

(Rich. Vaughan Esq.)

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THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D,

During the REIGNS of the

Royal House of *STUART*.

W H E R E I N

The ERRORS of LATE HISTORIES are
Discover'd and Corrected;

With PROPER REFLECTIONS,

And several ORIGINAL LETTERS from King CHARLES II.
King JAMES II. OLIVER CROMWELL, &c.

As also the Lord SAVILLE'S Famous *Forg'd Letter* of Invitation, which
brought the *Scots* into *England* in the Year 1640,

And gave Occasion to the Beginning of the CIVIL WARS.

This LETTER being never before publish'd, led the Earl of CLARENDON,
Bishop BURNET, Mr. ECHARD, Dr. WELWOOD, and other Writers, into
Egregious MISTAKES upon this Head.

To all which is Prefix'd,

Some Account of the *Liberties* taken with CLARENDON'S HISTORY
before it came to the Press, such *Liberties* as make it Doubtful,

What Part of it is CLARENDON'S, and what Not.

The whole Collected from the most AUTHENTICK MEMOIRS,
Manuscript and *Printed*.

By the Author of the CRITICAL HISTORY of ENGLAND.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN PEMBERTON, in *Fleetstreet*; RICHARD FORD, RICHARD HETT,
and JOHN GRAY, in the *Poultry*; and THOMAS COX, under the *Royal-Exchange*.

M.DCC.XXX.

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TO ALL
TRUE ENGLISHMEN,
LOVERS of our
Present Happy Constitution.



It is about twenty Years since I was desir'd by some Persons of Eminence, who were very much in your Favour, to undertake the Defence of your *Happy Constitution* against the furious Attacks of a Powerful Faction, who, in the latter part of Queen *Anne's* Reign, by false Doctrine, false Argument, by wicked Arts, and delusive Pretences, subverted the best Administration you ever liv'd under; and would have subverted your Religion, Liberty and Laws, had not the good Providence of God interpos'd for your Deliverance, as it had done wonderfully at the *Revolution*.

In the Prosecution of this Work, I was oblig'd to look back into the Practices of the Enemies to the *Constitution* of ENGLAND, ever since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*; for till then *Englishmen* had no Enemies but *Foreigners* and *Papists*, and I found all those Practices to be so many Warnings to us to guard against them for the future.

Scarce was that glorious Princess cold in her Grave before there broke out a flaming Zeal for what those Men were then pleas'd to call the *Church*; by which they, in truth, meant no other than the Tyranny of the *High-Commission Court*, and the inferior Spiritual Courts under their Protection.

To make this pass with the Prince, their Doctors every where preach'd up the boundless Prerogative of the Crown, the slavish Obedience of the Subject, and the Blessings of Arbitrary Power and Servitude; which in a limited Protestant Government, could not but create ill Blood, as ill Blood always creates Distempers, which become obstinate by Continuance, and are not to be cur'd, but by Remedies equally violent and dangerous.

What then? Must the Patient die for fear the Physick should gripe him? Your Fathers, when the Disease was likely to become mortal, never fail'd of applying a Cure, and never fail'd of Success; tho' the Editors of Lord *Clarendon's* History, and Archdeacon *Echard*, represent them as so many *Empiricks*, who knew neither the Disease nor the Cure, but administer'd the *Poison*, instead of the *Antidote*.

The Acceptance which some of my former Endeavours for your Service found with you, in the *MEDLEY*, *THE SECRET HISTORY OF EUROPE*, and other Treatises, too numerous to be inserted, inspir'd me with Ambition to produce something more worthy that Honour.

I could think of nothing so necessary, as to discover the *Errors* in the *History of the Rebellion*, and Mr. *Echard's* History; and having so done, to set the Facts in the four *Stuarts* Reigns in a true light, that the glorious Principles and Practices of your Ancestors, might no longer lie under the Reproach of *REBELLION*;

———*nec dicier Arma Senatus*
Bella superba decet,—sed Patriæ vindicis Iram.

but be Examples of a brave and necessary Defence of their Religion and Liberty to all Generations.

It is true, we are so happy as to live under a Government, which has the same Foundation with our *Liberty*, and the joint Security of both is inseparable. But we see every day, especially of late, many wild and insolent Attempts made to blanch the Characters of all the Princes, who in
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DEDICATION.

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the last Century attempted to destroy our Religion, Rights, and Privileges, to set them off as so many *Patres Patriæ*, and to blacken *Your Patriots* and Champions, as so many Villains and Scoundrels; the Terms that are made use of, with a traitorous Intent to promote the Interest of a pretended Heir to those Princes, who doubtless inherits their Love to your Religion and Liberty, with the Advantage of having never liv'd in any Country, but where Tyranny and Popery were triumphant; and who consequently can have no Conception, that Heaven has any other Happiness in store for either Prince or People.

|| You have given me reason to believe, that the *Critical Histories* of *England*, and the Comparison of *Clarendon* with *Whitlock*, discover'd the Errors of the above-mention'd Historians to your Satisfaction; and to encrease it, I have farther examin'd them *en passant* in this Work: after which, I hope neither the present Age nor Posterity will be in danger of being impos'd upon and corrupted by them, as it is very plain they would have been, had the Counsels and Actions of your Ancestors been handed down to them with so much Misrepresentation, Partiality and Malice, without Remark and Animadversion. If the Mischief intended by these Writers is prevented, I leave to you to judge of the Importance of the Service, and I can no more doubt of your doing it Justice, than of your Affection and Attachment to the Welfare of your Country.

Some ill Men have maliciously aspers'd the Author, as if he had been *hired* by a *Party* to write, what otherwise he had no Concern about: But the Baseness of this Aspersion will appear in almost every Page of his Writings, where the Reader will soon see the Heart speaks with a Sincerity and Ardor, that are not to be bought and sold; and as to the *Hire*, were it decent for him to explain himself, he could prove the Falseness of that Charge to a degree not easily to be imagin'd or believ'd.

When you have gone thro' the following Reigns, and are come to their Dissolution, in the Accession of King *William* and Queen *Mary* to the Throne, will you not look back upon them, as Voyagers do on the boisterous Ocean, after having escap'd Shipwreck, when they stand safe on the solid Shore? Will you not dread the like Tempest, and promise yourselves never again to tempt the Dangers of the Deep? Will you not be deaf to all Persuasion and Flattery, and resolve, as far as in you lies, to enjoy the Calm and Safety you live in, with contented and grateful Minds? Will you not then abhor those restless mutinous Spirits, who endeavour to disturb that Calm, and endanger that Safety? Will you not perceive their pernicious Views, however they disguise them? Will you not distinguish Names from Things, Truth from Falseness, and adhere firmly

firmly to the Lessons left you by your Fathers, for the Preservation of the *Protestant Religion* and *Liberty*, which so many of them seal'd with their Blood? If I could flatter myself that the remembering these things here, would have so good an Effect, how should I rejoice in the Success of my Labours?

But be that as it will, I shall never cease to pray that your Happiness in the present Constitution, *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*, may be transmitted to your Sons, and their Sons Sons, to the End of Time.

I am,

Your most Humble,

Most Faithful,

And most Devoted Servant.





P R E F A C E.



I were to be wish'd that the Divisions among us in England, and the Mischiefs they have occasion'd since the Death of Queen Elizabeth, were bury'd in everlasting Oblivion; that all Names and Notions of Distinction among Englishmen might be no more heard of, and that a Spirit of Peace and Union might spread over the whole Nation.

It is the Duty and Interest of all Men to contribute to this Blessing to the utmost of their power, and why this is not done, is very easy to be observ'd.

Particular Parties support themselves by particular Views, and no Persuasion or Argument can reconcile them to the General Good, if those Views are lost by it, and the Happiness it would procure is to be in common. A mean and ruinous Way of Thinking, unworthy a wise and generous People! But it has prevail'd so long, and taken so deep root, that it is not to be eradicated by Precept; and if Example has any Prevalency, some benefit may accrue by turning over the following History, where the fatal Effects of Division and Discord will appear in almost every Page, as well before and after the Civil Wars, as during those miserable Times of Devastation and Slaughter.

Yet what Hope is there of succeeding in any Attempt to unite Men's Minds, their divided Opinions and Interests, and reduce them to one sound Principle, that of Liberty Spiritual and Temporal, as long as there is so little Disposition in them to look on things with an impartial Eye, and to judge without Prejudice and Passion?

Perhaps I may myself be thought guilty of that Passion and Prejudice, and to be misled by the same Weakness I condemn in others. It is therefore necessary to consider what is, or ought to be understood by the Word Party; and I wish what I have to say on that Subject were worth the Reader's Attention: for if my Conceptions are right, as I must think they are, till I am better inform'd, I cannot justly be deem'd a Party-man, or pass under that Censure with Men of Reason and Candour, however Appearances may at first sight make against me.

If we have any such thing as a Constitution, and that Constitution is the Bulwark of our Ecclesiastical and Civil Liberties, Rights and Properties, whatever is said or done in defence of it, is for the Advantage of the Commonwealth, of every one in particular, and of all in general; which sure is not a Party, no one Man, nor no Set of Men, having any more Concern in it than another, but in proportion to the Interest he or they have in the Whole.

If this Constitution is founded in the Protestant Religion, a due and impartial Execution of the Laws, a just and equal Administration of Affairs; then all contrary Courses are contrary to the Constitution, and he who adheres to it, cannot be said to be of a Party, because the Constitution is the Whole; and those only are Party-Men, who divide from it, by setting up an arbitrary, partial, unequal, illegal Government, and an Interest separate from that of the Publick. It follows then, that those who stand up in defence of this happy Constitution, when any Breaches are attempted to be made in it, are no more Party-Men, than those who shou'd, in case of Invasion, stand up in defence of their Country; especially since domestick Enemies are more dangerous than foreign, and Treason more to be fear'd than Power.

It will appear plain enough by the History of the Stuartine Kings, that they were continually making Breaches in this Constitution, and endeavouring utterly to subvert it: Those therefore that adher'd to them in such unlawful Endeavours, of course separated from the general Interest, and supported a particular mistaken one, in opposi-

tion to it, which render'd them the worst sort of Party-Men; while their Opponents were the only true Sons of the Common-wealth, good Protestants, and good Englishmen, adhering to their Birthright, their Religion, Liberties and Properties, which those Princes, and their Adherents, in so many Instances invaded and violated.

The Facts in the following History being the Proofs of this Assertion, the Question is brought into a narrow Compass; for if the Facts are true, the Argument deduced from them must be so too; upon which Issue I leave it.

I expect that some Persons of too much Indifference in matters of so very great Importance, will be apt to censure this Undertaking, as if it was a reviving antient Animosities, and giving a new Ferment to that ill Blood, which occasion'd the Distempers in the last Century: But these Persons do not consider what great pains have lately been, and are now every day taken to vilify the Principles and Practices of those brave and wise Men, the Hampdens, the Hollis's, the Pym's, the Seldens, the Onflows, the Whitlocks, &c. who distinguish'd themselves in Counsel and in Arms, by their Zeal for the Reform'd Religion, the Rights and Privileges of the People.

When the Nation was pretty well reconcil'd to the Principles of the Revolution in Queen Anne's Reign, and the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance was become so much a Jest, that it was hardly nam'd, but in Ridicule; when the Cause it was to support, was sinking so fast, that in a little time we were like to hear no more of Hereditary, Unalienable, Indefeasible, Unalterable Right to the Crown, which are all only so many Names for the Pretender: Then did the Party, Enemies to the Revolution, and the Governments founded upon it, bring forth the History of the Rebellion, under the great Name of the Earl of Clarendon; and the Prefacer told her Majesty, That the industrious Propagation of the REBELLIOUS Principles of the last Age, (Pray observe he very decently calls the House of Lords and House of Commons REBELS) Render'd it necessary that she should have an eye towards them. The Tenour of the History is to justify all the arbitrary illegal Acts of Government, which produc'd the Civil War, and to represent the Parliament that oppos'd them, as a Company of hot-headed factious Enthusiasts: But I desire it may be remember'd, the Editors of it were not charg'd with reviving Animosities: And coming out under the Protection of what they were pleas'd to call the Church, no body durst question the Truth of it, till it had done so much Mischief, that the Malady became almost incurable. At last the Critical Histories made way for this, as the best Cure that could be thought of; and as such it is offer'd to the Publick, for whose Service it was written, and in whose favourable Acceptance the Author hopes to find a Reward for all the Labour, Trouble and Expence he has been at, under many Discouragements and Hindrances. The latter indeed seem'd affected, and that by Persons, who, the world would think, should rather have forwarded than hinder'd so useful and laudable an Undertaking.

But these Matters are too particular and personal, to concern the Reader any farther in them.

I have, in more than one Place of this History, mention'd the great reason there is to suspect that the History of the Rebellion, as it was publish'd at Oxford, was not entirely the Work of the Lord Clarendon, who did indeed write a History of those Times, and I doubt not a very good one; wherein as I have been, I believe, well inform'd, the Characters of the Kings, whose Reigns are here written, were very different from what they appear in the Oxford History, and its Copy, Mr. Echard's. I speak this by Hearsay; but Hearsay from a Person superior to all Suspicion, and too illustrious to be named without leave.

I also humbly refer it to the Decision of another very honourable Person, whether there is not, to his Knowledge, such a History in Manuscript still extant; and to a Reverend Doctor now living, whether he did not see the Oxford Copy, by which the Book was printed, alter'd, and interpolated; and the Proofs of the printed Copy, and even the Revises of those Proofs alter'd and interpolated, while it was at the Press.

To which I must add, that there is now in custody of a Gentleman of Distinction, both for Merit and Quality, a History of the Rebellion of the first Folio Edition, scor'd in many Places by Mr. Edmund Smith of Christ-Church, Oxon, Author of that excellent Tragedy, Phædra and Hippolitus, who himself alter'd the Manuscript History; and added, what he has there mark'd, as he confess'd with some of his last Words before his Death. These Alterations, written with his own Hand, and to be seen by any one that knows it, may be publish'd on another occasion, with a farther Account of this Discovery. In the mean time, for the Satisfaction of the Publick, I insert a Letter entire, which I receiv'd since the last Paragraph was written.

To Mr. * * * * *

SIR,

Accidentally looking on some of the Sheets of your *History of England, during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart, at the Booksellers*, I find that you mention the *History of Lord Clarendon*; wherein you justly question the Genuineness of that Book: In order to put that matter out of Doubt, I here send you the following Account.

Mr. *Edmund Smith*, a Man very well known in the Learned World, came down to make me a Visit at * * * * * about *June, 1710*, where he continu'd till he died, about six Weeks after.

As our Conversation chiefly ran upon Learning and History, you may easily think that *Clarendon's* was not forgotten. Upon mentioning that Book, he frankly told me, "*That there had been a fine History written by Lord Clarendon, but what was publish'd under his Name was only Patch-Work, and might as properly be call'd the History of Al. . . . Small, and Atterbury, for to his knowledge 'twas alter'd; nay, that he himself was employ'd by them to interpolate and alter the Original.*"

He then ask'd me, *Whether I had the Book by me? if I had, he would convince me of the Truth of his Assertion by the very printed Copy.* I immediately brought him the *Folio Edition*, and the first thing he turn'd to, was the Character of Mr. *Hampden*, where is that Expression of, "*He had a Head to contrive, a Heart to conceive, and a Hand to execute any Villany.*" He then declar'd it was foisted in by those Reverends.

SIR,

I have only to add this, That he not only underlin'd this Passage as a Forgery, but gave, during the short time he liv'd with me, the same Remark to some Hundreds more.

I am, Sir, &c.

Tho' this Information differs a little from my former, mention'd in the Body of the Book, yet it, in the main, confirms it, and comes from a Person of so much Honour and Worth, as leaves not the least room to doubt it. The Original of this Letter is and shall be forthcoming. It has been read by all my Booksellers, and the Gentleman who wrote it, is ready to attest the Truth of it.

And now what a Farce was play'd in the History of the Rebellion, its Dedication, and Prefaces, all which were publish'd, as was thought, seasonably, to prevent Queen Anne's putting her Affairs into the Hands of those Ministers, who rais'd the Reputation of England higher than ever it had been perhaps in any preceding Reign, Plantagenet or Tudor? And what was their Reward? What the fatal and shameful Effects of shifting those Hands, and putting in their Places—our Enemies will tell the rest with pleasure, as said the Right Reverend Father Bishop Fleetwood?

It was the History of the Rebellion, and the Preachments that were made upon it, which in a great measure rais'd that wicked Spirit which threw the Kingdom into Distraction and Confusion in Sacheverell's Time, robb'd it of all the Fruits of so many glorious Victories, and reduced it to a State of Dishonour and Contempt, like that of the Reigns we have been writing.

Was it not then necessary for Posterity, The present Age, 'tis to be hoped, are made wiser by such late dear-bought Experience; I say, for Posterity to have an Antidote for the Poison? An Antidote is in this History, which we trust will descend to them, and answer its End, notwithstanding the Impediments it has met with.—Of which no more at present.

I am far from thinking that no part of the History of the Rebellion was written by Lord Clarendon. The Fruitfulness of the Imagination, the Beauty and Variety of Colouring, and above all, the Redundancy of Expression, are Proofs to the contrary, tho' they are all well imitated in the Alterations: but it appears at first sight, that those who directed those Alterations were zealous for the Laudan Hierarchy, the Honours and Emoluments thereunto belonging, which no Lay-Hand would have labour'd so much.

Besides, it is not possible for an Historian, who treats of a Contest in a Nation divided into two Parties, to range all the Heroes on one side, and all the Poltrons on the other, with any regard to Fact and Truth. Heat here prevail'd over

Judgment, and who are the Hot Men when their Interests and Prerogatives are in question, I leave to every one to judge.

The Wonder is very much magnify'd by the Editors ranging all those Heroes on the side of Tyranny, the worst Cause that can be, and all the Poltrons on that of Liberty, which is the best.

Lucan, in his Poetical History, written almost 1700 Years ago, and 1200 Miles off, describes the Parties engag'd in our unhappy Civil Wars, more justly and naturally than is done in the History of the Rebellion. We find there the General of the Senate's or Parliament's Army thus haranguing his Soldiers the Roundheads of Old Rome :

O scelerum Ultores, melioraque signa secuti :
O vere Romana manus : quibus Arma Senatus
Non privata dedit, votis deposcite pugnam.

*Ye brave Avengers of your Country's Wrong,
You who to Rome and Liberty belong ;
Whose Breasts our Fathers Virtue truly warms,
Whose Hands the Senate's sacred Order arms :
With chearful Ardor meet, &c.*

ROWE.

He then charges Cæsar and his Followers, the Roman Cavaliers, with beginning the Civil War, as King Charles I. and his Cavaliers, were always charg'd by the Parliament, and by all fair and impartial Historians.

Jam tetigit Sanguis pollutos CÆSARIS Enses :
Dij melius, Belli tulimus quod Damna priores,
Cœperit inde nefas. Nec dicier Arma Senatus
Bella superba decet, sed Patriæ Vindicis Iram.

*Now CÆSAR'S Sword with Roman Blood is stain'd ;
The Fates this Field for our Defence ordain'd :
His Lawless Rage the Senate long did bear,
Patient of Ills, till he began the War.
Some other Term to their just Arms belongs,
A righteous Vengeance of their Country's Wrongs.*

We have a very lively Image of the Armies of Greenvile and Goring in the West, as they are left us in the History of the Rebellion, and of the Sack and Slaughter at the taking of Bristol, Leicester, &c. by the Royalists.

—————Neque enim ista vocari
Prælia justa decet
Nec magis hoc Bellum est, quam cum *Catilina* paravit
Aruras in tecta faces, fociusq; Furoris
Lentulus, exertique manus vesana *Cethegi*.
O Rabies miseranda ducis !

*Yet call not it a War to which we go,
We seek a Malfactor, not a Foe.
Rome's awful injur'd Majesty demands
The Punishment of Traytors at our hands*.
If this be War, then War was wag'd of old,
By curst *Cethegus*, *Catiline* the Bold ;
By ev'ry Villain's Hand who durst conspire,
In Murder, Robbery, or Midnight Fire.
Oh wretched Rage ! Thee, Cæsar, &c.*

ROWE.

* The Punishment of Delinquents was declar'd by King Charles II's first Parliament to be a just Cause for that War, which the Editors of Lord Clarendon's History call the Grand Rebellion.

One thing more is observable in this Translation of Mr. Rowe's, and that is his Negligence of Decorums. He sticks not to call the Emperor Julius Cæsar MALEFACTOR, and his Adherents VILLAINS, a Term which is sufficiently warranted by the Example of the History of the Rebellion, and Archdeacon Echard's History, when they speak of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, and their Adherents. Whoever reads Lucan's Pharsalia, finds a thousand Parallels for our Civil Wars as to Things; but as to Persons, the Character even of Cæsar's Romans can by no means be lower'd to that of our Cavaliers; tho' I think the Hampdens and the Pym's were as truly Roman, in Principle and Practice, as the Cato's and Scipio's.

If I have any where spoken of the Earl of Clarendon as the Author of the Oxford History, I spoke it when I had not had so good Information, and was in some doubt concerning it, tho' very little, for the Reasons here suggested, and it's unparallel'd and undisguis'd Partiality.

Mr. Echard's History is a poor Copy of the History of the Rebellion. He has copy'd the very Foibles of it, the Overflowings of Fancy and Expression, as well as the Errors in Fact; and I could not make room for my own History, without removing the Rubbish which those Historians had laid in my way: a Work which, while I was upon it, put me often in mind of the Augæan Stable.

However, what I have said of those Historians, has no more Malice nor Rancour in it, than the Pleadings of a Lawyer, who, to make good his Cause, bears hard on his Antagonist, and perhaps dines with him as soon as the Trial is over; nevertheless with this difference, that the Author has made a Conscience of saying any thing which he believ'd was not true. A Scruple that, 'tis to be fear'd, is not always observ'd in Pleadings.

I have heard some Gentlemen express their Fears, that there would be too much Warmth in this History. If by Warmth they mean Spirit, their Apprehension of it were enough to make one vain; but since I'm afraid by Warmth they mean Scurrility and Virulence, it will require some Explanation.

If I had affected any such Indecencies, I should not think the Examples of the Author of the History of the Rebellion, and Mr. Archdeacon Echard, nor even those of King Charles I. and his Son King Charles II. would justify me, tho' the Parliament are often call'd Devils, Dogs, Villains, Vipers, Rogues; and Mr. Archdeacon descends so low as Son of a Whore, when he is taking to task the Evidence against the Papists about the Plot. But the Facts I was oblig'd to relate were sometimes so foul, that it was impossible to preserve always the Purity of Expression, or to meet with so much Injustice, Cruelty, and Insolence, as will here be met with, and not kindle a little with Indignation; which is not inconsistent even with Stoicism, when the Cause of our Country is in question. All the favour I desire in this case is, that the Reader will not leap over Mountains in their Histories, and stumble at Mole-Hills in mine.

The Ancients had a very great Advantage over the Moderns in writing History; they had Liberty of Genius, and were under no Restraints but those of Truth and Decency: which, as to Decency was none at all, because with them what was true was decent. The Freedom of ancient Greece and Rome appear'd in all their Writings, and the Greatness of Soul in Greeks and Romans, a happy Effect of that Freedom, privileg'd every Citizen to speak and write what he thought would conduce most to the common Good, whether it reflected on Archons or Consuls, Senarors or Priests. King Charles II. asking Vossius why it was, the Ancients wrote better than the Moderns, that Learned Critick reply'd, The Ancients wrote in Free Governments, where Learning only flourishes. When afterwards Rome had lost her Liberty, her new Masters, the Emperors, did not presently tie up the Tongues, and put Fetters on the Pens of the Romans; not only Augustus, but Tiberius bore even with the Invectives of those Historians, who could not bear the Slavery they impos'd upon them, nor forget the Happiness and Glory of the Republick. Tacitus, tho' Contemporary with the Tyranny of Domitian, blesses himself for the Privilege, which the Romans still enjoy'd, 100 Years after the Commonwealth had no more a Being, Rara Temporum Felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet. They think what they please, and speak what they think: And whenever that Privilege ceases, it is to be hop'd History will cease with it; for it must then degenerate into Flattery, and so misrepresent Persons and Things, that Posterity would know no more of past Times, than we could do of the Civil Wars, their Causes and Effects, by what we read in the History of the Rebellion, and Archdeacon Echard's; which disagreeing with Rushworth, Whitlock, and other fair Writers, so acknowledg'd by Mr. Echard, must be themselves unfair.

It is very probable I may be censur'd for speaking freely of the Kings in the following Reigns, but I assure myself that Censure will be pass'd by such only as are not sufficiently acquainted with the Rules and Manners of History; as Mr. Archdeacon shews he is not, when he values himself on his considering those Kings chiefly according to the Dignity of their Offices, which borders so near upon Nonsense, that it is ridiculous or unintelligible: For when Kings do not maintain the Dignity of their Offices, which is to govern according to Law and Justice, the Endeavours of an Historian to do it for them, will be vain and fruitless. He adds, He has been fearful of examining and exposing their private Vices and Extravagancies. Decency commands to throw them into Shades. To search into their Recesses, is presumptuous. Ought not an Historian to examine into the Waste of the immense Treasures squander'd by King Charles II. for fear of discovering they were consum'd by the Ladies? Does Decency command us to throw his Double-dealing with God and Man, in pretending Zeal for the Protestant Religion, when he was a Papist, into Shades? Should we not search into the Recesses of his Negotiations with France for a Pension, to enable him to live without Parliaments, lest we be guilty of Presumption?

The Noble Lord Hollis, that Patriot and Confessor for the Cause of Liberty in two of the following Reigns, did not think it presumptuous to search into this Recess, and to charge King Charles II. with conspiring the Subversion and Destruction of the Protestant Religion, as will be seen, p. 647. How idly then does the Archdeacon talk of treating that Prince, chiefly according to the Dignity of his Office? Had Lord Hollis so treated him, we should never have known that he had enter'd into a League to subvert and destroy the Church of England, which must always be understood in the first place, when the Protestant Religion is mention'd, as it is by my Lord Hollis: For the True Church of England, such as it was in the Days of King Edward VI. such as it was under Archbishop Grindal, Archbishop Abbot, and many other pious primitive Bishops even in the Stuartine Reigns, such as it has been ever since the Abdication of King James II. and such as it is now under her present Fathers, eminent for Learning and all Christian and Humane Virtues; I say, this True Church of England, is the True Protestant Religion, and so acknowledg'd, and as such reverenc'd by all the Reform'd in Christendom.

I desire the Reader to take particular notice, that Lord Hollis charges King Charles II. with a Design to subvert the Religion of his Country; and then to read what Dr. Welwood says of Cæsar. Lucan is not content, only to deliver him down to Posterity, as the Subverter of the Laws and Liberties of his Country, which he truly was, and than which no greater Infamy can possibly be cast upon any Name; but, &c. How afraid some Persons have been, lest I should be too warm, as if Infamy could be too warmly dealt with! Lord Hollis and Dr. Welwood are my Counsel in this Case.

I know some ignorant Persons among the Disaffected, who abound with them, have objected, that to say any thing of the Princes of the House of Stuart, is raking the Ashes of the Dead, of whom nothing should be said but what is good; which is very just as to private Characters, De Mortuis nil nisi Bonum. If they offended, they will offend no more. They stood on low Ground, were little seen or observ'd. They and their Actions pass off like a Dream. We should be silent with respect to those on whom Death has impos'd eternal Silence. To take advantage of their Mortality to insult and defame them, is barbarous and impious. However, it is not so as to Princes, otherwise than as Defamation and Insolence are always impious and barbarous. Their Vices are contagious, and infect whole Kingdoms. Their Actions live, and affect the Living, when they are mouldering in their superb Monuments. They stood on the most lofty Ground, and their Examples are like glorious Suns, to enlighten and enliven all those that come after them; or like Beacons, to shew when and where there is Danger, and warn People to be upon their Guard. If nothing but what is Good was to be said of Emperors and Kings, we had never heard of the Fate of Uriah, or the Fortune of his Wife; and of the Twelve Cæsars, we had never had the History but of three or four. Were there any thing in this Objection, it would damn all History at once; which, being universally allow'd to be the most useful, as well as pleasant Part of Literature, needs no Defence from us.

It is great pity Mr. Archdeacon had not inform'd himself better of the Duty of an Historian, before he took upon him that Character. He has not only consider'd the Stuartine Kings chiefly according to the Dignity of their Offices, he has done the same by their Ancestor Mary Queen of Scots, whom I have spoken of, according to the Truth of History, prov'd by Mr. Anderson in his Collection of Records; in defiance of which, Mr. Echard asserts, She was a Princess of singular Piety towards God:

But,

But, as he sometimes does, a Line or two after he contradicts himself, and says, It was believ'd her Misfortunes proceeded from the Vengeance of Heaven, for such secret Crimes of her's, as Anderson, who search'd into the Recesses of her Conduct, has made publick.

I beg leave to copy from the Critical History a Paragraph or two on this Subject, since it very much behoves me to vindicate myself for not following Mr. Echard's Precept with respect to Decorums, tho' instead of a Vindication, I might have urg'd his not having follow'd it himself; but better Authority will be requir'd of me, and better I cannot have, than that of our late Protestant Queen Mary, whose adorable Virtues will make her Memory ever dear to all good Britons; who, tho' she had more reason to resent any hard Sayings against her Ancestor Mary Queen of Scots, than all Mankind besides, justify'd the speaking of her more freely than I have done: for asking Dr. Burnet, when she was Princess of Orange, why King James her Father was so sharpen'd against Monsieur Jurieu? and the Doctor telling her, It was for some Indecencies spoken of Mary Queen of Scots, which cast Reflections on them that descended from her: That divine Princess reply'd, Jurieu must support the Cause he defends, and expose those that persecuted it in the best way he can; if what he says of Mary Queen of Scots be true, he is not to be blam'd, who made that use of it. Which is a full Answer to all that can be said of my speaking freely of that Queen or her Descendants; and I shall have reason to despise it, till a better Authority, than that Religious and Belov'd Princess who said it, is produc'd against me. She was pleas'd to add, If Princes will do ill Things, they must expect the World will take Revenge of their Memory, since they cannot reach their Persons. That is but a small Suffering, far short of what others suffer at their hands. Sentiments so just and angelical, as shew how much superiour a true Christian Spirit is to all Humane Wisdom and Philosophy. Upon another Occasion, hearing some Historians blam'd for reflecting on the Memory of certain Princes, she said, If those Princes were really such as those Historians represented them, they well deserv'd that Treatment; and others, who tread their Steps, might look for the same; for Truth will be told at last. These Lessons having the Sanction of so Wise, so Virtuous, so Illustrious a Princess, need not be confirm'd by any other. Indeed all other would, after these, be poor and languishing. Those that demand more, will find enough to convince them, if they are capable of Conviction, in the Introduction to the second Volume of the Critical History, where I have also discuss'd this Matter, and where a greater Freedom of both Thought and Expression than will be found in this History, is warranted by both the Precepts and Examples of ancient and modern Criticks and Historians. A Reflection which will arm me against all arbitrary Decisions, that the Work is too warm; for till the Reasons and Authorities that are urg'd here and there for such Freedom are answer'd, I shall not reckon myself touch'd in any such Charge, nor be concern'd about it, but very reasonably assure myself that those who make it know nothing of the matter: especially considering, that some who have seen part of this History, have really thought it not warm enough; and how to steer safely between two such Rocks, not warm enough, and too warm, was equally difficult and dangerous. A Writer in this case is to follow the best Light that offers; and the Reader will but do him justice, if he allows, that probably he who seriously study'd both Thought and Expression, may as well be in the right, as he who runs them over cursorily for Amusement and Pleasure.

Ep Burnet.

The next Hold the Enemies to this Design will endeavour to take of me, will be from those Passages that speak of, Episcopacy, Bishops and Clergy, which they will be sure to call the Church, in the sense Archbishop Laud and his Disciples understood it; Altars, Images, Consecrations, Tapers, Bowings, Forms, Mitres, Crosciers, Hoods, Titles, Territories, Courts and Revenues. In which sense Bishop Burnet says there's a Charm in the Word, which gives it all Shapes, and applies it to all Uses: But I desire to be permitted to understand Church in a Primitive Apostolical Sense, a Congregation of Christian Believers, met together to worship God in Sincerity and Truth; and if I have in any place given offence to that Church, I am inexcusable, and at mercy. As this Definition is far from excluding Bishops, who had Pastoral Care of the Churches so early as the Apostles Days: so neither does it unchurch foreign Protestants, nor those in England, Scotland, and Ireland, who are not under Episcopal Discipline; which being the Establishment, requires the Respect and Homage that are due to the Law, when it is exercis'd with Prudence and Moderation, as we have seen it ever since the Revolution; and had the like Episcopal Discipline prevail'd in the Church, and had the like Reverend, Pious and Learned Fathers, the Bishops, had the Exercise of it from the Beginning of the Reformation till now; the Church had never been in Danger, nor the State in any Trouble about it. But having consider'd what may be objected on this Article in

the Preface to the Critical History before cited, I chuse to borrow what is there said, because I have been inform'd, it has given Satisfaction to some who were prepar'd to take Offence at the bare mentioning of the Bishops and Clergy.

“ As it was necessary to name the ill Instruments made use of in carrying on the bad Work, during the Reigns after Queen Elizabeth, and those ill Instruments consisting of Ecclesiasticks, as well as Lay-Men, I could not avoid making frequent mention of the former; not out of any Disregard to the Sacred Function, but to answer the Truth of History, and lay the Mischiefs which have happen'd to these Kingdoms since that time, at the doors of those that did them.

“ I know very well that the Clergy of the Church of England are the best Defence and Ornament of the Protestant Religion, and that both in City and Country there are many, for whom one cannot have too much Deference. I must needs own the Malignity has lain chiefly among the rural Priesthood; but among them have I also met with many Pious and Learned Ministers, Men of good Sense and Worth, whose Minds have been larger, and more ingenuous, than to give into the rigid Notions of such as have been misled by Pride, Passion, Interest, and Ignorance, as were the Laudæan Persecuting Clergy, who, and who only, are spoken of in the following History with any Disadvantage to their Character; and it is with great Pleasure that I have lately observ'd the Number of the latter to be much diminish'd.”

I cannot think any of those good Men will apply to themselves what is said of such as have not their Virtues and Abilities; or that those who have given no Offence by their Conduct, will be offended at what is said of those who have. Let me have this Quarter from them, and I desire no more.

I shall doubtless be cavill'd at by the smaller Criticks, for mixing ludicrous Expressions with the Gravity of History. I know what they have been taught of its Dignity and Majesty, that comparing it with Musick, it must be all of the solemn Cathedral Kind: And as we are told by the Connoisseurs, that Musick cannot descend lower than the Gay, so also History cannot descend lower than the Pleasant; that neither of them admit of Mirth and Laughter, and consequently Jest should be turn'd out of History, as Figgs out of Musick. And in the general this is true; but as there are no Generals without Exceptions, so the History of England, during the Period here treated, is an Exception to all Historical Rules, both Persons and Things being the most out of the way of any that were ever thought worth remembrance.

Now, as Wickedness and Folly are constant Companions, among a great many wicked Acts we must necessarily find a great many foolish ones; and 'tis as natural for Folly to excite Mirth, as for Wickedness to move Terror.

The Steps which Fools take to carry a Point, will always bear the Marks of their Folly; their Pretences will be vain and positive, their Disguises thin and apparent, their Assertions bold and absurd, their Principles false and inconsistent: In all which is the Ridiculum, as much as in Falstaffe or Foppington; and it is impossible to keep them company, and much less to shew them, without laughing. I need not say who are the Fools in this History, their Actions will sufficiently bewray them: and I must confess I could not help, amidst so much Provocation, being sometimes merry myself, and endeavouring to make the Reader so. To be always declaiming against cruel and illegal Acts of Government, exorbitant Taxes, Fines, Punishments, tyrannous Prelates and their Courts, ravenous Minions, Mistresses and Ministers, and whatever else is peculiar to these Reigns, would have been like beginning a Tragedy with the Catastrophe, and staining every Scene with Blood, without any Relief to the Spectator; for the ease of whose Mind, it has been found convenient to have a Run of farce, for which the Heroes of the History of the Rebellion, have plentifully supply'd us with Materials. I have not avoided making frequent use of the Irony, tho' I was caution'd against it in an Apprehension that weak and wrong Heads wou'd not distinguish Jest from Earnest. But no Author, I believe, proposes to himself the Entertainment of wrong and weak Heads; if he does, he runs a great risk of entertaining no body else, and then I leave it to him to think how laudably he will spend his Time, and his Study. I could not be convinc'd that the Stile of Indictment would be always more agreeable and useful than that of Raillery, which is the surest way to keep the Reader awake, who will be apt to fall asleep under perpetual Declamation, and Remonstrance.

As to the Scotch and Irish Affairs, I have not enter'd far into that History: I should have gone much farther, especially as to the Affairs of Scotland, if I had been so happy as to have known some worthy Gentlemen, who could and would have assisted me, so well before I had finish'd this Work, as I have done since. And as to Ireland, I knew little of the Transactions there, but what are in the common Memoirs. Besides, in the forming of this Design, I had in view chiefly the History of England,

as the Title shews; and intended only to touch the History of the other two Kingdoms as it came in my way; not out of Disrespect, for I ever regarded them as England's most dear Sisters, but for want of more Room and more Information.

The Helps I receiv'd towards carrying on this Work, by Manuscripts and Information, were, as will be easily perceiv'd, very considerable from Persons of Ability and Eminence; whose Names, tho' they wou'd do honour to my History, I dare not publish without their Approbation: It wou'd be neither decent nor discreet, and might hazard the Loss of their Good Will, and Good Offices on another occasion. I do not examine what Reason there may be for any Shyness in this case, because it ought to have affected me more than others, if it has really weight in it. Shou'd I be in an Error, 'tis so pleasing a one, that I am as loth to come out of it, as young People are to awake out of those Dreams, in which their Fancies took pleasure.

The Assistance I had by printed Histories, old Pamphlets, and State-Papers, was at least as good as any Historian cou'd hope for, and it will be allow'd when it is known, that I was assisted by Francis Bennet Esq; of Merefield in Dorsetshire, and Dr. Fraser of London, who had been fifty Years making Collections of Histories, Pamphlets and Papers proper for my Subject. I might add many other Names of Gentlemen, who furnish'd me with the like Materials; but many other Names wou'd come short of those two, and are therefore unnecessary.

I have mention'd one great Advantage the Ancients had over the Moderns in writing History, which was the Liberty of their Genius, and they had another, which was the Credit they were in with their Readers; we do not find the Margents of Thucydides and Livy crouded with Authorities. The Historian's own Word was taken, but now an Author must bring somebody to be bound for him; tho' if a Reader cannot trust a Writer, he had better have no Dealings with him. If a Man's Conscience will let him lye in History, his Discretion will hardly restrain him. Quotations are no infallible Security against the Fraud and Artifice of an Historian, if his own Honour is not engag'd. However, I have mention'd my Authorities in most Places out of Complacency to the Infidelity of the Age; and when I have not so done, it is generally when the Facts have not been of much consequence, or were so well known, that they attested themselves.

There happen in this difficult Period many Events, which may be suspected, and several Reflections, more proper for others to make than the Author; which has led him to the use of some Writers, of whose Merit he had no great Esteem, tho' never but in Places where he thought what they said was true, a Rule he set himself from the Beginning, and pursu'd it to the End of his Work, and where they corroborated other Evidence. Of this kind are Peyton, Welden, Walker, Lilly, Cokc. He has here and there not told the whole Truth, it being too strong for weak Stomachs; tho' he shou'd have ventur'd to have reported, that Queen Anne of Denmark, Consort to King James the First, died a Papist; had he known it in time. It were to be wish'd Gentlemen had been earlier with their Communication, and wou'd be so for the future, if he writes the succeeding Reigns.

The Historian has, from the Freedom of his Thoughts and Expression, reason to expect various Attacks from various Sorts of Persons, every one of whom will mistake him and his Meaning, if they interpret him in any other Sense than that of the Protestant Religion, and Protestant Succession; the Rights, Liberties, Properties and Privileges of Britons. But if any of these mistaken People shall treat him as a Man who loves and endeavours to serve his Country deserves to be treated, with Moderation and Decency, he will do his utmost to undeceive them; and if he is deceiv'd himself, own it, and sincerely thank those that shall set him right, where he is wrong. He has no where err'd willingly, or knowingly, and in case it should so happen by Misinformation or Misunderstanding, he wou'd be so far from being asham'd of owning an Error, that he shou'd take a pride in it, as doing a Service to Truth.

Whatever Criticisms are made on his History, he hopes they will be according to the Rule of Horace and Longinus, those great Master Criticks. Horace says,

— non ego paucis

Offendar Maculis; quas aut Incuria fudit,

Aut humana parum cavit Natura—

I will not quarrel with a slight Mistake,
Such as our Nature's Frailty may excuse.

Rosc.

No Author shou'd be condemn'd for Slips and Negligences, which may have escap'd him thro' Incaution, or the Imperfection of Human Nature. Longinus explains this farther in his thirtieth Chapter. Of this kind are two or three Repetitions in these four Reigns; so also are was for were, is for arc, their Contraries, and the like. Of this

this kind are Errors in Figures, Dates, or Sums, which, as well as the others, are for the most part Print-Faults; and those who would quarrel with him on their account, must do it for quarrelling sake, and be a Sort of People, with whom he would avoid Contention, as much as with a litigious, vexatious Petty-fogger, or a snarling, cavilling Pedant. As these Oversights are easily perceiv'd, so they are easily corrected, and a small Portion of Candour will excuse them, considering so great a Number of Sheets past through the Press in little more than three Months. As for the Common Answerers, such as fell immediately on Bishop Burnet's Memoirs, and wait for the coming out of a Book, as Ravens and Crows hover over a Field of Battle for Prey; as for the Weekly Scriblers, &c. he will not trouble himself about them, and probably he'll never hear, as he never will care, what they say.

Some worthy Gentlemen have intimated, they should have been better pleas'd, had the History been continu'd to the Death of his late Majesty King George, or at least to that of Queen Anne, as the last of the direct Line of Stuart; but that would have broken in upon my Design, which I set a sort of value upon for its Simplicity, it being only an historical Plan of the Design of the Stuartine Kings to subvert the Constitution, in which the Female Branches had no Concern, and consequently could not regularly come into this History: Besides, the Reign of King William, who had the sole Exercise of the Sovereign Power, put an end to that of the Royal House of Stuart, which reviv'd again in Queen Anne, and again died with her.

I confess I have little hope that the Simplicity of Design, which I set such a value upon, will have the like Merit with the Readers; for all Histories which have hitherto been publish'd in English, have not the Appearance of any. They are for the most part a Confusion of Method and Events, Journals, Annals, Biography, without regard to Conduct or Style. The Style of the History of the Rebellion, as florid as it is, is as vicious in History, as Musick would be in a Sermon. 'Tis declamatory and verbose to a Prodigy, and almost all other historical Stiles, are either so poor or so affected, that it is very plain the Historians were not Masters of their Art.

There is a Difficulty in the first Thought of Undertaking the Reigns since the Revolution, which is hard to be got over; and that is, that the Events are recent, and the Persons who transacted them either living, or their Sons, Grandsons, or Great Grandsons, who will take the Alarm at the very Sound of their Names.

We are all of us so jealous of our Glory, that we cannot bear any Report, which touches ever so little those we are a-kin to, for fear it should be any Diminution of it. A Report being true, is so far from justifying it, that it adds to the Offence, and if the Heroism does not descend with the Name thro' every Generation, the Historian is in peril of making the Race his Enemies. There is something very silly and ridiculous in this Vanity, but that does not hinder its prevailing. It is no more a shame to me that my Father or Grandfather was a weak or ill Man, than that he was Crooked, or a Cripple, I could no more help the one than the other; and no Man is accountable for what he cannot help: Yet I am afraid the remembring even bodily Infirmities would be construd to be Scandal and Malice, and put an Author at variance with a whole Clan. Nay, I should not have wonder'd if Banks the Poet had been prosecuted for bringing Lord Burleigh's Humpback upon the Stage, in his Earl of Essex. True it is, this was not the way of thinking in the Classical Ages; if it had, there had been no such thing as History: but there being two or three other things, in which we differ from the Greeks and Romans, we will dwell no longer upon this.

Will it be any Complement to the Age we live in, for their Understanding and Generosity, that the second Part of Bishop Burnet's History of his Times is not printed, because some Passages in it reflect on the Conduct of certain Persons, whose Sons and Grandsons might be offended! Is it possible to write the History of any Nation and Time without such Passages, unless one can suppose it was an Age of Gold, and all those who liv'd in it were Heroes and Demi-Gods? It is a very whimsical Business, when'tis a little thought of.

I have collected Materials for the Reigns of King William, Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George; and if I meet with no other Discouragement than this vain Humour, I shall continue my History in another Volume to the Death of his late Majesty, and take my Fate with Truth, which is great, and will prevail. In those good Reigns there will be little need of Political Reflections, they are too full of Action and Glory to suffer any Interruption in the Narration, except a cloudy Interval or two in part of King William's Reign, and the latter End of Queen Anne's.

I begin the Year always with the first of January, as it has always been in use among Historians, a few Instances of English Writers excepted. The Computation from the 25th of March is peculiar to Law and Commerce, and that too chiefly in England; tho' I know not for what reason, it having already occasion'd great Confusion, especially in History.



A LIST of so many of the SUBSCRIBERS NAMES, as have come to hand.

A.

SIR Thomas Allen *Bart.*
 Robert Atwood *Esq;* one of the Directors
 of the Bank.
 William Ashurst *Esq;*
 Joseph Andrews *Esq;* of Lincolns-Inn-Fields, 2.
 Amos Alderton *Esq;* of Malden in Essex.
 Anthony Allen *Esq;* Master in Chancery.
 George Andrews *Esq;* of Shepton-Mallet in Som-
 ersetshire.
 Charles Asgill *Esq;*
 John Allen *M. D.* of Bridgwater, Somersetshire.
 Rev. Mr. Benjamin Andrews Atkinson.
 Rev. Mr. Thomas Amory of Taunton.
 Mr. William Andrews of Holbourn.
 Mr. Richard Adams of Illington.
 Mr. Richard Avery, jun.
 Mr. John Abell.
 Mr. Joseph Alleine.
 Mr. Samuel Allen, Attorney.
 Mr. Joseph Allein, Writing-Master.
 Mr. Samuel Adams of Illington.

B.

THE Right Hon. the Earl of Buchan.
 Hon. George Bridges *Esq;*
 William Benson *Esq;* of Wilberry in Wilts.
 Joseph Browne *Esq;* of Shepton-Mallet, Somers-
 etshire, 5.
 Charles Bernard *Esq;*
 John Bright *Esq;*
 George Balch *Esq;* of Bridgwater, Somerset-
 shire.
 John Balch *Esq;* of Bridgwater.
 Thomas Ball *Esq;* of Minthead.
 Robert Booth *Esq;*
 William Bryan *Esq;* of St. Edmond's-Bury,
 Suffolk.
 Henry Baker *Esq;* Collector of the Customs in
 Chichester.
 Robert Bowes *Esq;* of Thornton.
 Robert Bicknell, sen. *Esq;* of the Inner-Temple.
 Joseph Brown *Esq;*
 John Bance *Esq;*
 John Burton *Esq;*
 Stamp Brookesbank *Esq;* Member of Parliament
 for Colchester.
 Richard Benyon *Esq;* Large Paper.
 William Brockman *Esq;*
 Nathaniel Brasley *Esq;*
 John Boulton *Gent.*
 Roger Boulton *Gent.*
 Mrs. Barker of Hampstead, Large Paper.
 Samuel Bowden *M. D.* of Frome, Somersetshire.
 Rev. Mr. Ball *A. M.* Prebendary of Chichester.
 Rev. Mr. Thomas Bradbury of London.
 Rev. Mr. Peter Bradbury of London.
 Rev. Mr. Samuel Bury of Bristol.
 Rev. Mr. Malachy Blake, of Blandford, Dorset.
 Rev. Mr. Baker of Sitrington, Yorkshire.
 Rev. Mr. Bates of Warminster, Wilts.
 Rev. Mr. Brook of Norwich.

