of Laud's inclination to popery. See Note (A.)

and not to make warr, where nothing was to be gained, and much to be lost; which the world hath since found to be very true." Lord Leicester returned soon afterwards to Paris, from whence he was finally recalled in 1641. How ably he had conducted himself during his embassy, and how highly he was esteemed at the court of France, may be best collected from a letter written by Louis to Charles upon his departure, in which he says, "That the care, wisdom, and ability, with which he had always carried himself during his embassy, for maintaining the good understanding and correspondence between the two crowns, had given him perpetual satisfaction and contentment.*

Immediately upon his return to England, Lord Leicester was nominated to the government of Ireland, a post which had become vacant by the death of the Earl of Strafford, who, it is supposed, recommended him to the king as his successor.† This great appointment,

* *Collins, Sydney Papers*, vol. i.

At my coming away the French king gave me a jewell valued at £1200, and the queen of France gave my wife another jewell valued at £600, but hardly worth so much.—*Manuscript at Penshurst.*

† Lord Clarendon—*Collins.*

however, rendered more important and more honourable by the dreadful state of Ireland at that period, during the rebellion of 1641, was never carried into effect. Speaking of it himself, he says, "that it pleased God that that which should have been for his good, became unto him an occasion of falling; though not by his fault, as he could make appear to any reasonable person."* Several circumstances combined in those times of general distrust to shake the confidence which Charles had hitherto reposed in him. It may be collected from Clarendon, who discusses the causes of this change, that, after the rebellion had broken out in Ireland, and the king had entirely committed the task of repressing it to the two Houses of Parliament, Lord Leicester thought it the best policy to ingratiate himself with that party, upon whom he depended for the necessary forces and supplies. In this he succeeded; but in proportion as he rose in estimation with the Parliament he fell in esteem at Court. His connection and intimacy with the Earl of Northumberland increased this distrust, and the publication, by order of the Parliament, of a letter, which the Earl of Leicester had writ-

* Manuscript at Penshurst.

ten to that nobleman from Nottingham, in which he completely justifies himself, and casts upon Charles the whole discredit of his delay in taking possession of his government;* and probably more than all this, his manly and honest conduct, of which that letter gives the account, so alienated the favour of the king, that he determined to revoke his commission, and to confer it upon some one more devoted to his interests and his cause. This however was not done immediately, and Lord Leicester remained in attendance upon the Court, both at York and Nottingham, anxiously, but for a long time ineffectually, soliciting his last instructions and dispatches. During his stay at Nottingham, he wrote the two following letters to the Countess of Carlisle, Lady Leicester's sister; they are curious and characteristic, and justify Lord Clarendon in what he says of the staggering and irresolution of Lord Leicester's nature.†

Madame,

Sure he was in the right that sayd, those benefits are most honorable which are deserved, and those most obliging which are not deserved. Such are yours to me, and to them my acknow-

* See Note (B). † See Note (C).

ledgements are referred; neither is the point of honour in this unsatisfyde; for your good opinion is equal unto merit. In a very good time it comes, or rather is continued to me, as a consolation to support the uneasyness of my condition; for I am environed by such contradictions, as I can neither get from them, nor reconcyle them. The Parliament bids me go presently; the King commands me to stay till he dispatch me. The supplyes of the one, and the authority of the other, are equally necessary. I know not how to obtain them both, and am more likely to have neither; for now they are at such extremes, as to please the one is scarce possible, unless the other be opposed. I cannot expect the Parliament should supply me, because it is not confident of me; and as little reason is there to thinke that the king will authorise me, for he is as little confident. The one says, Why should we give money and armes, which may be employed against us? and the other says, Why should I give power and authority, which may be turned against me? Yet this is certain, that the Parlement must trust and supply me; the King must trust and authorise me; or else I can do nothing, but help to make myself unhappy. I ever thought that a man might be wiser in

his own conceit, than in other's judgments, and that peradventure I was as like to offend that way as any other; but I conceived that any body might know better than another, how neare he himself comes unto an honest man; and I thought I might do so too; but now I begin to doubt of that; for I am suspected and distrusted of either syde, by those, whom I never betrayed nor deceived, neither have I ever offended either of them, but in my desyres and endeavours to serve both. How soon I shall get myself out of this labyrinth I cannot tell your ladyship; much less do I know when or how I may performe to your ladyship any of those services to which I am obliged; but I beseech your ladyship to be assured that I am, with unalterable resolution,*

Your ladyship's, &c.

25*th Aug.* 1642, LEICESTER.
Nottingham.

Madame,

We are now about the equinoctial, a time which, by natural reservedness, suspends itself

* For these letters and several other curious manuscripts, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Lloyd, of Buckingham Street, to whom I am happy in having this opportunity of expressing my obligations.

from declaring for day or night, for summer or for winter. Methinks the condition of our affaires is not unlike it, for whether it will continew unto us the pleasant peace wherein we have lived, or lead us into a hideous warre, they are better both astronomers and politicians than I am, that can tell. I know what I wish and what I labour for with the little meanes that God hath given me; but I have small hope of it, though others much more able employ themselves to the same end with me. I feare it is not so much a malignant party, as malignant fate that guides us; for I am confident that never any people were in such danger of ruine by such unknown causes. For ought I see, we know not what we do, nor what we would have, unlesse it be our own destruction. If this hold on as it is like to do, I cannot imagine how any man can escape; No, not that wise man, who, as it is reported of the bevar, * * * * * * to save himself, parted with the Exchequer and the Wardes. My Lord of Newport, it seemes, is upon other terms, for they say, the Parlement hath voted him out of his estate, and the king hath in a manner putt him out of his office. I am not dangerous enough to do that yet. If I were resolved, I should be contented. Incertitude, the most grievous

thing to the minde of man, is that wherein I languish, for I do not know that I am sure of any thing, but of being your ladyship's most faithful and obedient servant,

LEICESTER.

Nottingham, 12*th Sept*. 1642.

Lord Leicester at length received his final instructions and dispatches; but when he arrived at Chester, on his way to Ireland, where he was detained for some weeks by a severe illness, he received an order from the king, to repair immediately to him, at Oxford, which command, after a fruitless effort to avert it, he obeyed. He was detained there nearly a year, before his commission was officially revoked, and conferred upon the Marquis of Ormond, for whom it had probably been long intended.

Distressed and mortified at the indignity thus offered him, Lord Leicester addressed the Queen, to whose interest he had been much indebted for his former favour with the King, in the following spirited letter of appeal.

Madame,

Suffer yourself, I beseech you, to receive from a person happy heretofore in your Ma-

jestye's good opinion, this humble petition. That whereas the King hath conferred a great honour upon me, which now he hath taken from me, after a long and expensefull attendance for my dispatch; and after his Majestye had divers times signifyde, not only to me, but to my Lord Percy also, his intention to send me into Ireland, since which, I cannot imagine what I have done to alter his Majestye's just and gratious purpose towards me. And whereas it hath pleased the King to tell me lately, that he both acquainted your Majestye at the first with his intention to give me that employment, and since that he would deprive me of it; I humbly conceive it to be very likely that the King hath also told your Majestye the cause that moved him to it; for, I presume, that upon a servant of his and your's, recommended to his favour by your Majestye, he would not put such a disgrace without telling your Majestye the reason why he did it. But as I could never flatter myself with any conceit that I had deserved that honour, so I cannot accuse myself neither of having deserved to be dispossessed of it in a manner so extraordinary and so unusual in the King, to punish without shewing the causes of his displeasure. In all humility, therefore, I beseech

your Majestye to let me know my fault, which I am confident I shall acknowledge as soon as I may see it; for though it be too late to offer such satisfaction as, being graciously accepted, might have prevented the misfortune which is fallen upon me, yet I may present the testimonies of my sorrow for having given any just cause of offence to either of your Majestyes.

I seek not to recover my office, Madame, but your good opinion, or to obtaine my pardone, if my fault be but of error; and that I may either have the hapiness to satisfy your Majestyes, that I have not offended, and so justify my first innocence; or gaine repentance, which I may call a second innocence. I must confess this is a very great importunity, but I presume your Majestye will forgive it, if you please to consider how much I am concerned in that which brings instant destruction to my fortune, present dishonour to myself, and the same for ever to my poore family; for I might have passed away unregarded and unremembered, but now, having been raised to an eminent place, and dispossessed of it, otherwise than I think any of my predecessors hath bin—the usual time not being expired, no offence objected, nor any recompence assigned—I shall be transmitted to the knowledge of following times, with a mark

of distrust, which I cannot but thinke an infamy, full of griefe to myself, and of prejudice to my posterity. For these reasons I humbly beseech your Majestye to make my offence to appear, that I may undeceive myself, and see that it was but a false integrity which I have boasted and presumed myself upon, that others may knowe that which they can but suspect, and that I may no longer shelter myself under the vaine protection of a pretended affection to the King and your Majestye's service, nor under the excuse of ignorance or infirmity. But let me bear the whole burden of disloyalty and ingratitude, which admits of no protection or excuse; and I humbly promise your Majestye that if either of these crimes be proved against me, I never will be so impudent as to importune you for my pardon; but if I be no otherwise guilty than as misinformation or misfortune many times make men in this world, then I beg leave to thinke still, that I have bin a faithful subject and servant to the King; and though I renounce all other wordly contentments whilst the miseryes of these times endure, wherein the King, your Majestye, and the whole kingdom, suffer so much, that it would be shame for any private man to be happy, and a sin to thinke

himself so: yet there is one happiness that I may justifie, therefore I aspire unto it, and humbly desire it of your Majestye, that you will be pleased to thinke of me, as of your Majestye's most faithful and most obedient creature.

LEICESTER.*

December, 1643.

The appeal was fruitless, and Lord Leicester, after remaining a few months longer at Oxford, attending occasionally at the Council Board, but declining to take any part in the questions discussed there, quitted the court, and sought, in the retirement of Penshurst, that relief to his wounded spirit, which his favourite studies could alone afford him. During the time that he remained with the king at Oxford, his estates were sequestered by order of the Parliament, and it required all the interest of the Earl of Northumberland, backed by the exertions of his sons, Lord Lisle and Algernon Sydney, to obtain a reversal of the order.

Before Lord Leicester quitted Oxford, it had been determined in the Council there, upon the entrance of the Scotts army into England, for the purpose of co-operating with the forces of

* *Collins's Sydney Papers*, vol. iii. p. 673.

the Parliament, that a letter, which was to be signed by all the peers in the King's service, "disavowing and reprobating all the acts done by the pretended authority of Parliament,"* and exhorting the Scotts to desist from their purpose, should be sent to the Council of State in Scotland. Whatever may have been the reasons for his refusal, whether as Lord Clarendon insinuates, he could ill digest the affront which he had so lately received from the court: whether he was unwilling to commit himself too decidedly in a sinking cause: or whether, as is most probable from his character, he was influenced by better motives, Lord Leicester was the only peer at Oxford, who refused to subscribe this paper; a dissent which was signified to Lord Digby in the following terms:—

† My Lord,

Having not had the honour to be called to the consultation, nor to knowe any thing of the businesse till the consultation was passed, I have wanted the opportunity which others had to present such doubts, as peradventure the Lords would have bin pleased to allow or sa-

* *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.*

† The original manuscript of this letter is at Penshurst.

tisfy. But now, the reverence which I bear to their Lordships, suppresseth in me both the power and the desyre to object, least I should be thought to censure what they have don. Neverthelesse, if upon the supposed ineffectualnesse of the letter, there might arise in me some such scruple as would have hindered me from consenting to the writing of it, and that the same scruple should yet remaine, I have now no way so modest to express it, as by desyring humbly the liberty of excusing myself from the subscription, wherein the name of so inconsiderable a person as I am, cannot be missed, and this liberty is but that which on the like is often challenged, and seldom denyde, to those who have session and vote in any Court or Councell.

But whenever it shall please the King to lay his commands upon me, or that the Lords thinke fit to call me to a further account in this particular, I doubt not of shewing myself an honest man, and a faithful subject to his Majestye, a great honourer of the Lords, and your Lordship's humble servant.

LEICESTER.

Before this circumstance occurred, the king had determined to entrust his son, the young

Prince Charles, to the care of the Earl of Leicester. In consequence of his refusal to subscribe this letter, that design was abandoned, and the Earl of Berkshire was appointed his tutor in his stead; an unfortunate change for all parties, but particularly for the Prince, who thus not only lost a guardian, admirably adapted for such an office, but was placed under the guidance of another, in every respect unfit for such a charge.*

Lord Clarendon, in the character which he has drawn of the Earl of Leicester, considers him as an adherent of the King's party, and attributes all that appears equivocal in his conduct to the "staggering and irresolution of his nature," which prevented him from engaging heartily and decidedly in his cause. There can be little doubt, however, that his affections were with that moderate party of the Presbyterians, of which his brother-in-law, the Earl of Northumberland, may be considered the leader. Though after quitting the King at Oxford he never resumed his seat in the House of Lords; yet it is evident from several passages in his Journal, that he would willingly have done so, had he received the least encouragement from the parlia-

* *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.*

ment, and that a feeling of pride alone prevented him from applying for his re-admission. It is remarkable indeed, that of all the nearest relatives and connexions of Lord Leicester, no two individuals followed precisely the same course in the political contentions of that period, though it cannot, with fairness, be imputed to any one of them, unless we except his eldest son, Lord Lisle, whose conduct is the most questionable, that he acted otherwise than upon principle. Lord Leicester having been originally a friend of the Earl of Strafford, a favourite of the king and queen, and employed by them in high and confidential offices, yet never heartily embraced the king's cause after the struggle commenced, but as soon as it was possible withdrew into retirement, as if dissatisfied with the proceedings of each of the contending parties. The Earl of Northumberland sided altogether with the parliament; Lord Sunderland alone took up arms for the king; his brothers-in-law, Lord Lisle and Algernon Sydney, enlisted and fought on the other side, and adhered to the same cause, till Cromwell usurped the sovereign power, when Lord Lisle attached himself to his interests, and received favours at his hands, whereas Algernon Sydney retired in disgust from the scene of public life.

Whatever may have been Lord Leicester's opinion of Charles's public conduct, and however harshly and unjustly he may have considered himself to have been treated by him individually, he could not contemplate without strong feelings of pity and indignation the hard fate of that unfortunate king; and when, after his death, the parliament, upon the recommendation of the Earl of Northumberland, placed his children, the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth, under his and Lady Leicester's care, such was the kindness and attention with which they were treated during their short stay in his family, that the Princess Elizabeth, who died shortly after her removal to the Isle of Wight, bequeathed a jewel to Lady Leicester in testimony of her gratitude and regard.*

* There appears to be no truth in the report mentioned by Hume, that it was the intention of the Parliament to bind the Duke of Gloucester apprentice to a button maker, and that the Princess Elizabeth was to be taught some trade. The following amusing extract from a manuscript at Penshurst, proves that the sum allowed for their education and support was not otherwise than liberal.—" In June, 1649, the Parliament placed the Duke of Gloucester and Princess Elizabeth with my wife, allowing for them £3000 a-year, which was a great accession of means to my wife in proportion to the charge of these two children, and ten or eleven servants; and considering my expenses in fewell, washing, and household stuff, &c. also that I

During the latter years of Charles's life, and the period of the usurpation, Lord Leicester seldom quitted his favourite retirement at Penshurst. Regarding Cromwell as the cause of the king's death, and the degradation of the nobility, he neither sought his favour, nor indeed was he cautious of avoiding his displeasure.* He took the oath of engagement to the Commonwealth, but the many reasons he gives for having done so, prove the reluctance with which he did it. In addition to the mortifications arising from the course which public events had taken, domestic afflictions pressed heavily upon him at this period of his life: two of his favourite daughters, whose deaths he has recorded in a very interesting and affecting manner in his Journal, were carried off by consumption; and in a few years afterwards Lady Leicester followed them to the grave. Though of a warm and irritable temper, Lady Leicester was an excellent woman, and a most affectionate

should have less liberty in my own house than I had, and be obliged to attendance which would be troublesome to me, I thought it very reasonable to abate a great part of that £700 a year, and so from Mids^r. 1649, I resolved to take off £400 a year,—this caused a huge storm in the house, but I persisted in it."

* See a curious letter of expostulation from his son, Lord Lisle.—Note (D.)

wife; and the following affecting account of her last moments, as recorded by her husband, proves her worth, and the greatness of his loss. "On *Saturday* the 20th of *August*, 1659, between six and seven o'clock in the morning, my wife sent one of her women, who came in some haste to tell me that she desyred to speak with me. I was not yet out of my bed, but I put on my cloaths as fast as I could, and came and kneeled by her bed syde, where she had caused herself to be raysed, and sate up, being stayde by one of her women. I tooke her by the hand and kissed it. She inclined her face towards me to kiss me, and sayd, 'My dearest hart, I finde that I must very quickly leave you, but before I dye, I desyre to say a few words unto you, and many I cannot say. Love God above all, feare him and serve him; my love hath bin great and constant to you; then she wept gently, and I beseech you pardon my anger, my angry words, my passions, and whatsoever wherein I have offended you, even all my faults and failings towards you. Pray for me in this my weak estate and near approach of death. Commend me to my dear boy, I should have bin glad to see him before I dye; but it is not God's will to have it so. I recommend him to God and you, and earnestly desyre you to be care-

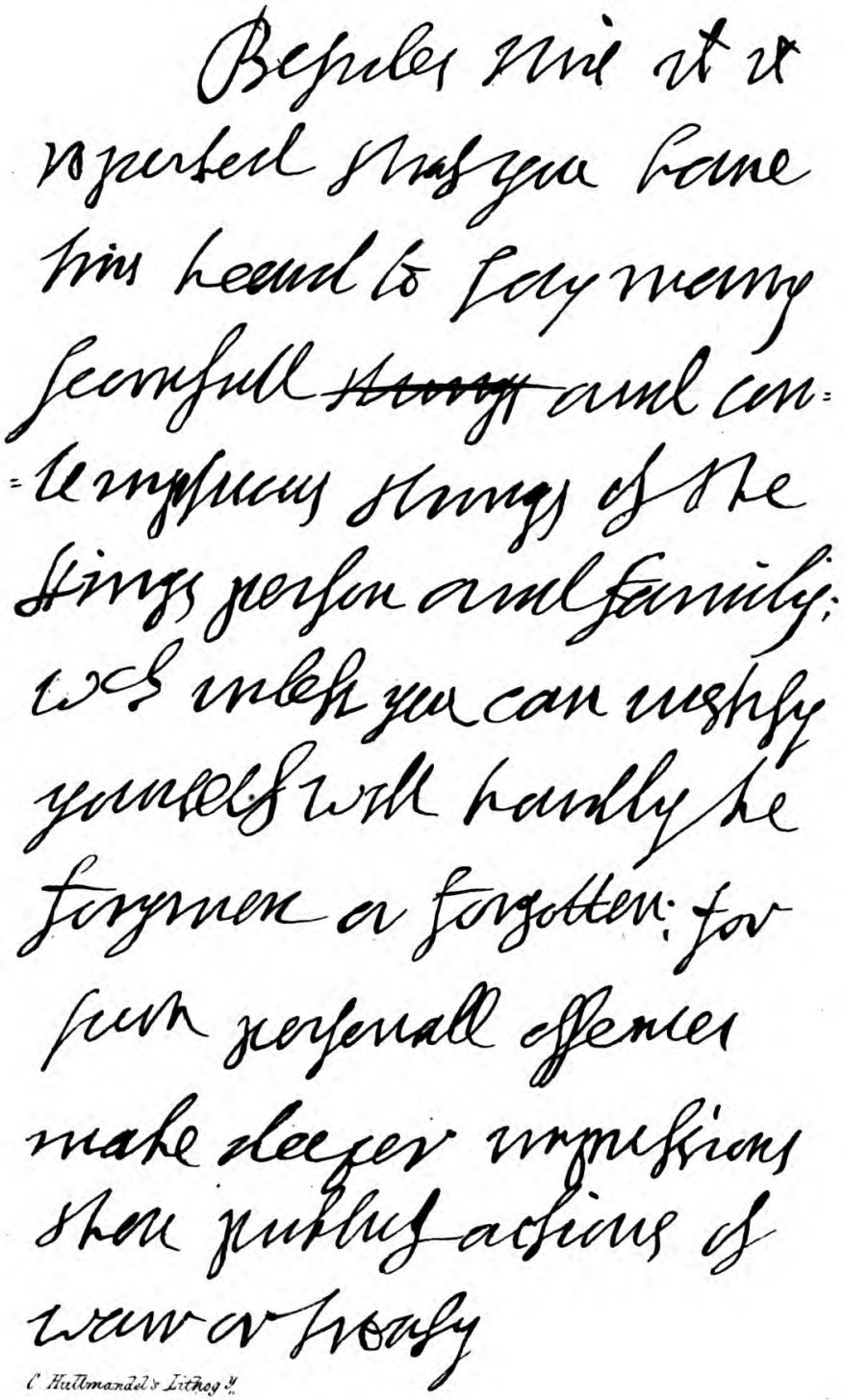
full of him. Keep all your promises, and trouble not yourself for me. I pray God that you may live happily when I am gone, and that God will be pleased to take you at that time, when he shall finde it best for you. Feare God; love God; serve God; remember me, and love my memory, thinke continually upon eternity. I can say no more, so my dear Lord, farewell—' then inclining her face to mine as well as she could, and gently pressing my hand, she sayd, 'God bless you, and now lay me down to rise no more.'"*

Upon the restoration of Charles II. Lord Leicester hastened to court, where he was graciously received by the king. He resumed his seat in the House of Lords, and was sworn a privy counsellor; but his health declining, as he advanced in years, he again retired from public life to Penshurst, where in sickness and in solitude, his eldest son, Lord Lisle, being estranged from him by his ungovernable temper, and Algernon Sydney an exile from his country, he passed the remainder of his days, and breathed his last on the second of *November*, 1677, in the 82d year of his age.

* Manuscript in the possession of Mr. Lloyd. For the whole of the passage, which is extremely interesting, but which was too long for insertion here, see Note (E.)

Nº1.

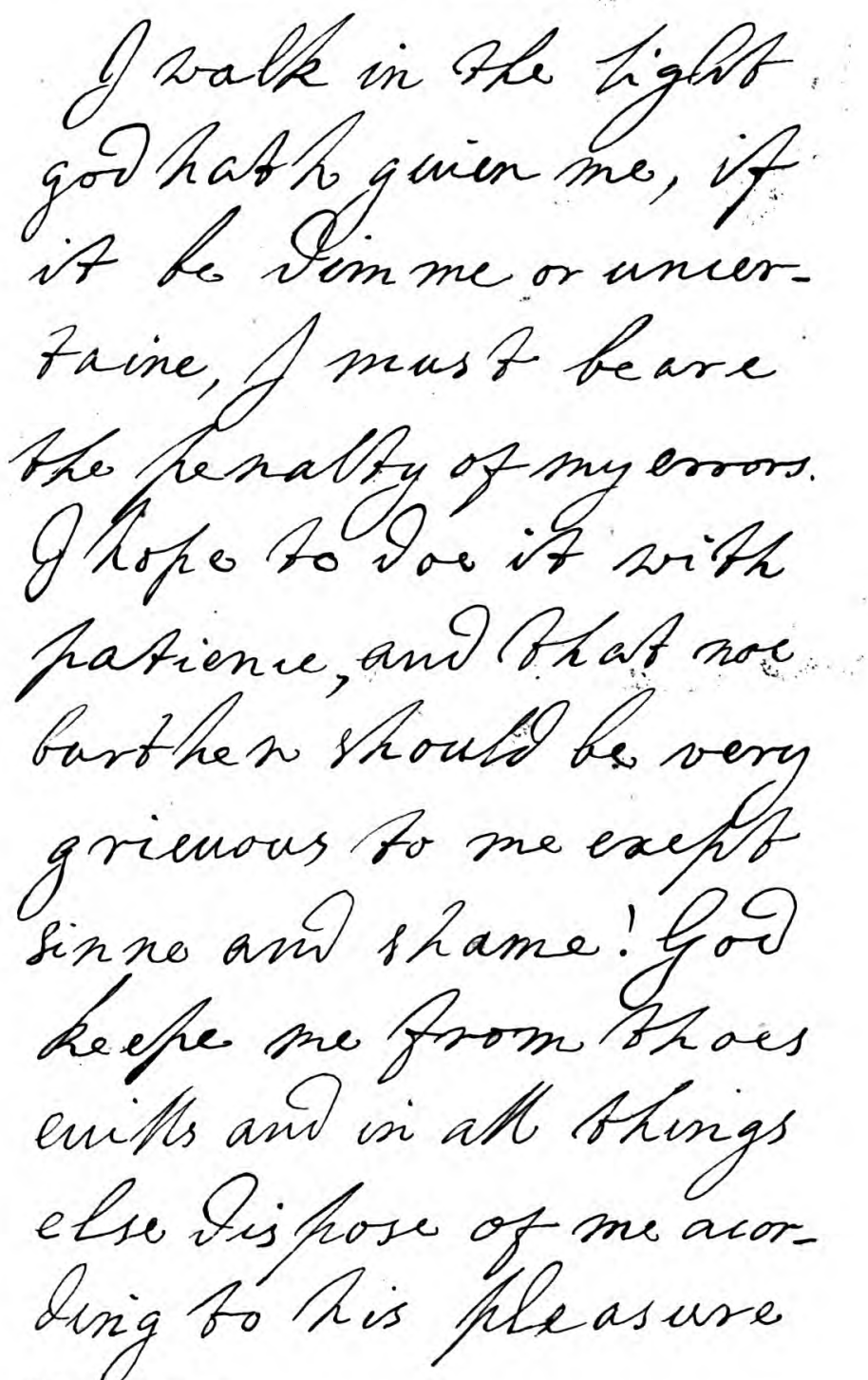
FAC SIMILE OF THE HAND WRITING OF
THE EARL OF LEICESTER.



C. Hullmandel's Lithog.ª

Nº 2.

FAC SIMILE OF THE HAND WRITING OF
ALGERNON SYDNEY.


I walk in the light
God hath given me, if
it be dim me or uncer-
taine, I must beare
the penalty of my errors.
I hope to doe it with
patience, and that noe
burthen should be very
grievous to me except
sinne and shame! God
keepe me from those
evills and in all things
else dispose of me accor-
ding to his pleasure

C. Hullmandel's Lithog.ʸ

JOURNAL

OF

THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Die Jovis, 31st *December*, 1646. A Declaration of the Commons assembled in Parlement, against all such persons as take upon them to preach or expound the Scriptures, except they be ordeined. The Commons assembled in Parlement do declare, that they do dislike, and will proceed against all such persons as shall take upon them to preach or expound the Scriptures in any Church, or *Chappell, or any other publike place;* except they be ordeined either here, or in some other reformed Church; as it is already prohibited in an order of both Houses, of the 26th *April*, 1645, &c. *Eod. die*, 31st *December*. Ordered by the Commons, assembled in Parlement, That this Declara-

tion be forthwith printed and published. And that the Knights and Burgesses of the several Counties and places, do send some of the sayd declarations so printed into the several Counties and places for which they serve, to be there published. Signed, H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com. London, printed for Edw[d] Husband, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons. *January* 2d, 1646.

By this Declaration it is made dangerous to reade the Bible; for unless a man may expound the Scriptures to others upon occasion, as well as to himself, few can expect that profit from theme that they may desyre; particularly all husbands, though theyr wives be imagined to aske them at home, will not dare to expound any place of Scripture. And so of Parlement men; for if one of them allege a peece of Scripture, (which he never will do reasonably without some application, and that at least is a kinde of exposition,) he comes within the compass of this Declaration; for sure the Parlement Houses are publike places if there be any.

Monday, 18th *January*, 1646. The House of Commons this day, according to former order, tooke into consideration the great losses and sufferings of many Members, in the yeare tertio Caroli, for speaking (in parliament,) in behalf

of the kingdom. A report whereof was made to the House, from the Committee to whom it was formerly referred; and the Commons upon debate passed several votes for allowances to be given to such Members, in recompence of theyr wrongs and sufferings as followeth. That Denzill Hollis Esq. a Member of this Parlement be allowed 5,000*l* for his suffering An. 3° Caroli Regis. Mr. Selden a Member, 5,000*l*. That 5,000*l* be allowed to Sir John Elliotes younger children, and his elder son's fine in the Court of Wards to be remitted. That 5,000*l*. be allowed amongst Mr. William Strowdes poore kindred. Also to Mr. Benjamin Valentine (a Member now,) 5,000*l*. To Sir Peter Heyman's successors, (whose eldest son is a Member of this Parlement,) 5,000*l*. To Mr. Walter Long (a Member,) 5,000*l*. And to Sir Miles Hubbard, 5,000*l*. Some reports were also made of others; and the House ordered 5,000*l* to paid to Mr. John Hampden's children, for the sufferings and great losses that he sustained in behalf of the kingdom, by opposing the Ship-money. And 10,000*l* to Mr. Vassel, for the losse of his trade and dammages about the Customs. It was also voted that the sentences against the aforesayd Gentlemen, that were Members, was a breach of privilege of

Parlement. 2dly, Theyr imprisonment a breach of privilege: They were in several prisons, viz. the Tower, the Fleete, the Gatehouse. Also Alderman Chambers' petition was read, who is out 22,000*l* which was referred to the Committee of the House to be added to examine the particulars. It was likewise recommitted to this Committee to consider how these allowances of moneyes to the suffering Members may be advanced, and to report back to the House. Perfect Diurnall, *Monday*, 18th *January*, 1646.

My son Philip's son borne at Salisbury House, *Thursday*, 21st *January* about nine in the morning, christened *Sunday*, 24th, there by Mr. Lee. Godfathers, the Earles of Northumberland, and Salisbury: Godmother, my wife: named Aulgernon.

The Earle of Salisbury told me, the 3d of *February*, that the summes of money given to the members of the House of Commons, were to be raysed out of the estates of those Privy Counsellors who had signed the warrants for the imprisonment of the sayd Members. Of which Counsellors, the sayd Earle named himself for one, though he had signed only one of those warrants. He named also the Lord Coventry, son of the Keeper that then was, the Earle of

Hollande, the Earle of Manchester, son of the Lord Privy Seale, and the Earles of Arundell that now is, and Dorset, with divers others; but (sayd the Earle of Salisbury,) I will not give the members much for that which they will get out of our estates. I had allmost forgot the Earle of Pembroke, that now is, whom he named also. But it may be observed, that some of those, who take upon them now to be great patriotes, were partyes to those irregular proceedings, in the time that the favour of the Court was sought and desyred by them.

Saturday, 30th *January*, 1646. The Scotts, having received the full summe of 200,000*l.* marched out of Newcastle, leaving the King to the Commissioners of the Parlement; Earles of Pembroke, and Denbeigh, and Lord Montague, of the House of Peers; and the Commissioners of the House of Commons, who were sent by the Parlement to receive the King. But this was done without ceremonye as I heard, or any formal delivery of the King's person; only the Scottish General told the sayd Commissioners, that now they were marching away and did leave the King in theyr power. And presently Major General Skippon placed an English guarde, in place of the Scottish guarde, about the King's house and person, who was to

remove from Newcastle *Wednesday*, the 3d of *February*, and to be at Holmby on *Saturday*, the 13th, the place appointed for his Majesty, by the Parlement. So the King remained in the power of the Scottish army from the 5th of *May*, 1646, to the 3d of *February* following; which is nine months.

Monday, 1st *February*. My son the Viscount Lisle went from London towards Bristol, and from thence to his command in Ireland. So he went not away till the King was in the power of the Parlement, though he had been declared Lieutenant of that Kingdom, by the Parlement somewhat more than a yeare before; that is, in *January*, 1645, and had his Commission for the same from the Parlement in *April*, 1646, so slow were theyr proceedings.

Tuesday, 9th *February*, 1646. The Earle of Northumberland came to my house and told me, that the Earle of Hollande that afternoon had bin with him, and asked him what I meant to do concerning the comming into the House of Peeres; to which the Earle of Northumberland answered, he could not tell, for he had not heard me speake of it in a great while. The Earle of Hollande desyred to speake with me to this purpose; that he, (viz. Hollande,) had bin much pressed by the Earles of Bedford

and Clare, to joyn together in endeavouring to be readmitted to the House, which he was now resolved to do very speedily; and that within a few days it would be moved in the House of Peeres, by his brother of Warwick, or by the Earle of Manchester, and he desyred to know if I would joyne with him and the others in it.

My answer to the Earle of Northumberland was, that I conceived the Earle of Hollande did not make this proposition to me out of kindnes, but that he had some other end in it. And I desyred his Lordship to make this answer for me to the Earle of Hollande, that, though I did not conceive myself comprehended in the ordinance for excluding the members of Parlement yet since that in all the time, which is almost three years since my returne hither, it had not pleased the Parlement to command my service or attendance, I did not intend to press to be readmitted, but would attend yet longer till the Parlement should be settled in a better disposition towards me. I also desyred the Earle of Northumberland, that though such a motion should be made for the Earle of Hollande, either alone, or with others, in the one or in the other House, or though it were likely to pass in the House of Peeres, or afterwards in the House of Commons, that my name

might not be used, nor the like motion made for me; but that the Earle of Hollande and the rest, if they had a minde to it, might try theyr fortunes, for I had no minde to be refused; and also in regard that my case being very different from theyrs, if we should be readmitted together, it would be thought that I had don as they had don, who had manifestly and really deserted the Parlement, and had adhered to those that levyde war against the Parlement, and had bin actually in armes with them; and that I had never don either the one or the other.

The Earle of Hollande was the Chief Agent in the business of the Forrests, which was one of the subjects greatest greevances: he had bin in many monopolyes; he had bin assistant to the levying of shipmoney; he was one of those Privy Counsellors that signed the warrants for the commitment and imprisonment of the members of Parlement, in the third yeare of the King, for which the House of Commons, 18th *January* last, gave recompenses to the sayed members, to be raysed out of the estates of those Privy Counsellors, who had signed the warrants aforesayed, so as the Earle of Hollande being one of those, is in a manner to be sequestered again for it; it is beleeved that less than

his whole estate will not be enough to pay for his part in the business, if he have not very much favour.

He tooke the oath imposed by the Parlement, after Waller's plot, wherein, among other things, it is sworn to oppose all forces raysed by the King; and yet within a few dayes after, contrary to his oath, he deserted the Parlement, ran away to the King, and was in armes against the Parlement at Gloucester, and at the battle of Newbury, *An.* 1643; which is as plain a perjury as can be. He came to Oxford, stayed there a good while; would fain have bin received into the Court again, but failing of that, ran away again to the Parlement. He was sequestered, which is a judgment of Parlement, and that I never was. These are things publickly known and he cannot deny them. Many private passages there were, which would shew his disaffection and perfidiousness to the Parlement. As his undertaking at Oxford to corrupt the Earle of Essex; his giving frequent intelligence to Oxford, by his daughter Thyn and others to ingratiate himself there, and others, but being private though very true, they cannot be proved, therefore let them go.

11th *February*, being the next day, in the House of Peeres, the Earle of Warwick asked

the Earle of Northumberland what I would do, who gave him the answer which I desyred him to make to the Earle of Hollande. Not long after, the House being sate, the Earle of Manchester desyred leave of the Lord's to make a motion, which being granted, he put them in mind of the thinness of theyr House: that the House of Commons had recruited theyr House, and that he thought it requisite for theyr Lordship's to do the like to theyr House; and to that end he proposed to them the readmitting of some Lords, (naming the Earles of Bedford, Hollande, and Clare,) who had shewed much affection to the Parlement since theyr return, and during theyr long attendance. And that he had brought to that effect an ordinance which he desyred might be read. Some difference and debate presently arose, whether or not the ordinance should be read, but the question being putt, it was carryed affirmatively, and the ordinance was read. Then it was desyred that the ordinance, according to the custome, might be read a second time; but that was opposed, and after a long debate of about two houres the question was putt for the second reading, and carryed negatively, by ten Lords against nine, and the sayd ordinance was cast out. The Lords refusing to admit

the word " Now," into the question, least it should imply an intention to reade it again hereafter, but absolutely determined that it should not be read; so the pretensions of the Earle of Hollande had an end for that time. This was told me the same day by the Earle of Northumberland; and I was very glad that I had refused to have my name used among them. The Lords that were for the second reading of that ordinance were, Northumberland, Lincolne, Suffolk, Salsbury, Warwick, Manchester, Dacres, North, and Elging, (that is, Lord Bruce.) And against the reading of the same, that is, against the readmitting of the sayd Lords were, Kent, Rutland, Middlesex, Mulgrave, Willoughby, Rochefort, Grey of Warke, Roberts, Maynard, and Howard, of Elsrig. The Lords Say, Wharton, and others were not there, but it is thought they would have bin against it. Pembroke was then gone to attend the King at Holmby, he would have bin for it; but Denbigh and Montague who were in the same employment, it is conceived, would have bin against it, and Barkeley likewise, who was also absent. So as in appearance, they could not have had a better time to move it, though it succeeded not: And many thinke it a great imprudence in the Earle of Hollande,

who only pressed it, that he did not informe himself better of the inclinations of the Lords, for it would have bin no hard matter to know particularly the intention of every one of them, being not above twenty in all.

Tuesday, 16th *February*. The King came from Harborough to Holmbye, accompanyed by the Commissioners of the Parlement, sent to that purpose.

Monday, 22d *February*, Mr. Alsbury sayd at Leycester House, that the Parlement had taken off the delinquency of Mr. Norgate without his paying any thing, and declared him to be no delinquent, though he were Clerke of the Assembly of Lords at Oxford, which sure is a greater offence than to be only in that asssembly, which by some hath bin sayd to be the greatest crime of all.

In the Diurnall, beginning *Monday* 15th *February*, 1646, there is this passage: "When the King was at Leedes, thousands of people were gathered together, and some cryed *a King, a King*, very uncivilly, which gave offence. *Saturday* morning the King went towards Leycester, his Majesty dined by the way at Loughborough; the General (that was Sir Thomas Fairfax) went a little out of Nottingham with his Majesty, and they parted respectfully."

Friday, 19th *February*, 1646. My son Philip went from Minehead in Somersetshire, where he embarked with a fayre winde towards Irland, and it is conceived that he landed at Corke on *Saturday* the 20th. The horse he left behind, because the Lord Inchiquin signifyde to him by letters before he went from Bristol, that there was no provision for horse in the province of Munster, and therefore desyred him to bring no horse with him, least they should starve themselves and those that were there already.—It is very likely that Ormond tooke the opportunity of my sayd son's departure to make his second offers to the Parlement, hoping that my son being gone into Munster, he should not be sent directly to Dublin, and that in the meane time he would so deale with the Parlement that the government of Dublin and command of the forces there should be left to him (Ormond), or at least be conferred upon some other, and not upon my son. This is the more likely, because he refused to make good his first offers when my son was at London, and should have bin sent directly to Dublin to receive that place and other garrisons from Ormond who had no minde to delyver them to him.