Rev. Mr. John Bent.
 Rev. Mr. John Ball of Honiton.
 Rev. Mr. Batten of Charmouth, 2.
 Rev. Mr. Bernard Banger of Stoford.
 Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Bradshaw of Ramsgate, Kent.
 Rev. Mr. Thomas Bures.
 Rev. Mr. Theodorus Bolton.
 Rev. Mr. John Barker of Hackney.
 Rev. Mr. Brooks of Hackney.
 Mr. Richard Baylis.
 Mr. John Bradbury, Apothecary, in Southamp-
 ton Buildings.
 Mr. Samuel Burgin of London, Timber-Merchant.
 Mr. William Barnes of Bristol, Merchant.
 Mr. Richard Birch of Southampton-Buildings.
 Mr. Ebenezer Briggs of King-street, London.
 Mr. Samuel Birch, Corn-factor.
 Mr. Brent, Purveyor of the Horse-Guards.
 Mr. Thomas Barbar, Officer of the Excise in
 Bungay, Suffolk.
 Mr. Samuel Baker of Bridgwater.
 Mr. John Bicknel of Bridgwater.
 Mr. Samuel Bullstrode of Bridgwater.
 Mr. Arthur Bettesworth, Bookseller.
 Mr. Daniel Browne, Bookseller.
 Mr. Jeremiah Batley, Bookseller.
 Mr. Weaver Bickerton, Bookseller.
 Mr. Samuel Birt, Bookseller.
 Mr. Nicholas Blunt of Uxbridge.
 Mr. Edward Blunt of Uxbridge.
 Mr. Thomas Bold of New-Inn.
 Mr. John Brackstone of Southampton, Merchant.
 Mrs. Brown of Gainsford in Middlesex.
 Mr. Joseph Brackstone.
 Mr. Anthony Burward.
 Mr. William Boyle of Cork.
 Mr. John Burkitt.
 Mr. Joseph Button, Bookseller in Newcastle up-
 on Tine.
 Mr. Edmund Baugh.
 Mr. Joseph Bradney, Apothecary.
 Mr. Samuel Brighton, Merchant.
 Mr. Martin Bryson, Bookseller, in Newcastle up-
 on Tine, 7.
 Mr. Papillon Ball, Merchant.
 Mr. William Boyfield.
 Mr. Joseph Brandon, Merchant, in Boston, N. E.
 Mr. Philip Brown of London, Linmen-Draper.
 Mr. Samuel Bateman, Attorney.
 Mr. James Bingham.
 Mr. Thomas Buxton.
 Mr. Blackford.
 Mr. Joseph Bawler.
 Mr. John Brett, of Milbourn-Port, Somersetshire.
 Mr. Richard Buller.

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 Benjamin Collyer, jun. *Esq;* Large Paper.
 Edward Clarke *Esq;* of Chipley, Somersetshire.
 Anthony Collins *Esq;* of Essex.
 Langford Collen *Esq;* of Elton, Nottinghamshire.

Thomas Crisp *Esq*; *Member of Parliament for*
Ilchester.

John Clarke, *of Millis, Esq*;

John Carbonell *Esq*;

William Churchill *Esq*;

Roger Clavell *Esq*; *of Steeple in the Isle of Pur-*
bec, Dorset.

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Rev. Mr. John Cox.

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Daniel Causton of Halstead, Essex, Gent.

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Mr. Richard Codrington of Bridgwater.

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Mr. John Castell.

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D.

Right Hon. George Doddington *Esq*; *one of*
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Treasury.

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Gloucestershire.

Jeremiah Dummer Esq; *Agent for New-England.*

John Dean Esq; *Large Paper.*

Benjamin Derby Esq; *of Shireburn, Dorset, 3.*

George Duckett Esq; *Commissioner of the Excise,*
Large Paper.

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Capt. Daffey.

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Mr. William Davis of Bridgwater.

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Mr. Thomas Davis of Bridgwater.

Mr. James Deacon of the Custom-House, London.

Mr. Samuel Dyer.

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E.

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Bart. Member of Parliament for Boston.

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sty's Customs.

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John Fenwick Esq; *of Burrow-Hall.*

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Mr. Simon Grimsted.

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Anthony Hammond *Esq; of Westminster.*
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William Hucks *Esq; Member of Parliament for Wallingford.*
Robert Hucks *Esq; Member of Parliament for Abingdon, 2.*
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Robert Henley *Esq;*
James Hamilton *Esq; Member of Parliament for Wendover.*
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Matthew Howard *Esq;*
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Thomas Hollis *Esq;*
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Richard Jackson *Esq;*
Thomas Johnes *Esq; of Bedford-Row.*
John Jacob *Esq;*
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Mr. William Jesser of Bread-street, London.
Mr. Samuel Johnson.
Mr. John Jennings.

Mr. Joseph Jeffery.
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Richard Ireland, *Merchant.*
Mr. Thomas Johnson.
Mr. Richard Jackson.
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K.

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M.

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 Capt. Thomas Mead, belonging to His Majesty's Navy.
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 Mr. Jonathan Mercer.
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 Henry Partridge *Esq;* *Large Paper.*
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 Mr. William Pickard; *Scarlet-Dyer.*
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 Mr. Samuel Parvish of Guildford, *G.*
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Q.

Matthew Chitty St. Quintin *Esq;*

R.

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 Christopher Roberts *Esq;* *Consul of Viana.*
 Richard Reynolds *Esq;*
 Paul Risley *Esq;*
 Rev. Richard Rigby, *M. D.*
 Rev. Mr. Rutter of South Petherton, Somersetshire.
 Rev. Mr. Henry Read.
 Rev. Mr. Thomas Ridgley.
 Rev. Mr. James Read.
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 Mr. Matthew Rolleston.
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 Mr. James Rocke, *Goldsmith.*
 Mr. James Ruck.
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 Mr. David Richards of Bridge-end, Glamorgan-shire.
 Mr. Samuel Rickards.
 Mr. Samuel Rhodes.
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 Mr. John Rous of Bishop-Stortford.
 Mr. Richard Rickards of the Minorities.
 Mr. John Reynolds, *Timber-Merchant.*
 Mr. Benjamin Rome of Bristol, *Bookfeller.*

S.

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 John Sawbridge *Esq;* *Large Paper.*
 Samuel Sandys *Esq;* *Member of Parliament for Worcester.*
 James Samson *Esq;* of the Inner-Temple.
 William Snelling *Esq;*
 John Sibbel *Esq;*
 Matthew Stewart *Esq;* of Newtone.
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 Rev. Mr. William Sedgely of Wareham, Dorset.
 Rev. Mr. John Somervail.
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 Rev. Mr. Edward Sandercock.
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 Rev. Mr. John Sprint of Milbourn-Port, Somersetshire.
 Rev. Mr. Jos. Symmonds of Maidenhead.
 Mr. John Sealy of Dulverton, Somersetshire.

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 Mr. Edward Silcock.
 Mr. John Saunders of Yeovil.
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 Mr. John Stevens.
 Mr. Walter Scot, *Surgeon*.
 Mr. Denham Stiles.
 Mr. James Stuart of Ormskirk.
 Mr. William Shrimpton, *Apothecary*.
 Mr. William Sedgwick, *Surgeon*.
 Mr. Robert Stuart, *Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh*.

T.

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 St. Quintin Thompson *Esq;*
 John Tracy *Esq;* of Stenway in Gloucestershire.
 James Theobald *Esq;*
 John Travell jun. *Esq;*
 William Tillard *Esq;* 2
Rev. Mr. Abraham Taylor, 3.
Rev. Mr. David Tweed of Cork.
Rev. Mr. John Tren of Colchester, 2.
 Thomas Taylor *M. D.* of Myton, Yorkshire.
 Aaron Tozer, jun. of Exon, *Bookseller, 14.*
 Mr. William Taylor.
 Mr. Joseph Tucker.
 Mr. Thomas Beacon Townshend.
 Mr. Thomas Turnbull.
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 Mr. Daniel Turvin.
 Mr. Thomas Teaton.
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 John Vowler of Bellair, *Gent.*
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Rev. John Underhill M. A. of Great-Dunmow in Essex.
Rev. Mr. ——— Upton, Rector of Pendummer.
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W.

Right Hon. the Earl of Warrington, Large Paper.
Right Hon. Hugh Lord Willoughby of Parham.
Sir Thomas Wheate of Oxfordshire Bart.
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 Henry Walrond of Tudwill *Esq;*
 Humphry Wyrley of the Inner-Temple, *Esq;*
 John Wright *Esq;*
 John Weedon *Esq;* of Uxbridge.
 George Wanley *Esq;*
 Thomas Wylde *Esq;* of Worcester, *Large Paper*.
 Samuel Whetcomb *Esq;*
 Thomas Watfon *Esq;*
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Rev. Mr. Daniel Wilcox.
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Rev. Mr. Whitear.
 Francis Walrond of Ottery, *Gent.*
 Col. Williamson of the Tower.
 Capt. John Woodward of West-ham.
 Mr. Wright of Shirburne, Dorsetshire.
 Mr. Richard Windlow.
 Mr. John Wraxhall of Bristol, *Merchant*.
 Mr. Nathaniel Wraxhall of Bristol.
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 Mr. Henry Watts, of London, *Jeweller*.
 Mr. Timothy Wild of London.
 Mr. William Wildman, *Apothecary*.
 Mr. Francis Warren.

Y.

Honourable Sir William Yonge, Knight of the Bath, and one of the Lords of the Admiralty.
 E. Young *Esq;*
 Mr. Thomas Young of Pool, Dorsetshire.



ERRATA.

In turning over the History, for the *Index*, the Author met with these *Errata*, and probably overlook'd others.

PAge 1. line 27. read *without*. p. 3. l. 51. read *the mess*. p. 84. l. 33. dele *of*. p. 173. l. 7. read *the*. p. 182. l. 7. read *so join with a Committee*. p. 213. l. 36. read *Army*. 214. l. 63. read *leaving*. 215. l. penult. read 20000. 244. l. 6. read *Irish War*. p. 313. l. 49. dele *who*. p. 334. l. 32. dele *were*. p. 392. l. 45. read *Head*. p. 419.

l. 63. dele *in*. 419. l. 66. read *defended*. 420. l. ~~7~~ dele *that*. p. 422. l. 50. dele *and*. 432. l. 51. read *and have enjoyed*. p. 433. l. 32. read *muster*. p. 441. l. 20. dele *fer*. p. 443. l. 3. read *have*. p. 444. l. 12. dele *un*. p. 491. l. 42. read *It was*. p. 545. l. 9. read *was not*. p. 561. l. 30. read *that kind*. p. 563. l. 25. read *between*. p. 588, & 592. dele *Lemmas*. p. ~~5~~ where 200000 Pounds Revenue, read 2000000 Pounds, King Charles II's Revenue.



INTRODUCTION.



NOTHING has more corrupted the Truth of History, than the false Representations of the several Reforms which have been attempted in the Christian Church since it fell under the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome. The Reformers have always been charged

with Heresy and Schism, Sedition and Fanaticism, with broaching new Doctrine and *novel Discipline*: It being asserted, with the greatest Assurance, by all Writers who usurp the Character of Orthodox, that the Government of the Primitive Church was by Archbishops, Bishops, Déans, and Chapters, Archdeacons, Chancellors, and the like, in the very same Form as at present in the Church of France as well as England; and that *Presbytery* was not so much as known till about the Year 1564.

It may seem strange to begin a History of England with Reflections on Ecclesiastical Government; but it will appear very natural, when the Reader observes, that all the Troubles and Misfortunes during the Reigns I am about writing, were owing solely to the Spirit that animated this Controversy; which is really much more temporal than spiritual, and concerns the State much more than the Church: For take away the Dignities, Revenues, Courts, Privileges, and Prerogatives, which are all civil Matters, and Protestants would soon agree in the Ecclesiastical, as exhibited in the Apostolical Constitution.

But the temporal Part, those Dignities, Revenues, Courts, Privileges, and Prerogatives, which were impossible to be establish'd till the Empire became Christian, are now asserted to be the very Essence of that Church, which had a Being several hundred Years before there cou'd be any such Establishment: The Powers of the World being then Enemies to the Kingdom of Christ; whose Subjects did not then understand, that Dominion and Lordships were the Inheritance he left them.

'Tis very easy to conceive, that worldly Things wou'd make a strong Impression on worldly Minds, and that those who were in Possession of them, wou'd not be willing to part with them, or to exchange Power for Purity, and Revenue for Reformation. And, on the other hand, that Men of Conscience and Principle, convinced of the abominable Corruptions of the Church of Rome, wou'd abhor all her superstitious Innovations, and be zealous for a Reformation agreeable to the Gospel and the Practice of the first Christians. On the Side of the former, were Pride, Avarice, Bigotry, and Ignorance. On the side of the latter, were only Knowledge, Piety, and Conscience. In such a Contest, the most enlighten'd must needs be the least prevalent, as long as Men are governed by

their Senses and Passions, more than by their Understanding and Reason; which, as it was from the beginning, is likely to last till the End of all Things.

The Princes of the Earth, from whom the spiritual *Hierarchy* derive their temporal Honours and Riches, have always been flatter'd by the most corrupt of them, with divine and unlimited Authority; in which they have, in return, been admitted to a Share to the Ruin of Religion, and the Oppression of the People.

There have not in all Ages been wanting godly and zealous Men, who have born their Testimony against Superstition and Tyranny: And they have, in all Ages, found Encouragement from those noble and virtuous Persons, who wou'd sometimes protect as well as encourage them.

The Aggressors, therefore, from the beginning, are those, who, renouncing the sacred Liberty of the Gospel, submitted to the Papal; more grievous than Egyptian, Bondage; and when Freedom was offer'd at the Reformation, still retain'd those Marks and Blemishes of Slavery, which were rejected by the far greater Body of reformed Christians.

Is it not astonishing, that a Dignitary of our Church shou'd know so little of ecclesiastical Affairs, as to assert the Geneva Discipline to be *novel*, a Thing not heard of in England till many Years after the Reformation?

Not to insist on the Government of the Primitive Church, which is so fully explained in that admirable Treatise, entitled, *An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church*, the ancient Church. Had this learned Divine and Historian never heard of the Waldenses, who attempted a Reform about 600 Years ago? And the first Article of their Religion was, according to Pope Pius II. or *Aeneas Sylvius*; *Romanum Præsulem reliquis Episcopis parem esse; inter Sacerdotes nullum Discrimen; Presbyterum non Dignitatem sed Vitæ meritum efficere potiorum.*

“ The Bishop of Rome is equal with other Bishops; there's no Difference of Degree among Priests, and no Priest is to be esteemed for any Dignity of his Order, but for the Worthiness of his Life.”

What was the Opinion of the *Albigenses*, about the Year 1230, is not so well known; but Fox informs us, They protest chiefly against the wanton Wealth, Pride, and Tyranny of the Prelates. Yet, like the modern Reform'd, they were for *Episcopacy*, such as that of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and such as Archbishop *Usher's* Reduction. For the Sophistry of the pretended Orthodox, lies in charging the Reformed with renouncing *Episcopacy* itself; whereas they never renounced any Thing more than what the *Albigenses* had thrown off long before, tho' they retain'd Bishops: And there is not a *Calvinist* in *Christendom*, but wou'd have retain'd the Order on the same Terms; it being most certain, that there were *Bishops* and *Presbyters* in the three first Centuries, tho' it is not so certain what was

The reformed Church the ancient Church.

Bohemica Hist. Waldenses.

Albigenses.

Ech.

Hindrances to the Progress of the Reformation.

the Difference between them; but it is most sure, they were not Dukes and Counts, as in *France* and other Places.

Wickliff's.

The next Reformer of Note, was our Countryman *John Wickliff*, about an hundred Years after the Attempt of the *Albigenses*. What his Sentiments in this Matter were, may be conjectur'd by the Charge against him: *That plain Deacons and Priests may preach without Licence of Pope or Bishop; That in the Time of the Apostles, there were only two Orders, Priests and Deacons; and that a Bishop doth not differ from a Priest: And what is most shocking of all in Reformation, That Priests of bad Lives cease any longer to be Priests.* Again; *That the Church was not endow'd with any immovable Possessions before Constantine; that it is no Sacrilege to take away Things consecrated to the Church; that all beautiful Buildings of Churches, is blame-worthy, and savours of Hypocrisy.* These and many other Articles were prefer'd against him by *Thomas Walden*, a noted Doctor at *Oxford*; who, in a Letter to *Pope Martin V.* acknowledges, *he was wonderfully astonish'd at Wickliff's most strong Arguments, with the Places of Authority which he gather'd, with the Vehemency and Force of his Arguments, &c.*

Bohemians

What were the Opinions of the *Bohemians*, one may guess by their being converted by the *Waldensian* Refugees first, and confirm'd by *Wickliff's* Writings afterwards, which were transmitted to *Prague* in so great Numbers, that *Subink* the Archbishop burnt 200 of them at once, all excellently written, and finely adorn'd with Bosses of Gold and rich Coverings, as the abovementioned *Pope Pius II.* writes in his History; which gives ground to conjecture, that those Books were sent thither with the Privy of *Queen Anne*, a *Bohemian*, Wife to *Richard II.* then reigning in *England*. That Prince is commended even by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in those Days, for having *Wickliff's* Testament by her. And it was not only the meaner Sort of People who favour'd *Wickliff*, but Persons of the highest Rank and Distinction; as the Duke of *Lancaster*, *Humphry Duke of Gloucester*, and his Duchesse; the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Piercy*, the Lord *Latimer*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Montacute*, &c. As also many learned Divines, as *Reginald Pocock* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Dr. Redman*, *Philip Repington*, *David Sautre*, *William James*, *Peter Payne*, and others, Men eminent for Learning and Piety. *Polydore Virgil* informs us, that *Wickliff* went himself into *Bohemia*, where he was in high Esteem, *in magno pretio apud Bohemos suis*; which is no more true, than that he was the Author of *Wat Tyler's* Rebellion, which he is accused of by *Cope*, and other such Writers of *Church History*; and nothing is more common with them, than to blacken all Principles of *Reformation*, as rebellious or seditious; in which they have been imitated by the Lord *Clarendon* and *Mr. Eckard*.

Full. Ch. Hist. 141.

Lollards.

About the same Time flourished *Lollardus* a *German* Reformer; from him the *Wickliffists* were term'd *Lollards*, according to *Tallent*. Others think the Name was given them by the *Papists* from *Lolium*, Tares among the Wheat; or from their calling often upon God, saying, *Lord, Lord*; which, tho' it is the Opinion of the *Martyrologist*, is not so probable, as the Derivation from *Walter Lollard*, the *German* or *Austrian*, whose Followers were also every where stigmatiz'd as Sowers of Sedition and Rebellion. For the superstitious Ecclesiasticks being never able to prevail against Revelation and Reason by Argument, have always blended their private Interests with the Prince's, and born down all Opposition with Power, without which they cou'd never have supported their Domination. *John Huss* and *Ferom of Prague*, maintain'd *Wickliff's* Opinions in *Bohemia*. The Sentence of the Council of *Constance* against *Huss*, stiling him, *The wicked Son of John Wickliff of damnable Memory*. His Doctrine propagated ex-

tremely in several Parts of *Germany*, as well as *Bohemia*; many of the great Lords embracing it, as did a Multitude of the Commons. *Sir John Oldcastle*, *Sir Roger Aston*, and the *Wickliffists* in *England*, deliver'd their Sense of the Papal Hierarchy in what *Sir John* said, somewhat coarsely, *Martyr.* to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, touching the Authority of the Keys, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates: *The Pope is very Antichrist, that is, the Head; the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, be his Members, and the Friars his Tail. &c.* The *Bohemians* publish'd an Exhortation to all Kings and Princes, to excite their Zeal in Defence of the Gospel; wherein is this Article; *When your Bishops will ordain Priests, the Person to be ordained must have sufficient Living by Inheritance or Benefice. Christ wou'd that Priests shou'd be poor, in as much as it is enough for the Scholar to be as his Master is, and for the Servant to be as his Lord: But the Bishops will they shou'd be rich upon Earth, which is unjust before the Almighty.* This Exhortation was national, and the *Hussites*, not a rude Rabble only, but of the most Noble, Wise, and Learned: They were not only the most godly, but the most brave and warlike among that People. The *Pope* fear'd them so much, that he issu'd out a *Crusade* against them; in which the Emperor, the Duke of *Saxony*, and other *German* Princes engag'd; as did also a Prince of the Blood Royal of *England*, *Henry Cardinal of Winchester*. However, the *Bohemians* defended themselves with equal Bravery and Success, under *Zisca*, *Procopius*, and *Mainardus*, till the latter betray'd them, and gave the Emperor an Opportunity to suppress them and their Religion in publick; for in private it subsisted till *Luther* incited the *German* Princes to protect that *Reformation* which spread over all *Christendom* seventy Years after. If it is pretended, that the *Wickliffists* and *Lollards*, are not look'd upon as orthodox by staunch *Churchmen*, as indeed they are very much villify'd by *Collier*, *Heylin*, and the like; I refer to the Writings of the famous *Dr. James* of *Oxford*, in his *Apology* for *John Wickliff*, shewing his Conformity with the now Church of *England*, in answer to *Parsons* the Jesuit, printed at *Oxon* in 1608.

739.

Ib. 853.

Luther,

The *Lollards* continu'd in *England* from their first Appearance, to the Vicegerency of *Cromwel*, in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* And what their religious Principles were as to Church-Discipline, we have sufficiently made appear. 'Tis no wonder then, that before the *Reformation* was reviv'd, and after it was promoted by Authority, there were great Numbers of the Reform'd, who strenuously oppos'd the retaining any of the Semblances of the Papal Hierarchy, Forms and Ceremonies; that there were many who insisted on a thorough *Reformation*, and a Conformity to the Protestant Churches abroad. Thus we have seen, and may see still further, in all impartial Church-Histories, of which there are not many, that for four or five hundred Years before King *Edward VI.* or *Queen Elizabeth's* Time, there were reformed Churches in *Christendom*, some more publick, some more private, who made Profession of the same Principles in Doctrine and Discipline, as were maintain'd by the Reformed in *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, *France*, the *Palatinate*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Poland*, the *Netherlands*, *Scotland*, and the most sincere and pious of *English* Protestants. Few have had the Boldness to deny this. Indeed that ingenious and learned Historian *Sanderfon*, asserts, That the Majority of the Reform'd abroad, are for *Episcopacy* in its Altitudes; and to prove it, he names the Places where it is establish'd; which I shall repeat as a very great Novelty: The Marquise of *Badu*, the Earldom of *Heneberg*, the Earldoms of *Levings*, *Marisfelt*, *Stalburgh*, *Revesteren*, *Swatenbourgh*, *Wertenberg*, *Hannaw*, *Oeting*, *Glick*, *Leonstine*, the Baronies of *Lenenberg*, *Scheneburgh*, *Wildenfield*, &c. besides thirty Cities, whose Territories,

Thorough Reformation stops.

stories, says he, are as ample as Geneva. What an Advantage must any Cause have, which has such a Champion? And truly the Cause he labours had never a better Historian than this *Sanderson*, till Archdeacon *Echard* enter'd the Lists; and has, I doubt not, as many more Names of the like Importance to be us'd on the like Occasion. We must not therefore think it too daring in him to assert, That the *Romish* Hierarchy was never oppos'd, till a few wretched Enthusiasts set up Presbytery in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. It is to be hop'd, that these Historiographers do really know no better; and that we must impute their Confidence to Ignorance, and not Design. It being most true, that there are hardly any Names of Eminence among the first Reformers abroad, who were not entirely for the *Geneva* Discipline. At least nine Parts in ten of the foreign Protestant Churches conform'd to it; and that there was the same Disposition in *England* in the Dawn of the Reformation, is what must next be observ'd. And well there might be, if even among the Papists there is a truer Notion of Episcopacy than among many, who under the Name of Protestants are some of the best Friends to Popery; such as *Bancroft*, *Neile*, *Harsnet*, *Wren*, *Sheldon*, &c. For in an Oration of the Cardinal of *Arles* at the Council of *Basil*, his Eminence, a Title he truly deserv'd, spoke as follows: *The Chief and Principal of all Divines, St. Austin, on the Words of St. Matthew, where Peter says to Christ, I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, notes, that by these Words the judicial Power was given not only to Peter, but also to the other Apostles, and to the whole Church, the Bishops and Priests. The famous Doctor St. Jerom also agrees with St. Austin. His Words are*

*A Cardinal upon the Epistle of St. Paul to Titus: Before that Difference was made in Religion by the Insurrection of the Devil, or that it was spoken among the People, I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, the Churches were governed by the common Consent and Counsel of Priests: For a Priest is the very same that a Bishop is. How would Archbishop Laud have exclaim'd, if any Puritan Priest had said as much as this Cardinal did? Again; Wherefore all Bishops ought to understand that they are of greater Power than the Priests, rather by Custom than the Dispensation of the Truth of God. Whence then came the Terms of Divine Right, Divine Permission, Divine Providence, and the like? Again; Bishops and Priests ought to rule the Church together; which we learn out of St. Paul to Titus, who makes so much Agreement between Priests and Bishops, that he often calls Bishops Priests, and Priests Bishops. Had such Doctrine as this of St. Jerom been preach'd in the Time of the High-Commission Court, the Preacher had doubtless lost his Ears for it, as well as Mr. *Burton*, who did not say more against the Usurpations of the then Hierarchy. Can any one think that *Montague*, *Marwarling*, *Sibthorp* in former Times; that *Pelling*, *Hicks*, *Hill*, *Sacheverel*, *Trapp*, and a whole Host of such Clergy in our own Times, had the least Conception of this Equality between Bishops and Presbyters, or knew what St. Paul, and his Commentators St. *Jerom* and St. *Austin*, had said of it? I do not intend to enter into this Debate farther than is necessary to prove, that those holy Men who were of St. Paul, St. *Austin*, and St. *Jerom's* Opinion in this Matter before and after the Reformation, deserv'd not to be treated as Hereticks, Schismatics, Fanatics, and Rebels; and that those who sacrific'd the Peace of both Church and State to the temporal Dominion of the Prelacy, were neither good Christians nor good Englishmen: As for Protestants, I do not suppose they valu'd themselves on the Name, and therefore I omit it.*

We will now see whether the Spirit of Reformation was so entirely dead when it was reviv'd in *England*, that none of the first Reformers were

of the same Principles with the Reformed in other Parts of *Christendom*; and whether, as *Echard* affirms, Presbytery was never nam'd here till after Episcopacy was establish'd.

The next Man who seal'd the Truth of the Gospel with his Blood, was *Richard Hun*, Citizen of *London*, in the Beginning of *Henry the VIIIth's* Reign. He was murder'd in Prison, and then sentenc'd to be burnt for an Heretick. A Charge against him being, that he had taught and preach'd that *Bishops and Priests be the Scribes and Pharisees, all things taking, and nothing ministering nor giving.*

It must be always remember'd, that these good Men do not mean good Bishops, such as are now the Support and Ornament of our National Church; but such Prelates as *Bancroft* and his Brethren before-mention'd. Sir *Thomas More* thought Mr. *Hun* considerable enough to employ his Wit against him; but the Subject was too tragical to admit of the Farce into which he would have turn'd it.

An Article against Mr. *Bilney*, Fellow of *Trinity-Hall, Cambridge*, was, That he said the *Pope Martyr* has not Peter's Keys, unless he lives the Life of 226. Peter; which I am satisfy'd will be allow'd to be schismatical, and to favour much of the Presbytery, by most of the Rural Priesthood. This holy Martyr converted Bishop *Latimer* to the true Religion, who before was a bigotted Papist. There were other learned Men in *Cambridge*, who thought like *Bilney*; as Dr. *Foreman* of *Queen's College*, Mr. *Stafford* Divinity Reader, Dr. *Thiffel*, &c. The Place of meeting was from them called *Hereticks Wall*; and this was several Years before there was any Reformation by Authority of the State.

Whoever will turn over Mr. *Fisb's* Supplication of the Beggars, presented to King *Henry VIII*. will see no Proof indeed of his approving any other Church Government than what was Episcopal; but they will see also how he approved of *Abbots, Prelates, Priors, Deacons, Suffragans, Archdeacons, Canonons, Pardoners, &c.* their Temporalities, Prerogatives and Powers. For as to their religious Function, every one will grant those who live like *Peter*, have the Keys as much as ever *Peter* had. This is given up to them entirely; but this they will not be contented with, confounding *Christ's Kingdom*, and the Kingdom of this World, which is all that good Men have to say against any of them; yet whoever has any thing at all to say, is immediately guilty of Sedition, Schism, Sauciness, and what not.

About the same time *Richard Bayfield*, a Friar, who had renounc'd Popery, was charged with Heresy for saying, *Every Priest ought to preach the Word of God by the Authority of the Gospel, without running to the Pope or Bishops for a License*; which surely is downright Presbyterian Doctrine; espoused also by *James Baynham*, Esq; Son of Sir *Alexander Baynham* of *Gloucestershire*, who declar'd, That whoever preach'd the Word of God, and liv'd accordingly, had the Key that binds and looses both in Heaven and Earth; which Key is the Scripture. Ask Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, and he will tell you 'tis the Priest. Mr. *Baynham* was a Lawyer of the *Middle Temple*, noted for Piety, Learning and Humanity; but more noted still for his patient Martyrdom soon after the Death of *Bayfield*. I mention these things, to shew that the Persons who desir'd a thorough Reformation, were not obscure, illiterate Enthusiasts, as our Ecclesiastical Historians represent them.

The next Year another Martyr was sacrific'd to the Rage of the *Romish* Prelates, Mr. *Frisb* of *Cambridge*, a young Man, but of eminent Abilities and Learning, who was not examin'd as to the Constitution of the Church. The Articles against him concern'd chiefly the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which he believ'd after the manner of the *Swiss* Protestants. *A. Wood* of *Oxford*, who seldom speaks Truth when it makes against Popery or

or Papists, says *Frith* was converted to *Lutheranism* by *Tyndal*. Which is the Reverse of the Fact; *Frith* being a profess'd *Sacramentary*, as the Term was then; and believ'd the *Eucharist* as did the *Zuinglians* and *Calvinists*, and not as the *Lutherans*: Adding, *The Church has no Power and Authority to admit any thing as Matter of Faith, which is not agreeable to Reason*. Than which nothing can be more schismatical, according to some modern Divines.

Thomas Bennet, A. M. of *Cambridge*, was martyr'd the same Year at *Exeter*. His Learning and Abilities were more than ordinary, as appears by his Defence in *Latin*; in which he declar'd, *That Christ gave the Keys to all the Apostles, as well as to Peter; and Peter had no more antiently given him than they, or else the Churches planted in every Kingdom are no Churches*. He added, *The Church which is built upon a Man is the Devil's Church, and not God's: And every Church this Day is appointed to be rul'd by a Bishop or Pastor, ordain'd by the Word of God, under the Prince the supreme Governour*. To talk at a Country Visitation of Ordination by the Word of God, would be truly speaking in an unknown Language; as is what follows of the same *Bennet*: *Where they are that confess the true Name of Christ, and where only Christ is the Head, and under him the Prince of the Realm, that is God's Church*. Can any thing be more loyal, more agreeable to our Constitution Sacred and Civil? Again; *What Bishop soever he be, who preaches the Gospel and maintaineth the Truth, is a true Bishop*. How would *Laud*, *Sheldon*, *Mew*, *Ken*, *Atterbury*, *Bisse*, *Gastrell*, and other such Prelates, have been struck with Amazement and Horror at such a Characteristick of a true Bishop! Some of them indeed did preach, and very well too upon Occasion; but they plac'd the Episcopal Character in the Title, Dignity, Power and Revenue; and wou'd as soon have allow'd *Richard Baxter* to have been the *Messiah*, as a true Bishop; tho' he preach'd the Gospel, and maintain'd the Truth before its mighty and most avow'd Enemies. *Bennet's* asserting the Prince to be supreme Governour of the Church, was a Year or two before King *Henry* assum'd that Title by Proclamation; nay, *Stephen Gardiner*, the Popish and cruel Bishop of *Winchester*, in his Treatise *De vera Obedientia*, writes thus: *The Prerogative was not given to the Flesh and Blood of Peter, but to the better Part, that is, to the Spirit of Peter*. An Interpretation of the Text, which the Dispensers of *Abolition* do not generally subscribe to. *The Pardoners*, as *Mr. Fish* call'd them 200 Years ago, apply the Prerogative to their very Persons; their dear Flesh and Blood; for if the Application was made only to the Spirit of *Peter* in such as live like *Peter*, we cou'd certainly not be absolv'd by every Vicar and Curate in *England*, as some of them now assure us we may be. Let us see what another such Popish Prelate as *Gardiner*, his Contemporary Bishop *Tunstal*, said of it. *The Church is built not upon the Person of Peter, but the Faith of Christ*. All which sufficiently teaches us, that the Episcopal Function, and that of *Presbyter*, have the same Powers and Prerogatives by the Authority of the Scripture; and that the temporal Emoluments, Prerogatives and Powers are deriv'd solely from the Authority of the Laws of the Land, and consequently are not of the same Nature with the Laws of the *Medes* and the *Persians*.

I might, in the next place, mention *Mr. Tyndal* of *Magdalen-Hall, Oxford*, another of the first Reformers before the Reformation was establish'd; the same who translated the Bible; but his Opinions were the same with his Friend *Frith's*: and his

Treatise of the Obedience of Christians, of *Prelates*, the *Parable of the wicked Mammon*, his *Revelation of Antichrist*, and other Works, shew plainly enough what were his Sentiments, as to the Dig-

nitities, Lordships, and Riches of Ecclesiasticks. I have often said, and may again say here and elsewhere, that the spiritual Character and Function are not what these pious Divines objected against, nor do I find that any Objection was ever made to them by religious and reasonable Men.

But the most remarkable Declaration concerning the lordly Hierarchy, was that of the glorious Saint and Martyr *Mr. John Lambert* of *Cambridge*, whose Sense of the Matter was as much *Presbyterian* as *Cartwright* or *Travers*; tho' the Learned and Judicious Archdeacon *Echard* affirms, that no such Sense was ever utter'd in *England*, till one *Hallingham* and *Coleman*, with two or three other such obscure Fanatics, started it in Opposition to the Establishment about 40 Years after. As to the Power of the Keys, said *Lambert*, *the Power by which Men are loos'd from Sin, is not the Priest's Power*. *Solus Deus remittit peccata*, says *Lambert*; *God only forgives Sins: Neither doth the Ministry of the Priest any whit avail to loose any Person, unless he that should be loos'd has his Belief in the Word of God*. 'Twere to be wish'd, that the Archdeacon last mention'd, or any other such Orthodox Archdeacon, would own as much as this blessed Man *Lambert* did, *the Ministry of the Priest availeth nothing*. For it is commonly asserted, when the Matter is in Debate, that it availeth every thing. As if the Abolition in our Church-Service was like the binding in the Popish Sacrament of Matrimony, either Marriage or Fornication according to the Intention of the Priest. Of the Hierarchy the holy *Lambert* said, and what he said he seal'd with his Blood; *Nothing so custumable as those to be called Priests, Presbyteri, who are set to be Prelates in the Church. And Priests thus called Presbyteri in the Primitive Church, when there were but few Traditions and Ordinances to lead us from the strait Institution made by Christ, were the very same, and none other but Bishops, as I have shewn you by the Authority of St. Jerom. Paul also shews the same in the first to Titus, where you may see that a Priest called Presbyter, should be the same that we call a Bishop. Many of the The Church Priests that do minister now are elect by Bishops, explain'd, otherwise than after the Manner of Christ's Institution, and the Form of the Primitive Church. Was it not preach'd by a certain Doctor of Divinity in London, That the Church is nothing else but the Congregation of faithful People? You all are of the Church, as well as I or any other, if you be of God*. Let us now consider a little, what a vast Difference there is between a Minister speaking the Sentiments of his Soul before his Persecutors, environ'd with Racks and Fire, and another haranguing an Audience in Hopes of Benefit and Preferment. What surer Way can a young Divine take to be prefer'd, than to court and flatter those that can prefer him. And how hard is it for worldly Minds to give up their Pretensions to the Things of this World? This Difference consider'd, what Weight will there be found in every Word of our suffering Saint; how light will the Sophistry of interested and ambitious Men be in the Balance against it? And how natural then is this Reflection, That the latter in forcing scrupulous Consciences to subscribe to their Injunctions without Warrant from Scripture, are chargeable with all the Miferics which have been occasion'd by it? I hope the Reader will now perceive, that this Introductory History is not at all foreign to the Reigns of the House of *Stuart*. We shall therefore continue it a little farther.

Contrary to *St. Paul*, *St. Jerom*, *Frith*, *Lambert*, and all the holy Martyrs before-mention'd, the historical Archdeacon assures us, the Beginnings of Presbytery were after a schismatical Manner in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; and those who suffer'd for it, deserv'd the severe Persecution they met with: It arising only from the Offence taken by

Mr. Cart-

Mr. Cartwright of Cambridge, for that the Queen did not take so much Notice of him as he expected.

To the above Authorities I might add that of Dr. Barnes of Cambridge, thirty Years before Cartwright was heard of there; Mr. Jerom Minister of Stepney, Mr. Garret Minister of Honey-Lane; all Three Martyrs in the Year 1541. A. Wood calls Garret a forward, busy Man. And indeed that Oxonian has hardly a good Word for any of those holy Sufferers, who dy'd for the Gospel in the bloody Reign of Queen Mary. Witness what he says of pious Bishop Farrar, who was burnt at Carmarthen: *One may easily perceive, that having a Woman to his Wife, was the chief Motive that drew him to the Protestant Religion,* to which one may easily perceive, the University he was a Member of must needs be good Friends, by their permitting such infamous Scandal to pass with Impunity.

We have shewn what was the Opinion of the most Learned and most Religious Men in King Henry the VIIIth's Time, with reference to the then Hierarchy; and there is no room to doubt of their Desire to carry the Reformation farther than Dr. Laud and his Brethren would have had it. Which Desire of theirs was as earnest among the Laity, among the Nobles, and among the People, encourag'd by the Countenance of two Queens, Queen Anne Bulleyn and Queen Katherine Parr; the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford; the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Huntington, the Lord Cromwel, the Lord Parr, the Lord Lisle, Sir Thomas Cardine, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Philip Hobby, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir George Blague, and many Lords and Gentlemen of the Court; as also many Court Ladies, as the Dutches of Suffolk, the Countesses of Suffex, the Countess of Hertford, Lady Herbert, Lady Lane, Lady Tyrwhit, and others; whom I remember, to shew that the Friends to the Reformation at home, according to the Reformation abroad, were not of the Dregs of the People only, as they are misrepresented by some Ecclesiastical Writers; nor a factious fanatical Rout only, but of the most honourable, as well as the most knowing. And what Deference was due to the Sentiments of such a Party, founded on Scripture and the Practice of the Primitive Church, will be conceiv'd by all conscientious and sober Men.

Instead of this, the rigid Priesthood stickled always for preserving the old Mumpsimus, as King Henry VIII. called it, and furiously persecuted all that would not comply with them; which, in truth, occasion'd that ill Blood, and those Distempers, that have been so troublesome and dangerous to both Church and State.

In the Reign of King Edward VI. those that oppos'd the then Hierarchy and Ceremonies appear'd more openly, and spoke more directly. Hooper, nam'd to the Bishoprick of Gloucester, refus'd to wear the Episcopal Vestments at his Consecration; and the Earl of Warwick wrote a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury to dispense with him in it; but it cou'd not be obtain'd, till the King himself commanded that *certain Rites and Ceremonies, offensive to his Conscience, might be dispens'd with.* The Reasons given by this godly Bishop and Martyr, and those other Divines of his Opinion, are in Fuller's Church History, and prove that they did not think the Work of the Reformation compleat. Latimer, another holy Martyr, who had been depriv'd of his Bishoprick of Worcester for Non-Compliance with the Six Articles in the former Reign, would not be restor'd to his See, nor accept of any other Character than that of a Preacher. Fuller informs us, that the Disslikers of the Liturgy in this Reign became a potent Party, bearing themselves high on the Judgment of Calvin in a Letter to the Duke of Somerset, then Lord Protector; which is all I am contend-

ing for. There was a great Number of sincere, P. 426. pious Protestants, who thought, as the last mention'd Historian observes, *there was too much of the Serpent, and nothing of the Dove, to offend those within to invite those without to the Church, driving Protestants thence to draw Papists thither.* Which was the Advice of Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and other good Bishops, who however were very far from establishing their Religion by High Commission Courts, and a Laudean Persecution.

Among the many Errors, some of Malice, some of Weakness, which contributed to the Loss of the little Reputation Archdeacon Echard's Histories once had, there is none more obvious and ill-grounded than where he boldly affirms, that the Rise of Presbytery in England was owing to a Pique of Mr. Cartwright of Cambridge, because Queen Elizabeth did not give him so much Money, nor look so smilingly upon him, as she did on Mr. Preston, six or seven Years after Episcopacy was establish'd. Thence he, the Lord Clarendon, and other Historians of the same Stamp, take all Occasions to charge those who press'd for a thorough Reformation, with Love of Novelties. Whereas it is plain from the Writings of good Churchmen, that such a Reformation was insisted upon before any Establishment was made in Edward the VIth's Reign.

Dr. Fuller, speaking of the Times 26 Years before Echard's Era of the Rise of Presbytery, writes *Ch. Hist.* thus: *Come we now to the saddest Difference that ever happen'd in the Church of England; if we consider either the Time, how long it continu'd, the eminent Persons therein engag'd, or the doleful Effects thereby produc'd about Matters of Conformity.* The Struggle between Purity and Ceremony began with the Reformation, according to Dr. Fuller; and nor after its Establishment, according to Archdeacon Echard. It was carry'd on, not according to him, by Mr. Cartwright, and such obscure Persons as Button and Benson, but by Persons of Eminence, according to Dr. Fuller, who represents both Parties openly driving on different Interests under their respective Patrons: Not of the Vulgar, as Mr. Echard affirms; for they were not able to patronize any thing. He could not but know so much of History as this; and therefore his Endeavours to asperse the Memory of those eminent Persons, some of whom we shall particularly name in this Introduction, are equally vain, malicious, and unwarrantable.

If it is true, that those of the Reform'd, who were for carrying the Work farther, were encourag'd and confirm'd in their Sentiments and Zeal by the Principles and Practices of foreign Protestants, and desir'd only of their Opponents, if they would not hear them, to hear the Apostles; Who then ought to be charged with the Opposition and the Mischiefs of it? Those Reformers, who were for leaving nothing in the Church, which Scripture had not left there; or those who were for leaving in it so many things, not left by Scripture, to tempt the Papists to conform to it; which was the best Reason at that time given for it? Fuller mentions some of those things, as *Sutplices, Ornaments, &c.* 'Twas said *they were indifferent; that they were necessary to Church Unity; that some decent Correspondence with the Papists shou'd be continu'd; that removing them wou'd cast a Slur on the Bishops who had us'd them; and that stubborn Wills ought not to be indulg'd.* Dr. Fuller gives us to understand, that this was all that was, or cou'd be said for them; and what this all is, when put in the Scale against what was said by the Reformers, will, we fear, be found to be very light in the Balance. The latter urg'd, *The best thing that can be said of them is, they are useless; otherwise they wou'd be ridiculous and superstitious. That grant them indifferent, left so by Divine Wisdom, it was Presumption in Man to stamp Necessity*

Wood the Oxonian, a Hater of Reformation.

The Origin of the Troubles in England.

Full. Ch. Hist. 403.

sity upon them. That as to bringing over the Papist, it had too much of the SERPENT in it, nothing of the DOVE, to offend those within, to invite those without, driving Protestants out to draw Papists in; that the Credit of the Bishops was not to be preserv'd by destroying the Consciences of others. As to the last, about indulging stubborn Wills, 'tis the Beginning of the Sophistry of the persecuting Spirit. They first suppose the Consciences of those religious Persons are not scrupulous; in a word, that they are Hypocrites and Idiots; and having arbitrarily determin'd their Wills to be stubborn, they give Judgment against a Toleration. Good Bishop Hooper, who probably drew up the Answer to the notable Reasons for Ornaments and Ceremonies, closes with this: *I put myself on the Trial of the Searcher of Hearts, that no Obstinacy, but mere Conscience made me refuse the Ornaments.* It is pretended, that foreign Protestants disapprov'd of the Opposition their Brethren in England gave to the Establishment. This Pretence has not prevail'd much; the contrary being as well known, as that there are two such Places as Rome and Geneva. However, since the Lord Digby said in Parliament, *That to his Knowledge the Government of the Church of England was admir'd by the most Learned of the Reformed Churches abroad,* I will repeat Part of a Letter written by the Church of Geneva to their Brethren in England, in Answer to some Questions sent thither by the latter. 'Twas dated the 24th of October 1559, and sign'd by Beza, Coladon, Calvet, Dupleix, Simler, and others; wherein they say among other things, *They do in God's most holy Name, and with Tears, beseech those who have succeeded in the Place of the Popish Bishops, utterly to destroy that Tyranny, which hath cast headlong the very Church.* And tho' they were cautious of naming the Establishment, they speak broadly enough about it. *But some will say, How shall we do in this Point?* "Verily, if the Case was ours, we wou'd not receive the Ministry upon these Conditions if it were proffer'd; a great deal less would we sue for it". As to Copes and Ornaments, they say, *We therefore flatly reply, That those Men who are Authors thereof, do deserve most Evil of the Church, and shall answer at the dreadful Bar of Christ's Judgment. The same being polluted and defil'd with infinite Superstition.* Of the Cross in Baptism, they declare, *We judge those Men to have done assuredly well, that have driven this Rite out of the Congregation.* Of Kneeling at the Sacrament, they say, *It hath a Shew of godly and Christian Reverence; yet because out of this Fountain the detestable Use of Bread-Worship follow'd, it seems to us that it was justly abolish'd.* These Geneva Divines give their Reasons and Authorities for what they write; but it is sufficient for me that they gave their Opinion, since I am not entering into the Controversy. Father Orleans, the French Jesuit, assures us, Calvin complain'd to Bucer, that all the Mass was left in the English Liturgy, and advis'd Bucer not to conform to it. He adds: *So great was the Deference paid to Calvin, that most of those things he found fault with were put out of the Liturgy; and the Parliament approv'd of it.* We see by this, that some things which Calvin complain'd of, were left still in the Common-Prayer Book; and the Reformation was so far from going forward afterwards, that Queen Elizabeth, says the Jesuit, *who lov'd Ceremonies, restor'd what had been struck out.* The Calvinists then made a great Stir, but being as yet weak in England, there was little Regard had to their Complaints: Which is true enough. But it is as true, that a great Stir was made, at the first opening of the Reformation, for perfecting that Work, as Mr. Cartwright propos'd; and that Mr. Echard's asserting that Presbytery ow'd its Rise to him, is equally partial, false, and absurd; as is the Charge against him and his Brethren, that they

were for Novelties in Discipline and Worship; which I cou'd easily prove, was this a Place for Debate; and was it not so well done already in the before-mention'd excellent Treatise, entitul'd, *An Enquiry, &c.*

In the cruel Reign of Queen Mary, most of the Martyrs were of the same Judgment with the Pro-Martyr Rogers, with Bradford, Samuel, Careless, Philpot, &c. The latter acknowledg'd before the Prelates, *That the Church of Geneva was a true Catholick Church;* and it was ever deem'd so, till Laud and his Brethren deserted the Reformation, and endeavour'd to erect a Papal Tyranny. What do the Laudeans think of the Protestant Exiles in Germany, Geneva, Swisserland, and other Parts of Europe, during that terrible Persecution, worse than those of Nero and Dioclesian? The Heathen then destroying the Christians; who were now destroy'd by the Professors of Christianity; such as Bonner, Gardiner, Brooks, Christopherson, Capon, Baines, Cotes, Morgan, all Brethren of the Popish Hierarchy; who did not strain its Prerogatives more than Whitgift, Bancroft, and such Sort of Prelates, before the Civil War, and after the Restoration.

Tho' many Worthy Fathers of our Church had at times accepted, as well as refus'd the Episcopal Dignity; they were well known to be Favourers of the Presbytery, and desirous of a Conformity with the Reformed Churches in those Parts where they had taken shelter: Of which Fuller writes thus; *Those that fled hence beyond the Seas, living in Cities of popular Reformation, suck'd in both the Air and Discipline of the Place they liv'd in, and renounc'd all Ceremonies, &c.* No body, as has been often hinted, renounc'd them, according to Echard, till Cartwright came from Geneva many Years after. P. 404.

The most Pious and most Esteem'd of the first Protestant Bishops were Men of so much Moderation, that had the Sees of England been always fill'd with such Prelates, there wou'd have been no more Controversy about Ecclesiastical Government. Had Queen Elizabeth, otherwise a most Wise and Generous Princess, been less devoted to the Pomp and Grandeur of Religion, and more moderate in the Administration of her Supremacy; had not Bishop Parker so soon forgot the Miseries of her Sister's Reign, and Bishop Whitgift not rais'd a Persecution of another Kind in her own, there wou'd have been no Separatists, no Dissenters, no Division, no Disturbance, and none of those Troubles, which prov'd so fatal to the Royal House of Stuart. That Great Queen liv'd long enough to have establish'd Purity and Peace in the Church, if the Counsels of rigid and bigoted Prelates had not driven the most conscientious Men out of it. Protestant Bishops in England before Laud's Time.

As renown'd a Writer of History as Mr. Echard is, he surely never heard of such Men as Mr. Leaver, Mr. David Whitehead, Mr. Gilpin, Mr. Gilby, Mr. Crowley, Mr. Kingmil, Mr. Withers, Mr. Huntington, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Sutton, Mr. Kelke, Mr. Fox, Mr. Kent, Mr. Kethe, Mr. Wood, Mr. Stanton, Mr. Cole, Mr. Chambers, Mr. Walton, Mr. Williams, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Whetnal, Mr. Mullings, Mr. Karvile, and a great Number of Divines more, most of whom were Fugitives at Zurich, Frankfort, and other foreign Cities. Were none of these Brethren of the Presbytery before Queen Elizabeth's Conformity Act? Let us see only what was the Form of Discipline and Worship establish'd by the English Church at Frankfort, in the Year 1555, long before Mr. Echard allows there were any Objections to the Establishment in England.

They chose a Minister and Deacons for a Time only; they concluded, that the answering aloud after the Minister should not be used.

To omit the Litany, Surplice, and other Ceremonies in Service and Sacraments, as superfluous and superstitious. A new

*A new Confession of more Effect.
Psalms, &c.*

Dr. Fuller says, they were a true Communion of Saints, who invited, by Letters, their fellow Sufferers to partake of it. The Doctor must certainly be out, when he tells us, the Exiles at Zurick excused themselves on account of the English Common-Prayer, from which they were resolv'd not to recede. Were Humphry, Chambers, Leaver, &c. so zealous for the Liturgy, as to break off Christian Communion with their Protestant Brethren, rather than conform to the Service of the Church at Frankfort?

I need not here repeat the great Names of Bucer, Fagius, Oecolampadius, Martyr, Zwinglius, Calvin, Bullenger, Pellican, Bibliander, Simler, Zanchy, Golpius, Gualter, Lavater, Junius, Tremellius, and the Heads of the Reformation on the Continent. They are all well known to have erected their Churches on the Geneva Foundation; and if some Lutheran Dioceses retained their Bishops, they were but few in Number, and not of the like Esteem in the Protestant World.

I do not repeat what Calvin wrote to the English Divines at Frankfort, concerning the Common-Prayer, out of Disregard to it, or in Approbation of his Judgment; but to shew how vain those Writers are, who pretend that no Men of Learning or Note ever objected against it, till it was pass'd into a Law. I see, said Calvin, there are many tolerable foolish Things. By these Words I mean, there is not that Purity which were to be desir'd, &c. Then allowing that it might have been at first tolerated for a Season, he adds, It behoves the Learned, Grave, and Godly Ministers of Christ, to enterprize further, and to set forth something more filed from Rust, and purer. This further enterprizing, is what Archdeacon Echard, and many other Archdeacons, have treated as a seditious whimsical Business, which never enter'd into the Heads of sober, orthodox Men; and when it did, was the Effect of Distemper and Sedition, which deserved to be suppress'd by Power and Punishment.

Had the Historian dealt with us as ingenuously, as might be expected from his Function and Character, instead of telling us, that a few nameless Fanatics set up Presbytery six Years after Queen Elizabeth's Accession to the Throne, he wou'd have told us, that as soon as there was a Talk of re-establishing the Reformation, there were great Endeavours us'd to establish the Presbyterian Discipline, and correct the Liturgy. Miles Coverdale, who had been Bishop of Exeter, refus'd to accept again of the Episcopal Charge. Bernard Gilpin, the northern Apostle, did the same by the Bishoprick of Carlisle, as the above-mentioned David Whitehead did by the Archbishoprick of Canterbury. But the Disposition of the Queen, who was mightily taken with the Show and Shine of the Romish Church, with their Forms and Ceremonies, encourag'd some of the Prelates, who, no doubt also had the Dignities and Revenues in especial Consideration, to stickle for as much of all of them as cou'd be procur'd. However, while every one enjoy'd the Liberty of his own Thoughts, without subscribing to the Thoughts of other Men, there was no Separation from the national Church, as has been already observ'd: And happy had it been, if the Jealousy of those Prelates, left the first Reformers thou'd press further, had not put them upon procuring Articles, Canons, and Statutes, to compel the Consciences of scrupulous Protestants, who were then oblig'd to declare their Nonconformity, and worship God in their own Way.

Queen Elizabeth against further Reformation.

P. 76.

No sooner were the Thirty-nine Articles past in Convocation, but, says Fuller, the Bishops, conceiving themselves impower'd by their Canons, began to show their Authority, in urging the Clergy of their Dioceses to subscribe to the Liturgy, Ceremo-

nies, and Discipline of the Church: and such as refus'd, the same were branded with the odious Name of Puritans, as a Company of Hypocrites, who pretended to more Purity than others. But Fuller does them the Justice to add, Some of them were so far from opposing the Liturgy, that they endeavour'd, according to the Instructions thereof in the Preparative to the Confession, to accompany the Minister with a pure Heart. But prophane Men quickly improv'd this Nick-name, therewith to abuse pious People.

One of the first that was called to an Account by Authority of the Canons, was that eminent Confessor, and learned and laborious Antiquary, Mr. John Fox, Author of the Martyrology, who was summon'd by Archbishop Parker to subscribe, that the general Reputation of his Piety, might give the greater Countenance to Conformity. Father Fox, as Queen Elizabeth us'd to call him, produc'd a New Testament in Greek, and said, to this I will subscribe; and the Canons being offer'd him, he refus'd Subscription, saying, I have nothing in the Church, save a Prebend at Salisbury, and much good may it do you, if you will take it from me. However, there was not then Courage enough among the Persecutors, to exercise their Severity on a Divine of so much Piety and Merit. But the summoning him to do a Thing against his Conscience, when Smithfield was still warm with the Ashes of those Fires that had so lately burnt their Brethren, and when they cou'd not but know, that Mr. Fox understood the Matter much better than themselves, is a deplorable Instance of the bitter Spirit of Persecution; the Fury of which, if accompanied with Power, may be likened to a Sword in the Hands of a Man who is both mad and blind: An Image which is always present to me, when I read such Histories as that of Bancroft, Laud, &c.

Puritan, whence the Name.

ib. 16.

P. 16. Fox persecuted.

We must not think that these Canons, and this Conformity, met with no Opposition but from a few scrupulous Divines; the most leading Members of both Houses of Parliament, fell in with those who were for indulging their Scruples, and, as Calvin said, enterprizing further in reforming Church-Discipline and Worship. To name some of them:

The Lord Keeper Bacon.	Lord Howard.
Lord Treasurer Burleigh.	Sir Francis Walsingham.
Earl of Shrewsbury.	Sir Francis Knollys.
Earl of Kent.	Sir Francis Hastings.
Earl of Leicester.	Sir Anthony Cook.
Earl of Warwick.	Sir Thomas Bodley.
Earl of Essex.	Sir Richard Morison.
Sir James Croft.	Sir Richard Taverner.
Sir Henry Sydney.	Sir Thomas Gresbam.
Sir Philip Sydney.	Sir Thomas Roe.
Sir Fulk Grevile.	Sir Henry Bromely.
Sir Peter Carew.	Mr. Davison, Secretary of State.
Sir Richard Knightly.	Mr. Beal, Clerk of the Council.
Sir Walter Mildmay.	Mr. Ashley.
Sir Thomas Lucy.	Mr. Knowles.
Sir Walter Raleigh.	Mr. Morrice.
Sir Francis Drake.	Mr. Sands.
Sir Amias Paulet.	Mr. Norton.
Sir Drue Drury.	Mr. Strickland.
Sir Robert Lane.	Mr. Wentworth.
Sir Henry Gate.	Mr. Wroth.
Marquis of Northampton.	Mr. Stephens.
Lord Hunsdon.	
Lord North and Grey.	

To these may be added:

Archbishop Grindal.	Dean Cole.
Bishop Pilkington.	Dean Reynolds.
Bishop Jewel.	Dean Nowel.
Bishop Parkhurst.	Dean Sampson.
Bishop Bentham.	Dean Haines.
Bishop Alley.	Dean Whitingham.
	Dean Humphreys.
	Archdeacon Renniger.

And

Puritans.

And a great Number of other such illustrious Names, who, tho' they conform'd to the national Church, abhor'd Persecution for Conscience sake, and were always willing to hearken to any Propositions for promoting Reformation, Purity, Charity, and Peace. We read something particular of Dr. Nowel Dean of St. Paul's, in the Sermon preach'd by Dr. Abbot, afterwards Bishop of Sarum, at Oxford; of which, Mention will hereafter be again made; and there being some Reflections in it on that stupid and wicked Saying, so common in the Mouths of Country Curates and Foxhunters, *I had rather be a Papist than a Presbyterian*, I will repeat it entire. Now for this Speech, that the Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists; There is a Sting in it which I wish had been left out; for there are many Churches beyond the Seas, which contend for the Religion established among us, which yet have approved and admitted the Presbytery; and this is to make them as bad as the Papists. Besides, there have lived among us, long before Echar'd's Æra, many reverend and worthy Men, who have not rejected the Presbytery, taking it even for Lay-Elders. Dr. Nowel, late Dean of Paul's, in his larger Catechism, p. 29 and 71. affirms, That in every well govern'd Church, there was a Presbytery; and yet this Catechism, by the late reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, was commanded to be had in every Grammar School; which surely he would not have done, if the Presbyterians were as bad as the Papists.

Mr. Morrice, one of the above-mentioned Gentlemen, Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster, mov'd in Parliament for a Bill against the hard Courses of Bishops; 'tis Heylin who says it, against Ordinaries, and other ecclesiastical Courts, and prosecuting of learned and godly Ministers and Preachers; against Oaths and Subscriptions. The Act was ready drawn, as was also another Act against Imprisonment for Refusal of Oaths. But Mr. Coke, afterwards Sir Edward Coke the Speaker, was sent for, and admonished not to admit of any such Bills; which would certainly have pass'd the House of Commons, and was at that Time the Sense of the Nation. Other Parliaments made several Attempts to accomplish so pious a Work; but the Protection of the Queen gave the more rigid Prelates a Majority, tho' her Ministers were very ready to take off the Edge of their Rigor, which was so destructive to the publick Tranquility, as appears by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh's, and the Lords of the Privy Council's Letters to Dr. Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury, who first distinguish'd himself by Persecution in a Protestant Church: Bishop Parker, tho' rigid enough, setting Bounds to his Rigor; whereas Whitgift's was only restrained by the Laws.

The pious Lectures, and holy Lives of the Puritan Ministers, made them very popular, and the Bent of the People was visibly on their Side: To destroy which, the Prelates of Whitgift's Spirit tyranniz'd in the High-Commission Court; and by means of that Archbishop's long Possession of the Metropolitan Chair, there was so much Oppression in ecclesiastical Government, that it created a general Disatisfaction among all sober Men in the Nation. Such another Prelate as Archbishop Grindal might probably have restored Peace to the Church, and quieted the Minds of the Discontented. And such another might have been expected from the Education and Wisdom of King James I. if his Wisdom had really been so consummate as his Flatterers, especially among the Clergy, represented it.

We must now look back into the Affairs of Scotland, from whence we had our Kings of the Royal House of Stuart. The first of them, King James, was of the very same Religion with that of the Puritans in England; excepting that it was still more pure in the worst Sense of the Word. A Scotch Author will set this Matter in its true Light:

Mem. Cb. Scot. p. 12. "When King Henry the VIIIth abolish'd the Pope's

Supremacy, his Principle at that Time being ra-

"ther politick than religious, he set his own Authority up in the stead of it, calling himself Supreme Head of the Church in all Things, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil; a Thing since made very ill use of, and improv'd to a Tyranny, which neither in the Divine Original of it, could find any legal Foundation. When King Edward VI. rejected the Pontificate of Rome, he erected a Protestant Pontificate in its stead; which being opposed by some of the most eminent for Piety and Wisdom in the Reformation, quickly begot a Division in the Church."

This is too true, and too well known, to need more Words, how industriously soever some artful Persons, whose Function should teach them Simplicity and Sincerity, endeavour to disguise it, and make us believe, that not the Noble and the Wise, the Sober and the Learned, but if any, which they hardly grant, the Ignorant and Obscure, the Distemper'd and Illiterate, made the Opposition.

Duke Hamilton was at the Head of the Reformation in Scotland, where the Reformers went thorough with their Work at once; and it is well they did, for one may perceive by the Difficulties they met with in accomplishing and preserving it, that had they stop'd where the English did, they would never have been able to go further afterwards:

For even in Scotland, where Presbyterian Government was at first establish'd, some Superintendents retain'd the Title of Bishops, and the Title prevail'd generally in the several Dioceses, after King James was advanced to the Throne in the Life-time of his Mother, the hereditary Possessor of it; yet they had no more Ecclesiastical Authority than Ministers, being equally subjected to the Presbytery, Synod, and Assembly; and the Superintendency was under all the essential Articles of a Parity. This Subjection of Superintendents and Bishops to the Presbytery, was, with other Church Polity, regulated in their general Assemblies, and sign'd by the greatest Part of the Nobility and Gentry, before it had a Civil Sanction. Fourteen Years after, under the Regency of the Earl of Mar, there was an Attempt to restore the Government of Bishops; which, says my Author, was brought in by the Head and Shoulders; but so fetter'd and shackled with Limitation of Power and Castration of Stipends, that there was little in it more than there was before in the Ministers, who were called Superintendents, the Name and Dignities excepted; as appears by the Resolution of the Assembly of the Kirk, A. D. 1575. Bishops shall not appoint Ministers of the Province, nor Elders and Deacons, without the Peoples Consent. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Brechen, Dumblaine, and the Isles, were Members of this Assembly; and Archbishop Spotwood, tho' a partial Writer on the Side of Prelacy, owns, *Those Bishops did not so much as open their Mouths against this Resolution.* Two Years after it was ordain'd, *That all Bishops, and all other Ecclesiasticks, be call'd by their own Names or Brethren only:* Which Act was to continue, says Calderwood, till the Corruption of the State of Bishops be utterly remov'd out of the Church. The next Year, in an Assembly at Sterling, the same Law was made perpetual, and all Bishops then elected, were required to submit. Thus, says the Memoir Writer, *That Infant Mongrel Episcopacy*, so it was then called, was voted out of the Church as a Nuisance. Yet in almost all our orthodox Writers, we are assur'd, that Presbytery, even in Scotland, is a novel Discipline, and that at the Reformation Bishops were originally establish'd in that Church: Nay, this Opinion is so universally receiv'd, that I question whether there is one in an hundred of our Establishment, but who thinks Presbytery an Innovation in the Kirk: I do not say of the bigotted Priesthood only, I mean it of the Laity also, such as the before-mentioned Sanderson, a Writer much

ib. p. 17. Scots Cb. Govern-ment.

ib. 73.

P. 76;

p. 78;

p. 38.

p. 278.

ib. p. 82.

Mem. Cb. Scot. p. 87.

Life of Mary 2. Scots. p. 110.

Life of Mary 2. of Scots,
p. 112.

Sanderfon
*a Cham-
on against
the Refor-
mation.*

Calder-
wood,
p. 86.

K. James I.
*bred a
Presbyte-
rian.*

*Mem. Cb.
Scot. p. 103*

P. 125.

Calderw.
p. 246.

K. James
*condemns
the Church
and Com-
mon-Pray-
er.*

much admir'd and follow'd by Archdeacon Echar'd: *Let any Historian tell me, says he, when, and how they started into such a sincere Reformation, as to have no Bishops, as many wou'd pretend.* You see how boldly he defies Calderwood, and every one of the Kirk Writers. Indeed he, and his Brother Authors, are the stoutest Champions that ever enter'd a List, when there is no Body to oppose them: But with all his Stoutness, his Parts and Credit are so small, that he is not worth taking notice of. The Temper of this worthy Gentleman, and his Fellow-Labourers, is seen in the next Page or two, where he tells us, that Reverend Divine Mr. Gilby, before spoken of, of *Christ's-College Cambridge*, a Confessor for the Protestant Religion, and an Exile at Geneva, was gone to the Devil. This is the same learned Gilby, who is so highly commended by Bishop Bale, his Companion in Banishment for the Truth of the Gospel.

In the Year 1580, the Assembly of the Kirk pass'd an Act, entirely abrogating the Office of a Bishop, as *unscriptural, and having no Warrant or Foundation in the Word of God*, but, in the Words of the Act, as brought in by the Folly and Corruption of Mens Invention.

I am not myself at all concerned in this Debate. My Intention is only to relate the plain Matter of Fact, and leave the Reflections to the Reader. I might add, that I do not think there is so great Strefs to be laid upon Church-Government, either as to Bishops or Presbyters, as to justify a Division about it among Protestants; and that the Law is the *jus & norma*, the Right and the Rule in this Case as well as others. But since every one cannot think in this manner, the Blame lies on those who wou'd force other Men to do what they wou'd have them, tho' against their Conscience; and rather than not impose their Non-Essentials on those who agree with them in the Essentials of Religion, wou'd set the two Nations in a Flame; which they have done more than once since the Reformation.

'Tis evident, that King James I. of England, and VI. of Scotland, was bred up in that Kirk, tho' he had been baptiz'd by the Popish Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was hang'd for murdering his Father the Lord Darnly. 'Tis true, the Example of his Mother, and many of his Courtiers, gave him too favourable an Opinion of Popery; yet it is suppos'd he took the main of his Disgust to Presbytery, which was approv'd and often confirm'd by his Authority, purely on Account of some Reproof the Ministers solemnly gave him with regard to his Morals. There was a Deputation sent from the Assembly to the King, to admonish him, in the Name of the Eternal God, to have Respect, in time, to the Estate of true Religion, to the many Murders and Oppressions daily multiplied thro' Impunity and lack of Justice, and to discharge the kingly Office in both, as he will eschew the fearful Challenge of God, and avert his Wrath off himself and the whole Land, &c. The King never forgave them this Freedom, yet so well dissembled he his Zeal for the Presbyterian Discipline, that he made this formal Speech to the Assembly, taking off his Bonnet, and lifting up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, *I praise and thank God that I was born into the World at a Time when the Light of God's Word shone clearly forth, eclips'd neither with the Mists of Ignorance, or the false Lights of Superstition. I bless God that has honoured me to be a King over such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the World; which he repeated three times; and to strengthen it, fell out into very warm Expressions against other Protestants: The Church of Geneva, What are they? They keep Pasche and Yule. What Authority have they in God's Word? and Where is their Institution? As for our Neighbour Church in England, their Service is an evil-disposed Mass in English; they want nothing of the Mass but the Littings. I charge you, my*

gude People, turning himself to every Side of the Kirk, Ministers, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, Barons, and Gentlemen, to stand to your Purity, and to exhort my People to do the same. And I, forsooth, as long as Life and Crown be left to me, shall maintain the same against all deadly. Upon which, the Historian tells us, *there was nothing heard for a Quarter of an Hour in the Assembly, but praising God, and praying for the King, who was at this Time so zealous a Presbyterian, that when Mr. Udal and Mr. Cartwright, two eminent Non-conforming Ministers, were furiously persecuted by Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury, the former being condemn'd to die, and the latter in Danger, King James wrote this Letter to Queen Elizabeth in their Behalf, before it came to Extremity.* "Hear-
"ing of the Apprehension of Mr. Cartwright and
"Mr. Udal, and certain other Ministers of the E-
"vangel within your Realm, of whose good Erudi-
"tion and faithful Travels in the Church, we hear
"a very credible Commendation; howsoever that
"their Diversity from the Bishops, and others of
"your Clergy, in Matters touching them in Consci-
"ence, hath been a Mean, by their Dilation, to work
"them your disliking at this present. We cannot,
"weighing the Duty which we owe to such as are
"afflicted for their Conscience in that Profession, but gainst Per-
"by our most affectuous and earnest Letter, inter-
"pone us at your Hands, to stay an harder Usage
"for that Cause, &c."

Fuller,
p. 224.

His Letter
to Q. Eli-
zabeth a-
gainst Per-
secution.

How does the Speech to the Assembly, agree with the Dialogue at the Hampton-Court Conference, where the King spoke against the Kirk, it you will believe Archbishop Whitgift, by the Spirit of God? And how does this Letter agree with his suffering Archbishop Bancroft to tread in the Steps of Whitgift, and silence and ruin many hundred Protestant Ministers and others on Account of Conscience only?

I do not delight so much in the History of this Monarch, as to enter further into it than is necessary for the History of England during his Reign; therefore, with reference to the Scottish Affairs, I shall only add, that upon the Kirk's excommunicating some Popish Lords, and others of the Spanish Faction, he took them into his Protection, to give a solid Instance of his Wisdom and Piety. Those Lords being charged with Idolatry, Heresy, Blasphemy, Apostacy, and Perjury; and the Assembly directing a new Admonition to the King, with Complaints of his Conduct, his personal Sins, and the Sins of his Family, it was as ill-relish'd as the former; and the King, to be reveng'd of them, never gave over till he procur'd the Title of Bishops to be restor'd and given to such Ministers as were empower'd to give their Vote in Parliament. This Point being gain'd, and the King in Possession of the Crown of England soon after, those Bishops daily encroach'd on the Privileges of the Presbytery, in which they were encourag'd by the King, to the great Dissatisfaction of the Majority of the People, who, for about forty Years, had known no other Church Government but that of their Pastors, in their Congregations and Assemblies.

Mem. Cb.
Scot. 128,
132.

We have seen what was the Constitution of the Kirk, that it was on the Geneva Bottom; that King James I. was not only a zealous Member of it, but a Favourer of their Brethren the Puritans in England. We had seen before, that those Puritans, being a numerous Body of English Protestants, earnestly desir'd a greater Conformity with the Church of Scotland. And we shall now see, that when the same King James became Monarch of Great-Britain, instead of strengthening the Protestant Interest in both Nations, by an Ecclesiastical as well as political Union, he not only destroy'd the Constitution of the Kirk in his antient Kingdom, but protected the Prelates in persecuting and ruining their Brethren of the Reformation in his new one; which fine Stroke of Politicks acquir'd him the

glorious Title of a second *Solomon*, from many of our most orthodox Writers: For that it cou'd not be with respect to his Conduct in State Matters Civil or Military, will appear in the History.

M. M. Cb.
Scot.
p. 155.

A *Scotchman* tells us, that on the Sunday before he left *Scotland* to go for *England*, he made this Speech to the People in the great Church, *As God hath promoted me to a greater Power, so I must endeavour to establish Religion, and to take away Corruption in both the Countries.* He promis'd to visit them every three Years, that every one from the greatest to the meanest, might have Access to his Person; but, says my Author, he scarce ever perform'd one Word of it all.

Before I close this Introduction, I must observe, that it was King *James's* Misfortune not to have been very well belov'd in his own Country, while he liv'd there. His Double-dealing with the *Kirk*, gave them a Disfellowship of his Government, inasmuch, that they refus'd to give God Thanks for his Deliverance from *Gowry's* Conspiracy, which wou'd have been a most unchristian, as well as uncharitable Act, if they had believ'd it to be true. Their Answer was, *Nothing ought to be deliver'd in the Pulpit, where the Truth was not well known.* The Murder of the Earl of *Murray* by *Huntley*, was said to be with his Consent. Not only Bishop *Burnet*, but almost all Authors, intimate as much; and the Death of that popular Lord remaining unpunish'd, made very ill Blood in *Scotland*.

M. S. J.
M. F.

I have it from the best Authority, that this King, who tho' born of the handsomest Couple in *Europe*, was far from being handsome, conceiv'd a mortal Hatred against the Earl of *Murray*, for an Expression of his Wife *Queen Anne*, who, looking out at a Window, and seeing that Lord entering the Court, said, *He was the handsomest Man she ever saw. What, said the King, handsomer than I? And then swore he wou'd have his Life.* Accordingly, to use Bishop *Burnet's* Terms, he set on the *Marquis of Huntley*, who was *Murray's* mortal Enemy, to murder him: and by a Writing all in his own Hand, he promis'd to save him harmless. *Huntley* set the House, in which the Earl was, on Fire, and *Murray*, flying, was follow'd and murder'd. Soon after, all who were concern'd in that Fact, were pardon'd, which laid the King open to much Censure. And this made the Matter of *Gowry* to be the less believ'd. *Huntley*, the Murderer, thought to be as well with King *Charles I.* as he had been with his Father, and came to *Whitehall* in the first Year of his Reign; but that King wou'd not see him, having been inform'd what a base, barbarous Murder he had committed to please King *James*; upon which *Huntley* produc'd a Warrant under the King's own Hand for that Murder, and the Matter was hush'd up. The *Gordons* have that Warrant still in their Archives, tho' probably they are too good Catholics to give one a sight of it. Sir *Edward Peyton* mistakes the Earl of *Murray* for one Mr. *Stuart* a Relation of that Earl's, and tells us, he haunted the *Queen's* Chamber too sedulously, which bred such a Jealousy in King *James*, as to get the *Marquis of Huntley* to dispatch *Stuart* out of the way, who burning his House, &c. After whose Death the *Queen* found others. Such was the Prince of whom Archbishop *Whitgift*, a few Years after, said, he was inspir'd by the Spirit of God. If Mr. *Echard* had had the Eloquence and Persuasion of a *Tully* or a *Sallust*, cou'd he have impos'd such a King upon us as a Blessing to a Christian Church, or have made any Church the more happy for having such a Head? We have elsewhere prov'd his History to be stuff with bold Assertions, Hearsays, Reports, and trifling Tales. He says all at once: *We are not to give Credit to Buchanan's Account, who, to ingratiate himself with the Earl of Murray, wrote most scandalously against the Queen; of all which he earnestly repented, and acknowledged before his Death.* Every Word of which is as false as the falsest Tale

in his History; and we cannot say any thing worse of it. Let the Reader observe his Tone here; *We are not to give Credit*; whereas, in truth, we are to give Credit to what *Buchanan* says. And tho' I was well satisfy'd before of the Arrogance and Falshood of this Assertion, yet now there are a hundred Records publish'd, proving that *Queen* to have been concern'd in the Murder of her Husband, more plainly than any one Fact ever was prov'd, which was endeavour'd to be kept secret; and it is given up even by Papists, and such sort of Clergy as *T-p.*, *Bisse*, *Swift*, &c. who were the more loth to part with it on account of her Son's great Favour to such a sort of Priesthood; and they wou'd be ashamed of it, if they had Shame in them. There are extant three Letters of hers to the Duke of *Norfolk*, wherein she herself owns that she was accessory to the Death of her Husband; How then is it possible that *Buchanan* shou'd, at his Death, repent of having told the Truth, and die with a Lie in his Mouth, as he must do, if he said she was not? *Buchanan*, Lib. 18. Fol. 895. says, *Cum ad secundum aciem pervenisset concurs ab omnibus clamor sublatus est, ut meretricem ut Parricidam cremarent, erat in Militare quodam vexillo depictus Henricus Rex Mortuus, & juxta Filius Infans vindictam Parricidii adeo exposcens. Id Signum duo Milites inter duas hastas distentum quoque se verteret, ob oculos ei objiciebant.* The *Queen* having surrender'd herself to the Lords; the second Line "of the Army us'd her very barbarously when she came among them, and cry'd out, a Harlot, a Parricide, let us slay her; bearing in their Standard the Picture of the murder'd King, and his little Son lying by him, and displaying it before her wherever she turn'd her Eyes." This Fact, which *Buchanan* repented of telling, was, it seems, so well known, that the Soldiers carry'd about the Picture of it in their Colours. *Buchanan*, in another Place, assures us, *She had before that given him Poison, which working before its Time, broke out all over his Body, and so Nature expell'd it.* Whoever will give himself the Trouble to cast an Eye on *Anderfon's* Collection of Records, where those that are for her are printed, as well as those that are against her, he will presently be convinc'd she was so wicked as to encourage *Bothwel* in his unlawful Love to her during her Husband's Life-time, and to encourage *Norfolk* in the like unlawful Love during the Life-time of *Bothwel*: And that what is said of her lewd Commerce with *Rizio* the *Italian* Fidler, is too well grounded to be thrown by as a Fable. Father *Orleans* the Jesuit, who does not a little flatter this King for suffering the Laws to be broken in favour of the Papists, owns, that the Concern *Mary* *Queen of Scots* was in at the sight of *Rizio's* Murder, affected her Son then unborn so much, that 'twas the Cause of his Cowardice. Yet *Echard*, very piously, makes a Panegyrick on her singular Piety, out of Complement to her pious Son, for renouncing and persecuting the Protestant Church he was bred in. If such Things as these are thought partial, I shall give Reason enough to the Reader to think me so: But as in this, and all other the like Cases, I am ready to prove them to be true when call'd upon; so I shall not alter my Method out of Complacency to those who cannot, or do not distinguish Partiality from Truth. It is very happy for the Lovers of Truth, that Mr. *Anderfon* liv'd long enough to collect and publish his Records, for he dy'd soon after; and all that *Buchanan* says of *Mary* *Queen of Scots*, is prov'd to Demonstration by those Records. Yet the *French* Jesuit above-mention'd, who had never seen any other Authorities than the Writings of Papists, and Ecclesiasticks popishly affected, positively asserts, That the Matter contain'd in the authentick Collection of *Anderfon*, which is the same Authority that *Buchanan* had, is false; and that Posterity will never

wer forgive King James the Lenity he shew'd to an insignificant Fellow, the great Buchanan his Preceptor. This Jesuit's notable Book is introduced into the English World, with a Recommendation by LAURENCE ECHARD M. A. Archdeacon of Stow; as if he had not had Falsties enough to answer for in his own Histories, but must needs adopt that Popish Priest's History, which contains hardly any thing else but Falshood from the Beginning to the End, as I have prov'd, and can prove beyond Exception.

The Tragical History of K. James's Family.

Before King James I. left Scotland, the Ministers had so great Influence, that the Nation had generally no great Affection for his Person; yet what he did for the Protestants, made the Papists jealous of his Favour to them: And having no Dependance on his Sincerity, their Loyalty and Love were as little to be depended upon. True it is, his Friendship to them was much less affected, than his Kindness to the Kirk. But he was naturally so timorous, that he never ventured upon Extremities towards either Party. Whatever Prince gives his Subjects Reason to believe he wants Courage, he will certainly find they want Fear; and that Monarch who is not esteem'd, will surely never be belov'd: The necessary Consequence of which, is Oppression on one side, and Opposition on the other.

The Writers of this Reign keep no Measures in their Panegyrics. I hardly know one of them who seems to have had the Facts before him when he was forming K. James's Character. I will avoid Flattery and Prejudice alike, and foresee, that with all my Care in exposing the naked Truth from the most authentick Historians; who shall every where be named, I shall be condemn'd as partial, for not putting it in the same Light as our Ecclesiastical Writers have done: Some of whom, and some Lay Authors too, have not stuck, among other Encomiums, to extol the Piety of this Prince, so agreeable to the several Admonitions he receiv'd from the Clergy of the Church in which he was educated, and to those Execrations and Prophinations of the Sabbath, which are the Complaint and Lamentation of the Times we are about to write of.

The Subject of the following History, is not that of the Stuarts; but the History of England during their Reign here; so I shall not enter into the Genealogy of that House, nor trace them from Banco down to Elizabeth Mure, and from that Lady to King James I. King of Great-Britain. There are too many Tragedies in that Story, and the Facts are of too little Importance, and are not free enough from Barbarism to render it entertaining.

Before the Stuart Line was heard of in that Kingdom, there had been a long Succession of Kings, some of them brave and great, and others of them no better than the Posterity of Elizabeth Mure. Of the bad Kings, Dardanus the 20th from Fergus, Romachus the 36th King, and Alpinus the 68th, were all beheaded; and of the Posterity of Elizabeth Mure, her Son John Stuart, called Robert III. broke his Heart, and dy'd of voluntary Abstinence and Sorrow; and his Son James was kill'd in his Wife's Arms, A. D. 1436. James II. was shot dead by his own Soldiers, A. D. 1460. James III. was kill'd in a Battle against the Confederate Lords, A. D. 1488. James IV. was slain by the English at the Battle of Flowden Field; James V. died of Grief after a Rout. His Daughter Mary Queen of Scots was beheaded; and her Son James I. of England, brought along with him the ill Conduct and ill Fate of his Family.

My Design is to shew how much the Condition of this Kingdom was alter'd by that Prince's Accession to the Throne; and how he and his Posterity, by hearkening to the Counsels of Minions and Bigots, made this once flourishing and

famous Kingdom, a Scene of Misery and Disgrace. In order to do this, let us take a short View of the glorious Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and consider her as she was the supream Head both of Church and State.

As she was Head of the Church, tho' there were some Things in her Government which were exceptionable, yet her Zeal for the Protestant Religion was most exemplary. She not only banish'd Popery out of England, but earnestly endeavoured to promote the Reformation in foreign Parts, by powerfully assisting the French and Belgick Protestants, and expostulating with Henry IV. upon his Apostacy, after she had done him so many good Offices, and so successfully supported him in his Succession to the Throne of France.

Then as to her Management of the State, she acquir'd more Glory than any of the Kings that had worn this Crown since the Reign of Henry V.

Her Sister Queen Mary had lost what was left of the English Conquests on the Continent. Calais was recover'd by the French, and by the first Treaty Queen Elizabeth made with them, she oblig'd them to pay 500000 Pounds for it, which was as much as two Millions now.

Queen Elizabeth's glorious Reign.

She took upon her the Protection of the United Provinces, and enabled the Dutch to throw off the Spanish Yoke. The Cities of Brill, Flushing, and Ramekins, were yielded up to her as a Caution for the vast Sums she lent them. Havre de Grace, in Normandy, was also surrender'd to her for the like Reason by the French, and the Terror of her Arms was so great upon the Ocean, that she was stil'd the Queen of the North-Sea.

Nor did our own Seas confine her Dominion, she made very successful Enterprizes by her Admirals in America, overthrew the Spanish invincible Armada, and destroy'd the vain Hopes of Philip II. of Spain, who aspir'd to the Universal Monarchy: She attack'd him not only in the Indies, but even in Spain itself, and reduc'd the strong City of Cadix.

She drove the French out of Scotland, and settled the Affairs of that neighbour Kingdom; as she thought best for the Protestant Interest, to strengthen which, she enter'd into Alliances with the Princes of Germany.

She procur'd Peace for the Poles, distress'd by the Turks. She suppress'd the Rebellions of the Papists in England and Ireland, and brought the Scots Queen to Justice, in Defiance of the Menaces of all the Papal Powers.

As she provided thus for the Security of Religion and Liberty, so she extended her Royal Care to the promoting of Trade and Manufactures. She invited the Belgick Say and Serge Men into England. She establish'd the Russia Trade, the Portugal Trade, the Turkey Trade, and the Trade in both Indies, which commenc'd all in her Reign. She destroy'd Monopolies; and tho' she was at an immense Charge in carrying on so many necessary and glorious Designs, she was never in Debt.

The contrary to all which, are the Reigns we are entering upon; which, as inglorious as they be of themselves, appear still to be more so, by a Comparison with that of this incomparable Princess.

But before we enter farther upon this History, Many a it is convenient to remember, that there were many illustrious Persons in England, who were so jealous of the Glory of the Nation, that they would have prevented the Succession of the Scots King, and had it secur'd to the Protestant Line in the House of Suffolk; the Founder of which, Charles Brandon, had marry'd Mary the French Queen's younger Sister to Margaret, Wife of James the IVth, King of Scotland; in whose Heirs remain'd the Hereditary Right, which has been so much for the Glory and Happiness of England since they succeeded to this Crown.

The

The Lord Keeper *Bacon*, the Lord Treasurer *Cecil*, and the wisest Heads in the Administration, made the same Judgment of King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland* and First of *England*, as did *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, who put a very great Affront on his *Capacity*, as will be mention'd in his History. The Distractions in the Government of *Scotland* during his Reign in that Kingdom, his Inconstancy and Dissimulation, were ill Prefages of his governing this. The Misfortunes of the *Royal House of Stuart*, of which, as has been observ'd, but two Kings dy'd a natural Death, seem'd to be attach'd to the Crown they wore; and it is no wonder, if wise Men were willing to prevent the Disgrace and Danger with which they were threaten'd.

John Hales, Esq; of *Coventry*, a very learned and polite Gentleman for his Time, wrote a Treatise in Favour of the House of *Suffolk*, especially of the Children of *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*, eldest Son of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerset*, according to *A. Wood*; whereas he had an elder Son, another *Edward Seymour*, from whom those of that Name in *Devonshire* are descended. The Earl of *Hertford* marry'd the Lady *Katherine Grey*, Daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*, nearly ally'd to Queen *Elizabeth*, who discountenancing all Mention of a Successor, Mr. *Hales* was sent to the *Tower* for writing that Treatise. The Lord Keeper *Bacon* was near losing the Seal for being privy to it, as was also the Lord Treasurer *Cecil*; tho', says *Wood*, the Matter was so wisely laid upon *Hales* and *Bacon*, that Sir *William Cecil* was kept free, and procur'd Pardons for the others. The Sense of these great Ministers was, one wou'd think, sufficient to alarm the Nation; but the People so heartily wish'd the Life of the Queen, that they seem'd to believe she was immortal, and troubled themselves very little about a Successor. Thus had our First King *James* a very easy Possession of the Throne; and had not fate there many Months before the People felt, as well as saw, the Effects of the Alteration.

'Tis no Miracle, that the nearer Queen *Elizabeth* drew to the End of her Reign and Life, the Courtiers turn'd their View to the *North*, and endeavour'd to ingratiate themselves with the *Scots* King. Sir *Robert Cecil*, Secretary of State, and Son to the late Treasurer, was one of the first who made his Addressee to him; informing him of the Discourse between the *French* Ambassador and himself; wherein the former attempted to intimidate the Secretary, by putting him in mind of the Death of the Queen of *Scots*, that King's Mother, which Sir *Robert's* Father had a great Hand in, and insinuating the Danger of admitting her Son to the Succession of *England*; which the Secretary not taking as the Ambassador wou'd have had him, the latter said his Master did not intend to impeach the King of *Scotland's* Interest. This Information procur'd a kind Answer from King *James*; I lov'd your Virtues long before I knew you wou'd deserve my Love of your Person: Which was some of the Cunning that was term'd King-Craft. Another Instance of his corresponding with the King of the *Scots*, was his concealing a Dispatch he receiv'd from him in Presence of the Queen; who taking the Air on *Blackbeath* near *Greenwich* heard a Post-Boy's Horn, and enquiring from whence he came, it was said from *Scotland*. Upon which she commanded to stop the Coach to receive the Pacquet. *Cecil* being in the Coach with her, and apprehensive of a Discovery of his Correspondence, calls suddenly for a Knife to cut open the Pacquet, lest Delay might beget Suspicion; and having open'd it, told the Queen 'twas in a filthy Pickle, smelt ill coming out of several

nasty Budgets, and shou'd be air'd before it wou'd be fit for her Majesty to turn over. The Queen being very delicate as to Scents, enquir'd no farther about it; and the Secretary had time to shew what Part of the Dispatch he pleas'd.

The Earl of *Northumberland*, the King's Neighbour in the *North*, gave him early Advice of Queen *Elizabeth's* Sickness, that he might make sure of his Title, and be ready to take Possession when the Time came; which was the 24th of *March* 1602. that Excellent Princess passing then from an earthly to a heavenly Kingdom. The News of her Death was first brought to *Scotland* by Sir *Robert Cary*, a younger Son of the Lord *Hunsdon*, the late Queen's Cousin-German, Son of *Mary* Sister to Queen *Anne Bullen*. The Lords of the Council in *England* had commanded the Gates of the Palace to be shut, that they might be the first to give Advice of the Death of their late Sovereign by a Messenger of their own: But the Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain, found Means to let out his Son, who, says Sir *A. W.* most ungratefully caught her last Breath to carry it to the *Scots* King; and he was rewarded with a Barony for his Expedition, and afterwards made Governor to the Duke of *York*. The Privy Council hearing he was gone, complain'd to the King that he had done what in him lay to anticipate their Duty. They sent their Letter by Sir *Charles Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*; and not *Thomas Somerset*, Son to the Earl of *Worcester*. As soon as the King had read it, and knew that he had been proclaim'd King of *England* in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, his Countenance chang'd, and the Lords who were with him fear'd he was taken sick; when on a sudden he left off reading, and lifted up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, as if he pray'd; and giving the Letter to the Lord that was next him, said, Read it, Man; the Queen is dead. After these Gentlemen came *Lewis Pickering*, Esq; of *Northamptonshire*, one of the Heads of the *Puritan* Party, who arriv'd within a few Minutes of the former, in hopes of recommending his Friends to his Majesty's Favour. But *Dr. Neville*, Dean of *Canterbury*, who was sent by that Archbishop, succeeded better in his Errand, as will be seen hereafter.

On *Sunday, April 3.* the King made the Speech in the great Church at *Edinburgh*, which has been already mention'd. And in Answer to the Letter of the Lords of the Council, acknowledg'd their dutiful Affections, and confirm'd all Officers Civil and Military. The Letter was carry'd to the Council by Sir *Roger Aston* his Majesty's Barber, whom he advanced afterwards to be Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Master of the Wardrobe, having employ'd him in the Queen's Time as a Letter-Carrier between the two Courts. The Lords enquiring of him how he had liv'd in *Scotland*, being of good Extraction in *England*, tho' mean in Fortune? he reply'd, Like a poor Man wandering above forty Years in a Wilderness and barren Soil, now arriv'd at the Land of Promise.

On the fifth of *April* the King set out from *Scotland*, attended by those *Scottish* Noblemen and Gentlemen, whose Company was most grateful to him; as the Duke of *Lenox*, whose Conduct in *Scotland* had render'd him odious to the Protestants; the Earls of *Hamilton*, *Argyle*, *Mar*, *Kinlofs*; the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume*, Sir *John Ramsay*, &c. Of the latter, more will be said in the following History, which begins with this King's Entrance into the Kingdom of *England*; where he was receiv'd with as much Acclamation and Joy, as if he had brought in his Train, Piety, Riches, and Glory.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
 O F
E N G L A N D
 During the R E I G N of
 King *J A M E S* the First.

A.D. 1603

K. James begins his Ill-Conduſt at Berwick.



JAMES STUART, the first of that Royal House who reign'd in *England*, arriv'd at *Berwick* in his Way to *London*, to take Possession of the Throne, on the 7th of *April*, A.D. 1603; where, among other Lords and Gentlemen, there met him

Henry Howard, Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was beheaded for his treasonable Correspondence with *Mary Queen of Scots*, King *James's* Mother. This Lord was immediately sworn one of his Majesty's Privy-Council; a very wise Act, considering he was a Papist, and the King just come out of a *Presbyterian* Country into a Land of *Puritans*. The Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Duke's Brother, another Papist, was also made a Privy-Counsellor.

To *Berwick* came the Lord *Cobham*, who three Months after was imprison'd for a Conspiracy against him. Here his Majesty did the only military Act he ever perform'd in his Life, for he gave Fire to, and shot off a Piece of Ordnance; which *Stow*, the Chronicler, records as an heroic Action in so peaceable a Monarch, who, as *Pere Orleans* says, *could not see a naked Sword with swooning*. Several other Persons of Quality paid their Compliments to the new King at this Place, and many more waited on him at *Durham* and *York*; where he was receiv'd by the Lord *Burgheley* President of the North, and a numerous Attendance of Noblemen and Gentlemen; the chief of whom was Sir

Robert Cecil Secretary of State, that Lord's Brother; but his Train was so incommoded by the vast Concurrence of People crowding every where to see him, that at *York* he issued out a Proclamation to prevent the Multitude's encumbering him in his Progress. The Inconstancy of the Great Vulgar, and the Small in so soon forgetting their belov'd Queen, was observ'd with Sorrow by Men of Ingenuity and Foresight, the Reason for their extravagant Joy having no Foundation in the King's Government of his antient Kingdom of *Scotland*; and it is very probable, that what a *Scotsman* said of the Adoration paid to his Master by the *English*, *This People will spoil a good King*, was as much Flattery as the other.

Fuller tells us he was amaz'd at the Equipage of the Northern Lords who repair'd to him at *York*, especially the Earl of *Cumberland's*, admiring there shou'd be so many Kings in *England*; for less he could not take them to be by the Number and Gallantry of their Attendants. If his Revenue in *Scotland* was in the whole but 50000 Pounds a Year, as we are told, the two northern Earls of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, had together an Income not much short of it. But, according to my Author, he soon found a Way, by Advice of the *English* Secretary *Cecil*, to abate the formidable Greatness of the *English* Nobility, by conferring Honours on many Persons. Thus was Nobility so spread abroad, that it became very thin, and lost much of its ancient Esteem. Instead of such sober Reasoning, Archdeacon *Echard* thinks it was for the Glory of the Kingdom, *It was*

A.D. 1603

Ch. Hist.
p. 114.

Reybold
Ch. 1.

Fuller.

He shoots off a Gun.

P. 2.

His Co-wardice.

His Journey to London.

A. D. 1603. thought fit, thro' an Immenſity of Wiſdom, to give a free Courſe to the Paſſage of Honour, which during Queen Elizabeth's Reign had been ſo ſtopp'd.

His Maſteſty ſtaid three Days at *Tork*, and then proceeded to Sir *Edward Stanbope's* Seat at *Grimſton*; thence to *Pontefract*, *Doncaſter*, and *Newark*, where he arriv'd the 21ſt of *April*, and exercis'd his kingly Office on a Cutpurſe, whom he commanded to be executed without Form of Trial; a very early Inſtance of that Wiſdom which acquir'd him the Character of a ſecond *Solomon*. However wiſe it was, the Juſtice of it was much queſtion'd, and it was hoped, when he had acquainted himſelf better with our Laws, he wou'd not have violated them ſo notoriously. Yet after he was ſettled at *Whitehall*, a Cutpurſe being taken in the Preſence, he commanded the Lord *Garret*, Knight Marſhal, to hang him up immediately, which was done; but the Knight fearing to be hang'd himſelf for ſo doing, eſcap'd by a Pardon under the Great Seal. The King was the longer on his Journey, for that he hunted all the Way, and banquetted at moſt of the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, every one ſtriving to gain his good Graces by Profuſion and Luxury.

On the 22d of *April* he arriv'd at *Belvoir* Caſtle, a Seat of the preſent Duke of *Rutland's*, and the next Day at *Burleigh* near *Stamford*, a noble Seat of the preſent Earl of *Exeter's*. He tarry'd there two or three Days, and was royally entertain'd by the late Lord-Treaſurer's Son, the Lord *Burghley*. From thence he remov'd to *Hinchingbrook* near *Huntington*, a Seat of Sir *Oliver Cromwel's*, Uncle to the Protector, who has been often vilify'd for his baſe Extracſion, by ſuch Hiſtorians as *Heylin*, *Dugdale*, *Nalſon*, &c. At *Hinchingbrook* his Reception was ſuch; as, ſays *Fuller*, in a manner made all former Entertainments forgotten, and all future to deſpair to do the like. All the Pipes about the Houſe ran with the choic'eſt Wines, and every thing answer'd the Greatneſs of Sir *Oliver's* Fortune, then one of the greateſt in *England*. Hither came the Heads of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in their ſcatlet Gowns and Corner Caps; and their Orator Mr. *Robert Naunton*, afterwards a Knight and Secretary of State, made an eloquent Latin Oration, requeſting a Confirmation of their Privileges, which his Maſteſty readily granted, and took particular Notice of Dr. *Montagu* Maſter of *Sydney* College, with whom he held much Diſcourſe.

At *Godman-Cheſter*, in the ſame County of *Huntington*, the Bayliſſ preſented him with ſeventy Teams of Horſes finely traced to as many new Ploughs, in Honour of Tillage; a Cuſtom of great Antiquity when the King paſſes through that Town, whoſe Inhabitants hold their Land by that Tenure. His Maſteſty told them he lik'd their Air ſo well, and took their Gift ſo kindly, that he wou'd often viſit them, were it not ſo expensive to them: And being told the Homage was only paid for the firſt Viſit, he perform'd his Promiſe to the Advantage of both Town and County.

Royſton was the firſt Place where he paid his own Expence. From thence he proceeded to *Standon*, the Seat of Sir *Thomas Sadler*; thence to *Broxborn*, the Houſe of Sir *Henry Cook*, Cofferer to Queen *Elizabeth*; where he was met by the Great Officers of the Crown, the Lord Chancellor *Egerſon*, the Lord Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, the Lord Admiral *Howard*, and moſt of the Lords of the Privy Council. At *Ware* the King came to *Wiggen*, ſo baſe a Cottage, that it begat a Saying, when a Thing was refus'd, *You ſhall have it when the King comes to Wiggen*.