By letters of the 26th *February* 1646, advertised that my son landed on *Sunday* morning

at a village called Johnstown, six miles short of Corke, and *Monday* came to Corke where they found the government and all things in strange disorder, and the abuses very great, as appeared by the sayd letters.

On *Saturday*, 13th *March*, the Earle of Lincolne brought in again an Ordinance for the readmitting of the Earles of Bedford, Holland, and Clare, whereupon there was some debate in the House, some of the Lords conceiving it to be against the rules of the Parlement to bring in a bill or ordinance again the same session which had bin cast out, but others were of opinion that it had not bin cast out, and besides that there were some alterations which made it another ordinance. Then the debate was put off till the *Wednesday* following 17th *March*, and ordered that then the Lords would consider both the manner and matter of the sayd Ordinance. On *Wednesday* the 17th, it was putt off again till *Friday* fortnight after, which was to be the 2d of *April*, 1647. On *Thursday*, 1st *April* 1647, upon a motion of the Earle of Warwick, the sayd busines concerning these three Earles was again putt off till *Friday* come six weekes (as the Earle of Salsbury told me), which will be 14th *May*. It seemes they were not confident of theyr busines, seeing they de-

clined it the day before; and like enough it is that they will not prevail, for some of the Lords, Willoughby and Rochfort are violently against it; and Willoughby sayd to my Lord of Salsbury, that they would never leave till they made the House of Commons bring an impeachment against my Lord of Hollande: the Earle of Salsbury asked him for what? why said he, for the forrest busines, which was as great a greevance as any; and besydes, (sayd he,) he left us when we were at the lowest, and after he had taken the oath, and then who can trust him afterwards; and they say he hath bin in armes too. Rochfort professed that he knew no reason why Chandos and others that he named might not come in as well as these Lords, and that for his part he would give his voice as sure for them as for these.

Thursday, 1st *April,* 1647. Upon a debate in the House of Commons, it was resolved upon the question that the Kingdom of Ireland should be governed by some persons for the civil matters, and by others for the military; and upon the motion of Sir Gregory Norton, it was ordered that a letter should be sent to give the Lord Lisle notice of this resolution.

Thursday, 8th *April,* 1647. Early in the morning, the House of Commons being very

thyn, and few of my son's friends being present, it was moved by Mr. Glyn, the Recorder, that Corronell Jones should be made Governor of Dublin in Chief, and not Deputy Governor to Algernon Sydney; pretending that Jones would not go, unless he might be Governor; though that were not true: for Jones had accepted of the place of Deputy Governor to Algernon Sydney, and had his commission for that place only, which commission was given to him as Deputy Governor, by the Committee at Darby House; who also had appointed the Lord Lisle to give his brother Algernon Sydney a commission to be Governor of Dublin, which he had don before he and his brother went into Munster. This motion of the Recorder was seconded by old Sir H. Vane, who pretended that his conscience moved him to be of opinion, that since the House had thought fitt to recall the Lord Lisle, it was not good to let his brother Algernon Sydney remaine Governor of so important a place as Dublin; which is as much as to say, as that since you have used one brother ill, you ought to do injustice to the other: an excellent maxim, and fitt for such a man's conscience as never finds itself pressed but to do injustice. Sir William Armyn opposed this motion, and defended Algernon Syd-

ney; but it was carryed against him, and resolved upon Jones, which seemes to be a strange proceeding; to take from a young gentleman who had served them in Ireland as soone as he was able to beare armes, and at the battels of Yorke and other places, not only his government of Chichester, but his office of Lieutenant Generall of the horse in Irland, and now his government of Dublin, without ever hearing him speake for himself; and he being also at this very time actually in their service in Irland. But they say that when the resolution was taken, it was moved that some recompense might be given to Algernon Sydney according to his merits; to which the House assented without any opposition. The commission of the Lord Lisle to be Lord Lieutenant of Irland being determined on *Thursday* 15th *April*, 1647, he came from Corke on *Saturday*, the 17th, accompanyde with his brother, Algernon Sydney, Lieutenant-Generall of the horse in the kingdom of Irland, the Lord of Valentia, Sir John Temple, and Sir Adam Loftus, privy counsellors, and the Lord Broghill, Major Harrison, and many other gentlemen and officers, who left that country and their employments rather than stay under the command of the Lord Inchiquin, as many others intended to do, except the Lord of Valentia,

who, being gained by another party, sided openly with the Lord Inchiquin, and as he had divers times before, loved his interest better than honesty. Sir Arthur Loftus mett them at sea on *Monday*, the 19th, and brought to the Lord Lisle the votes and resolutions of the two Houses of Parlement for the altering of the government of the kingdom. The same day a great storme took them, which continued till *Wednesday*, the 21st; and that night, at twelve o'clock, the Lord Lisle, with his brother and some others, landed at Minehead, with intention to be at Bristol on *Saturday*, the 24th. At Minehead, Sir John Temple, Sir Adam Loftus, and Sir Arthur Loftus, left them, and came by shipp to Bristoll; from whence Sir Arthur Loftus came on *Friday* evening poste, and came to London on *Sunday* morning with a letter from his father and Sir John Temple to the Speaker of the House of Commons, to inform the House of the busines and difference between the Lord Lisle and his officers, and the Lord Inchiquin with his partizans, who, being an Irishman by extraction, birth, and name, which is Bryan, and thereby incapable, by the lawes of Irland, to be Governor, or Commander-in-Chief; and having in these late troubles revolted from the Parlement's service to the King, and afterwards

again from the King to the Parlement, as their affairs agreed best with his interest, his brother and friends being allmost all in rebellion, hath bin nevertheless strangely favoured by the Parlement, made President of Munster, received great summes of money, &c.

On *Saturday*, 1st *May*, the Lord Lisle, his brother, and others of his company, came to London.

Friday, 14th *May*. The House of Peers tooke again into consideration, as had bin appointed, the busines of the Earles of Bedford, Hollande, and Clare, pretending to be admitted to that House by ordinance of Parlement. But after a long debate, it was again putt off for six monthes, till *November* next. The Lord Willoughby, being one of those that opposed the sayd Lords' re-admission, sayd in the House openly, that he saw no reason why those Lords should come in rather than any other, for in his opinion they had don worse than any other; having (sayd he) deserted us when we were in our lowest condition, and when they had lately, before taken an oath not to do any thing against the Parlement, but to oppose the forces raised by the King, &c. as it is in the oath which they took presently after Waller's plot, and within very few dayes they went away to

the King. The same day the Lords made an order that no ordinance should be brought into that House for the re-admittance of those Lords aforesayd, nor of any other Peere that had deserted the Parlement, untill these sixe months were expired; by which it is conceived by some, that the Lords intended to prevent not only any surprise which might be attempted by the three Lords aforesayd, but also to prevent the doing of any thing for the re-admittance of the Earle of Leycester.

The Earle of Bath told me at my house, the 31st of *May*, as I remember, or thereabout, that there were many now sitting in the House of Commons who had taken pardons of the King at Oxford, and that he, having then the keeping of the Privy Seale, (for the King made him Lord Privy Seale,) had entered these pardons, and did still keepe the book of Docketts wherein they were entered; naming Sir William Martin for one, who had a pardon, and was now Knight of the Shire for Devonshire. I told him that I thought that perhaps such persons now, after the reduction of the west country, Wales, &c. might get themselves chosen. That is true, sayd the Earle of Bath, there are some such, and I take Sir William Martyn to be one of them; but I mean not

them only, but those that were before of the House of Commons, went away, deserted the Parlement, tooke pardons, &c. and yet now sit in the House of Commons upon theyr former elections. Methinks, this book of Docketts might be of some use if it were called for; for it is a shame that so much scruple should be made to re-admit some, when others sit there who have so offended.

Wednesday, 2d of *June*, 1647. At night, a party of 500, 600, or 700 horse, (for all those numbers I heard named,) of the army commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, came to Holmby, where the King then was. Colonel Graves, who commanded the guarde appointed by the Parliament to attend his Majestye, made some shew of willingness to defend the house; but his soldiers refused to fight against their old companions; and taking the others by the hand, lett them into the court of the house. Graves slipt away with some others, and left the place to the new commers, who had no better commander than one Joyce, Cornet of Sir Thomast Fairfax's life guarde. *Thursday* passed quietly, for any thing I heard; and what notice the King tooke of this change, I have not yet heard. But on *Thursday*, at night, the 3d of *June*, Joyce came to the bed-chamber doore, the

King being in bed, and told some of the wayters, that the King must presently be gone; they told him that the King was layd to rest, and desyred him not to disquiet his Majestye. He answered, that he had orders to remove the King, and that therefore he must go in. The King, hearing a noyse, rose out of his bed, putt on his breeches, came to the doore, and asked what the matter was. The doore being opened, Joyce went in and desyred the King to make himself ready to remove. The King sayd, he was there by the order of the Parlement, and would not remove; requiring Joyce also to tell him what warrant he had. Joyce replied, that he had his warrant in his sword, and that he would answer what he did; and told the King, that his Majestye must go betimes in the morning. So there being no remedy, the King went with them, who brought him to Newmarket, or to some house thereabouts, on *Friday*. It is sayd, that they gave the King his choice of Oxford, Audley End, or Newmarket, to go unto, and it seems his Majestye chose Newmarket. They gave leave to all that would follow the King to do so, and to all others to go which way they would. The Earle of Dinfermlin came on *Friday* to London, and was in both Houses of Parlement on *Saturday*, where

he made a relation of what had passed; but, as it was conceived by many, he had not much care for truth, for he pretended to have a message to deliver from the King to the two Houses, consisting of three points: 1st, That he went unwillingly from Holmby. 2dly, That his Majestye desyred the Parlement to take special care of the honour of the Parlement, and the rights of the subjects of England. 3dly, That they would not beleeve any thing in his name, as coming from him, untill they should send to him and have it avowed by him. Wherein the Lord Dinfermlin spake against himself; for if the Parlement had followed that advice of the King, they should not have beleeved the sayd Lord Dinfermlin himself.

The most part of this relation is uncertain; and this day, 7th of *June*, I hear that the King was not at all at Newmarket; and that he is now at the house of Sir John Cutts in Cambridgshire.

On *Saturday*, 5th *June*, the House of Commons sate long, and theyr businesses seeming many and great, they resolved to sit the next day, (Sunday, or the Lord's day,) though it were very extraordinary, desyring the House of Peeres to sit that day likewise; which they did, expecting some great matter, as every

body else thought that some resolutions extraordinary would be produced that day; but when the House of Commons mett about four o'clock, Mr. Marshall, theyr famous minister, prayed with them, or for them; and his prayer being ended, they desyred him to make unto them a repetition of his sermon which he had preached that afternoon at Westminster, not to the Parlement, but according to his course, which he and others of his fraternity had held for a great while by turns. The repetition being done, the House of Commons rose without doing any thing, and without ever sending to the House of Peeres; which by some was thought a kinde of jest, that after so much expectation so little should be done.

Friday, 25th of *June*. A letter from the Lords and Commons was sent to the King, desyring his Majestye not to come nearer to London, but either to stay at Royston, where the King then was, or to returne to Newmarket; but notwithstanding this, the King came on his journey, and came to the Earle of Salisbury's house at Hatfield, on *Saturday* the 26th.

Thursday, 1st *July*. The King went from Hatfield to Windsore, though the two Houses of Parlement had appointed that his Majestye

should return to Holmby. The army at this time quartered chiefly at Uxbridge and Wickham.

From Windsore his Majestye went to Caversham, near Reading, and there made some stay.

Monday, 26th *July*. A great multitude of people, apprentices, seamen, and others, came to the Houses of Parlement, forced the House of Peeres first, and afterwards the House of Commons, into which some of them entered boldly and violently, to recall theyr ordinance for the settling the militia in London, and to recall a declaration which had been made by the two Houses, concerning a seditious petition framed in the city of London; and would not go away untill the Houses had done all they would have them to do; and sett guardes at every passage, not suffering any members to come out or go in, but at theyr pleasure. At the same time came some of the Aldermen, the Sherriffes, and a great part of the Common Counsell, to the Houses of Parlement, concerning the settling of the militia, as they would have it, and for the revoking of the ordinance aforesayd; which shews that the sayd multitude came thither upon the excitation of the Common Counsell, for as soone as they had

theyr desires they dismissed the multitude, and sent them away to theyr homes.

On *Wednesday*, 28th, being the fast day, Mr. Edward's and divers other ministers in London, stirred up the people in theyr sermons to rayse armes to suppress the army, abusing the day which was set apart for the calamityes of bleeding Ireland; and exciting the people to putt this kingdom again into blood, and so to make it bleeding England also.

Thursday, 29th *July*. The Houses sate not as I thinke, having adjourned till *Friday*.

Friday. The Houses met and sate though very empty, for the Earle of Manchester Speaker of the House of Peeres pro tempore, and Mr. Lenthall Speaker of the House of Commons, with divers members of both Houses having absented themselves for feare of the like tumults and violences and not appearing in the Houses that day, the House of Peeres chose the Lord Willoughby of Parham to be theyr Speaker pro tempore, and the House of Commons chose one Mr. Pelham a Lawyer for theyr Speaker, and passed many votes.

Saturday, Sunday and Monday. Strong guardes were sett at every entry into London, and Cannon was placed upon the works. raysing

of horse and foote in London against the army, and great expectation of a new warr.

Monday, 2d of *August*. At the Guildhall in London there was a great disorder, some being for peace, some for warr. and a division among themselves, some for Massey, some for Poines, and divers persons were killed; but the whole city not being resolved on warr, it was thought fit to incline to peace; therefore, on *Wednesday the* 4th, Commissioners were sent from the city to the army with desyres to know of Sir Thomas Fairfax what he and the army would have, who demanded some things, among which this was one, To deliver some of the workes about the city to them, which was presently granted, and on *Friday*, 6th *August*, Sir Thomas Fairfax with horse and foote entered the line, came to Westminster; placed the former Speakers in theyr places, and all the members that had absented themselves returned with Sir Thomas Fairfax, and tooke theyr places in theyr several houses; and so theyr adversaries enjoyed theyr conquest but a little while, being no more than one weeke. The eleven accused members were presently gone, and no man knew whether.

Saturday, 7th *August*. Sir Thomas Fairfax was made Constable of the Tower of London by both Houses of Parlement, and the same

day his whole army marched through London, and quartered on Kent Syde.

Monday, 9th. Divers troupes came further into Kent, and the same night Majer Gibbon who commanded Cononell Iretons regiment of horse, came to Penshurst with his whole troupe, and quartered there and thereabout.

Afterwards on the 24th day of *August*. The House of Peeres first, and then the House of Commons declared all acts done by both or either House in the absence of theyr Speakers to be null and void, but yet the Members of the House of Commons that had bin at the making of these votes, or acts, continewed there, and sate still after the returne of the Speaker, except Mr. Glyn the Recorder, and Sir John Maynard, who were committed to the Tower, and perhaps some others were suspended the House because they were thought to be more active in these things. And in the House of Peeres, the Earle of Pembroke only remained of all those who had voted and acted as aforesayd, Seven of which Lords were committed to the black Rod, viz. The Earle of Lincoln, Earle of Suffolke, Lord Barkley, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Earle of Middlesex, Lord Rochfort, and Lord Maynard.

Thursday, 14th *November*, 1647. At night

the King made an escape from Hampton Court, leaving some letters and papers behinde him shewing the cause of his retreat, which was that his Majestye had bin divers ways advertised that very suddenly some attempt would be made upon him to take away his life.

The King went to Tichfield the Earle of Southampton's House, (who was not there) and from thence into the Isle of Wight, where he was received civilly by Cononell Hammond, governor thereof; but whether his Majestye had that place in his dessein, or to go into Jersey as some report is uncertain. In the Isle of Wight his Majestye had liberty to ride or walke abroad, to hunt, haulke, &c. free access of his servants to come to him, Sir John Barkley and Ashburnham with him.

The Parlement having sent by the Earle of Denbigh and others some propositions to the King, viz. 1st. His Majestye to recall all proclamations declarations &c. published against the Parlement or any that had acted by authority of Parlement &c. 2dly. The Militia of the Kingdom to be settled in both Houses of Parlement for twenty years, afterwards to be in the King and the two Houses, but so as the Houses might act without the King in case his Majestye should refuse to joyne with them. 3dly. To

vacate all acts don by the Great Seale since it was carryed from the Parlement in *May*, 1642. 4thly. The two Houses of Parlement to have power to adjourne themselves at any time, or to any place as they thinke fit. These four propositions were then called Billes, and to be made Acts of Parlement by the Kings Assent. But his Majestye having given a direct negative to the same, The two Houses of Parlement on the 15th of *January*, 1647, being *Saturday*, joyned in a declaration and in three votes following, which together with the sayd declarations are printed by authority of both Houses of Parlement, viz. 1st. Resolved, upon the question that the Lords and Commons do declare that they will make no further addresses or applications to the King; 2dly. Resolved, &c. by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parlement that no application or address be made to the King by any person whatever without the leave of both Houses. 3dly. Resolved, &c. by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parlement, that the Person or persons that shall make breach of this order shall incur the penalties of High Treason. 4thly. Resolved, &c. That the Lords and Commons do declare that they will receive no more any message from the King, and do enjoyne that no person whatsoever do pre-

sume to receive or bring any message from the King to both or either of the Houses of Parlement or to any other person.

H. ELSYNGE,
Cler. Parl. D. Com.

JOH. BROWN,
Clericus Parliamentorum.

17th *Jan*^{ii}. 1647.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parlement, that this Declaration and these Resolutions be forthwith printed and published, &c. It is further ordered that whatsoever person shall act contrary to this Declaration and Resolutions of Parlement, or shall write or encourage others so to do, shall upon due proof thereof be imprisoned, and his estate sequestered, and the offenders in the premises after publication hereof shall be within the several ordinances of sequestration; and all Committees and Commissioners of sequestrations are hereby authorized and required to take notice hereof, and to proceed to sequestration accordingly.

H. ELSYNGE,
Cler. Parl. D. Com.

JOH. BROWN,
Cleric. Parliamentorum.

As soone as the Parlement received the Kings negative answer to theyr propositions or bills, order was given to secure his Majestye's person; Whereupon he was confined by Collonell Hamond to three roomes only in the Castle of Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight, and not suffered to go abroad: Barkley, Ashburnham, and the rest putt from him. It is sayd that upon his being refused the liberty of going abroad by Hammond, the King expressed some passion and impatience: It is no wonder he did so, being reduced from three Kingdoms to three roomes in a poore Castle.

Sunday, 9th *April*, 1648. There was a great tumult in London, which began in Moorfields by divers Aprentices there gathered together in great numbers; they disarmed a company of the trayned bands, took the colours, &c. marched into the city and through it as farr as the Strand; where they were mett by some horse from the Meuse, and forced to retyre into London. They forced the Lord Mayors House, drove him out, who saved himself in the Tower. They tooke a Drake at the Lord Mayor's house, and marched up and down London to Leadenhall where was a magazin of armes and powder. They shutt all the gates of London that night, but the next morning *Monday* Sir Thomas Fairfax got in at

Moorgate with a regiment of horse and some foote; 40 of which horse advancing beyond theyr mayne body, charged and routed the mutineers who were grown to be neare 1000, tooke 400 of them, but soon after dismissed all but 10 or 12, whom they brought prisoners to Whitehall to be tryed for theyr lives. Thanks were given to the General for his service by the two Houses of Parlement, and rewards given to Collonel Riches regiment of horse, and to the foote also of Col. Baxters regiment at Whitehall. All was quiet before noone on Monday. The chaines and posts of the streetes without the walls were taken away by order of the Parlement at the request of the Mayor and City.

13th or 14th *April* Letters came to the Parlement advertising the revolt of the Lord Inchiquin Governor of Munster, who upon the 3d of that month declared himself to the officers of the army there, that he was resolved to stand for the King against the pretended (as he called it) Parlement of England, from whom he would no more receive or desyre any assistance.

Friday 21st at night between 9 and 10 o'clock, The Duke of Yorke stole privately away from St Jameses alone, but was soone mett by some that stayed for him, The Chief whereof is thought

to be Collonel Bamfield (whom I saw at Oxford when he came thether upon his word given to the Earle of Essex, to get himself exchanged; for he was then a Prisoner, having bin taken by some of the Parlements forces;) it is sayd that this Bamfield carryed him away alone in a wherry to a ship that stayed for him, and that he landed at Flushing, where they say he was seen on the *Sunday* following:

Friday 2d *June* My daughter Mary Sydney dyed at Leycester House, her body was sent to Penshurst on *Sunday* the 4th and buryed there that night.

About the end of *May* or beginning of *June* there was a great insurrection in Kent, pretending a petition to the Parlement; On the 2d and 3d of *June* many of them came to Detford, fortifyde themselves in some measure there and at ——— near the collermakers where the wayes part, and did many acts of hostility, they retyred from thence on *Saturday* night or *Sunday* morning; on the 4th They possesst themselves of Rochester, Canterbury, Maidstone, &c. beseeged Dover Caslte, were beaten out of Maidstone by the Lord Fairfax, and pursued through Rochester. The Lord Goring being theyr generall came in great haste to Greenwich; driven from thence by the approche of the Lord Fairfax, they fled into Essex, got more strength, and

stayd some time at Stratford bow, from thence to Chemsford and to Colchester, where they were beseeged.

4th of *July*, Tuesday, the Earle of Hollande went out of London, had a rendezvous about Bansted downes, where mett the Duke of Buckingham, Earle of Peterborough, Lord Francis Villars, and many gentlemen out of London &c. in hope to rayse an army whereof the Earle of Hollande was to be Generall, expecting assistance out of Sussex and Surrey, which fayled. They rambled up and down Surrey about Rigate, Dorking &c. and tooke away every mans horses &c. They were followed neare unto Kingston, being about 400 or 500 horse, by Sir Michael Leveson and Major Gibbons, where they were rowted, and Lord Francis Villars slayne, The Earle of Hollande was gone before to Kingston to provide quarters for his men; This was on *Friday* the 7th of *July*. They were forced to forsake Kingston, and made a hasty march to St. Needs or Neote's in Huntingdonshire, where they were pursued by Collonell Scrope with his regiment of horse. Part of the army assaulted on *Monday* morning, 10th *July*, Dalbier was slaine in the defence of the place, and the Lorde of Hollande taken prisoner in his chamber before he was ready; The Duke of

Buckingham, Earle of Peterborough, and a few more escaped. The Earle of Hollande was carryed prisoner to Warrwick Castle: and so ended this expedition.

July. The Prince came from Paris to Calais, from thence passed into Holland; from thence with the readiest shipps passed and attempted Yarmouth, but prevailed not, he came into the Downes of Kent, and tooke divers merchants shipps &c.

Aug. 4th. The Earle of Middlesex for the Lords, Sir John Epsley and Mr. Buckley, sent by the two Houses to the King in the Isle of Wight to desyre a treaty with his Majestye in that Island, which was at the first demurred, but at last accepted by his Majestye, after the great defeat of the Scotts by Lieutenant Generall Cromwell.

Thursday 17th *Aug.* 1648. Neare to Preston in Lancashire was a great battell fought between Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, commanding the Parlement's forces, and the Scotts army, of which the Duke of Hamilton was Generall. The victory remained that day intirely to the English, and so the second and third day, when they pursued the Scotts as farr as Warrington; where Lieutenent Generall Baily with 4000 or 5000 Scotts were taken prisoners, of which

Cromwell's letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons dated 20th *Aug.* sayth, "The Scotts army could not be less than 12000 effective foot well armed, and 5000 horse. Langdale (who was joyned with them) had 2500 foot and 1500 horse, in all one and twenty thousand, and truly very few of theyr foote but were as well armed, if not better, than yours, and at divers disputes did fight two or three howres before they would quit their ground; yours were about 2500 horse and dragoons of your old army, about 4000 foote of your old army also, about 1600 Lancashyre foote, and about 500 Lancashyre horse; in all about 8600. You see by computation about 2000 of the enemy slaine, betwixt eight and nine thousand prisoners, &c."—See more in that letter.. The *Thursday* before this battel, viz. 10th *Aug.* neare to Cens in Flanders, the Prince of Condé won a great battell against Leopold, wherein General Beek was slaine, his son and many persons of quality taken.

About the 20th or 21st *Aug.* The Earle of Traquaire and divers other Lords and persons of quality, with 1500 men, were taken neare unto Nantwich by some Cheshire forces, as it is related in a letter from some of that Committee. Duke Hamilton who with 2000 force

or thereabout fled as far as Uxeter, in Staffordshyre or Shropshyre was taken by the country forces of Leycestershyre, Derbyshyre &c. who pursued him and his company thither by order from Cromwell, whose men and horses were so wearyed that they could go no further. Duke Hamilton was conveyed prisoner to Ashby de la Zouche in Leycestershyre, and now being The Parlement's prisoner, it will be observed if the King will releeve him, as the parlement did when he was the King's prisoner in St. Michel's Mount.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale fled out of the same battell and was afterwards taken desguised, neare Nottingham, where he was carried prisoner to that Castle.

The Earle of Calendar was taken neare Skipton in Yorkeshire, who was Lieutenant Generall of their horse—Middleton who was their Major Generall, was taken likewise, but I remember not where in Staffordshyre. I heard since that he was taken in North Wales; and since, that he was not taken at all, nor at the battell. Their whole army killed or taken, or so dispersed that I heare not of 20 men together any where, except those who are come out of Irland with Munrow, about 1500 foote and 1200 horse, intending to joyne with Hamilton,

and were come into Lancashyre, or into Cumberland at the least. Langdale is said to rayle at the Scotts both for treacherye and cowardise. Hamilton rayles at the English, that he sayth invited him to come into England, and betrayed him, and sayth he will discover who called him in. The Cavalier party, as in a letter from Mr. Mountague, 30th *August*, and Pragmaticus of the 22d *August* to 29th, say that Hamilton and Baily were corrupted with money by the Parlement, and so betrayed both theyr army and the King's cause. But the truth of this, time may hereafter manifest; for my part I beleeve it not, but I think rather that the valour of the English got the victory over the cowardlines of the Scotts: God encouraging the one in theyr just cause, and dishartning the other for theyr ingratitude and unfaithfulness to the English nation.

Wednesday 23d. It was orderd by the Lords and Commons in Parlement assembled, that *Tuesday* come fortnight, the 7th of *September* next, be appointed a day of solemne thanksgiving thorow the whole kingdom unto Almighty God, for his wonderfull great mercy and success bestowed upon the Parlement forces, under the command of Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, against the whole Scotts army, under the conduct and command of Duke Hamilton, on the

seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of this present *August*, in Lancashyre. These are the words of the order, signed Joh. Brown, Cler. Parliamentorum. This order was printed with Cromwell's letter aforesayde to the Speaker. The concurrence of the Lords in this order, agrees little with theyr former proceeding; for upon the Scotts entrance and advance into England with theyr army, which was sayd to be very great, and by theyr partizans bragged to be invincible, the Commons voted the Scotts so come into England, and having seized upon the townes of Barwick and Carlile, to be enemyes to the state, and all of the English nation which joyned or adhered to them to be rebells and traytors; and to this vote, with some others, the Commons desyred the concurrence of the Lords, which they upon debate, carryde negatively in theyr house, and refused to do, but not only so, but afterwards the treaty with the King being in consultation among the Lords, they voted that the Scotts should be invited to joyne with the Parlement in the sayd treaty, and that the King should also have liberty on his part if he pleased, to invite the Scotts to the treaty; which votes being communicated to the Commons by the Lords for theyr concurrence, the Commons were even with theyr Lordships, and refused to joyne with them therein; Wherein

certainly they shewed much wisdom and love to theyr country, casting thereby a great blemish on the Lords; for if the Scotts were not enemyes, what could be more ridiculous than to give God thanks for victory over our friends?

Monday 28th *August*, 1648. Colchester was renderd to the Lord Fairfax; the Generalls Earle of Norwich, Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas and all officers open to mercy, *i. e.* as upon explanation it was agreed on, that the Generall might spare whom he pleased, and put to death whom he pleased, quarter being given to all private souldiers in the towne; the same day in the afternoone Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, a Corronell were put to death, Sir Bernard Gascoin (an Italian and stranger as some pamphlets have called him,* but I thinke an English and Kentish man) was brought forth to suffer likewise, but was reprieved. Collonell Farre also (who was Lieutenant Collonell to the Earle of Warwick of a regiment of trained bands in Essex), was assigned to have suffered with those two, but could not then be found. The Lords and others were left to the mercy of the Parlement. This siege began about the 10th or 12th *July* last, and was extraordinary in our

* Lord Clarendon says that Sir Bernard Gascoigne was a Florentine.

kingdom. The besiegers suffered much by hard duty in the wettest summer that hath bin known, to keep the besieged from escaping out, who being more in number than the besiegers, cannot have much prayse of gallantry, but only that in expectation of releef they held out long, being in want of vittailes only; but the Scotts being defeated, and no hope of releef remayning, they yeelded, as it is related in a letter printed with a lyfe of the principall persons taken in the surrender of the towne.

Wednesday 13th *September*. The Parlement sent Commissioners, members of both houses to treat with the King at Newport, a town in the Ile of Wight, to which his Majesty had liberty to go from Carisbrooke Castle, upon his word given that he would not go out of the Iland during the treaty, nor in 28 dayes after the end thereof. The treaty was agreed upon by the King and Parlement to continue 40 dayes only, unless there were further time agreed upon. The Parlement's Commissioners were, for the House of Peeres the Earles of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salsbury and Middlesex, and the Lord Say and ten of the House of Commons, Mr. Hollys, Pierpoint, Glyn the Recorder of London, Sir Harbottle Grimston &c. They arrived in the Ile of

Wight on *Friday*, but the treaty began not till *Monday* the 18th of *September*.—After several additions unto the 40 dayes first limited for the treaty between the King and the Parlement at Newport in the Ile of Wight, the treaty ended on *Monday*, 27th *November*. But the King gave not his assent to all the Parlement demanded by theyr propositions, especially concerning the government of the Church, the abolishing of episcopacy, the taking away of the Byshop's Lands, the proceedings of the Earle of Ormond in Irland &c. Most of the Commissioners being come away before, the rest followed and left the King on *Tuesday* the 28th.

Remonstrance of the Army resolved by the Lord Fairfax and the generall Counsell of Officers, held at St. Albans theyr head quarter on *Thursday* the 16th of *November*, and deliverd by Corronell Ewer and other officers to the house of Commons (but not to the Lords) on *Monday* the 20th of the same.

Declaration of the Generall the Lord Fairfax and his generall Counsell of Officers held at Windsor *November* 30th, shewing the grounds of the armyes advance towards London.

Saturday 2d *December*, and *Monday* 4th, a great part of the army 10,000, some sayde more, some less, came and tooke up theyr

quarters at Whytehall, the Mewse &c, and made theyr head quarter at St. Jameses or Whytehall.

The same *Saturday* 2d *Decemb.* The King was removed by some officers and souldiers of the army from Newport in the Ile of Wight to Hurst Castle, and put into the custody of one Collonell Ayres of Wiltshyre.

Wednesday 6th *December.* Corronell Pride an officer of the army with some souldiers attending him, came and stood in the passage to the house of Commons, having a liste of divers names, and by command of the Generall seized on divers members of that house, as they were going into the house, and sent them away prisoners about 34 or 35 of them, among which Mr. Crew, Mr. Swinson, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy &c.

Friday 15th *December* 1648. My daughter Lucy Pelham was delivered of a daughter at Hollande, Sir Thomas Pelhams house in Sussex, which was within the yeare, having bin married the 20th *January* 1647. But the childe after she had been christened and named Dorothy, dyed the *Sunday* following, being but two dayes old.

Saturday the 23d. The King was brought from Hurst Castle to Windsore Castle by Corro-

nell Harrison with 1,200 or 1,400 horse.—The same *Saturday* the 23d, the House of Commons appointed a Committee of 38 or thereabout, to consider of drawing up a charge against the King and all other Delinquents that may be thought fit to bring to condygn punishment &c. So saith the Diurnall from the 18th to the 25th *December*. And a letter which I saw sayth that the Committee is to bring in an ordinance for the tryall of the King by Commissioners, by the name of Charles Stuart.

Friday 29th *December*. The ordinance for tryall of the King was read the second time: The preface whereof was debated, viz. Whereas Charles Stuart hath bin intrusted with the government of the Kingdom &c. This held great debate.

Saturday 30th *December*. This day the Committee met in the morning for dispatch of the ordinance for tryall of the King, upon report whereof it was recommitted and ordered; the Commissioners to be added. And the House considering that the Lords sate not till *Tuesday*, referred it untill *Monday*, and then to be dispatched (if possible) to be sent to the Lords on *Tuesday*.

Monday 1st *January* 1648. The Commons

this day passed this Declaration following. "The Commons assembled in Parlement do declare and adjudge that by the fundamentall lawes of this Realme, it is Treason in the King of England (for the time being) to levy warr against the Parlement and Kingdom of England: The Lords concurrence to be desyred." Then the House passed the ordinance for tryall of the King. "Whereas Charles Stuart" &c.

The Judges are the Lord Chief Justice Rolles: Chief Justice of England, Justice St. John, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Lord Chief Baron Wilde. the Commissioners who are to be a Jury are 150, whereof 20 are of the Quorum, some of each House of Parlement, some of the Army, and some from all the Countyes. Of the Lords House, The Earle of Denbigh, Earle of Pembroke Earle of Kent, Earle of Mulgrave, Earle of Nottingham, and Lord Grey of Warke.*

Of the House of Commons, the Lord Monson, Lord Grey of Groby, Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, Sir H. Mildmay, Sir John Danvers, &c. and most of the members now sitting.

* Though nominated Commissioners, none of these Peers sate as such upon the trial of the King.—Fairfax attended the first meeting, but never afterwards.

Of the army that are not members, The Lord Generall Fairfax, Collonell Whaley, Col. Rich, Sir Hardress Waller &c. Of the City of London Alderman Pennington, Ald. Wollaston, Ald. Feoks, Ald. Gibbs, Ald. Andrews, Ald. Atkyns, &c.

Tuesday 2d *Jan.* The Commons carryed up severall messages to the Lords for concurrence. 1st. To the Declaration and ordinance for tryall of the King, &c. The Lords orderd to send answer by messengers of theyr own. This day theyr Lordships were in a full house, for besides those seven that usually have sate of late, there were the Earle of Northumberland, Earle of Manchester, Earle of Rutland, Lord North, Lord Rochford, Earle Maynard, and the Lord Dakers. The Earle of Denbigh was Speaker. After theyr Lordships had layd aside the ordinance for tryall of the King, they adjourned theyr house for a weeke. The same day from Windsor came thus; That the King seemes to be as merry as usual, and sayth that he feares none; he makes the busines talked on for questioning of him, a jest, and he sayth that he hath yet three games to play, the least of which gives him hope of regaining all. Those that will (and accordingly some do) still serve the King on theyr knees." Out of the Diurnall.

Sir John Temple in a letter of the 3d of *Jan.* writes, They go on resolvedly to bring the King to justice; the ordinance is now passed, the Commissioners named, and though the Lords refuse to joyne, yet without question they will go on, and have made sure of 20 persons who are to be of the quorum, that will proceed to the tryall, though all the rest give out. The King takes yet no notice that I can heare of theyr proceedings, gave order very lately for sowing the seeds of some Spanish melons which he would have set at Wimbleton. He hath a strange conceit of my Lord of Ormond's working for him in Irland; he hangs still upon that twigg, and by the inquireys he made after his and Inchiquins conjunction, I see he will not be beaten off it &c.

Wednesday 3d *Jan.* The Commons passed instructions for some of theyr members to go up and examine the Lords Journall booke, concerning theyr Declaration and Ordinance that was the day before sent up for tryall of the King, and at theyr returne they brought to the house three votes which theyr Lordships had made, viz. 1st. To send answer by messengers of theyr own. 2dly. That theyr Lordships do not concurr to the Declaration, and 3dly. That theyr Lordships rejected the ordinance for the

tryall of the King. The Commons ordered that all Committees, in which there are Lords shall sit and have power to act, though the Lords absent themselves; and the House passed instructions and power for theyr proceedings as when the Lords did come.

The House ordered that the Committee for settling the kingdom should make theyr reports with all speed.

And then the Commons ordered an expedient to be brought concerning the king. The substance like the former ordinance for his tryall, with the foregoing Declaration intended for both Houses, now to be by the Commons only. The Committee to sit presently, and to report it this afternoone, during which time of the Committees sitting, the House adjourned.

Afterwards the House sate again, and the ordinance was reported by the sayd Committee according to the instructions which were made, and recommitted back again to the sayd Committee, and ordered to be brought in again the next day.

The six Lords are here to be left out in this, and also the three Judges—Serjeant Bradshaw, Serjeant Nichols, &c. are putt in, and Mr. Steele and others are to be assistant Sollicitors. The reasons why the Judges are left out

are, 1st, Because they being called into the Lords House, may make some queries, and so the business be delayed. And 2dly, Because they have taken oathes to particular engagements which (it may be) they may, by scrupling, cause a delay to the proceedings herein.

Thursday 4th *Jan*^{y}. The Commons finished the great order for the tryall of the king, and ordered it to be forthwith engrossed. And then the House proceeded to a Declaration concerning the Legislative power; and how it is originally not in the King, nor Lords, but in the Commons.

It is observed that on the 4th of *Jan.* 1641, The king came to the House of Commons to seise the five members of the house, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Pymme, and Mr. Stroud—The Commissioners for this great business for tryall of the king, being 150 named in the ordinance, any 20 of them are to be a Committee or of the Quorum for the tryall of him, and to give sentence against him.

By this ordinance the Commissioners are limited to a months time to make a final determination of the business, which month begins on the 1st or 4th of this present January, when the ordinance was passed without the con-

currence of the Lords. The place of tryall is not named in the ordinance, so that whether it shall be at Windsore or Westminster, is not known; but it is conceived to be left to the Commissioners—The same *Thursday*, 4th *Jan*^{y}. The House of Commons, as it was appointed, had the ordinance for the tryal of the king by the name of Charles Stuart, reported with some amendments, and in respect the House of Lords had rejected it, they ordered that the House should be turned into a grand Committee, to consider of the power of the Commons of England when assembled in Parlement. In fine the Committee came to this resolution, That it should be reported to the House these votes following as the opinion of the sayd Committee, viz. Resolved that The Commons of England assembled in Parlement do declare, That the people under God are the originall of all just power.