On the 3d of *May* he arriv'd at *Theobalds*, Secretary *Cecil's* Seat, where he was moſt magnificently entertain'd for four Days, and added, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Mar*, the Lord *Hume*, the Lord *Elphingſton*, and the Lord *Kinloſs*, to his Privy-Council, another wiſe Act in the Infancy of

his Government, to let the *Engliſh* ſee that his Favour, and the Nation's Riches, were to run in other Channels. Nor was it leſs an Act of Wiſdom, to dub twenty-eight Knights in Sir *Robert Cecil's* Houſe, to ſhew betimes how different his Conduſt wou'd be from Queen *Elizabeth's*, who ſcarce ever made ſo many Knights in ſo many Moons. A few Days after he dubb'd eighty more at the *Charter-Houſe*, and near two hundred before he reach'd *Whitehall*; by which he gain'd no more Love than the Knights got Honour, Knighthood being render'd too cheap to be in the Eſteem Queen *Elizabeth* left it. The Jeſt that was made of it, appears by this Queſtion, *What need of ſo many Milites, when there's no War?* But Mr. *Echard*, who is infect'd with the Wiſdom of this Reign, excuſes his Prodigality on account of the want of Knights to make Jury-Men at *Aſſizes*. Higher Dignities were diſpos'd of with answerable Profuſion. He created the following Scots Lords and Gentlemen, Peers of *England* and *Scotland*, as Sir *John Ramſay*, who murder'd Earl *Gowry* at the King's Inſtigation, Earl of *Holderneſs*, Sir *James Hay* Earl of *Carlisle*; Sir *George Hume* Earl of *Dunbar*, Sir *Thomas Ereſkin* Earl of *Kelley*; and Sir *Richard Preſton* Earl of *Kildare*: And to qualify them for theſe Honours, the publick Treasures were waſted in a moſt ſcandalous manner. Nothing, ſays *Osborn*, was made penal by Law in Church or Commonwealth, but was by the King granted to his Countrymen, and by them exacted to the uttermoſt Farthing. Many, in the mean time, venturing their Spleen in Songs; of one of which I remember two Lines.

*In Scotland he was born and bred,
And though a Beggar, muſt be fed.*

Which cauſ'd a By-word, That the Exchequer reach'd from *London* to *Edinburgh*. The Grievance was the more crying, for that this King choſe thoſe of his own Nation for his Favourites, who had not one good Quality to recommend them to him, and were in no more Eſteem in their own Country than in *England*. One of the beſt of them was Sir *George Hume*, the new Earl of *Dunbar*, who was the reigning Favourite when the King came to *England*; and it is ſaid, he procur'd that Favour by concealing what he knew of *Gowry's* Conſpiracy. Sir *Anthony Welden* ſays, the Scots gave little Credit to that Story, and the wiſeſt of that Nation ſpoke ſlightly and deſpitefully of it. Sir *Edward Peyton* writes thus: The Queen found others to ſatisfy her unruly Appetite, as namely, the Earl of *Gowry*, a Lord of a comely Viſage, good Stature, and of an attracting Allurement; who, upon King *James's* Suſpicion of often Society with the Queen, converted the Friendſhip and Love of the Earl to the Poiſon of Hatred, cauſing *Ramſey* and others to murder *Gowry* in his own Houſe, giving it out for a ſtale, that the Earl with others wou'd have kill'd him. And to make this Falſhood appear odious in Shape of Truth, the Fifth of *Auguſt* was appointed a ſolemn Day of Thankſgiving for his ſuppos'd Delivery, and in this he mock'd the God of Heaven. Sir *J. H.* has this Expreſſion upon it, he blaſphem'd God for his pretended Deliverance once a Year all his Liſe after. Mr. *Osborn*, who frequented his Court, tells it thus: "Among a Number of other Novelties, he brought a new Holyday into the Church of *England*, wherein God had publick Thanks given him for his Maſteſty's Deliverance out of the Hands of *Gowry*; and this fell out upon the 5th of *Auguſt*, on which many Lies were told either at Home or Abroad, in the Quire of *St. Paul's* Church, or the Long-Walk; for no Scotsman you cou'd meet with beyond Sea, but did laugh at it, and it was ſaid, the printed Relation of it murder'd all Poſſibility of Credit." *Wilson* is a little more cautious; Whether the *Gowries* attempted on the King's Perſon, or the King upon theirs,

A. D. 1603.

Makes Knights.

Sir E. P. p. 21.
Sir A. W. p. 9.

P. 482.
Prodigal of Honour and Treating their Spleen in Songs; of one of which I remember two Lines.

Sir E. P. p. 28.

P. 9.
P. 21.

Hiſt. Stu. p. 291.

Gowry's Plot falſe.

Breaks the Law.

Sir E. P. p. 109.

P. 157.

A.D. 1603. theirs, is variously reported. I will not say, the Celebration of this holy Day was Profaneness for Fame may be a Slanderer. Dr. Welwood, who was a Scotsman himself, a discreet Author, and well inform'd of the Fact, writes; Gowry's Conspiracy was in itself so improbable, and attended with so many inconsistent Circumstances, that 'twas believ'd at the time it was said to have been attempted. He then reflects on the Effects of the holy Day, which Bancroft and his Brethren celebrated so devoutly, and for which they had solemn Prayers: Posterity has swallow'd for Truth what their Ancestors took for a mere Fiction. Another Historian speaking of the printed Relation upon which the Holiday was founded, says, I will not descant upon the many Absurdities and incoherent Circumstances couch'd under this Relation; but only tell you, most Authors who have mention'd it seem to turn the Tables, and lay the Assassination at the King's Door. Notwithstanding all this, shall I be reckon'd partial by the inferior Clergy, and their Followers, for insinuating, that a Prince, said to have the Spirit of God in him, shou'd turn Religion into a Farce, and be capable of acting such a Part in it.

Hist. Stu.
291.

On Saturday the 7th of May the King proceeded to London, being met on the Road by Sir Robert Lee Lord-Mayor, the Aldermen and Sheriffs. The Recorder, Sir Richard Martyn, made a florid Speech suitable to the Occasion. His Majesty stopp'd four Days at the Charter-house, a Palace of the Lord Thomas Howard's, where the Revellings and Rejoycings were continu'd; with which one would think both Court and City might in much less time have been surfeited.

From the Charter-house he went privately to Whitehall, and thence by Water to the Tower; where on the 17th of May he made fourteen Serjeants at Law, and three Days after created four English Peers, Sir Robert Cecil Baron of Esslingon, Sir Robert Sidney Baron of Penshurst, Sir William Knolles Baron of Grays, Sir Edward Wootton Baron of Morley. The Lord Henry Howard was created Earl of Northampton, and Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst Earl of Dorset. Henry Wriothesley Earl of Southampton, who had been condemn'd for the Earl of Essex's Treason, and had been kept a Prisoner upon Reprieve in the Tower four Years, was discharg'd, and some time after made Knight of the Garter, Privy-Counsellor, and Governor of the Isle of Wight.

The King had left the Queen and Royal Family in Scotland; and as soon as he was settled in England, he dispatch'd John Spotswood, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews, to conduct her into England, with a Train of English Lords and Ladies, who valu'd themselves very much on the Honour of the Employment; as the Earl of Suffex, the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Compton, the Lord Norris, and Sir George Carew; the Countess of Worcester, the Countess of Kildare, the Lady Anne Herbert Daughter to the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Scrope's Lady, the Lord Rich's Lady, and the Lady Walsingham, one of the late Queen's Bedchamber: These went by his Majesty's Appointment. The Countess of Bedford, the Lady Hastings, the Lady Cecil, the Lady Hatton, the Lady Harrington, and several other Persons of Quality, went voluntarily to fill up the new Queen's Court, that she might break forth from the North amidst a new Constellation of Beauties, herself indeed not the most beautiful. Spotswood had no Order to bring Prince Henry, but she would not stir without him. The Persons with whom the Earl of Mar, his Governor, had left him in Charge, refus'd to deliver him without positive Command from the King, which threw her into a Fit of Sickness; which his Majesty hearing of, dispatch'd the Lord Mar to present the Prince to the Queen; who had such an Aversion to that Lord, that when the King, to reconcile her to him, wrote her how

Queen sent
for from
Scotland.

much he was oblig'd to his Wisdom and Negotiations for his peaceable Reception in England, she said to her Ladies, I had rather never see England than be beholden to him.

Such are the Events of this triumphant Reign; such the Facts that are to instruct the Reader in the History of King James the First. The Queen, with Prince Henry then about 9 Years of Age, and the Lady Elizabeth, arriv'd at York the 11th of June. They rested there a few Days; and on the 27th arriv'd at Eaton in Northamptonshire, a Seat of Sir George Fermour's, where the King met them in Person, and having left the Princess Elizabeth to the Government of the Lord Harrington, they pass'd from thence to Sir J. Fortescue's in Buckinghamshire: A very worthy Gentleman, who was so jealous of the Liberty of his Country, that he mov'd to have King James oblig'd to Articles before he was admitted. So did Sir Walter Raleigh, and other generous Spirits; but the Earl of Northumberland swore he would bring him in by the Sword, and Cecil the Secretary, to have the Merit of his easy Admittance, frustrated all Motions of Articles.

The King's younger Son Charles Duke of Albany being not above three Years of Age, was thought too young to endure so long a Journey; but young as he was, and as much an Infant, he already discover'd a strange Perverseness and Obstinacy of Temper; so incorrigible and inflexible was his Nature, that his Nurses, and those Gentlemen who attended him, cou'd very rarely devise how to please him, much less to reclaim that Intemperature of his natural Constitution; which, as the Gentlewomen themselves have both often related and protested, so are there yet enough alive who will justify it, says my Author, as a known Truth, and of which his Mother Queen Anne would often complain, usually calling him her perverse and obstinate Son. This is told us by a Servant of his Father's, who liv'd in his Court till he was weary of it; and is confirm'd by his Actions, as will be seen in the Sequel of our History. In the following Year, the young Prince was taken ill of a Fever; but recover'd by the Care and Skill of Dr. Atkins, one of the King's Physicians, who was sent on purpose to Scotland; and in October conducted him to Windsor, where the Court then resided.

As yet there is little Business done, but what consisted in Royal Progresses and Entertainments, Sports and Jollities in the midst of a severe Plague, which had till then rag'd in England, no less than 3000 a Week dying in London and Westminster. These Feastings were follow'd by the Ceremonies of Embassies. The first that came was a solemn one from the States of the United Provinces, who flatter'd themselves much with Hopes of his Friendship; and to do him Honour, sent Frederick Henry de Nassau, Brother to Prince Maurice, Counsellor of State, and General of the Horse; Walrave de Broderode, John Olden Barneveldt, and James Valk, with a magnificent Train and Equipage. They arriv'd at London the 14th of May, and had Audience of his Majesty the 27th, when they represented to him the Necessity of continuing the War with Spain and the Archdukes. They demand'd the same Succours which Queen Elizabeth had furnish'd them with, and Permission to raise Recruits for the English Troops in the Service of the States. They propos'd to the King of Great Britain, as he was then stil'd, to enter into a League against the Spaniards, with other Powers of Europe, to hinder their acquiring the Universal Monarchy, to which they had a long time aspir'd. They also inform'd him, that the late Queen having desir'd them to set out a Squadron of Ships to join her Fleet, and act against Spain; they had accordingly equipp'd nine Men of War and two Brigantines, which were ready in the Downs. King James return'd them an Answer in general Terms

A.D. 1603.

Proposals
of Articles
before he
came.

Life Ch. I.
printed by
Reybold.

A Plague.

Embassies
to him.

A.D. 1603.
Call to the
Dutch.

His Pays
Bas.

Le Clerc's
Character
of him.

P. 5.

Careless of
the Honour
of Eng-
land.

Sir A. W.
26.

His Am-
bassadors
abroad.

Terms only, That he was but newly come to the Crown, and cou'd not yet resolve upon any thing; that he thought Peace was to be prefer'd to War: however, he was desirous to preserve Friendship with the States General. The Ambassadors easily enough guess'd his Meaning, and that no Succours were to be expected from him; whose Reign, says Monsieur *Le Clerc*, was a *Series of Weaknesses*; he being a very timorous Prince, who minded nothing but his Pleasures, tho' he made a Shew of Knowledge and Learning. Instead of *Wisdom*, he is here charg'd with *Weakness*; instead of *Learning* and *Knowledge*, with a *Shew* of it; which, it seems, was as well known abroad as at home. Add to this his Inclination to Popery, which was very strong; not, I believe, out of the least Conviction that the Idolatry and Superstition of the *Romish* Church were more agreeable to Scripture, than the Piety and Purity of the *Reform'd*; but either out of Fear of the Papists, or thinking their Religion the easiest and best suited to a Life of Pleasure, which he intended to lead. *Father Orleans* tells us, he had some Inclination to the *Catholick* Religion, and made some Steps towards being converted. A Prince in such a Disposition was not likely to be a hearty Friend to a *Presbyterian* Republick, as was that of the *United Provinces*. The foreign Negotiations in this Reign are so weak and inglorious, that they are not worth mentioning. *Mr. Echard* knew but little of them: Besides, to relate them was not for the Credit of a King, whom he makes not only the Head, but the Support and Ornament of our Church.

In *June* an Embassy arriv'd from the *Electo*r *Palatine*, who probably had so early an Eye towards an Alliance with his Majesty, by marrying his Son to the Princess *Elizabeth*. From the *Archduke*, Governor of the *Netherlands*, came Count *Aremberg*, whose coming prov'd fatal to Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The King of *Spain* sent the *Constable of Castile*, a *Grandee* of the first Rank; and his Errand was the most important, it being to make Peace with the Crown of *England*, which had been at War with the *Spaniards* almost thirty Years. *Pere Orleans* says, he immediately gave Order to conclude a Peace with *Spain*. And himself, and the Princes of his Race, from that time to the End of their Reigns, always took as little Care to maintain the Glory of *England*, as the *Protestant* Religion, which owes to it its best Protection. The *Duke de Sully* was Ambassador from *Henry* the IVth of *France*. The *Duke of Tuscany*, and the Senate of *Venice*, sent Embassies of Congratulation; and for their Reception with the more Pomp and Order, a new Officer was instituted by the Name of *Master of the Ceremonies*, who had more Business on his Hands than the *Master of the Ordnance*. Sir *Lewis Lewkner* was the first who held that Office.

Sir *Robert Mansel*, Vice-Admiral of *England*, was order'd to *Graveline*, to convoy the *Spanish* Ambassador; and Sir *Ferom Turner* to *Calais*, to bring over the *French*; who understanding Sir *Robert Mansel*, a superior Officer, was order'd to receive the *Constable of Castile*, refus'd to go aboard Sir *Ferom Turner*, but put himself into the *Calais* *Pacquet-Boat* with a Flag a-top. Sir *Ferom* sent to Sir *Robert* for Orders what to do; and he directed him to shoot, if he did not strike the Flag. *Turner* shot accordingly, and the Flag was taken down; but the Ambassador made great Complaints, which however were not much hearken'd to, the Action being generally approv'd of by the *English* Nation.

The King sent Ambassadors abroad to return the Compliments he receiv'd. The *Earl of Rutland* carry'd the *Garter* to the King of *Denmark*, and stood Godfather to his first Son. The *Lord Spencer* presented the Order to the *Duke of Wirtemberg*; and Sir *Henry Wotton* had the Embassy

to *Venice*, where at that Juncture a Minister, who had more of his Master's boasted Wisdom, was wanted.

Pope *Paul* the Vth had so highly provok'd the *Venice* State of *Venice*, that at the Instigation of *Padre Paulo*, the learned Author of the History of the Council of *Trent*, they seem'd resolv'd to separate totally from the Court and Church of *Rome*. King *James* promis'd *Justiniani* the *Venetian* Ambassador, not only to assist them with all the Forces of his Kingdom, but to engage all his Allies in their Defense. At Sir *Henry Wotton's* Arrival, the Breach between the Pope and the Republick was brought very near a Crisis. The Ambassador at his Audience offer'd all possible Assistance in his Master's Name, and accus'd the Pope and Papacy of being the chief Authors of all the Mischiefs in *Christianity*. This was receiv'd with great Deference and Respect to King *James*. And when the Pope's Nuntio objected something as to that King's *Orthodoxy*, the *Doge* took him up briskly, and said, *The King of England believes in Jesus Christ, but I do not know in whom some others believe*. King *James* had sent with *Wotton* his Premonition to all *Christian Princes and States*, translated into *Latin*, to be presented to the Senate; which *Padre Paulo*, and the seven Divines of the State, more zealous for the Reformation than our *English* Ambassador, press'd might be done at his first Audience, telling him they were confident it wou'd have a very good Effect. But now for another bright Instance of this Monarch's immense Wisdom, and that of the Ministers he made use of: Sir *Henry Wotton* cou'd not be prevail'd with, alledging he had positive Orders to wait till *St. James's* Day, which was not far off. This Conceit of presenting the King's Book on *St. James's* Day spoil'd all; for before that Day the Difference was made up, and that happy Opportunity lost. When he had his Audience on *St. James's* Day, and presented the Book, all the Answer he got was, *They thank'd the King of England for his Good-will; but they were now reconcil'd to the Pope, and were therefore resolv'd not to admit of any Change in their Religion, according to their Agreements with the Court of Rome*. Because the King was *St. James's* Namefake, the Business must be deferr'd to be done on the Day of the two *James's*. Women and Children cou'd hardly have been guilty of any thing more whimsical. We shall find in a Year or two what *Archbishop Whitgift* said of him.

In *July* were solemnly perform'd the Rites of *Knights of the Garter*, where Prince *Henry*, the *Duke of Lenox*, the *Earl of Mar*, the *Earl of Southampton*, and the *Earl of Pembroke*, were installed *Knights of the Garter*. Then also were created the *Lord Thomas Howard* *Earl of Suffolk*, the *Lord Mountjoy* *Earl of Devonshire*, Sir *Robert Cecil* *Baron of Essendon*, *Viscount Cranbourn*; Sir *Thomas Egerton* *Lord Chancellor*, *Baron of Ellesmer*; Sir *William Russel* *Baron of Thornhaugh*, Sir *Henry Grey* *Baron of Grobie*, Sir *John Petre* *Baron of Writtle*, Sir *John Harrington* *Baron of Exton*, Sir *Henry D'Anvers* *Baron of Dantsey*, Sir *Thomas Gerard* *Baron of Gerard Bromley*, Sir *Robert Spencer* *Baron of Wormleighton*. Those noble Dignities were bestow'd so plentifully, that a *Pasquil* was put up in *St. Paul's*, to direct weak Memories to a competent Knowledge of the Nobility. My Author adds, *By a Multiplicity of them, he made them cheap and invalid in the vulgar Opinion: For nothing is more destructive to Monarchy, than lessening the Peerage; upon their Decline the Commons arise, and Anarchy increases*. The Merit of the *Lord Mountjoy*, the new *Earl of Devonshire*, was however distinguish'd from others. He brought over the old *Irish* Rebel *Tyrone*, who had ruin'd and massacred so many *English* Protestants; but having given his Word that he wou'd do so no more, he was not only pardon'd, but a Proclamation

made.

The *Irish* Rebel *Tyrone* favour'd.

A.D. 1603.

inclin'd to
fall off
from Po-
pery.

Welwood,
p. 30.

A Conceit
of King
James and
his Envoy
binders it.

Wilson;
p. 7.

A.D. 1603. tion was publish'd, commanding all Persons to speak respectfully of him, and carry themselves civilly towards him; which is not to be imputed to his Majesty's Fear of a conquer'd Rebel, but to his Love of Peace and good Manners.

Lord Cobham and Sir W. Raleigh in Disgrace.

Soon after his Majesty's Arrival at London, the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh were forbidden the Court; their Disgrace being owing, as some suppos'd, to the Malice and Suggestions of Secretary Cecil, who without any one of his Father's good Qualities had all his bad ones.

Raleigh's Plot.

The Plague continuing to rage at London, the King retir'd to Wilton, a fine Seat of the Earl of Pembroke's in Wiltshire. While he was in this Retirement, a Discovery was made of that Conspiracy, which goes by the Name of Raleigh's Treason, Sir Walter Raleigh being one of the chief Conspirators. What the Treason was, no body cou'd then give a very good Account of; and much less now that it has been almost 130 Years a brewing by those who hated Sir Walter's Memory for his making free with the Lands of the Church. There was no Foundation for it in Probability, whatever Fact was pretended to be prov'd on the Plotters. Was it likely that the Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and three or four Gentlemen more, shou'd attempt to alter a Government with which the People were so transported, or that a Man of so great a Genius as Sir Walter Raleigh shou'd give into so impracticable a Scheme? He was for binding King James to Articles, as has been observ'd; and that was a Crime not easily to be forgiven by a Prince, who lov'd Power as much as he hated War.

No Foundation for it.

Sir Walter Raleigh was doubtless disgusted at the little Regard the King shew'd to his Merit; and being a Man of Spirit, might vent that Disgust in rash and dangerous Expressions, before Persons who made their Market of the Confidence he had in them. Sir Anthony Welden says, *What the Treason was no Man cou'd tell; and it is left with so dark a Comment, that Posterity will never understand the Text. It is true, some lost their Lives; yet the World was never satisfy'd of the Justice.* Dr. Welwood compares this Conspiracy to that of Gowry's, saying, 'twas no less a Mystery. Mr. Osborn writes of it thus: *A Treason so improbable to hurt others, or benefit themselves, that if ever Folly was capable of the Title or Pity due to Innocence, theirs might claim a large Share.* Another Historian; *It was such a Mixture, that nothing cou'd be visible in it.* Yet after the Lord Cobham's Brother Mr. Brook, and two Romish Priests, Watson and Clerk, had been put to Death for it, Mr. Echard cries out, how uncommonly tender and merciful was this King?

P. 28.

P. 473.

Hist. Stu. 293.

Begins ill.

An ill Peace with Spain.

P. 472.

Such a Beginning of a Reign promis'd very little Good in the Course of it; but so much Care was taken to gild the Appearances that the Darkeness had not its full Effect on the Minds of the People. It was not probable that two Churchmen, the Lord Cobham and his Brother, and the Lord Grey of Wilton, a Puritan, shou'd join with Sir Walter Raleigh a reputed Atheist, and two Romish Priests, to restore Popery, and set up a Spanish arbitrary Government; especially considering what an advantageous Treaty the Constable of Castile was upon concluding with the King's Ministers, of whom Cecil was the Chief. Welden observes, *It was indeed those that made the Peace, not those that endeavour'd the breaking of it, that were the Traytors, and are to be curs'd by all Posterity.* Sir Walter Raleigh oppos'd this Negotiation as detrimental and scandalous to the Interest and Honour of England. Cecil, amongst all his Politicks, cou'd not penetrate so far as Raleigh, tho' the thing lay so near the Surface, or he was taken off by Spanish Money. As this Peace, says Osborn, was of infinite Consequence to the Spaniard, so he spar'd for no Cost to procure it. Howard Earl of

Northampton built his Palace in the Strand with the Gold that came to his Share. And Cecil's Portion cou'd not be less, considering he was Prime Minister; but it is all hush'd up; and one Reason of it may be his joining with the King against the Presbyterians at the Hampton-Conference, which was about this time. Fuller, 21.

For this Peace, and others of the same happy Effect, King James had the amiable Title of Rex Pacificus bestow'd upon him; and had the Peace he so inculcated been as much for his Honour as his Ease; had not his Fear of War been stronger than his Love of Peace, that Title wou'd have been as illustrious as those of the Victorious and Invincible. Sir Walter Raleigh was a military Man, and therefore very unfit for a Favourite in this Reign; yet Cecil's Jealousy of his Parts and Worth sunk him deeper in the Conspiracy than was in Reason, as well as Truth. Was it not extremely likely that Count Aremberg shou'd treat with Cobham for a Rebellion against the King, while the Constable of Castile was treating with Cecil for an Alliance between him and his Master the King of Spain; against which Raleigh wrote a Treatise, which he presented to the King? Be it as it will, Henry Lord Cobham, his Brother George Brook, Thomas Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Griffith Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Bartholomew Brokesby, and Anthony Copley, Gent. were all seiz'd and imprison'd about the Beginning of July for conspiring the Death of the King, the Subversion of the State, and setting up the Lady Arabella Stuart on the Throne. The latter a very wild Imagination, to destroy King James's Hereditary Right for the sake of another female Reign. The Lord Grey was to raise 2000 Men under pretence of assisting the Hollanders, and with these to seize both the King and Prince. Sir Walter Raleigh was to procure Supplies of Money from Aremberg out of the Archduke's Treasury. Cobham was to go to Spain for the same Supplies; and when they had settled the Lady Arabella on the Throne, Watson the Popish Priest was to be made Lord Chancellor; George Brook, the Churchman, Lord Treasurer; the Lord Grey, a Puritan, Master of the Horse, and Earl Marshal of England; Sir Griffith Markham, a Papist, Secretary of State; and the others were to have the Places in the Kingdom upon the new Queen's Accession to the Crown. But tho' they were apprehended in July, they were not brought to Trial till November; the Pestilence raging so violently at London, that above 30000 dy'd of it this Year. The Term was deferr'd and kept at Winchester; as were the Exchequer Court, Court of Wards and Liveries, and that of the Dutchy of Lancaster at Richmond.

K. James call'd Rex Pacificus.

The Plot.

Coronation.

But the Plague did not prevent the Royal Ceremony of the King and Queen's Coronation on St. James's Day: To prepare for which, besides the above-mention'd Lords, the King made sixty two Knights of the Bath; and dubb'd at once all the Judges, all the Serjeants at Law, all his Gentlemen Ushers, and many others.

On the 25th of July, the King and Queen were crown'd at Westminster by Archbishop Whitgift: The Lord-Mayor Sir Robert Lee, and twelve principal Citizens, were admitted to attend the Solemnity, but all other Citizens were stopp'd from passing either by Land or Water, for fear of Infection. Indeed some thought it an improper Season to celebrate so glorious a Festival, and that it wou'd have been more decent, if not more religious, to have put off the Rejoicings for the Coronation, till there had not been so many Mourners in the Streets, and so many Doors shut up by the Desolation of the Pestilence. However, the Charge of the Ceremony amounted to thirty-seven thousand Pounds. The King at his Coronation did not take the usual Oath which all Kings were wont to do, Whitgift sinking some Parts of it, as favouring too much

Oath a-bridg'd.

A.D. 1603. the Rights and Privileges of the People, as we are told by Dr. *Corwel*, Vicar General to Archbishop *Bancroft*, in his Treatise intitul'd the *Interpreter*; which was suppress'd by Proclamation for an Expression in it, *That the King's Prerogative was in some Cases limited*: tho' the Intent of the Book was to establish arbitrary Power.

This great Expence; that of his Majesty and Train in his Journey from *Scotland*, and on his Arrival at *London*, gave no Check to his Royal Bounty, much more boundless than his Treasury; which, while he was in *Scotland*, receiv'd its best Supply from a Pension the late Queen gave him of 15000 Pounds a Year. The Gentlemen he brought from *Scotland* with him, had a fair Harvest in the Beginning of his Reign, and it lasted with very little Intermision to the End, the King seeming not to distinguish between *English* and *Scots* Pounds.

What State-Affairs, other than ceremonial, were transacted in the Court of *England*, consisted chiefly in Proclamations, of which there were eleven issu'd in a few Months; the chief of them were that for quieting Mens Minds as to religious Matters, and that for suppressing Captain *Thomas Tomkins* the Pyrate, who robb'd near the Streights of *Gibraltar*.

The 5th of *August* was the first *Holy Day* in *England* to thank God for his Majesty's Deliverance from Earl *Gowry*, of which enough has been said already. There were two Earl *Gowrys*, Father and Son, who were put to Death by this King, rather out of Hatred to their Principles, being *Presbyterians*, than Fear of their Designs. Earl *Gowry*, the Father, join'd with the Earls of *Mar*, *Lyndsay*, and other Noblemen, in the Year 1582, to deliver the King from his *Papish* evil Counsellors; such as the Duke of *Lenox*, who, as the Bishop of *Salisbury* assures us, was a known *Papist*; which *Echard* tells us, is said out of Malice, and that he dy'd a good *Protestant* at *Paris*. Besides the Anniversary for the King's Deliverance from *Gowry*, there were *Tuesday* Sermons every Week for some Time; and can one, without Horror, think of the prophanning the tremendous Name of God in so solemn a Manner, to countenance a Cast of State Policy. It is true, the *Puritans* imitated their Brethren in *Scotland*, who before the King left that Kingdom refus'd to give God Thanks for a Deliverance which they did not believe. What I read in another Historian, gives one a shocking Idea of all *Anniversaries* set apart for Worship where the Foundation is not in Truth as sure as that of the Gospel. I pray God, says my Author, that the Effect of these Sermons in the Father's Time for that Service, produce no ill Effects, or be not one Cause of God's Anger with us in the Son's Reign.

We are now come to the Arraignment of Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his Fellow Conspirators at *Winchester*, on the 4th of *November*. The Indictment was manag'd by the Attorney General Sir *Edward Coke*, Serjeant *Hele*, and Serjeant *Philips*. In the Management of it, Sir *Edward Coke* set a base Example to those Lawyers, who have since supply'd the Deficiency of Evidence with Railery and Inveective, and made the Fact foul by their foul Words and false Glosses. He may truly be said to bait Sir *Walter* to Death; for after a very long Trial, wherein he defended himself with great Strength of Argument and Spirit, he was tir'd with the Length of the Proceedings, or fearing the Court was tir'd; threw all the Merits of the Cause on this single Issue, Whether the Lord *Cobham*, as was urg'd against him, had given it under his Hand, that Sir *Walter* was guilty of Treason. *Raleigh* being conscious of his own Innocence, insisted upon it, that *Cobham* had not done, and cou'd not do such a Thing. This was what his Enemy *Cecil* wanted, for he had provided Proof

to the contrary. *Wade*, the wicked Governor of *A.D. 1603* the *Tower*, was *Cecil's* Creature, and he had employ'd him to tamper with his Prisoner *Cobham* to accuse *Raleigh*, which *Cobham* refus'd with great Constancy, beyond what cou'd be expected from a Person of his weak Intellect: But *Wade*, imposing on his Weakness, got him, by Surprize, to set his Name to a Blank, over which he himself wrote such an Acculation as *Cecil* wou'd have him. Being furnish'd with this Evidence, the Secretary often demanded of *Raleigh*, at his Trial, Whether he wou'd submit, if *Cobham* had really so accus'd him. *Raleigh* for some time stood out against this, saying, He knew not how far the Lord *Cobham's* Weakness might be wrought upon, therefore he wou'd not put his Life and Fortune on his Honour or Prudence. Yet, in the End, about nine a-Clock at Night, depending on the Impossibility of *Cobham's* knowing any such treasonable Matter of him, he consented to be determined by what he had subscrib'd concerning him, which was no sooner said, than *Wade's* counterfeit Paper was pull'd out, and the Contents of it proving the Treason, Sir *Walter* was convicted and condemn'd; but so little to the Satisfaction of the Jury, that many of them afterwards begg'd his Pardon on their Knees. *Cecil* and *Raleigh* had for many Years been in strict League against the Earl of *Essex* and his Party; and *Cecil*, like his Father, did not at first publicly appear over-zealous for the *Scots* King's Succession, to which Sir *Walter* never wish'd well, foreseeing that it must be attended with perpetual Disadvantages and Disgraces; and that nothing cou'd be more preposterous, than to set the Crown of *England* on the Head of a pusillanimous Prince: But *Cecil* having, by Treachery and Intrigue, secur'd an Interest in that King before he came to *Whitehall*, and being the greatest Favourite of the *English* Courtiers, began to neglect, and afterwards to abandon his old Friends, which created Enmity between *Raleigh* and him; and that naturally produc'd *Cecil's* Endeavours to get rid of a Man of a much greater Soul and Abilities than himself, Court Craft and an extensive Conscience excepted. In Sir *Walter's* Trial there was a Book urg'd against him, which concern'd *Mary* Queen of *Scots*; wherein something was said derogatory to her Son King *James's* Title. *Cobham* confess'd he had the Book from *Raleigh*, and *Raleigh* said he found it in *Cecil's* Father, the Lord *Burghley's*, Study, which he had search'd for Cosmographical Manuscripts of the *West-Indies*, with leave of his Son. At his saying this, *Cecil*, who was upon the Bench, rose up, and said, I wou'd then have really trusted him as any Man, tho' since, for some Infirmities of Sir *Walter*, the Bonds of Affection were crack'd, and yet preserving my Duty to the King, which may not be dispens'd withal, by God, I love him, and have a great Conflict in myself, that so compleat a Member has fallen from the State. We must not wonder to hear a Secretary of State in King *James's* Reign swear in a Court of Justice: The King's Example made Swearing so fashionable at Court, that hardly any one came thither who made a Conscience of it. *Cecil's* Malice ended not here: He confirm'd his Creature *Wade's* Forgery with a like Fraud of his own. The Sentence, pass'd on Sir *Walter*, was generally dislik'd, the Nature and Proof of the Treason very much suspected; and not long after, Queen *Anne* being cur'd of a desperate Distemper by a Prescription of *Raleigh's*, who was a learned and an experienc'd Chymist, he wou'd receive no other Reward than that his Majesty wou'd cause certain Lords to be sent to examine *Cobham*, Whether he had in Fact accus'd *Raleigh* of Treason, which the King commanded at the Queen's Desire. This alarm'd *Cecil*, who, to prevent the ill Consequence of such an Examination, took upon him to be one of the Lords that were to examine him; the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earls of *Worcester* and

P. 35:

Condemn'd

King
always
giving.Proclama-
tions.Hist. Times
p. 350.

Sir A. W.

Sir Walter
Raleigh
try'd.Cecil's
Treachery.K. James a
Swearer.Cecil's
Treachery.
and

A.D. 1603. and Suffolk, Sir George Carew, and Sir Julius Caesar, being the other Examiners. Cobham, in answer to their Interrogatories, declar'd that he did never, and cou'd not accuse Sir Walter Raleigh of Treason, adding, *That Villain, Wade, often solicited me, and not prevailing, got me, by a Trick, to write down my Name on a Piece of Blank Paper, which I, thinking nothing, did; so that if any Charge came under my Hand, it was forged by that Rascal, a great Confident of Cecil's, who must write something above it without my Consent and Knowledge.* The Lords making their Report to the King, not only Sir Anthony Welden, but another Historian assures us, Cecil, their Spokesman, said elusively, *Sir, My Lord Cobham has made good all that he ever said, which was nothing.* Sir Anthony Welden proceeds: "By which you see the Baseness of these Lords, the Credulity of the King, and the Ruin of Sir Walter Raleigh. I appeal now to the Judgment of all the World, Whether these six Lords were not the immediate Murderers, and no question shall be called to a sad Account for the same, unless Cecil atton'd by his Merit at the Hampton-Court Conference. But what Account must theirs be, who thirteen Years after put that Gentleman to Death by virtue of that Sentence fraudulently and wickedly obtain'd? As to the rest of the Criminals in this formidable Conspiracy, the Lords Cobham and Grey, George Brook, Sir Griffith Markham, Watson and Clarke, were condemn'd; Parham and Brookesby were acquitted by the Jury. *Watson own'd he had drawn in all the rest, holding the King to be no Sovereign till he were crown'd, and was himself drawn in by the Jesuits, against whom, as a secular Priest, he had written.* Watson, Clarke, and Brook, were executed at Winchester. King James in his Warrant to Sir Benjamin Tibbourn, then High-Sheriff of Hampshire, telling him in the Scottish Brogue, *They vaire the principal Plotteris and Intifaries of all the rest to the embracing the saidis treasonable Machinations.* In the same Letter is a Warrant to respite Execution of the Sentence against the Lords Cobham and Grey, and Sir Walter Raleigh, to supersede the Execution of the saidis two Noblemen, and bringe them back to their Prison again qwhile our further Pleasure be knowne; the like Course be also taken with Markham. However, Markham, Cobham, and Grey, were brought to the Scaffold, and past thro' all the Forms of Execution except the last dreadful one, the Blow; when, in the midst of their Terrors and Agonies, the Reprieve was produc'd, and the Criminals remanded to Prison, to the great Joy of the Spectators; but the Cruelty of keeping them in Suspence to the very last Minute of Life, took off much from the boasted Clemency and Tendernefs in relieving them; the Crime, make the worst of it, having more Folly than Treason, and more Talk than Action. Some Time after Sir Griffith Markham was released from Imprisonment, and going into voluntary Exile, dy'd beyond Sea in a mean Condition. The Lord Grey ended his miserable Life in the Tower; the Lord Cobham was indeed releas'd, but his Liberty was no great Blessing to him, having nothing to subsist on but the Charity of a Fellow who had been once a Servant to him, in whose sorry Cottage he dwelt, being forc'd to creep up a Ladder thro' a little Hole, to his Chamber; and not having Apparel and Linnen enough to keep him from Lice, tho' his Estate escheated to the King was 7000 Pounds a Year, and 30000 Pounds in Money. The Excuse for the Inhumanity in suffering so great and rich a Lord to starve, was, that his Majesty had been cheated of the Forfeiture by his Officers, and had nothing to spare, except 'twas out of the Revenue of the Crown, which was squander'd away on his Scotsmen, the most odious and worthless of his Nation. Sir Walter Raleigh was shut up in the Tower, and remain'd there twelve

or thirteen Years, improving his Confinement to the Advantage of Learning, by writing his *History of the World*, the best of the Kind till the learned Dr. Howell's Universal History appear'd. We have been the more particular in the Account of this Conspiracy to shew the Justice, Prudence, and Piety of this Administration. If the Facts we relate are poor and disagreeable it is the Fault of the Reign to afford us not better.

We must now take a View of the State of Religion, which is not in so flourishing a Condition as our Ecclesiastical Writers represent. King James had forgotten the *sincerest Kirk in the World* before he came out of Scotland, and was grown much in Love with the Pope and his Hierarchy, tho' he cou'd not on a sudden renounce his Calvinistical Opinions. The Puritans flatter'd themselves with Hopes of his Friendship when he was King of England, for that he pretended to be their Friend when he was King of Scotland; but his Majesty soon undeceiv'd them; and being captivated with the Pomp and Lustre of the *Laudean* Hierarchy, he gave himself up entirely to the Counsels of the Bishops, who, unhappily for our Constitution Sacred and Civil, happen'd at that Time not to be the best that ever govern'd the Christian Church. The Bishops, in return, gave up the Liberty of the Subject to his arbitrary Will and sovereign Authority. Unlimited Power was the Compliment they and their corrupt Clergy paid him. The Puritans talk'd of Law and Conscience: Which of these Discourses must be most grateful to a Monarch who doated on Empire as much as those that cou'd acquire it by Conquest, is easy to imagine.

The first Occasion his Majesty took to humble the Presbyterians, and give the Prelates a Triumph over them, was at the Hampton-Court Conference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Clergy; wherein the latter were only sent for to be exposed to the Insults of the Bishops; for the Cause was plainly decided against them before by the King and his Prelates. This Conference is represented as the most despicable Colloquy that ever was among Men of Learning to turn the Presbytery into Ridicule; which however was attempted without either Argument or Wit. The Authority of the King, who talk'd more than all the Bishops, and as little to the Purpose, bore down whatever was said by the Presbyterian Ministers. 'Tis suppos'd we have no fair Representation of the Matter; but that written by Dr. Fuller, an orthodox Divine of the Church of England, seems to be the fairest and most impartial.

Before this Conference was set a foot, the reverend and eminent Mr. Cartwright had presented his *Comment* on the Ecclesiastes to the King, who had written to Queen Elizabeth in his Behalf; but his Reception at Court did not answer his and his Friends Expectation. He dy'd about a Fortnight before the Colloquy, or doubtless he wou'd have made another sort of Figure there than his Brethren did. He had had a long Controversy with Dr. Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury, when the latter was Master of *Queen's-College* in Cambridge, and Cartwright was *Lady Margaret* Professor. Fuller tells us, that the Offence taken by Whitgift, was, *because his own Lectures and Sermons were not frequented, while all flock'd after Cartwright, insomuch, that when he preach'd at St. Maries, the Clerk was forc'd to take down the Windows.* However, Whitgift, when he was Vice-Chancellor, made use of his Authority, these Men cou'd never do any thing without it, and flatly depriv'd Cartwright of his Lecture. Indeed I have observ'd, that ever since the Reformation, and long before in the Days of Popery, such Prelates as Whitgift have always succeeded better by Power than by Argument, and better by Force than by Truth. Dr. Fuller confesses frankly, *That*

A.D. 1603.

Sir Anth. Welden. p. 39

Hist. Stu. p. 296.

Plotters condemn'd and executed.

Fuller, p. 6.

Lord Cobham's Poverty.

A.D. 1603.

State of Religion. Hampton-Court Conference.

K. James turns for Episcopacy.

P. 140.

ib. p. 7.

A.D. 1603. *the Bishops were confident of their Cause; and well they might be by the Inequality of the Conference; where, besides the Bishops and Deans, there appear'd against the Presbyterians the King, the Lord Cecil Secretary of State, the Lord Buckhurst Lord-Treasurer, the Lord-Chancellor Egerton, and most of the Privy-Counsellors; for one or two of them spoke in Favour of the Presbyterians.*

There were summon'd,
For CONFORMITY,

Dr. *Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Bancroft* Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Matthew* Bishop of *Durham*, Dr. *Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, Dr. *Babington* Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. *Rudd* Bishop of *St. Davids*, Dr. *Watson* Bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *Robinson* Bishop of *Carlisle*, Dr. *Dove* Bishop of *Peterborough*, Dr. *Andrews* Dean of *Westminster*, Dr. *Overal* Dean of *St. Paul's*, Dr. *Barlow* Dean of *Chester*, Dr. *Bridges* Dean of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Field*.

For NONCONFORMITY, only

Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewstubs*, Mr. *Chadderton*.

A.D. 1604. The King nominated the Presbyterian as well as the Episcopal Clergy, and tho' these four Divines were Men of Eminence, yet there were many others who were able and ready to have appear'd in this Cause, had his Majesty been more equal in his Nominations. The Place of Meeting was the *Withdrawing-Room* within the *Privy-Chamber*, and the first Time, the 14th of *January* 1604; present the King, *Prince Henry*, and all the Lords of the Council. His Majesty open'd the Conference with a Speech, too long to be repeated, but eloquent to Astonishment, as the *Ecclesiasticks* teach us to believe. The King began with exclaiming against that Church which, in *Scotland*, he thank'd God he was bred in. Now it is, *Blessed be God's* gracious Goodness, *who hath brought me into the Promis'd Land, where Religion is purely profess'd, where I sit amongst grave, reverend, and learned Men; not as before, elsewhere, a King without State, without Honour, without Order, where beardless Boys would brave us to the Face.* This is *Ciceronian*. And I assure you, we have not called this Assembly for any Innovation; for we acknowledge the Government *Ecclesiastical*, as now it is, to have been approv'd by manifold Blessings from God himself. If so, What need was there for his Majesty's exercising his Faculty of a good Physician to cure the Occasions of Complaints? He declares before there are no Occasions, and that he will cure nothing; curing and innovating being the same thing. Then comes more of *Cicero's* Eloquence: *And if the Complaint be frivolous, he will cast a Sop into CERBERUS's Mouth, that he bark no more.* This is the very Essence of Oratory; and Archbishop *Whitgift* cry'd out, *His Majesty speaks by the Spirit of God.* This Archbishop fell down upon his Knees, and as to the first Point, *Confirmation*, assur'd his Majesty, that *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and all the Apostles, were wont to confirm in the very same Manner himself and his Brethren practis'd *Confirmation*; which holy Bishop *Bancroft* prov'd from that Text in the *Hebrews*, where the Apostle speaks of Baptisms, Laying on of Hands, the Resurrection of the Dead, and Eternal Judgment. The Bishop of *Carlisle* urg'd the same very learnedly and gravely; and the Bishop of *Durham* said there was something in *St. Matthew* for Imposition of Hands upon Children. This Matter so admirably clear'd up, the Archbishop proceeded to *Absolution*, proving it to be free from all Superstition, by saying *It was so*: And the Confession and *Absolution* being read, his Majesty was inspir'd to say, *I like and approve both*.

Fuller's
Ch Hist.
p. 8 9, &
109.

Short and pithy. And next comes the Argument; *What you say is true.* A.D. 1604.

This Article being so unanswerably demonstrated to the great Satisfaction and Comfort of the Lords of the Council, the next concern'd *Private Baptisms*; and here the King did not appear so thoroughly convinc'd as the Bishops were, his Majesty saying, *The Words cannot but intend a Permission for private Persons to baptize.* And thus all the *Baptisms* of the *Baptists* wou'd be lawful, it had not been added, *in Case of Necessity.* Now there can be no Case of Necessity, where an orthodox Minister is at hand; which restores Matters to the State the Archbishop wou'd have them in.

As to *Excommunication*, all Sides agreed to have it alter'd, but it remains as it then was to this Day, in the Hands of vicious and greedy Laymen.

The next Day, the 15th of *January*, the Conference was renew'd, and the *Nonconformists* were allow'd to speak. Dr. *Reynolds* spoke first, but offer'd Things so unreasonably, that Dr. *Bancroft* Bishop of *London* cou'd not forbear calling him *Schismatick* even in the Presence. Dr. *Reynold's* humble Proposal was,

That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserv'd in Purity according to God's Word.

That good Pastors might be planted in all Churches to preach the same.

That the Church Government might be sincerely administer'd according to God's Word.

That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more Increase of Piety.

These monstrous Demands set pious Bishop *Bancroft* in a Flame; and he was not contented to call Dr. *Reynolds* *Schismatick*, he added, *I wou'd feign know whether you do not think as Mr. Cartwright did, that we ought rather to conform to the Turks than the Papiits? I doubt you do, by your Turkey Gown instead of Scholastick Habit.* The King and his Nobles heard this Ribaldry without the least Censure. *Bancroft's* Pun coming so soon after his calling Names, shews his Wit as well as his Piety, either of which I do not find was ever laid to his Charge. But for Ratiocination Dr. *Reynold's* cou'd not come near him, as appears by his Answer to the *Doctor's* second Proposal about good Pastors. His Objection is vain, says Bishop *Bancroft*, *it being the Doctrine and Practice of the Church, that none but a licens'd Minister may preach, and consequently every licens'd Minister is a good Minister.* There was no standing against such forcible Reasoning, especially when it was seconded by the King, as thus: *I dissent from the Judgment of St. Jerom, that Bishops are not of divine Ordination.* Again; *I approve the Calling and Use of Bishops, and it is my Aphorism, No Bishop, no King. It is because it is.* Here's the Argumentation. The *French King's* Reason at the End of his Charters is exactly like it; *Car Tel est notre Plaisir.* For such is our Pleasure. This is a Conference with a witness. To what Purpose cou'd four grave Ministers argue against, *I dissent, I approve*, in the Mouth of a King.

Bishop
Bancroft's
Ribaldry.

Upon Dr. *Reynold's* Complaint of *Popish Books*, the Lord-Chancellor *Egerton*, the Lord-Treasurer *Buckhurst*, and Secretary *Cecil*, extenuated the Matter, and screen'd the Bishop of *London* for his Neglect in suppressing them. Mr. *Knewstubs* saying, *If the Church has Power to add significant Signs, the Scruple is how far the Order of the Church bindeth; which was admirably well explain'd by his Majesty, I will have one Doctrine, one Discipline, one Religion in Substance and Ceremony, never speak more to that Point, How far you are bound to obey. Wou'd not a Proclamation with an I will have, &c. have done the Business better than a Colloquy?*

Sir *Philip Warwick*, who understood Divinity as well as History, or any thing else, assures us, He

shew'd P. 3.

A.D. 1604. *shewed his great Learning in over throwing the Arguments of learned Protestant Dissenters, and his great Wisdom in maintaining Bishops; which made him appear a great Divine.* Now let us see how he overthrew those Arguments. The King again: *If this be all your Party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harrie them out of the Land, or else do worse, only hang them, that's all: The very Language of the Holy Spirit, according to Bishop Whitgift.*

Such was the End of this famous Conference; in which it was remark'd, that Dr. Reynolds lost much of his Character, and the other Ministers came off still worse. True it is, they were brow-beaten by both King and Bishops; and it was complain'd, that Dr. Barlow Dean of Chester, who publish'd this Conference, did it partially and to their Disadvantage. He is known to have been their Enemy; and, as Fuller observes, *No wonder if he set a sharp Edge on his own, and a blunt one on his Adversaries Weapons.* Tho' excepting the King's Laconicks and Menaces, and the Insults of some of the Bishops, I have not seen any thing that looks like *sharp* from one end of the Colloquy to the other. If this King was one of the wisest Princes that ever sat on a Throne, as our Church Historians characterize him, and this was one of the wisest Actions of this wise King; as they wou'd have us believe, how much is *Osborn* out in his Reflections upon it? "The Puritan Schism was not any way dangerous till King James, more it may be thought out of Ostentation, to shew such Parts as are nothing necessary, than Reason of State, only requisite in a Prince, made it considerable, by putting it in Competition with the Doctrine generally profess'd, in the Hampton-Court Colloquy. Till that dishonourable Dispute, in which, says Echarde, he shew'd such Knowledge and Readiness, as rais'd no small Admiration, who shou'd command the Diocesan or the Priest; none did boggle at the Surplice, Cross, Ring, and so by consequence the Common-Prayer Book, but out of pure Conscience, and therefore unlikely to hurt any Body but themselves; till the Number increasing to such a Proportion, made a visible Profit appear to so many, as, wanting better Employment, cou'd but conform their Mode, Words, and Looks, to these Precisians. Nor did the notorious Debauchery of the Episcopal Clergy, add a little to the Breach." Wilson tells us, that the Puritans were for a more clear Reformation; which the Bishops oppos'd, as trenching too much upon them; and the King thought their dissenting from the establish'd Government of the Church, was but to get that Power into a great many Hands, which was now but in one, and that one had Dependance upon him. The Prelates disfilling this Maxim into him, No Bishop, no Monarch; so strengthening the Mitre by the same Power that upholds the Crown. Sir Edward Peyton tells us, Dr. Reynolds and his Brethren had not Freedom of Speech, for all went on the Bishops Side; a Cause England in all Parts after were depriv'd of pious Men, which were silenced, imprison'd, and put out of their Lectures and Livings; so that want of teaching caus'd Profaneness to get the Pre-eminence.

What is most to be lamented in this Contest, is, that tho' the Subject of it be spiritual, and concerns entirely the Salvation of Souls, and Life or Death Eternal, yet it turns wholly on Temporal Powers, worldly Riches, and temporary Greatness, which are so many Nothings in Comparison with Peace of Conscience and Piety of Mind. 'Tis great Pity such simple and useful Sentiments shou'd escape those Men who are by their Function set apart to instruct and direct us. The King perform'd his Menaces very punctually, and by Bancroft and his Brethren, harried the best Men in the Kingdom out of the Land; in which he was the wiser, for that the People did generally love

and respect them. This Disposition prevail'd so far over the whole Nation, that a Parliament being suddenly to assemble, Archbishop Whitgift pray'd that he might not live to see it, fearing to be called to an Account for his Severities against the Puritans; and it must needs be an Instance of the King's almost infinite Wisdom, to begin his Reign with giving Offence to the most sober, industrious, and valuable Part of his Kingdom; and even in his Proclamation against Jesuits, to express himself so much devoted to the Pope, that no good Protestant can read it without a secret Indignation. *We acknowledge our self personally so much beholden The King to the now Bishop of Rome for his kind Offices, compliments the Things, as we shall be ever ready to requite the same Pope. towards him.* Queen Elizabeth wou'd have kiss'd his Toe as soon as she wou'd have paid the Pope such a Compliment.

To balance the Proclamation against Jesuits, another was issu'd against Nonconformists, who were unblameable in their Conversation, and therefore the more likely to make Enemies in a Court, where the Conversation was in every thing blameable.

About three Weeks after the Hampton-Court Conference, dy'd Dr. John Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury; and, as another Instance of consummate Policy, the King advanc'd the most obnoxious Prelate in England, Dr. John Bancroft, to that Metropolitan Chair. This Bishop imitated St. Peter's military Faculty, and us'd the temporal as well as spiritual Sword. He arm'd his Servants and others when he was Bishop of London, to oppose the Earl of Essex, and was never at Peace with the Puritans. We shall see how well he imitated St. Peter in his apostolick Capacity. Yet neither he, nor his Brethren cou'd be so wary, but some Courtier or other wou'd recommend a Preacher to the King, if they knew any one of excellent Parts: by which means some preach'd before him, who were only occasional Conformists, such as Mr. Burgess, who in his Sermon compar'd Ceremonies to the Roman Senator's Glasses, not worth a Man's Life or Livelihood: For, says he, this Senator invited Augustus Cæsar to a Dinner, who, as he was coming to the Feast, heard a horrid Outcry, and saw a Company drawing a Man after them who made the Noise. The Emperor demanded the Cause of that Violence, and was answer'd, their Master had condemn'd a Man to the Fishponds for breaking a Glass which he set a high Value and Esteem upon. Augustus commanded a Stay of the Execution, and when he came into the House, ask'd the Senator, Whether he had Glasses worth a Man's Life? Who reply'd, He had Glasses he valu'd at a Province. Let me see them, says the Emperor; "Accordingly he was brought into a Room well furnish'd: The Emperor allow'd them to be beautiful to the Eye; but considering they might be the Cause of much Mischief, broke them all, saying, Better all these perish than one Man." I leave, said Mr. Burgess, to your Majesty to apply. The Bishops for this, and some other the like heinous Crimes, got him silenc'd; but he was restor'd again to his Ministry, and dy'd in a good old Age at Sutton-Cosfield in Warwickshire.

The King had been almost ten Months in England, but had not been seen much abroad. He naturally did not love to be look'd at; for, as has been said, he was not very handsome, and had no Relish of the Formalities of State. Some attribute it not to the Disagreeableness of his Person, but to the Shyness of his Temper, and some to his Timorousness, there being more Danger in a Crowd than in a few Attendants.

Having summon'd a Parliament to meet the 19th of March, he went on the 15th with his Queen and the Prince to the Tower, riding through the

A.D. 1604.

The King
compliments the
same Pope.

His Court
vicious.

P. 490, &
seq.

P. 7.

P. 117.

Dr. Fuller,
P. 25.

A.D. 1604. City amidst the continu'd Acclamations of the Multitude, which did not affect him as they affected his Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*. Whether it was that the Noise disturb'd him, or that he did not think them real, 'tis most certain, when the People have been impatient of Access to him, he has often had them dispers'd with Force, and sometimes with Curses.

Coke,
p. 52.

The King
arbitrary.

It was taken notice of, that in the Proclamation for summoning this Parliament, his Majesty gave the Nation a Taste of his Inclination to Arbitrary Power. Before his coming to the Crown, the Election of Members for the House of Commons was so free, that Letters from the King, or any Nobleman, to chuse a Knight, Citizen, or Burgess, was judg'd Cause sufficient to render the Election void: But the King, by this Proclamation, gives order what sort of Men, and how qualify'd, shou'd be chosen, concluding thus; *We notify by these Presents, that all Returns and Certificates of Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, ought and are to be brought to the Court of Chancery, and there to be filed upon Record; and if any be found to be made contrary to this Proclamation, the same to be rejected as not lawful, and insufficient, and the City or Borough to be fin'd for the same: And if it be found that they have committed any gross or wilful Default or Contempt in the Election, Return, or Certificate, that then their Liberties, according to the Law, are to be seiz'd as forfeited. And if any Person take upon him the Place of Knight, Citizen, or Burgess, not being duly elected and sworn according to the Law and Statutes in that Behalf provided, and according to the Purport and true Meaning of this our Proclamation; then every Person so offending to be fin'd and imprison'd for the same.* This was so bold a Stroke against the Rights of the People, and Privileges of Parliament, that it cou'd be little expected from a Prince of a pacifick Disposition. But we have been taught, by woful Experience, since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, that those Kings who are least qualify'd to make Conquests on their Enemies abroad, make the most terrible Invasions on the Laws and Liberties of their Subjects at home.

The Parliament.

From the Tower the King rode triumphantly, for such were all the Triumphs of his Reign, to *Westminster*; and open'd the Parliament with a long Speech, longer than many Sermons by our most eminent Preachers. The most remarkable Passage in it, is another needless Compliment to Popery; as much out in Fact, as in Policy: *I acknowledge the Roman Church to be our Mother Church, tho' desil'd with some Infirmities.* The Church of Rome can no more be Mother of our Protestant Church of England, than Christ can be Father of Antichrist, or the Spouse be the Whore of Babylon. This was a very wise Saying too, and produc'd in the Hearers, the sage Senators of England, an Admiration of his Majesty's Abilities, if we may believe *Echard*; and in Return for this gracious Declaration to them, they recogniz'd his Title to the Crown, and oblig'd themselves, their Heirs and Pottery to maintain it. In Compliance also with his Majesty's earnest Desire for a Union between the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, they pass an Act for appointing Commissioners to treat with such Noblemen and Gentlemen of Scotland, as shou'd by their Parliament be appointed for that Purpose. This Project came to nothing; and one Reason of it is thought to be the Offence which many took at a Passage in the King's Speech, where he seem'd to set up a sort of Parity between the two Kingdoms. To promote this good Work as far as in him lay, the King caus'd himself to be proclaim'd King of *Great-Britain*. Scots Money was made current, and the English Ships had *St. George's* and *St. Andrew's* Crosses quarter'd together in their Flags.

A.D. 1604. The Reverence due to Parliaments wore off sometimes in this Reign; several Members of the House of Commons coming to hear the King's Speech in the House of Lords, had the Door shut upon them, particularly Sir *Herbert Crofts*, who was repuls'd by a Yeoman of the Guard, with the uncivil and contemptible Terms of *Goodman Burges's, you come not here.*

We have seen how the King stretch'd the Prerogative in the Proclamation for calling the Parliament; and in their Proceedings he let them know in the Case of the contested Election between Sir *Francis Goodwin* and Sir *John Fortescue*, to be Knight of the Shire for the County of *Bucks*, that he wou'd have Differences determin'd by his absolute Power; and tho' the Commons voted Sir *Francis* duly elected, yet the King commanded them to let the Matter be heard before the House of Lords and the Judges: But Sir *Francis Goodwin*, fearing it might cause a Rupture between the King and the House of Commons, petition'd that a new Writ might be issu'd to elect a Knight for that County in his Stead; and accordingly *Christopher Pigott Esq;* was chosen, and soon after expell'd the House. Mr. *Brown Willis* makes *Goodwin* to be unduly elected, which is contrary to the Vote of the House, and to Sir *Francis Goodwin's* Petition. This happen'd about a Week after the Opening of the Session, at the End of which, on the 16th of June, the Commons presented the King with an humble Apology, setting forth the Breaches that had been made in their Privileges, and wherein they conceiv'd themselves aggriev'd. This was a hopeful Beginning of the Royal House of *Stuart*; and the King took their Apology so ill, that he never heartily lov'd our Constitution afterwards. The plain Truth from the House of Commons little agreed with the Flatteries he was us'd to at Court; and he afterwards did his utmost to establish an unlimited Authority founded on *Jure Divino*, in which fatal Enterprize he was flatter'd by the Clergy, whose Sermons were Lectures to teach Obedience rather to the Will of the Prince than the Gospel of Christ. Mr. *Osborn*, who heard some of those Sermons, writes of them thus: "The Court Sermons informing his Majesty he might, as Christ's Vicegerent, command all; and that the People, if they deny'd him Supplies, or enquir'd after the Disposition of them, were presumptuous Peepers into the sacred Ark of the State, not to be done but under the severest Curse, though it appear'd likely to fall through the Falshood or Folly of those at the Helm." Can any thing be more plain, more self-evident, than that it was such sort of Preaching which animated this mean-spirited Monarch in the bold Design to invade the Rights and Privileges of his Subjects: And his Son *Charles I.* imbibing this fatal Doctrine as it were with his Mother's Milk, the Lust of despotick Power became as natural to him, as the Love of Liberty is to all true Englishmen; which Opposition cou'd not end otherwise than it did, in a Rupture between King and People, to prove which is the Design of this History, that the Guilt and Folly of that Rupture may be laid at their Door who were the Occasion of it. The Historian *Echard* overlooks this first Rise of our Troubles in England since Queen *Elizabeth's* Death, and takes great Solace in the Act which pass'd now to secure Church Lands; and the excellent Canons that were made at the same Time, being in Force even at this Day, as *Echard* says; and as Dr. *Welwood*, *These Canons did never receive the Royal Approbation, and therefore are in the same Case as if they had never been;* which is a Dispute that relates not to me, who am not solicitous whether they were or were not royally approv'd, as not looking upon them to be what *Echard* will have them, for the Honour and Establishment of the Church, of which this King Court.

P. 79.

Complaint
of Grievances.

Clergy
preach up
an absolute
Power.

P. 494.

P. 32.

A vicious
Court.

A.D. 1604. took a religious Care, by ordering the Profanation of the Sabbath, by a Habit of prophane Swearing, by Riot and Luxury, and other such Enormities, enough to corrupt History, as they corrupted the Age he liv'd in. Dr. Fuller, speaking of the same Honour and Establishment, writes, *Wise and moderate Men suppos'd so many Laws too heavy a Burden to be long born; and that it had been enough for the Episcopal Party to have triumph'd, not insulted over their Adversaries in so numerous Impositions.* These very Impositions, condemn'd thus by moderate and wise Men, drove the most conscientious Ministers out of the Church; and they were follow'd by the most conscientious of their Flocks; which increas'd the Separation to a Degree, that in the next Reign produc'd a new Establishment.

The Rise of the Troubles.

A Motion was made in this Convocation for an Oath against Simony, which was warmly oppos'd by Dr. Rudd Bishop of St. David's. His Reason was, he thought it unequal for the Incumbent to swear, and not the Patron; a most unreasonable Thing. But might not the good Bishop have consider'd, that the Incumbent had his Vocation from the Holy Ghost, and therefore must be safe in swearing, whereas the Patron had nothing spiritual in his Composition, and therefore might bargain and sell with a safer Conscience? 'Twas demanded of him, Whether he wou'd have the King (swear when he made a Bishop or Dean? To which Bishop Rudd had nothing to say.

Archbishop Bancroft's Character, p. 60.

Having made some mention of Bancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, who was the first and great Mover in Convocation-Business, let us repeat what Coke writes of him; "He was a Man of a rough Temper, a stout Foot-ball Player, a zealous Assertor of the Rights of the Church of England, or rather a Faction of Churchmen, who arrogated to themselves the Title, which is the Truth: And it was King James's encouraging this Faction, in Opposition to his Protestant Subjects, Puritans and Presbyterians, that put him upon ill Terms with his Parliament and People. Bancroft exhibited twenty-five Articles in the Name of the Clergy, call'd *Auriculi Cleri*, which were desir'd to be reform'd in granting Prohibitions. These Articles were presented to the King and Council, the Parliament, and even the Convocation then sitting: And as Bancroft in doing it, ascrib'd an absolute Power to the King, so it struck directly at the Constitution of Parliaments. The Judges gave so clear and distinct an Answer to them all, that the King did not think fit to meddle in them; yet did not Bancroft rest here." This Prelate's Zeal is the more extraordinary, for that his Morals were so very ordinary as to make him the common Subject of Satyr.

*Here lies my Lord's Grace at six, and at seven,
And, if I don't lie, his Soul is in Heaven;
I wish, from my Heart, it may be to his seeking,
Since all the World knows it was never his seeking.*

Again;

*Bancroft was for Plays,
Lean Lent, and Holidays;
But now undergoes their Doom;
Had English Ladies Store,
Yet kept open a Back-Door,
To let in the Strumpet of Rome.*

These Rhimes are in Osborn; and it is not below the Dignity of History to insert them, since they let us into the Character of a Bishop who was at the Head of the Faction mention'd by Coke; and one may see very plainly, that whatever his Actions were, Religion and Piety cou'd not be the true Motive of them. We read in the *Magniana*, that *Satyrs* and *Lampoons* are necessary to be read by an Historian who wou'd write sincerely. *Un Recueil des Vandevilles est un piece de plus ne-*

cessaire a un Historien qui veut ecrire sincerement: A.D. 1604. Which will be some Information to those who have no Conception of any such Necessity.

King James's first Parliament having for the first Session sat about fifteen Weeks, it was on the 7th of July prorogu'd to the 7th of February following.

This pacifick Reign was not so full of Blessings, that no Mischiefs cou'd break in upon them. Our inbred Distempers, says Wilson, lay upon the Lee, intermix'd with other gross Dregs, which the Prince's Lenity, and the Peoples Luxury produc'd. The King minding his Sports, many riotous Demeanours crept into his Kingdom. The Sunshine of Peace being apt for such a Production upon the Slime of the late War. Divers Sets of vitious Persons appear'd under the Title of Roysters, Roaring Boys, Bravadoes, &c. who committed many Insolencies; and the Discontents in the Country between the Gentry and the Commonalty about Inclosures, grew in some Places to a petty Rebellion. These Felicities, with the Tyranny and Oppression exercis'd every where in Spiritual Courts, a perpetual Scandal to Religion and Law, the Waste of the publick Treasure on Scottish, and afterwards on English Favourites, cou'd not but expose this Nation to the Envy of all Nations, according to Archdeacon Echard, under the Government of so wise and so pious a Prince.

Wicked and troublesome Times.

Something has been said of the Embassies from and to foreign Potentates, in the beginning of this Reign; and something still must be added concerning the Spanish Ambassadors, the Constable of Castile, the Conde de Villa Mediana, Mynheer Ravidius, and the Ministers sent by the Archduke Governor of the Neitherlands, the Count d'Aremberg, the President Richardot, and Secretary Warreskin, by whose joint Negotiations with the English Plenipotentiaries, the Earls of Dorset, Nottingham, Devonshire, Northampton, and Cecil, Lord Esmond, a Peace with Spain was concluded, or rather sold; for there was hardly a Courtier of Note who did not taste of the Catholick King's Bounty either in Gold or Jewels; of which Sir Anth. Welden writes thus: *It was so advantageous for Spain, and so disadvantageous for England, that it and all Christendom have since both seen and felt the lamentable Effect thereof.* Mr. Osborn says, *The King cast himself as it were blindfold into a Peace with Spain, far more destructive to England than a War.* The wonderful Wisdom of it! And then the Honesty. Hence all Princes may calculate the vast Difference that lies between a Counsel suborn'd and one free from Corruption. Sir Anthony Welden informs us further, that of all the Money taken for this bad Bargain, the Countess of Suffolk was the greatest Gainer, who shar'd not only in her Lord's Interest, but in Secretary Cecil's; and from what both of them gain'd by the Spanish Treaty, she rais'd the famous Palace of Audley-End, and other stately Structures. This Countess was Mother to the Lady Essex, and by her Gallantry set such an Example to her Daughter, as has stain'd their Names with indelible Infamy.

Peace with Spain.

Disbonable to England.

P. 26.

P. 470.

In March following, the old Admiral the Earl of Nottingham was sent Ambassador to Spain, attended with the prime Noblemen and Gentlemen of England, and a Train of above 600 Servants and others, who made so fine an Appearance, that the Spaniards were struck with Astonishment, having receiv'd such ill Impressions from the Reports of the Jesuits, that they thought the English were all like the Picture they had made of Sir Francis Drake, half Man, half Dragon; and believing they were turn'd into Monsters, as a Punishment for casting off the Pope's Supremacy. They now saw them with Looks rather of Angels than Devils; and their Beauty was magnify'd so much the more, by how much they had had a false and vain Conception of their Deformity. Sir Robert Mansel, Vice-Admiral, who convoy'd the Earl of Nottingham,

A.D. 1605.

A.D. 1605; *ham*, had two or three Opportunities to distinguish himself by his Valour and Prudence: And his Behaviour did Honour to the Nation, whose Sovereign had sent him to *Spain*. The *Spaniards*, says Mr. *Echard*, manifested great Satisfaction in the English Amity; and truly they had very great Cause so to do, having turn'd it all to their own Advantage, and made a fast Friend of an Enemy, in whose Power only it was to destroy their ambitious and tyrannical Projects both in *Europe* and *America*, and secure the Liberty of Commerce in both the old World and the new. The Earl of *Hertford* was sent Envoy to the Archduke *Albert*; and Sir *William Monson*, who convoy'd him, meeting a *Flemish* Man of War in his Passage to *Flanders*, made a Signal to strike, which the *Fleming* refus'd; and being fir'd at, fir'd again: the first Affront of this Kind offer'd to the Royal Ships of *England* in Time of Peace. But *England* is to learn to accustom herself to Affronts during the Reigns we are writing of. *Monson* did not fight the *Flemish* Ship, giving for Excuse that the Earl of *Hertford* charg'd him on his Allegiance to land him first; and being appointed to attend him, he thought it his Duty so to do; but afterwards he so repented it, that he wish'd he had been hang'd, rather than have been recorded for the first *English* Sea-Officer, who suffer'd such an Indignity to pass with Impunity. Sir *A. W.* who heard him say this, assures us 'twas all Affectation; that he was a Creature of the House of *Suffolk*, of the *Spanish* Faction, and let the *Flemish* Ship go out of Respect to the King of *Spain*.

England
in Dis-
grace.

We see by this how soon the *English* Nation began to sink in Reputation, after the Accession of the House of *Stuart* to the Throne; and how much they are indebted to the Caution and Indolence of a King, who, says *Echard*, was now truly stild Rex Pacificus, being now in Friendship with all the Princes of Christendom: A Happiness which few of his Ancestors ever enjoy'd. And few of his Ancestors would have accepted of on Terms so disadvantageous and so dishonourable. He proceeds: In these peaceable Times this munificent King open'd the Fountains of Honour, and made Duke *Ulrick*, the Queen's Brother, and the Earl of *Northampton*, a Confident of the Countess of *Essex*, Knights of the Garter; Secretary *Cecil*, Lord *Effingham*, Viscount *Cranburn* and Earl of *Salisbury*; *Thomas Cecil*, Lord *Burgbley*, Earl of *Exeter*; Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Montgomery*; Sir *Robert Sidney*, Baron of *Penhurst*, Viscount *Lisle*; Sir *John Stanhope*, Lord *Stanhope* of *Harrington*; Sir *George Carew*, Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*; Mr. *Thomas Arundel* of *Cornwal*, Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*; Mr. *William Cavendish*, Lord *Cavendish* of *Hardwick*.

Honours
conferr'd.

The *Papists* observing that the Prodigality of the *Scots* render'd them odious to the *English*, endeavour'd to increase the Animosities between them with Calumnies and Scandal, some true, some false. The *Scots* gave them too much Occasion; some of them being so daring, as to counterfeit the King's Privy-Seal, and make Addresses by it to foreign Princes; as to the Archbishops of *Cologne*, *Triers*, and *Mentz*; the Duke of *Cleves*, and Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; of which one *Thomas Douglasse* was convicted, and being condemn'd as a Traytor, was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd in *Smithfield*.

Wilson,
p. 28.

The King's Ministers, especially *Salisbury*, on whose crooked Shoulders the Burthen of the State lay, were well pleas'd with the King's frequent Diversion of Hunting, for that it kept him out of Town, and left the Court clear to themselves. *Royston* and *Newmarket* Houses were purchas'd for him, and *Theobalds* soon after. In which *Salisbury* made a fine Market, exchanging that Palace at 50 Years Purchase, for Lands and Houses of the King's; and to preserve his Station at *Theobalds*

Cecil's
good Bar-
gain.

still, he got himself and his Heirs to be appointed perpetual Keepers of the House and Parks adjacent, while he rais'd the magnificent Pile at *Hatfield* for the Reception of himself and his Posterity, when they were weary of Attendance at Court, and surfeited with Royal Favours.

A.D. 1605;

At the latter End of the Summer, the King and Queen visited the University of *Oxford*, and were entertain'd with Festivals and rhetorical Speeches. Several of the Courtiers had Academical Degrees bestow'd upon them; particularly Sir *George Calvert*, afterwards Lord *Baltimore*, who was then created Master of Arts.

There is nothing more unaccountable in the Conduct of the *Romish* Faction, than their Plots against the Princes of the House of *Stuart* who have reign'd in *England*, there not having been one of them who did not love or favour them. King *James*, the first of them, let no Occasion slip to shew either his Fear of, or his Affection to them. But while he and his Successors found themselves under a Necessity to temporize with their Parliaments, and execute the Laws against them, tho' with visible Regret and Moderation, they were always resty and impatient, and hoping any Change of their own making would be for their Advantage, they frequently enter'd into Conspiracies to accomplish it, to which they were doubtless instigated by the Lessons and Promises they receiv'd from *Rome*, and the Hopes of Assistance from the *Popish* Princes.

Papists con-
spire a-
gainst the
Govern-
ment.

Their first Conspiracy in this Reign, (for I do not take *Raleigh's* to be theirs, or worth the Name) was the infamous *Gun-Powder Plot*, which I shall endeavour to trace from its Original, according to the best Helps I am furnish'd with. It is said, the *Papists* petition'd for a Toleration; and having depended entirely on the Good-will of the King, were extremely exasperated at their being put off; and the most desperate of them resolv'd to be reveng'd on the whole Nation for their Disappointment in the Conduct of the King. I do not believe this devilish Machination was so old as Pope *Clement's* Brief in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, to have the *Scots* King excluded in the Succession. There was no Prince in the *English* Succession, who was fitter for their Purpose than this King; and the *Powder-Plot* must be rather the hellish Device of the *Desperado's* of *Popery*, than the general Sense of those of that Religion.

*Gun-Pow-
der Plot.*

The chief of the Conspirators was *Robert Catesbie*, a Gentleman of a fair Fortune in *Northamptonshire*, descended from that *Catesbie*, who was the wicked Instrument of *Richard* the Third's Tyranny and Cruelty. To him were join'd *Thomas Piercy* of the *Northumberland* Family, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Francis Tresham*, *Robert Winter*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, *Christopher Wright*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *Robert Keys*, *John Grant*, and *Guido Vaux*. The Names of two of these Conspirators, *Rookwood* and *Keys*, are the more remarkable, for that we find them again in the *Popish Assassination Plot* against King *William* 90 Years after. Most of the Plotters were Gentlemen of good Estates, set on by *Garnet* and *Tismond*, two Jesuits; and the Plot was to blow up the Parliament House with *Gunpowder*. Upon a Scruple at one of their Consultations, that their Friends in both Houses of Parliament would be destroy'd with the rest, *Garnet* the Jesuit said, *It is lawful in such a Case to kill Friend and Foe together*. Other Difficulties lay in their way. *Charles* Duke of *York* would not be present by reason of his Minority, and the Princess *Elizabeth* was in keeping of the Lord *Harrington*, by which means two of the Blood Royal would escape, after the King and Prince *Henry* were blown up with the two Houses of Parliament. To remove these Rubs, *Piercy* promis'd to possess himself of the Person of the Duke of *York*; and *Catesbie* under pretence of a Hunting-
Match

Plotters.

Ch. Hist.
Full. 34.

A.D. 1605. Match at *Dunsmore-Heath* in *Warwickshire*, undertook to seize the Princess *Elizabeth* at the Lord *Harrington's* House, which was not far from *Asby*, where himself dwelt. Then they consider'd what shou'd be done when the Blow was struck. And to turn off the Guilt of it from themselves, it was resolv'd to lay it on the Puritans. " Thus, " says *Fuller*, by transferring the Fact upon the " Innocent, they hop'd not only to decline the O- " dium of so execrable a Design, but also to a- " muse all Men, that begetting a Distrust one of " another, they might in that Perplexity work the " Destruction of all their Opponents, Confor- " mists or Nonconformists". This horrid Contri- vance of the Papists was imitated to Perfection in the Reign of King *Charles II.* when the Lord *Clarendon* and his Fellow-Ministers laid so many sham Plots on the Dissenters, as will be shewn in the History of that King. The Conspirators drew up a formal Proclamation, charging the Puritans with the Plot. It was printed and ready to be publish'd, as we are inform'd by *Du Moulin*; but suppress'd on the Discovery of the Conspiracy. Dr. *Parker* Dean of *Lincoln*, Sir *William Ellis* Recorder of that City, and others, saw and read that Proclamation. Mr. *Pickering* of *Tichmarsh* in *Northamptonshire*, probably the same who rode Post to *Scotland* with the News of the Queen's Death, was to have been brought into this Plot, being a noted Puritan. One of the Plotters, perhaps Mr. *Keys*, his Brother-in-law, was to have borrow'd Mr. *Pickering's* Horse; and when the Blow was given to have kill'd it in his Flight, and left it by the way as a Proof of the Owner's Guilt and Fear. Father *Weston*, a Jesuit, who was active in this Plot, ingenuously confess'd 30 Years after to Mr. *Wilson* the Historian then in *Flanders*, that the Plotters design'd to father it on the Puritans. *Fuller* has an odd Story on this Occasion. A few Days before the intended Blow, Mr. *Keys* being at *Tichmarsh* suddenly whipp'd out his Sword, and as in Jest made several Passes at the Head, Neck and Breast of several Gentlemen and Ladies then in Company. It was at that time thought an apish Frolick; but when the Treason was discover'd, those who remember'd his Monkey-like Freak, imagin'd he meant to do what he mimick'd, to stab, wound, and kill the Hereticks of all Sexes, Ages, and Qualities.

Papists
would
throw the
Plot on the
Puritans.

The Design being form'd, they bound themselves to Secrecy by taking the holy Sacrament, *Garnet* the Jesuit being their Confessor. Every one of the Plotters had his Share in the Plot assign'd him. Some were to provide Money, some Materials. *Piercy* was to hire the Cellar under the Parliament House, to lay Wood and Coals in it for his Winter Store, which *Guy Faux*, who went for his Man by the Name of *John Johnson*, was to lodge there, and to give Fire to the Train. The Gunpowder was bought in *Flanders*, brought to *Catesbie's* House at *Lambeth*, and from thence by Night to the Cellars, where 'twas hid under the Wood. They design'd to perpetrate their Wickedness on the 7th of *February*, when the Parliament was to meet; but it being prorogued to the 5th of *November*, they were obliged to defer it, and dispers'd themselves with a Resolution to meet again when the Parliament met the next Winter.

They had in the Interval several private Cabals, in which it was resolv'd to kill the Duke of *York*, *Piercy* undertaking that bloody Work. When the King, Prince *Henry*, and the Duke were destroy'd, the Princess *Elizabeth* was to have been proclaim'd Queen under Tuition of the most rigid Papists; and in order to seize her, the Hunting Match at *Dunsmore-Heath* was fix'd to be the 5th of *November*. In this dangerous and dreadful Posture stood things, when on a *Saturday*, ten Days before Execution was to be, an unknown Fellow deliver'd a Letter seal'd to a Footman of the Lord

Monteagle's, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*. *A.D.* 1605. The Contents were:

My LORD,

OUT of the Love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a Care of your Preservation; therefore I would advise you, as you tender your Life, to devise some Excuse to shift off your Attendance this Parliament; for God and Man have concurr'd to punish the Wickedness of this Time. And think not slightly of this Advertisement; but retire your self into the Country, where you may expect the Event in Safety. For tho' there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This Counsel is not to be contemn'd, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the Danger is past as soon as you have burnt the Letter; and I hope God will give you the Grace to make good use of it, to whose holy Protection I recommend you.

This Letter was deliver'd to the Lord *Monteagle* at his House at *Bednal-Green*. He cou'd not tell what to make of it, unless it was an Artifice made use of to hinder his going to Parliament; yet he cou'd not be easy till he had communicated it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, Secretary of State. *Salisbury* said, he was a Fool or Madman who wrote it: By this Expression, The Danger is past as soon as the Letter is burnt. If the Danger is past when the Letter is burnt, what needs any Warning? In which he misconstru'd the Writer's Meaning, whose Desire was to have the Letter burnt, and then the Danger wou'd be over both to him who wrote, and him who receiv'd it. The King at that time was hunting at *Roylton*; as soon as he return'd to *Whitehall*, the Earl of *Salisbury* shew'd him the Letter.

It has been observ'd of Love, that it is ingenious in finding out Expedients to gain the desir'd Object; and Fear is not less ingenious to discover Danger, and avoid it. This Passion being natural in King *James*, he said immediately, It is no mean Man's Writing. There is a Blow to be given. They shall not see it that feel it. Some secret Mischief is meant by it; which on a second reading of the Letter his Majesty interpreted to be Gunpowder. *Wilson* says upon it, Many times Fear is a profitable and an active Servant, if it does not domineer and grow masterly. The King commanded the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain, to make Search about the Parliament House; who under pretence of searching for some Hangings stolen out of the Wardrobe, enter'd the Cellar under the House accompany'd with the Lord *Monteagle*. They found the Cellar stuff'd with Billet, Faggot, and Coal. And asking *Whinyard* of the Wardrobe, who was House-keeper, to whom they belong'd? he reply'd, To Mr. *Piercy*, one of the Gentlemen Pensioners to the King, the Wood and Coal being for his Winter Fuel. The Earl of *Suffolk* casting his Eye aside, discover'd a tall, raw-bon'd, ill-looking Fellow in the Corner of the Vault; and asking who he was, understood 'twas Mr. *Piercy's* Man *John Johnson*, whose true Name was *Guy Faux*. The Lord Chamberlain thought fit to make this Report to the King before he proceeded farther in his Search; and his Majesty conceiving still greater Cause of Suspicion, order'd the Coal and Wood to be remov'd. Accordingly Sir *Thomas Knevet*, a Justice of the Peace at *Westminster*, with Constables and other Attendants, assisted *Whinyard* in a stricter Search after the pretended Hangings. They came to the Cellar about Midnight the fourth of *November*, and found *Faux* in Cloak and Boots at the Entrance into the Vault. Sir *Thomas Knevet* apprehended him immediately; and entering the Cellar, caus'd the Billers, Faggots and Coals to be thrown aside, under which they discover'd the

The Plot
discover'd.
Maga-

A.D. 1605. Magazine of Powder, 36 Barrels, prepar'd to blow up the King, Prince, and Two Houses of Parliament; and searching the Villain *Faux*, who waited to set fire to it, they found about him a *Watch*, very rare at that time, a Dark Lanthorn, three Matches, a Tinder-Box, and other Instruments, to have given fire to the Train at a certain Minute. He was so far from relenting, that he swore, *if he had been in the House, he wou'd have blown himself and them up together*; adding, *he was sorry it was not done; and it was not God, but the Devil that discover'd the Plot*. About four a-Clock in the Morning *Knevet* went with his Prisoner to some Lords of the Council, who waited his coming; and having given them an Account of his Success, the Earl of *Suffolk* and other Lords hasten'd to the King, and awak'd him with crying, *The Treason is found out, and the Traytor taken*. *Faux* was at first very obstinate, and wou'd confess nothing in particular; but own'd the Plot in general, justifying it by the Principles of his Religion, himself being a *Catholick*, and the King an *Hcretick*. He was committed to the *Tower*, and threaten'd with the *Rack*; which brought him to a better Sense of his Condition, and by degrees to Repentance and Confession.

Before the Discovery of the Plot, the Plotters had Intimation of the Letter which was sent to the Lord *Monteagle*, who upon hearing *Piercy* nam'd imagin'd the Letter came from him, there having been some Intimacy between himself and *Piercy*; tho' in truth the Letter was written by *Francis Tresham*, Son of Sir *Thomas Tresham*, who was so active in this wicked Business, that he lent 2000 *l.* for the carrying it on. Sir *Everard Digby* lent 1500 *l.* and *Piercy* promis'd to seize the Earl of *Northumberland's* Rents, which wou'd bring them in 40000 *l.* They all forswore the Letter, but *Tresham* was suspected to be the Author. Himself, *Catesbie*, *Piercy*, *Winter*, and the younger *Wright* were lodg'd in the City; and when they heard of the Discovery, got out of Town as fast as they cou'd; only *Tresham* staid behind, and shifted his Lodging, in hopes of making his Escape beyond Sea. *Piercy* and *Catesbie* went first, *Winter* and others follow'd them to *Dunchurch* in *Warwickshire*, the Seat of Sir *Everard Digby*, where they had appointed to meet for the before-mention'd Hunting Match. *John Grant* of *Northbrooke* in *Warwickshire*, Esq; broke open the Stable of one *Benock*, a Manager of great Horses, and took away eight; on which he mounted so many resolute Papists; and not doubting of the Success of their diabolical Design, he was prepared to seize the Princess *Elizabeth* at the Hunting Match. The Conspirators broke open some Stables in *London*, and seiz'd several Noblemen and Gentlemen's Horses, in hopes of raising a good Body of Horse to head a general Insurrection of the Papists. Their *Powder-Plot* having miscarry'd, a Rebellion under Colour of Religion was to serve in its stead; but with all their Zeal and Activity they cou'd not draw 100 Men together. A Proclamation to apprehend them was issu'd at *London*; but it was not come into *Warwickshire* when *Grant* alarm'd the Country by breaking open *Benock's* Stable. Sir *Rulk Grevile* the Elder, a Deputy-Lieutenant of that County, caus'd Hue and Cry to be made, and a Party of Men was rais'd to pursue the Rebels; one of whom, *Winter*, was seiz'd by a Smith at *Coventry*, but rescu'd by his Fellows. Sixteen others of them were taken by the Citizens, and sent Prisoners to *London* by Sir *Richard Verney*, High-Sheriff of *Warwickshire*. *Catesbie*, *Piercy*, *Grant*, *Rookwood*, the two *Winters* and the two *Wrights* seiz'd Arms at the Lord *Windsor's*, and shut themselves up at *Halbach*, the House of *Stephen Littleton* in *Staffordshire* on the Borders of *Worcestershire*; of which Sir *Richard Walsh*, High-Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, having notice, he took

what Help was at hand; and coming to *Halbach*, A.D. 1605; sent a Trumpet and Messenger to them. The Rebels being summon'd in his Majesty's Name to surrender, they answer'd with Disdain, *If he cou'd not get more powerful Assistance, he wou'd not be able to defend himself*. During the Parley, the chief Conspirators were busy in drying Powder far off from the Chimney; yet a Spark of Fire flew out, and falling amongst it blew up a Bag-full that was near it, and a good Part of the House. *Catesbie*, *Rookwood* and *Grant* were so wounded, that they cou'd make little Resistance. They were all in a terrible Consternation, and expecting no Pardon, resolv'd to open the Gate, and sell their Lives as dearly as they cou'd. *Catesbie* and *Piercy* fighting Back to Back were kill'd with one Shot. The two *Wrights* were also slain. *Thomas Winter* receiv'd several Wounds, and was taken Prisoner; as were *Robert Winter*, *Littleton*, *Grant*, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Faux*, *Keys* and *Bates*, who were all committed to the *Tower*; where *Thomas Winter* made a full Confession of this hellish Conspiracy, by which it appears to have been contriv'd soon after King *James* came into *England*. For *Winter* went to *Flanders* before the Constable of *Castile* landed in *England*, to desire him, in the Name of the Papists, to procure them Favour; and in *Flanders* he met with *Faux*, who so early as *Easter* 1603, communicated this cursed Design to him; which was contriving at the same time that *Watson* and *Clarke*, the two Popish Priests before-mention'd, were engag'd in *Raleigh's* Plot. *Digby* extenuated his Crime by the Despair to which they were driven, upon the King's deceiving them in their Hopes of a Toleration. *Tresham* nam'd *Garnet* the Jesuit as privy to the Plot; tho' afterwards he deny'd it, or that he had seen him in sixteen Years; which was prov'd to be false by *Garnet's* own Confession after he was apprehended, they having been together several times in the last half Year. *Tresham's* Wife, who had as much Zeal as her Husband, tempted him to clear *Garnet*, tho' against his Knowledge, even when Death look'd him in the Face. He dy'd of a Strangury in the *Tower* two Months before the Conspirators were try'd by a Commission directed to several Lords and Judges.

Thomas Winter, *Robert Winter*, *Guy Faux*, *John Grant*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Keys*, and *Thomas Bates*, *Winter's* Man, were A.D. 1606: Plotters convicted and condemn'd. *Digby*, *Robert Winter*, executed. *Grant* and *Bates* were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd the 30th of *January* at the West End of *St. Paul's* Church in *London*; as were *Thomas Winter*, *Keys*, *Rookwood* and *Faux* the next Day in the Parliament-Yard at *Westminster*. I cannot imagine why Archdeacon *Echard* has so much Compassion for Sir *Everard Digby*, as to misrepresent his Case. He little imagin'd *Treason*, and was bound to Secrecy by Oath. What rare Authorities that Reverend Historian takes his Facts from, and what rare Reflections he makes upon them, when he has a mind to do Honour to the Papists and their Faction? *Digby* frankly lent 1500 *l.* to the Business, as *Winter* said in his Confession. If it is true that Sir *Everard* dy'd very penitently, in that case Humanity admits Compassion. But as to *Digby's* not knowing it to be *Treason*, 'tis equally false and absurd. Bishop *Burnet* tells us he wrote several Letters in Prison, wherein he expresses great Trouble, because he heard some of their Friends blam'd their Undertaking. He highly magnifies it, and says, *if he had many Lives he wou'd willingly have sacrific'd them all in carrying it on*; adding, *They had taken care that there were not above two or three worth saving, to whom they had given notice to keep out of the way*. As to his Penitence, the Bishop adds, *he did not express any Sort of Remorse in his Letters*. *Winter* and his Man *Bates* were very penitent; but *Grant* was more obstinate than

A.D. 1606. any of the rest, excepting Keys. Faux's Repen-
 tance appear'd to be most sincere; they all decla-
 red themselves Members of the Church of Rome;
 and considering how little in Life and Death they
 did Honour to that Church, she had no great
 Cause to boast of their Membership. Francis
 Trebham did not live long enough to be hang'd,
 his Head was cut off after his Death, and set up-
 on London-Bridge, with the Heads of his Fellow-
 Conspirators.

As soon as the Parliament met, which was on
 the 9th of November, four Days after the Discovery
 of the Plot, the King made a Speech to them,
 wherein he did not only take Pains to clear the
 whole Body of the Catholics from the Guilt of
 it, but to sweeten them for the little Asperity
 which this Treason had put into the Speech, he
 did not forget to have a Fling at the Puritans, who
 deseru'd to be burnt for allowing no Salvation to Pa-
 pists. The Parliament congratulated his Majesty
 on his Deliverance, and at the Motion of Sir Ed-
 ward Montagu, Ancestor to his Grace the Duke of
 Montagu, pass'd an Act to have the Fifth Day of No-
 vember for ever solemniz'd with Publick Thankf-
 givings.

Notwithstanding the general Joy that appear'd
 every where on the Detection of this horrid Con-
 spiracy, there were some who insinuated that the
 Plot was of the King's own making, or that he
 was privy to it from first to last: *A Fancy incon-
 sistent with his Majesty's Piety*, says Dr. Fuller. I
 with the Doctor and his Brother Divines, had ex-
 plain'd what they mean by Piety, when they speak
 of this King's, or wou'd teach us how to reconcile
 Piety with Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, Luxury,
 Wantonness, &c. Certain it is, 'twas inconsistent
 with what the Doctor calls his Fearfulness to dally
 so long with Destruction. Others tell us, King
 James had Information of the Plot from Henry
 IV. of France, before he saw the Lord Monteagle's
 Letter. If so, one need not hold up one's Hands
 with Astonishment at his Majesty's great Wisdom
 in discovering Gunpowder in the very Words of
 that Letter. Welwood is of this Opinion, "That
 Letter was a Contrivance of his own, the Thing
 being discover'd to him before by Henry IV. of
 France, through the Means of Monsieur de Rho-
 ny, after Duke of Sully. King Henry paid dear
 for his Friendship to King James; and there is
 Reason to believe it was upon this Account, a-
 mong others, that a Party of the Church of
 Rome, employ'd Ravillac to murder that great
 Man." Osborn thinks the Information came first
 from France, on account of the small Notice that
 was afterwards taken of the Lord Monteagle; and
 that the French King did not give King James Ad-
 vice of this Gunpowder-Plot, out of any Affection
 to his Person, but fearing a more heroick Prince
 shou'd come in his Place; and, to use my Author's
 Words, *He shou'd exchange Herb John for Collo-
 quintida.*

Among the many Compliments which were paid
 his Majesty on this Occasion, that of the Spanish
 Ambassador was most extraordinary, being accom-
 panied with a Present of a fine Coat with Golden
 Taggs, two Gold Chains, a Velvet Cap, a Gold Ba-
 son, &c. as you may read at large in Echard, who
 is wonderfully delighted with the Description of it.
 This Farce was the more ridiculous, for that the
 very Plot was hatch'd in Spain, and the Flattery
 so gross, that the Pope cou'd not help laughing in
 the Face of Cardinal d'Osat, when he told him
 the Story, as the Cardinal informs his Master Hen-
 ry IV. in one of his Letters; so easily was the Bri-
 tish Solomon impos'd upon by the Address of the
 Spaniards, tho' so ill disguis'd, that there was no
 need of good Eyes to see thro' it.

The Execution of Father Garnet, Provincial of
 the Jesuit's Order in England, clos'd the Tragedy
 of the Gunpowder-Treason. This Jesuit was not

only privy to it, but active in it by Exhortation
 and Counsel. Cecil Earl of Salisbury, Dr. Overal
 Dean of St. Paul's, and other Divines, examin'd
 him about it when he was in the Tower; but he
 insist'd upon it, that having receiv'd Information
 of the Conspiracy in Confession, he cou'd not by
 the Laws of his Religion discover it. He was told
 that he had talk'd with Catesbie concerning it out
 of Confession; to which he reply'd, *In via ad Con-
 fessionem*, in order to Confession. Dr. Overal an-
 swer'd, *Confession was of Things done, not to be done*;
 and that even the Romish Casuists allow'd Discove-
 ry, when a greater Good accru'd by revealing than
 concealing such Secrets. Garnet then own'd that
 he was minded to discover the Plot, but not the Plot-
 ters. The Earl of Salisbury demanded what hinder'd
 him? Yourself, says Garnet; for I know full well,
 shou'd I have reveal'd the Plot, and not the Plotters,
 you wou'd have rack'd me to Pieces to make me con-
 fess. He was arraign'd at Guildhall before the Lord-
 Mayor Sir Leonard Holiday, and the Lords of the
 Council, Sir Baptist Hicks, afterwards Viscount
 Cambden, being Foreman of the Jury, by whom he
 was soon convicted of High-Treason, for which
 he was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd at the West-
 End of St. Paul's Church, being the last that suf-
 fer'd for this Treason, which Monsieur de Thou
 calls such a Monster of Conspiracies, as no Age or
 Country did every produce.

We have been the longer on the Gunpowder-
 Plot, that it might be made clear beyond question,
 being, as Welwood terms it, an uncontroverted Treason.
 But he is mistaken, notwithstanding all the
 undeniable Proofs of all the Circumstances, and
 all the Confessions of the Criminals, the French
 Jesuit Orleans controverts it in his History of Re-
 volutions, of no other Value than as the Book was
 approv'd by our abdicated King James II. and is
 recommended by Archdeacon Echard. He begins
 with Doubts: All Men do not agree about the Cir-
 cumstances of it. All Men, Protestants and Papists,
 do agree that there was a Plot to blow up King,
 Prince, and the two Houses of Parliament; that
 the Gunpowder was found under the House that
 was to be blown up, and the Villain who was to do
 it, taken with the Implements about him. What
 other Circumstances were wanting to prove the
 Treason, and hang the Traytors? Again; *The In-
 ventions of our Days shew what might have been
 invented then.* Whether he refers to the Invention
 of the Ryehouse Plot, or the Invention of the Pre-
 tender, or what other Popish Invention I shall not
 enquire. But there has not been in our Days, nor
 in any Days, according to the illustrious Historian
 De Thou, such a Monster as the Gunpowder-Plot.
 Again; *The Crime cou'd not be imputed to the Ca-
 tholics alone, for a considerable Number of the Con-
 spirators were Protestants:* So impudently false,
 that not one of them was a Protestant. Fuller,
 they all crav'd Testimony that they died Roman Ca-
 tholics. The Contrivers and Heads of the Con-
 spiracy were to a Man Papists, and I never heard
 of one Protestant nam'd in it. Again; *Some of
 them were Priests, who had no other hand in it,
 than that they were accus'd without sufficient Proof
 of having been told it in Confession.* The Priests
 are Garnet, for no other Priest was question'd
 for it. This good Man Garnet had no less than
 four Names, four Alias's, to cover him against Pro-
 secutions for his Crimes. Besides what he had
 been told in Confession, Dr. Fuller assures us it was
 prov'd, that he frequently and publickly discours'd
 of it with Catesbie, Gerard, and Greenwood. Again;
 the others were two or three Incendiaries; those
 two or three were in all two or threescore, tho'
 not above nine or ten were executed for it; set on
 by Cecil. What does the Reader think now of Mr.
 Echard's Jesuit and his History?

The chief Conspirators, having had their Re-
 ward, some who wish'd well to them were punish'd.

P. 19:

Spanish
 Ambassa-
 dor impos'd
 on King
 James.

Garnet the
 Jesuit
 hang'd.

A.D. 1606,

Orleans
 false.

P. 37:

P. 37:

A.D. 1606. *as Henry Lord Mordaunt, and Edward Lord Stourton, who had both neglected to come to Parliament, and were therefore suspected to be in the wicked Secret, and so far prov'd guilty of Misprison of Treason, that the Court of Star-Chamber fin'd the Lord Mordaunt 10000 Marks, and the Lord Stourton 6000, both of them to remain in Prison during his Majesty's Pleasure. The Earl of Northumberland was thought more guilty on account of his Kinsman Piercy, whom he had admitted to be one of the King's Gentlemen Pensioners, without administering to him the Oath of Supremacy, tho' he knew him to be a rank Papist; for which the same Court fin'd him 30000 Pounds, and condemn'd him to Imprisonment during the King's Pleasure.*

The Punishment of the Traytors and their Accomplices, was scarce over, before the People were alarm'd with a Rumour of the King's being assassinated at *Ockingham* in *Berkshire*. But the Consternation lasted not long, his Majesty coming to *London* two or three Hours after. The Impression the late Plot had made on Mens Minds, render'd them very apt to be terrify'd with such Rumours; and when their Terrors were past, their Joy was equal to what their Fear had been. Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Master of the Ceremonies, had a Gold Chain given him by the *Spanish* Ambassador, for bringing him News of his Majesty's Safety. 'Twas thought he was so generous to take off the Odium of the late Conspiracy from his Master the King of *Spain*, who was suspected to have fomented it.

Wilson,
p. 32.

Vassor.