They do likewise declare, that the Commons of England assembled in Parlement, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme authority of the nation. They do likewise declare, That whatsoever is enacted and declared for law by the Commons of England assembled in Parlement, hath the force of law, and all the people of this nation are in-

cluded therein, although the consent and concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto. These being reported to the House, the House putt them one after another to the question, and there was not one negative voyte to any one of them. Then an ordinance for tryall of Charles Stuart by a Court Martiall was again read and assented unto, and ordered to be forthwith ingrossed in parchment, and to be brought in tomorrow morning. The House ordered, that the Clerke of the House should be enjoyned not to give any copye of the sayd ordinance for tryall of Charles Stuart either to any Member of the House, or to any other whatsoever.

Friday 19th *Jan.* The King was brought from Windsore to St. Jameses, where he lay that night strongly guarded.—*Saturday* 20th. He was brought from St. Jameses in the Erle of Pembroke's chayre (procured by Mr. Peters) into Westminster Hall, within the bars, and sate in a chayre placed theyre for him, before the High Court of Justice erected by authority of the House of Commons only, consisting of the Commissioners aforesayd, whereof about 70 were present. Serjaent Bradslaw, Lord President, Mr. Steele, Atturney Gen^{l}., Mr. Cooke, Sollicitor Gen^{l}. for this tryall. The Court was

placed at the upper end of the Great Hall, containing the whole space of the Chancery and King's Bench. The King heard his charge readd, but refused to answer, not acknowledging the authority &c. The Court adjourned to *Monday*, and the King that night was lodged at Sir Robert Cotton's house in Westminster; Doctor Juxon, late Bishop of London, permitted to attend him.—*Monday* 22d. The King was brought again to the High Court, where Cooke the Sollicitor Generall demanded of the President that the charge against the prisoner at the barr (meaning the King) might be taken pro confesso, because he would not answer, and that judgement might be given against him. The King continued still his resolution not to answer.

Tuesday 23d. The King was brought again, and still refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, was conveyed back to Sir Robert Cotton's house, as some say, others to St. Jameses.

Wednesday 24th. The Court sate not in Westminster Hall, but in the Painted Chamber, examining witnesses, and the King was at St. Jameses.

Thursday 25th. The Court sate not in Westminster Hall, but in the Painted Chamber, tooke

the deposition of wittnesses against the King, who remayned at St. Jameses. The King's answers and speeches, with the Lord President's declarations, and the Sollicitor's instances, are in print, published in many pamphlets. It is observed that the King was brought first to this tryall on the 20th of *Jan*^{y}. 1648, and that on the 26th *Jan*^{y}. 1641, he sent his remarkable message from Windsor to the Parlement. No Ambassador sent from any foreign Power or State to intercede for the King, but Mr. Pau, and old Joachim from the United Provinces, and they were not heard till *Monday* 29th. It was observed that young Sir Henry Vane who had long absented and retyred himself by scruple of conscience as it was said, came again, and sate in the House of Commons on *Saturday* 20th *Jan*^{y}. the day that the King was first brought to tryall. My two sons Philip and Algernon came unexpectedly to Penshurst *Monday* 22d, and stayd there till *Monday* 29th *Jan*^{y}. so as neither of them was at the condemnation of the King, nor was Philip at any time at the High Court, though a Commissioner, but Algernon (a Commissioner also) was there sometimes, in the Painted Chamber, but never in Westminster Hall.

Thursday 25th *Jan*^{y}. The Commissioners sat

also in the Painted Chamber, examining witnesses concerning the King.

Friday 26th. In the Painted Chamber again, the proofes ended, and votes passed, none dissenting, viz. that the King had exercised tyrannicall government, was a tyrant and murtherer and a traytor, after which it was agreed to draw up the sentence of condemnation against him. These last 3 or 4 days, the King was kept strictly guarded, sometimes at Sir Robert Cotton's house, sometimes at St. Jameses.

Saturday 27th. The final sentence being this day to be pronounced against the King, the Lord President and 67 Commissioners appeared (in Westminster Hall) and the King was brought in, who as at all other times kept his hat on. He refused again to acknowledge the Court, but desyred that before sentence were given, he might be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber or any other place. The Court adjourned and withdrew into the Court of Wards to consider of it as the King desyred, the King was also withdrawn. Half an hower after the Commissioners came again, and the King was also brought, and after divers things were sayd by the King and the President, but none of the Commissioners sayd any thing:

Then the Clarke read the sentence drawn up

in Parchment. That wheras the Commons of England in Parlement had appointed them an High Court of Justice, for the trying of Charles Stuart King of England, before whom he had three times convented, and at the first time a charge of High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanors was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of England, &c. Then the Clarke read the charge; which charge being read unto him as aforesayd, he the sayd Charles Stuart was required to give his answer, but he refused so to do, and so were exprest the severall passages of his tryall in refusing to answer. For all which treasons and crimes the Court doth adjudge, That he, the sayd Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, trayter, murderer, and a public enemy, shall be put to death by the severing of his head from his body.

After the sentence, the Lord President sayd This sentence now read and published, is the sentence, judgment, and resolution of the whole Court. Here the Court stood up as assenting to what the Lord President had sayd.

Then the King sayd—Will you heare me a word, Sir? Lord President answered, Sir, you are not to be heard after sentence.

King—No Sir? Lord President, No Sir, by your favour Sir; Guard, withdraw your prisoner.

Some other short interlocutions there were, shewing the King's desyre to speake, but he was not sufferd, as the printed relations acknowledge. In all this tryall, the Lord President never used the word Majesty, when he spake to the King, but Sir, which indeed at other times was used to him, and the King used the same terme of Sir, to him; therein they agreed.

The Lord President this day, but not before, was attyred in a scarlet gowne or vesture, for the more solemnity of pronouncing the sentence, as it is conceived.—This night the King lay at Whitehall, Juxon, late Byshop of London, having leave to attend him, where they continued long in prayer that night.

Sunday, 28th *January*. The States Ambassadors visited the Generall, &c.

Monday 29th. They came to the Lords, and after to the Commons, to whom in French they delivered the mynde of them that sent them, which was, first to desyre the continuance of amity between this kingdom, and the United Provinces, &c. Then they mediated for the King, and desyred that he might be restored to his government; and if that were not thought convenient, yet that his life might be preserved, with some intimation tending to

the non-alteration of the government, as it is sayd. The Houses desyred in wryting what was sayd, or what they had in charge to delyver, which the Ambassadors said they could not at present do, they having but one copye, and that must be kept, but promised to each house one the next morning.—This seemes strange, that they who came to mediate for the King's life should not be better provided with copies of that which the Parlement were to consider, but promised to send them the next day, which they might well thinke would be too late, as it was, the King being that day executed, so they ran the hasard of being thought cold sollicitors.

The same 29th. The Commons proceeded to some resolutions, or decrees, making it treason and death for any to take upon them the Crown of England, and ordered a charge to be drawn up forthwith against Prince Charles, of high treason.

Tuesday, 30th *January*. This day came forth the act of state about the alteration of writs in England, Irland, and Wales, as that instead of King, the name, style, and test, "Custodes libertatis Angliæ autoritate Parliamenti" be used and no other, and the date to be the yeare of Jesus Christ, and none other, and where the

words were "Juratores pro Domino Rege" it shall be "Juratores pro Republicâ," and where it was "Contra pacem vel dignitatem nostram," it shall be "Contra pacem publicam, &c."

The same 30th *January*. The Lords and Commons had this day delivered to them in French the desyres of the States Ambassadors, the Commons had debate about the business, and agreed of a Committee to consider of an answer to be brought in for them.

Observable, that the same day that these desyres were delivered, and a Committee appointed to draw an answer, the King was putt to death, concerning whom these desyres were principally pretended to be made.

The King lay at Whytehall on *Sunday* night, on *Monday* night he lay at St. Jameses, and on *Tuesday* 30th *January*, about 10 o'clock in the morning the King was brought from St. Jameses walking on foote through the Parke, with a regiment of foote, part before and part behinde him, with coulers flying, drums beating, his private guard of partisans with some of his gentlemen before and some behinde, bareheaded,—Doctor Juxon next behinde him, and Collonell Tomlinson (who had the charge of him) talking with the King bareheaded, from the Parke up the staires into the Gallerye, and so into the

chamber where he used to lye, where he continued at his devotion, refusing to dine, (having before taken the sacrament) about an hour before he came forth only, he dranke a glass of claret wine, and eat a piece of bread, about twelve at noone. From thence he was accompanyed by Bishop Juxon, Coll. Tomlinson, and other officers formerly appointed to attend him, and the private guard of partisans, with musqueteers on each syde, through the Banquetting house, adjoining to which the scaffold was erected, between Whitehall gate and the gallery leading to St. Jameses, &c. The King being come upon the scaffold, looked very earnestly upon the block, and asked Collonell Hacker if there were no higher, and then spake thus (directing his speech chiefly to Collonell Tomlinson, &c.)

"I declare before you all, that I dye a Christian according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my father; and this honest man, pointing to Dr. Juxon, I thinke will witness it," &c. Many other things being sayd, the King layd his head down, and the executioner at one blow severed it from his body, which the second executioner held up, and shewed it to the spectators.

The executioners were two, and disguised in

saylors clothes, with visards and peruques unknown; yet some have a conceit that he that gave the stroke, was one Collonell Foxe, and the other Captain Joyce, who took the King from Holmby, but that is not beleeved. This I heard for certain, that Gregory Brandon, the common hangman of London, refused absolutely to do it, and professed that he would be shott or otherways killed rather than do it.

The body was putt in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and layed in his lodging chamber in Whitehall.

The same *Tuesday*, 30th *January*. Soone after the execution of the King, proclamation was made in Westminster Hall and in London, which is in print, forbidding all persons upon paine of death, to proclaime Charles Stuart commonly called Prince of Wales, or any other to be King, &c. The consent of Parlement signifyed, &c. of which see the prints.

Tuesday, 6th *February*. The Commons voted that the Lords House be no more a Court of Judicature, and to sit no more, so they are quite layd asyde, which it seemes theyr Lordships did not expect, for on the 2d *February* they sent a message to the House of Commons, desyring that a proportionable of the House might meete in the Painted Chamber with some

of theyr House, which were the Earles of Kent, Pembroke, Nottingham, Salsbury, Denbigh, Mulgrave, the Lord Grey of Werke, Lord Howard of Elsrig, and Lord Montague, but theyr messengers, though they sent twice or thrice to the same purpose, were never called in, nor answered, though the business propounded to be considered, were the settling of the government of the Kingdom; but it seemes the Commons thought they could do it without them. And before this vote concerning the Lords, and the 2d *February* concerning Kings (of which more afterwards), even on the 2d *February* the House of Commons assumed the title of Parlement, for by an act (so it is called) for the adjournment of Hillary Terme, it is sayd, "Be it enacted by this present Parlement, and by the authority of the same, that the sayd Terme of Hillary be adjourned yet farther untill Octavis Purificationis next coming," &c. This is agreeable to theyr Declaration of the 4th *January* last, That the Legislative power is originally not in the King or the Lords, but in the people and theyr Representatives the House of Commons, for so theyr votes of *Tuesday* the 6th *February* were—That they would not advise with the Lords about the Legislative power, which was resolved by the vote of the 4th *Janu-*

ary last. That the House of Lords is useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished, and that neither the Lords nor their servants should be privileged from paying of theyr debts, or answering of suites at Law, as well as other persons. Also that no appeales should be made to the Lords from the Courtes of Justice, and that all such as are committed by them to prison upon such account, shall be discharged. And because they may be chosen members of the House of Commons, it was voted to be considered how the Lords may be elected for Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, as Representatives of the people.

Wednesday the 7th *February*. The Commons spent much time about the government of this nation, &c. and in conclusion passed this vote, viz. Resolved, upon the question, by the Commons of England in Parlement assembled, That it hath been found by experience, and this House doth declare, that the office of a King in this nation and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burdensom, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and publick interest of the people of this nation, and therefore ought to be abolished, and that an act be brought to that purpose. *Eod. die.* The Commons in Parlement chose a Committee

of five of theyr house to bring in a liste of names, not exceeding the number of forty, to be a Committee of State.

Thursday the 8th of *February.* The new great Seale was brought to the House, and approved of, and the Commissioners were ordered to send in the old great Seale, which was brought in and broken in the House of Commons. The Commissioners for the new great Seale are Mr. Kebble, Mr. Lisle, and Mr. Whitlocke. And yet, for all these great alterations, proclamation was made in Westminster Hall the 9th of *February,* by order of the House of Commons, that they did not intend to alter the statutes and fundamental laws of this Kingdom; whereupon the three Chief Justices, and the Chief Baron, sat that day in theyr Courtes with one Judge more apiece with them, which otherwise they refused to do.

7th *February,* 1648. The Commons voted that the othes of allegiance, supremacy, and obedience should from henceforth be made voyd and of no effect, and never more imposed upon the people of this nation. These are 1 Elth. and 3 Jac.

The late Kings body was removed to Windsore and there buryed in St. George's Chappel, in a vault with Hen. 8th and the Lady Sey-

mour one of his wives, and by appointment of the Duke of Richmond (who with the Lords of Hartford, Lindsey, and Southampton, and Dr. Juxon, late byshop of London were permitted to attend the body;) this inscription was putt upon the late King, "King Charles. An. 1648."

The 5th *February*. The states of the Parlement of Scotland solemnly at the Cross in Edenburgh, proclaimed Prince Charles, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, by the name of Charles the Second. This was done by the whole Parlement, the Lords all in theyr robes, the Cross was richly hanged, the Chancellor, brought up the proclamation, and read it to the King at Arms, who proclaimed it, the City being in armes, making a great shew and shoute, the great guns went off, &c. God save King Charles the Second.

14th *February*. The House, after some debate, concluded of 38 persons to be of the Counsell of State, which were all named, but the Lord Grey of Warke afterwards excused himself.

Saturday the 16th of *February*. The House ordered that the Counsell of State should meete in the afternoon at Derby House; that convenient Lodging be appointed for them at Whitehall, and that afterwards they adjourn theyr sitting to Whitehall. Two seales a greater and a

lesse to be made for them, with the armes of England and Ireland, and the Pourtraiture of the House, with an Inscription to this effect; The Counsell of Estates appointed by the Parlement of England.

Every member of the Counsell of Estates also to signe an engagement by way of Test, to the nulling of the votes of the King's concessions: also against Kingship, the Lords, the Scotts &c. And to take an othe to be true and faithful in theyr places, &c.

The 16th *February*. An Act for the better settling of proceedings in Courts of Justice, according to the present government of England. Be it enacted by the Authority of this present Parlement in manner and forme following, viz. In all Presentments and Indictments instead of these words " Juratores pro Domino Rege dicunt or præsentant," These words shall be used " Juratores pro custodibus Libertatis Angliae authoritate Parliamenti dicunt or præsentant," &c.

Quere, When this Parlement began, whether it be the same that was called by the late King, or began at his death, or before his death, when the Commons declared the whole power of the nation to be in them; or on the 6th or 7th of *February*, when they declared against the Lords

and against Kings; or when they first tooke the title of Parlement without Lords or Kings?

The 21st *February.* The Commons ordered an additional Act to be imposed, concerning the calling of Commons Counsels in London upon the desyres of the Commonalty; That whereas it was formerly enacted (in case of the Lord Mayor's refusall) that a Quorum of the Aldermen and Common Counsell Men should do it, now that in case these Aldermen faile, yet the Quorum of the House of Commons to have power to do it without them.

The 23d *February.* The Lord Grey made reports from the Counsell of State to the House of theyr opinion for repeal of the ordinance, constituting the Earle of Warwick Lord High Admirall, and that the Commission under the Greate Seale making the Earle of Warwick, Lord High Admiral of England, be called in. Hereupon the Commons ordered that an Act should be brought in for that purpose, and that the Committe take care that there be no prejudice to the Navy therby, concerning which the House passed Instructions. This day, and so allmost every day, Members came into the House of Commons, signe theyr dissent and are admitted, &c. This dissent was to the vote concerning the late Kings concessions.

The 23d *February*. A writt is to issue out for a Member of the House to be elected instead of Sir Francis Pile, deceased, for a place in Barkshire. The Earle of Pembroke is amongst the people cryed up to be the man they will chuse, and it is sayd that if they do chuse him, his Lordship will sit a cheerful Commoner in the House of Commons &c.

This is out of the Perfect Occurrences, from *Friday* the 16th to the 23d *February*, 1648.

The 20th *February*. The humble petition of divers of the well affected officers and souldiers of the army under the command of his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax. "We having seriously weighed, &c. desyre, &c. That no punishment be inflicted upon any person for the exercise of his conscience in matters of religion, it being destructive to the freedom of the Commonwealth; and that all such as are now in custody for such matters, may forthwith be sett at liberty, and reparation given them for theyr unjust imprisonment, &c." —Pamphlet called The Moderate impartially communicating, &c. A mischevious writer, and seems to be a Papist in many things, particularly in this.

A writt ordered to be issued for election of a Knight of the Shyre for Barkshire in the place

of Sir Francis Pile deceased. The Earle of Pembroke is thought will carry it. "Faces about; and as you were." The same Moderate.

Tuesday the 6th of *March*. The High Court appointed by the House of Commons for the tryall of Duke Hamilton, by the name of Erle of Cambridge, Erle of Hollande, Erle of Norwich, or Lord Goring, Lord Capell, and Sir John Owen, sate in Westminster Hall as they had don divers times before, Serjeant Bradshaw being President; but none of the Commissioners which had bin for the tryall of the King, were of this Commission. And after all had been heard against and for the prisoners, the sentences were readd, that they should all be put to death, by severing theyr heads from theyr bodyes.

Wednesday the 7th of *March*. The sayd condemned persons did all petition severally the House of Commons, where after a long debate the question was putt whether the petitions should be taken into consideration, and carryed in the negative by ten voyces; 38 being against it, and 28 for it, as the Diurnall sayth.

Thursday the 8th. They petitioned again, and the severall petitions were debated and resolved. The Earle of Holland had 30 voyces for him, and 31 against him; so his life was lost

by the small part of one mans breath, after that one debate had lasted from 11 to 7 o'clock. Concerning the Lord Goring's petition, the voyces were equal, 30 and 30, there being one of the former gon out of the House, and the Speaker gave his voyce for him, and with that gave him his life.

Then came Hamilton's and Capell's; but neither of them gave occasion to divide the House; but were presently ordered negatively. And Owen's life, beyond his own or any other's expectation, was given him; some say, because Prince Rupert having taken some prisoners, sent word that he would hang them, if Owen were putt to death: but others say, it was only for his inconsiderableness.

Friday, 9th *March*. According to theyr sentence formerly given, Hamilton, Hollande, and Capell, were brought from St. James's to the Palace Yard in Westminster, and there beheaded; for which, time was given from 9 o'clock in the morning, till 6 in the evening. Hamilton first was two hours upon the scaffold, expecting pardon as it was thought, but was executed. Hollande was as long there also and executed. Capell made shorter worke, and stayed but little, and was executed. "So the glory of the world passeth away, and those

that thinke themselves great, happy, and safe, are sett in slippery places, suddenly perishe, and come to a fearfull end." Psalm 73d. v. 17, 18.

It is not unworthy of observation that on the 7th of *November* last, the House of Commons voted seven persons to be banished, viz. the Lords Holland, Goring, Capell, and Loughborough, Sir Henry Lieven, Sir John Owen, and Langhorne, and at the same time voted also Duke Hamilton to be fined 100,000*l.* which was thought to all theyr punishment, notwithstanding which votes, the persons aforesayd were executed; so uncertaine were the resolutions of the House at that time.

Wednesday, the 14th *March*. The sweet little boy, Harry Spencer, my grandchilde, 5 years old from *October* last, dyed at Leycester House.

Thursday the 15th. Collonell Harrison came to Leycester House, and asked for the Lady Carlile, she at first refused, but afterwards came to him, he read his warrant, and made her prisoner, not suffering so much as my wife to speake with her, and carryed her before the Counsell of State, where she was examined, and then sent to her own lodging with a guarde, which remayned there.

Wednesday the 21st. The Lady Carlile was

sent and committed close prisoner to the Towre by the Counsell of State.*

Friday the 23d. I came from Penshurst to London where my wife had bin from the 28th of *February* before.

Monday the 16th *April*, 1649. The Earle of Pembroke was admitted into the House of Commons, and tooke his place there, having bin chosen Knight of the Shyre for Barkshyre.

May the 7th, as I remember, or thereabout, the Lord Howard of Escrig was admitted into into the House of Commons as Burgess for the towne of Carlile where he was chosen.

May the 19th, 1649. An act declaring and constituting the People of England to be a Commonwealth and Free State, without any King or House of Lords; printed and published: some days before an act also was published declaring many things to be treason, namely to oppose the settling of the Commonwealth, &c.

May the 21st. A declaration of the Parle-

* The Countess of Carlisle, Lady Leicester's sister, had been engaged in the unfortunate enterprise of the Earl of Holland; to provide means for which, she is stated by Clarendon to have pawned a pearl necklace for 1,500*l.*—*Clar.* vol. iii. p. 300. *Oxf. Ed.*

ment concerning the murder of Doctor Isaac Dorislaus, who in the declaration is styled theyr resident and agent, together with Walter Strickland, a Member of Parlement, with the High and Mighty Lords, the States Generall of the United Provinces, to whom he had credentials and instructions, &c.

Wednesday the 30th *May*, 1649. The Act aforesayd for taking away Kingly Government and establishing a Free State in the place thereof in this nation, was proclaimed by the Lord Mayor (Alderman Andrews) and 15 Aldermen in full exchange time. The people murmured and began to rise, but were soone supprest by some troopes of horse that were ready in armes.

Thursday the 7th of *June*. A great feast was made at Grocer's Hall, by the Lord Mayor and City, to the House of Commons, the Generall, Lieutenant Generall, Lord President, &c.—At dinner the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. William Lenthall, now entitled Speaker of the Parlement of England, sate at the boards end, the highest place. On his right hand Lord Fairfax, Lord Generall: on the left hand Sergeant Bradshaw, Lord President of the Counsell of State; next to the Lord Generall sate the Earle of Pembroke, and by him the Earle of

Salsbury. Next to the Lord President sate Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, and so the rest of the House of Commons and Counsell of State. The Lord Mayor sate at another table of which there were four in all. The Generall was presented with a basin and ewer of gold, in which was a thousand pound in gold. The Lieutenant Generall had a present of a cupboard of sylver plate, and 500 pound in money.

Friday the 1st *June.* Sir Thomas Somes Alderman of London, and a Member of the House of Commons, being brought to the barre of the House, and being asked why he refused to joyne with the Lord Mayor of London to publish the Act against Kingship, he sayd it was against his conscience and judgment, and severall othes that he had taken. The House voted him to be disabled from being any longer a Member of the House. This Parlement put him out from being an Alderman, and disabled him from having any publick office. Alderman Chambers said he went out of towne that day because his hart did not go along with the business, it being against his conscience and judgment, &c. The House disabled him from being Alderman, or having any public office.

Friday the 22d *June,* 1649. Mr. Crok reported from the Counsell of State the forme of

a Commission to Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, to be Commander in Chief of the forces in Irland, and Governor Generall of Irland, which was that day read in Latin and afterwards in English, the House passed the sayd forme of the state, a Commission for 3 yeares and orderd that Master Atturney Generall be required to prepare the Commission accordingly (by this sayd forme), to pass the Great Seale. And the Commissioners were orderd to pass the sayd Commission accordingly. I have heard since that his Commission is drawne after the copye of that which my son had, but he had it not for 3 yeares, neither could he make a Deputy (for that clause was of purpose left out of his Commission, but perhaps it is in this of L. G. Cromwell, who also hath the title of Lord Leeutenant of Irland, though the debate thereof were declined in the House, as I heard.)

Thursday the 5th *July*. I came from London to Penshurst where my wife and family with the Duke of Glocester and Princess Elizabeth had bin just three weeks before, from *Thursday* the 14th *June*.

The 9th *July*. "The Chief Governor of Irland, (for so he is voted,) and not Lord Lieutenant of Irland, (as the vulgar miscall him,) tooke leave of the House, intending his advance towards

Irland this evening; and that night to quarter at Windsore. Many members of the House attended him some miles out of towne; his leife gard and own troope marched with him, &c." This is out of the Pamphlet called the Moderate impartially communicating Martiall Affairs, &c. from the 10th *July* to the 17th.

The 10th *July*. "This evening (being *Tuesday* about 5 c'clock), the Lord Lieutenant of Irland, (that is, Lieutenant Generall Cromwell,) began his journey by the way of Windsor, and so to Bristol. He went forth in that state and equipage, as the like hath hardly bin seene; himself in a coche with six gallant Flanders mares, reddyish grey; divers coches accompanying him, and very many greate officers of the army; his life gard consisting of 80 gallant men, the meanest whereof is a Commander, or Esquire, in stately habits, with trumpets sounding, almost to the shaking of Charing Cross, had it bin now standing. Of his life gard, many are Collonells; and believe it, it is such a garde, as is hardly to be parralleled in the world. And now, have at you, my Lord of Ormond: You will have men of gallantry to encounter, whom to overcome will be honor sufficient; and to be beaten by them, will be no great blemish to theyr [I thinke it should be to *your*] reputa-

tion. If you say, "Cesar, or nothing," they say, "a Republique, or nothing." The Lord Lieutenant's coullors are whyte," &c. This is out of the pamphlet called the Moderat Intelligencer, from 5th *July* to the 12th. And now indeed, Cromwell, if he go into Irland, may have opportunity to shew, how he ressents my Lord of Ormond saying, in his letter to Collonell Jones, governor of Dublin, wanting him to revolt, *Cromwell or some such John of Leyden*, (meaning the chiefe of the Anabaptistes at Munster, in the last age before this)

And now the action begins again, it is fit to observe how Cromwell and the rest will prosper, after the taking away of the late King's life, and other persons, Lords, &c. And abolishing kingly government, and House of Peeres, and erecting a Commonwealth.

"Letters this day, (*August* 6th,) came from Newcastle, that there was condemned by the Judges of the gaol delivery, 29 moss troopers, which are Scotts which rob upon the borders of this nation, and other English felons; and it is concluded that few or none of them, will escape the gallows. The like execution has not bin for many hundred of years formerly. The country receives greate satisfaction, because they have bin so much prejudiced,

and some utterly ruined by them. We find some of these fellows to be very civil men, and say, that if they could have had any reasonable subsistance by friends, or otherwyse, they should never have taken such necessitous courses for support of theyr wives and familyes. From whence, many honest people do endeavour to argue that there is nothing but propriety, that is the loss of all men's lives in this condition: they being necessitated to offend the law for a livelyhood and being, and not only so, but they argue it with much confidence, that *propriety is the originall cause of any sin, between party and party*, as to civil transactions; and that, since the tyrant is taken off, and the Government altered in homine, so ought it really to redound to the good of the people in specie; which, though they cannot expect it in few yeares by reason of the multiplicity of the gentry in authority, command, &c. who drive on all designs for support of the old government, and consequently theyr own interest, and the people's slavery; yet they doubt not but in time, the people *will* herein discerne theyr own blindness and folly." This is transcribed out of an ordinary Pamphlet, called the Moderat impartially communicating Martiall Affaires to the Kingdom of England, from *Tuesday, July* 31st,

to *Tuesday, August* 7, 1649. An author, that writes allwayes for the Levellers, as it hath appeared often, but at no time more than this; wherein he endeavours to invite the people to overthrow all propriety, as the orignal cause of sin; and by that to destroy all government, magistracy, honesty, civility, and humanity. It passeth every weeke for one of the Parlement's writers, and it is a wonder that it hath bin so long suffered; there being allmost every weeke, such passages like this allmost in it; and such as would not be permitted in any Christian State, nor even amongst the Heathen.

Thursday the 2d *August*. The Earle of Ormond, lying before Dublin with an army of 19,000, or 20,000 men, whereof, (as the Moderat Intelligencer of 9th to 16th *August* saith,) half were English, and thinking to straiten the place, to make it yeald unto him; commanded 1,500 men to a place called Baggotsrath, towards the sea; which being perceived by Collonell Jones, Governor of Dublin, he marched out with 4,000 foote, and 1,200 horse; which was all he had, saving 150 horse, which he left in the toune, to prevent commotion and treachery in the toune where were many disaffected persons. He fell first, upon these 1,500, routed them, who running away, putt

theyr whole army into a fright; which being perceived by Jones, who pursued them, he charged their whole army, and defeated it utterly: 4,900 slain upon the place, 2,517 prisoners; most of all English, for the Irysh ran away. Sir William Vaughan, Sir Edmund Verney, &c. killed. Earl of Fingall, Buttler, the Earl of Ormond's brother, &c. prisoners. And, as the same pamphlet sayth well, had Ormond watched more, and played less, as his Masters occasions required, he might have sped better; for when he had sent out that great party of 1,500 aforesayd, he went to play at tables; and being told that his party was beaten, he played on still, until a stronger alarme came, that his whole army was in danger: then he left play, ran away without his gloves, got on horseback, and fled to Killecallin-bridge, (his way to Kilkenny, about 15 or 20 miles from Dublin,) without ever looking behinde him, (as Sir John Temple wrote to me,) like a *brave* generall, fit for such a command and trust.* This fight lasted not above

* Lord Clarendon and Carte give a very different account of the conduct of Lord Ormond on this occasion. They state that he exerted himself to the utmost to rally his flying troops: and that he made several gallant charges in which he lost many of his men.

two houres; and certainly, it was one of the gallantest actions that hath been don in this age; that 4 or 5,000 beseeged men should defeate an army of 20,000, that did beseege them. And upon the advertisement thereof, the Parlement hath appointed *Wednesday* the 29th of *August*, for a thanksgiving day throughout all England; and ordered 1,000 pound per annum to Collonell Jones and his heyres for ever in Irland; and they ordered also, that six of the best horses in Tilbury race, (which was the late King's,) should be selected and sent to Lieutenant Generall Michael Jones, as a gratuity from the House.

It is observable, that in that great fight, Ormond's army had for theyr word, "Mary;" and Jones his men had for theyr word, "Christ;" which it seems was the better patron and protector. The liste of the slain and the prisoners is printed in the Perfect Occurrences, from the 20th to the 17th of *August*, where is also a good passage between Ormond and Jones. After the great defeat, Ormond writes to Jones: Sir, let me have a liste of the prisoners you have taken from me. Ormond.—To which Jones answered, My Lord, since I routed your army, I cannot have the happyness to know where you are, that I may wayte upon you. Michael Jones.

In the "Perfect Occurrences," and also in the "Perfect Diurnall," and in some other pamphlets, are the articles of a treaty between Collonel Monke and Owen Ro O'Neale, with the reasons for the same, and afterwards such another treaty between Sir Charles Coote and the same Owen Ro. The House of Commons approved not these treetyes, but forbore to question Monke and Coote, because they conceived it to be don with good intention, and forced by necessity.

This victory was a good preparative for the going of Cromwell, Lieutenant or Governor of Irland, who was then at Milford Haven; but many of his men refused to go over with him, and it is thought many more would have don so, if they had not bin encouraged by this extraordinary success; but afterwards, having shipped a good part of his army, he putt to sea, and landed at Dublin on *Wednesday* the 15th of *August*, where he was received with great joy and acclamations. Ireton had a desire to land in some part of Munster, but either the winde served not, or else some other thing changed his purpose; and so he directed his course to Dublin, where he landed on the *Monday* following or thereabout, and brought a greater force than that which went with Cromwell.

Thursday the 16th of *August*. The House passed the Declaration and Narrative of the grounds and reasons against a day of thanksgiving, to be kept the 29th *August, Wednesday*, in which the Parlement useth the terme of Renegado, for those English that served under Taaff, Preston, Clanricard, and Inchiquin; and united and grown into a numerous army under the Apostate Ormond, for so they call him.

Thursday, the 16th of *August*, Major John Morris late of Pomfret or Pontefract, (where he had bin Governor,) and Cornet Blackburne or Blackstone, were brought to the barr (of the assises holden at York,) Baron Thorpe and Palestone being theyr Judges. Theyr indictment was for levying warr against the King and kingdom. They pleaded not guilty to it, and at first would not answer to the manner of theyr tryall, desyring as they were martiall men, they might be tryed according to martiall law: but it was refused them. Then Morrice, being asked how he would be tryed, sayd, he knew not the manner, being never there before, but Judge Palestone bid him ask the jayler, who accordingly told him, By God and the Country, and then he, submitting, excepted against fifteen Freeholders, who were of the jury for life and death, &c. Morrice produced a Commission from his

his King, meaning the Prince. They told him he was a subject as well as he, and sayd if he, (that is the Prince,) were there, he must be tryed by the same law. Morrice and the other were found guilty, and manacled with irons before they went from the barre, which Morrice took very unkindly, saying: What! a martiall man ironed! The like precedent was never known; he interceded much for a strong guard only, both to the Judges and the Sheriffe, saying, let me be damned if I make an escape, but it was denyde him, as was also counsell to pleade for him. He also desyred a copy of his indictment, and that also was denyde, because arrayned for treason. He sayd his Commission was to fight for the King, and not against him. They told him the power was in the Parlement, and that he could not but know the Broad Seale was at London at the time, &c." This is out of the Moderate, impartially communicating, &c. from *Tuesday, August* 14th, to *August* 21st.

In a relation set forth as it is likely by one of Morrice's friends, of his tryall and execution. It is said that he pleaded a statute of 14 Hen. 7. fol 19, for the challenging of 35 men without shewing any cause to the contrary. But that was denyed him, neither was he allowed to except against one Brooke, foreman of the Jury,

though he were his professed enemy. He also pleaded the statute of 1 Hen. 7. fol. 23, for having counsell in case of High Treason, but that was also denyde. And lastly, the act of 11 Hen. 7. cap. 1. that whosoever they be that shall ayde or assist the King at home or abroad, shall not be questioned at all. To which Justice Thorpe said, 'Tis true, Sir, but Henry 7th. then stood in a fickle condition, and being an usurper made that act for his own safety, sometimes the Duke of York ruling, sometimes the Duke of Lancaster, and others contending, therefore it was enacted. Morrice replyed, My Lord, but this act of Hen. 7. was later than that of Edw. 3. which you have layd against me, and as yet was never repealed untill this last act of the 14th *July*, before which I had delivered up the place, (meaning Pomfrett).

Justice Thorpe sayd, Well, Sir, it seems you have not any more; what have you to say, Blackburne? So the pleading of the act of 11 Hen. 7. would do him no good. And it seemeth that the sayd act is understood to have bin made for the safety of whomsoever should be in possession of the crowne and regall authority. And so the Parlement at the present having that power and authority, it may be thought that the act is also for them, and not against

them. I cannot well imagine why so much severity was used to this Morrice,* for many had held places against the authority of Parlement, which never were put to death, nor scarce questioned for it, but as ordinary delinquents, were sequestered and admitted to compound with others that had bin in armes against the Parlement. But the likeliest thing is that which he confessed at his death, that after the loss of Liverpoole, (where he commanded and was taken, and for the betraying whereof he was censured, though he then protested against it,) I was, sayd he, carryed prisoner to Sir John Meldrum, afterwards I came down into the country, and seeing I could not live quietly at home, I was persuaded by Collonell Forbes, Collonel Overton, and Lieutenant Collonell Fairfax, whom I tooke for my good friends, to march in theyr troupes, which I did, but with intention still to do my King the best service when occasion was, and so I did, &c. This I conceive might be thought in him a revolt and deserting of the Parlement's service, having ridden in theyr troupes, and so was accounted as one of theyr souldiers, and afterwards tooke

* For the reasons why Colonel Morrice was treated with such peculiar severity, see *Clarendon,* vol. iii. part i. p. 277. *et seq. Oxf. Ed.*

armes and defended Pomfrett against them; or whether it were that he was thought guilty of Collonell Rainsborough's death, who was murdered at Doncaster by a party sent from Pomfrett. This might agravate his offence, and exasperate some spirits against him, though it were not layd to his charge at his tryall. He dyed constantly, and resolutely, and made good prayers at his death,* as it may be seen in the relation aforesayd.

* See a very interesting account of the trial of Collonell Morrice in the State Trials, vol. iv. p. 1250. His last prayer concludes with these words: "Welcome, blessed hour, the period of my pilgrimage, the term of my bondage, the end of my cares, the close of my sins, the bound of my travels, the goal of my race, and the haven of my hopes; I have fought a long fight in much weakness, I have finished my course though in great faintness; and the crown of my joy is, that through the strength of thy grace I have both kept the true faith, and have fought for my King the Lord's Anointed's cause without any wavering; for which, and in which I die. I do willingly resign my flesh, I despise the world, and I defy the devil, who hath no part or share of me. And now, what is my hope? My hope, Lord Jesus, is even in thee: for I know that thou my Redeemer livest, and that thou wilt immediately receive my soul, and raise up my body also at the last day, and I shall see thee in my flesh with these eyes, and none other. And now, O Lord, let thy spirit of comfort help mine infirmities, and make supplication for me with sighs and groans that cannot be expressed.—I submit myself wholly to thy will; I commit my soul to thee as my faithful Redeemer, who hast bought it

The 23d *August*. Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Irland, by commission of the Parlement, after his landing at Dublin with his forces, and those which Ireton brought thither some few dayes after him, set forth a proclamation, which is in the Perfect Diurnall, from the 27th *August* to the 3d *September*, wherein he useth the termes of "we," "us," and "our," in the plural number; and though in the sayd Diurnall it be sett down, that he subscribed his name O. Cromwell, yet others say, that he wrote his name above, as Kings use to do to theyr subjects, and as other Chiefe Governors of Irland have formerly don. And the pamphlet called the Moderate impartially communicating, &c. who is a friend to the Levellers, and not to Cromwell, (at the least he seemeth so,) from the 28th *August* to the 4th *September*, sayth, "A Proclamation coming forth superscribed, and not subscribed, with the Chiefe Governor of Irland's

with thy most precious blood. I confess to all the world, I know no name under heaven by which I may be saved but thine, my Jesus, my Saviour; I renounce all confidence in any merits save thine; I thankfully acknowledge all thy blessings; I unfeignedly bewail all my sins; I stedfastly believe all thy promises: I heartily forgive all my enemies: I willingly leave all my friends; I utterly loath all earthly comforts; and I entirely long for thy coming. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly; Lord Jesus receive my spirit."

name, and running in a royal language of 'we,' which therefore many do not believe reall, or if so, then the printer mistaken, I here insert at large: 'By the Lord Lieutenant O. Cromwell' above, and then followeth the proclamation, and at the end, 'Given at the Castle of Dublin this twenty-third of *August*, 1694.'" It falls out, that by such a signing of a name in Irland, with O, (which there is for Oliver,) it may be taken for the note of excellency, or chiefe of the family, as O Neale, O Bryan, O Connor, &c. and so O Cromwell.