On the 27th of *May* the Parliament was prorogued to the 18th of *November*, having past several Acts besides that for the *Fifth of November*, particularly an Act granting the King three entire Subsidies, and six Fifteenths; and an Act enjoining a new Oath of Allegiance, in which 'twas asserted, *That the Pope could not depose the King, nor dispose of his Kingdom, nor authorize any other Prince to invade him, nor discharge his Subjects from their Fidelity, &c.* It also bound the Person who took it, to bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, to discover all Treasons and Conspiracies, and declar'd that the Pope had no Power to absolve this Oath; the Form of which was so order'd, that it might not offend the Conscience of those who, without renouncing their Religion, wou'd pay that Duty to their Sovereign, which they rightfully ow'd him. The Thing appear'd so reasonable to the *English* Papists, that the Nobility, Gentry, Priests, and all others, swore in this Form. *George Blackwell* nominated Arch-Priest of *England* by Pope *Paul V.* not only took the Oath, but wrote in Defence of it, which the Pope understanding, sent a Brief immediately to forbid the taking it, as inconsistent with the Salvation of Souls. The Papists in *England* treated this Brief as spurious, and his Holiness was forc'd to send a second to confirm it. He also directed Cardinal *Bellarmino* to write to *Blackwell* about it; in which Letter were some Expressions which so anger'd his Majesty, as to put him upon answering it himself, in an Apology for the Oath: Wherein, says Dr. *Fuller*, he effectually confuted the Pope's Brief. And another Author writes, the King gave a very learned Answer to a Brief, which cou'd not but have been answer'd without one word of Learning. However, such was the Language of certain Writers, whenever they spoke of his Majesty's Parts and Performances. Let us therefore see what Foreigners, who had no Bias of Hope or Fear, say of him and his Learning. *Vassor* writes thus, *Had not a King better have forborn writing at all, and have left this Care to another? A little Jesuit, made a Cardinal by scribbling, was not an Adversary for a Monarch. The Pope behav'd himself like a King, and King James acted the Part of a Doctor. The Pope commanded, and King James disputed. Except a Prince wrote like Julius Caesar,*

W. S.

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30.

or *Marcus Aurelius*, he is in the wrong to become an Author. The Jesuit *Orleans*, who speaks well of him in some Places for his Inclination to Poverty, cannot help saying of his boasted Learning, *He was commended by learned Men as a Patron of Literature; for which, if we may judge by his Works, it will appear he had rather an Affection than any good Taste; and that he, who, during his Life, call'd him the learned King, rather did it because he was a King, than because he was really learned.* What his Genius was, we have from *Buchanan* his Tutor; which *Mezeray* and *Justel* often told in their Assemblies at *Paris*. King *James I.* at his *Levee* in *Scotland*, wou'd have the *French* Ambassador talk *Latin*; which he complying with, and happening to break *Priscian's* Head, the Laugh was against him; upon which he running out of Court, met *Buchanan* on the Stairs, and reproach'd him for having made a Pedant of his Pupil. Pedant, said *Buchanan*, lifting up his Hands and Eyes, *I thank God I have made any Thing of him.* And a noble Author, speaking of this very Incident, said, the *Scotch* *Solomon* had not one good Quality in him. 'This was confirm'd to me by a Person of that Dignity and Character, as leaves no room to doubt its Veracity, and I shall name him when I am put to it. The King was at first so sensible of the Indiscretion in his answering *Bellarmino*, that he did not own his Apology. *Bellarmino* wrote against it under the Name of *Tortus*: Dr. *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester* reply'd to him. But a little Flattery on the Value of the Work, made his Majesty put his Name to it, and a very pompous Preface before it in the Nature of a Manifesto, address'd to all Kings, Princes, and States of *Christendom*, vindicating the Rights of Sovereigns against the Usurpations of the Pope. *Vassor* says, *The Popish Princes durst not read, and the Protestant Princes did not need it.* *Henry IV.* of *France*, who had been a zealous Protestant, forbid the translating it into *French*, which however was done soon after; and *Coeffeteau*, a *French* Historian and Refiner of that Language, answer'd it, tho' poorly enough, as allowing the Independence of the Kings of *France*. Cardinal *Bellarmino* reply'd to the King's Preface, addressing his Reply also to the Emperor, the Kings and States of *Christendom*. The Parliament of *Paris* condemn'd *Bellarmino's* Book; but some Years after, *Mary de Medicis*, King *Charles* the First's Mother-in-law, then Queen-Regent of *France*, order'd their Decree to be superseded; and all the Glory that redounded to King *James* by this Controversy, was, according to Mr. *Coke*, that he cou'd wrangle and cavil as well as *Bellarmino*. 'Tis the Fault of the Reign, as has been observ'd, if the Matter is so trivial. *Coke* writes, *The King gave himself wholly up to Hunting, Plays, Maïques, Balls, and writing against Bellarmine. Thus stood the Case for four Years after, wherein I scarce find any thing worth mentioning.* *Echard* indeed mentions the Arrival of the King of *Denmark*, Brother to the Queen, but he does not mention what he read in *Sir Edward Peyton*, p. 63. *If we examine the King of Denmark, Brother of Queen Anne, the first time he was entertain'd in England, what Debauchedness was exercis'd in his Welcome to King James, who both were so drunk at Theobalds, as our King was carried in the Arms of the Courtiers, &c.* I can tell no more of it; the Delicacy of *English* Readers being such, that Truth itself gives Offense when it breaks in upon Decorums. No sooner was the King of *Denmark* gone, than another princely Visitor, the Count *de Vaudemont*, Prince of Son to the Duke of *Lorain*, arriv'd at Court with a numerous Train of Servants and Attendants, and was entertain'd with the like Magnificence, Profusion, and Luxury.

On the 18th of *November* the Parliament met, and *Sir Francis Bacon*, Sollicitor-General, made a Motion for an Act to naturalize all *Scotsmen*; but

it

A.D. 1606.

Paradox;
part 2.

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King of
Denmark
in Eng-
land.

Vaudemont.
Prince of

Parlia-
ment.

A.D. 1607. it met with so much Opposition, that the King was forc'd to interpose, and in *March* following he sent for both Houses of Parliament, to whom he made that notable Speech which *Echard* is so fond of for its Jingles, *Unus Rex, Unus Grex, Una Lex*, one King, one People, one Law. But all that cou'd be gotten for the *Scots* was an Act to repeal all Laws of Hostility antiently made between *England* and *Scotland*. The Parliament neglected the Affair of the Union of the two Kingdoms, yet the King in some measure carry'd his Point, by a Determination of the Lord Chancellor *Ellesmer*, and most of the Judges in the famous Case of *Calvin*, by which the *Postnati Scots*, born after the King's coming to the Crown of *England*, were declar'd to be free, to bring real Actions, to purchase and inherit in this Kingdom.

Scots
Post-nati.

Sir *Francis Bacon* made a very long Speech in the House of Commons for a general Naturalization, another for the *Postnati* before the Lord-Chancellor *Ellesmer* and the Judges in the Exchequer; and another in the House of Commons for a Union of Laws in *England* and *Scotland*: Three Speeches full of Learning and Eloquence. But that before the House of Commons for a Naturalization had no Effect on the major Vote; that before the Lord-Chancellor succeeded better, the King being Master of his and the Judges Opinions. The Motion for a closer Union with *Scotland*, was not then popular; his Majesty's profuse Bounty to the *Scots* Favourites, gave the *English* a Disgust to the Nation, to which the Insolence which generally accompanies Favour, did not a little contribute. Bishop *Burnet* informs us, *That King James lost the Union of England and Scotland by an unreasonable Partiality in pretending that Scotland was the third Part of the Isle of Great-Britain, if not more.* So very politic was his Majesty in an Affair which he had most at heart.

Before the Parliament broke up, there was a kind of Insurrection in *Northamptonshire*, *Warwickshire*, and *Leicestershire*, the Rabble getting together under one *John Reynolds*, (whom they call'd Captain *Pouch*, from a large Leather-Pouch he wore by his Side,) to pull down Inclosures. A Proclamation was issu'd, commanding them to disperse, which they took no notice of; but the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Exeter*, the Lord *Zouch*, and the Lord-Chief-Justice *Coke*, being sent against them with an arm'd Force, they were suppress'd. Their Leader Captain *Pouch* was hang'd, and the chief of them, who cou'd pay for the Riot, were fin'd.

Ireland.

The Earl of *Tyrone*, who had been so well receiv'd by his Majesty, the Lord *Tyrconnel*, the Lord *Dungannon*, and other *Irish* Peers, fled into foreign Parts to solicit *Popish* Princes against their own Sovereign. *Tyrconnel* dy'd in *Spain*, and his Son was made Page to *Philip* the III'd's Queen, so careful was the *Spanish* Court to cultivate a good Intelligence with the *Irish* Papists, who were continually caballing against the *English* Government, at the same time that the *Spanish* Ambassadors were more carefu'd at the Court of *England*, than the Ministers of any other Princes or States. His Majesty had always shewn a particular Tenderness to *Popish* Offenders, and from his Accession to the Throne of *England* to his Death, punish'd none but those he was afraid of, such as the *Gunpowder* Plotters, whose Heirs were suffer'd to enjoy their Estates, particularly *Digby's* Son, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, a great Favourite of the Queen's, if not of the King's in the next Reign. He restor'd all the Forfeitures and Confiscations, to which he was most justly intic'd by *Tyrone's* Rebellion in *Ireland*. This Lenity, instead of obliging them to grateful Obedience; embolden'd them to renew their traitorous Designs, and *Tyrone* drew the whole Province of *Ulster* into a Confederacy against the *English*; which being discover'd before 'twas brought to a

Head, and the other Provinces not joining with him, he and the chief of his Adherents fled to *Spain*, from whence he never return'd; so welcome were all these Rebels and Traytors to the Catholick King, at the same time that King *James* was so fond of his Friendship.

A.D. 1607.

On the 4th of *July* the Parliament was prorogued to the 16th of *November*, and then to the 9th of *February*, in the Year 1609. In the Interval, the King spent his Time very jollily, always sporting or feasting. His Majesty din'd with the Lord-Mayor Sir *John Watts*, and was made free of the *Clothworkers* Company. Soon after he din'd at *Merchant Taylors* Hall, and Prince *Henry* was made free of that Company; of which Archdeacon *Echard* tells us, a Queen and an Archbishop had been free before. Such Events as these must needs be very ornamental in History: But if I had had others to put in their Place, I shou'd have left these Ornaments to Mr. *Echard's*, which is capable of no better. About the same time Sir *Thomas Knevet*, of whom mention was made for his Service in the *Gunpowder-Plot*, was created Baron of *Layton-Bromeswold*; the Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Thomas Howard* Viscount *Bindon*, had been made Knights of the Garter the last Year; and *George* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*, were now advanc'd to that Honour. Sir *Julius Caesar*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sworn of the Privy-Council, and bountiful was his Majesty in the Disposal both of his Honours and Treasures.

In the midst of this Time of Peace and Joy, this fair Outside of Government, there was growing within a Rottenness, which turn'd to a Mortification in the subsequent Reign. *Coke* coarsely expresses it: *Whilst the King was wallowing in Pleasure, he wholly gave himself up to be govern'd by Favourites, to whom he was excessively prodigal, not only of Honours and Offices, but of the Revenues of the Crown, and Aids given in Parliament; and these being of both Nations, Scots as well as English, made them to be the more intolerable. All Things being in Peace abroad, publick Affairs were neglected, and scarce thought of: And in this Lethargy of State, the Prerogative Clergy swell'd the High-Commission to such a Weight, that it was complain'd of as a Grievance in Parliament; one Blackwood publish'd a Book, wherein he endeavour'd to prove, That the English were Slaves by Reason of a Conquest; and when the Parliament was about to proceed against him, his Majesty interpos'd and put a Stop to it, by issuing a Proclamation to call in the Book.*

P. 621

Another Instance of King *James's* Politicks, was his Proclamation prohibiting the Increase of Buildings in the City of *London*, which has been still increasing these 120 Years, and by collecting the Strength and Riches of the Kingdom into a Body, has render'd the Nation more safe at Home, and more formidable Abroad, than ever it was before. King *James's* strongest Reason refer'd to his own Person, for fear a Crowd of People shou'd bring in the Plague again, and infect *Whitehall*; whereas the Plague ceas'd at that Time, and the Danger was over. *Many Men*, says *Wilson*, *that did not so well heed the Proclamation, laid out their whole Estates upon little Howels, and building fair Houses upon new Foundations, tho' but two Yards from the old, they became Trespassers, and must either purchase their Houses, or pull them down, both ways tending to their Ruin.* However, Mr. Archdeacon assures us, *it was done with mature Deliberation of the Council*; and if we will not take such Counsels as this, to be the Effect of mature Deliberation, we must look for them in other Histories and other Reigns.

This Incident is misplac'd by the reverend Historian in the Year 1609, whereas it was publish'd in *October* 1607; and the Reason which was given for restraining the new Buildings to prevent Infection,

A.D. 1607. was found afterwards to be a Reason for enlarging the Buildings, that by having more Room, the Inhabitants might not be too much crowded, and consequently the Air in Time of Pestilence be less liable to be infected: So that what the Wisdom of our Time doth decry, says Wilson, the Experience of another may advance. Yet this is the Time when Counsels were maturely deliberated, and the wisest Monarch of the Age sat on the Throne of Great-Britain, to whose Wisdom is always join'd the Character of merciful, which did not however appear in this Instance.

A Judge at the Assize at Northampton, condemn'd a Felon, but repriev'd him on account of the Weakness of the Evidence: Judge Nicholls, who went that Circuit this Year, continu'd the Prisoner's Reprieve, for which he was complain'd of. The King, without enquiring into the Strength or Weakness of the Evidence, commanded the Judge, by Letter, to direct Execution of the Sentence, which that good Magistrate refus'd to do, saying, His Predecessor, who had heard the Witnesses, thought it Justice to reprieve the Felon, and his Conscience wou'd not let him direct Sentence to be executed, since he never had heard the Evidence: Besides, his Oath oblig'd him to do right, notwithstanding the King's Letter.

The Affair of the Union had better Success in Scotland, than it had had in England. The Parliament there allow'd all the Articles which were concluded by their Commissioners, provided the same were ratify'd by the Parliament of England, who took no Notice of what the Scots did in the Matter; so the Design fell, and came to nothing.

'Twas not likely that a King of King James's Disposition shou'd be much consider'd abroad, his whole Conduct, with respect to foreign Affairs, necessarily drew upon him the Neglect of all Europe. We shall see presently how he deserv'd it.

The President Jeannin, and Monsieur Roiffy, the French Ambassadors at the Hague, offer'd a stricter Alliance between their Master and the States-General. The States notify'd this Offer to King James, who promis'd to dispatch Mr. Richard Spencer, and Mr. Ralph Winwood, who had been his Agent in Holland, to join in the Negotiation, but he found Means to evade it, and remain Spectator of the War. Richardot wrote from Brussels to Jeannin, that the King of Spain, his Master, was the more difficult in the Article of the Treaty of Truce, which related to the declaring the States-General to be a Free State, because King James had written to King Philip, That he believ'd the States might be brought to consent to the leaving out of the Treaty what related to the Acknowledgment of their being free; which shews how little he understood the Intentions and Resolutions of the States, and the true Interest of the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of Europe; or at least how little he concern'd himself about them. The President Jeannin writing to his Master from Holland, told him King James was never sincere with the Dutch: Henry IV. reply'd, I know his Capacity, and the Inclinations of his People; the most contemptible Thing that ever was said of the Genius and Abilities of a Monarch.

In the beginning of the Year 1608, dy'd Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset, in an apoplectick Fit, which seiz'd him and carry'd him off at the Council-Table. He was made Lord-Treasurer 10 Years before by Queen Elizabeth; he was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and of Eminence in his Time for a poetical Genius, as his Tragedy of Ferrex witnesses, and for his rare Wisdom and careful Providence, to use the Words of an old Author. The Earl of Salisbury succeeded him as Lord-Treasurer; and tho' he had the Dexterity to raise one of the greatest Fortunes in England, it is said he gave a Check to the King's prodigal Bounty to others; which does not agree with what Osborn tells us,

A.D. 1608. He was a Seducer of the King, persuading him this Nation was so rich, it cou'd be neither exhausted nor provok'd. 'Tis certain he was very loose in his Morals, as by the Satyrs on him.

But now in Hatfield lies the old Fox,
Who stank while he liv'd, and dy'd of the—

In another;
Till Atropos clapt him, a Pox on the Drab,
For Spight of his Tar-box, he dy'd of the Scab.

Osborn;
f. 154.

Echard says, after Osborn, who is here mistaken, or the Archdeacon wou'd not have made use of him, He might have enrich'd his Family more, had he not look'd upon low Things with Contempt; which is not true. There is nothing in the World so low as a Bribe; and that he took Spanish Money for the Peace, is as well known, as that he was a Speaker at the Hampton-Court Conference against the Presbyterians. As to his Contempt of low Things, see Sir Anthony Welden: Salisbury had one Trick to get the Kernel, and leave the Scots but the Shell, yet cast all the Envy upon them; he wou'd make them buy Books of Fee-Farms; some 100 Pounds per Ann. some 100 Marks; and he wou'd compound with them for 1000 Pounds; which they were willing to embrace, because they were sure to have them pass without any Controul; and 1000 Pounds appear'd to them that never saw 10 Pounds before, an inexhaustible Treasure; then would Salisbury fill up this Book with such prime Land, as should be worth 10 or 20000 Pounds, and which was very easy for him being Treasurer, &c. These were his admirable Abilities.

P. 60;

The Remembrance of the Gunpowder-Plot, kept the Sword of Justice keen against Popish Priests and Jesuits, and the King suffer'd two of them, George Ferris a Seminary Priest, and Thomas Garnet a Jesuit, to be executed: A Pardon was offer'd the latter, if he wou'd take the Oath of Allegiance, but he utterly refus'd it.

We have mention'd the Pyracies of one Tomkins in the beginning of this Reign, and now the Seas were infested by a Pyrate of an honourable Name, Sir Francis Verney, together with Ward, Bishop, Glanville, and others, some of whom were Renegadoes, and liv'd as Turks at Tunis in great State. Nineteen of these Robbers being taken, were brought to England, and executed at Wapping.

The Earl of Northampton was about this Time made Lord Privy-Seal, who, besides his being a Northamp reputed Papist, had a worse Character, a Man of no Morals nor Conscience, who stuck at nothing to gratify his Passions, and please his Appetite.

Earl of Northamp ton's bad Character.

Sir Anthony Welden says, he was the grossest Flatterer in the World, of so venomous and canker'd a Disposition, that he hated all Men of noble Parts, nor lov'd any but Flatterers. An Instance of his Hatred to brave Men, was what he said of Sir Robert Mansell: Body of God, I will be content to be damn'd perpetually in Hell, to be reveng'd of that proud Welshman. The same Knight, speaking of one Lake, whom he calls a Fellow of mean Birth, afterwards Secretary of State, says, he rose by Talletelling: "He let the King know the Passages at

P. 15.
P. 20.
P. 22:

"Court, and great Men, as who was Salisbury's Mistress, and govern'd all, who govern'd Northampton, and discover'd the Bawdry which did "infinitely please the King's Humour." We see what Sort of Ministers King James employ'd; and Echard informs us, That upon this Earl of Northampton's Shoulders, the King laid the main Burden of all his Affairs. Northampton's Affection to Popery, appears by a Letter he wrote to Cardinal Bellarmine, wherein he said, Howsoever the Condition of the Times compelled him, and his Majesty urg'd him to turn Protestant, yet nevertheless his Heart stood with the Catholicks, and he wou'd be ready to further them in any Attempt. The Arch-

K. James's Ministers.

P. 57.
P. 386;

The Arch- bishop

14 Year K. J: m 28 I.

Sand. p. 341.

Le Clerc.

Neglected abroad.

A.D. 1608

A.D. 1608. bishop of *Canterbury* produc'd this Letter in the *Star-Chamber*; and told that Court he had harbour'd such about him, as wrote in Defence of the Gunpowder Plot. The wife King laid the Burthen of the State on this Lord's Shoulders; as *Car* Earl of *Somerset*, and his lewd Countess, did the Burthen of their adulterous Lust, as will be seen in the Sequel of this Reign.

Lewdness. The Viscount *Bindon*, now Earl of *Suffolk*, had been made Lord Chamberlain some time before. He was Father to the Countess of *Somerset*, and his Wife the Countess of *Suffolk* had an Employment at Court, which was the most beneficial of any in the Reign of King *Charles II.* King *James's* Grandson. Sir *Thomas Overbury* did not itick to call her *Bawd*, too homely a Word for History. Sir *A. W.* joins *Northampton* in this gallant Employment, *Copinger*, says he, being a *Bawd* to *Car*, and the Countess of *Essex's* Lusts made him a Friend to *Northampton* and *Suffolk*, tho' he was but a Servant to *Car*.

A.D. 1609. Being supported by these Counsellors, to use the Archdeacon's excellent Words, the King join'd with *Henry* the IVth of *France* in the Mediation of a Peace between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*. The Account he gives us of this Negotiation is alone a sufficient Proof of the Inconsistency of his Panegyricks on King *James's* Wisdom with the Truth, and even with his own Relation of it. In this Treaty the States were acknowledg'd Free and Independent. This was the first Scene in which King *James* appear'd abroad, either as a Party or Moderator, since his Accession to the Throne of *England*; and tho' the Treaty prov'd of extraordinary Consequence, yet it is said that his Part in it was as mean as that of the King of *France* was glorious; and his Conduct towards the States for whom he mediat'd, and towards *France* with whom he join'd, was quite different from the Methods and Maxims of his renown'd Predecessor. So different, that even the Jesuit *Orleans*, who writes on the same side with Archdeacon *Echard*, owns *ELIZABETH* had been a great King, and *JAMES* was a good Queen. The Archdeacon proceeds: For besides several unusual Condescensions to the French in the Persons of their Ambassadors, which gave Foreigners a mean Idea of his Government, he was tax'd with being insincere in the Treaty, which he appear'd to promote and encourage. And what Opinion the French Ministers had of him in this Affair, appears from the printed Negotiation of *Jeannin*, the chief Agent for *France*; who in several Letters to the French King his Master wrote, That King *James* was never hearty in the Treaty, but had all along condemn'd the *Hollanders* for throwing off the Sovereignty of *Spain* upon the account of its bad Example. In Answer to one of which Letters, *Henry IV.* whose Opinion of King *James* was never very great, own'd his Knowledge of that King's ill Intentions towards the States; and withal told *Jeannin*, that his Carriage did not break his Sleep; and concluded his Letter with an Expression of Contempt rarely us'd among Princes of that Rank, which has been already repeated. All this is said of a Monarch, whom the same Reverend Historian a few Pages after characterizes in the most fulsome manner. As to his Mind he has receiv'd the highest Applauses and Commendations, that for Learning and Wisdom he was the *Solomon* of the Age. The above-mention'd *Henry IV.* of *France* so term'd him, but not exactly in the same Words, nor with the same Meaning; for taken in a literal Sense, he might as well have call'd him the *Hercules* of the Age. The Author of a Letter to King *William* has some judicious Reflections on his Majesty's Wisdom, the Subject of so much Eulogy in Ecclesiastical History. His Thoughts seem'd to be set on his own Power, and the Flattery of the Court was more pleasing to him than the general Interest of his Kingdom. He had got some superficial Skill

K. James not wife.

State Tracts.

in the Arts and Sciences, and a profound Knowledge, *A.D. 1609;* as he thought, in Divinity. He made his Court to the Clergy, that they being appriz'd of his great Learning might in their Writings celebrate his Fame; and truly they have not at all been deficient in suitable Returns. They insinuated to the People his great Knowledge in all Sorts of divine and human Learning. Hereupon at his first coming to the Crown he industriously assisted the Bishops against the Puritans; for which they almost ador'd his deep Learning, comparing him to *Solomon*. Sir *A. W.* of him: He was crafty and cunning in petty things; insomuch as a very wise Man was wont to say, he believ'd him the wisest Fool in *Christendom*. *Welwood* speaks of him thus: He writ and spoke in a Style that border'd too much upon *Pedantry*. Bishop *Burnet* says, his Reign in *England* was a continu'd Course of mean Practices. I have seen the Original of his Letters to the Prince and Duke in *Spain*, which shew a Meanness that renders him very contemptible. The great Figure the Crown of *England* had made in *Queen Elizabeth's* Time was so much eclips'd, if not quite darken'd, during this Reign, that King *James* was become the Scorn of the Age. Now for Archdeacon *Echard*: He knew how to catch the Inclinations of the People at the first Rebound, not suffering them to mount higher than he could reach them; nor grow so strong, but he cou'd either alter or divert them. He had an admirable Pregnancy of Wit, &c. It is too surfeiting to be repeated: His Knowledge hath been by some thought fitter for the Head of a Society than the Governor of a Kingdom. Why all this Panegyrick without Ground or Modesty? We may be assur'd of the Reason from what the same Writer tells us; He acted very laudably, and with great Reputation with respect to the Establish'd Church, both as to the Settlement of the Revenues, &c. Another such Writer in King *Charles* the First's Reign having for the same good Reason given him the same Praise, an Historian who wrote the Life and Reign of King *Charles* the Ist, animadverts upon it thus: "With no Colour at all of Sincerity the Writer talks at random, palpably and ridiculously rendering King *James* for the only politick, peaceable and pious King of his Time. A Prince, as he wou'd have it believ'd, the Paragon for his Wisdom and Care, the Fruits whereof no rational Man cou'd ever yet discern; when the plain Truth was, the right Measure of his peaceable Reign was well known to all Europe to be the only Occasion of all the After-Wars throughout *Germany*, and the Root of all those of his Successor throughout his Dominions. Those in *Germany* to the utter Undoing of his Son-in-law the Elector *Palatine*. He sat musing at home how to improve his Sovereignty, to devise Projects how to raise Moneys to satiate his needy and greedy Scots Courtiers by Privy-Seals, Benevolences, Sale of Forest Lands, Woods, Crown Lands, &c. wasting treble the Treasure in an idle Peace, which his Predecessor the Queen spent in a continu'd foreign War".

Why the Clergy call'd him so. He is the Scorn of Age.

I have enlarg'd here on King *James's* Character, that the Reader might take it along with him thro' the Sequel of his Reign, and comparing it with his Actions, be convinc'd of the Truth of it, tho' directly contrary to the Writings of some Ecclesiasticks.

While his Majesty's Actions were so laudable to the Church of *England*, he condemn'd the *Dutch* for defending themselves against *Popery* and a *Spanish* Inquisition. We shall be oblig'd frequently to observe, that Ecclesiastical Historians, in Return for the Care King *James* took of their Revenues, complimented him with a divine, unlimited Prerogative; of which he was extremely fond, and left an Example of arbitrary Government to his Son, which ended in the most terrible Catastrophe that is to be met with in any History. In several

Printed by Reybold.

A.D. 1609. veral of his Proclamations, and most of his Speeches, he gives Intimation of his good Disposition to absolute Power, as in his Proclamation of the 8th of May, prohibiting all foreign Nations to fish on the British Coast without Licenses. *Tho' we do sufficiently know by our Experience in the Office of Regal Dignity, (in which by the Favour of Almighty God we have been plac'd, and exercis'd these many Years) how far the Absoluteness of sovereign Power extendeth; and that in regard thereof we need not yield Account to any Person under God for any Action of ours.* What is most strange in this is, that a Prince should have so strong an Appetite for Power, who, according to Henry IV. of France, had so little Capacity to make use of it.

Licenses for fishing were to be taken out at London and Edinburgh every Year, and Commissioners were appointed to grant them. But this Proclamation had no great Effect; and indeed Proclamations were too common in this Reign to be so much respected as they were in Q. Elizabeth's. Echarde remembers this Proclamation for the Fishery, to shew his Majesty's wife Administration and paternal Care of his People; whereas if we may believe Sir Edward Peyton, it was all Grimace: *For he took a small Rate only of the Hollanders, and granted them the Isle of Lewis in Scotland, and other Isles in Ireland to dry their Fish, by which they have enrich'd themselves above 40 Millions Sterling. He also permitted the French to fish on the Coast of England, who carry'd away the very Earth and Spawn of the Fish of Roches, Gurnet, Cunger and Haddock to Diep; where they have abundance, and we want.* The Proclamation to confiscate all foreign Allum was a very considerable one in the Opinion of the Reverend Historian, that Commodity having been brought to Perfection in England by Sir John Bourchier.

It is a most unpleasant Labour to write a History without Facts; or if any offer, they are such as are not worthy Remembrance. Dr. Fuller says justly enough, *The Reign of King James was better for one to live under than to write, having nothing to entertain Posterity.* The historical Archdeacon takes no notice of this Defect in all his History of this King, which he writes with as much Pride and Pleasure, as if he was writing the Reigns of Edward III. or William III.

About this Time, according to Le Clerc, the Account of the Debt owing from the States of the United Provinces to England was adjust'd 818408*l.* and the States engag'd to begin the Payment of it two Years after the Conclusion of the Peace; but a Truce being now concluded, King James was contented with the Payment of 40000 Florins, or about 3000*l.* every six Months during the Truce; which wretched Bargain was obtain'd for the States by the good Management of Barneveldt, as he set forth in his Remonstrance in 1618. The States General of the United Provinces some time after sent John de Bork Pensionary of Dort, Albert Vere Pensionary of Amsterdam, Elias Olden-Barneveldt Pensionary of Rotterdam, Albert Joachim Deputy of Zeland, Ambassadors to King James. They arriv'd at London the 24th of April, and had Audience the 27th. They had afterwards Conferences with the Ministers about the Proclamation which the King had publish'd concerning the Dutch Fishery on the British Coasts; to which these Ambassadors alledg'd, they had a Right according to the fourth Article of the Treaty concluded with the Archduke Philip, Sovereign of the Netherlands in 1495. In effect the King suspended the Execution of his Proclamation, and knighted the Ambassadors; so very well pleas'd was he with the Payment of the Florins before-mention'd.

A.D. 1610. The Reverend Historian opens the next Year

with another of King James's peaceful Triumphs in the Person of his Son Prince Henry, who was belov'd by every Native of Great Britain better than by his Father. He discover'd so much of an heroic Genius, that it gave Occasion for Suspicion, which ought never to enter into History; and therefore I omit what Sir Edward Peyton says of his Birth, and what the Lord Sinclair said at the Court of Denmark. He was much given to Tiltings, Barriers, and other martial Exercises on Horseback; while his Royal Father contented himself with hunting the timorous Hare. Sometimes the Sport was more generous, as a Stag-Chace, in which the young Prince accompany'd him; and it is said the King conceiv'd the first Jealousy of him at the End of such a Chace: For the Stag being kill'd 15 Miles from the Place where they were to lodge, the King did not care to go so far, and took up his Quarters much short of it. But the Prince resolving to lye where they first intended, went forward, and took away with him almost all the Company, who attended him out of Affection and Respect, and left only such Attendants with the King, as were oblig'd by the Duty of their Offices to attend him. The Prince was now sixteen Years of Age; and the King, either to raise Money, or do his Son Honour, receiv'd an Aid of his Subjects for the Prince's Knighthood. And to add new Splendor to this glorious Youth, continues the Archdeacon with his wonted Eloquence, "he not long after created him Prince of Wales after this solemn manner: Garter King at Arms bore the Letters Patents, the Earl of Suffex the Robes of Purple Velvet, the Earl of Huntington the Train, the Earl of Cumberland the Sword, the Earl of Derby the Rod, the Earl of Shrewsbury the Cap and Coronet. The Earls of Northampton and Northampton supported the Prince, who was only in his Surcoat and bare-headed. Being conducted to the King, and attended by 25 Knights of the Bath of eminent Families, Secretary Salisbury read the Letters Patents, while the Prince continu'd upon his Knees before the King, and at the accustomed Words the King invest'd him with the Robe, the Sword, the Cap and Coronet, the Rod and Ring; and then with a Kiss the Ceremony ended". After this it was thought proper that he should keep his Court by himself. It is worth mentioning, that in this Session of Parliament the King was pleas'd to command that the Lords and Commons should sit together in the Court of Requests, the Lords sitting on the right Hand by themselves, and the Commons on the left Hand. The Prince's Tutor, Sir Thomas Challoner, was made his Chamberlain; Sir Edward Philips his Chancellor; And his Household being establish'd, Sir Charles Cornwallis was sent to Spain, to treat with that King for his eldest Daughter to be a Wife for him; which never took Effect: and the Infanta was given in Marriage to Lewis XIII. the French King. But King James's being baulk'd in this Treaty, did not discourage him from entering afterwards into a long and fruitless Negotiation at the same Court for the Marriage of his second Son Prince Charles with a second Infanta of Spain.

The Murder of Henry IV. of France by Procurement of the Jesuits, occasion'd a Consternation in the Court of England; and the King in a Pannick commanded by Proclamation, all Romish Priests and Jesuits to quit the Kingdom, and all Papists not to come within ten Miles of London. The Oath of Allegiance was also reviv'd, and solemnly taken by both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty's great Satisfaction. This Session of Parliament began the 16th of October; and, says Wilson, "though they were willing to secure their Allegiance to the King out of Piety, yet they were so stout, which he term'd obstinate, that they

A.D. 1610.
Prince Henry.

P. 28.

His Father
jealous of
him.

Elfing. 84.

His Reign
mean, and
without
Action.
P. 50.

Hist. Rays
Bas.

Makes a
wretched
Bargain
with the
Dutch.

Ibid.

A.D. 1610.

A.D. 1610. " they wou'd not obey him in his Encroachments
 upon the publick Liberty, which he began then
 to practise; and the Parliament being willing to
 discover by the Light of Law and Reason what
 was the King's and what theirs, he dissolv'd them
 by Proclamation; setting forth, *That he had
 propos'd many things far differing the Graces and Fa-
 vours of former Times both in Nature and Value,
 in Expectation of a good Conclusion, not only for the
 Supply of his Necessities, but for the Ease and Free-
 dom of his Subjects; but these being the two last Ses-
 sions little taken notice of, &c.* he put an End to
 the Session. The Parliament had lately been very
 sparing of their Subsidies. They had also com-
 plain'd of his governing by Proclamations, and of
 the High Commission Court, where the Bishops ex-
 exercis'd an intolerable Tyranny; tho' *Echard* with
 his usual Judgment and Sincerity tells us, it was a
 Preservation against Popery, and a Curb to the
 Lewdness of great Men, when *Bancroft* before-
 mention'd was at the Head of it. *Wilson* judges
 otherwise of it, and lets us know why it was com-
 plain'd of in Parliament thirty Years before it was
 abolish'd. *The High Commission Court also began
 now to swell into a Grievance, every Man must
 conform to the Episcopal Way, and quit his Hold in
 Opinion or Safety. That Court was the Touchstone
 to try whether Men were Metal for their Stamp;
 and if they were not soft enough to take such Im-
 pressions as were put upon them, they were made
 malleable there, or else they could not pass current.
 This was the Beginning of that Mischiefe, which when
 it came to a full Ripeness made such a bloody Tincture
 in both Kingdoms, as never will be got out of the
 Bishops Lawne Sleeves.*

P. 46.

The Cau- sers of the Civil War. This is the main of my Design. This shews
 who were really the Cause of the Civil War, and
 all the Blood and Treasure that were consum'd in
 it; tho' the Lord *Clarendon* has in vain endeavour'd
 to impose the quite contrary upon us, and load the
 Presbyterians with what the Bishops were the Oc-
 casion of. The Thirtieth of *January* Sermons,
Cathedral Sermons, *Oxford* Lectures and Sermons
 contain little else; as contrary as it is to the plain
 Truth told us by Mr. *Wilson*, who was contem-
 porary with these things, and knew them and felt
 them, as did all good and sober Englishmen and
 Protestants.

A Speech of the King's.

Before his Majesty parted with this Parliament
 he made a Speech to them, wherein he enlarg'd
 again on the high Prerogatives of Royalty, he com-
 par'd the Power of Kings to that of the Almighty:
 " For as God can create and destroy, make and
 unmake at his Pleasure; so Kings can give Life
 and Death, judge all and be judg'd by none;
 they can exalt low things and abate high things;
 making the Subjects like Men at Chess, a Pawn
 to take a Bishop or a Knight.

To this Eloquence is added some Argument,
 which has just as much Strength as the other has
 Beauty.

" As it is Blasphemy to dispute with God, so it
 is Sedition in Subjects to dispute what a King
 might do in the Height of his Power".

The very Essence of Wisdom this, to talk thus
 before the most august and the most free Assem-
 bly in the World; a great Body of Nobility and
 Gentry well read in the Constitution, and very te-
 nacious of their Liberties, to be thus documented
 by a Prince, who in seven Years Reign had ac-
 quir'd no other Glory than the Conquests his Mi-
 nisters Spiritual and Temporal had made for him
 in the Star-Chamber and High Commission Courts.
 Our historical Archdeacon assures us, this Speech
 had many obliging Expressions; but his Majesty
 wou'd not stay to have the good Effects of the
 Obligations he had laid upon them. He informs
 us also that the Parliament pass'd many good Laws.
 Dr. *Fuller* speaking of this very Session says, *It
 may be found in the Records, though it be lost in the
 Statute Books, because nothing was enacted.*

P. 56.

About this time dy'd Archbishop *Bancroft*, to
 whose Pride and Severity may be imputed all the
 Evils which occasion'd the Murmurs in this and
 the following Reigns: The Prelates, who after-
 wards follow'd his Example, continuing the Gri-
 vances in the High Commission Court as long as the
 Tyranny of that Court lasted, which was as long
 as it had a Being. Dr. *George Abbot* succeeded
 him in the See of *Canterbury*, and by his Piety and
 Prudence put a Stop for a while to the Rage of
 Persecution, and a Calm succeeded the Storm in
 which perish'd so many religious and conscientious
 Protestants.

A.D. 1610.
 Dr. Abbot
 Archbishop
 of Canter-
 bury.

By the Death of *William Duke of Cleves* and
Juliers, the Succession to his Estates was like to
 have caus'd a general War in Europe. The House
 of *Austria* espousing the Cause of the Elector of
Saxony, who pretended a Right to it by Virtue of
 a dormant Grant from the Emperor. Accord-
 ingly the Archduke *Leopold*, Governor of the Spanish
Netherlands, seiz'd the City of *Juliers* in Prejudice
 of the Rights of the Elector of *Brandenburg* and
 Duke of *Newburgh*, who both had Pretensions to
 the Succession of *Cleves*. *Mary de Medicis*, then
 Queen Regent of *France*, was advis'd to support
 the Pretensions of *Brandenburg* and *Newburgh* in
 Opposition to *Saxony*, who was supported by the Em-
 peror. The States of the United Provinces were
 jealous of any new Accession of Power to the
 Crown of *Spain* in their Neighbourhood, and
 therefore declar'd for *Brandenburg* and *Newburgh*.
 King *James*, who had never yet suffer'd his mili-
 tary Sword to be drawn in any Quarrel, cou'd not
 in Honour let two Protestant Princes, *Brandenburg*
 and *Newburgh*, be oppress'd, when the States had
 so generously offer'd to assist them. Thus was his
 Majesty drawn into a kind of War, which lasted
 but a few Weeks: For *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*,
 with the Assistance of the English and French
 Troops, invested the City of *Juliers* the 18th of
July, and had it surrender'd to him the first of
September. Sir *Edward Cecil*, Brother to the Earl
 of *Salisbury*, commanded 4000 English at that
 Siege, who behav'd with great Gallantry very much
 to the Honour of the Nation. Sir *Hatton Cheek*
 was Lieutenant-General, between whom and one
 of his Captains Sir *Thomas Dutton* there happen'd
 a Dispute, which ended in a Duel on *Calais* Sands,
 where Sir *Hatton Cheek* dy'd of his Wounds, and
 Sir *Thomas Dutton* with much Difficulty recover'd
 of his. After the Surrender of *Juliers*, the Prin-
 ces of *Germany* met at *Cologne* to accommodate
 that Affair. The French Ambassador assisted at
 this Congress, but the King of *England* was not
 concern'd in it. And indeed considering the little
 Good that came of it, his Honour was not touch'd
 by losing that Negotiation.

Cleves and
 Juliers.

Vaffor.

In this Year a Design was set on foot to erect a
 College at *Chelsea*, for a Provost and twenty Fel-
 lows, who were to employ their Studies in contro-
 versial Learning, especially in the Controversy be-
 tween Papists and Protestants. The College was
 built on a Piece of Ground call'd *Thame-Shot*, con-
 taining about six Acres, then in Possession of *Charles
 Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*, who sold it for a Re-
 serv'd Rent of 7l. 10s. a Year. The King laid
 the first Stone, and gave all the Timber requisite
 for the Building, which was fetch'd out of *Windsor-
 Forest*. His Majesty also named the first Provost
 and Fellows; and the Parliament pass'd an Act to
 enable them to dig a Trench out of the River *Lee*,
 to erect Engines, Water-Works, &c. to furnish the
 City of *London* and Suburbs with Water; the Re-
 venue of which was to be for their perpetual Susten-
 tation. There was a Brief for a Collection in all
 the Parishes of *England* to carry on the Work, and
 Dr. *Matthew Sutcliffe* Dean of *Exeter* gave 300l.
 a Year, and 4000l. in Money to endow it, which
 he rais'd by Contributions. Others also contribu-
 ted largely to this Foundation, yet not sufficient

College at
 Chelsea.

A.D. 1610. to make it lasting. His Majesty named the following Persons to be the first Provost and Fellows.

Provost
and Fel-
lows.

Dr. Matthew Sutcliff Dean of Exeter, Provost.

F E L L O W S.

Dr. Overal afterwards Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Morton afterwards Bishop of Durham, Dr. Abbot afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Howson afterwards Bishop of Durham, Dr. Smith afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Fotherby afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. John Spencer President of Corpus Christi College, Dr. William Covitt, Dr. Richard Field Canon of Windsor, Dr. John Layfield, Dr. Benjamin Charrier, Dr. John Boys, Dr. Richard Brett, Dr. Peter Lilye, Dr. Francis Burley, William Hellyar Archdeacon of Barnstable, John White Fellow of Manchester-College: William Cambden Clarendieux, John Haywood L. L. D. Historians.

K. James
connives at
Popery.

The best Reason that is given for the Obstructions this Design met with, is in Fuller, *The Patriots in Parliament suspected that this College would be too much Courtier*; and tho' they consented to an Act in its Favour, they retarded Peoples Charities when they return'd into their Countries by their private Instructions: And truly when we consider how forward the Clergy were to advance the Authority Royal above the Laws, the Gentlemen of England might well be jealous of a Society set apart to preach and write in a manner as the King would have them; or, what was still worse, as Bancroft, the main Instrument in this Matter, shou'd inspire them. Fuller adds, *They conceiv'd this Foundation superfluous, to keep Men to confute Popish Opinions by Writings, whilst the Maintainers of them were every where conniv'd at and countenanc'd, and the Penal Lawes not put in any effectual Execution against them.* Thus do we see that his Majesty's consummate Wisdom and Care of the Protestant Religion, lay under Suspicion in those very Instances where he intended they shou'd be most conspicuous. This College fell into Confusion even in its Infancy, and at last was so entirely dissolv'd, that in the Provostship of Dr. Daniel Featly, the third Provost, a good Part of the Estate with which it was endow'd by Dr. Sutcliff, was decreed back by the Lord-Keeper Coventry, to Mr. Halce, Sutcliff's Heir general; and the Lord Munson, who marry'd the Countess Dowager of Nottingham, on whom the Site of the College was settled for Life, sued for it, and 40 Years after recover'd it. He sold it to Duke Hamilton, by whose Delinquency it fell to the State, and consequently to the Crown, and is now the Spot on which stands the Royal Hospital of Invalids, the most magnificent and beautiful of any in Europe.

Now it was that the East-India Company got their Patten to be renew'd and enlarg'd. They built a great Merchant-Ship of 1200 Ton, call'd the *Trade's-Increase*. The King and Prince Henry went aboard it, and were entertain'd by Sir Thomas Smith Governor of the Company, to whom his Majesty gave a fair Chain of Gold, with a Jewel, in which was his Picture. This Ship was cast away on the Coast of Batavia in her first Voyage. The King himself built also a very large Ship, the largest that had till then been seen in England. As poor as these Events are, they are far from being the poorest in the Composition of King James's History.

His History
poor.

There were at this Time three Courts kept with the utmost Splendor, and at an immense Charge; the King's at Whitehall, the Queen's at Somerset-House, which the King would have had to be called Denmark-House, the Prince's at St. James's. The latter was so frequented by the most noble Youth, that it appear'd always as full, but more gay than the King's.

A.D. 1611.

His Majesty was never without a Favourite, whom he was wont to caress and fondle in a

manner which gave Offence to the most religious and chaste of his Attendants. Sir Edward Peyton says, *He would tumble and kiss them as a Mistress.* The Earl of Montgomery, younger Brother to the Earl of Pembroke, was the first English Man who was in special Favour with him; as it is said his elder Brother the Earl of Pembroke was with the Queen. He made Montgomery Knight of the Garter, and 'tis thought he might have got much more by the Affection the King had for him, if he had more minded his Majesty's Pleasures, and his own less. Hay Earl of Carlisle took Advantage of Montgomery's Negligence, and supply'd his Place always when he was wanting: However, the King never shook off Montgomery, but to his Death gave him as many Marks of his Good-will as the Earl seem'd to desire.

It is a general Opinion, that the Scots gather'd in the Harvest of his Majesty's Bounty, and that the English had only the Gleanings; which however is so far from Truth, that three or four English Peculators in this Reign, got more than the whole Scots Nation, excepting the Earl of Dunbar, who in nine Years time did not receive above 20000 Pounds in ready Money. The Earl of Montgomery, and the Earl of Dunbar, were both forced to give way this Year to a new Favourite Robert Car a young Scots Gentleman, who came into England with the King as one of his Pages; but when, according to the Custom of the English Court, Footmen were appointed to walk by the King's Coach instead of Pages, Robert Car went to travel, and liv'd some Years in France, where he acquir'd that Elegance of Breeding, which had a particular Charm with King James. Mr. Wilson says he was a Man of no Parts nor Birth; in which he injures him, for he was of so ancient a Family in Scotland as most in that Kingdom, and his Father had so eminently serv'd the Crown, that when, in the Catastrophe of his Fortune, he apply'd to his Majesty for Relief, he makes use of his Father's Services as an Argument to plead for him. As his Parts were not the most extensive, so neither were they contemptible for his Age, being scarce twenty Years old when the King took him first into Favour upon this Occasion. On the Coronation-Day, there was a Tournament to be at the Tiltyard, and Mr. Car riding in with Sir John Preston, Lord Dingwell, his Horse fell with him, and broke his Leg. He was immediately carry'd to Mr. Rider's House at Charing-Cross; and the King being inform'd of the Accident, went thither to visit him as soon as the Tilting was over. Pity has a very easy Passage to Love. Mr. Car's Youth, Beauty, soft Temper, and engaging Air, so won the Heart of the King, that he continu'd to visit him daily, and took all Care for his Recovery, which was retarded by the great Number of People of Quality, who, following the King's Example, crowded to see him, and make their court to him. His Majesty commanded a Restraint upon those Visits, that he might not spend his Spirits. He was no sooner well, than he appear'd at Whitehall, as it were, in the Arms of the King, and all the Courtiers ador'd this Rising-Sun, who was knighted and made Gentleman of the Bedchamber. His Majesty himself instructed him in the Latin Tongue, which he attain'd so perfectly as to write the King's Dispatches in it. His good Fortune was the less envy'd, for that he shew'd more Kindness to the English than to his own Countrymen, having no Friends nor Servants but were English. The Earl of Dunbar dying soon after, Sir Robert Car was made Lord High-Treasurer of Scotland. This Staff was follow'd by the Garter of England, with the Title of Baron of Branspeth and Viscount Rochester; Charles Duke of York, and the Earl of Arundel, being at the same time invest'd with that most noble Order to do the Favourite the more Honour. The Person for whom

A.D. 1611.

P. 31.

His Mini-
oni.

Sir A. W.
p. 58.

Robert
Car's Rise.

A.D. 1611. whom the Viscount Rochester had most Affection, was Mr. Thomas Overbury, a Gentleman of the Temple, who left the Study of the Law to share the Fortunes of the new Favourite, whose quick Rise, and the King's immoderate Love for him, cou'd not but raise the Indignation of Prince Henry, which was inflam'd by a little Jealously, that Rochester was better than himself with the young Countess of Essex, of whom we shall say much in the Sequel of our History.

The King complains of Vorstius's Book.