Friday the 31st *August*. A report was made this day to the House, from the Counsell of State, that it was the opinion of the sayd Counsell, that Sir Kenelm Digby was a dangerous person, and that it should be reported to the House to have theyr pleasure signifyed therein. The question was putte, whether the sayd Sir Kenelm Digby were within the compass of the late votes of *March* 17th last, for compounding for his delinquency, and it was resolved in the negative. The House then ordered, that the sayd Sir Kenelm Digby should be enjoyned to depart this Commonwealth within 20 dayes after that day, and not to returne into any the dominions of England, (without leave of the House,) under paine of death, and confiscation

of estate. The House was informed that Mr. Walter Mountague was in this nation, and how ill an instrument he might be hereunto, by his private actings against that authority. The House ordered the sayd Mr. Mountague shall depart this nation, within ten dayes after the date of the sayd order, and that he returne not into any part of this nation, or the dominions thereof, on paine of death, and confiscation of estate. They ordered that this vote should be sent to the house of the sayd Mr. Walter Mountague, and delivered to himself, or any that have relation to him, which shall be a sufficient notice thereof. This seems somewhat strange, for Mr. Mountague was then beyond the seas, and had leave from the House upon bayle, which was accepted in *June* last, to go over the sea, and particularly to Spa for his health, for three months, as I remember, and then to returne, and in the meane time to act nothing against the State; so as either this leave was forgotten, or els the House was much misinformed of his being in England, when certainly he was in France.—The House farther declared that if any person or persons, shall after the publication and proclamation of the preceding votes, harbour or conceale the bodyes of the sayd Sir Kenelm Digby, and Mr. Mountague, theyr

estates shall be sequestered by the Committee of the County where the offenders inhabite. These votes were ordered to be printed, and proclamed at the most remarkable places of the city.

The House ordered that it should be referred to the Counsell of State, to take care for the apprehending of Sir John Winter, he having stayd beyond the time formerly granted him. This is out of the Perfect Diurnall, of the 27th *August* to the 3d *September*. The Moderate, impartially communicating, &c. hath the same between the 28th *August* and the 4th *September*.

August 28th, in the Diurnall; but *August* 31st, in the Moderate, &c. An act was passed in the House; the Parlement of England, taking notice of a late declaration of the French King, verified in the Parlement of Paris, whereby are prohibited all negotiations to bring, or cause to be brought, into that kingdom, the drapery of wooll, or of silk, made in England, on pain of confiscation and other great penaltyes; and that by force of that declaration, divers goods of great value, of English merchants found there, had been seised, and are detained from the true proprietors thereof, notwithstanding several clauses in the treaty between the two nations, for encouraging the English trade there: and being induced by the grounds of common equity

and reason, and by theyr own duty, to provide for the interest and good of this Commonwealth, have thought fit to enact, and be it enacted by authority of Parlement, That all wines of the growth of the kingdom of France, or any dominions belonging to the same, and all manufactures of wooll and silke made or to be made in the kingdom of France, or any of the dominions belonging to the French King, shall be, and are hereby prohibited to be brought into any port or ports, place or places, within England or Irland, or any the dominions thereof, from and after the seventh day of *September*, 1649, on pain of confiscation, &c. and the penalty of 200*l.* more, to be levyed on every person offending contrary to this act, &c. And that none may pretend ignorance thereof, Be it further ordered and enacted, that this present act shall be published by a Serjeant at Armes, three several days upon the Exchange in London, at the time of the concourse of Merchants thither. This was accordingly proclaimed with sound of trumpet, by Serjeant Denby, Serjeant at Armes, at the Old Exchange in London, *September* 1st.

This likely enough will cause a quarrell, and that may bring on a warr; peradventure, the Parlement's enemys in France endeavour by this meanes to cause a warr; hoping for advantage that way. Some queryes may be made

upon this act: as whether the treaty mentioned therein between the two nations remaine still in force, having been made by former Kings; and the Parlement having turned this state into a Commonwealth. Of which, and of other passages therein, somewhat may be sayd.

According to the order of the House, authorising the Counsell of State to take care for the securing of Sir John Winter, (who was excepted in one of the qualifications of the propositions, and his estate disposed of; the Counsell gave warrants for the apprehending of him, and being since taken thereupon, not in any wayes endeavouring an escape, upon notice of the order of the House, is committed prisoner to the Tower. So sayth the Moderate impartially, &c. who oftentimes speaks favourably of those of that religion.

September 5th.—An order made by the Lord Generall forbidding all souldiers to hunt or kill deere with guns, doggs, &c. in any parks, &c. sent to every regiment. Some have bin punished for the same. This is at large in the Perfect Diurnall, from *September* 3d to the 7th, and may be of use to be looked upon as occasion shall serve.

September 7th or 8th. The House ordered, that the summe of one thousand seven hundred

and odd pounds, due to the Earle of Denbigh, should be charged on the receit of the revenue of the late King, and forthwith payd unto him or his assignes, &c. This was for the arrears of his entertainment, which he pretended to be due unto him for his ambassaye to Venice; which he made to rise to a far greater summe. They have as much reason at the least to pay that which is due to me.

"Warrs have ever bin clothed with the most specious of all pretences; viz. reformation of religion, the laws of the land, liberty of the subject, &c. though the effects thereof have proved most destructive to them, and ruinous to every nation; making the sword, and not the people, the original of all authorityes, for many hundred years together; taking away each man's birthright, and *settling upon a few, a cursed propriety, the ground of all civil offences,* and the greatest cause of most sinns against the heavenly Deity. Thus tyranny and oppression, running through the veines of many of our predecessors, and being too long maintained by the sword, upon a regall foundation, at last became so customary, as to the vulgar it seemed most naturall, the only reason why the people at this time are so ignorant of their equall birthright, theyr only freedom, &c." Moderate

impartially communicating, &c. from *September* 4th to the 11th: in his former wicked and desperate style, for which it is a wonder that he is not severely punished, but suffered still to write, and to excite the people to overthrow all order and government.

The Earle of Salsbury, being chosen Burgess for the towne of Lyn, in Northfolk, (as it is in the Perfect Diurnall, of *September* 10th to 17th,) tooke his place in the House of Commons, neare Mr. Speaker, on *Wednesday*, the 18th of *September*, as my son Lisle wrote unto me. He is now the third Peere of England sitting in that House. And he should have don well, not to have protested against it so much as he did, unnecessarily, and almost in all companies.

Monday the 17th *December*, 1649. My daughter Lisle, was brought to bed of a boy, as my son Lisle wrote to me the 18th, at theyr house in Lincoln's Inne Fields, called Carlile House: the childe was christened, *Wednesday* the 26th, and named Robert.

Wednesday the 23d *January*, 1649. In the morning, my Cosin Germain, the Earle of Pembroke, dyed at his lodging in the Cockpit part of Whytehall, of a feaver and gangrene, as I heard; just a weeke before *Wednesday* the 30th of *January*, that day that the late King was be-

headed at Whytehall gate. So he lived not a yeare after it. He told me himself, that out of his chamber window he looked upon the King, as he went up staires from the parke to the galerye, in the way to the place of his death, which was quickly after. That he should not have don, but have retyred himself to pray for him, and to lament his misfortune, to whom he had so greate obligations. As I remember, the Earle of Salsbury hath told me, he was with the Earle of Pembroke at the same time. It would have become him also to have bin away, whose father and himself, were as much bound as any men to the sayd late King, and to his father, King James.

Friday the 15th *February*, 1649. A commission to be issued, into the severall countyes, in order to the providing of a competent maintenance of preaching ministers, in the severall countyes, cityes, townes, and paryshes, through England and Wales, in pursuance of the act for providing maintenance for preaching ministers, and other pious uses, was this day read, and upon the question passed in these words, viz.

"The Keepers of the Libertyes of England, by authority of Parlement, greeting: whereas we for divers good causes and considerations, as at present mouving, &c. And therefore we

command you, &c. And we command by vertue of these presents, the Sheriffe of the County, &c. We likewise command by vertue hereof, all and singular Justices of peace, Mayors, Sheriffes, &c. In witness whereof, we have caused these letters to be made patents. *February*, 15th, 1649. H. Scobel, Cler. Parl.

Orderd by the Parlement, That the Lords Commissioners for the Greate Seale of England, be authorised and required to issue severall commissions in this forme, under the sayd Greate Seale, unto the several countyes of England and Wales. Of this see Severall Proceedings in Parlement &c. printed and licensed by H. Scobel, Clerke of the Parlement, from the 14th to the 21st *February*, 1649. This order for the commission aforesayd, sheweth who are meant by Custodes Libertatis Angliæ, viz. the present Parlement. The style also is observable, for here the word command is used, "We command &c." Whereas in the King's proclamations and commissions, it was usually, "We will, and require, &c."

An act for subscribing the engagement in these words, I do declare and promise, that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without a King or House of Lords, was printed and pub-

lished by order of the Parlement, *January* 2d, 1649. Hen. Scobel, Clericus Parliamenti. That all men whatsoever, within the Commonwealth of England, of the age of 18 yeares and upwards, shall take and subscribe the sayd engagement; that all and every person and persons that hold or enjoy any place or office of trust or profit, shall subscribe the same before the 20th *February*, 1649, or lose the sayd places and benefit thereof, &c. And that all and every person or persons that expect benefit from the Courtes of Justice of this Commonwealth, &c. shall take and subscribe the sayd engagement, &c. and in default thereof, it shall be lawfull for the defendant or defendants, &c. from and after the 20th of *April*, which shall be in the yeare 1650, to plead, aver, or to move in arrest of judgment, or to move for a supersedeas, or stopping further proceedings in such suites, plaints, &c. that the plaintiff or plaintiffs, demandant, &c. have not taken and subscribed the sayd engagement, &c. And thereupon all and every the Judges, &c. are hereby authorised and required to admit such plea, &c. in stop of all or any such suites, &c.

Die Sabbathi, 23d *February*, 1649. Another act, published for prolonging the time of subscribing the same engagement, from the 20th *February*, to the 20th *March*, 1649. Hen.

Scobel, Clericus Parliamenti. But resolved upon the question by the Parlement, That Thomas Lord Fairfax, Generall of the Parlement's forces, having taken and subscribed the engagement appointed for the Members of the Counsell of State; viz. (where it is recited, and is indeed as much or more than the other,) this taking and subscribing, is a taking and subscribing of the engagement within the act of Parlement entituled, An Act for subscribing the Engagement, &c. Die Mercurii the 20th *February*, 1649. Ordered by the Parlement, that these votes be printed and published. Hen. Scobel, Cler. Parl.

As I was informed, the Earle of Stamford subscribed this engagement before the Committee of some of them in Leycestershire, where he dwells, who certifyde the same to the Counsell of State, before the 20th of *February*, which was the first day appointed for the same. And *Tuesday* the 19th *March*, the day before the 20th of *March*, the second appointed time, as my son Lisle wrote to me on the same 20th, the Earles of Bedford, Northampton, Peterborough, and Sussex, otherwise called the Lord Sacville, subscribed the same engagement, but of other Lords that signed, I had not then heard, except those that were

of the Parlement or Counsell of State, as the Earle of Pembroke, (since deceased,) Salsbury, and Denbigh, the last of which is at the Counsell, but not yet of the Parlement. Neither have I heard, that the present Earle of Pembroke hath subscribed, but I believe he had don it before his father's death, being of the Parlement, and then he neede not do it again.

The Earle of Monmounth, the Lord Vaux, a papiste, and divers other Lords, as I heare, have subscribed the sayd engagement.

The 18th *April*, as I remember, and before the 20th *April*, Sir John Rogers and Mr. James, two Justices of the Peace, came to my house at Penshurst, and I subscribed the sayd engagement, for if I had not don so, I could not have bin plaintiff, nor have sued in any Court of Justice, upon what occasion soever, which was most necessary for me to do, both in regard to my own business, specially that with Sir Edward Leech, Sir Rychard Wynne, who sued me first in Chancery, and I by advice of counsell put in another bill against them; and also, being chosen by my nephew Strangford to be his Guardian, and entrusted by the late Lord Spencer to rayse portions for his younger children, I could neither have performed the office of a Guardian to my sayd nephew, nor

have executed the trust of the sayd Lord Spencer, my son-in-law, unless I had subscribed the sayd engagement, and so become capable of suing tenants, &c. as necessary occasion would oftentimes require.

The Marquis, or Earl of Montrose, having landed from Orkney in the main land of Scotland, with 1,200, or 1,400 men, marched up into the country, was met by the forces of the Parlement of the kingdom, commanded by one Strachan, (who they say is a sectary,) and was routed, many of his men slain, himself taken prisoner awhile after, brought to Edinborough on *Saturday* the 18th of *May*, and appeared before the Parlement; who sentenced him to be hanged three houres on a gibbet of 30 feete high; his legs and armes to be cutt off, and sent to 4 severall townes; his body not to have ordinary buriall, unless his excommunication were taken off by theyr Kirke. Accordingly, he was executed with greate ignominy on *Tuesday*, 21st *May*, 1650; his declaration and relation of his actes tyed about him. This was at the same time, that the Commissioners were treating, or had concluded with theyr King at Breda, for his coming into Scotland, &c. He had don many services to the late King and this; who created him Marquis, gave him the Order of

the Garter, and commission to be his Lieutenant Generall, and Admirall of the kingdom of Scotland; and to command all forces by sea and land.

Saturday, the 1st *June*, 1650. Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant by authority and commission of the Parlement, returned out of Ireland, by order of the Parlement, and came to London from Bristol; where he landed in greate pompe, and was received with unusuall honors.

1st or 2d *June*, 1650. The declared King of Scotland embarked himself in Hollande, and after a tedious and dangerous voyage of many dayes, arrived in the North of Scotland. In this month of *June*, the Lord Fairfax delivered up his commission of Generall, and desyred to retyre himself.

Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Irland was chosen Generall in his name, by the Parlement, and commission given him to command, as Generall, all the forces by land of the Parlement in England and Wales, &c.

Warr was declared by the Parlement against Scotland; and by a special declaration of the Parlement, a resolution published to invade the kingdom, with the causes and reasons moving the Parlement thereunto, and all commerce with that nation forbidden.

Friday the 9th *August*. The Princesse Elisabeth and Duc of Glocester, by order of the Counsell of State, were removed from Penshurst towards Carisbrooke Castle, in the custody of Mr. Mildmay and his wife.

Sunday the 8th *September*, 1650. About 3 o'clock afternoone, (as Mr. Lovell who was present told me,) the Princesse Elisabeth dyed in Carisbrooke Castle, and was privatly buryed in the Church of Newport, in the Ile of Wight.

Thursday the 22d *August*. My daughter Isabella Sydney was marryed to my Nephew Strangford, by Mr. Antrobus, in the Chappell at Penshurst; to which marriage I was pressed by my said Nephew's desyre, and perswasion of my wife, and some other friends; and not by any inclination of mine own; for I like not marriages of so neare persons.*

Tuesday the 3d *September*. The English army, under the command of the Lord Generall Cromwell, obtained a very greate victory of the Scotts, in a battell fought near Dunbar in Scotland, with no loss at all on the English syde, but

* Sir Thomas Smythe, afterwards created Viscount Strangford, the father of this Lord Strangford, married Lady Barbara, sister of the Earl of Leicester. This, in Lord Leicester's opinion ill-omened marriage between the two cousins, proved an unfortunate one in its result.

a greate number of Scotts slain; all theyr cannon and baggage taken. This was the more remarkable because the English were returning homeward into England, if the Scotts would have let them go, but they thought to have slain every man of them.

Tuesday the 24th *September*, 1650. My daughter Sanderland went from Penshurst to London, from thence to dwell by herself at Allthorpe.

Thursday the 3d *October*. My daughter Elisabeth Sydney dyed at Penshurst in the 18th yeare of her age, and on *Monday* following was buryed in the Church there, by Mr. Antrobus, the Vicar of Leigh. She had bin sick divers months, of a consumption and paine in her stomach and belly, which she bore to the last with admirable patience and cherefullness, and had such a divine assurance of her future happyness, that she left the world with more joy than if she had gon to be marryed to the greatest Prince on the earth. And not above half an hour before her death, she tooke her leave of me, smiling, and when I told her, Betty, I have prayed for you, I desyre you to pray for me, she, holding me by the hand, sayd, I do pray for you hartily, and God be with you. Which were the last words that I heard her say. She

had to the last the most angellicall countenance and beauty, and the most heavenly disposition and temper of minde, that I thinke hath bin seene in so young a creature, being not 18 years old.

The young Prince of Orange dyed on *Sunday*, the 6th *November*, 1650, st. novo, or 27th *October*, st. veteri. The Princesse his wife a few dayes after was delivered of a son.

Edinborough Castle after a long siege was renderd to the Generall Cromwell, the 24th *December*, 1650.

The 1st *January*, 1650. The King of Scotland was crowned at Scone in Scotland, and came back that night to St. Johnstone's.

Thursday the 26th *December*, 1650. Don Alonso de Cardenas, the Spanish Ambassador, had audience in the Parlement House, and delivered his credentiall letters, directed Parliamento Reipublicæ Angliæ, subscribed Philippus, whereby he acknowledgeth the present State by the title of Commonwealth of England, and was the first Souverain Prince or State that did so.

Friday the 10th *January*. A Minister from the King of Portugall had audience of a Committee of Parlement in the late Lord's House, and there he also in his master's name acknow-

ledged this Commonwealth, and desyred the friendship thereof.

Thursday or *Friday*, 28th or 29th *January*, 1650. The Parlement orderd, that Mr. St. John, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, should go Extraordinary Ambassadour to the States of the United Provinces. This is the first ambassage sent by the Parlement.

Tuesday the 4th *Martii*. One Hide, (whom some call Sir Henry Hide,) having on *Friday* last bin sentenced by the High Court of Justice to lose his head, was this day executed on a scaffold erected opposite to the Old Exchange in London. His crime was the receiving and acting by a Commission from Charles Stuart, a King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, being qualifyde by him as his Agent to the Court of the Greate Turke, with intent to destroy the trade of the Turky company, and the Parlement's interest not only in Constantinople, but also in Mitylene, Anatolea, and Smyrna, in which places he had a commission to be Consul, his aime being likewise to seize upon our Merchants goods for the use of the King of Scotland, &c. Mercurius Politicus from the 27th *February* to the 6th *March*, 1650.

Saturday, 8th *March*. Mr. St. John, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Mr.

Strickland went from London by water to Gravesend, Ambassadors Extraordinary from the Parlement to the United Provinces. They went with a very greate traine, 200 as I heard, in theyr company, 20 footmen and 6 pages, very riche coches, &c.

The 25th or 26th *January*, 1651. The same Ambassadors returned out of Hollande, and landed at Whytehall, without concluding any thing with the States United, and having only received some courtesyes and faire wordes to delay the business, so, having don nothing, they refused a present of 2,000*l.* in money, which was offered to them. They gave account of theyr Ambassage to the Parlement.

July 5th, 1651. Mr. Love, a minister, by the Court of Justice in Westminster Hall, was condemned to suffer death, by having his head severd from his bodye, and the execution to be on *Tuesday*, the 15th of the same month, which long and extraordinary time of respite, shewed some willingness to have him pardond. *Friday* the 11th of *July*, Mr. Love and his wife petitioned the Parlement. His petition was not so well liked as his wife's, but a great debate there was, and three questions at last stated, yet none of three questions were putt, but the questions were upon every one, whether they

should be putt or no; as first, whether the question of his punishment should be putt, and it was resolved by vote in the negative. Secondly, whether the question of his repreeve should be putt, which was also carryed in the negative. Thirdly, whether the question of his pardon should be putt, and that also was resolved negatively, as the rest. So as when the Parlement would not suffer so much as any of these three questions to be putt; it could not but be understoood that at that time, the Parlement would neither banish, nor repreeve, nor pardon him, and, consequently, that he must dye according to sentence. All things, therefore, were prepared for execution, the scaffold built on Tower Hill, troupes of horse and foote drawn forth for security, thousands of people went to the place, insomuch that I, comming out of London that morning towards Penshurst, could scarce get a boate to carry me over the Thames, from Hartshorne Ally. But on *Tuesday* the sayd 15th, another petition was presented to the Parlement, subscribed by many Ministers, both Independants and Presbyterians, (which petition is printed in the Pamphlet called, Severall Proceedings, from the 10th *July* to 17th,) upon this petition, after another debate, the Parlement resolved upon the question, that the execution of

Mr. Christopher Love be respited till the fifteenth day of *August* next; and secondly, that Mr. Speaker issue a warrant to the Sheriffes of London and Middlesex, to respect the same, &c. This was thought strange, that so high and grave a Court as the Parlement should so soone be changed betweene *Friday* and *Tuesday*.

Thursday the 17 th*July*. Generall Cromwell, whilst he marched towards Glasgow, sent Col. Overton with 1,400 foote, and some horse, and dragoons, to get a landing place in Fife; and they landed at North Ferry in Fife, which being don, Major Generall Lambert followed, and passed over likewise, in boates with men and foote to help his friends, who probably would be distressed by the Scotts, who sent Sir John Browne theyr Major Generall with a good strength. The English fought with them and routed them, killed above 2,000, tooke 500 or 600 prisoners, amongst which were many officers, and Sir John Browne himself who commanded that party in chiefe. This was don on *Sunday* the 20th *July*, as appeared by a letter of the L^{d}. Generall to Mr. Speaker, dated *July* 21st, at Lithgow, and published by order of Parlement, and a thanksgiving appointed the next *Sunday* in London, &c.

Wednesday the 30th *July*, 1651. The Scotts

King declared, against the sense of his army, that he was resolved for England with those that would go with him, &c. At that time, as I thinke, though the pamphlet marke it not, the King was about Sterling.

Thursday the 31st *July*. The Scotts quitted Sterling, and marched towards Glascow with the King, David Lesley, the Dukes of Buckingham and Hamilton, Earle of Lauderdale, the Earle of Craford, Lindseey, was also there, (though the pamphlet name him not,) Massy, (said to be intendedly made Earle of Essex,) Middleton, Rob. Montgomery, severall of the Huntleys, Hamilton, and other Scotts and English. Graves marcheth with them, but hath no commission, theyr number about 14,000 horse and foote.

Friday, August 1st. St. Johnstone's was summoned, and some overtures passed between the Lord Generall and the Garrison, the Lord Dumfries theyr Governor opposed, &c.

Saturday, August 2d. St. Johnstone's was agreed to be surrendered.

August 3d. The Governor and Major Gen. Montgomery marched out of St. Johnstone's, &c. And there were left with Col. Overton, (Governor of the place,) Col. Daniel's regiment of foote, &c.

Monday the 4th *August.* Lieutenant Generall Monke, from St. Johnstone's, with 8,000 horse and foote entered Sterling town; Col. Otley commands the horse there, &c. The army retreated into the Castle.

Tuesday the 5th *August.* Major Generall Lambert, with about 3,000 horse and dragoons, was by a Counsell of Warr dispatched after the Scotts, who were not above 11,000 Scotts and English, when theyr King entered England.

Wednesday the 6th *August.* His Excellency with aboute 10,000 horse and foote, and a light traine, that he might move the swifter, marched from Leith, *and that day the enemy* marched into England, over the ryver about 3 miles from Carlile, and they proclaimed theyr King, and scattered abroad papers under titular pardons.

Thursday the 7th *August.* Major Generall Harrison marched from Newcastle, with 1,000 horse that he brought back from Scotland, and 2,000 that were left of Col. Saunders, Col. Riche's regiments, &c. in all 3,000 horse and dragoons, towards Bernard Castle.

Friday, August 8th. The Scotts had some stops by the way, by reason of bridges broken down, and provisions carryed way. The Lord Generall was then at Kelso with the army. Major Gen. Lambert was then at Naword, and

Major Gen^{l}. Harrison at Rippon, &c. Severall Proceedings from the 7th to the 14th *August:* licensed H. Scobel, Clarke of the Parlement.

Out of a letter in Politicus, dated Stockden Heath, the 16th *August* 1651.

"This day sennight, Renegado Wogan came into Kendal (this was then the 9th,) with some troupes, and charged the towne to provide for 1,000 horse. Upon *Monday*, (that was the 11th,) treacherous Boynton came into Lancaster with 6 troupes to make provision for 1,000 van-carriers, commanded by the Duke of Buckingham.

"Upon *Tuesday* the 12th, the Scott's King came thither and sett all the prisoners in the Castle at liberty. He was proclaimed at the Crosse, and a generall pardon to all persons except some few. That night he lodged at Aston Hall, three miles from Lancaster, being Collonell Wainman's house, where Hamilton lodged two dayes before the battle of Preston, whose fate we hope attends this young man that traces him in the same steps of invasion."

Wednesday the 13th. He lodged at Myerscoe, Sir Thomas Tildesley's house, and from thence marched through Preston.

Thursday. "His foote, having the van over Ribble bridge, that night he lodged at Euxten-

burgh six miles in this syde of Preston, being Sir Hugh Anderton's house, who was prisoner at Lancaster, but sett at liberty by the Scott's. This Anderton is a bloody papist, and one that when Prince Rupert was at Bolton, boasted much of being in blood to the elbows, on that cruell massacre. The last night, (*Friday* the 15th,) theyr King lodged at Brine, 6 miles from Warrington, being Sir William Gerard's house, who is a subtile Jesuited papist. This dissembling Scott trusts none so well in Lancashire, for his hostes as the Papistes, which discovers his gross hypocrisy in taking the covenant, &c."

Out of a Relation of the Skirmish of Warrington, in Politicus.

Upon the enimyes advance from Chorley towards Warrington, Major Gen. Lambert and Major Gen. Harrison marched theyr forces over the bridge at Warrington, and at other foords of the ryver, (it seemes they had the pass first in possession, and it was boldly don to attempt the taking it from them,) and broke down as much of the bridge as time would give them leave.

Saturday, August 20th. "About noone, the enimyes scoutes came into Warrington, and presently after a forlorne hope of horse and dragoons,

we having left one company of foote to dispute the pass at the bridge and foordes, and to amuse the enemy, (for the sayd passes, and severall other passes upon the ryver, were not tenable by reason of the inclosed grounds, whereby our horse could not have roome to charge, in order to the security of the foote,) yet that single company of the Cheshyre foote disputed the bridge and passe with the enimy above an howre and half, and then he that commanded the foote, drew them off when the enimy began to press hard upon him. Presently after, the enimy marched over the passe with horse and foote, towards our reare guard, &c. We marched to Knotsford Heath, being a convenient place for our horse to engage, expecting the enimy would have advanced thether, but the van of theyr army came that night about 5 or 6 miles on this syde Warrington, &c. It is conceived best to continew in the present posture of flanking and fronting the enimy, till we have a conjunction with other forces, unless they press hard, and force an engagement, and then, (God willing,) our forces are resolved on some open plaine to fight them, we having 9,000 horse and dragoons, and between 3 and 4,000 foote, to give them battell."

" The Earle of Derby, after all the greate

noyse, is landed with 250 foote, and 60 horse, unarmed, as our best intelligence doth certify."

The Lord Gen. Cromwell was on *Sunday* last, *i. e.* the 17th, at Rippon, &c.

This day, *Wednesday* the 20th. The High Court of Justice orderd, that Love and Gibbons be executed on *Friday* next, *August* 22d. A most honorable peece of justice.

We had news out of Kent, of the death of Col. Popham, one of our Admirals: a person of much honor and eminent fidelity, who was taken away by a feaver at Dover, the 19th instant, &c.

Politicus, from the 14th to the 21st *August*, 1651. See also the Generall Proceedings of the same date.

"Sterling Castle capitulates the 14th *August*, and is surrenderd the 15th, to Lieutenant Generall Monke, by Col. James Cunningham, the Governor therof," &c. Proceedings from 21st to 28th *August*. And Diurnall, 25th *August* to the 1st *September*.

"*Friday* the 22d *August*. Love and Gibbons were beheaded on Tower Hill, both of them barking against the Government."* Politicus,

* His words were—"I die with my judgment absolutely set against the Engagement; I pray God forgive them that impose and subscribe it, and preserve those that refuse it. I

21st to 28th *August*. And Diurnall, the 18th to 25th *August*, more largely.

August the 26th. A letter from Charles Stuart to the Lord Mayor was this day burnt upon the Old Exchange by the hangman; and the Parlement's Declaration against him proclaimed there, and at Westminster, by beat of drum and sound, &c.

Diurnall, 25th *August* to 1st *September*. See there the sayd Declaration, wherein he is called son of the late Tyrant, and declared rebel and traytor, and publick enimy to the Commonwealth of England, &c. and all his abettors, agents, complices, &c.

Friday the 22d *August*. The King of Scottland entred into Worcester and fortifyde it.

The 25th *August*. The Earle of Derby, (who came out of the Isle of Man to the King of Scotland in Lancashire,) was totally defeated by Col. Lilburne, and the forces under him, neare Wogan in Lancashyre, where he had gathered together about 1,500 men, Lord Withrington, Sir Thomas Tildesley, Collonell Boynton, (who formerly had betrayed Scarborough,) and many other gentlemen slain, the

would not in the next place, be looked upon now I am a dying man, as a man owning this present Government.—I die with my judgment against it, &c"—*State Trials*, vol. v. p. 258.

sayd Earle wounded and hardly escaped. Diurnall, the 25th of *August* to 1st *September*; and Proceedings, 28th *August* to *September* 4th.

Thursday the 28th *August*. Collonell Monke, beseeging Dundee, sent Col. Alured, &c. with some horse and dragoons, who, in a place called *Elsitt*, where a rendezvous of divers Scotts to make new levyes for the relief of Dundee were assembled, surprised old Generall Lesley, Earle of Leven, the Earle of Crayford, Lindsey, Lord Oglebey, &c. who are since brought prisoners to London. I observe this, because though the English in this warr have given the Scotts greater defeats, yet this was one of the greatest affronts that ever they had, that in the middle and hart of theyr country, a handfull of English should surprise and take prisoners so many of theyr principall Noblemen, Ministers, &c.; for old Leven was left Generall by theyr King, and Crayford or Lindsey was Lieutenant Generall, &c." Diurnall, the 1st to 8th *September*. Politicus, the 4th to 11th *September*, with a liste.

Wednesday the 3d *September*. "This day hath bin a glorious day; this day twelvemonth was glorious at Dunbarr, this day has bin glorious before Worcester, the word was then, The Lord of Hostes, and so it was now, &c. The same signall we had now as then, which was to have

no whyte about us, &c." and so followeth a relation of the greate overthrow of the King of Scotland and his army, neare and in Worcester, &c. in a letter from Robert Stapylton. Diurnall, the 1st to 8th *September*, and therein a letter from the Lieutenant Generall Cromwell. Many prisoners taken, Duke Hamilton who dyed shortly after of his wounds at Worcester. The King fled away with a few, Earle of Derby, Lauderdale, Cleveland, &c. who were afterwards taken. Massy, wounded and unable to travell farther, yeilded himself at Brodgates, to the Countess of Stamford; severall listes of prisoners are printed. Politicus, the 4th to 11th *September*, more particularly, and a liste of prisoners.

Charles Stuart, the grand English rebell and Scottish leader being fled, it was this *Wednesday*, (20th *September*, I thinke,) resolved by the Parlement, that if any person whatsoever shall knowingly receive and entertain him, he shall be adjudged a traytor, and that whosoever discovers and brings him into custody shall have 1,000 pound for his paines. Politi. 4th to 11th *September*.

The 26th *August, Tuesday*. Lieutenant Generall Monke sate downe before Dundee in Scotland, and taken by storme, *Monday* the 1st *September*. The Governor, Ramsden, and 600

men slaine, &c. Proceedings, 4th to 11th *September*.

Monday the 9th *September*, or therabout, the Parlement, by an act containing a narrative and declaration, appointed *Friday* the 24th *October* to be a day of thanksgiving throughout England and Irland and Scottland, for theyr great victoryes, and most especially for that of Worcester. Diurnall, from the 29th *September* to 6th *October*.

1st *October*. At a Court Martiall holden at Chester, by verture of a commission from his Excellency the Lord Generall Cromwell, grounded upon an act of Parlement, of the 12th of *August* last, entitled, An Act prohibiting Correspondence with Charles Stuart or his Party, directed to Major Generall Milton, Collonell Duckinfield (Governor of Chester), Collonell Mackworth (Governor of Shrewsbury), Collonell Birch (Governor of Leverpoole), and others, The Earle of Derby, Sir Timothy Featherstonhough, and Captain Bendbow, were tryed and condemned. The Earle of Derby to be putt to death, by severing his head from his body at the market place, in the town of Bolton in Lancashyre, upon *Wednesday* the 15th instant, about the houre of one of the clock. Sir Timothy Featherstonehough to be beheaded at Chester,

the 22d of the same month. And Captain Bendbow to be shott to death at Shrewsbury, the 15th of the same *October*. All for being guilty of the breach of the sayd Act, and so of high treason. The sayd Collonell Mackworth, was President of that Court, &c. Proceedings, from the 2d to 9th *October*, where the sayd Act is recited at large, and the names of all the others assisting at the sayd tryall.

Thursday, 9th *October*, 1651. About 4 o'clock in the morning, at Penshurst, my daughter Frances Sydney dyed, after a long and painfull sickness, wherein God gave her many and great comforts, for which I prayse his name. She had sate up with help in her bed, and as she lay down again, she fainted and sayd, "I have no more breath, now I am gon, Lord receive me." This Mr. Antrobus told me, who had assisted her the most part of her sickness, yet he was not present at her death, which when he left her about midnight he thought would not have bin so soone, but the manner of it, as he sayd, was told him by the women that were with her. She was about 20 years of age, a very good, modest, discreet, and sweetnatured creature, and I doubt not she is now with her Saviour and ours in Paradyse. She was buryed privately, on *Monday* the 13th of *October*, at night,

by Mr. Antrobus, vicar of Leigh, in whose parish the chamber is where she dyed, yet with the permission of Mr. Mandit, the present rector of Penshurst, pro tempore: and she is layed, as she desyred, betweene or very near her two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, who, I hope, are all together in heaven.

"To the Right Honourable his Excellency the Lord Generall, The humble petition of James, Earle of Derby, a sentenced prisoner in Chester, Shewing, &c. In which petition he acknowledgeth the High Court of Parlement, appeales to his Excellency, (from the Court Martiall,) humbly craves his Grace and the Parlement's mercy, and that he shall owe his life to the Generall, &c. and ever pray. (It seemes that for all theyr great wordes and obstinacy in refusing to acknowledge this Parlement and Government, they can change theyr minde and be humble when theyr lives are in danger.)" Diurnall, 6th to the 13th *October*.

Friday, 10th *October*. An Act for setting a certain time to the sitting of this Parlement, and providing for a new and successive Parlement, was this day read the second time, and committed to a grand Committee of the whole House. Proceedings, from the 9th to the 16th *October*.

Chester the 11th *October*. The Earle of Derby, suspecting the possibility of a pardon, did on last Lord's day, (which must then be the 4th,) at even, cast about which way to contrive an escape, and to that end, got up into the leads, (I conceive of the Castle of Chester,) over his chamber, from whence he flung himself downe by a rope on Dee syde, but upon search made after him he was imediately retaken. He had left a letter, (as once the King did,) behind him upon the table in his chamber, directed to his lady, &c. Politicus, 9th to 16th *October*.

Wednesday the 15 *October*, 1651. The Earle of Derby was brought to Bolton, (in Lancashyre,) about noone, his guarde being about 60 foote and 80 horse, about two o'clock he was brought to the scaffold, which was built at the Crosse, part of it being built with the timber of his own house at Latham, &c. and there he was beheaded; his son came with him to Bolton, and carryed his corpse back that night to Wiggan, &c." Severall Proceedings, &c. and Politicus, from the 16th to the 23d *October*, 1651.

Wednesday the 15th *October*. The humble petition of Will. Jenkins, sometimes minister of Christ's Church London, now prisoner, was this day read as followeth: " To the supreme authority, the Parlement of the Commonwealth

of England—The humble petition of William Jenkins, prisoner, most humbly sheweth, that your petitioner is unfainedly sorrowful for all his late miscarriages," &c. Wherein, as he had don in the title, (which is the highest that can be given,) he acknowledgeth the government to be established by the providence of God, promiseth truth and fidelity to it, and to hold forth the grounds of his so doing, to any as God shall call him thereunto, &c. Upon which it was resolved upon the question by the Parlement, that Master William Jenkins be pardoned both for life and estate, for and in respect of the treasons and crimes whereof he is accused, and that Mr. Attorney Generall be authorised and required to prepare a pardon, &c. Resolved, &c. that Master William Jenkins be forthwith discharged of his imprisonment and bayle, and that his estate be discharged off and from sequestration, &c.

Upon severall humble petitions of Master Thomas Case, Mr. Ralph Robinson, and Mr. Thomas Watson, ministers, the Parlement did grant unto such of them, the like pardon for life and estate, and discharged them from imprisonment and sequestration of theyr estates. Upon the humble petition of Mr. Arthur Jackson,

minister, the Parlement granted him a pardon for his life and estate.

Upon Mr. Attorney Generall's report of the humble and penitent demeanour of Mr. Roger Drake, at his tryall at the High Court of Justice, confessing the treasons layd to his charge; and his humble petition, the Parlement did pardon him for life and estate, and orderd his releasse out of prison, and his estate discharged from sequestration.

The Parlement, upon report by Mr. Attorney Generall, of the like deportment of Lieutenant Collonell Jackson, Lieutenant Collonell Joseph Vaughan, and Captain Hugh Massey, likewise orderd for each of them a pardon for life and estate, and discharged them from imprisonment, and theyr estates from sequestration, &c. Proceedings from *Thursday* 9th to the 16th *October*.

All these were complices with Mr. Love, and as guilty as he, at least some of them, as Drake by his own confession acknowledgeth, yet upon theyr petitions they are all pardoned, not only for life, but for liberty and estate; surely then the Parlement will not punish any more in his life, liberty, or estate, for less offences then treason by theyr own acts, or at least not for lesser offences committed (if at any time) before these

acts, and before the change of the government; for that would look like partiality, and imply some animosity either to the person or to his quality.

26th *October*. "A letter came from Generall Blake, that all the Isle of Jersey was reduced by the Parlement's forces under him and Collonell Heynes, except the castles of Elizabeth, (to which Sir George Carteret was retyred,) and Mont Orqueil, the latter of which was soon after taken allso." Perfect Diurnall, from the 3d to the 10th *November*.

31st *October*. "Castle Rughen and Peele Castle were delivered up on articles concluded between Sir Thomas Armstrong and Mr. Samuel Rutter, on the behalf of Charlotte, Countess of Derby, on the one parte, and Collonell Birch, and Lieutenant Collonell William Michel, Commissioners appointed by Collonell Robert Duckinfield (Governor of Chester), Commander in Chief of the Parlement's forces in that expedition, &c. And so the whole of the Isle of Man was reduced to the power of the Parlement. The sayd Countesse having only leave with herself and children to go into England, and make addresses to the Parlement; and hopes to go into France or Hollande." Politicus from the 6th to the 17th *November*, wherein,

and in other pamphlets, is a particular account of that action and articles.

Limerick also in Munster, about this time was rendered to Generall Ireton.

Friday, 14th *November*. Resolved upon the question, that it is now a convenient time to declare a certain time for the continuance of this Parlement, beyond which it shall not sitt. Resolved upon the question, that this business be resumed again upon *Tuesday* morning next.

Tuesday, 18th *November*, 1651. Resolved upon the question by the Parlement, that the time of the continuance of this Parlement, beyonde which they resolve not to sit, shall be the 3d day of *November*, one thousand six hundred fifty and foure. Proceedings, 13th to 20th *November*. So they have three yeares yet.

Monday, November 24th, 1651. The Parlement chose 21 of the Counsell of State for the yeare past, to be of the sayd Counsell for the yeare to come, leaving out 20 of them. And *Tuesday* 25th, the other 20 were chosen; and it was thought strange that Sir Henry Mildmay and Collonell Harrison, who were so active and painfull the last yeare, should now be of the 20 which were of the Counsell and now left out.

November 26th. It was resolved by the Parlement to this effect, that henceforth no Chairman

of any Committee shall continew longer in the chayre than the space of one month, and that this vote shall extend likewise to the Presidentship of the Counsell of State. Politicus, from the 20th to the 27th *November*, 1651.

Is was sayd that Serjaent Bradshaw, who had bin President of the Counsell from theyr beginning, was much troubled at this vote, by which he lost his Lordship, and came to be plaine Serjaent Bradshaw; and that he endeavoured to bring the matter again into debate into the House, upon the point of what was meant by a month: but this, for the present, was stopped at the Counsell, and Serjaent Bradshaw was desyred to take the chayre, and his time limited to that day month, from *Monday* the 1st of *December*.

26th *November*. Henry Ireton Esq., Lord Deputy of Irland under the Lord Generall Cromwell, Lieutenant of that kingdom for the Parlement, dyed of a fever at Limerick, after 14 or 15 dayes sickness. Severall Proceedings, 4th to 11th *December*, 1651.

Friday, 19 *December*, 1651. The Ambassadors of the United Provinces had audience in the House of Commons. The Ambassadors' names were James Cats, Knight, Lord of Waleen, Keeper of the Great Seale, &c. Gerard Scharp, of Amsterdam, and Paul Vander Peire,

Counsellor and Pensioner of Middlebourgh in Zealand. Cats made an oration in Latin, and delivered the same in English to Mr. Speaker, who returned answer in English, that, according to the course of the Parlement of England, he would report to the House what they, the Ambassadors, had delivered, &c. Generall Proceedings by Scobell, Clerk of the Parlement, &c. and Politicus, from the 18th of *December* to the 25th, 1651.

Thursday the 18th *December*, 1651. The Commissioners appointed to go into Scottland, according to former order, attended the Parlement, and were called in, and came to the Clerk's table, and Mr. Speaker did there, by the command of the Parlement deliver to them theyr commission, instructions, and declarations, to be sent into Scottland, &c. Proceedings licensed by Scobell, the 18th to the 25th *December*, 1651.

Monday the 15th of *December*, 1651. Elisabeth Castle, in the Isle of Jersey, was surrenderd by Sir George Carteret, Governor thereof, to Collonell James Neave, Commander of the Parlement's forces in the sayd Island, upon composition; the articles whereof are very favourable, and may be seene in the Generall Proceedings, from the 24th *December* to the 1st of *January*, where I observe that the pamphleter passeth by Christmas day, being *Thursday*

the 25th of *December*, though the pamphlet of the former weeke end there, viz. the 25th.

A Declaration by the Commissioners of the Parlement of the Commonwealth of England, for ordering and managing affairs in Scottland: The Parlement of the Commonwealth of England, having taken the settlement of Scottland into theyr serious consideration, and those things which in the establishment of the government there, may be acceptable to God, and for the good and welfare of the people. And forasmuch as the due administration of justice and right, doth effectually conduce thereunto; and the Parlement having, in pursuance thereof, authorised and commanded us to use our utmost endeavours that justice be don to all the people of Scottland, equally and impartially, without respect of persons, and as may be most for theyr ease and relief, &c. And likewise, that in consideration of the present exigency, we shall by vertue of the power unto us given in that behalf, by the Parlement of the Commonwealth of England, forthwith appoint and authorise persons to the administration of justice unto the people of Scottland, who are to be continewd for some short time, untill the judicatoryes and courts of justice may in a more solemne and lasting way be established. And

we do, for and in the name of the Parlement of the Commonwealth of England, declare, that no power, jurisdiction, or authority, derived from, by, or under Charles Stuart, *who pretended himself* King of Scottland, *or any of his predecessors*, or any otherwise than from the Parlement of the Commonwealth of England, be used, exercised, injoyed, within Scottland, or the Iles, or any the territories thereof. And we do hereby forbid, adnull, and make voyd the use and exercise of any power, jurisdiction and authority whatsoever, within Scottland or the Iles, or any of the territoryes thereof, other then such as is, or shall be, derived from the Parlement of the Commonwealth of England. Wherof all persons, of whatsoever condition or quality, are to take notice, and required not to do to the contrary thereof in any wayes, upon the paines and penaltyes that may thereupon ensue. And that none may pretend ignorance hereof, we have commanded this Declaration to be printed and proclaimed at the Market Crosse of Edenburgh, and the other Burghs, where proclamations have usually bin made. Given under our hands at Dalkeith, the thirty-first day of *January*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand six hundred fifty and one. H. Vane, Ol. St. John, James Lambert, Robert Tichborn, R. Deane, G. Fen-

wick, Richard Galloway, George Monck. Which Declaration is more at large in the Generall Proceedings, &c. from *Thursday* the 5th to the 12th of *February*, 1651. Licensed by Hen. Scobell, Cler. Parliamenti. And this being a manifest assertion of the absolute conquest of Scottland, with the Isles and territoryes belonging thereunto, it is worthy to be observed; for after this, Argyle, and all others that hold against the Parlement, may be brought within the compass of treason, wherein is a wonderfull judgment of God upon these perfidious and hypocriticall people, who now have no King, Parlement, Government, nor Judicatory of theyr own among them, but are conquered, and become vassalls to the Parlement of the Commonwealth of England.

But then as a greate favour to a conquerd nation, for so it is sayd to be by Politicus, &c. there cometh out another Declaration of the Parlement, *February*, 1651. "The Parlement of the Commonwealth of England, esteeming it a necessary care and obligation that lyes upon them, to improve the powers which God hath now given them, for the advancement of the glory of God, and the good and welfare of the whole Island, have thought fit to nominate and appoint Commissioners forthwith to repaire

unto Scottland for effecting the same, and do hereby declare. 1st. As to what concerns the advancement of the glory of God, that theyr constant endeavours shall be to promote the preaching of the Gospell there, and to advance the power of true religion and holyness there,&c." "2dly. They do declare, as to what concernes the freedom to be established to the people there, and the security to this Commonwealth to be had for time to come, that Scottland shall and may be incorporated into, and become one Commonwealth with this of England, wherby the same Government that is established here, and enjoyed by the good people of this nation, under the free state and Commonwealth of England as now settled, without King, or House of Lords, may be derived and communicated unto them with such convenient speed, as the same can be made practicable amongst them," &c. Generall Proceedings, from the 19th to the 26th *February*, 1651. Licensed by Hen. Scobell, Cler. Parliamenti. And though this Declaration be not dated in the Proceedings aforesayd, yet it must needes be before the 12th of *February;* because another Declaration of the Commissioners in Scottland, dated at Dalkeith, the 12th of *February*, mentioneth it; and by the beginning thereof it seems to be

published, or at least resolved, before the Commissioners went into Scotland.

February, 1651. The Iles of Orkney were taken by the forces of the Parlement commanded by Collonell Overton, &c. Proceedings aforesayd.

The 24th of *February*. This day the Parlement passed the act entituled, "An Act of Generall Pardon and Oblivion," and orderd it to be printed, which will be published the next weeke at large, &c. Proceedings aforesayd. And it was printed and published accordingly, vide *Friday* the 27th *February*. An Act for the better and more effectual Discovery of Theeves and Highwaymen.

"Be it enacted by the authority of this present Parlement, &c.; And be it further enacted, that the Counsell of State be impowerd to give reprieves or protection to such person or persons, guilty of any the crimes before mentioned, as shall make any considerable discovery of his or theyr complices, or other the like offenders, as they shall see cause for the safety of the Commonwealth, and to give account of it from time to time to the Parlement, for theyr further direction therein, &c." Generall Proceedings, licensed by Hen. Scobell, Cler. Parliamenti, from the 26 *February* to the 4th

of *March*, 1651. This, I thinke, is the first power that the Parlement hath given to any to reprieve, &c. The Shyres of Barrwick and Haddington, with theyr respective Burroughs, by theyr Deputies declared theyr acceptance of the tender of the Parlement of the Commonwealth, to become Commonwealth with England, and also engaged themselves, by theyr Deputyes, to live peaceably under, and yeeld obedience to the authority of the Parlement of the Commonwealth of England, exercised in Scottland, and the sayd two Shyres are thereupon taken into the speciall protection of the Parlement, &c. as appeares by a Declaration of the Commissioners in Scottland, dated at Dalkeith, the 14th of *February*, 1651; signed by St. John, Lambert, Vane, Tichborn, Monk, Gallaway, and Deane—the 8th Commissioner, Fenwick, it seems was not there. Proceedings aforesayd.

Friday, 12th *March*, 1651. A publick minister, sent by the King of Denmarke, was received by a Committee of Parlement, &c. Proceedings, from the 11th to the 8th of *March*. 20 Shyres and 35 Burroughs in Scottland assented to the Declaration of Parlement for incorporation with England, and submission to the Government, &c. The names whereof, are in Proceedings, 11th to the 18th of *March*.

Anno 1652.

Monday the 29th of *March*. There was a greate eclipse of the sun, which I saw at Leycester House; some sayd it was to cover 10 or 11 partes of the whole sun, but I thinke it was not so much, for it was never so darke, but one could reade perfectly, and see the shadow of the dyall plainly. Lilly, and other Almanack makers, foretold terrible things, which made common people so afrayd, that from 9 to 11 o'clock in the morning, scarce any body was seene in the streetes, nor doing any business, but every vulgar party kept at home as the Egyptians did during theyr darknesse.

Wednesday the 19th of *May*. There was a fight at Sea betwixt Dover and Folkstone, betweene Van Tromp, Admirall of the Hollander's fleete, consisting of 42 men of warr, and Robert Blake, Admirall of the English fleet, consisting then only of about 14 sayle. This was the first fight betweene the nations, and lasted from 4 o'clock in the evening till after 8, when the Dutch went away with loss of two ships. And this is the beginning of a warr, in probability to the great detriment of both nations.

Wednesday the 30th *June*. The Ambassadors of the States of the United Provinces, Mr. Paw

which then were much fitter for expence and solemnity then these are now.

December. My daughter Lucy Pelham was delivered of a son at Hallande; her husband and she invited me to christen and name the childe; but I went not thither: and to put a civility upon Sir Thomas Pelham, which I thought would make him love the childe, and use my daughter better than he had don, I desyred that the childe should be named Thomas, and so it was don.

Friday the 18th *February*, and 19th, 20th of the same, was a greate fight at Sea, between the English and Holland fleetes, which began between Portland and the Ile of Wight, and ended neare Blackness in France, neare Bullen. Of the English, there were three Generalls, Blake, Deane, and Monke; of the Hollanders, Van Trump, was Commander in Chief. The English were not above 60 sayle, and most of them could not come up to fight, because the Hollanders had the winde of them. The Hollanders were aboute 80 men of warr, and 209 marchants; yet the English obteined a greate victory, sunk and took of the Hollanders 17 or 18 men of warr, and above 40 marchants, and lost only one ship, the Sampson, which being made unserviceable in the fight, the English,

having taken all the men out of her, sunke her; the Dutch were putt to flight and dispersed. Van Trump got home into Hollande with some of his men of warr, leaving all his marchants which he was to convoy, many whereof fell dayly into the hands of the English. It is sayd the Hollanders lost 4,000 men, the English not above 400. Gen. Blake was hurt in the thigh with a crossbow shot, but not mortally. The English retyred to the Ile of Wight and Portsmouth to refresh themselves, and repayre theyr ships, which were much spoyled.

Anno 1653.

Wednesday, 20th *April*. The Parlement sitting as usuall, and being on debate upon the Bill with the amendments, which it was thought would have bin passed that day, the Lord Generall Cromwell came into the House, clad in plain black clothes, with gray worsted stockings, and sate down as he used to do in an ordinary place. After a while he rose up, putt off his hat, and spake; at the first and for a good while, he spake to the commendation of the Parlement, for theyr paines and care of the publick good; but afterwards he changed his style, told them of theyr injustice, delays of justice, self-interest and

other faults; then he sayd, Perhaps you thinke this is nôt Parlementary language, I confesse it is not, neither are you to expect any such from me, then he putt on his hat, went out of his place, and walked up and down the stage or floore in the middest of the House, with his hat on his head, and chid them soundly, looking sometimes, and pointing particularly upon some persons, as Sir R. Whitlock, one of the Commissioners for the Greate Seale, Sir Henry Vane, to whom he gave very sharpe language, though he named them not, but by his gestures it was well known that he meant them. After this he sayd to Corronell Harrison, (who was a Member of the House) "Call them in," then Harrison went out, and presently brought in Lieutenant Collonell Wortley, (who commanded the Generall's own regiment of foote,) with five or six files of musqueteers, about 20 or 30, with theyr musquets, then the Generall, pointing to the Speaker in his chayre, sayd to Harrison, "Fetch him downe;" Harrison went to the Speaker, and spoke to him to come down, but the Speaker sate still, and sayd nothing. "Take him down," sayd the Generall; then Harrison went and pulled the Speaker by the gowne, and he came downe. It happened that day, that Algernon Sydney sate next to the Speaker

on the right hand; the Generall sayd to Harrison, "Put him out," Harrison spake to Sydney to go out, but he sayd he would not go out, and sate still. The Generall sayd again, "Put him out," then Harrison and Wortley putt theyr hands upon Sydney's shoulders, as if they would force him to go out, then he rose and went towards the doore. Then the Generall went to the table where the mace lay, which used to be carryed before the Speaker, and sayd, "Take away these baubles;" so the soldiers tooke away the mace, and all the House went out; and at the going out, they say, the Generall sayd to young Sir Henry Vane, calling him by his name, that he might have prevented this extraordinary course, but he was a Juggler, and had not so much as common honesty. All being gon out, the doore of the House was locked, and the key with the mace was carryed away, as I heard, by Corronell Otley.

Saturday, 23d, (*i. e.* St. George's day.) A Declaration was published by the Lord Generall and his Counsell of Officers, shewing the causes of dissolving the Parlement, and that all Judges, Sheriffes, Committees, &c. should proceed in theyr severall places and offices. The Generall also chose a Counsell of ten, which was called the Counsell of State, which did some things

of high, if not supreme power, as that of 1st of *June*, For regulating the allotments of land in Irland to the adventurers and souldiers, in pursuit of what the Parlement intended to do by act. There was also a Counsell of Officers, which, on the 9th of *June*, set forth a Declaration called, A Declaration and Order of the Lord Generall and his Counsell of Officers, for the continuance of the Assessment for 6 months, from the 24th of *June*, (when the former Assessment appointed by Act of Parlement was to expyre,) unto the 25th of *December* following, at the rate of 120,000 pound by the month, towards the maintenance of the armyes and navyes of this Commonwealth, because, (as it is sayd in the sayd Declaration,) the persons to whom the supreme authority is entrusted, according to our former Declaration, cannot assemble time enough to take care therein, &c. So it was observed by some, that by this means there were at one time two supreme authorities, viz. the Counsell of State, and the Counsell of Officers, both of which by theyr generall acts obliged the people.

In *May*, 1653. Towards the end of Easter terme, the Lord Chandois, for killing in duell Mr. Compton the yeare before, and the Lord Arundel of Warder, one of his seconds, were

brought to theyr tryall for theyr lives at the Upper Bench in Westminster Hall, when it was found manslaughter only, as by a jury at Kingston upon Thames it had been found formerly. The Lords might have had the privilege of Peerage, (Justice Rolls being Lord Chief Justice,) but they declined it by advice of Mr. Maynard and the rest of theyr Counsell; least by that meanes the matter might have bin brought about againe, therefore they went upon the former verdict of manslaughter, and so were acquitted, but yet to be burnt in the hand, which was don to them both, a day or two after, but very favourably. It is observable, 1st, That these Lords, having bin of the King's party, submitted to be tryed by the present government. 2dly. That they waved the privilege of Peerage, (as the Earle of Dover not long before had don also in Hertfordshyre, where he was indicted for coyning money,) and 3dly, That the sayd two Lords were burnt in the hand, they being the first Peers in England that had bin so.

June 2d et 3d. A very greate fight was at Sea betweene England and France, Deane and Monke, Generalls of the English; Van Trump for the Dutch. Deane was slayne the first day with a cannon shot; the second day Generall

Blake came into the fight, and did very gallantly. The Dutch were utterly defeated, many men slaine and 1,300 taken, divers of theyr ships taken, sunk and burnt, the rest fled into Holland and Zealand, where they were shut in by the English fleete for a long time, so as no ship, nor scarce any boate, could come out of theyr harbours, the English being upon all theyr coste, from Texell southward, and taking many of theyr ships comming home.

Upon this defeate the States sent Bevering and Newport for Holland, Vander Peer for Zealand, and one Tongstall for Frizland, Commissioners into England to desyre peace, but then had not yet the title of Ambassadors. Bevering came first alone, and the other two after him, each comming in his vessel with a white flag, in token that they came for peace. The Generall having sent his letters of summons to those persons who were called therby to take the supreme authority, but I have forgotten the date of the sayd letters.

"The 4th *July*, 1653, being the day appointed by the letters of summons from his Excellency the Lord Generall, for the Members who were called to the supreme authority to meete in: There met this day (*Monday*, *July* 4th), about 120 of them, (there being not above 140 of the

whole number,) they met at the Counsell Chamber, in Whytehall, it being the place appointed. Then the sayd members, (those which appear'd) after they had given in a ticket of each of theyr names, respectively, enter'd into the sayd roome, and sat down in chayres appointed for them round about the table."

"His Excellency the Lord Generall standing by the window in the middest of the table, and so many of the officers of the army as the roome could well containe, some on his right and others on his left hand, and about him. His Lordship made a very grave, christian, and seasonable speech and exhortion unto them, held forth the clearness of the call of the present members to whom he spake, to the supreme authority of this commonwealth, &c.; which being ended, his Lordship produced an Instrument under his own hand and seale, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and intrust the supreme authority and government of this Commonwealth unto the sayd persons then met, who, or any forty of them, are to be deemed the supreme authority of this Commonwealth, unto whom all persons within the same, are to yield obedience and submission, and they are not to sit longer than the 3d of *November*, 1654, and then other Mem-

bers being called are to succeed them. The sayd instrument was by his Excellency delivered to them, and his Lordship did then commend them to the grace of God. After which his Lordship and the officers being withdrawn, the sayd persons so mett, and having the supreme authority putt into theyr hands, after a short space adjourned untill the morning, and appointed to meet where the late Parlement sate, and there to keepe that day in fasting and prayer, to seeke to God for direction in this greate worke, and for his presence and blessing therein, &c."

The Counsell of State is for the present to be continued, &c. Out of the pamphlet called Severell Proceedings, &c. printed by authority, from the 30th of *June* to the 7th of *July*, 1653, with which agreeth another pamphlet, licensed also, of the same date, called Mercurius Politicus, who addeth to the former relation, this: They are not to sit longer than the 3d of *November*, 1654.

Three months before theyr dissolution, they (i. e. these members) are to make choyce of other persons to succeed them, who are not to sit longer than a twelvemonth, but it is left to them to take care for a succession in government, &c.

These persons by the letters are summoned to meete for the severall countyes of England, to beare some shew of the antient Parlements, though for the most part they are very private men, and few of them of estate. The Lord Lisle is one of the five for Kent, Sir Charles Howard for Cumberland, as I thinke; the whole number to be 130 for England, 5 for Scottland, and 5 for Irland, some of which being Scotchmen have also met there. I was told that the Generall comming into the roome, all the company stood up, bareheaded, and the Generall being so likewise, he leaned upon the back of a chayre, with his own back to the window, and in his speech he grew very hot, putt off his cloke, and gave it to one of the Corronells, who tooke it, and held it like a servant; this was don as the King would sometimes do in great assemblys, but no man else. Observe, that as yet neither the Generall himself, nor any officer of his army, were of this assembly, to whom he had devolved the supreme authority as aforesayd.

Tuesday the 5th of *July*. The Members entrusted with the supreme authority of this Commonwealth, did this day, according to theyr appointment at Whytehall the day before, meete about 8 o'clock in the morning, in the

house where the former Parlement sate, and there kept a day of humiliation; and God did so draw forth the harts of the Members both in speaking and prayer, that they did not finde any necessity to call for the help of any minister. About twelve of them spake, (id est, preached) and prayed, minding what the Lord Generall had sayd to them at Whytehall the day before, and what expectation God's people had in this Commonwealth for seeking to God for direction and assistance in this greate worke, and for a blessing upon theyr endeavours therein. About 5 or 6 o'clock, the Members began to fall into debate about theyr sitting, and passed these votes. 1st. That Francis Rous, Esquire, one of theyr number, should take the chayre for one month, which he then took possession of by the desyre of the Members.

2dly, That Henry Scobell, Esq. be sent for to be Clerke to them, which was don, and he came and tooke his place.

3dly, That the Lord Generall Cromwell, Major Gen. Lambert, Major Gen. Harrison, Major Gen. Desborough, and Collonell Tomlinson, be called to sit in the House; which sayd persons and Sir Gilbert Pickering, Coll. Stapeley, Coll. Bennet, Mr. Strickland, Mr. Cary, Coll. Sydenham, Mr. Moyer, and Coll

Jones, are the present Counsell of State, and the rest of the Counsell being of the number of those Members who are of the supreme authority in the instrument, &c. Severall Proceedings, &c. from the 30th of *June*, to the 7th of *July*, 1653, with which agreeth Politicus of the same date, and the Diurnall from the 4th to the 11th of *July*, 1653.

Wednesday, the 6th of *June*. This day the supreme power of the nation mett, and spent again (as the day before) much time in prayer, and farther seeking to God. And a little before they rose, had some debate what to call theyr assembly, and resolved upon the question, that it should be called a Parlement, and then adjourned, &c. The same Proceedings and Politicus.

It seemes that in the instrument aforesayd, deliver'd by the Generall to these Members, they were all named to whom the supreme authority was devolved, and if so, then none can be of it but they that are therein named, unless there be another instrument or commission, and then, quære, of those that afterward were, or shall be called by the sayd Members to sit in the House, as the Generall himself, Lambert, Harrison, &c.

Thursday the 7th of *July*. Those that are

called to govern this Commonwealth, this day being assembled, having before voted to be called a Parliament, this day voted to be enlarged, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England; (Note, by the way, that Irland and Scotland are not named, yet five persons for each of these countryes are called to be of that House, and some of them are come, and sit there.)

Secondly, That Francis Rous, Esq. be Speaker, for one month, of the House.

Thirdly, That no person be employ'd or admitted into the service of the House, but such as the House shall be satisfyde of his reall godliness.

Fourthly, That a Committee be appointed to examine and report such to the House, &c.

Friday, the 8th *July*. Upon the Reports of the Committee touching persons to attend the House, the Parliament, upon full debate, voted Serjeant Berkhead (of whom they had a large testimony) to be Serjeant at Arms to the House, and accordingly he was received in.

Saturday the 9th *July*. "The Parliament were this day upon instructions for the Counsell of State, which for the present are much according to the former powers, and 17 more are to be added to theyr number. The House were very

unanimous in theyr proceedings thereupon, and so made a very large progress therein, as also for the appointing a Committee for the affaires of Scotland, and a Committee also for the affaires of Irland, and other Committees, &c. The worke going on very chearfully before them, and the presence of the Lord appearing much among them."

Monday the 11th *July*. This day Serjeant Berkhead, Serjeant at Arms to the Parlement, attended upon the House with the mace which was carryed before Mr. Speaker, and used as to former Parliaments, &c. It seemes the Lieutenant Generall hath caused the baubles to be restored again.

Wednesday the 13th. Divers petitioned the Parliament in behalf of Col. John Lilburn, &c. Proceedings, from the 7th to the 14th *July*, 1653, with which agreeth Politicus of the same date, and the Diurnall from the 11th to the 18th *July*, 1653, licensed by authority.

Tuesday the 12th *July*. A paper was printed and published, called a Declaration of the Parlement of the Commonwealth of England, and it begins, "Being, since the dissolution of the late Parlement in an extraordinary manner, publiquely summoned and required to take upon us the Supreme government of England,

Scottland, and Irland, and the Dominions and Territoryes thereunto belonging, upon mature deliberation we have judged it meete and requisite for the present peace and safety of these nations, to undergo that great and heavy burthen. And in order thereunto, we do declare ourselves to be the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England; in which we are very sensible of a great weight lyeing upon us, and a great trust reposed in us," &c. Post, "We shall endeavour to demean ourselves in all things as becometh those who are sett by God for the good of all, and in all to be as tender of the lives, estates, libertyes, just rights and propertyes of all others, as we are of ourselves and our posterityes; whom we expect still to be govern'd by successive Parliaments, &c." Post, page 4, "And if this be of God, it shall stand, and let every one take heed of fighting against God, this is all we will say, if it be from God, let him prosper and bless it; but if not, let it fall, though we fall before it, &c." Page 6, "And howsoever it shall please the Lord to do by us, or so deale with us, if he shall say, he hath no pleasure in us, we are most unworthy, here we are, let him do what is good in his own eyes, for he is holy in all his wayes and righteous in all his works, &c." This was printed in the darke

letter, and with the armes of the Commonwealth before it, like acts of the late Parliament, and signed, Hen. Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti. And it is the first publique act of this assembly that I saw. Out of the Diurnall, printed with license, from *July* 25th, to *August* 1st.—From Edenborough, *July* the 21st, thus: We have here a remarkable accident fallen out yesterday, which is a dissolution of the Generall Assembly of the Kirke, and a dispersion of all its Members. As soone as sermon was don, and they gon to the Assembly House, and enter'd upon theyr busines, Lieutenant Collonell Cotterel went unto them, and standing up upon a bench with a lowd voyce proclaimed that no Judicatory ought to sit that had not authority from the Parliament, and so causing them to depart, he couducted them with a troupe of horse, and a company of foote, out at the west port, and then bidding them to close round in a circle, environing them with his horse and foote he blamed them for theyr bold meeting, tooke in theyr commissions, required them not to meete three together in a company, and by 8 o'clock this morning they should all quit this city, and repayre to theyr severall homes, or els to suffer as enemyes of the Commonwealth. So there is an end of the Kirke's grand assembly, which

hath bin an engine so formidable in Scotland, &c.

The same Diurnall sayth afterward, From Edenbourgh the 23d of *July*. *Wednesday* last, the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly of the Kirke of Scottland mett again, and after two sermons preached by some of theyr Members, they went to theyr Session House, where they proposed to choose a Moderator, and to do some other preparatory acts, but in the interim comes Lieutenant Collonell Cotterell, and two Captains, with order from the Commander-in-chief, (this, as I thinke, is Collonell Lilburne, though the Diurnall name him not,) to require an account of theyr meeting, and to declare that, unless theyr convention was by authority of the Parlement of the Commonwealth of England, or his Excellency, (*i. e.* the Generall,) or some other impower'd by them, they were to depart, and every one to repayre to his own home, &c. as before. The next day, there was an order from the Commander-in-chief, published at the Market Crosse with beat of drum and sound of trumpet, taking notice of the great concourse of people at Edenborough from severall parts of the nation, which might hazard the disturbance of the peace; it was therefore orderd, That all Lords, Lairds, Ministers, and

others, that had not theyr constant residence here, or a publique call hither, or suites of law of immediate dependency, should depart the towne in 24 houres, &c. The same in effect is related by the pamphlet Politicus, from the 21st to the 28th of *July*, printed also with license, so as the truth thereof is not doubted, and now, sure, the Scotts may thinke themselves conquer'd.

Friday the 29th *July*. Another great fight at sea there was between the English, commanded by Generall Monke alone, (for Generall Blake was come sick into England,) and Van Trump, with De Witt, Everson, &c., Commanders of the Dutch fleete, on the Coste of Hollande, some leagues from the Texell, this day the victory was doubtfull, but the Dutch drew off to meete with a supply comming to them out of the Texell.

Sunday the 31st. They fought again many houres, and at the last the Dutch fled into the Texel, having lost thirty Men of Warr, at the least 1,000 prisoners, amongst whom Everson, one of theyr Admiralls, and Trump is sayd to be slayn. The English lost not above 250 men, and two small ships. This was a greate victory, and shew'd that the English could beat the Hollanders on theyr own coste.

Politicus, Diurnall Occurrences, &c.

Friday the 5th *August*. The House tooke into debate this day, according to former order, the busines of the Chancery, and it was resolved upon the question. 1. That the High Court of Chancery of England shall be forthwith taken away, and that a bill be brought in for that purpose.

Secondly, That it be referred to the Committee of the Law to prepare a Bille for this purpose, and so report it to the House.

Thirdly, That it be referred to the same Committee, to consider how the causes now depending in Chancery may be determined, and likewise a provision for the determining for the future matters of equity, and putting in order other matters of law which are within the jurisdiction of that Court; and forthwith bringe in a Bill for that purpose, &c. Generall Proceedings of State Affaires, &c. appointed to be printed, from the 4th to the 11th of *August*.

That Parlement as they called it, ended *January* following, *Anno* 1653. St. Vet.

Anno 1654. The peace was made with Hollande, &c.

The 3d *November*, that is 24th *October*, 1655. Christina, late Queen of Sweden, at Inspruck in Tirol, publickly renounced her Protestant religion, and professed herself a Roman Catholick, and was received into that Church with

greate solemnity by Lucus Holsteinius, in the quality of a Nuncius Apostolicus, sent thether to that purpose by the Pope. She had in her hart, eight years before, resolved to change her religion, and privately professed herself a Catholick, but not publickly till this time, in the country of a Prince of the House of Austria; in her way to Rome, where greate preparations are made to receive her, she is accompanyde by Pimenfel, who had heretofore bin Spanish Ambassador with her in Sweden, and it is thought hath contributed much to her conversion.

Anno 1655. The peace was made between England and France, and publickly proclaimed at London, with some solemnity, the 28th *November*, or 8th *December*, being *Wednesday*; and the next day after at Paris, with much more solemnity, on *Thursday* the 29th *November*, 9th *December*, as it is set down in the Gazette of Paris, printed soone after. The French expressing both at Paris, Dover, &c. more gladnes than the English any where.

Tuesday the 29th of *May*, 1660. The King Charles 2d made his entry into London, and passed to Whytehall, where the House of Peers and House of Commons severally mett and saluted his Majestye, and wellcommed him with orations by theyr Speakers, the Earle of Manchester of the one pro tempore, and Sir Harbottle Grimstone of the other. I saluted his Majestye among the rest, and kissed his hand, but there was so greate disorder and confusion, that the King scarce knew or tooke particular notice of any body.

Thursday the 31st *May*. A messenger came to my house, and warned me to come to Whytehall; the like he did to the Earle of Northumberland. We went together, not knowing for what, and having stayd a while in the King's withdrawing chamber, we were called into the Counsell Chamber, and then, contrary to his and my expectation, we were sworne Privy Counsellors, as was likewise the Earle of Manchester and others, that, and the next day.

Friday the 12th *Octoher*, 1660. Having attended the Parlement till it was adjourned the 13th *September*, and afterward the King and Counsell, my health and busines requiring it, I minded to go into the country, and the same

day the 12th of *October*, after the King and Counsell were risen, I went to the King and sayd, Sir, I have not the vanity to thinke that your Majestye will misse me, or take notice of my absence, but having the honor to be your servant, I thought it would not agree with my duty to go from hence without your leave and permission, which I beseech your Majestye to grant, that I may go into the country for my health. The King with a favourable and smiling countenance sayd, With all my hart, but how long will you stay? Sir, said I, to myself I have proposed to stay a good while, unless your Majestye command the contrary. Whether do you go? sayd the King, (still with a smiling countenance.) Sir, said I, to my house in Kent. Well, sayd the King, and when will you come again? Sir, said I, it is for my health that I go, but if your Majestye's service require it, I shall not consider either my health or life itself, but will be where you please to command me. I thanke you, sayd the King, but for the present I have no occasion to stay you, I wish you a good journey. I pray God bless your Majestye, sayd I, with health, long life, and all happines. I thanke you, sayd the King, again with the same favourable conntenance, and gave me his hand, which I, kneeling down, kissed, and so

came from him, who stayd to let me say more to him if I would. The like favourable entertainment he gave me the first time also, (which I had forgotten,) in the Counsell Chamber, when I was sworne, for he came to me, spake very familiarly to me and gave me many gratious expressions of his favour, and more than ordinary good opinion and esteeme. This should have bin before, but forgotten.

Thursday the 13th of *September*, 1660. The Duke of Gloucester dyde at Whytehall of the small pox, after 10 or 11 days sickness, he dyde the night of that day that the King adjourned the Parlement, and came in person into the House of Peeres to do it.

Monday the 5th *November*, 1660. Lucy, Countesse of Carlile, dyed suddenly at Little Cashioberry House where she lay; she had dined well, but about two howres after, she was suddenly taken as she was cutting a peece of ribbon, and called for her chayre to go to the Court, where the Queen then was, but without ever speaking one word, she dyde about 5 or 6 o'clock. It may be observed, that it was upon the 5th of *November*, the day of the Powder Treason, for which her father was suspected and imprisoned. She was younger than my wife by allmost just as much time as she outlived

her, for my wife was borne in *July*, about St. James's day, and dyde the 20th of *August*, aged 61 yeares and one month, and the Lady Carlile her sister, was borne about Michaelmas, and dyde aged 61 yeare and a little more than a month.

Monday, 24th *December*, 1660. Mary, the King's eldest sister and Princesse of Orange, dyde of the small pox at Whytehall, the same day the King had bin in the Parlement House to passe some bills, as he had don the day that his brother the Duke of Gloucester dyde.

Saturday, 29th *December*, 1660. The King came into the House of Peeres and dissolved the Parlement.

The 22d *April*, 1661. The King rode in greate pompe through London from the Tower to Whytehall.

The 23d *April*. The King was crowned at Westminster, I was at neither of these solemnityes, though I were summoned to them, but being in the country and indisposed in my health, it pleased the King to dispense with my attendance and service.

The 8th of *May*, 1661. Another Parlement was called, and mett at Westminster, his Majestye rode thether from Whytehall, in greate state.

LETTERS.

LETTER I.

FROM ALGERNON SYDNEY TO HIS FATHER, THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

(From Mr. Lambard's Collection.)

My Lord,

Though this be a place that fewe persons would desire to knowe, and theare is nothing to be written from it, that, relating any thing that is heare seene or done, can probably give any great satisfaction; I think it my duty to give your lordship sommetimes an account of my owne concernments and proceedings, which have bin soe farre retarded by the tedious ceremonyes and disputes, that are usuall in theis northerne courts, that all the ministers of the mediating states are not much farther advanced in theire negotiation for peace, than when wee came: the most part of the time hath bin spent upon the preliminaryes, in tedious and frivolous disputes about precedence, titles in safe

conducts, nomination of commissaryes to treat for both the kings, and other things, in which all the time appointed by an agreement betweene the crownes of Swede and Denmark, was lost: I think to the satisfaction of both thoes kings; for neither of them desiring peace, but as they weare driven one unto it by theire allyes, they weare willing to favour the coustumes of theis parts, to drawe things out into an intolerable length, each desiring to avoide the peace, without any such positive deniall as should give the ministers of England and Holland ocasion to declare him the refuser of it, or to employ any force belonging unto either commonwealth against him for refusing, as they weare obliged to doe by the agreement of the Hague. The treaty being yet prolonged, after the dayes formerly allotted; somme time was spent in fencing, each striving to cast the refusall upon the other. Wee helped the Swede unto tow advantages; the one to oblige the Dane to a particular treaty with him, excluding the Emperor, King of Poland, and Elector of Brandenburgh, which hath exceedingly discontented them; the other, to make him declare his mind upon every particular, before the Swede did discover any thing of his intentions; but this lasted not long, for the Danish com-

missaryes, when they found theare was noe other way of making the Swede a refuser, produced a declaration of theire kings, wheareby he yeilded entirely to all thoes conditions agreed upon at the Hague to be propounded unto the tow kings; which the Swede calls an imposition, and dishonourable unto him to receave; he did absolutely refuse them; upon which the Holland ministers have declared him to be the refuser of the peace, and given orders to the commanders of theire fleets, to assault him by sea and land, as they should see ocasion; and will very suddainely transport into this island about 3000 Danish horse that are in Holsteine, somme foot of the same nation, and the 4,000 foot brought out of Holland by de Ruyter. The Swedes desire the removall of the treaty, from the tents betweene this towne and theire camp, to Roskill; which seems very reasonable, for the weather growing very ill in these parts, it is troublesome continuing theire. The Holland ministers assent to the continuing of the treaty, they seeking (as they say) a peace, not an ocasion of warre, with the king of Sweden, and to the change of the place. The king of Denmark and his councell, having engaged the Holland fleet in theire assistance, think theire businesse is done, seeke

nothing more than breaking of the treaty, and for a pretence say, they cannot in honour treat longer with the Swede, unlesse the king signe a declaration, assenting unto what was agreed at the Hague. Wee are to have an audience this morning upon this businesse from the king of Denmark, and theire being nothing of justice in what his officers demand, hope our desires will be easily granted, whereby the treaty may be continued, with somme expectation of concluding a peace. Wee have to treat heare, with tow princes of very different natures. The king of Sweden* is a man of exceeding good wit, valiant, industrious, vigilant, thinks nothing is well done either in military or civill businesse, which passeth not through his hands; and he is thought to understand affaires of both natures, better than any man in his court or army, but is soe violently transported with ambition and choller upon every slight ocasion, that he doth frequently omitte things that are most for his advantages, and cast himself into thoes extremityes, which would have ruined him, if he had not bin often assisted by his

* Charles X.—"Even Algernon Sydney, who was not inclined to think or speak well of Kings, commended him to me, and said he had just notions of public liberty."—*Burnet's History*, vol. i. p. 139.

friends, beyond what could in reason be expected. One the other side, the King of Denmark* is a heavy sleepy man, understands very littell of businesses of peace or warre, is sweyed much by some littell people about him, and if the constitution of the kingdom would permit it, a German groome of the chamber, that is the queen's favourite, and, by hir means, his, would have more power in the government than all the senate. This uncertainty of affaires, makes me uncertaine of my owne concernements heare, and my returne home. The reports of the Cavileer's numbers and strenght in England

* Frederick III.—Till the year 1661, the Danes, though living nominally under a monarchy, had actually been governed by the senate. The crown was elective, dependant upon the nobles, and extremely limited in its prerogative. In that year, the people, disgusted with the oppressive government of the senate, surrendered their liberties voluntarily, and without condition, into the hands of this feeble and incapable monarch:—a strong proof how intolerable is the tyranny of an oligarchy. In the course of four days, and without the loss of a single life, the crown of Denmark became hereditary and absolute: the first and principal article of the new constitution being "That the king has the privilege reserved to himself to explain the law, and to alter and change it as he shall find good." One of the first acts of this king's uncontrolled authority was to raise this German groom to the highest dignity in the state."—*Vide Lord Molesworth's Account of Denmark, and Burnet*, vol. ii. p. 98.

had spread into this place, and weare believed to be very terrible by all heare, except somme of us, that, by knowing theire temper, could guesse at the issue; but wee weare thought, according to the coustume of public ministers, to speake what wee wished, and what wee would persuade unto others, rather than what wee did believe. I hope that whatsoever be the issue of our negotiations, as mediators of peace betweene theis tow northerne kings, wee shall have this fruite of our journey, as to be able to lay a good foundation of a neare alliance betweene the United Provinces and England.