It was in this Year that King James met with a Book of Conradus Vorstius, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, intitl'd *Exegetis Apologetica*, and dedicated to the States. His Majesty wou'd not lose this Opportunity to shew his Skill in Divinity; and having read that Book, he dispatch'd his Commands to Sir Ralph Winwood his Ambassador at the Hague, to complain to the States-General of certain blasphemous Tenents and atheistical Notions which he had discover'd in it; and to desire that he might not be elected Divinity Reader in the University of Leyden. It seems Vorstius had publickly recanted his sceptical Opinions, and had been a Professor fifteen Years in the County of Tecklenburgh in Germany, which first threw off the Papal Yoke in the Empire. He was recommended by the Landgrave of Hesse; and the States wrote to the King, that the University of Leyden had sent for him out of his own Country by that Prince's Recommendation. Prince Maurice also seconded the States Letter, and Vorstius was advanc'd to the Professor's Chair, notwithstanding his Majesty threaten'd to separate from the Union with the Dutch Protestant Churches if he was chosen. Sir Ralph Winwood deliver'd to the States-General a Memorial against the Election of Vorstius; which having no more Effect than his other Negotiations, he made a solemn Protestation, which clos'd thus: *His Majesty is so sensible of the Violation of his Alliance with them, that if Reparation be not speedily made, he will further declare it in Print;* which accordingly he did, and fell upon Vorstius's Books, with as much Success as he had fall'n upon Bellarmine. The Professor kept his Chair to his Death, which happen'd not long after. Men of Sense thought this unequal Controversy below the Majesty of a Monarch; and had it succeeded better, 'twou'd have been but a poor Triumph for the King of Great-Britain to have been too hard for a German Pedant.

Sand. p. 363.

Wightman burnt.

King James came off more gloriously in an Affair of the like Nature in England; for one Edward Wightman having broach'd erroneous Doctrine in Warwickshire and other Places, he was prosecuted by Neile Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, who was afterwards question'd in Parliament, and canonically condemn'd by him. Upon which the King issu'd his Warrant to the Sheriff of Litchfield to burn Wightman in that City, which was executed. About the same Time Dr. King Bishop of London, prosecuted one Bartholomew Legat in like manner, and condemn'd him according to the Canons of Holy Church: Upon which a like Warrant was directed by the King to the Sheriffs of London, Sir Edward Barkham and John Smith Esq; to burn Legat in Smithfield, and he was burnt accordingly. Fuller tells us, *He was excellently skill'd in Scripture, and his Conversation very unblameable.* How preposterous, how monstrous does it seem for a Prince, whose Conversation was very blameable, to put a Man to Death for a Principle only, which he himself had often discours'd with him about? Legat deny'd the Divinity of our Saviour in the Terms of the Athanasian and other Creeds. When he was brought before Bishop King and his Brethren in the Consistory of St. Paul's, he disown'd their Authority, which, tho' a heinous Crime, did not deserve Burning. He continu'd firm in his Opinions, and his Death was not so well taken by the People, as to induce the King to let the

And Legat

P. 62.

Bishops make more such Examples. He prefer'd, A.D. 1611. says Fuller, that Hereticks hereafter, tho' condemn'd, should silently and privately waste themselves away in Prison, rather than to amuse others with the Solemnity of a publick Execution. Thomas Sutton's Hospital may be thought too particular an Event for a General History; yet the general Good that has accrud by it to Persons of all Ranks in this Kingdom, renders it worthy our Remembrance. This Gentleman Thomas Sutton Esq; was in his younger Years a Soldier; he afterwards turn'd Merchant, and the Tradition is, that he found in the Hold of a Pyrate Ship purchas'd by him, a prodigious Sum of Money, which by Usury produc'd that vast Treasure which enabled him to endow his Hospital with twenty Manors, to the Value of 8000 l. a Year, besides 13000 l. which he paid the Earl of Suffolk for the Charter-house, and 10000 l. he laid out in Building. His Foundation was for 80 decay'd Gentlemen, Soldiers and Merchants, and 40 Boys; in whose School has been bred some of the most eminent Wits and Scholars of our Age. The Founder dy'd the 12th Day of December 1611, which is an Anniversary Festival at the Charter-house.

Sutton's Hospital.

This Year, tho' Wilson and after him Echard Knights Baronets establish'd. The Pretence was to raise Money to maintain Forces in the Province of Ulster in Ireland. Every Gentleman who purchas'd this Honour, paid down 1095 Pounds in three yearly Payments, for the Maintenance of thirty Foot Soldiers; and it has been customary for those Knights who have since been admitted into this Order by the King's Favour without Money, to have a Receipt endors'd on their Patent for the above-mention'd Sum, to be appropriated to the same Uses; and for Want of such Endorsement, King Charles II. in Resentment of some Misbehaviour, as'twasterm'd, of certain Baronets, compell'd them to pay the 1095 Pounds, as particularly Sir Thomas Pope Blount of Hertfordshire. Of the first ten Baronets, no less than six Families are now enobled. Sir Richard Molineux Lord Viscount Molineux in Ireland; Sir Thomas Mansel Lord Mansel; Sir Francis Leak Earl of Scarisdale; Sir Thomas Pelham Duke of Newcastle; Sir John St. John Lord St. John; Sir John Savage Earl Rivers. The King promis'd to make but 200, which induc'd many honourable Persons to buy this Knighthood, it being to be hereditary in their Families; and every Knight was to possess Lands to the Value of at least 1000 Pounds a Year; but both the Number and Value of the Knights were soon broke in upon by King Charles I. tho' King James did not exceed 204. These Knights brought him in 200000 Pounds, which enabled him to be so prodigal in his Bounty to the Viscount Rochester, to whom he gave 20000 Pounds at one time, and would have given him another 20000 Pounds, had it not been for Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and Lord-Treasurer, who imputing this Prodigality to his Majesty's not knowing the just Value of so many English Pounds, a twelfth Part of which would make 20000 Pounds Scotch, so order'd the Matter, that the King shou'd pass thro' the Room where the Treasure was laid on four Tables, 5000 Pounds on a Table, to be carry'd thence to Car. His Majesty started at the Sight of so much Money, and ask'd *What it was to do?* The Treasurer reply'd, *'Tis your Gift to Sir Robert Car: Swounds, Mon, the King's usual Oath, 'tis too much, let 5000 Pounds serve his Turn.* His Majesty rais'd Money by selling all Sorts of Honours. A Knight-Bachelor 300 Pounds, an English Baron 10000 Pounds, an English Viscount 15000 Pounds, an English Earl 20000 Pounds. Vast Sums were collected by Compositions for defective Titles and Astart-Lands, for Prince Henry's Knighthood, and the Princess Elizabeth's Marriage, by Benevolences, Privy-Seals never repaid, Sales of Mannors,

Mean Ways of raising Money.

Coke, p. 66.

A.D. 1611. Manors and Fee-Farm Rents, which were wast-
ed as extravagantly as they were acquir'd illegally.
The King being one Day in the Gallery at *White-*
hall with no body near him but *Henry Rich* after-
wards Earl of *Holland*, and *James Maxwell* of the
Bedchamber, saw some Porters pass by with 3000 *l.*
for the Privy Purse; *Rich* whispering *Maxwell*, his
Majesty turn'd upon them, and cry'd, *What said*
he, Maxwell? The latter reply'd, *He wisb'd that*
Money was his. The King said, *Marry (shalt thou*
have it, Harry; and commanded the Porters to
carry it to his Lodgings, with this Expression, *You*
think you have a great Purchase, but I am better
pleas'd with giving than you can be with receiving
it.

A.D. 1612.
L. Sanquir
hang'd.

The Execution of the Lord *Sanquir*, a *Scots*
Peer, for the Murder of *John Turner* a Fencing-
Maister, is recorded as a transcendent Act of Ju-
stice; and we will not lessen the Merit of it, by
imagining that the Insolence of the *Scots*, which
was then a crying Grievance, contributed to the
fulfilling of it on the Person of this Lord who was
hang'd. *Sanquir* was at *Turner's* Fencing-School
some Years before, and valuing himself on his own
Skill thought to put an Affront on *Turner's*. The
latter parry'd so dextrously with the Baron, that he
push'd out one of his Eyes. The Lord *Sanquir*
being some time after at the Court of *France*, King
Henry IV. ask'd him, *How he lost his Eye?* The
Baron reply'd, *'Twas done by a Sword.* And does
the Man live who did it? said the King. Which
so awaken'd the Lord *Sanquir's* Revenge, that
coming to *England*, himself, one *Gray* and *Carlisle*,
two of his Countrymen, went to *Turner's* House
in *Blackfriars*, and with Pistols shot him dead.
They were all three taken, try'd, condemn'd, and
executed; the Lord *Sanquir* at *Westminster-Hall*
Gate, and the others at *Tyburn*. One *Ramsay*, a
Scotsman, had lately swich'd the Earl of *Montgo-*
merie at a Horse-race, and he tamely bore it, tho'
he was much intreated to resent the Affront by
the *English* who were then in Company. *Sander-*
son assures us, *Montgomery* by his Tameness lost
the Favour of King *James*, who, says he, *hated a*
Coward. Which are both false: the King did not
hate a Coward, nor did *Montgomery* lose his Fa-
vour.

Car's
Friendship
to Overbu-
ry.

We have mention'd the great Friendship and
Intimacy between Sir *Robert Car*, now Viscount
Rochester, and Sir *Thomas Overbury*; for he had
now receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood, and was
look'd upon as a Man who cou'd do any thing at
Court by means of his Friend *Car*. Accordingly
Addresses were made to him by Men of much
superior Condition; and the most Noble and
Powerful thought they cou'd not make a better
Use of their Interest than by obliging Sir *Thomas*
Overbury. His Father, *Nicholas Overbury*, Esq;
was made a Judge in *Wales*, and himself was of-
fer'd a Post of Honour and Profit; which he
sighted, as having Aims higher than any of those
Offers, his Friendship with *Rochester* making him
in a manner Master of all the Places the King had
to dispose of. The Earl of *Salisbury* to strengthen
his Family had made an Alliance with the House
of *Suffolk*, by marrying his eldest Son the Lord
Cranburn to the Lady *Catharine Howard*, eldest
Daughter to the Earl of *Suffolk*. The youngest
Daughter, Lady *Frances Howard*, was about thir-
teen Years of Age, and *Salisbury* to ingratiate him-
self with the young Earl of *Effex*, then almost
fourteen Years old, to whose Father he had been
a fatal Enemy, negotiated a Match between him
and the Lady *Frances*; which was accomplish'd,
and the Earl went to travel, till both himself and
his Countess were of a mature Age to consummate
their Nuptials. The young Lady was in her Bloom,
and her Beauty attract'd the Eyes of all the Youth
of the Court. It made an Impression on the
Heart of Prince *Henry*: but she was too fond of

Earl of
Effex mar-
ries Lady
Frances
Howard.

making Conquests, to preserve that glorious one. *A.D. 1612.*
The Countess, who was under the Influence of
her Mother, appear'd in all her Charms to capti-
vate the Favourite *Rochester*, by whose Interest she
and her Family flatter'd themselves they shou'd
reap more solid Advantages than by a Dream of
being belov'd by the Prince; who observing she
met *Rochester* in his Approaches to her, bestow'd
on the Lady a Portion of the Contempt he had
conceiv'd for her Lover. As he was once dan-
cing with the Ladies, the young Countess letting
her Glove fall, it was taken up and presented to
him by a Courtier, who thought it wou'd have
been an agreeable Present; but the Prince refus'd
it, saying, *I will not have what another has stretch'd.*
The Earl of *Effex* was three or four Years upon
his Travels, and then return'd with impatient De-
fire to possess that Beauty which was his own by
the Laws of God and Man. He found her so
little inclin'd to receive his Love, that she industri-
ously avoided him, as one resolv'd to be for ever
a Stranger to his Bed. The injur'd Lord took it
for a maiden Shiness, which wou'd wear off with
Time; but his Impatience thinking every Minute
an Age till she knew the Duty of a Wife, he apply'd
to her Father the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was not ac-
quainted with her Undutifulness, and desir'd him
to reduce his Daughter to conjugal Obedience, he
having no Distrust of his Ability or Vigor in the
Performance of the Duty of a Husband. The Earl
of *Suffolk* oblig'd the Countess of *Effex* to cohabit
with him; who soon after their Cohabitation was
feiz'd with a Distemper of a poisonous Nature,
which brought him so near the Grave, that it had
like to have been his Marriage-Bed. This Poison
was suppos'd to be given him by Procurement
of the Countess, it having a Quality which disab-
led him in the Enjoyment of her, that she might re-
serve herself entirely for the Viscount *Rochester*,
now Earl of *Somerset*. Her wicked Counsellor
and Assistant was one Mrs. *Turner*, a Doctor of
Physick's Widow, who carry'd her to one Dr.
Foreman, a pretended Conjurer, who by waxen
Images, Philters and Drugs promis'd to captivate
and invigorate *Somerset*, and at the same time de-
bilitate *Effex*. But in the midst of all her wanton
Hopes, she is flung into the deepest Despair by
being carry'd down to *Chartley Castle* in *Stafford-*
shire, where it was thought she might be wear'd
from the Follies of the Town, and reconcil'd to a
very fond and a very faithful Husband; which had
a contrary Effect. *Chartley* was 100 Miles from
her Happiness. 'Twas in the pleafantest Season
of the Year; yet she shut herself up in her Chamber,
and liv'd in perpetual Darknes. She never stirr'd
out of it but in the Dead of Night; and her Be-
haviour to her Husband was such as might make
him as weary of her as she was of him; yet he
bore all her Sights without murmuring for some
Months; but at last his Patience was quite worn
out, and he wou'd break out into a little Passion;
which she presently represented to her Father and
Uncle the Earl of *Northampton*, as an intolerable
Sowreness of Temper, which made her Life a Bur-
then to her, and render'd her the most unhappy
of Women. Her wicked Confidants furnish'd her
with Compositions to make her Husband impo-
tent; and when the Effects shew'd their Power,
she seem'd ready to admit of his Embraces; but
as soon as by Absence he recover'd Spirits, she
grew refractory, and wou'd not suffer him to en-
joy her. Thus did they live together for some
time; he in the Torment of slighted Love, and
she in the Rage of adulterous Lust: In which sad
State we must a while leave them to continue our
History.

The King had been ten Years in *England* before
he remov'd his Mother's Corpse from *Peterbo-*
rough to *Westminster Abbey*, where she was bury'd
with much Pomp and Expence. If she was real-
ly

She poisons
him.

Hates him.

Mary Q.
of Scots
bury'd
with Pomp.

A.D. 1612. ly privy to the Murther of his Father, as is generally allow'd, there was no Reason for such expensive Honours to be paid to her Remains, which had been about 30 Years rotting in a Grave. Many Noblemen, and especially Bishops, assisted at this Ceremony. Her having been a bigotted Papist, an inveterate Enemy to the belov'd Queen *Elizabeth*, a marry'd Wife to the Murtherer of her Husband, and a contracted Wife to another in the Life-time of that Murtherer, her dying without any Signs of Contrition for so many enormous Crimes, were of no Weight with these Prelates against her being Mother to the King, who had by Inspiration pleaded their Cause so stoutly at *Hampton-Court*.

Shirley the Persian Ambassador.

On the 26th of *June* arriv'd at *London* Sir *Robert Shirley*, Ambassador from the King of *Persia* to King *James*. There were three Brothers, Sons of Sir *Thomas Shirley* of *Wiston* in *Suffex*, who were all three knighted, as Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Anthony Shirley*, and this Sir *Robert Shirley*. The elder Brother Sir *Thomas* was the last of the three who put themselves upon Adventures in foreign Parts. The second Brother Sir *Anthony Shirley* went first, and serv'd with Sir *Philip Sidney* in the *Low Countries*. He was knighted by the Earl of *Essex* in *Ireland*, made a Voyage to *America*, enter'd into the Service of the King of *Spain*, who gave him a considerable Command in his Fleet; and King *James* recalling him, he disobey'd his Mandate, and was number'd among the *Englisb* Fugitives. He behav'd well in the *German Wars*, for which the Emperor created him a Count of the *Holy Empire*. He also travell'd into *Persia*, and pass'd thro' *Russia* to the *Caspian Sea*, which himself wrote an Account of. He liv'd in *Spain* to a great Age. Sir *Robert Shirley* was taken into Favour by the King of *Persia*, who gave him his Niece in Marriage; and that she turn'd Christian, appears by admitting a Son she was deliver'd of in *England* to be baptiz'd, the Queen being Godmother and Prince *Henry* Godfather. Sir *Thomas Shirley* the elder Brother hearing of the Success of his two younger Brothers in their Travels, left his aged Father and a fair Inheritance in *Suffex* to share with them in the like Honours. But his Fortune was not equal with theirs, and his Voyages only qualify'd him to write a Book of them. The Travels of these three Knights were the Subject of a Comedy, entitul'd, *The Travels of three English Brothers*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Anthony*, and Sir *Robert Shirley*. The latter before he came to *England* had been sent Ambassador from the King of *Persia* to *Sigismund* King of *Poland*. He staid about a Year in *England*, and then leaving his Son behind him took shipping with his Lady for *Persia*. The Grandson of Sir *Thomas Shirley* was that Dr. *Shirley*, whose Dispute with Sir *John Fogg* caus'd a Division between the Two Houses of Parliament in King *Charles* the IId's Reign. Archdeacon *Echard*, who is very fond of Stories of Ghosts, Apparitions, Blazing Stars, and every thing that has the marvellous in it, speaks of these three Brothers, as of Persons whose Adventures were an Ornament to the History of King *James*, whereas they are to be noted for nothing but their rambling Heads. The *Dutch* who judg'd soberly of Sir *Robert Shirley*, look'd upon him as a Tool of the King of *Spain's*, in whose Court he had made some Stay before he arriv'd in *Holland*; where he gave out he had a Commission from the King of *Persia* to treat with the *States General* about a War with the *Turks*; but *Shirley* producing no Letters from the *Sophi Schah Abas I.* authorizing him to enter into a Treaty with them, the *States*, says *Le Clerc*, refus'd to give him Audience, suspecting he was suborn'd by the *Spaniards*, tho' *Shirley* brought a Wife with him whom he had marry'd in *Persia*.

We are now coming to the End of a Life,

which was the most valuable to the *Englisb* of any other in the World, that of their darling Prince *Henry*, whose admirable Qualities, as they endear'd him to all good *Englisbmen*, so they render'd him terrible to their Enemies. He was adorn'd with Wisdom and Piety above his Years, had Strength and Agility of Body equal to any Man, was of an heroick Disposition, and an Hater of Flatterers and Flatteries; which made him reject the Courtship of *Rochester* with Disdain, not once giving him any Countenance, or admitting him into his Company. We are told as an Instance of his Piety, that being once a Stag-hunting, and the Stag when he was almost spent crossing the Road where a Butcher was travelling with his Dog, the Dog kill'd the Stag, which was so large the Butcher cou'd not carry it off. When the Prince and his Company came up, the latter did what they cou'd to incense him against the Butcher; to whom the Prince mildly reply'd, *What if the Butcher's Dog kill'd the Stag, the Butcher cou'd not help it.* The Company said, *If your Father had been so serv'd, he wou'd have sworn so that no Man cou'd have endur'd it.* The Prince answer'd, *All the Pleasure in the World is not worth an Oath.* If *Echard* cou'd produce so pious an Expression that came from the Mouths of his *Beckets*, his *Lauds*, and his other Saints, we shou'd have a much better Opinion of them than we have at present. This being a tacit Rebuke of the King his Father's prophane swearing, to which he was extremely addicted, was thought to have made ill Blood on the King's Side. The *French* Ambassador coming once to take his Leave of the Prince, and asking what Service he had to command him to his Master? *Tell him*, says the Prince, *what I am doing.* He was then tossing a Pike. 'Twas a generous Saying of his concerning Sir *Walter Raleigh*, for whom he had a high Esteem, *No King but my Father wou'd keep such a Bird in a Cage.* His Court was more frequented than his Majesty's, and by another Sort of Men, the most religious and worthy Noblemen and Gentlemen of their Years, agreeable to his own; which the King being often told of, he was heard to say, *Will he bury me alive?* The Prince, as all generous Minds ever do, abhor'd Persecution for Conscience Sake, and had Compassion for the *Puritans*, who in Return express'd a grateful Sense of his Favour; and this is one Reason why his Highness's immature Death is not so much suspected of foul Play by the rigid Ecclesiasticks, as by Protestant Writers. Some who knew the Offence the Prince had taken at *Rochester*, and *Rochester's* Repentment of it, talk'd hardly of it, as if *Car* had got him poison'd, being afraid of his martial Spirit, tho' temper'd with as much Virtue as ever dwelt in human Breast. Sir *James Elphington* observing Prince *Henry's* Aversion to *Car* offer'd to kill him; but the Prince reprov'd him with equal Piety and Gallantry, *If there was a Cause to justify it I wou'd do it myself.* And he said once upon some Offence given him by *Rochester*, *If ever I am King I will not leave one of that Family unpunish'd;* meaning the *Howards*, who were of the Cabal with *Rochester*, and under Engagements to support one another against all Opposers.

His Highness was not ill above five Days. Some say he was poison'd with a Bunch of Grapes; others, that it was with the Scent of poison'd Gloves. After his Death he was open'd by the King's Command. The Physicians present at the Dissection were Sir *Theodore Maybern*, Dr. *Atkins*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Palmer*, Dr. *Gifford*, and Dr. *Butler*, who reported that his Liver was pale, the Gall full of Wind, the Spleen black, the Lungs spotted with Corruption, the Midriff blackish, the Head full of Blood and Water, which was given out to clear the Suspicion of Poison; as if, says *Wilson*, no Venom cou'd produce such Effects. Sir *A. W.* writes, Prince

A.D. 1612. Prince Henry's Death.

Coke, 71;

P. 84: Henry

A.D. 1612. Henry dy'd not without vehement Suspicion of Poison; and I wish I cou'd say Suspicion only. Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice, said on the Bench, God knows what became of that sweet Babe Prince Henry; but I know somewhat. " Surely, says Sir P. 123. " A. W. searching the Cabinets concerning Overbury's Murther, he lighted on some Papers that spake plain in that which was ever whisper'd, which had he gone on in a gentle way wou'd have fall'n in of themselves not to have been prevented; but this Folly of his Tongue stopp'd the Breath of the Discovery of that so foul a Murder, which, I fear, cries still for Vengeance".

P. 27. Sir Edward Peyton: Prince Henry falls mortally sick of a suppos'd Fever, but not without Suspicion of Poison. And as to the Dissection; When he was cut up to be inbalm'd, his Brain was Liver-bu'd and putrify'd; an Argument of Poison as was affirm'd by a most learned Physician Dr. Butler of Cambridge. Welwood judging by the Opinion of Mayerne and the other Doctors is doubtful in this Matter, but owns it was the general Rumour at that time that this Prince was poison'd; and adds, P. 20. " Whatever was in it, there is yet in Print a Sermon preach'd at St. James's upon the Dissolution of his Family, which boldly insinuated some such thing. And also Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England, in his Speech at the Trial of the Earl of Somerset, had some Reflections upon the Intimacy of that Lord with Sir Thomas Overbury, which seem to point that way, in so much that there were several Expressions left out of the printed Copy that were in the Speech". Bishop Burnet writes thus of it: Colonel Titus assur'd me, that he had it from King Charles the First's own Mouth; He was well assur'd he was poison'd by the Earl of Somerset's Means. Whether his Aversion to Popery hasten'd his Death or not, I cannot tell. I think this melancholy Incident is the most fairly represented of any thing in Mr. Echard's History; for notwithstanding Prince Henry's Aversion to Popery and Affection to the Puritans, he seems to allow the Suspicion of his being poison'd to be just.

The Death of this hopeful Prince made the whole Kingdom but as one House of Mourning, Whitehall the King his Father's Court only excepted. Never was Grief so sincere and so general, tho' his Majesty, according to Wilson, commanded that no body shou'd come near him in Mourning. His Highness dy'd the 6th of November, and was carry'd in a Hearse to Westminster the 7th of December, the Pomp of the Funeral being fully compleated by the People's Tears and Lamentations.

P. 63. Vassor informs us, that France was not sorry to hear of Prince Henry's Death; he seeming rather to have the Inclinations of the antient English Kings, than of the Kings of the Scottish Race. Thus we see how happy Foreigners thought us in the Government of the Royal House we are writing of. Vassor again: One can but very badly interpret the Sentiments which the Prince shew'd, when he heard of the Death of Henry IV. I have lost, cry'd he, my second Father. The common Opinion is, that young Henry had resolv'd to steal from the English Court, and go learn the Trade of War in France, as soon as that King march'd at the Head of his Army. Dr. Welwood explains this Matter farther: " I have seen some Papers that make it more than probable, that Prince Henry was not only acquainted with the Secret of Henry IV. but was engag'd in the Design for which his great Army was prepar'd". Vassor again: The Prince of Wales lamented the tragical End of Henry IV. And one of his Courtiers taking that Opportunity to tell him his Death wou'd be a Means to strengthen the King of England's Pretensions to the Crown of France; " Get you gone, you idle Flatterer, reply'd the Prince. Dare you talk to me of ma-

" king War against an Infant? I am ready to defend him against all who shall venture to attack him". Sentiments so truly heroical, that one cannot think he was inspir'd by King James. The French Author proceeds: " Some said the Father had a mind insensibly to efface the Memory of his Son, who a little before charm'd all England. Instead of taking Pains to discover the Secret of the hasty Death of the Prince, the King heap'd new Favours upon his unworthy Favourite, who was thought to be the Author of it. Shou'd I make a rash Judgment, if I shou'd say that his Majesty look'd upon himself as a Man happily rais'd from the Dead after the Death of his Son, whose Court had for some time been fuller than his own; and his saying, What will they bury me alive, was much reflected on, when the Prince of Wales dy'd a little after". This Prince's Affection to his Sister the Princess Elizabeth was no doubt the warmer for her Zeal for the Protestant Religion; as no doubt the Perverseness of his Brother Charles's Temper, and his early Bigotry caus'd the Coldness that was between them. Osborn tells us, Prince Henry wou'd often make him weep; and tell him, he shou'd be a Bishop, a Gown being the fittest to hide his Legs, subject in his Childhood to be crooked.

There was at that time in the Court of England the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who came to solemnize his Marriage with the fair and pious Princess the Lady Elizabeth, which was set a foot at first by the Encouragement Prince Henry gave it. A Marriage that has been productive of the greatest Blessing that ever happen'd to this Nation, in the Succession of that Princess's Posterity to the Throne of Great Britain, our present Sovereign King George II. being her great Grandson.

The Elector was install'd Knight of the Garter in February, together with the Proxy of Maurice Prince of Orange; and a Week after marry'd to one of the most lovely Princesses in the World. She was led to Church by her Brother Prince Charles and the Earl of Northampton both Bachelors, her Train supported by young Ladies. Her Robes were white, the Emblem of Virgin Innocence; her Hair dishevel'd, hanging down a Length upon her Back. She had a Crown of pure Gold on her Head glittering with the Lustre of Diamonds, and other precious Stones. Her Ladies were all in white, and so adorn'd with Jewels, that in the Imagination of the Spectators they form'd another milky Way. The King gave her in Marriage, Dr. Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury perform'd the Ceremony, and Dr. Montagu Bishop of Bath and Wells preach'd the Wedding Sermon. There appear'd in the enchanting Looks of the Royal Bride some sudden Flashes of Joy; which, says Echard after Wilson, were interpreted to be like Lightning before a Storm, Prefages of her future Misfortunes. She return'd from Church between the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Nottingham, two marry'd Men. The Feastings and Maskings which follow'd are, as Wilson justly observes, fitter to appear in a Prince's Court than in History. But our historical Archdeacon not thinking so justly as Wilson, has enter'd into the Detail of them, to which I refer; and shall only add, that their Highnesses the Bridegroom and Bride were splendidly treated by the City of London, who presented the beauteous Bride with a Chain of Oriental Pearl, by the Hand of the Lord Mayor Sir John Swinnerton. The English Nation in general were so well pleas'd with this Protestant Alliance, that they contributed largely to the Marriage Portion and Expence, notwithstanding the collecting it was a Revival of an old obsolete Custom. The Portion was but 40000*l.* whereas the Profusion in the Marriage Expences amounted to almost 60000*l.* The Charges of the Elector's Installment were 6000*l.* the Wedding Feast 2000*l.* the

Expence:

A.D. 1613 the Naval Fight on the *Thames* 5000 *l.* &c. Which is another Proof of the little Value the King put upon Money, tho' he made Grants of so many Monopolies to raise it; and they were such Grievances, that he was forc'd to buy back several of them of the *Grantees* at large Sums of Money to ease Trade and Traders. He paid 6000 *l.* to the Earl of *Dunbar* for the Manor of *Harrington* in *Derbyshire*, which he had before given him. He paid 1500 *l.* to Sir *Patrick Murray* for relinquishing a Grant of Concealments; 18000 *l.* to Lord *Aubigny* for relinquishing a Grant of some Lands he had given him; 6000 *l.* to the Earl of *Montgomery* for giving up his Grant of Custodies; 2000 *l.* to the Earl of *Dunbar* for relinquishing his Grant of Logwood; 20000 *l.* to Sir *Robert Car* for the Manor of *Shirburn* which he had given him; 15000 *l.* to the Earl of *Mar* for relinquishing his Grant of the Manors of *Minden* and *Chibley* in *Suffolk*; 21000 *l.* to Sir *William Wade* and others, for relinquishing their Grants for Money out of Recufants Estates; 6000 *l.* to the Lord *Sheffield* for furrendring his Grant of a Pension; 11000 *l.* to the Earl of *Nottingham* for relinquishing his Grant of Wine Licenfes; 1300 *l.* to Sir *James Hamilton* for furrendring his Grant of Customs in several Ports of *Ireland*, &c. Thus did this wife Monarch difpofe of the Treafure which he compell'd his unwilling Subjects to pay him.

About the latter End of *April*, the Elector and Electrefs were convoy'd by the Lord High Admiral the Earl of *Nottingham* with a Royal Navy to *Flufbing*. They were attended to *Heidelberg* by the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Vifcount *Lifle*, the Lord *Harrington*, and feveral Ladies and Perfons of Quality. They were receiv'd in almoft every City of *Holland*, particularly at *Amftterdam*, with a Magnificence anfwerable to the Wealth of that City. And met with the like Reception in all the Cities thro' which they pafs'd, till they arriv'd at *Heidelberg* the Elector's Capital, where the *Palatine* Court exerted themfelves to compliment the *Englifh* Princes and her Train, in a manner fuitable to the Honour that was done them by this Alliance. The Lord *Harrington* dy'd in *Germany* to the great Grief of the Princes, who had liv'd many Years under his Tutelage.

The Earl of *Salisbury* surviv'd Prince *Henry* about fix Months, and then gave way to Fate on the Road from *Bath* to *London*. He dy'd as little lamented as he had been belov'd; his beft Quality being, that he was loth any one fhould plunder his Mafter but himfelf. We have fpoken of him more at large in the preceding Pages. His Death put *Somerfet* in the entire Poffeffion of the King's Favour. He took to himfelf the Office of Secretary of State; tho' he was no more qualify'd for it by his Learning, than what ten or twenty Romances, of which his Library was compos'd, cou'd furnifh him with. He receiv'd ail Pacquets, and answer'd them himfelf without acquainting either King or Counfellors; who were doubtlefs the wifeft that cou'd be, by fuffering fuch an unfit Secretary to rule as he lifted.

Effex and his Wife. We left the Countefs of *Effex* in a languifhing Condition with her Husband at *Chartley*; whence fhe got to *London* again in a few Months, and enter'd farther ftill in the criminal Correspondence between her and *Car*. The Earl of *Northampton* her Uncle was privy to it, and fo was Sir *Thomas Overbury*; but fo far from approving of it, that he wou'd call her *Strumpet*, and her Mother *Bawd*; which Language he aggravated with many odious Circumftances to irritate him againft her; and when he underftood that *Rochefter* defign'd to marry her, he oppos'd it with his moft powerful Arguments, urging to him the Folly as well as Injuftice of his marrying a Woman who had been difloyal to a moft noble and worthy Husband. *Car's* Paffion made him deaf to his Friend's good Counfel, which

A.D. 1613 inftead of weaning him from his Miftrefs, fet him againft his Friend; and the Countefs being inform'd of *Overbury's* Endeavour to break off the intended Marriage, fhe rail'd at him with all the Rage of a lewd Woman interrupted in her Lewdnefs, and complain'd of him to her Unkle *Northampton*, who provok'd *Car* more and more daily, by the falfe Colours he put upon *Overbury's* Actions and Difcourfes, till at laft he agreed with the Earl and the Countefs to rid themfelves of him by Poifon. Mrs. *Turner*, the Countefs's Confident, told her, 'twas Pity *Overbury* fhould live after he had defam'd fo honourable a Lady; and rather than he fhould not die, fhe wou'd kill him herfelf; accordingly fhe was the Agent to treat with *Wefton*, her late Husband Dr. *Turner's* Servant, to poifon him for 200 Pounds. But the Difficulty was how to come at him; it is therefore refolv'd to get him lodg'd in the *Tower*, to remove the prefent Governor Sir *William Wade*, and in his Place put Sir *Fervas Elways*, whom they cou'd confide in. To accomplifh this, *Somerfet* and *Northampton* move in Council, that Sir *Thomas Overbury* might be fent Ambaffador to the Archduke in the *Netherlands*, which *Somerfet* was to diffwade him from accepting, and confequently he wou'd for his Difobedience be immediately fent to the *Tower*. *Somerfet* found it no hard Matter to gain his Ends upon *Overbury*, who look'd on the intended Employment as an honourable Exile, to lofe him his Intereft at Court by *Somerfet's* Means; who, pretending he cou'd not live without his Company, nor ferve his Majefty in his Offices without his Advice, encourag'd *Overbury* flatly to refufe going abroad, and for his Refufal he was fent to the *Tower*, *Somerfet* incenfing the King againft him, by representing his Difobedience as a Contempt of his Royal Perfon and Authority. The Warrant for imprifoning Sir *Thomas*, did not confine him to a Chamber, but the Earl of *Northampton* and *Car*, both of the Privy-Council, wrote to Sir *Fervas Elways*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to keep him clofe Prifoner; and Sir *Thomas Monfon* brought him a verbal Message, that he fhould fuffer no Letters, Tokens, or other Things, to be deliver'd to him. *Wefton* is recommended to Sir *Thomas Overbury* as a very proper Perfon to attend him in his Confinement. *Franklyn* was immediately taken into Employment, and having fome Knowledge of Drugs and Phyfick, his Bufinefs was to provide the Poifon, which *Wefton* was to adminifter. Mrs. *Turner* prepar'd the Tarts, Jellies, and other Vehicles, to convey the Venom, the Countefs of *Effex* and *Car* receiving daily Informations of their Proceedings, and animating them in the diabolical Defign by Rewards and Promifes. The Countefs fent the firft Poifon in a Glafs of Blue Water, which fhe wrapp'd up in a Paper, and deliver'd to *Wefton's* Son to carry to his Father, who meeting with Sir *Fervas Elways* as he was carrying it in one Hand, and Sir *Thomas Overbury's* Supper in the other, *Wefton* ask'd him, *Whether he fhould give it now?* The Lieutenant, who was not yet let into the whole Secret, demanded *What?* Sir, fays *Wefton*, *do not you know what's to be done?* *Elways*, surpriz'd at the Difcourfe, lifted the Matter out of him, and then only charg'd him to defer it for that time. The next Day *Northampton* fent for Sir *Fervas*, and communicated the Plot to him at large, but cou'd not in two Hours prevail with him to give into it; at laft, what with Flattery, and what with Threats, the Lieutenant, who had gone too far to be innocent, and knew too much to be fafe, without going farther, bound himfelf by an Oath of Secrecy, to connive at *Wefton's* and *Franklyn's* Doings; for which the Earl affur'd him he fhould receive 1000 Pounds. This is the fame Earl, on whose Shoulders, the reverend Historian tells us, King *James* laid a great Part of the Burden of the State.

A.D. 1613. Sir *Fervas Elways* returning to the Tower, visited Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and then wrote a Letter to the Earl, giving him an Account of their Conversation, closing it thus; *I see the Event, I desire it may be safely carried; what Service I may do in this, or any thing else, I will be faithful to your Lordship.* *Weston* had now 80 Pounds in Money sent him by the Countess to hasten his Operations, and Mrs. *Turner* checks him for delaying them: Upon which he furnishes himself with *Rosater*, *White Arsenick*, *Mercury Sublimate*, *Cantharides*, *Red Mercury*, and three or four more poisonous Ingredients, which were given *Overbury* with his Meats and Broths, according as the Poison cou'd be best conceal'd, and as he was advis'd by *Franklyn*. Tarts and Jellies were sent by *Somerset* to Sir *Thomas Monson*, whose Servant *Simon Masters* carry'd them to *Weston*, and he administer'd them to *Overbury*, whose Sauce, Salt, Drink, and whatever he swallow'd, had Poison in it of one kind or another. By this Means he began to grow extreme sickly, but having naturally a strong Constitution, and the Doses being in too small Portions, for their better Concealment, he seem'd to be in a likely way of getting through it, especially when conceiving a Jealousy of foul Play, he demanded to have Physick, and by the Help of a Bribe, got the Assistance of an Apothecary, who order'd him a cold Bath, advis'd him to eat sparingly, and be cautious of his Diet, which alarm'd the Conspirators, and fresh Orders were sent to the Lieutenant, to suffer no Body to have Access to him but *Weston* and his Accomplices, his own Servants not being admitted to speak with him at a Window. In this solitary languishing Condition, was the poor Gentleman left at the Mercy of Traytors and Murderers; and the Conspirators having Hopes of being soon rid of him, *Somerset* hastens to the Accomplishment of his wicked Will in the Marriage of the Countess of *Essex*. There was now no body to check them in their lawless Loves; and they cou'd not be contented with a slight Taste of future Joys, they want a Surfeit of them; and weary of a transient Fruition at *Copinger's* and other Places of Assignment, to riot in a kind of perpetual Enjoyment by the Liberties of Marriage. To effect this, there must be a Divorce for the Countess, and the shameless Pretence was the Earl of *Essex's* Impotence, the Countess herself making a Complaint in Form; and her Father the Earl of *Suffolk* join'd with her in a Petition to the King, to appoint a Court of Delegates to hear and redress her great Grievance. What follows is the most scandalous Part of this Story, which is made important by the Share his Majesty had in it, as that is a Proof of the Piety and Wisdom so much extoll'd by Archdeacon *Echard* and other Ecclesiastical Writers. A Commission was thereupon granted to Dr. *George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *John King* Bishop of *London*, one of the *Hampton-Court* Conference, Dr. *Thomas Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, another of them; Dr. *Lancelot Andrews* Bishop of *Ely*, another; Dr. *Richard Neile* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, Dr. *John Buckeridge* Bishop of *Rocheſter*; Sir *Julius Caesar*, Sir *Thomas Parry*, Sir *Daniel Dunn*, Civilians, to hear and determine this vile Cause. The Lewdness of the Trial exceeds all the Obscenities of Farces and Lampoons; and the Sentence of the Prelates is not to be repeated by the chaste Pen of an Historian. The *Earl and the Countess lying in one Bed*, *Nudus cum Nuda*, *Inspection of her Body, apt for Copulation*, in the pious Sentence of Divorce, are Terms which immediately precede the invoking the *Name of Christ*, and setting God before their Eyes, Expressions which coming so very close after the Bawdry, have something so very shocking in them, that Posterity wou'd not believe there were four Bishops Names to the Decree of Divorce, was it not extant, and sign'd

A.D. 1613. by *Thomas Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Lancelot Andrews* Bishop of *Ely*, *Richard Neile* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and *John Buckeridge* Bishop of *Rocheſter*. The obscene Decree was founded on the pretended Nullity of the Marriage, the Countess having never been enjoy'd by the Earl, which was certify'd by a Jury of Matrons, the Lady *Martha Tyrwhit*, the Lady *Alice Carew*, the Lady *Dalison*, the Lady *Anne Waller*, &c. assisted by two Midwives, who reported, that upon Inspection, they found the Lady fitted with Abilities, &c. 'Tis not to be suffer'd in History. In short, they sign'd to it, that she was a *Virgin uncorrupted*; so very bare-fac'd a Fraud, that there was not a modest Man or Woman in *England* but was ashamed of it. The Countess's Character renders the Cheat as absurd as it is abominable; and it is no Excuse for the Ladies, that they were impos'd upon by a false Countess one Mrs. *Finit*, who was then too young to be other than *Virgo intacta*. The Countess pleaded her maiden Bashfulness as well as Purity, that she might be veil'd when the Ladies made their Inspection; accordingly 'twas order'd she shou'd have a Vail, under which Mrs. *Finit* easily pass for her Ladyship, being also dress'd in the Countess's Cloaths. Sir *Anthony Welden* assures us he had this Information from Sir *W. B.* the very Gentleman who handed Mrs. *Finit* into the Place of Inspection. I will not remember what *Welden* says of Bishop *Neil's* Speech concerning the Proof of the Impotency in the Earl, and the Ability in the Countess, only that the Conclusion was; *Aristotle's Problems was a modest Discourse to the Bishop's, who appear'd to be better study'd in that than in Divinity.* Dr. *Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, was so zealous for the Divorce and the Nullity of the Earl of *Essex's* Marriage, on account of his Impotency, that when afterwards King *James* knighted his Son, he was generally call'd Sir *Nullity Bilson*. *A. Wood* assures us, that this Prelate was as reverend a one as ever *England* bred, and a great Upholder of the Church. And *Echard* says of Bishop *Neile*, That for his Merits he pass thro' all Degrees and Orders of the Church; which shews us plainly enough, that these Gentlemen do not put Piety and Purity in their Scale of Merit, with the same Weight as Bigotry and false Zeal. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* refus'd to be concern'd in this Bawdy Business, for which he ever after liv'd in Disgrace, excluded from the Council Table, and the Favour of the King on Earth, tho' he was favour'd by the King of Kings. His Majesty took upon him to convince *Abbot*, in a Treatise dedicated to the Unbelieving *Thomas*. The Bishop of *London* wou'd not agree to the Divorce, and told Bishop *Overal*, He shou'd not have been so earnest against it, but that he was persuaded in his Conscience the Countess's Witnesses swore falsely. The only Colour of Justice from the Beginning of it to the End, is, That the Earl himself, to get rid of so horrid a Mischief, acknowledg'd he had attempted to enjoy her many Times, but never did; which was imputed to her wicked Practices upon him, and her shunning his Embraces when she believ'd he was capable of Enjoyment. The Earl was oblig'd by the Bishops modest Decree, to pay back the Countess's Portion, being 5000 Pounds, which he cou'd not have done without selling his Lands, had he not been help'd by his Grandmother the Countess of *Leicester*. That his Majesty was a Well-wisher to the Divorce, and *Car's* intended Marriage with the Countess of *Essex*, appears by his heaping more Honours and Riches upon him; for now it was that he made him Earl of *Somerset*, and giving her to him at the Solemnization of their Nuptials in Presence of the Queen, and a great Confluence of Bishops. The Pomp and Expence of this Wedding, for which the sober Part of the Kingdom had an Abhorrence, were equal to those of the Princess *Elizabeth's*; the Revellings, Maskings and profuse Entertain-

Poison'd.

Countess of Essex's Divorce.

Echard; p. 389.

A.D. 1613. ments lasting as long; and to the Shame of the City, the new marry'd Couple, whom the Archdeacon very gallantly calls the *Happy Pair*, were invited to a Feast at *Merchant-Tailors-Hall*, to which they rode as triumphantly, as if their Triumph had not been over Religion and Virtue, Modesty and Chastity.

At the same Time that King *James* had so great a Hand in this odious Marriage, he busy'd himself also in the religious Controversy now carrying on with Warmth in *Holland* between the *Arminians* and their Opponents. *Le Clerc* tells us, *He alter'd his Mind strangely with Respect to the Arminians, depending entirely on such Informations as were given him, which were very various, and a wise Man wou'd therefore not have depended upon them entirely.*

A.D. 1614. As soon as *Sir Thomas Overbury* heard the before-mention'd Marriage was to be to-morrow, he told the Messenger, *You had almost as good have said, I must die to-morrow, for I am sure now not to live long.* He added to this some Reproaches against *Somerset* for using him so ill, and endeavour'd afterwards by Letter to prevail with him to perform his Promise, and procure his Deliverance, which the Earl gave him Hopes of; and *Sir Thomas* was so well pleas'd with it, that he began to recover Strength, and as Comfort increas'd so did his Health. *Weston* applying to *Mrs. Turner* for more Pay, she told him, *He must do his Business first, and he shou'd then want nothing;* upon which he applies to a certain Apothecary, whom he hir'd to give *Sir Thomas* Poison in a Clister, which work'd as those Ruffians wou'd have had it, throwing *Overbury* into a languishing Disease, with racking Pains in his Bowels, of which he dy'd in *September*; and *Weston* gave the Apothecary Money to go beyond Sea, himself being amply rewarded by the Countess. To murder *Sir Thomas's* Fame, as they had murder'd his Person, the Earl of *Northampton* gave out he dy'd of the venereal Disease, tho' the Sores and Ulcers that appear'd on his Body, were the Effects of the poisonous Meats they had fed him with. *Northampton* did not long survive this Villany, and one may form a Character of him, by his being a Party in this Murder, by his mocking God and the World in professing the Protestant Religion, and yet corresponding with the Court of *Rome*, by the gross Flattery with which he abus'd the good Will of the King, and by so many other immoral Acts, that 'tis a wonder the reverend Historian cries him up for his *capacious Mind*. *Sir Anthony Weldon*, who knew him intimately, says, *He was no wise Man;* yet the wisest of our Kings made him his prime Minister. *Prince Henry* was so irritated against him and his Cousin *Suffolk*, that he often said, *If ever he were King, he wou'd not leave one of the Family in a better Condition than that of a Footman.* *Northampton* with all his Faults, was chosen by the University of *Cambridge* to be their Chancellor, in which Office he was succeeded by the Earl of *Suffolk*; that learned Body having too great Value for his Majesty's Judgment to doubt the Qualifications of any Man whom the King delighted to honour.

The riotous Expences, and prodigal Bounty of the Court, exhausted the vast Sums which were illegally rais'd by Monopolies, Benevolences, raising the Value of Gold and Silver Coin Two Shillings in the Pound, and a hundred Schemes of Projectors; all which being still too little to supply that Profusion, a Parliament was summon'd, the Court Flatterers having assur'd the King they had Interest enough in the Counties to get such Members chosen, as wou'd do the Business for which he wanted them; instead of which, the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, return'd those Gentlemen who were most likely to do the Business for which the Country wanted them. The Courtiers shew'd their Wisdom, by suffering *Harjuet*

Bishop of *Chichester* to put the Parliament out of Humour, by a Sermon he preach'd, pressing the Duty of rendering to Cæsar, as if what was paid to the King, was his Due before it was given by Parliament; and Bishop *Neile* mended the Matter much, by speaking despitefully of a leading Member of the House of Commons, for his Moderation and Charity to Protestant Dissenters, whom the Superstition and Rage of such Prelates had driven not only out of the Church, but out of the Kingdom; which was so destructive to the Peace and Trade of the Nation, that the Bishops were forc'd to get a Restraint put upon Peoples removing beyond Sea. Thus they wou'd not let them enjoy Peace at home, nor give them Liberty to seek it abroad. Indeed they were allow'd afterwards to transport themselves to *New-England*, and the malicious Proceedings of the furious Bishops, did not hinder the Establishment of that Colony. There's no need of reflecting to gather from these Events who were the Men to whom we are to impute all the Discontents and Murmurs which now disturb'd, and afterwards inflam'd the Kingdom. The Parliament complain'd of the King's wasting the Publick Treasure, especially among the *Scots*; *Somerset*, besides Money, having had to the Value of 100000 Pounds in Crown-Lands; and desir'd his Majesty to stem the Current of the future Acceses of that Nation to his Presence and Bounty. They also enquir'd into the Causes of the unexpected Increase of *Papish* Recufants since the *Gunpowder-Plot*; the Detestation of which they thought shou'd have utterly extinguish'd the whole Party, and this they found was owing to his Majesty's admitting *Papish* Lords into his Council. This is the Prince of whom *Echard* says, *He acted very laudably and with great Reputation in Respect to the establish'd Church.* The Parliament complain'd of the silencing of many diligent and watchful Ministers; most laudably done indeed. We read in *Sir Edward Peyton*, how laudable his Actions were in respect to Religion, and Virtue; "Strictness of Life, "which our Saviour requires, was imputed a Disgrace, and the vainest counted the wisest; so that it was difficult to hear profitable Sermons. "Preachers were fitter for a Stage than a Pulpit. "A *Puritan* was stil'd a Devil. Thus began Goodness to dwindle, and Vice to spread far and near." The Parliament made Complaint of several Treaties for the Marriage of the deceas'd Prince *Henry*, and the present Prince *Charles*, with the Daughters of *Papish* Princes, all which dishearten'd the Protestant, and encourag'd the Recufant. The remonstrating these and other Miscarriages, to which the King and his Council had no other Answer, than the Lessons of *Neile*, *Harjuet*, and such like Prelates; and the Parliament's Backwardness to part with their Money, so disgust'd his Majesty, that he resolv'd to part with them, and a Dissolution soon follow'd, to the great Grief of the People, which was heighen'd by the arbitrary Proceedings against the chief Patriots in the House of Commons, whom the Archdeacon calls the tumultuous Members, many of whom were thrown into Prison. *Sir Thomas Wentworth*, *Sir Henry Yelverton*, *Sir John Savile*, *Serjeant Glanville*, and *Mr. Noy*, were popular Members in this King's Reign, and not only frown'd upon but imprison'd. They were all bought off in the next, and those disinterested Patriots who were above Corruption, as *Mr. Selden*, *Sir John Elliot*, and others, continu'd their Opposition to the Male-Administration till King *Charles* the First left the Parliament, and rais'd an Army to maintain it.