I am perfectly
Your Lordship's,
ALGERNON SYDNEY.

COPENHAGEN,
September 13, 1659.

LETTER II.

FROM ALGERNON SYDNEY TO LORD WHITELOCKE.*

ELSINORE,
November 13, 1689.

My Lord,

Since your Lordship's of the 21st. of September, I have received noe letter from England, but such as have come to me by chance from persons soe farre from the knowledge of business, that they did not knowe of the liberty granted unto us by the parliament and councell to returne home, soe that my colleagues and I have depended wholly upon the information wee should receive from the Holland ministers, for the knowledge of all that hath bin done in England since that time. I was never more surprised with any thing than the votes and acts of the parliament, upon the petition of the fifth of last moneth,† the contents of it being so mo-

* The original of this Letter is in the possession of Sir Alexander Mallett, it has been published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the year 1783.

† This was the petition presented by Lambert, Desborough, and other officers, in the name of the army, which the Parliament considered so great a breach of their privilege, that they discharged those officers and others from their commands.

dest, that, for ought I can see, they gave a very fair way and opportunity unto the parliaments of gratifying them; and composing thoes differences that weare about to spring up amongst them, than which, I think nothing was more desirable. I cannot imagine what could put them upon so contrary a course, destructive unto themselves, and dangerous to our long defended cause, but there is a vis abdita which sweyes all human things, turns them which way it pleaseth, blasts the best weighed councells, and makes the most absurd follies often serviceable unto the greatest good. Wee have seene much of this in our age, and noe man knowes but their late actions may render it more evident, and your Lordship's prudence may doe very much towards the making it soe, by making use of their extravagances for the procuring such a settlement as would with much more difficulty have bin obtained, if they who had intentions to oppose it, had not destroyed themselves. Your Lordship sees how much I am in the dark as to thoes actions amongst you, wherein I have the nearest concernment both as an Englishman, and as one that, for theis many

This violent measure produced those dissentions between the Parliament and the Army, which so materially contributed to bring about the Restoration.

years, have bin engaged in that cause, which by the help of God I shall never desert. I doe not know how it will be taken, that wee make noe use of the liberty that was granted unto us of returning home, but I thinke whoesoever sees the condition in which wee are, will hardly believe that wee could have any other reasons, than the care of the publique interest, and the not daring to take upon ourselves (when it was referred to our discretion) the leaving of a business, in which the whole nation may receave an extreame prejudice. I am not able to speake more particularly of the general state of our businesse, than in the representation wee have made unto the Councell, nor am I able to tell whether wee may be able to obtaine a particular peace betwixt Denmark and Sweden, which will be followed by Poland and Brandenburgh, or the generall peace of Germany, but I think I am sure it is good for us to endeavour the first, and have an eye to both; that if it be possible wee may preserve the Swedish interest in Germany and the Sound, or if he be so obstinate that he must be destroyed, to take care that wee doe not fall with him. He doth aske a generall peace, and every boddy believes he doth abhorre it. The Danes eagerly hearken after a generall treaty, which wee have hitherto diverted, thinking it certaine that the Impe-

rialists will insist upon keeping what they have, or shall hereafter take from the Swede, or force him to restore Schonen unto the Danes, or which is worst of all, while they dispute according to the German manner, upon foolish circumstances and ceremonyes, touching the preliminaryes, they may most probably gain such advantage upon him, as will absolutely change the conditions of the treaty. Theis things, and many others, are very obvious to any man's understanding; but the King of Sweden, though he is very able, is soe carried away with his ambitious humour, the flattery of some of his ministers here, and the false informations that he receaves from thoes that he employes abroad, that he sees nothing of this, but runs blindly on, as I fear, to his destruction. Amongst other things in which I think he is abused, I think that relating unto England is not the least. Since the unhappy return of our fleet, he hath never thought England would doe any thing against him. A few shot of our cannon would have made this peace, and given no leisure to consult of the German affaires; but now he is so possessed with an opinion, that the army govern all, and is wholly for his interest, upon the information he receives from Mr. Frizendorf and Brushute, a chemycal Swedish senator (whoe, as they say, is making

money at Lambeth). Wee say what wee can, but it is all in vaine; he will have a generall peace, or an assurance of assistance from us, before he will leave theis islands; but small accidents may change theis resolutions. If he hath ill success in Funen, the difficulty of concluding this peace will be on the other side. When wee are in this uncertainty as to publique business both in England and heare, you may be sure wee cannot be more settled in that which concerns our own particulars. I refer myself very much unto your Lordship as to that. If the government in England doe continue on the good old principles, I shall be ready to serve them; if it returns to monarchy I desire nothing but liberty to retire, finding myself a very unfit stone for such a building. Having thus farre and freely declared myself unto your Lordship, I desire you will, according to your accustomed favour, take care that I may know what I have to depend upon in relation unto our negotiation and myself, who am by a most fixed inclination,

Your Lordship's most humble
and faithful Servant,
ALGERNON SYDNEY.

Wee heare Generall Monk is marching into England, but I hope you have ordered matters soe as to keep the army united.

LETTER III.

FROM ALGERNON SYDNEY TO HIS FATHER, THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

(Collins—Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 685.)

My Lord,

I send this to your Lordship by our secretary, whom we have dispatched unto the parliament and councel, with the newes of the king of Sweden's death, and to receive such orders, as, upon the representation of affairs here, the parliament will think fit to send, upon so great a change as this is likely to bring unto all their northerne parts of Europe. I think, never prince had soe many and soe potent enemies as he, and that did soe well defend himself against them, with soe small a strenght. His greatest was his owne industry, wit, and courage, and I make noe doubt they will grow as insolent after his death, as they were fearful and humble when they were to deal with him singly; and will express theire hatred against the young king and his mother, which could never hurt him, unlesse when multitudes assembled on all sides to assault him. I have of late thought we

should speedily have a peace here, I hope this will not retard it, but the conditions will be lesse for the advantage of Sweden. I was then desirous of seeing it concluded before I returned; I confess I now am more unwilling to leave it undetermined; the chief inducement then, was the interest of England; I can now adde to that consideration, an obligation by all the rules of humanity and charity, to endeavour the protection of an infant, and of a very virtuous mother. I am apt to thinke the Queene Christina will now think fit to turn a Lutheran again, and endeavour to breed some disturbance in Sweden; but I hope her party is soe much diminished by the reports that are made, of the life she leads, that her designes will vanish, without doing any great mischief. I have appointed this bearer to wait upon your lordship, that if you care to knowe any thing of our businesse here, he may give you a very full relation, having bin employed by me in it. I have not heard any thing of your lordship this many moneths, which is a great trouble to me. I desire your lordship to take me out of it, and if your own affaires or health will not give you the convenience of writing to me, that you appoint some servant, to send me newes of your health and concernments; how you are,

and how you live at this time, which I knowe must needs be solitary to you, and I fear uneasy. I shall rejoice in hearing I am mistaken, and that all things do succeed according to your lordship's owne desire, and the praiers of your lordship's

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

COPENHAGEN,
February 22, 1660.

LETTER IV.

ALGERNON SYDNEY TO LORD WHITELOCKE.*

MY LORD,

IT is not long since I receaved from your lordship a letter dated the 16th of December, I know not where it had travelled in that time, nor into whoe's hands it had fallen; but I observed the seal was untouched, which was

* This letter has never been published, the original is in the possession of Lord Nugent, to whom I am obliged for his permission to insert it in the present collection.

a better fortune than doth befall many letters that come this way.

The death of the king of Sweden falling out at the time he was full of great designes, it was expected that very great alteration should followe it, but I am apt to thinke they will be some thing lesse than they weare expected; for having time to discover unto his principal officers his intentions, and the wayes of his bringing them to pass; businesses are like, by the prudence of the senate, to be carried on perhaps as well as before, and the warre in Germany being committed to the charge of Admiral Rangle, there is no great cause of apprehending any other person will be theare wanted. The peace heare I think will be more speedily concluded than if the king had lived; all obstacles unto it being now taken away one that side, by a declaration of assent to all the conditions of the treaty of the Hague; and referring the points theare omitted to the judgement of the mediating ministers. Present a copy of it to the councell. I thinke it not unworthy to be knowne, that this Prince, whoe, by the many and great actions of his short reigne, deserves to be remembered with honour, had not soe noble a stage to act his part upon as his predecessor Gustavus; the constancy and serenety

of mind shewed in all the time of his sicknesse and the certaine approaches of death, deserve not less praise if they are well considered. He would not so much as give himself the ease of a bed in the violence of his fever, saying, he did not live or reigne for himself, but for his people; and that thoes few hours which God should add unto his life he would employ in nothing but ordering the affairs of his kingdom; that it might not suffer from his death. In this exercise did he spend all the last days of his life; writing with his owne hand letters and orders to his principal absent officers, and giving directions to thoes that weare present, when he had finished his work, (not forgetting either message of civility and compliment to somme that had obliged him, ordering severall summes of money that he owed, even small ones, to be paid, and rewards to be given, which he had promised to many well deserving officers;) about eleaven of the clock on the 12th of February, he tooke his bed, and within an hour after died, having spent part of that short time in discourse with his servants; the rest in private meditation; after which, he was heard to say, "Lord, when I can no longer speak, hearken unto my sighs," and presently expired; leaving this certaine testimony of his greatnesse and constancy of

mind, that nothing could make him omitte the duty which he thought he owed unto his people; by which I thinke it may be justly concluded, that if in the other actions of his life, theare weare somme thinges which are not easily to be excused; he did them for the good of that people committed unto his charge; thinking himself free from blame or guilt, if he pressed too hard upon others, the care of preserving them belonging to their own princes, not to him. I am much joyed at the expectation of peace heare, as thinking it of exceeding importance unto England, and convenience unto myself, by putting an end to my banishment heare. I heare theare is somme dissatisfaction in the parliament with some actions of your lordship's; and a day was given you to answer.* Since that I have heard nothing;

* When the parliament had been forcibly prevented from meeting by Lambert and the army, the latter appointed a committee of safety to conduct the government, and of this committee, Whitelocke was a member: for which the parliament, when it reassembled, were disposed to call him to a severe account. Whitelocke thus relates the whole circumstance: "I saw how things passed, and that the old parliament were now met again, who I knew would be severe against me for acting in the Committee of Safety, and being informed that Scot, Nevil, and others had threatened to take away my life, and that Scot had said, that I should be hanged with the great

pray doe me the favour to informe me particularly; for noe man is more tenderly concerned in your lordship's concernments, than your lordship's

Most humble and most affectionate Servant,

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

COPENHAGEN,
March 1, 1660.

Seale about my neck, and I knew Scot's malice to me, upon some former contest about elections to parliament; this made me to consider how to provide for my own safety. The Speaker sent a letter to me, requiring my attendance in the House, whereupon I went to the Speaker, and made my objections, that some in the House seeing me there, might move against me, and get me sent to prison. The Speaker said, he believed no such thing would be moved; but they would take it as an owning of their authority if I sat with them." Finding the feeling of the members strongly against him, Whitelocke, to avoid being sent to the Tower, retired to a friend's house in the country.—*Whitelocke's Memorials*, p. 691.

LETTER V.

FROM ALGERNON SYDNEY TO HIS FATHER, THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

(From Mr. Lambard's Collection.)

My Lord,

I did the last weeke receave somme letters from Sir John Temple, dated many moneths since, wherein he mentions somme expressions of favour that your lordship had used concerning me. If his letters had sooner comme to my hands, I should sooner by mine have testified unto your lordship, how joyfull that newes was to me. I have had nothing more in my inclinations and desires than to serve your lordship, nor more in my opinion, than that it was my duty. I should never have had any thoughts of intermitting my endeavours to that end, as long as any hopes did remaine of being accepted, and they shall be reassumed with as much earnestnesse as ever, upon the least appearance that I may be soe happy as to give your lorship satisfaction. I confesse that being conscious to myself of noe thought or action, that was not suitable unto this, I have

bin very sensible, when I found your lordship's temper to me soe different from what I had expected; and that when I was fallen into as deepe a degree of inconvenience and mischiefe, as one could be cast into, by the destruction of the party which for many yeares I had followed, and the ingratitude of somme of my friends, whome I had obliged in every manner that it was possible for me to doe, I was troubled to finde your lordship lesse carefull to give me somme reliefe, than I hoped you would have bin: Especially, when I could accuse myself of noe other fault, by which I had brought myself into that condition, unlesse that name be given to the evil choice I may be thought to have made, both of party and friends, and an unhappy constant adherence unto both. I confesse my error in the latter, but for what concerns the party, I should lye, if I sayed I found any. It is very true, thoes that weare of it, have of late runne into extream great extravagances, and the ill management of theire power is the cause of theire destruction,* but they

* Alluding to the conduct of the conflicting parties, the Parliament and the Wallingford House party, or army, after the death of Cromwell, of which Ludlow speaks in these terms: "In the mean time, the Wallingford House party, as if infatuated by a superior power, to procure their own destruction,

that endeavoured only by good and honest wayes to gaine them that power, which they might have employed for better uses, than the last winter weare intended, have nothing to answeare for that: but I doe expect to suffer as much by thoes actions, as thoes that have bin most active in them. My fortune hath bin more than ordinary ill, that having suffered many troubles by severall accidents, to accumulate the evills that are likely to fall upon me, I should be absent about this employment, in this time of various and strange changes in England, and, I think, obliged to returne in a time that may be as incovenient as my absence hitherto hath bin. In all theis alterations and variety of accidents, I doe not find any that help me, unlesse it be, that somme of my friends chance to be of the councell of state, and that wee have at last obtained the desired

continued obstinately to oppose the Parliament, and fixed in their resolution to call another. On the other side, I was sorry to find most of the Parliament men as stiffe in requiring an absolute submission to their authority, as if no differences had happened amongst us, nor the privileges of Parliament ever been violated; peremptorily insisting upon the entire subjection of the army, and refusing to hearken to any terms of accommodation, though the necessity of affaires seemed to demand it, if we would preserve our cause from ruin."—*Ludlow's Memoires*, p. 323.

successe in the treaty betwene Sweden and Denmark. The peace betweene thoes tow crownes is concluded, the treaty signed yesterday by both partyes. The Emperor and Elector of Brandeburgh included, in what relates to theire assistance given to Denmark, and the peace made at Dantzicke theareby confirmed. The Duke of Holstein enioyes the benefite of the treaty made in 1648, betweene the King of Denmark and his father. The siege of Tuningh is to be immediately raised; the Danish troops, upon receipt of the order to be sent unto theire commander, are to retire somme miles from thence, and within one moneth to leave his territoryes. The Swedish camp is to be raised from before this towne within four dayes. The islands of Falster, Murn, and Laland to be delivered to the King of Denmark in eight dayes after that time. The entire evacuation of all the Swedish troops out of Denmark to be made within six weeks from this day, and last of all, Croningburgh Castle is to be delivered to its ancient master. Wee have met with a multitude of difficultyes in this businesse; the unsettled condition of England did not create a few of them, but the end I hope will be now happy; and as animals that are long in the mother's womb, are ordinary long lived, this

treaty of peace, that hath bin long perfecting and finishing, will be of a proportionate continuance, both partyes seeming well satisfied. The King of Sweden having the provinces of Bleking, Schonen, and Bahrus, formerly conceded, now confirmed unto him. And to the King of Denmark four hundred thousand dollars are remitted, the province of Drontheim restored, and an exchange obtained for the island of Bornholme, which he did most passionately desire. My colleague and I have sent this messenger with the newes of the peace; I doe not knowe whether the king is yet comme over, nor how he would accept an addresse from us, whoe came hither without his authority. Wee leave all our other affaires to be managed by our friends upon the place, whoe have a true sight of thoes things that wee can only guesse at. When the last letters that I have receaved came from London, your lordship was not yet arrived theare, and not knowing wheather you are yet theare, I have mentioned somme things that your lordship might, if you weare in towne, more at large receave from Mr. Thurloe. I have written particularily unto my Lord of Northumberland and Sir John Temple, and somme others of my friends, of my owne concernements, desiring theire assist-

ance and advice in this time of difficulty. It will not, I think, be thought strange, that I am startled a littell with theis suddaine blowes, and ask for help. I presse nothing upon upon them, but that this employment (wheare I think I have served England, and consequently him that is at the head of it,) may be no prejudice unto me; in all other things, I solely refer myself to what your lordship shall command, or they shall advise. Since the Parliament hath acknowledged a king, I knowe, and acknowledge, I owe him the duty and the service that belongs unto a subject, and will pay it. If things are carried in a legall and moderate way, I had rather be in employment, than without any. If am trusted, I shall performe my duty with as much fidelity and care, as any that I have ever undertaken in my life. But if thoes that have gone my way are suspected, designes carried on, in which, such as I am, should be unfit instruments; or, that amongst a multitude of pretenders, which is certainly much greater than can possibly be satisfied, I should be left out; I am allmost as well contented with a private life, or liberty to goe beyond sea. If your lordship is in towne, I have desired Sir John Temple to conferre with your lordship of all my concernements, and I desire you would

be pleased theareupon to send me your commands, which with all duty and respect shall be observed by

Your lordship's,

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

COPENHAGEN,
May 28, 1660.

I have bin soe much a stranger to all things of our owne family, since I came hither, that I did not till within theis four days, know that my brother Harry was in England. I hope he is as your lordship wishes him, and that he will ever be a joy and comfort unto you. My colleague and I have thought it necessary to write to the king, and not knowing wheather your lordship be in towne or not, have sent it open to my Lord of Northumberland, leaving it to your lordship's judgement and his, wheather it should be delivered or not. I know the points that upon such changes give most satisfaction, and that few do omitte, are not mentioned; but wheather that make the paper fit for the fire, I leave it to your lordship to judge. I have desired my Lord of Northumberland, at the delivery, (if that be at all done,) to adde somme compliment from me; I desire your lordship to be present, whoe without any other

authority than that you have over me, may say of me, or for me, what you please. It will be thought perhaps strange, that I should omitte the points that I judge to be most usefull, which are congratulation and acknowledgement of our faults, in having bin against this king, or his father. The truth is, I could hope for noe good in a businesse that I should beginne with a lye, and chose rather to say, only such things as concerne our negociation, or relating to the future, are such as I will make good. If this way will not serve, my concernements are in great danger of perishing, and I shall be better contented with my fortune, when I see theare was noe way of avoiding it, that is not worse than ruine.

We have heare very different relations concerning my brother Robert; somme say, he is sent for into England, with hopes of great preferment; others, that he was so ill used at the Hague by the king, as to have littell reason to retaine that expectation; both are written from the Hague to officers heare, and I have a letter from him that mentions neither. If your lordship find any words mistaken, I desire you to pardon it; I have written untill I am almost blind.

LETTER VI.

FROM ALGERNON SYDNEY TO HIS FATHER THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

(From Mr. Lambard's Collection.)

My Lord,

I have bin long doubtfull of my condition in England, wavering betweene the opinions expressed by somme of my friends, in theire letters, and my owne. The letters of the tow last posts, have put me out of that uncertainty, and shew me plainely, what I am to expect. My resolution upon that is easily taken, for though I can very joyfully retire myself, into as private a life as any man in England is in, I have too well learnt, under the government of the Cromwells, what it is to live under the protection of thoes, unto whome I am thought an enemy, to expose myself willingly unto the same, I acknowledge that I owe all duty and service unto the king, as to my lawfull soveraigne; and would live as quietly under his government, as any man within his dominions; but unlesse he did by somme act of favour or trust, shewe that he is reconciled

to me, as unto others, that have, as well as I, bin of a party contrary unto his and his father's, I shall be ever suspected, and often affronted, and upon every littell tumult that may happen, be exposed to ruine. I know the uneasinesse of this posture by experience, and can find noe other way of preserving myself from it, but by keeping one this side the sea: whilest I am heare, I would willingly have comme over, to give an account of what businesse had passed through my hands, or what I had learnt relating unto theis parts; but finding myself and my proceedings disowned and slighted, I cannot expect, that either the king or his councell will give me the hearing, or receive any account from me; soe that I find noething more unnecessary, than to expose myself to trouble to give it. I choose this voluntary exile, as the least evill condition that is within my reach. It is bitter, but not soe much soe, as the others that are in my prospect. I am in an ill condition to make a long journey; if I came into England, and stayed a moneth or tow, I should be in a worse, and perhaps not able to come away, when I desire it. I have not yet resolved upon the place of my residence; but I dislike all the drunken countries of Germany, and the north, and am not much inclined to France. I

think I shall choose Italy. I can from Hamburgh, by ordinary journeys at a small charge, as I am informed, be at Mantua or Milan, in sixteene or eighteene dayes, and from thence easily to somme place, that I shall finde convenient to reside in. I should not determine thus farre how to dispose of myself without your lordship's particular commands, if you weare pleased to send me any but such as are generall enough to be conveyed by a servant. I doe not knowe but that I may yet receive somme from your lordship. If any comme they shall be exactly obeyed, and I will stay long enough about Hamburgh, or in Holland, to knowe your lordship's opinion, if you are pleased to send it, in answeare to this letter. Perhaps my Lord Strangford and his wife* may suffer something by this; but if they will doe that, which your lordship, or any other reasonable person, upon

* There are several manuscript letters of Sydney to his father, preserved at Penshurst, referring exclusively to the conduct of Lord Strangford and Lady Strangford, Sydney's youngest sister; by which it appears, that that nobleman had nearly ruined himself by his great extravagance. The Earl of Leicester was deeply offended with him on this account, and because he refused to fulfil his marriage contract. Algernon Sydney interceded for him, undertook the management of his affairs, and assisted him with money in his distress.

the knowledge of the businesse, shall think reasonable, I will most readily assent to whatsoever shall be allotted for my part; and if it be necessary, comme over to somme private place in England to performe it, soe that I may not be hindered in my returne: but if they refuse to doe this, after having robbed me, railed at me, and in all respects dealt soe unworthily with me, I shall be innocent of what prejudice may befall them, satisfy myself, and I hope all others, at least all thoes that have understanding, and love to doe justice. I make no doubt but your lordship did wonder to see me reconciled unto hir, suffer her to come to Sterry, maintaine hir theare upon my owne charge, furnish hir with money, above all that I had receaved, when I myself was in extreame want; and this after shee had dealt with me as your lordship knowes at Penshurst. I confesse it was a folly; if my affection to hir, which was soe hard for me to root out of my hart, be not an excuse, I have none. Your lordship could not but think there was somme great mistery in it; theare was none but this; she desired me to comme to hir chamber, acknowledged her fault, begged pardon with as many expressions of repentance, affection, and promises of amendment, as ever I heard from any tongue;

amongst the rest, this was one, that by the confession unto your lordship, and my mother, that all thoes things she had sayed to my prejudice, proceeded from hir passion, and weare absolutely contrary to hir opinion and knowledge, shee would repaire the injury shee had done me. In short, I could not resist her praiers and teares, but received and helped hir as formerly, and left hir the disposing of all that I had in the country, by which meanes, shee gained the power of doing me all this mischiefe, under the name of hir husband; for which I am much mistaken, if shee be not ere long sufficiently punished; though I should noe way resent it. I speak all this with some passion, as being very sensible of such a proceeding, from a person, for whome I have done all that had bin possible, though my life, fortune, and reputation had depended upon nothing but doing good for hir. I will not at this time take my leave of your lordship: I shall either comme into England, or write againe to your lordship, before I remove further from it. The *Count

* A Danish nobleman who had been ambassador from the king of Denmark at London, and at the Hague, who, falling into disgrace at Copenhagen, had gone over to the king of Sweden, whose displeasure he also incurred; the consequence of which was, that he and his wife were confined as prisoners of state.

Ulfielt, concerning whome I writ to your lordship, is escaped with his wife, out of the hands of the Swedes, and comme to this towne.

I am,

Your Lordship's

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

COPENHAGEN,
28th July, 1660.

LETTER VII.

FROM ALGERNON SYDNEY TO HIS FATHER.

(From Mr. Lambard's Collection.)

MY LORD,

I have not written unto your Lordship of late, soe frequently as formerly, believing that your lordship's taking noe notice of, I think twenty letters, I had sent unto you, nor returning any answer, soe much as by a servant, was a very evident forbidding of me to continue; but if your lordship did not intend it soe, I

shall renew my coustume; and when your lordship thinks me worthy of an answeare, I shall have it. Sir John Temple sends me word, your lordship is very *intent upon finding* a way of bringing *me into England,* in such a condition, as I may live theire, quietly and well. I acknowledge your lordship's favour, and will make the best returne for it that I can; but I desire you to lay that out of your thoughts; it is a designe never to be accomplished. I find soe much by the management of things at home, that it is impossible for me to be quiet one day, unlesse I would doe thoes things, the remembrance of which would never leave me one quiet or contented moment whilest I live. I knowe myself to be in a condition, that for all circumstances is as ill as outward things can make it; this is my only consolation, that when I call to remembrance as exactly as I can, all my actions relating to our civill distempers, I cannot finde one, that I can look upon as a breach of the rules of justice or honour; this is my strenght, and, I thank God, by this I enjoy very serene thoughts. If I loose this, by vile and unworthy submissions, acknowledgement of errors, asking of pardon, or the like, I shall from that moment be the miserablest man alive, and the scorne of all men. I knowe the titles

that are given me, of fierce, violent, seditious, mutinous, turbulent, and many others of the like nature, but God that gives me inward peace in my outward troubles, doth knowe, that I doe in my hart choose an innocent, quiet retirement, before any place unto which I could hope to raise myself by thoes actions which they condemne, and did never put myself upon any of them, but when I could not enjoy the one, or thought the other my duty. If I could write and talk like Coll. Hutchinson,* or Sir Gilbert Pickering; I believe I might be quiet; contempt might procure my safety; but I had rather be a vagabond all my life, than buy my being in my own country at soe deare a rate; and if I could have bowed myself according to my interest, perhaps I was not soe stupide, as not to knowe the wayes of settling my affaires at home, or making a good provision for staying abroad, as well as others, and did not want credit to attaine unto it; but I have bin theis many years outstripped by thoes that were belowe me, whilest I stopped at thoes things, that they easily leaped over. What shall I say? It hath bin my fortune from my youth, and will be soe to my grave, by which my designes in the world

* See note (F.) at the end.

will perpetually miscarry. But I knowe people will say, I straine at knats, and swallowe camels; that it is a strange conscience, that lets a man runne violently on, till he is deepe in civill blood, and then stays at a fewe words and complements; that can earnestly endeavour to extirpate a long established monarchy, and then cannot be brought to see his error, and be persuaded to set one finger towards the setting together the broken pieces of it. It will be thought a strange extravagance for one, that esteemed it noe dishonour, to make himself equall unto a great many meane people, and belowe somme of them, to make warre upon the king; and is ashamed to submitte unto the king, now he is encompassed with all the nobles of the land, and in the height of his glory, soe that none are soe happy as thoes that can first cast themselves at his feete. I have enough to answeare all this in my owne minde; I cannot helpe it if I judge amisse; I did not make myself, nor can I correct the defects of my own creation. I walk in the light God hath given me; if it be dimme or uncertaine, I must beare the penalty of my errors: I hope to doe it with patience, and that noe burden shall be very grievous to me, except sinne and shame. God keepe me from thoes evills, and in all things else, dispose

of me according to his pleasure. I have troubled your lordship very long, but it is, that I might ease you of cares that would be more tedious, and as unfruitful. I doe not knowe wheather the course of my fortune doth leade me, probably, never to returne to see your lordship, or my owne countrey againe: however if I have offended your lordship, transported by folly or the violence of my nature, (I have nothing else that needs your forgivenesse,) I beseech you to pardon it; and let me have your favour and blessinge alonge with me: if I live to returne, I will endeavour to deserve it by my services; if not, I can make noe returne but my prayers for you, which shall never be omitted by

Your Lordship's

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

HAMBURGH,
August 30, 1660.

I am just now going forwards to Frankfort, wheare I will staye somme days, to receive your lordship's commands.

LETTER VIII.

This letter was first published in a work entitled "The Familiar Letters written by John, Earl of Rochester, and other persons of honour and quality." It has been copied from thence into Holles's edition of Sydney's works, and into Mr. Meadley's Memoirs. It has no date, by which it can be precisely ascertained from what place, or at what time, it was written; but as Sydney in the course of it alludes to the Act of Indemnity as not yet passed, it must have been written before the 29th of August, 1660, the day upon which that act received the king's assent, or so soon afterwards, that he had not seen it.

SIR,

I am sorry I cannot in all things conform myself to the advices of my friends. If theirs had any joint concernment with mine, I should willingly submit my interest to theirs, but when I alone am interested, and they only advise me to come over, when the act of indemnity is passed, because they think it is best for me, I cannot wholly lay aside my own judgement and choice. I confess we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country, and I have a particular love to mine; I hope I have given some testimony of it. I think that being exiled from it, is a great evil, and would redeem myself from it, with the loss of a great deal of my blood. But when that country of mine, which

used to be esteemed a paradise, is now like to be made a stage of injury; the liberty which we hoped to establish, oppressed; luxury and lewdness set up in its height, instead of the piety, virtue, sobriety, and modesty, which we hoped God by our hands would have introduced; the best of our nation made a prey to the worst; the Parliament, Court, and Army corrupted, the people enslaved; all things vendible, no man safe, but by such evil and infamous means as flattery and bribery; what joy can I have in my own country in this condition? Is it a pleasure to see that all I love in the world is sold and destroyed? Shall I renounce all my old principles, learn the vile court arts, and make my peace by bribing some of them? Shall their corruption and vice be my safety? Ah no, better is a life among strangers, than in my own country on such conditions. Whilst I live I will endeavour to preserve my liberty, or at least not consent to the destroying of it. I hope I shall die in the same principles in which I have lived, and will live no longer than they can preserve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies, but, as I think, of no meanness; I will not blot and defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had it in my mind, that when God should

cast me into such a condition, as that I cannot save my life, but by doing an indecent thing, he shews me that the time is come, wherein I should resign it. And when I cannot live in my own country, but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think he shews me that I ought to keep out of it. Let them please themselves with making the King glorious, who think that a whole people may justly be sacrificed for the interest and pleasure of one man, and a few of his followers. Let them rejoice in their subtility, who, by betraying the former powers, have gained the favor of this; and not only preserved, but advanced themselves in these dangerous changes. Nevertheless, perhaps they may find, their king's glory is their shame,—his plenty, the people's misery; and that the gaining of an office, or a little money, is a poor reward for destroying a nation, which, if it were preserved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the most glorious in the world; and that others may find they have with much pains purchased their own shame and misery; a deare price for that which is not worth keeping, nor the life that is accompanied with it. The honour of English Parliaments have ever been in making the nation glorious and happy, not in selling and destroying the in-

terest of it, to gratify the lusts of one man. Miserable nation! that, from so great a height of glory, is fallen into the most despicable situation in the world; having all its good depending upon the breath and will of the vilest persons in it! cheated and sold by them they trusted! Infamous traffic! equal in guilt almost to that of Judas. In all preceding ages, Parliament has been the palace of our liberty, the sure defenders of the oppressed; they who formerly could bridle kings, and keep the balance equal between them and the people, are now become instruments of all our oppressions, and a sword in his hand to destroy us; they themselves led by a few interested persons, who are willing to buy offices for themselves, by the misery of the whole nation, and the blood of the most worthy and eminent persons in it. Detestable bribes! worse than the oaths now in fashion in this mercenary court. I mean to owe neither my life nor my liberty to such means. When the innocence of my actions will not protect me, I will stay away till the storm be overpast. In short, where Vane, Lambert, Haselrigge, cannot live in safety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in England, I should have expected a lodging with them, or though they may be first, as being more eminent than I, I

must expect to follow their example in suffering, as I have been their companion in acting. I am most in amaze at the mistaken informations that were sent to me by my friends, full of expectations of favours and employments. Who can think that they who imprison them, would employ me, or suffer me to live, when they are put to death? If I might live and be employed, can it be expected that I should serve a government that seeks such a detestable way of establishing itself. Ah no! I have not learnt to make my own peace by persecuting and betraying my brethren, more innocent and worthy than myself. I must live by just means, or serve to just ends, or not at all. After such a manifestation of the ways by which it is intended the King shall govern, I should have renounced my place of favour, into which the kindness and industry of my friends might have advanced me, when I found those who were better than I, were only fit to be destroyed. I had formerly some jealousies, the fraudulent proclamation for indemnity increased them; the imprisoning of those three men, and turning out all the officers of the army, contrary to promise, confirmed me in my resolutions not to return. To conclude, the tide is not to be diverted, nor the oppressed delivered, but God in

his time will have mercy on his people.—He will save and defend them, and avenge the blood of those who, in their pride, think nothing is able to oppose them. Happy are those, whom God shall make instruments of his justice in so blessed a work. If I can live to see that day, I shall be ripe for the grave; and able to say with joy, "Lord now lettest thou thy Servant depart in peace." Farewell, my thoughts as to King and state depending upon their actions, no man shall be a more faithful servant to him than I, if he make the good and prosperity of the people his glory—none more his enemy if he doth the contrary. To my particular friends I shall be constant on all occasions, and to you a most affectionate servant.

LETTER IX.

LETTER FROM THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO HIS SON ALGERNON SYDNEY.

(The original of this letter is in Mr. Lambard's possession; it has been published in "The Familiar Letters of John, Earl of Rochester, &c.")

Disus of wryting, hath made it uneasy to me, age makes it hard, and the weakenes of sight and hand makes it almost impossible, this may excuse me to every body, and particularly to you, who have not invited me much unto it, but rather you have given me cause to think, that you were willing to save me the labour of wryting, and yourself the trouble of reading my letters; for after you had left me sick, solitary, and sad, at Penshurst; and that you had resolved to undertake the employment, wherein you have lately bin, you neither came to give me a farewell, nor did so much as send one to me, but only wrott a wrangling letter or two concerning money, and Hoskins' and Sir John Honeywood's horse: and though both before and after your going out of England, you wrote to divers other persons, the first letter that I received from you, was dated, as I remember, the 13th of Septem-

ber, your second in November, wherein you take notice of your mother's death,* and if there were one more, that was all, until Mr. Sterry came; who made such haste from Penshurst,

* In the letter alluded to, Sydney writes thus respecting his mother's death.—

My Lord,

The passage of letters from England hither is soe uncertaine, that I did not, until within theis very fewe dayes, hear the sad newes of my mother's death. I was then with the King of Sweden, at Nicopen in Falster. This is the first opportunity I have had of sending to condole with your lordship, a loss that is soe great to yourself, and your family, of which my sense was not soe much diminished in being prepared by her long, languishing, and certainly incurable sickness, as increased by the last words of her life. I confess, persons in such tempers are most fit to die, but they are alsoe most wanted here; and we, that for a while are left in the world, are most apt, and perhaps with reason, to regret the loss of those we most want. It may be, light and humane passions are most suitably employed upon human and worldly things, wherein we have some sensible concernments; thoughts absolutely abstracted from ourselves, are most suitable unto that steddenesse of mind, that is much spoken of, little sought, and never found: than that which is seene amongst men. It weare a small compliment for me to offer your lordship, to leave the employment in which I am, if I may in any thing be able to ease your lordship's solitude. If I could propose that to myself, I would cheerfully leave a condition of much more pleasure and advantage than I can with reason hope for here.

Copenhagen, Nov. 5, 1659.—*Collins's Sydney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 683.

that comming very late at night, he would not stay to dine the next day, nor to give me time to write. It is true, that since the change of affairs here, and of your condition there, your letters have bin more frequent, and if I had not thought my silence, better both for you, and myself, I would have written more than once or twice to you; but though for some reasons I did forbeare, I failed not to desyre others to write unto you, and with theire owne, to convey the best advice, that my little intelligence, and weak judgement could afforde; particularly, not to expect new authorityes, nor orders from hence, nor to stay in any of the places of your negotiation, nor to come into England, much less to expect a ship to be sent for you, or to think, that an account was, or would be expected of you here, unless it were of matters very different from your transactions there. That it would be best for you, presently to divest yourself of the character of a publick minister, to dismisse all your traine, and to retyre into somme safe place, not very near, nor very far from England; that you might heare from your friends sometimes, and for this I advised Hambourg, where I hear you are, by your man Powell, and by them that have received letters from you, with presents of wine and fish, which

I do not regret nor envye. Your last letter to me had no date of time or place; but by another of the same time to Sir John Temple, of 28 July, as I remember, sent by Mr. Missenden, I guess that mine was of the same date. By those that I have had, I perceive that you have bin misadvertised, for though I meet with noe effects, or marks of displeasure, yet I find noe such tokens or fruits of favour, as may give me either power or credite for those undertakings and good offices, which perhaps you may expect from me. And now I am again upon the point of retiring to my poor habitation, having for myself no other dessein, than to pass the small remainder of my dayes, innocently and quietly, and, if it please God, to be gathered in peace to my fathers. And concerning you, what to resolve in myself, or what to advise you, truly I knowe not; for you must give me leave to remember, of how little weight my opinions and counsel have been with you, and how unkindly and unfriendly you have rejected the exhortations and admonitions, which in much affection and kindness, I have given you on many occasions, and in almost every thing, from the highest to the lowest, that have concerned you, and this you may think sufficient to discourage me, from putting my advices into the like danger:

yet somewhat I will say, and first, I think it unwise, and perhaps as yet unsafe, for you, to come into England; for I believe Powell hath told you, that he heard when he was here, that you were likely to be excepted out of the general act of pardon and oblivion, and though I knowe not what you have done or sayed, here or theire, yet I have several wayes heard, that there is as ill an opinion of you, as of any, even of thoes that condemned the late king; and when I thought there was no other exception to you, than your being of the other party, I spoke to the General in your behalf, who told me, that very ill offices had beene done to you, but he would assist you as much as justly he could. And I intended then also to speak to somebody else, you may guess whom I mean, but since that, I have heard such thinges of you, that in doubtfulness only of their being true, no man will open his mouth for you. I will tell you some passages, and you will do well to clear yourself of them.* It is said that the

" Mr. Pedicombe, as I hear his name is, resident for the king of Denmark, came to visit me at Leicester House, the 12th of July, 1660; and after some courtesies said to me, he expressed much affection and esteeme for my son Algernon, whom he had known at Copenhagen, during the treaty betweene Denmark and Sweden, wherein Algernon was employed; and offered himself to be ready to doe my son any good offices, that might

University of Copenhagen brought their album unto you, desiring you to write something

be in his power: but though he much commended my said son's good parts, yet he sayed, he was rough, and had been so to the king of Denmark, and had been so to the king of Sweden. I returned my thankes to him, and so we parted. Saturday, 28th July, I returned his visit, and falling into discourse about my said son, and of our king's displeasure to him, he sayed, that according to the usages of Germany and Denmark, the university of Copenhagen had brought to my son a new Album, which is a booke, wherein the university desired him to write some word or motto, and to sign his name in that booke, and that my said son had written in Albo, these wordes,

'Manus hæc inimica tyrannis,'

and set his name to it, which, says Mr. Pedicombe, being written in the Album of the said university, must needs be knowne to many, and may doe your son somme hurt, because he hath declared himself to be a defender of the Commonwealth. He sayed too, that he was told by a gentleman in Denmark, who was well acquainted with the minister, or preacher, of Copenhagen; that this minister being in company with my said son, sayed to him, I thinke you were guilty of the late king's death. Guilty, sayed he, do you call that guilty? why it is the noblest and bravest action ever done in England, or any where; with other words to the like effect. To which I answeared, that this seemed very strange to me, because I knew that my said son was none of the king's judges, nor had any thing to doe in the death of the sayed king, but if it were known that he had sayed such words, he must not thinke of comeing into England; and that action was so much condemned and abhorred by all men, and particularly by me, who am his father."

—Extract from a manuscript of Lord Leicester's in the possession of Mr. Lambard.

therein, and that you did write in albo these words:

"Manus hæc inimica tyrannis."

and put your name to them; this cannot choose but be publicly knowne if it be true. It is said also that a minister, who hath married a Lady Lawrence here of Chelsey, but now dwelling at Copenhagen, being there in company with you, sayd, I think, you weare none of the late king's judges, nor guilty of his death, meaning our king. Guilty! sayed you, do you call that guilt? Why, it was the justest and bravest action that ever was done in England, or any wheare else, with other words to the same effect. It is sayed also, that you, having heard of a dessein to seize upon you, or to cause you to be taken prisoner, you took notice of it to the King of Denmark, and sayed, I hear there is a dessein to seize upon me, but who is it that hath that dessein? Est ce notre bandit? By which you are understood to mean the king. Besides this, it is reported that you have been heard to say many scornefull and contemptuous things of the king's person and family, which unlesse you can justify yourself, will hardly be forgiven or forgotten, for such personal offences make deeper impressions, than publick actions of warr or treaty. Here is a resident, as he calls himself, of the King of Denmark, whoes name I hear is

Pedcombe, he hath visited me, and offered his readiness to give you any assistance in his power and credit with the ambassador, Mr. Alefield, who was then expected, and is now arrived here, and hath had his first audience. I have not seen Mr. Pedicombe since, but within a fewe dayes I will put him in minde of his profession for you, and try what he can, or will do. Sir Robert Honeywood is also come hither, and, as I hear, the king is graciously pleased to admit him into his presence, which will be somewhat the better for you, because then, the exception against your employment and negotiation, wherein you weare collegues, will be removed, and you will have no more to answer for, than your own particular behaviour. I believe Sir Robert Honywood will be industrious enough to procure satisfaction to the merchants in the business of money, wherein he will have the assistance of Sir John Temple, to whom I refer you for that, and somme other thinges. I have little to saye to your complaints of your sister Strangford's unequall returns to your affection and kindness, but that I am sorry for it, and that you are well enough served for bestowing soe much of your care where it was not due, and neglecting them to whom it was due; and I hope you will be wiser hereafter. She and her husband have not yet payed the thou-

sand pounds, whereof you are to have your part, by my gift, for soe I think you are to understand it, though your mother desyred it; and if for the payment thereof, your being in England, or in some place not farre off, be necessary as some pretend for the sealing of some writings; I think that and other reasons, sufficient to persuade you to stay a while where you are, that you may hear frequently from them, and they from you. I am wholly against your going into Italy as yet, till more be knowne of your condition, which for the present is hard, and I confesse, I do not as yet see any more than this, that either you must live in exile, or very privately heare, and perhaps not safely, for though the Bill of Indemnity be lately passed, yet if theire be any particular and great displeasure against you, which I fear there is, you may feel the effects thereof from the higher powers, and receive affronts from the inferior. Therefore you were best to stay at Hambourg, which, for a northerne situation, is a good place and healthfull. I will help you as much as I can, in discovering and informing you, of what concerns you, though as I began, so must I end, with telling you, that writing is now grown troublesome to your affectionate

LEICESTER.

LONDON,
August 30, 1660.

LETTER X.

LETTER FROM ALGERNON SYDNEY TO HIS FATHER.

(From Mr. Lambard's Collection.)

My Lord,

I have receaved your lordship's letter of the 30th August, and find myself to have bin as much misinformed of your lordship's thoughts concerning me, as I was of my owne condition, in relation to the publique. I did hope I had deserved better, and that your lordship had allowed me better; but this is not my first mistake, nor am I the first man, that hath tow much suffered his judgment to follow his desires. I will not trouble your lordship with answearing every particular, for if what I have already severall times sayed, be not sufficient to change your opinion, I despeare of doing so. I was not persuaded to pay any respect to you by the change of my fortune; I beganne when it was, for ought I knewe, prosperous enough, and did continue them, as frequently as I could reasonably think they would be acceptable.

That which I writ of my mother's death, was as soon as I knewe it. The relations of what I did in Denmark should have bin constant, if you would have let met knowe you would receave them. I never thought my fortune better than three days before I sent Sterry, nor did I find any other alteration in it when he went, but that of the King of Sweden's death. I did appoint him to waite upon your lordship, and acquainte you, with all you would be contented to knowe; if he did not stay long enough, it was not my fault. Before that time, I had written more letters than your lordship mentions. When you weare comming to London, I thought it necessary to give you more perfect accounts, believing you would have bin displeased if I had not done it, and certainely it would have looked strangely, if I had sent relations to others, and left your lordship ignorant of our transactions. I confesse I thought the businesse of theis parts worth the consideration of any that weare in the government; and doe now thinke, they that neglect it, may live to finde theire error. I thought the whole course of my life, would have defended me from the suspicion of too much complying with fortune: but since that which is past, is not enough, I will endeavour to leave no possibility of think-

ing soe for the future. Whatsoever is layed to my charge, theire shall be noe ground for that, which I hate and despise above all things in the world. That which I am reported to have written in the book at Copenhagen is true, and having never heard, that any sort of men weare soe worthily the objects of enmity, as thoes I mentioned, I did never in the least scrupule avowing myself to be an enemy unto them. I knowe the minister your lordship mentions; his name is Brockman, but I doe not knowe that ever he asked me any such question. If he had, I should have given him such an answeare, as his folly and ill manners would have deserved; but that which is reported, is not in my stile, I never sayed it. Yet that your lordship may not thinke I say this in compliance with the time, I doe avow, that since I came into Denmark, I have many times soe justified that act, as people did believe I had a hand in it; and never did disavow it, unless it weare to the King of Sweden, and Grand Maitre of Denmark, who asked me privately. Your lordship doth perfectly understand the duty of my place, you may judge how good a servant I had been, if I had waved justifying the authority that had employed me, in a thing of such importance. I did as farre as I could, and most fully, when

the King was nearest comeing in. I found all partyes marked my words, actions, and countenance, and guessed theareby of the truth of what they heard of England; they knewe I was well enough informed whilst the Parliament sate; they thought I had such grounds for my proceedings as encouraged me, and concluded the King was not soe near comeing in, as they had heard, or that he should have noe power. By this Denmark was brought to the peace. If I had shewed any faintnesse, I should have had noe more credit than my footboy. The work was only to be carried one with vigour and boldnesse; I was forced to take that part, my collegue grewe slack; the letters I receaved from Mr. Thurloe and others helped me, which I shewed as I had occasion, and interpreted as I pleased; serious and set discourses would have had no effect; scattered words, slighting expressions, and the like, did my businesse, brought that treaty to a conclusion, without which, that of Dantzic would never have bin ratified, and consequently all the North had continued in warre; with great danger, if not certainety, of engaging the greatest part of Europe. I have too many witnesses of this; Denmark is now enraged, finding my designe, and themselves deluded by it. The Holland minis-

ters doe the like. Slingesland did then suspect me, and in vaine endeavoured to cross me. In revenge, they make the reports you mention, somme true, somme false. I thought this work worth the hazard to which I exposed myself. I was then contented with it, and without repining beare the consequences. I hope I doe not in this attribute too much to myself. I was not the efficient cause of the peace, but (as great matters doe sometimes depend upon small,) I was the cause, without which, to this day it had not bin concluded. All that I feare can be objected against me in this businesse is, that I too much leaned to the Swedish party. Perhaps that is true, but I followed my orders, and my opinion of what I thought was good for England; which I thinke I can make appear to any reasonable person, that will have patience to examine it. How farre it will agree with the King's inclination to favour the King of Denmark, either for nearnesse of blood,* or friendship contracted, I neither knowe, nor thought it my businesse to examine. I did my duty, and troubled myself noe further. The work I had in hand was difficult enough, without perplexing myself with such intricacies. If

* James the First married a Princess of Denmark.

this cleare and naked truth will not defend me, let me fall. I will use noe other meanes to preserve myself. I desire my friends to observe the same rule, and not to speake one word in my behalf. My answeare to the third point will more elucidate this, by shewing in what condition I was, and with whome I had to deale. I had information that it was debated in the Danish Court, wheather my commission weare expired or not, or wheather, if his Majesty should demand me, as one of thoes that put the King to death, the King of Denmark should not seaze on me, and deliver me into his hands. You may easily imagine how I took this discourse, after having bin receaved with as much honour, as any Ambassador that ever came thither, since this King came to the throne. At this time we pressed a littel hard upon that King, for the accomplishement of his severall declarations in concluding the peace. An accident did then fall out, which I must alsoe relate. The young Countess Conyngsmark, sister to Admirall Wrangle, and the Countess de la Gardie, daughter to old General Conyngsmark; with somme other persons of quality, embarqued from the Swedish quarters for Lubeck, in a Holland man of warre. The French Ambassador and I went in a small boat

from Copenhagen, to take our leaves of them; being within half a league on our returne, we sawe fire given to three great pieces from one of the towne batteryes. One of the bullets grazed upon the water two or three yards from us, the others went very close over our heads. As soone as we landed I went to the batterye, and asked who fired thoes pieces. The gunner told me the Queene had bin theire, and they weare fired to shewe her Majesty how well they weare planted to carry a bullet close to the surface of the water. The Mounsier and I had it from other hands, that one Paterson, a Valet de Chambre, (whoe is a busy fellowe, enimy to the peace, and much favoured at Court,) had planted them, and the Queene had given fire to one of them with her owne hands. We knewe shee saw and knewe us, for we weare not a quarter of an English mile from the battery, the weather was very cleare, and both at our entry and comming out of the ship, which was alsoe hard by, we had bin saluted with at least forty guns. We spoke of this slightly. The Queene thought fit to send a gentleman to me with an excuse. I put it off as a jest, saying, that all things which came from her Majesty weare favours, even cannon bullets, and if that shee had a mind to trye her skill, I would goe againe to

the same place, and make myself her mark as long as shee pleased: but he affirming gravely, her Majesty did not see the boat, I replied a littel more seriously, Sa Majestie a les yeux fort beaux; je ne doubte pas qu'elle ne les aye fort bons aussi; and added, that though that was sommething an extraordinary entertainment for men under my character, there was a discourse made one such a day before the King, at which I was much more scandalized; but mentioned noe particulars. This was reported to the King, whoe was troubled at both, and sent to me to comme privately to him. I found his Majesty alone in his studdy, who did disavow having sayed or heard any thing to my prejudice, much lesse having a designe to doe any thing that I could dislike; desired that the foolish words or actions of others might not be imputed unto him; promised severely to punnish any person that had done me injury; admitted my commission to be still in full force, and desired somme important things from me, which I performed. I answeared civilly, and if his Majesty will say I sayed any word like that which you mention, I will comme into England, wave all benefit of the act of amnesty, and put myself into the King's power, to be dealt with as he pleaseth. As to the other

points your lordship mentions, I am not at all surprised by them. I did not take the warre in which I was engaged to be a slight matter, nor to be done by halfes. I thought it undertaken upon good grounds, and that it was the part of an honest man to pursue them heartily. It is not strange that this should raise great animosityes against me. It is usuall to desire to destroy thoes that will not be corrupted. I could expect not less. This is all that I can or will alleage for my justification, that what I did was in persuance of the businesse I had undertaken, and performance of the trust reposed in me; and if the king be such a person as they say he is, I expect he should have a better opinion of me for this, than of thoes that betrayed their masters and brethren. He that hath bin constant and faithfull to his first engagements, will probably be soe unto others; he that is once false, will never be firme, longer than his interest teacheth him fidelity. Noe man that is in his senses married a whoore in hopes of making her honest, nor employed a knave, but in works fit for one. If I have sayed any thing more particularly of my owne proceedings, it is to justify myself in your lordship's opinion, that you may not thinke whatsoever I did, or sayed, proceeded from a delight

in hearing myselfe prate, or such a giddinesse as not to see wheather I went, but that to which I was forced, by affaires I had in hand. If I had regarded my owne convenience, I might perhaps have knowne wheare the sunne rose, how to adore him, and how to gain the benefite of his rayes, as well as General Montague,* or at least I might have been equall to Colonels Ingoldsby and Thomlinson.† But whatsoever my fortune is, I hope I shall shewe unto your lordship I am not capable of base compliance with fortune, in relation to any person whatever, nor an indecent action; and before I swerve from this rule, I hope God will put an end unto my life. Your lordship may perhaps think you have a sonne that is headstrong and violent, or guilty of somme other faults, of which he is often accused; but you shall not finde I have any quality that is dishonourable to you, or your family. I looked upon myself as ruined, as soone as the King's comming in grewe certaine, and expected as littell favour as any one man in England, untill letters from my friends represented his comming in upon terms very different from what I now finde, and weare full of discourses of employments and

* See Note (G.) † See Note (H.)

preferments for me, if I would remitte of my severity and obstinacy, in which I had now noe companions. As I thought I might most justly oppose the first and second King, whilst I followed the authority of Parliament, I knewe it was my duty to submitte, and serve him, when that same authority did acknowledge him, and by the letters I received, I thought my service would easily be accepted, when I pretended to nothing more than the continuance in this employment; for which noe man will be my rivall, that is in his senses: And yet I knewe soe well how I should be looked upon, that I intended noe more than by staying theire a while, to make a more handsome way into England, and to live more securely. But before I had answeares unto my letters, I understood the businesse better, and lost all thoughts of living at home. Nevertheless I intended to goe, and give an account of my negotiation, and had comme with my Colleague, if, by accident, somme letters had not comme a day or two before he went, which advised me to goe into Holland, all pressing me to come over speedily, untill that day. As things stand, I have very littel thoughts of ever seeing your lordship, or my owne country. God's will be done, I must beare my condition as well as I

can. It is ill enough to satisfy the malice of my most bitter enimyes, and not easily capable of an aggravation, but by doing something that would dissatisfy myselfe. I was advanced neare six hundred miles from Hamburgh, before I received your lordship's command not to stirre from thence. The expence of an unsettled condition, in a place wheare I was knowne lately to have borne a publicke character, obliged me to remove, being very unproportionable to my fortune. I have, since I came from Copenhagen, spent that which would have carried me to Rome, and maintained me a good while theare, or brought me back againe; I can live soe noe longer, not knowing from whence to expect a supply; I would returne from hence if I could thinke it was your lordship's minde, but I cannot thinke it is soe. If I understand your letter rightly, the principal reason, is concerning somme writings I am to signe, (for I presume all other thoughts of businesse are long since at an end.) Thoes must relate, either to that which is wholly in your lordship's power, or concerning the Lord and Lady Strangford, whoe have not deserved that I should put myself to any trouble for them. Let them repay what I have already spent, and then I will perhaps lay out more.

But besides, the mortgage that was made to Tuckey, he may assigne to whome he pleaseth, the money will be at any time to be raised upon it, and shee writ word to Sir John Temple, that the Earle of Thanet would take the mortgage from her husband and her of the land appointed for securing the debt, and 1200*l.* due unto himself, and pay Tuckey. When I lost the thought of living in England, I cast as well as I could, wheare to place myself. It is hard to resolve; I am to meet at Rome somme eminent persons, that I have lately bin acquainted with, to see wheather I can, upon conference with them, fix upon any thing. The littel money I have, is sent thither; I have hardly enough left for my journey, but if your lordship will have me come out of Italy, I will (by the help of God,) be at Strasbourgh or Frankfort before Christmas; either of which places is much better for me than Hamburgh. I have ever endeavoured to please your lordship, and will doe soe still, but not a whit more, than if I weare in a prosperous condition. The advices your lordship speakes of, have comme to me very imperfectly, and somme in your name contrary to thoes in your letter. The first word I heard of any intentions to except me out of the act of oblivion, was in your lordship's letter, but of myself I

did expect it; especially when I heard, how Sir H. Vane and Hazelrick were dealt with. I have seen the act, and find there is not one clause than can trouble me, but I doe not value it one strawe. I knowe how easy a thing it is, for thoes who have power, to vex me, and that many things are more to be apprehended than a hatchet. I give your lordship many thanks for the money you mention, and desire you will be pleased to cause it to be payed unto my sister Sunderland, for the discharging of a debt, for which shee was engaged as well as mee. I ask your lordship's pardon for having troubled you with this long letter. The answeare unto the many particulars of your lordship, could not be brought into a small volume; that which is the cause of my error, I hope will be my excuse; writing long and much hath made me doe it ill, I hope your lordship will make use of somme other eyes than your owne to read it.

I am

Your Lordship's

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

AUGSBURGH.
Sept. 21.

In reading this letter, I find many things omitted, which might perhaps with somme advantage have bin inserted, but the extreame length of what I have already sayed, dissuades me from adding any thing. If your lordship is pleased to write to me, I desire your lordship may direct to Mr. John Oshe, Merchant at Frankfort; the postage must be paid at London to Antwerpe, or else the letters are ever neglected, he takes care of them from thence; in eighteene days they may be at Rome, the superscription must be in French.

I must add this, that I doe not much rejoice to heare that Mr. Pedicombe hath bin with your lordship. I have done him somme good offices with his master, that might oblige him to do the like to me; but he is a slight man, depending much upon the Queene, discontented at the peace, and with me for the part I had in it; and he commes perhaps only to find, what he can learne to write to Copenhagen. The Ambassador Alefeldt hath the same inclination. He is of Holsteine, enemy to the Duke who is preserved by the treaty. When he went from Copenhagen, he desired the Grand Maitre to hinder the peace; who answered, "You of Holsteine are well at ease, and suffer nothing by

the warre, but wee who beare the burden of it, must put an end unto it." I expect noe more from him for these reasons, than from the other; the Grand Maitre would do otherwise if he had an opportunity.

LETTER XI.

(From Mr. Lambard's Collection.)

My Lord,

I did within these three days write a very long letter unto your lordship, yet cannot well persuade myself to leave this town, without making some addition to it. My first businesse is to desire your lordship, not to impute my paying of my respects unto you, to the change of my fortune, assuring your lordship that noething can so strongly divert me from that which is in my hart I am desirous to perform, as such an interpretation; and I hope both my passed life, and that which is to comme, shall beget good credence, that I neither deserve it from your lordship, nor from any other

person in the world. The next is this, to assure your lordship, that all the letters which I receaved from my friends, untill about the 20th of July, did in your lordship's name and theire owne, press my *speedy returne home*. My first stop was from things I learnt from the Grand Maitre of Denmark of what was passed, and I intended to comme over, till thoes letters I receaved a day or tow before I and my colleague parted, advised me not to make too much haste; and others that I found at Hamburgh limited me to the passing of the *act of oblivion*, and making my peace; I knewe the one would make my return more unhandsome, and not at all more secure. Or perhaps the indecency of it might adde to the danger, and my confession of feare would be such an argument of guilt, as might persuade thoes to trouble me who before thought not of me. If I was before in doubt whether to returne or not, this did almost make resolve not to returne. I confesse I had no opinion at all, as to the other points concerning my particular peace. The same reasons which made it adviseable to seeke before I came over, shewed that it was impossible to obtaine. That aversion which persuades the King or his Ministers, to separate me from the party I have followed, will hinder them from receiving satisfaction, *if I endeavour to give it*. The

cause and root of all the bitternesse against me, is from my stiffe adherence to the party they hate. I doe not wonder at it; the reason is sufficient; but that which the King cannot avow, without contradicting the very grounds upon which he doth promise to governe. Noe exceptions are soe fit for one, who seekes not to be satisfied, as words: they are in theire owne nature subject to various interpretations, and are almost ever variously reported: The true sense of them depends upon the time, place, occasion, persons, what went before, what followed, and a multitude of other circumstances, which makes the intracacy so vaste, as all defence is impossible: *Whoe can answeare for what* he hath sayed in eighteene years of a party, unto which *he professed utter enmity?* I doe in my hart believe, that I never made many discourses that are reported of me, at least, not in the manner in which they are reported: yet *cannot I say* they are absolutely false: somme such thing may have passed that I have forgotten, that would make my assertion a lye, or at least it would be thought soe. How can I apply myself unto a justification, in such things wherein it is impossible for me to knowe, whether I speak true or false? Or though I could remember all

that is now objected, I can noe sooner justify myself in one point, but a multitude of others will be alleged against me. Such an unlimited accusation, is a Hydra, I can no sooner strike off one head, but ten more rise up againt me in the place of it, fuller of poison than the former. Or if I could destroy them all, by giving a rational justification in every point, and I could convince the King in all; whoe shall oblige him to saye he is satisfied? *Where is the law or rule,* to which such pleadings should be reduced, by which such controversies should be determined? And to shewe that wordes are not the cause, but the pretence, of the displeasure against me, I neede noe other argument but the proceedings against somme that can be accused of noething but might as well be layed to my charge; unless it be, that they are more eminent, and they being taken away, that reason is taken away also, and I may be among the next. Shall I not then by endeavouring a justification, weary my friends and myself with a fruitless application of a remedy, to that which is noe evill, or at least not in that place; and by misplacing it, shall I not laye a salve to my foote, to cure a wound that is in my heade? All that I can saye is, that I have in private conversation, sayed many things suitable unto my

actions against both the kings and theire parties; but in publicke places, never any thinge, but what I had thought necessary to the businesse I had taken in hand. When I acted against them, I never scrupled saying thoes thinges that should give efficacy unto my actions, and help me to effect them, and the same amnesty which buries all thoes actions, should in justice and reason extend to all thoes words that conduced unto them, and that weare caused by them. *But this is not all that keeps me out of England.* I doe believe my peace may be made, but not by the meanes that are proposed; the King doth not give any testimony of desiring to destroye all that weare against him, but he will have all to *submitte*, to *recant, renounce, and aske pardon.* I finde this, and other thinges, are expected from me. I can doe the first, cheerfully and willingly, as he is acknowledged by the Parliament. Noething of the others. I doe the more apprehend the discontenting of my friends, in denying thoes thinges I must deny, than all the other inconveniences that may befall me for my deniall. Noe condition can be more unhappy than mine, if I should, in compliance with my friends, cast myself into soe great inconveniences, and then discontent them more than by keeping myself

out of them. These reasons have perswaded me to content myself with a temporary exile, as the least evill that is within my power of choosing. If these clouds do passe over, and the next spring, or any other time after, theire are reasonable grounds for my returne, I can within a fewe weeks be at London, if I am alive; if not, my friends cares and my owne are ended. In the meane time, I have a small provision for my maintenance, that will serve me perhaps tow years, in such a condition as I intend to put myself into, and in that time, I will not trouble your lordship, nor any boddy else, with any desire of assistance, unlesse I should, either upon my friends advice, or my owne inclinations, returne in the spring into France and Germany; and then it will be only to send me a couple of horses, which I thinke your lordship will not consider a great burthen. I have in this and my other letters, very plainely and sincerely layed open unto your lordship my intentions, and I hope your lordship will judge favourably of them, or rather justly, since in this businesse *I have noe neede of favour*. Perhaps I doe not take the nearest waye to my owne interest, but it is certaine if I doe not, the hurt is only to myself; I am willing to beare it, since I have no meanes of avoiding it, but such as seeme to

me greater than the evill. I am now ready to take horse for Venice; my first journey will be to Minchen, from thence to Inspruck, through the Tyrol, to Trent. Theire is a much nearer waie to Rome than this, which I did at first intend to take, but it is so troublesome, that I, who have not ridde a good while, doubt I should not be well able to beare it. I shall from time to time write to your lordship.

I am
Your Lordship's,
ALGERNON SYDNEY.

AUGSBURG,
Sept. 26, 1660.

LETTER XII.

(From Mr. Lambard's Collection.)

MY LORD,

I did write to your lordship twice from Augsburgh, I have littel to adde to what I then sayed, unlesse it be in relation to sommething from him who was my collegue. I think

he intends noething less than my hurt, but doubt he may doe me very much. Not knowing at all the grounds of my proceedings in Denmark, which I thinke is the principall thing objected against me, he will be subject to aggravate that, which he doth intend to attenuate. I doe in that whole businesse referre myself wholly to my tow last letters to your lordship, being assured noebody knowes my mind upon that point, unlesse it be thoes, that have seene them, or somme few words inserted into others written at the same time. He also mentions another point, but so obscurely, that I understand it not, noe other person having spoken one word of it, which is, that there is sommething in the *Clerk of the Courts book*,* that put the King to death, which doth much prejudice me. I doe not knowe the particulars, but the

* The name of Algernon Sydney occurs twice in the list of the Commissioners who assembled for the trial of the King, published in the Clerk of the Court's book. The days upon which he attended their meetings were Monday the 15th, and Friday the 19th of January; upon which occasions the Court sate privately. On the Monday following, it appears from the Journal of the Earl of Leicester, that he went to Penshurst, where he remained till the 29th, which, with the exception of his previous attendance upon the Monday, coincides with Sydney's account of his part in that transaction.

truth of what passed I doe very well remember. I was at Penshurst, when the act for the triall passed, and comeing up to towne I heard my name was put in, and that thoes that were nominated for judges weare then in the painted chamber. I presently went thither, heard the act read, and found my owne name with others. A debate was raised how they should proceed upon it, and after having bin sometime silent to hear what thoes would say, whoe had had the directing of that businesse, I did positively oppose Cromwell, Bradshawe, and others, whoe would have the triall to goe on, and drewe my reasons from theis tow points: First, the King *could be tried* by noe court; secondly, that *noe man* could be tried by that court. This being alleged in vaine, and Cromwell using these formall words (I tell you, wee will cut off his head with the crowne upon it,) I replied: you may take your own course, I cannot stop you, but I will keep myself clean from haveing any hand in this businesse, immediately went out of the roome, and never returned. This is all that passed publickely, or that can with truth be recorded, or taken notice of. I had an intention, which is not very fit for a letter.* Somme

* See Note (I.)

fewe moneths after, it was moved in the House, that none should be of the Councell of State, but thoes that had signed the order for the King's death; that motion soon fell; the company appearing unfit for such a work. Afterwards it was moved, that none should be of the Councell but such as would subscribe a paper, declaring their approbation of that act; calling that a test wheareby thoes that weare close and sure unto the worke in hand, might be distinguished from thoes that were not. I opposed that, and having given such reasons as I could to justify my opinion, I chanced to use this expression, that such a test would prove a snare to many an honest man, but every knave would slip through it; the Lord Grey of Grooby tooke great exceptions at this; and sayed I had called all thoes knaves, that had signed the order; upon which theire was a hot debate, somme defending, others blaming what I had sayed, but all mistaking the true sense of it: and I was not hasty to explaine myself. Harry Marten saved me the trouble of doing it all, by saying that indeed such expressions did sound sommething harsh, when they related to such actions, in which many of my brethren had been engaged; but that the error of him who tooke exceptions, was much greater than mine,

for I had sayed only, that every knave might slip through, and not that every one who did slip through was a knave. I mention these tow thinges as publike ones, of which I can have many witnesses, and they had soe ill effects as to my particular concernements, as to make Cromwell, Bradshawe, Harrison, Lord Grey and others, my enemys, who did from that time continually oppose me: Love to truth, rather than expectation of successe, perswades me to give your lordship this information, which you may be pleased to make use of, as you see occasion.

I have had a very cold, wet, and troublesome journey through the mountains of Bavaria and Tyrol, and in somme places dangerous, by the overflowings of the torrents. After one fortnight thoes wayes will be hardly passable, untill the snowes are all fallen, and the frost followe upon them. I have bin here a week, and tomorrow I intend to begin my journey towards Rome. It will perhaps seem a littel ridiculous for me to saye, I have businesse in Rome, but it is true. When I sawe there was noe man would advise me to comme into England before the act of oblivion passed, fewe after it, and that I myselfe was extreame averse to it, and found great inconvenience in staying at Ham-

burgh, I did engage myself to goe thither, and could not recede but with extreame prejudice. I doe also incline rather to stay theire, or at Florence, than in any other place out of England: but if your lordship doth dislike either, I will upon your command remove from thence into Germany or France, or in the springe into England; though I knowe not, where or how to live theire, though I should be free from trouble from the Court, which I doe not expect. I hear the Lady Strangford doeth now soe well explaine herself, as to shewe I shall be free from noe trouble shee can give me, unlesse I will soe farre yield to my present distresse, as to purchase quiet by renouncing my pretences to any satisfaction for all my charges and expences for theire businesse, and what is due unto me for other thinges; which I will not doe; I will not trouble your lordship with the particulars, Sir John Temple knowes them.

I am,

Your Lordship's

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

VENICE,
Oct. 12, 1660.

LETTER XIII.

ALGERNON SYDNEY TO ROBERT EARL OF LEICESTER.

(From Mr. Collins's Sydney Papers.)

My Lord,

I think the councell given me by all my friends, to keepe out of England for a while, doth too clearly appear to have bin good, by the usage my companions have already receaved; and perhaps will be yet further verified by what they will find. Nothing doth seeme more certaine to me, than that I must either have procured my safety by such meanes as Sir Arthur Hasselrigge* is sayed to have

* Although Sir Arthur Hasselrigge had taken no part in the proceedings upon the king's trial, and had not signed the warrant for his execution; yet so zealous and active had been his opposition to the king both in council and in the field, from the beginning of the civil troubles, that upon the restoration of Charles II. he, with Sir Harry Vane and Lambert, were excepted in the act of indemnity. No one exerted himself more zealously than he did, to prevent the restoration; but when that event became certain, he applied to Monk to use his interest to procure his safety; which Monk, being unwilling to drive him

used; or runne the fortune of somme others who have shewed themselves more resolute. I hope my being heare, will in a short time shewe, that the place was not ill chosen, and that besides the liberty and quiet which is generally granted to all persons heare, I may be admitted into that company, the knowledge of which will very well recompense my journey. I was extreamely unwilling to stay in Hamburgh, or any place in Germany; finding myself too apt to fall too deep into melancholy; if I have neither businesse nor company to divert me; and I have such an aversion to the conversation and entertainments of that country, that if I had stayed in it, I must have lived as a hermite, though in a populous city. I am heare well enough at ease; and believe I may continue soe; unlesse somme boddy from the Court of England doth thinke it worth theire paines to disturbe me. I see nothing likely to arise heare to trouble me. I have already visited severall

to desperation, for he had then several regiments under his command, quartered in some strong garrisons, engaged to exert in his favour, upon condition that he would give up his command, and retire to his own house. Monk's interposition prevailed so far as to secure his life, and his estate was granted to his next heir. Sir Arthur Hasselrigge was imprisoned in the Tower; but one of so wild a spirit could not live long encaged, he died shortly afterwards in confinement.—*Kennet's Register*, p. 136.

Cardinalls, tomorrow I intend to pay the same respect to the Cardinal Gizi, nephew to the Pope. He hath already granted me the liberty of waiting upon him, which was signifide to me by another eminent person of the same robe and degree. They are all generally civil, and I ask no more. About ten days since, young Sir Thomas Gage came to this towne, and died of a feaver a fewe dayes after. He is this day to be buried by the care of his younger brother in the English Jesuites Chappell. I doe not heare see thoes signes of ease, satisfaction, and plenty, that weare in Pope Urban his time; but that littell concerns strangers: the company of persons excellent in all sciences, which is the best thing strangers can seeke, is never wanting. Neverthelesse theire is not perhaps soe many of thoes as formerly; for the hope of preferment, which usually drew them hither, is something shortened by drawing all principal benefices into a fewe hands, and charging the others with too heavy pensions, soe that now, Bishops are often sought more than Bishopricks. The most eminent persons that I have of yet seene, are the Cardinalls Pallavisini, (who writt the story of the Councell of Trent, in answeare to that formerly written by Padre Paulo,) Azzolini, and a Carmelitano Scalzo. I have found fewe

persons that I can think equall to them. I find none of the English whom I knewe when I was last heare, now alive, except Father Courtney, then Rector of the Jesuites Colledge, now Penitentiaro di San Pietro, and he is sick, old, and decripite. Mr. Somerset is still heare, a Cannon of San Pietro, but littell esteemed. Cardinal Francisco Barbarini is very littell changed since I formerly saw him: though he is old, he is soe fresh and strong, as to be likely to live many years. As many as I live I shall be

Your Lordship's, &c.

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

ROME,
Nov. $\frac{18}{28}$, 1660.

LETTER XIV.

SIR JOHN TEMPLE* TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

(From the original Manuscript at Penshurst.)

Nov. 21, 1660.

My Lord,

I have not since my last, met with any thing here worthy the transmitting unto your lordship, which hath bin the reason of my silence. Neither have I lately heard from your son abroad: the last time I receaved from him bore date from Venice, where he intended to make his winter's abode, and to be ready to obey your lordship's commands in his return next spring, if you shall please to declare yourself, where you think fit to have him live for the present, and how he may be maintained in that course or place you may prescribe. I find him very much *unsatisfied* with your lordship's letter which he receaved a little before he left Frank-

* Sir John Temple was the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, Author of a History of the Rebellion in that country in 1641, and the father of the celebrated Sir William Temple.

fort. You may please to consider, what a dangerous place he now resides in, what fates he shall there meet withall, to work upon his discontents. I shall most humbly offer it to your lordship, whether you will not think fit to write somewhat to him, that may let him know you shall continue your affections to him, and take care of his subsistence. I confess I think him in very great danger; and that he may run such a course, (for he speaks of going to serve against the Turk,) as will deprive his friends of all means of his recovery. I most humbly beg your lordship's pardon for saying thus much, I have done it with an unfeigned and most affectionate heart to your service, and beseech you to make such an interpretation of it, as may assure you of my constant continuing

Your Lordship's most humble
and most affectionate Servant,
J. TEMPLE.

Durham Yard.

LETTER XV.

(From Mr. Collins's Sydney Papers.)

My Lord,

I have already once or twice written to your lordship since I came into this place, but I did not think it necessary to performe that duty soe constantly as whilst I was at Rome, having nothing at all to say. I knowe nothing of what is done in the world, unlesse it be that which relates to England. My friends theire doe as it seemes think the knowledge of that would disturbe my solitude, by makeing me as much a stranger to all that is done theire, as to the affaires of China. I left Rome wheare I had made a great deal of acquaintance, to avoid the necessity of making and receaving visits, and live now as a hermite in a palace. Nature, art, and treasure can hardly make a place more pleasant than this; the description would look more like poetry than truth. A Spanish lady comming not long since to see this house, seated in a large plaine, out of the middel of a rock, and a river brought to the top of the mountaine, with the walks and fountaines; ingeniously desired thoes that were present, not to pronounce the name of our Sa-

viour; lest it should dissolve this beautiful enchantment. Wee have passed the Solstice, and I have not yet had occasion to complaine of heat, which in Rome is excessive, and hath filled the towne with sickness, especially that part of it where I lived. Heare is what I looked for, health, quiet, and solitude. I am with somme eagernesse fallen to reading, and find soe much satisfaction in it, that though I every morning see the sunne rise, I never goe abroad till six or seaven of the clock at night. Yet cannot I be so sure of my temper as to knowe certainely how long this manner of life will please me. I cannot but rejoice a littel to finde, that when I wander as a vagabond through the world, forsaken of my friends, poore, and knowne only to be a broken limb of a shipwrecked faction; I yet finde humanity and civility from thoes who are in the height of fortune and reputation. But I doe also well knowe, that I am in a strange land, how farre thoes civilities doe extend, and that they are too aery to feed and cloathe a man. I cannot soe unite my thoughts into one object, as absolutely to forbid the memory of such things as theis are, to enter into them. But I goe as farre as I can; and since I cannot forget what is passed, nor be absolutely insensible of what is present, I defend myself reasonably well

from encreasing or anticipating evils by foresight. The power of foreseeing is a happy quality to thoes who prosper, and can ever propose to themselves sommething of greater felicity than they enjoy; but a most desperate mischiefe unto them, who, by foreseeing, can discover nothing that is not worse than the evils they doe already feele. He that is naked, alone, and without help in the open sea, is lesse unhappy in the night, when he may hope the land is neare, than in the day, when he sees it is not, and that there is no possibility of safety. Perhaps sharp-sighted brains might in a condition like mine finde more occasion of trouble than I doe. I finde stupidity an advantage; nature hath given me a large proportion of it; and I did artificially increase it to that degree, that if I were not awakened by the bitter sense of somme mischiefes that the Lady Strangford hath brought upon me, (which Sir John Temple ever made me hope he would remove,) I should rest well enough at ease, in a dull indolence, and never trouble myself with examining wheare I should have bread for three moneths. This may shewe your lordship into what state, nature and fortune hath brought one that receaved life from you. I have not much to complaine of, (unlesse in that one point I mentioned,) lesse to desire, and least of all to be pleased with.

Whilest I was at Rome, I writ letters without much paine, since I had not soe divided my time as to be very sensible of losing an hour or tow. Now I am alone, time grows more precious to me, and I am very unwilling to loose any part of it. I thinke this a lawfull excuse for writing seldom to your lordship, only when I have something to saye that you can care to heare; if it weare otherwise, I would wave all respects to entertaine you. I need make small apologyes to my friends; their silence commands mine.*

I am,

Your Lordship's

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

FRASCATI,
June 23, } 1661.
July 3, }

* "I am extreame glad to finde your lordship's resolution to helpe your son Algernon Sydney; I believe you could never doe it in a more seasonable time. The last letter I received from him, which bore date some moneths since, was full of high discontents, expressing the greate sence he had of his friends neglecte of him. He very well understood how ill his affairs goe heare, and I very much apprehende the ill impression which his own wantes may fixe upon him. If your lordship would be pleased to expresse now your fatherly care of him, and to send him such a supply at present as might expresse your affection to him; I think it were a work worthy of you, and such as would be a perpetual tye and obligation upon him for the future. But I most humbly begge your lordship's pardon for presuming thus farre."—Extract from a letter of Sir John Temple to the Earl of Leicester.

Dublin, July 31, 1661.

LETTER XVI.

(From Mr. Collins's Sydney Papers.)

My Lord,

I write constantly to your lordship, at the least once a fortnight; though I have not so much as the encouragement of knowing you doe receave my letters, or would have me write. Whilest I was at Rome, I thought it more probable your lordship would have me write then not, because I had then sommetimes sommething to say that perhaps you would not be unwilling to heare; but that now failing, I am inclined to think my silence would please you best; and therefore am perswaded to make my packets fewer and lighter then formerly. I have extreame littel to say, because I neither doe any thing, nor knowe what is done by others. I intend this half burial as a preparative, be an entire one, and shall not be much troubled though I find, if upon the knowledge of my manner of life, they who the last year at Whitehall did exercise their tongues upon me, as a very unruly headed man, doe so farre

change theire opinion of me on the sudden, as to believe me so dull and lazy as to be fit for nothing: When that opinion is well settled, I may hope to live quietly in England, and then shall thinke it a seasonable time to returne. I have some inclination this autumn to goe to Naples, and from thence to Sicily, and Malta, to passe the winter in somme of those places, and to returne to Rome in the spring. It is not usuall for me to look soe many moneths before hand, nor possible for me to extend my sight any further. I must then knowe from my friends at home, wheather it be yet time to returne thither. I have ever had it in my thoughts to choose that before any thing, but if it be still inconvenient for me to take that resolution, I must then think of making another pause at Rome, or somme other place that may prove convenient. I writ two or three letters to your lordship, which desearve at least soe much of an answeare, as to knowe what your lordship will do on the subject of the one; and what directions you will be pleased to give me in thoes things I mentioned in the other. The first was accompanied with tow deeds, of which I receaved draughts from Sir John Temple, wherein I did make over to somme of your servants, my right of redemption in tow farms

at Swingfield; hoping that your lordship will be pleased to redeeme them: In the other I sent a list of books, desiring your lordship's commands for providing soe many of them as should please you; I should also be glad to knowe wheather you receaved that, wherein I mentioned the 12 Cardinals. I give your lordship many thanks for the money sent me by Mr. Hodgskins. I have receaved his bill, directed to the sonne of the old parson, who hath dealt so ill with me, concerning that and a littell more money which was sent to me, that I think I shall be forced to protest the bills. I am glad your lordship hath the black gelding, I think he may be fit for your service, for which he was first intended. If I have any other young horses or breeding mares that may be yet usefull, I beseech your lordship to send somme boddy down to the place wheare they are, and take as many as he likes. I knowe this is not now so much as a complement; for they will be worth nothing to me; they that have robbed me of almost all I had, will not leave me any thing that is worth takeing. Before all be gone, I wish your lordship would take soe many as you would care to have. I am sure theare weare good store of mares and colts, and I beleave the best in England of that kind, but I

doe not knowe what remains. I did also many moneths since, send to Mr. Hodgskins, to present your lordship with my tables, but I heare nothing of the receipt of my letter. If it miscarried, I doe by this desire your lordship to command him to deliver them to you. If I knewe in what I might be serviceable to your lordship I would be very industrious in improving any opportunity.

I am,
Your Lordship's
ALGERNON SYDNEY.

July $\frac{14}{24}$, 1661.

LETTER XVII.

(From Mr. Collins's Sydney Papers.)

MY LORD,

I have written an extreame long letter unto your lordship concerning a businesse of yours; I now beginne another relating unto myself. I receaved the last week a letter from

Mr. Hodgskins, who sayed, that young Culpeper had a regiment of thoes men reported to be raised for the service of the Emperor, who bid him to tell me, that if I would engage myself in that businesse, I might have a good employment. I am not much inclined to believe thoes men are intended for that service, nor that thoes that dispose of the commands, will be willing to employ me; nor if they weare, should I rely much upon the judgement of him that sent the message, nor enter farre upon the treaty of a businesse of such importance, with him that conveyed it. I did therefore returne noe other answeare unto him, than that I was not in a condition to refuse a good employment, and if I might know in what company, and upon what termes I might have it, I would returne a speedy answeare. I have reflected upon this businesse since I writ that letter, and joining it with some other circumstances that have comme to my knowledge, I incline to believe the proposer did followe the directions of some person more important than himself, rather than his owne opinion; which perswades me to send a better answeare. If there be any thing of reallity in the proposition, I can ascribe it only to the desire that thoes in power may have, to send away thoes that are suspected by them: they shall have

their end. I will serve them in it if they please, and upon more easy terms than will be expected by others. I will undertake to transport a good strong boddy of the best officers and soldiers of our old army, both horse and foot. Though the obtaining of this would be a very considerable advantage unto me, and somme of my friends, I doe not ask it as a favour, I knowe neither they nor I shall receave any thing upon that account. The first that I ever did ask, and the least that I ever can ask, (I mean assurance of being permitted to live quietly for a few months at Penshurst,) not having bin granted, I am like to make few requests for the future. But as I think the advantages which the king expects, by ridding the land of thoes persons, is the motive upon which the offer was made, I believe it to be a very considerable one; for they who find themselves suspected, may possibly growe unquiet; the destroying them will be a work of time, and not without difficulty and danger, and it cannot be expected that they will of theire owne accord leave theire countrey, unlesse it be with somme man of whome they have a good opinion; and all thoes are as littell favoured as I am. I desire your lordship to send for Culpeper, and knowe of him, upon what ground he made the proposi-

tion, and then to proceede as you shall think fit. If it be granted, it is well, and I hope to carry thoes, who will gain honour unto the nation wheresoever they goe, and either find fortunes for themselves, or graces,* which is as good, and it will be very suitable unto my intention, whoe, as I told you in a letter about 3 weeks since, have thoughts of passing the next summer as a volunteer in Hungary. I doubt your lordship will be unwilling to propose this, least it should make the king or his ministers believe that I am upon better termes with my old companions, than you would have them thinke me. I desire your lordship to wave that scruple, I have creditt enough with them for such a business as this is; and if I weare not thought at Court to have farre more than I have, they would not trouble themselves with me soe much as they doe. Whatsoever it is, I desire to make use of it, to carry me, and a good number of thoes in the same condition, soe farre from England, as thoes who hate us, may give over suspecting us.

I am,

Your Lordship's

ALGERNON SYDNEY.

BRUSSELS,
Dec. $\frac{11}{1}$, 1663.

* Probably a mistake for "graves."

I desire your lordship will be pleased to send me an answeare of this businesse as soone as you can, and to communicate this unto the Lord Sunderland.

LETTER XVIII.

*I have receaved thy letter, and rejoice in its contents: I hope it is from the Lord. The

* The originals of this and several more letters of less importance, all of which have been published in Dr. Maty's Review, are in the possession of Mr. Foster of Walthamstow. It was written by Algernon Sydney to a Mr. Benjamin Furley, an English merchant residing at Rotterdam, a person of considerable influence, and who was engaged in a close correspondence with Mr. Locke and others of the liberal party of that day. This letter was probably written before Sydney's return to England, in 1677, and certainly later than 1664; as in the course of it he alludes to some political intrigues as passed, in which he was known to have been engaged at that period.—See *Burnet's History*, vol. i. p. 289, and *Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 453. These intrigues, to bring about another revolution in England, could have been no secret to the government at home, and they sufficiently account for the peculiar enmity which was felt and shewn towards him.

work in hand is great and good; I am a weak instrument employed in it with others. If I consider myself, I see little ground of hope that I ever shall advance much in it: but he that can make dry bones to live, can, when he pleaseth, fill a dark and weak creature with light, spirit, and power: Not long after the beginning of the great changes, I did examine my owne hart, and tried whether I would comply with thoes in power to exempt myself from the pressures under which I lay, and the persecutions which I thought would follow upon my refusal: I soone found that I could not doe it. This persuaded me to absent myself, hoping that my enemyes would neglect me, when I was farre out of theyre sight, or that I could more easily find a defence against them in a forraigne country, than in my owne. By this meanes I lived almost three years, seldome much disturbed, but in the end I found, that it was an ill grounded peace that I enjoyed, and could have no rest in my owne spirite, because I lived only to myself, and was in no wayes usefull unto God's people, my countrey, and the world. This consideration, joined with thoes dispensations of providence which I observed, and judged favorable unto the designes of good people, brought me out of my retirement into

theis parts. The spirits of those who understood seasons farre better than I, seemed as yet not to be fully prepared. This obliged me againe to withdraw myself. I found farre less satisfaction in my second retirement than the first, and, by the advice of friends, am once more comme upon the stage. I doe not knowe what success God will give unto our undertakings, but I am certaine I can have no peace in my owne spirite, if I doe not endeavour by all meanes possible to advance the interest of God's people. Others may judge from whence this temper doth proceed, better than I can; if it be from God, he will make it prosper, if from the heat and violence of my owne disposition, I and my designes shall perish. I desire you and all our friends to seeke God for me, praying him to defend me from outward enemyes, but more especially from thoes that are within me; and that he would give me such a steady knowledge of truth, as I may be constantly directed in seeking that which is truly good. This being obtained, all other things will followe; I shall knowe what, when, and how I am to act; and shall be prepared either to act or suffer according to the will of my maker.

I am

Your friend.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

"WHEN I was appointed to come Ambassador Extraordinary into France, I spake to my Lord of Canterbury, about going to Charenton; and when I told him that the Lord Scudamore, the Ambassador in Ordinary in France, did never go thereunto, the Archbishop answered "*he is the wiser.*" But I, being desirous to hear what he would saye, though I knew well enough what I meant to do, for I had spoken of it before to the King, sayd, I pray, my Lord, advise me what I shall do, for you being a great minister, do better know than I the King's minde in this point of going to Charenton. But I could get no answer from him more, than that it was to be left to my discretion. By which I conceive that he would not advise me to go to Charenton, because that would have been contrary to his maxims and his approbation of my Lord Scudamore not going thether; neither would he dissuade me from it, for so he would have declared himself too much; I having told him,

that unless I had order to the contrary, I purposed going to Charenton, thereby to countenance them of the religion in France, and in regard that all Ambassadors in England had used to go to Charenton, except my Lord Scudamore: who as it is likely forbore going there to curry favour with the Archbishop, as he did in other things there also. And I have many reasons to thinke that for my going to Charenton the Archbishop did me all the ill offices he could to the King; representing me as a Puritan, and consequently in his method an enemy to monarchical government; though he had been very kind to me before. The sayd Archbishop would by no means countenance the writing of Blondells booke against the usurped power of the Pope, as it appears by my letters and those of the Archbishop."

Then follows this passage—"Mr. Giannettini Guistiniani, a gentleman of Geneva, with whom I was acquainted, told me at Paris the 8th October, that about 4 yeares before, he having been at Rome, and having audience of the Pope, and a conference of three hours long; the Pope himself told him, that he had great hopes of the returne of England to the Religion of the See of Rome, and gave him many reasons for the sayd hopes."

It would appear from the following passage in the same manuscript, that Laud was not the only English prelate who was favourably disposed towards the See of Rome. "At Yorke, 29th April, 1639. Being at dinner at Sir John Melton's, where I lay, Lord Chamberlain, the Earle of Holland, present, but I think he heard it not, Mr. Endymion Porter, Groome of the

Bedchamber, told me, that he knewe the Bishop of Lincolne, Williams, since Archbishop of Yorke, then in trouble, when he was in favour, and Lord Keeper, would have bin a Cardinal, and made all the meanes he could to atteine unto it by my Lord of Buckingham's power, during the treaty of the match with Spaine; at which time Porter was the Duke of Buckingham's servant, and in great favour with him. 'This,' sayd Porter, 'is true upon my knowledge, or else God refuse me, and I wish this peice of bread may choke me, which I hope you believe I would not say if I did not know it.' One may see by this, what an excellent conscience that Byshop hath, who would have bin a Cardinal; while he was in favour nothing els would satisfy his ambition, and being in disgrace, he betakes himself to the Puritan party, and at last is gotten out of the Towre. This I presently writt in my Table bookes the same day, but I transcribed it in this paper the 5th January, 1640."—*Manuscript, British Museum.*

Note B.

Letter from the Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Northumberland.

My Lord,

Though I have written thrice to the Commissioners for the affaires of Ireland since my comming from London, to give them account of my stay at Court, and that I have also written several letters to some par-

ticular friends, in hopes that thereby the truth might be knowne, and myself rightly understood; yet because these letters peradventure may have miscarried, and lest I should incur the censure of the Parliament for negligence or slacknesse in that service, to which I have been designed, I will truly, and as briefly as I can, relate to your lordship how I behaved myselfe, and if your lordship please, you may communicate it to the House of Peers, as in your judgment and favour to me you shall thinke fit, and I hope it will appeare that as I have bin very impatient of this delay, so I have not wanted diligence in the solicitation of my despatch.

When I came to Yorke, I told the King that I was come thither to receive his Majesties commandments and instructions for that employment, which he had done me the honour to confer upon me, and I did humbly beseech him, that I might not be stayed at Court, because the Parliament did desire my speedy repair into Ireland, and that this service as I conceived did require it, at least that some Governor (if I were not thought worthy of it) should be presently sent into that kingdome. The King told me he would thinke of it, but I must confess I did not find his Majesty so ready to dispatch me as I hoped and expected. From that time I did not faile to beseech his Majesty to send me away, and upon every opportunity I had of speaking to him; and I thinke there passed not a day that I did not desyre the Secretaries of State and some other persons about the King, to put his Majesty in mind of me, and to hasten my dismission, and diverse times I made it my petition to the King, that he would dispatch me, or declare his intention that he would not let me goe at all.

The King said my instructions should be drawn, and that he would give order to Master Secretary Nicholas to doe it as speedily as he could; in expectation whereof, I stayed about three weekes, till the King came from Yorke, when his Majesty appointed me to follow him to Nottingham, and there I should have my expeditions. I obeyed his Majesty, and came after him to this town, where I have attended ever since, perpetually soliciting to bee dispatched, and beseeching his Majesty, that I might either goe to my employment, or have his leave to retire myselfe to my owne house and private condition, that if he were unwilling to trust me in an employment of so great importance, I did beseech him that I might be noe burden to his thoughts, and that he would be so gracious to let me know his resolution; for I conceived myself to be under a heavy censure both of the Parliament and of the whole kingdome, whilst possibly they might think it my fault that I was so long absent from that charge which I had undertaken. It is to no purpose to tell you every passage, but this I professe to your lordship, that if it had bin to save the lives of all my friendes and of myselfe I could not have done more for my dispatch. Neverthelesse I have not been able to advance it one step, nor have I seene any token to make me hope to have it quickly till this morning, when Master Secretary Nicholas gave me a draught of my instructions to peruse: so I hope that betweene this and Monday, I shall have done that part, and I will doe the best I can in procuring some other things, without which I know not how I shall be able to doe any acceptable service in that kingdome; your lordship knowes I am a servant, and I could not run away if I would;

or at least it would have bin to little purpose though I should have ventured to doe so undecent and so undutiful an action. Therefore I hope it will be believed that I have not beene to blame.

Now with your lordship's leave, I shall trouble you with another particular wherein perhaps I suffer in the opinion of them that know not what has passed, though I be as innocent as the new born child; nay I have opposed it as much as I have power to doe so. The King, being informed at Yorke by some officious persons, that there were certain draught horses provided to be sent into Ireland; his Majesty told me he must needs have them for his own use; I did humbly beseech him not to take them away from his own service in Ireland, for which they were bought, and in which they were to be imployed, and besides what I sayd myself, I made means by others to save the horses, so as I heard no more of it, till I came thither, but then his Majesty told me againe that he must needs have the horses, and would have me send for them. I represented to his Majesty the inconsiderablenesse of these few horses, and that the Parliament might take it very ill, in regard that the horses were bought with theyr money, for the service of the poor kingdom of Ireland; therefore I did beseech him not to take them, or however that he could excuse me from being an instrument in that which I conceived would much hurt his affaires: and that I being trusted by the Parliament, I could neither doe it myself, nor consent that any other should doe that, which was a breach of trust, and a great disservice even to his Majesty himself. Notwithstanding this, the King sent to me by Master Endymion Porter,

and Sir George Hay, at several times, to the like purpose; but I returned the same answer, adding this also, that I could not doe it and be an honest man to his service, though it be true that the King sayd he would restore the horses, or pay for them, but for all this, it pleased his Majesty to imploy one Erington, that served me, to give him a warrant to fetch the horses. Erington told me of it. I forbad him as far as I could, to doe it, and told him, that if he did it he must not look to have any thing more to doe with me for ever; and further, that I made no doubt the Parliament would hang him for stealing theyr horses. This and more, I said to Erington in the presence of James Battiere my secretary, who will witness it; and conceiving it to be an unjust thing in itself, displeasing to the Parliament, and hurtful to the King's service, I protested against it, though Erington said, his master had commanded him upon his allegiance to execute the warrant; but indeed I told him I did not believe him, nor could think his Majesty would command a subject upon his allegiance to take away other men's horses. This I thought was sufficient, but it seems I was deceived, for Erington, without my consent or knowledge, went from Nottingham towards Chester, as I heard afterwards, and I have never seen him since, nor heard from him, so what he hath done, I doe not know; but I sent to Chester, that the horses should be presently shipped away, and I caused my secretary to write to Master Hawkins to take care that neither Erington, nor any body from him, should receive any more money from Master Loftus or his deputy, to provide the rest of the horses, for as yet I thinke there hath bin only £1600 issued to buy 200 of

the 600 horses allowed by the Parliament, and of that £1600 I will doe the best I can to get a good account; whereof the Parliament, God willing, shall be informed with my best care and diligence: Truly my lord I doe the best I can to serve my country; they that are wiser may doe more, but of any thing contrary to the duty of an honest man, the Parliament upon strict examination shall never find me guilty: for the reputation of honesty and fidelity is, (and I can say no more,) as deare to me as your esteeming me

Your Lordship's humble
and affectionate servant,
LEICESTER.

NOTTINGHAM,
September 9, 1642.

NOTE C.

"The Earl of Leicester was a man of great parts, very conversant in books, and much addicted to the mathematics; and though he had been a soldier and commanded a regiment in the service of the United Provinces, and was afterwards employed in several embassies, as in Denmark and France, was in truth rather a speculative than a practical man; and expected a greater certitude in the consultation of business than the business of this world is capable of: which temper proved very inconvenient to him through the course of his life. He was, after the death of the Earl of Strafford, by the concurrent kindness and esteem both of

King and Queen, called from his embassy in France to be Lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland; and in a very short time after unhappily lost that kindness and esteem; and being about the time of the King's coming to Oxford ready to embark at Chester for the execution of his charge, he was required to attend his Majesty for further instructions at Oxford, where he remained; and though he was of the Council, and sometimes present, he desired not to have any part in the business, and lay under many reproaches and jealousies, which he deserved not, for he was a man of honour and fidelity to the King, and his greatest misfortune arose from the staggering and irresolution in his nature."—*Clarendon's History*, Oxford edition, vol. ii. p. 299.

Note D.

Letter from Lord Lisle to his Father, the Earl of Leicester.

June 17, 1656.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's letter of the 12th of this month, I receaved not till yesterday, the 16th, which was the reason I did not sooner take notice of it. In my poore opinion, the businesse of your Lordship's house hath passed somewhat unluckily, and that it had been better used to doe a seasonable courtesy to my Lord Protector, than to have had such a play acted in

it, of public affront to him; which doth much entertain the towne. I have been in some places, where they have told me they were exceedingly pleased with the gallant reception of the chief actor in it; and by applauding him, they put him severall times upon it. I did yesterday acquaint his Highnesse, that your Lordship had given an order, that your house should serve his occasions, and that I was sorry his Highnesse had forbade it, before these directions came. He told me he did give your Lordship thankes for your intentions to accommodate him. When I shall say that my meaning was, that the fruite of this obligation should be reaped in your Lordship's and my Lady's concernments, I shall not have advanced much; but, upon this occasion, I shall say this also—That the only thinge, whatever, that my Lord Protector ever gave me, which was the office of Custos Rotulorum in Kent, a good while after Sir Harry Vane's death. When I had given him thankes, I made it my request that your Lordship should have it; when he said, he could not tell whether it might be, but that he would consider of it; and with some other discourses, that matter fell. I do rather wish this may no further be mentioned, because I am not sure my Lord Protector would be willing it should be spoken of. I have no more to say towards this matter, but that I againe aske your Lordship's pardon if I tooke more upon me than did belonge to me; but I assure your Lordship I undertook nothing. And then, my Lord, I have my constant sorrow, to see your Lordship never omits an opportunity of reproach to me; and in earnest, I thinke, laying all other matters asyde, this

which hath appeared most emminently upon this occasion is very extraordinary; that the younger sonne* should so dominear in the house, that not only in regard to this matter which I have spoken of, but at all times, I am uncertayne whether I can have the liberty to looke at it or no—for it seemes, it is not only his chamber, but the great roomes of the house, and perhaps the whole, that he commands; and upon this occasion, I think I may most properly saye it, that his extreamest vanity and want of judgement are so well knowne, that there will be some wonder at it; for my owne part I submit all to your Lordship, and am your very obedient son,

P. Lisle.

(From the original manuscript at Penshurst.)

Note E.

Saturday, 20th August, 1659. Between 6 and 7 o'clock in the morning, my wife sent one of her women, who came in some haste to tell me that she desyred to speake with me; I was not yet out of my bed, but I put on my clothes as fast as I could, and came and kneeled by her bed syde, where she had caused herself to be raysed and sate up, being stayed by two of her women; I tooke her by the hand and kissed it; she inclined her face towards me to kiss me, and sayd "My

* Algernon Sydney.

dearest hart, before I dye I desyre to say a few words unto you, and many I cannot say. Love God above all, feare him and serve him; my love hath bin great and constant to you," then she wept gently, " and I beseech you pardon my anger, my angry words, my passions, and whatsoever wherein I have offended you, even all my faults and failings towards you: pray for me now in this my weake estate and neare approche of death. Commend me to my deere boy. I should have bin glad to see him before I dye, but it is not God's will to have it so. I recommend him to God and you, and earnestly desyre you to be carefull of him; keepe all your promises, and trouble not yourself for me; and I pray God that you may live happily when I am gon, and that God will be pleased to take you at that time when he shall finde it best for you. Pray for me; feare God; love God; serve God; remember me and love my memory. Think continually upon eternity. I can saye no more and so my deare lord, farewell:" Then inclining her face to mine, as well as she could, and gently pressing my hand she sayd, " God bless you: and now lay me down to rise no more."

Then Mr. Lee came, and prayed; at which, both with eyes and hands upreared, she shewed with her eyes and hands many great signes of devotion and resignation of herself to God, and at the saying of the Lord's Prayer she lifted up her hands and eyes; and I perceived her lips moved, saying, as I believe, the same prayers with us, though I could not heare her, and so likewise at the benediction and conclusion of our prayers. Then she called for her daughter Anne Sydney, to whom kneeling by her bed syde, she sayd, " Nan, I

confess that I have bin sometimes sharp and unkinde to you, but I have allwayes loved you well. I desyre you to forgive all my passions and sharp speeches;" then she kissed her and said, "Pray for me, so farewell, God bless you. Now," sayd she, "I pray draw the curtains;" which being don, I sate down by the bed syde, and heard her grone, but gently, and not very painfully, as I thought, but rather moaning then groning: then thinking that she was in a little slumber, I left her and went to dispatch some businesses which she deyred to be don, and having finished it I came again to her bed syde, and she having caused herself to be turned, I softly opened the curtains of the other syde towards the window, which let in some light; she looked upon me but said nothing. "My hart," sayd I, "do you know me?"—"Yes, very well," sayd she. "I have don that which you desyred, and I desyre you to declare before these witnesses, (that was Mr. Houghlan, Mr. Lee, Burrow, and Mrs. Knyvett,) if it be your desyre and will to consent unto these wrytings, which Mr. Houghlan hath drawn according to your appointment, which I have sealed, and so have your trustees, concerning your son Harry Sydney?" "Yes," sayd she, "it is my desyre." "Then," sayd I, "are you contented to have your seale put to them and to take it off?" "With all my hart," sayd she, "but should not I put my hand to them?" "It would be better so," sayd I, "but thus it will be well enough, and that perhaps would be too much trouble to you." "No," sayd she, "I thinke I can wryte my name, if you will stay my hand." Then the wrytings being brought and a thin booke held under the place where she should set her name, she tooke the

pen, and more strongly than I expected, she put it into the inke herself, and wrote her name to 4 or 5 severall wrytings. Then sayd she to me, " My dear hart, I thanke you, and I pray God to bless to our deare boy that which you and I have don for him." Then finding herself very weake she called for some of Dick's cordiall, and having drunk it, she espyde Gilbert Spencer, my servant;—" Gilbert," sayd she, " farewell. I thanke you for your goodwill and for the services that you have don me, and I give you my little nag." Then she desyred to take her leave of her old servants, John Charlton, Frank Hamms, and James Wynch, all three by name, but they being not readily in the way, she said to me, " I pray, my hart, tell them that I desyred to bid them farewell, and," sayd she, " there is a good woman, Gicely Freeman, who hath bin very kinde to me, and many times she hath come to me to see me when by reason of my weakness I have not seen her, I desyre you excuse me to her." I promised to do all she had desyred of me: then she thanked me again, and then having kissed her, she layd her head lower on the pillow, and I drew the curtain, leaving her inclining to slumber, and gently groning or moaning as she had don before: that day I dined not, but about one o'clock I came to her bed syde and heard her make the same noyse, and when they offered her any nourishment or cordiall she refused it; and so again about three o'clock, and so at other times when I came; and last of all after five o'clock, a little before prayers, I came again, and she lay as she had don, having taken nothing at all; and at seven o'clock I went to prayers, and as the minister was reading, one came running to call me. I

presently went out of the chappell, and came to her bed syde.

Note F.

The circumstance of Colonel Hutchinson, who had been always zealous in his opposition to Charles, and who had signed the warrant for his execution, escaping with impunity, and without the forfeiture of his estate, subjected him to the imputation of having secured his safety by unworthy means; and Ludlow distinctly charges him with treachery to his party, and co-operation with Monk. But it appears, from the history of his life written by his widow, that he owed his exemption from punishment, in the first instance, though it fell heavily upon him afterwards, to the great interest that was made for him by his friends of the King's party, in requital of many services he had rendered them during the civil wars; assisted by the circumstance of his having zealously and successfully opposed the proposal made by Sir Arthur Hasselrigge, of an oath to be taken by all the Members of Parliament, of renunciation of the King and his family. The following account of the address with which he extricated himself from a very embarrassing situation, upon his first appearance in the House of Commons, after the restoration of the King, is extracted from the "Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, written by his widow." "When it came to Inglesbies turne, he with many teares profest his repentance for that murder, and told a false tale,

how Cromwell held his hand, and forced him to subscribe the sentence, and made a most whining recantation; after which he retired, and another had almost ended, when Colonel Hutchinson, who was not there at the beginning, came in, and was told what they were about, and that it would be expected of him that he would say something. He was surprised with a thing he expected not; yet neither then, nor in any the like occasion, did he ever faile himself, but told them, that for his actings in those days, if he had erred, it was the inexperience of his age, and the defect of his judgement, and not the malice of his heart; which had ever prompted him to pursue the general advantage of his country, more than his own; and if the sacrifice of him might conduce to the publick peace and settlement, he would freely submitte his life and fortunes to their disposal; that the vaine expense of his age, and the greate debts his publick employments had runne him into; as they were testimonies, that neither avarice nor any other interest had carried him on; so they yielded him just cause to repent, that he ever forsooke his own blessed quiet, to embarque in such a troubled sea, where he had made shipwreck of all thinges but a good conscience; and as to that particular action of the King, he desired them to believe he had that sense of it that befitted an Englishman, a Christian, and a gentleman."—*Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 263, 4.

Tuesday, June 5th. The House read a letter from Colonel Hutchinson, wherein he acknowledged his guiltiness in his being concerned in that horrid murder committed on his Sovereign; humbly imploring the intercession of the House unto his Royal Majesty, in his

behalf: and begging liberty from his imprisonment on his parole. The which the House granted accordingly. —*Kennet's Register*, p. 169.

Shortly afterwards, Colonel Hutchinson was arrested upon a very groundless suspicion of being engaged in new plots, to excite insurrection in the North of England. He was imprisoned in the Tower, from whence he was sent to Sandown Castle, in Kent; a very unhealthy situation, where he contracted a fever, which soon put an end to his sufferings and his life.

With respect to Sir Gilbert Pickering, the following passage occurs in Kennet's Register, p. 169. "The Petition of Sir Gilbert Pickering was read, and it was resolved, that he should be excepted as to the penalties and forfeitures not reaching to life; to be inflicted by an act to be provided for that purpose." The name of Sir Gilbert Pickering appears several times in the Clerk of the Court's book, recording the proceedings upon the trial of Charles; but he did not attend any of the latter meetings of the Commissioners; nor did he sign the warrant for the execution of the King. Upon Cromwell's usurpation, he was appointed one of the Council of State.

Note G.

"Montague was of a noble family, of which some were too much addicted to innovations in religion; and in the beginning of the troubles appeared against the

King, though his father, who had been long a servant to the Crown, never could be prevailed upon to swerve from his allegiance; and took all the care he could, to restrain this his only son within those limits; but being young, and more out of his father's controul, by being married into a family, which at that time also trod awry; he was so far wrought upon by the caresses of Cromwell, that out of pure affection to him, he was persuaded to take command in the army, when it was new modelled under Fairfax, and when he was little more than 20 years of age. He served in the condition of a Colonel to the end of the war, with the reputation of a very stout and brave young man; and from that time, Cromwell, to whom he passionately adhered, took him into his nearest confidence, and sent him first joined in commission with Blake, and then in the sole command by sea, in which he was discreet and successful. And though men looked upon him as devoted to Cromwell's interest, in all other respects he behaved himself with civility to all men, and without the least shew of acrimony towards any who had served the King, and was so much in love with monarchy, that he was one of those who most desired, and advised Cromwell to accept and assume that title when it was first offered to him."—*Clarendon's History*, vol. iii. p. 1107.

"It is not surprising, that with these feelings, Admiral Montague should have engaged heartily in the restoration of Charles; he was then Commander of the Fleet, and in that capacity was enabled to render him very important services; for which he was created Earl of Sandwich. He fell at the battle of Solebay in 1672, fighting desperately, having devoted himself to death,

in consequence of some rash expressions which fell from the Duke of York, and which he considered as reflecting upon his courage."—*Hume*, vol. vii. p. 485.

NOTE H.

" There were others that had been seduced into that treason; viz. Colonel Ingoldsby, Francis Lassels, and John Hutchinson; but so much was said in the House in their favours, that they were not made culpable with the rest. As for Ingoldsby it was made to appear that Oliver Cromwell, without his consent, put his hand and seal to the warrant for the execution of the King: besides that, by many actions of his loyalty since, and his engagement in Sir George Booth's business, and against Lambert, he had given evident testimony of his abhorrency of so foul a crime."—*Kennet's Register*, p. 151.

Colonel Thomlinson had the command of the guard, to whom the custody of the King's person was entrusted during his trial and stay at Westminster; and he attended the King to the scaffold. He seems honourably to have deserved the pardon that was granted him, by his kind and humane treatment of his royal prisoner; conduct which so won upon the gratitude and affection of Charles, that the night before his execution, he presented him with his gold toothpick case, as a memorial of himself; and he appears during all the last trying scenes of his life, to have considered him, and to

have relied upon him as his friend. The following passage is taken from Colonel Thomlinson's evidence, upon the trial of Colonel Hacker. "I would not omit any thing that I well remember, and this I remember; that the night before the execution, the King called me to his chamber, and told me several things. I will take occasion to trouble you with a short discourse of it. He told me of some legacies he had given; he told me he had prepared something he would speak the next day; and in the close of it, he desired me that I would not leave him, for (I speak it in truth) there were many times several incivilities offered to him, and though I was upon a duty that was of a harsh and unpleasing nature to me, and did desire several times to be released from it, (as I believe is well known to some,) yet I did not admit any time that any incivility should be offered to the King. People would take tobacco before him, and keep their hats on before him. I always checked them for it. He was pleased to have a consideration for that care that I had in that capacity I then stood. That very night before his death, he was pleased to give me a legacy, which was a gold toothpicker and case, that he kept in his pocket. The next day, when the warrant came, the guard of halbetteers went with him through St. James's Park; I was present walking with the King. The Bishop of London, (now of Canterbury,) was with him, and some others. As we were going through the Park, he was pleased to discourse somewhat of what he had been discoursing before, touching his burial; he wished that the Duke of Richmond, and some others that he should bring, should take care of it.

" That morning in the Park, he told me, he had been thinking of what he had said the night before. He told me he had some thoughts that his son might come to bury him; and desired he might not suddenly be buried. I gave him assurance I would communicate his desire, and so I did. When he came to Whitehall, he went into a room in the gallery, I know not the name—the guard stood in the outer room there. There was a gentleman who came to me there, and told me, he was endeavouring to present a letter from the Prince to the King, and told me he could not get an opportunity; I said he should not want an opportunity if I could help him. It was Mr. Henry Seymour; it was delivered, and the King read it, and he gave several things in charge to Mr. Seymour, to acquaint the Prince with, and was pleased to mention something of civility that I had shewed him in his imprisonment; the effect and fruit of it I find, and do most humbly acknowledge before all the world, my thanks to his most gracious Majesty the King, and to the Lords and Commons."—*State Trials*, vol. v. p. 1179.

" *May* 17th, 1660. The House resolved that Colonel Matthew Thomlinson shall not be secured, nor his estate seized on."—*Kennet's Register*, p. 151.

Note I.

The circumstance of Sydney's not venturing to disclose this intention, at a time when it was his object and interest to have provided his father with every

topic that could have been urged in his favour, combined with the Roman sternness of his character, may lead to the inference that the design thus alluded to, was some violent measure with respect to the King. But if we consider the different circumstances of the two Kings, and how probable it was, that an intention which would have been favourable to Charles I. in 1648, would be differently considered by Charles II. in 1660: we may see sufficient reason, why Sydney should think it an unfit subject for a letter, without having recourse to the supposition, that it was some violent measure which he contemplated. Those who take an interest in Sydney's character, will read with great satisfaction the following note, with which the kindness of Sir James Mackintosh, to whom these letters were referred, has provided me.

Among the new letters in this volume, the most curious is that to Lord Leicester, in which Sydney, after the Restoration, relates his own conduct in the High Court of Justice of which he had been named a member. He told Cromwell and Bradshaw, that "the King could be tried by no Court, and that this Court could try no man." In conformity to this Protest, we know that he took no part in their proceedings, and retired to Penshurst during the principal part of the trial. He also tells Lord Leicester that he incurred, and long continued to experience, the displeasure of those whom he had thus boldly resisted, at one of those moments when opposition is too formidable to be easily forgiven. So far this letter needs no commentary. But he proceeds to add, "I had an intention which is not very fit for a letter:" what this intention was, it is

no longer possible to ascertain; but we may with tolerable certainty affirm, that it was one which he wished not to be known to the government of Charles II., who were pretty sure to read his letter, and yet was willing to communicate to his father in conversation. By this criterion, compared with the history of the times, a probable conjecture may be formed about its nature. We are told by Clarendon, that after the army had become masters of the Parliament and the capital, they were divided into three parties with respect to the disposal of the King's person. The first were for open trial, the second for private assassination, and the third proceeded no farther than deposition, though probably secured by banishment or imprisonment. Against trial, we now for the first time know, that Sydney positively protested, and even the enemies of his memory cannot surely think it probable, that a man of so frank and fearlees a character should have preferred expedients which had no other recommendation, than their tendency to provide for the personal safety of the actors. But it is altogether incredible, that if he had been a partizan of secret regicide, he should have needlessly alluded to such a disposition, in a letter written to supply his father with every fair means of procuring his secure admission into England. Such an allusion could have no other effect than of disheartening and silencing Lord Leicester, who had never ceased to be a leader of the Presbyterian party, and consequently a determined opponent of the trial of the King. One supposition only remains, that the design of Sydney was to procure a concurrence of both Houses of Parliament in the deposition of the King; a plan which he might

have had some hopes of seconding by his influence in the army. Though the Presbyterian party, with whom Sydney was chiefly connected, had never gone so far as to approve deposition, it was natural for him to consider it as the legitimate consequence of long war against the King, and incurable distrust of his sincerity. The Lords had, in fact, passed an ordinance, rendering it High Treason in future for a King of England to levy war against the Parliament, a measure by which they at once declared that the King was guilty of great moral offences, and that the judicial proceedings against him were illegal. Sydney, we know, from a letter to his father, approved that ordinance and blamed the resolutions of the Commons, which were founded on other principles. The design of deposition seems perfectly reconcilable with the known opinion of Sydney and his connexions at the moment. It was therefore easy for him to allude to it in a letter to his father even after the Restoration; but if he had fully stated, in a letter which was sure to be opened, a plan of deposition which, though it would have saved the King's life, would have approached more nearly to legality, from having the concurrence of both Houses, and must have been enforced by the harsh, however necessary, attendants of banishment or imprisonment, it is probable that such a disclosure at that period would have shut the doors of his country against him.

London: Printed by C. Roworth,
Bell-yard, Temple-bar.

003060F