The Parliament among other Monopolies, voted Alderman *Cockain's* Patent for dying and dressing English Cloth, to be a Grievance, upon which the Patent was recall'd and cancell'd. The Imprisonment of the Members of the House of Commons, was the greatest Violation and Invasion of their

A.D. 1614.

The King favours Popery.

A vicious Court.

Popular Members.

Coke, p. 74.

A.D. 1614. their Privileges, that had ever been done by any King of England. But tho' it began, it did not end here. This King's Son, *Charles the First*, follow'd his Father's Example and Lessons; for after King *James's* Death, there was found in his Cabinet at *Theobalds*, Instructions to his Son to quit himself by Degrees of all Parliaments, as too bad Copartners in the Government with their Kings. A noble Lord talking once of the Design the *Stuart* Family had to subvert our happy Constitution, which was first form'd by this King *James*, observ'd with Indignation, that the Lust of Power was monstrous in him, who was capable of no other Ambition than that of destroying the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects. *Charles I.* violated the Privileges of Parliament in or after every Session. Like his Father too he had Recourse to odious Methods of extorting Money from the People. King *James* compell'd them now to pay a *Benevolence*, and those that refus'd to pay, were to have their Names return'd to the Council, who prick'd them for Sheriffs, or sent them for Soldiers, or otherwise oppress'd them, as a Punishment for their Refractoriness, in not obeying his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, as their Fathers obey'd an Act of Parliament. The *Benevolence* succeeded so ill, that it brought in no more than 52909 Pounds; for, says *Wilson*, the most knowing Men supported their Neighbours tottering Resolutions, with assuring them that those Kinds of raising Money were against Law, Reason, and Religion.

This Summer the King of *Denmark* re-visited his Sister the Queen of *England*, and he was doubtless the more welcome for his delighting so much in Sporting and Drinking, which he did to Excess. He landed at *Yarmouth* with about forty Lords and Gentlemen in his Train, and came to *Somerset-House*, the Queen's Palace, before she heard of his Arrival in *England*.

Now was reviv'd the dissolute Way of Life which gave great Scandal to religious and virtuous Persons. When this King visited King *James*, his Brother-in-law some Years before, Sir *Edward Peyton* assures us the two Monarchs were so drunk at *Theobalds*, that the *Briton* was carry'd off in the Arms of his Courtiers, and the *Dane* was very rude with the Countess of *Nottingham*. King *James* was apt to be intoxicated with Wine, the strongest *Greek* Wines being most grateful to him. *Coke* tells us, when he was a hunting, he was attended by a special Officer, who was always at hand to fill him a Cup of Wine, so strong that a small Portion of it got up into *Coke's* Father's Head, and spoil'd his Sport. It is well known that the King of *Denmark* gave *Wallestein*, the Emperor's General, many Advantages in the *German* War, by his Drunkenness and Negligence. How the Time must be spent by two such Princes, who did not meet often, one may easily imagine: But such Happiness, says the reverend Historian, is rare among Kings: For notwithstanding all this Luxury, notwithstanding King *James's* prophane Swearing even in his usual Conversation, whereby he became contemptible, and his Example debauch'd the Manners of the English Nation; yet he was inspir'd with the Holy Spirit, in his Zeal for Episcopacy, if we may believe Archbishop *Whitgift*. There is a pleasant Story in *Peyton*, which runs thus in his own, not very elegant, Words: "Give me leave to repeat, that this King of *Denmark* ordinarily wou'd be drunk, and once when he was so, he bad Sir *John Pooley*, then his Servant, ask what he wou'd of him to the Value of half his Kingdom, and he should have it. Sir *John* finding his Master so beastly out of Tune, demanded a great Pair of Stags Horns, for which, when the King recover'd his Senses, he gave him 3000 Dollars." A Writer of the same *Kidney* with the Archdeacon, owns he often had his Load; and tho' he staid here but a Fortnight, there were more rioting and revelling

during that short Stay in the Court of *England*, than had been known in so little time since the Reign of *Canute*. A rare Happiness, of which the Puritans were not sensible. *Coke* writes, "As King *James* gave himself up to Pleasure, so he did to Favourites and Flatterers, and scarce heard any Thing without the Prelude of Sacred, Peaceful, Wise, Most Learned, &c. These made him careless both of his domestick and foreign Affairs, the Thoughts of which disturb'd his Pleasures; and if at any time he was thoughtful or penitive, his Favourites made it their Business to mimic or ridicule those Things, especially the Puritans, whom the King hated; and for that Hatred the Ecclesiasticks dawb their Histories with so much gross Paint, representing him as the most sage and most orthodox Prince in the World. 'Tis true, his Majesty did affect much to shew his Skill in Divinity. No *Dutch* Theologue cou'd have more of the Cant, nor with more Zeal maintain any Doctrine he espous'd. We have seen how he concern'd himself in the Affair of *Vorsius*; but his Prejudice against him and his Party did not last long. The most rigid of the Bishops being profess'd *Arminians*, he was prevail'd with to write a Letter to the States of *Holland*, to tolerate the Remonstrants, who were the *Arminian* Party. The *Contra-Remonstrants* sent him a Memorial, to induce him to abandon the opposite Interest; but the King taking Offence at some strong Expressions in it, sent a Copy of it to the States, who dispatch'd the famous *Grotius* to give his Majesty fuller Information of what concern'd this Controversy. He was favourably receiv'd by the King and many Bishops, but Dr. *Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, gave him as much Opposition as he cou'd, and his Negotiation produc'd no other Effect than a Confirmation of his Majesty's former Exhortation to the States, to forbid further Preaching or Writing upon the controverted Points, which were to be determin'd by a Synod.

The most considerable foreign Transactions this Year relating to King *James*, was his Envoy's assisting at the Conference at *Santheim* in *Germany*, for accommodating Matters between the Elector of *Brandenburg* and Duke of *Newburg* about the Succession of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*; and his Ambassador *Carlton's* Credit with the Republick of *Venice*, where, at the Request of *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, he procur'd Audience for that Duke's Minister *Piscina*, which the Senate had till then refus'd.

The Earl of *Suffolk* being made Lord-Treasurer on the Death of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Somerset* succeeded *Suffolk* as Lord-Chamberlain, and he and his Father-in-law engross'd the King almost wholly to them, insomuch that the Queen herself seem'd to have the least Share of him. *Somerset* rul'd without a Rival, and no body pretended to Favour at Court but by his Means, and in what Proportion and what Manner he pleas'd. Having resign'd his Office of Secretary of State, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, King *James's* Ambassador in *Holland*, was recall'd and prefer'd to it, *Car* still assuming the Management of it as much as if he was still Secretary. *Winwood* was a Man of Parts, and too much Spirit to brook the Slavery *Somerset* wou'd have impos'd upon him; and the Queen observing the Secretary's Discontent at *Car's* Conduct, did what she cou'd to increase it. *Winwood* acquainted her Majesty with the Favourite's Miscarriages and Weaknesses, and did not give the best Turn to his Words or Actions. This private Correspondence grew at last into a Combination, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, hoping Affairs cou'd not be worse by a Change, enter'd into it with a Resolution to have *Somerset* outed, and a new Favourite put in his Place; for King *James* cou'd no more be without a Minion, than his Grandson King *Charles* cou'd be without a Mistress.

It

A.D. 1615. It continu'd to be whisper'd about every where, that Prince Henry was poison'd by *Somerſet*, which coming to the Queen's Ear, who was enough provok'd againſt him before, by his alienating the King's Affections from her, and engroſſing them to himſelf, ſhe openly encourag'd *Winwood* and other Courtiers to talk freely againſt him, in which they were not ſparing, eſpecially when they ſaw the King began to caſt a friendly Eye on Mr. *George Villiers*, a young Gentleman newly come to Court from his Travels. He was a younger Son of Sir *George Villiers* of *Leiceſterſhire*, by his ſecond Wife *Mary Beaumont*, a Woman of a mean Family, according to Sir *Anthony Welden*; and *Coke* tells us, *She was entertain'd in Sir George Villiers's Family as a Cook-Maid, but her ragged Habit cou'd not ſhade the beautiful and excellent Frame of her Perſon, which Sir George taking notice of, prevail'd with his Lady to remove her out of the Kitchen into her Chamber.* The Earl of *Clarendon*, or whoever wrote the Hiſtory which has his Name to it, makes *Villiers* the eldeſt Son of Sir *George*, by *Mary Beaumont*; which is not true, for ſhe had an elder Son *John Viſcount Purbeck*, Son of the ſame *Mary*. There is ſomething very whimsical in the Vanity of this Set of Men; they will not only be the wiſeſt, the braveſt, the handſomeſt, but they will alſo be the eldeſt, as *Buckingham* is made to do Honour to the Friend of *Laud*.

p. 80.

Sir A. W.
p. 90.

I am ſenſible that to enter into the Particulars of a private Man's Life, is too biographical for a general Hiſtory, but there is no avoiding it in ſuch a Reign as this, where the greateſt Events, ſuch as they are, turn upon the Paſſions and Vices of Miſions and Favourites. Sir *George Villiers* above-mention'd, was of an antient Family, but having ſettled his Eſtate in Jointure on his firſt Wife and their Iſſue, there was ſo little left for his Wife *Beaumont* and her Children, that *George Villiers* their Son had but an Allowance of 50, ſome ſay 30 Pounds a Year, even after he came to Court. He was very handſome, and had the Glittering of a *French* Education, having liv'd ſome Time at *Paris*. But his higheſt Ambition, when he made his firſt Appearance at Court, was to marry the Daughter of Sir *Roger Aſton*, who had been King *James's* Barber in *Scotland*; and if he cou'd but have made her a Settlement of 80 Pounds a Year, he might have had her to the Ruin of his future Fortune: For before the Marriage was concluded, it was obſerv'd, that the King look'd favourably upon him, which being a Promiſe of his growing Greatneſs, he gave over all Thoughts of the Match, and wedded himſelf to the Favour of his Maſter. There was no body more instrumental in his Advancement, than good Archbiſhop *Abbot*, who had an Averſion to *Somerſet* for his Marriage with the Counteſs of *Effex*, and a vicious Courſe of Life. The Archbiſhop being inform'd of the Dawn of Favour which ſhone upon *Villiers*, and taking him to be of an Age and Diſpoſition fit to receive ſuch Impreſſions as the Queen ſhou'd give him, he propos'd to her the recommending him to the King, as a Means to ſet aſide *Somerſet*, who had behav'd very inſolently towards her Maſteſty. The King affected to have the Queen believe that her Recommendation was the greateſt Merit his Favourites cou'd have, which he pretended to give a Colour to his Fondneſs of them, and that ſhe might not complain of his Affection to Perſons whom he lov'd for her ſake. Her Maſteſty ſaw thro' this thin Diſguiſe, and had been ſo ill us'd by Miſions, that it was a long time before the Archbiſhop cou'd prevail with her to ſpeak in behalf of *Villiers*. At laſt ſhe conſented, but told his Grace, *You will live to repent it, for I ſee ſomething in this young Man, that will render him more intolerable, if he becomes a Favourite, than any of his Predeceſſors.* *Somerſet's* Pride and Avarice made the Archbiſhop conclude, that let the Change be as bad as it wou'd,

it muſt be for the better; and he took upon him to inſtruct *Villiers* himſelf, as to his Conduct towards the King and Queen. The young Gentleman learnt his Leſſons ſo perfectly, that he repeated them to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and promis'd to obſerve them.

A.D. 1615.

In the Beginning of his Fortune he was affable and courteous, and ſeem'd to court all Men as they courted him. He obtain'd Suits of the King gratis, for which *Somerſet* made all Suitors pay extremely; and did good Offices for all thoſe from whom he had receiv'd any, which were not a few. The Proſpect of his Riſe having excited ſeveral Perſons of Rank to be aſſiſting towards it; ſome in ſo low a degree as to contribute to his Dreſs, which was equally rich and gorgeous, his Maſteſty's Eye being attracted by ſhew much more than his Judgment was by Genius. Sir *A. W.* ſays, *one ſent to his Mercer and Taylor to put good Cloaths on him; another to his Semſtreſs for curious Linnen; others took upon them to be his Bravos, and all Hands help'd to piece up the new Minion.* The King's firſt gracious Look was follow'd with a Preſent of 1000*l.* and the Place of Cupbearer, that he might be near in Attendance. *Somerſet* took the alarm, and did his utmoſt to give a Check to the Growth of this riſing Favourite, and gave his Rival great Advantages by his Preſumption, and an Imagination that the King wou'd not, nay durſt not contenance that Rivalſhip, if he appear'd to reſent it. Whatever Reaſon there was for it is uncertain; but ſure it is that his Maſteſty was deſirous that *Villiers* ſhou'd ſeem to owe his good Fortunes as well to *Somerſet* as to the Queen; and order'd Sir *Humphry May* to let *Car* know Sir *George Villiers*, newly knighted, wou'd deſire his Protection; which if he granted, it wou'd do himſelf a Pleaſure. Sir *George* waited on *Somerſet* half an Hour after, and paid him this Compliment: *My Lord, I deſire to be your Servant and Creature, and to take my Court Preſerment under your Favour, aſſuring your Lordſhip you ſhall find me as faithful a Servant to you as ever did ſerve you.* The Earl turn'd quick upon him with this ſhort Answer, *I will have none of your Service, and you ſhall have none of my Favour. I will if I can break your Neck, and of that be confident.* This Deſiance put *Villiers* more on his Guard, and he and his Friends never reſted till they had remov'd *Somerſet* from the King's Prefence for ever; and they met with an Opportunity to do it much ſooner than they expected.

Secretary *Winwood* in Diſguſt at *Somerſet's* ingroſſing the Powers and Benefits of his Office, and leaving him an empty Name only, having receiv'd ſome Intimation of *Overbury's* being poiſon'd, he never left ſearching into that dark Conſpiracy till it came to Light, and diſcover'd it to the King. It is ſaid, Sir *Ralph Winwood* receiv'd the firſt Information of this wicked Buſineſs from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who detected it by ſome Papers found in a Trunk, which was brought to him by a Servant of *Overbury's*. It is alſo ſaid, that one of his Servants petition'd the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke* to examine *Weſton* as to what he knew of his Maſter's Death, which had been conceal'd near two Years. The Apothecary who fled beyond Sea being ill paid, confeſs'd that a poiſon'd Cliſter had been given *Overbury*; and his Confeſſion being deliver'd to *Winwood*, he ſhew'd it to the King; which was ſo ſtrong a Confirmation of the other Diſcoveries, that his Maſteſty cou'd not reſuſe giving the Earl up to Juſtice; tho' to prevent its having Effect againſt him, the King had granted him a Pardon ſo full, that had he committed a hundred Murders it wou'd have clear'd him. The Clauſe was taken by Sir *Robert Cotton* out of a Pardon granted by the Pope to Cardinal *Wolfey* to this Purport: *That the King out of his mere Motion and ſpecial Favour did pardon all, and all*

Somerſet's Fall.

A.D. 1615. all manner of Treasons, Misprifions of Treasons, Murders, Felonies and Outrages whatsoever by the said Robert Earl of Somerset committed, or hereafter to be committed: As the Romish Bulls pardon all Sins past, present, and to come. The strongest Terms were us'd to make it the more firm; and when it was engross'd the Earl carry'd it to the King, who sign'd it; but the Lord Chancellor Ellesmer refus'd to affix the Great Seal to it; and gave his Majesty such Reasons for it as satisfy'd him, and contributed much to the Disgrace of Somerset, who retir'd pensive to Whitehall in dismal Apprehension of the Discovery of Overbury's Murder, which he justly suppos'd was the Occasion of the Lord Chancellor's Scruples about passing his Pardon. By Virtue of his own Warrant as Privy-Counsellor, all Trunks, Chests, Boxes, Studies, and every Place where he suspected any Letters might be deposited which concern'd the Conspiracy, were diligently search'd, that they might be made away with: But some Papers escap'd the Search, and fell into those Hands that knew how to make the best Use of them. The King being inform'd of the Murder by Secretary Winwood, gave Orders to the Lord Chief Justice Coke to prosecute the Matter; and as his Custom was when any troublesome Affair happen'd, went himself into the Country to be out of the Noise of it; which however follow'd him where-ever he went. He sent for all the Judges to Theobalds; and in the midst of a Circle of Court Lords and Gentlemen kneeled down, and spoke to this Effect:

Sir A. W. p. 99. My Lords the Judges, It is lately come to my hearing, that you have now in Examination a Business of poisoning. Lord, in what a most miserable Condition shall this Kingdom be, if our Tables shou'd become such a Snare, as none wou'd eat without Danger of Life, and that Italian Custom shou'd be introduc'd amongst us; therefore I charge you, my Lords, as you will answer it at the great and dreadful Day of Judgment, that you examine it strictly without Favour, Affection, or Partiality. And if you shall spare any of this Crime, God's Curse light on you and your Posterity: And if I spare any that are found guilty, God's Curse light on me and my Posterity.

K. James curses himself and Posterity, if he pardon'd the Murderers of Overbury.

How well this agrees with these Words in the Pardon, which he some time after granted to the Countess of Somerset, who was the greatest Criminal: We have of our special Grace and mere Motion pardon'd, remitted, and remis'd; and by these Presents for our selves, our Heir, and Successors, do pardon, remis, and release Frances Carr late Countess of Somerset, the Slaughter, Killing, Poisoning, Bewitching, Death, Felony, and felonious Murther of Sir Thomas Overbury. The Effect of his Majesty's most dreadful Imprecation fell heavy on the Princess Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, and her royal Family, as was then particularly observ'd. How visible it was in the Fate of King Charles the First her Brother and his Offspring, needs no farther Observation; and it is impossible to read this Speech and Execration without trembling, whatever Archbishop Whitgift and Archdeacon Echard have been pleas'd to say of King James's Piety. From Theobalds his Majesty went to Royston accompany'd with Somerset, who took his Leave of him there, and never with more seeming Affection than at this time. When he kiss'd his Majesty's Hand, the King hung about his Neck, saying, For God's sake when shall I see thee again. On my Soul, I shall neither eat nor sleep till you come. Then lolling about his Neck he said, For God's sake give thy Lady this Kiss for me; which he repeated at the Stairs-head, at the Middle of the Stairs, and at the Stairs-foot. But the Earl was scarce in the Coach, when his Majesty turn'd about and cry'd, I shall never see his Face more. What a Comedy is this? says Vassor. Good God! Are Princes, whose high Birth and Station ought to inspire them with noble and sincere Sentiments; I say, Are Princes capable of such a Base-

ness; nay, to give it its right Name, of so black a A.D. 1615. Perfidiousness!

The first who was try'd for the Death of Overbury was Richard Weston, who was convicted, condemn'd, and executed; as was also Mrs. Turner. derers pu- Sir Ferras Elways the Lieutenant's Turn was next. nish'd.

At his Trial a Letter was produc'd written by the Earl of Northampton to Somerset, so full of Bawdry, that the Lord Chief Justice cou'd not read it. Elways being convicted and condemn'd, was hang'd on Tower-hill. James Frankley was for the same Crime executed at Tyburn. But Sir Thomas Munson's Trial was put off, after he had been arraign'd at Guildhall.

In April the next Year, the Earl of Somerset and his Countess were brought to their Trial. A.D. 1616, The Countess pleaded guilty, but the Earl was try'd by his Peers, convicted, and both of them condemn'd. The great Estate he had heap'd up by the King's Prodigality and his own Parsimony was given to some of the Courtiers. The Earl and Countess liv'd many Years after. The latter dy'd miserably, and the Charms of her Person were so entirely lost, that at her Death it was as loathsome as it had been bewitching in the Bloom of her Youth. They had one Daughter, who marry'd the Earl, afterwards Duke of Bedford. A Lady as distin- MS. guish'd by her Virtue as her Rank; and such Care was taken to conceal from her the odious Character of her Mother, that she had heard nothing of this Story till a Year or two before she dy'd; when a History of those Times happening in her way, she read what concern'd the Countess of Essex's Divorce; upon which she exclaim'd against the Malice and Falshood of the Author, and was persuaded by the Lady who gave me this Information, that no other Writer had ever mention'd it; and it was a Lye invented out of Envy to the Earl of Somerset's Favour and Fortune.

The Whisper of Prince Henry's being poison'd was reviv'd upon the Trial of Somerset, and continu'd as long as this King liv'd; and his giving Car 4000l. a Year after he was condemn'd, and keeping Correspondence with him to his dying Day, was not the way to put a stop to it.

Tho' King James wou'd not assist the Prince of Conde and the French Protestants, who offer'd in such Case to prevent the double Marriage between France and Spain; yet the English Ambassador at Venice propos'd a League between his Master and that Republick against the House of Austria: But the Senate, says Vassor, understood very well the Character of King James, and thank'd him with as much Civility as possible, tho' they cou'd not rely on the Promises of a Prince, who cou'd patiently suffer the Archdukes of the Netherlands, in Sight of England, to take Possession of the Dutchies of Cleves and Juliers, in wrong to the Elector of Brandenburg, a Protestant Ally. Doubtless this Negotiation wou'd have been mention'd by Echard, as an illustrious Instance of his Majesty's Wisdom, had it come to his Knowledge. The King undertook the Affair of an Union among Protestants of all Nations, and wrote to the Reform'd Churches of France assembled at Tonneins. He also invited that Eminent Divine Monsieur Du Moulin to his Court, where he was well receiv'd for about three Months, but the Project came to nothing; tho' according to Vassor, it was more becoming his Royal Dignity than to scuffle with Perron and Bellarmine. He adds, 'Tis true King James very seldom took the right Side, or else slightly forsook it whenever he had taken it; and instead of applying himself to pacify the Troubles in the United Provinces, he increas'd them out of a Design to be reveng'd of Barneveldt, whom he hated probably for over-reaching him in the Bargain for the Cautionary Towns. Indeed he hardly ever did any thing considerable for a Protestant or publick Interest abroad; and when Bonnavet the Envoy from the French Protestants desir'd

Sir A. W. p. 99.

K. James curses himself and Posterity, if he pardon'd the Murderers of Overbury.

Sir A. W. p. 102.

His Dissimulation.

Sir A. W. p. 22.

Vassor: p. 14.

A.D. 1616. desir'd his Assistance as Queen Elizabeth was wont to assist them, he left them to the Resentment and Power of the French King; saying, *All I can do for the Prince of Conde is to endeavour to reconcile him to the King his near Kinsman.* Upon which *Vassor* reasons thus justly: *Show'd he not in good Politicks have threaten'd France, that the Protestant States wou'd not care much to cultivate her Alliance, if she enter'd into too strict Ties with Spain their greatest Enemy.* He adds, *His Britannick Majesty was so ignorant of his Interest, that he was decoy'd with Hopes of marrying his Son to the Infanta.* We see by these wise Steps what Foundation there is for *Echard* and other Ecclesiastical Historians to extol the Wisdom of this Reign, and place a second *Solomon* on the British Throne. The King by *Sir Thomas Edmunds* his Ambassador offer'd his Mediation to accommodate Matters between *Lewis* the XIIIth and the Prince of *Conde*; but the French Ministers wou'd not suffer *Edmunds* to sign the Treaty. This Slur on his Majesty's Mediation was not so inglorious to him, as his delivering up the before-mention'd Cautionary Towns, which *Le Clerc* places some Years before. Those Cities, *Brill*, *Flushing* and *Rammekins* are look'd upon as the Keys to the three famous Rivers, the *Maese*, the *Scheld*, and the *Rhine*; and were put into the Hands of the English for the Money *Q. Elizabeth* lent the States, which with the Interest amounted to some Millions. *Barneveldt*, one of the most able Ministers of that Age, being well inform'd of the low Estate of King *James's* Exchequer, occasion'd by his prodigal Bounty and extravagant Expences, and of his Favourite's Readiness to take Money, thought the Juncture proper for the States to recover those Towns at a cheaper Rate than the Payment of what they ow'd upon them. Accordingly he set himself at the Head of a pompous Embassy from *Holland*, and bestow'd his Flattery and Bribes so well, that he obtain'd Restitution of the three Cities for a tenth Part of what was due to the Crown of *England*. Upon which *Vassor* writes thus: *The English loudly cry'd out against their weak and covetous King, who had sully'd his own Reputation, as well as disparag'd the whole Nation, by his so shameful a Treaty. They publickly reproach'd him for having been so scandalously put upon by the Dutch, or betray'd by his Favourites and Ministers.* Mr. *Echard* tells us, he freed himself from those Towns to prevent Propositions from *Spain*, where he was beginning a Treaty by his Ambassador *Sir John Digby*, to marry his Son *Charles* Prince of *Wales* to the *Infanta*; which Treaty tended visibly to the weakning of the Protestant Interest, and expos'd the King's Honour to the Insolence and Caprice of the Spanish Ministers. The new Favourite rose so fast, that the People had hardly time to remember the Honours that were conferr'd upon him. Not long after he was knighted, the King created him Baron *Whaddon*, Viscount *Villiers*, and made him Master of the Horse to the Queen; then Gentleman of his Bedchamber, Privy-Counsellor, and Knight of the Garter. He was soon after created Earl of *Buckingham*, and made Justice in *Eyre*, Master of the King's Bench-Office, Steward of *Westminster*, Constable of *Windor* Castle, and Lord High Admiral of *England*. The Lord Chancellor *Ellesmer* having incurr'd his Displeasure, the Seals were taken from him; and to mortify him the more, *Sir Francis Bacon* his intended Successor, whom the Lord Chancellor hated, was sent to demand them of him; but the old Chancellor refus'd to deliver the Seals to him, and sent them to the King by a Servant of his own. *Sir Edward Coke* was discharg'd from his Office of Lord Chief Justice, and *Sir Henry Montagu* put in his room. *Sir Edward Coke* had highly disgust'd the Court and the rigid Churchmen, by his opposing Archbishop *Bancroft's* Articles against granting *Prohibitions* at Com-

mon Law; as also by opposing the Favourite *Buckingham* in the Disposal of a Law Patent. He might have been restor'd, if he wou'd have given a Bribe; but he answer'd, *A Judge ought not to take one, nor give one.* The Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Treasurer, having lost his main-Supporter the Earl of *Somerset*, stood in a very tottering Condition, till he fell under a Fine of 30000*l.* for his and his Lady's Misdemeanors. *Suffolk's* White Staff was given first to *Sir Henry Montagu*, and then to *Sir Lionel Cranfield*, afterwards Earl of *Middlesex*: *A Man of so mean Birth, that, to use Welden's Words, none but a poor-spirited Nobility wou'd have endur'd his perching on that high Tree of Honour.* *Sir John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative Court, was now discharg'd for Bribery, and *Sir William Byrde* put in his Place. *Sir Henry Yelverton*, Attorney-General, was also remov'd for adding some Clauses to the Charter of *London*, and *Sir Thomas Coventry* made Attorney in his room. His Majesty came in Person into the Court of *Star-Chamber*, and made a Speech like a Sermon, in which are these most eloquent Expressions: *Another Sort are Gentlemen of great Worth in their own Conceit, and cannot be content with the present Form of Government, but must have a Kind of Liberty in the People, and must be gracious Lords and Redeemers of their Liberty; and in every Cause that concerns Prerogative give a Snatch against Monarchy, thro' their Puritanical Itching after Popularity.* The next Words shew us what it was that gave the King such Offence. *Some of them have shew'd themselves too bold of late in the Lower House of Parliament.* We see here that King *James* made a Jest of the People's Liberty, and what Opinion he had of the Purity of the Reform'd Religion, appears by his comparing it to the Itch. 'Tis true, he intimates that the Piety and Virtue of the Puritans had made them popular; and it was therefore an Excess of Wisdom in him to frown upon and oppress them in favour of bigotted Ecclesiasticks, who were hated by the People, and care'd by him only for advancing the Prerogative above those Laws, which the Patriots in the Lower House of Parliament asserted and endeavour'd to maintain.

About this Time dy'd the Lady *Arabella Stuart*, Lady Arabella dies. first Cousin to the King, being the Daughter of the Lord *Charles Stuart*, younger Brother to the Lord *Darnley* his Majesty's Father. This Lady is the same who was mention'd in *Raleigh's* Conspiracy; and for marrying *Sir William Seymour*, afterwards Marquis of *Hertford*, without the King's Consent, she was imprison'd in the Tower, where she liv'd many Years; and dying there about the Time that *Sir Thomas Overbury's* Death made the most Noise, *Wilson* tells us it set Mens Tongues and Fears at Work. These are the Halcyon Days on which the Archdeacon bestows as many Flourishes as his Rhetorick cou'd furnish him with. *In these peaceable Times the Temple of Janus was shut, Halcyon Days shin'd round the Island, and the Influence of the King's peaceful Mind had almost an universal Operation.* Whereas it was never pretended that this King's Counsels had the least Influence on the Nations around us. *Wilson* gives another Picture of these Times of Peace even where he spoke of the Halcyon Days. " Nothing now but Bravery " and Feasting, the Parents of Debauchery and " Riot, flourish'd amongst us. There is no Theme " for History where Men spill more Drink than " Blood. When Plots and Contrivances for Lust " in dark Corners are more practis'd than Stra- " tagems of War; and when the Stages with silken " Pageants and Poppers that slacken the Sinews, " are more frequented than those Theatres of Ho- " nour, where Industry, browns and hardens the " Arms. Peace is a great Blessing, if it bring not " a Curse with it; but War is more happy in its " Effects than it, especially if it takes away the

Wilson; 101.

P. 233.

Sir A. W. P. 125.

Coke, 91.

A.D. 1617. "Distemper that grows by long Surfeits without
 "destroying the Body. But since these *Buskind*
 "Ornaments are wanting, we must inbellish our
 "Discourses with such Passages as paced up and
 "down in the *Sock of Peace*". Instead of these
 just and natural Reflections, the Archdeacon, whose
 Function methinks shou'd have inspir'd him with
 some such Sentiments, extols the King's Care of
 the Church's Revenues; however, he acknow-
 ledges that the Book of *Sports*, which was pub-
 lish'd next Year, was an *Encroachment on the Sab-*
ath, and gave both King and People more Liberty
to profane it. All Ministers who refus'd to read
 that impious Book in their Churches were impris-
 on'd and suspended by the *High-Commission Court*;
 and I do not find any better Reason for this Impi-
 ety and Persecution than what *Echard* gives us:
The King was a great Lover of Sports. Dr. *Ab-*
bot Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several other
 Bishops, strenuously oppos'd the *Profanation* of the
Lord's Day by Authority; and great Numbers of
 Divines not only refus'd to read the King's Decla-
 ration, but preach'd zealously against *Sabbath-*
breaking, tho' warrant'd by his Majesty; whose
 main Argument was, to prevent the Protestants in
Lancashire turning Papists to have the same Pri-
 vileges of Plays and Pastimes on the *Lord's-Day*,
 as the Popish Priests allow'd their Followers. King
James took notice of the Want of these *Sunday*
Sports in his Journey thro' *Lancashire* to *Scotland*,
 where he stay'd about three Months; and at his
 Return set forth his Declaration for *Dancing, Leap-*
ing, Vaulting, Shooting, Maygames, Whitfun-Ales,
Morrice-Dances, Maypoles on the Sabbath-Day. It
 is sad to recount, says Dr. *Fuller*, what Grief and
 Distraction was occasion'd by this Declaration in ma-
 ny honest Mens Hearts. *Sanderfon*, as sagacious a
 Writer as ever wrote for this *Profanation* of the
Lord's-Day, informs us, "That several Counties
 "excell'd in some of these Pastimes; and to en-
 "ertain Community with their Mirth, the Court
 "Progresses took Delight to judge of their Wa-
 "gers in the Journey to *Scotland*; which the Peo-
 "ple observing, petition'd the King to be merry
 "in Breach of the Law of God, and all Laws Di-
 "vine and Human since the Profession of Chri-
 "stianity". This Book, according to *Wilson*, was
 a Trap to catch conscientious Men, whom they cou'd
 not otherwise with all their Cunning ensnare. He
 blames the Court Prelates for promoting, as they
 did, the *Dancing-Book*. "These and other such
 "Machinations of the Bishops to maintain their
 "temporal Greatness, Ease and Plenty, made the
 "Stones in the Walls of their Palaces moulder a-
 "way, and come to nothing". For it is not to
 be conceiv'd, what Offence this *Sabbath-break-*
ing gave to the People in general, and how it
 strengthen'd the *Puritan Party*, who cry'd out a-
 gainst it as a national Sin, which was threaten'd
 with national Vengeance. Yet the wise King not
 only commanded the Book of *Sports* to be pub-
 lish'd, but affected to give an Example to his Sub-
 jects by putting the *Lord's-Day* to the same Use
 he enjoind by his Book; and it was observ'd, that
 his Carriages commonly set out on a *Sunday*, when
 he remov'd his Court from one Place to another.
 Thus they pass'd thro' *London* soon after the De-
 claration was made publick on a *Sabbath-Day* in
 Time of Divine Service; and making a very great
 Clutter and Noise, the Lord-Mayor, Sir *George*
Bolles, commanded them to be stopp'd. The Of-
 ficers belonging to the Carriages return'd imme-
 diately to Court, and complain'd to the King of
 this Violence; upon which his Majesty in a great
 Rage swore, *he thought there had been no more*
Kings in England but himself. However, having
 cool'd upon it a little, he sign'd a Warrant to the
 Lord Mayor to let them pass; which he obey'd
 with this Answer, *Whilst it was in my Power, I did*
my Duty; but that being taken away by a bigger

Wilson,
106.

Power, it is my Duty to obey: Which being told A.D. 1617.
 the King, he was so touch'd with it, that it is said
 he sent the Lord Mayor his Thanks for it.

Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the King's faithful and ho-
 nest Servant and Secretary, dying, his Majesty
 made Sir *Robert Naunton* and Sir *George Calvert*
 Secretaries. Sir *Robert* was a zealous Protestant,
 and Sir *George* a Papist of the *Spanish Faction*,
 which flourish'd as much as the King's Counte-
 nance cou'd make it; and by their Power and In-
 fluence the Papists not only grew bold but inso-
 lent, making Profelytes daily among the looser Sort
 of People.

The Earl, now Marquis of *Buckingham*, having Bucking-
 no Rival in the King's Favour, provided for his ham's Kin-
 Family as well as himself, and brought a Crowd dred ad-
 of them from their Country Cots to Court. His van'd.
 Mother *Mary Beaumont* before-mention'd, whom
 the Lord *Compton* had marry'd, was made Count-
 tefs of *Buckingham*. It was her Place to teach his
 Kindred, as fast as they came up, how to carry
 themselves, and put on a Court Dress and Air.
 The Women Kinsfolk were marry'd to Earls,
 Earls eldest Sons, Barons or chief Gentlemen of
 the greatest Estates; nay, the very Kitchen Wenches,
 according to *Welden*, were marry'd to Knights el- P. 1354
 dest Sons. "So that King *James*, who naturally
 "in former Times hated Women, had his Lodg-
 "ings replenish'd with them, and all of the Kin-
 "dred, the Brethren great Earls. Little Children
 "did run up and down the Royal Apartments
 "like little *Rabbit-Starters* about their Burroughs.
 "A strange Alteration! The King, who formerly
 "would not endure his Queen and Children in
 "his Lodgings, had now none but Women about
 "him". The Marquis's Sister was marry'd to
 the Earl of *Denbigh*; his elder Brother *John Villiers*
 was made Viscount *Purbeck*; his younger, *Christo-*
pher Villiers, Earl of *Anglesey*. One of his Cou-
 sins was marry'd to Sir *Anthony Ashley*; another
 to Sir *Christopher Perkins*. *Purbeck* marry'd the
 Lord Chief Justice *Coke's* Daughter; and the Mar-
 quis himself took to Wife one of the fairest, no-
 blest, and richest Heiresses in *England*, the Lady
Catherine, Daughter to *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*.
 It is evident, that such a Train cou'd not be sup-
 ported in such Grandeur and Expence without
 draining the King's *Exchequer*; and 'twill not be
 pretended that it was an Instance of his Majesty's
 Wisdom to waste the publick Treasure on a nu-
 merous, worthless Family, not one of whom had
 any personal Merit, but the Favourite himself,
 who look'd well, dress'd well, danc'd well; and
 that was all. To supply the Profusion of *Bucking-*
ham and his Kindred, all Offices were set to Sale,
 as well as all Honours and Dignities Ecclesiastical
 and Civil. *Welden* informs us the Lord Chan- P. 1294
 cellor *Bacon* paid a Pension, *Heath* the Attorney-
 General a Pension, and so others; not forgetting
Fotherby Bishop of *Sarum*, who paid 3500*l.* and
Dean Bargrave. He adds, *There were Books of*
Rates on all Offices, Bishopricks and Deaueries in
England. Books of Pensions and Fines, by which
 immense Sums were rais'd, tho' little of it came
 into the *Exchequer*.

The Catastrophe of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Fate
 happen'd about this Time. He had been releas'd
 out of the *Tower* two Years before; but his Estate
 being taken from him, and little or nothing left
 for his Subsistence, his Wants put him upon a Pro-
 ject to recover his ruin'd Fortunes by an Expedi-
 tion to *America*. Authors differ as to the Time
 and Cause of his Release out of the *Tower*.
 Some say it was for curing the Queen of a Di-
 stemper by a Chymical Preparation; others attri-
 bute it to the Merit of his *History of the World*,
 which he compiled during his Confinement, and
 was for many Years the best History of the Kind
 extant. It was publish'd about three Years before
 his unfortunate Voyage to *Guiana*. But the true
 Reason

Sir Walter
Raleigh's
Fate.

Coke, 934

A.D. 1617. Reason of his Enlargement seems to be the Injustice and Scandal of keeping a Man of his Worth longer in Prison, for a Crime which was too ill prov'd to deserve fourteen Years Imprisonment; and the true Reason of his adventuring to *America* in his old Age, was his Impatience under that Poverty which the Forfeiture of his Estate had reduc'd him to. There is something strangely incompatible in King *James's* Conduct with respect to this Expedition. He is in perfect Amity with *Spain*, his Ambassador *Digby* is treating for a Match between the Infanta and his Son the Prince of *Wales*, and yet he grants a Commission to Sir *Walter Raleigh* to seize those Mines which the Catholick King claim'd as his. Sir *Walter* is in that Commission stild his beloved and faithful Servant, *Delecto & Fideli*, which was incompatible with the Attainder he lay under, and a direct Pardon or a Nullity; for a Man who was dead in Law, cou'd not in common Sense have a Power of Life and Death over other Men, as he had by this Commission. And if it was a Pardon, which it must be, or it was Nonsense, the cutting off his Head afterwards for an obsolete Attainder, was as much a Murder, as the cutting his Throat wou'd have been before he was attain'd. This is the plain Fact, and plain Argument, which will not bear further Reflection. 'Tis thought Sir *Walter*, who had been at *Guiana* 21 Years before, was deceiv'd himself in the Information he had of Gold Mines there. However, he set up Marks to direct him to them when he came thither again. Captain *Keymis*, A. M. of *Baliol-College Oxon*, had been his Companion in the *Guiana* Voyage A. D. 1595, and brought with him a Piece of Ore, which very much resembled Gold: Sir *Walter*, who was a great Chymist, made an Experiment of it, and we are told, deceiv'd *Keymis* by representing it as real Gold, whereas all he meant by it, was to raise Contributions for his intended Voyage, and so repay the Contributors out of the Wealth he got in *America*, or never see *England* more. Every one knows the ill Success of this Enterprize, in which many Persons of Condition engag'd, as Sir *John Pennington*, Sir *Warham St. Leger*, Sir *John Fern*, Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Brother to the Lords *North* and *Mounteagle*, Captain *Chudleigh* of *Devonshire*, Major *Pigot*, Captain *Thornhurst*. The Fleet consisted of about 12 Sail, two of which deserted before they reach'd *Guiana*, commanded by Captain *Whitney* and Captain *Woollaston*. Most of the Officers fell sick, and Sir *Walter* himself was so weak, that he was carry'd in a Chair. When they arriv'd at *Guiana*, Captain *Keymis* was detach'd with five of the smaller Ships, to sail up the River *Orenoquo* to discover the Mine. He had with him five Companies of Foot commanded by Captain *Walter Raleigh*, the General's eldest Son, Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Captain *Chudleigh*, and Captain *Thornhurst*. The Marks which had been left for their Direction in the first Voyage, were either worn out or remov'd by the *Spaniards*, who had rais'd several Fortifications there since the Year 1595; a certain Proof that they claim'd the Country of *Guiana*, and King *James* commission'd Sir *Walter* to invade it by seizing the Mines, at the same Time that *Digby* was commission'd to conclude a Treaty of the strictest Alliance with the King of *Spain*, *Keymis* lost several Men by Shot from those Forts in his Passage up the River. No Mine was to be found, and that the Voyage might turn to some Account, *Keymis* attack'd *St. Thomas*, a *Spanish* Town: Mr. *Raleigh*, Sir *Walter's* Son, was kill'd in the Assault, but the Town was taken and plunder'd; a downright Breach of the Peace, and contrary to King *James's* Command, that they shou'd enter upon no Part of the King of *Spain's* Dominions, other than the Country where the undiscover'd Mine was, which was as much a Part of the *Spanish* Dominions as *Me-*

xico and *Peru*; for the Pope had given the King of *Spain* all that Continent of *America*, and he had no better Title to any part of it. The Country where the Mine was said to be, had been described by Sir *Walter* as exactly as he cou'd; to which Description was added the Number of Ships, the Complement of Men, the Ordnance of every Ship. A Draft of the whole was given to the King, who gave it to *Gondemar* the *Spanish* Envoy; and we are told a Copy of it was found by *Keymis* at *St. Thomas*, when he took the Town. I do not think this deserves the severe Reflections which are made on it in History: For King *James* cou'd do no less than satisfy his Brother of *Spain*, that the Armament was not intended against his Subjects, but was made by Adventurers in quest of Riches, which being not yet discover'd, cou'd be no body's Property. No fair way of arguing, for the Proprietor of any Land, has the Propriety of every Mine within the Bounds of it discover'd or not discover'd. The sacking of *St. Thomas*, was certainly a Breach of Sir *Walter's* Promise to the King upon his Allegiance, not to commit offensive Hostilities against the *Spaniards*; and when *Keymis* return'd from his Enterprize without News of the Mine, *Raleigh* was perplex'd to the very Soul, telling him he had undone him, by wounding his Credit with the King past Recovery, but he might assure himself to have a Share of his Majesty's Displeasure. *Keymis*, in great Anxiety, retires to his Cabin, and thot himself with a Pistol. Sir *Walter* hearing the Noise, ask'd What it was? Answer was made, Captain *Keymis* has shot off a Pistol in his Cabbin to cleanse it: But *Keymis's* Man entering the Cabbin, found his Master weltring in his Blood. The Pistol having a little Bullet, only crack'd the Ribs, which being too slow for his Fury he desperately thrust a Knife in after it up to the Haft, and expir'd. Sir *Walter* wou'd have prevail'd with his Followers to sail directly to *France*, where he was promis'd Protection. But the Majority was for returning home, and accordingly the Fleet first put into *Ireland*, and then into *Plymouth*, where Orders were come to seize Sir *Walter* as soon as he arriv'd, to appease the *Spanish* Ambassador, who dinn'd the Kings Ears with the Sack of *St. Thomas*. Sir *Lewis Stewkely*, Vice-Admiral of *Devon*, a Kinsman of *Raleigh's*, apprehended him, and brought him to *London* the 9th of *August* in the following Year. Being committed to the *Tower*, he form'd a Design to escape with the Privy of his Cousin *Stewkely*, who betray'd him, and receiv'd the Reward of his Villany when he was afterwards hang'd for counterfeiting the Coin. Sir *Walter* was re-taken on the *Thames*, examin'd by the Lord-Chancellor and Privy-Council, and warn'd to prepare for Death. On the 28th of *October* he was convey'd to the King's-Bench Bar in *Westminster-Hall*, where Sir *Henry Montagu* Lord-Chief-Justice, demanded of him why Sentence of Death pass'd upon him fifteen Years before, shou'd not be executed. He pleaded his Commission *Dilecto & Fideli Waltero Raleigh*, and that the King's belov'd and faithful Servant cou'd not be a Traytor. The Court over-ru'd his Plea, the best that cou'd be made in Justice and Reason, and order'd him to be executed the very next Day. It is a very melancholy Consideration, that there have always been found among the Learned in the Law, even the most eminent, such as wou'd sacrifice their Learning and Conscience to the Pleasure of the Prince. The *French* Ambassador the Baron *de Chesne* interceded for Sir *Walter Raleigh*, but his Fate was resolv'd, and his Blood given to *Gondemar* as the Price of *St. Thomas*. Had he been try'd for exceeding his Commission, and infringing the Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, and been found guilty, there wou'd have been a Colour of Justice in cutting off his Head. But unless he cou'd have been punish'd for another Man's Crime, himself knowing nothing of *Keymis's* Attempt against

A.D. 1617.

Wilson, p. 115.

A.D. 1618.

against

A.D. 1618.

gainst *St. Thomas* 'till 'twas done, his Life cou'd not have been taken away on that Account; and to behead him for a Treason which had been laugh'd at for a dozen Years, was the boldest Act of Injustice and Cruelty that ever was committed in a Christian Country, a daring Insult against Law and Humanity. The People wish'd *Raleigh's* Head on Secretary *Calvert's* Shoulders, and clamour'd so much against the Execution of an antiquated Sentence, that King *James* thought it necessary to publish an *Apology*, which, says *Osborn*, according to the Mode of weak and ill-consulted Princes, render'd the Condition of that Proceeding worse in the World's Opinion. The Wisdom of granting the Commission to Sir *Walter*, and the Justice of taking away his Life for a Crime committed fifteen Years before, if ever it was committed at all, are fit Topics for such Panegyrics as *Sanderfon* and *Echard*.

Treaty of Marriage with the Infanta.

Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Death reviv'd the Treaty of Marriage with the Infanta of Spain, to which King *James* afterwards sacrific'd the Interests of his only Daughter the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Royal Family, who were the Care of Providence for the Good of Religion, and the Glory of this Kingdom. It is not deny'd, that a Toleration of Popery was a separate Article of the Marriage Treaty; and how consistent that was with his Majesty's Zeal for the Protestant Church of *England*, is left to the Reader's Consideration. The *Spaniards* flatter'd him with Hopes of Two Millions of Gold as the Infanta's Portion; and the King who, as *Coke* writes, was never poorer, cou'd not resist the Temptation, tho' every reasonable Man in his Kingdom, but himself and his Minions, cou'd see 'twas only a Bait to lead him into *Spanish* Measures, and promote the Interest of the House of *Austria*, which in good Policy he shou'd always have oppos'd, as his glorious Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth* had done. The Head of his Ministry, and in a Manner of his Monarchy, was the Marquis of *Buckingham*, who indulg'd himself in all Riot and Luxury. His Majesty being so far from discountenancing him in it, that Sir *Edward Peyton* informs us he encourag'd and assist'd him. The Baronet writes thus: "To please this Favourite, the King gave Way to the Duke to entice others to his Will. Two Examples I will recite. First, the King entertain'd Sir *James Crofts*, and his Daughter, a beautiful Lass, at *Newmarket*, to sit at Table with the King. This he did then to procure *Buckingham* the easier to vitiate her. Secondly, Mrs. *Dorothy Gawdy*, being a rare Creature, King *James* carried *Buckingham* to *Culford* to have his Will on that Beauty; but Sir *Nicholas Bacon's* Sons convey'd her out of a Window into a private Chamber, and so disappointed the Duke of his wicked Purpose." Sir *Edward Peyton* was then at *Culford*, and assist'd the two *Bacons* in that cleanly Conveyance. He adds; Truly that Day a sober Man was hard to be seen in King, Prince, and Nobles. His Majesty wrote a Letter to the Pope, That there shou'd be a Toleration for Popery, when he had brought his Affairs to his Bent in Great-Britain. The Letter was discover'd by a lucky Chance to the seven Years Parliament, and complain'd of in the Remonstrance to the King, who made the *Scotish* Secretary own this Act, and affirm it was his, and not the King's, promising him to take him off at last with Advancement, but contrary it occasion'd the Secretary's Ruin. The King and Prince sign'd an Article, that the Pope shou'd be satisfied in his Conscience with respect to the tolerating *Papists* before he granted the Dispensation. Notwithstanding which, his Majesty appear'd very zealous for suppressing the *Arminians* in *Holland*, and restoring Peace to the Protestant Church. The *Arminians*, as has been receiv'd, were term'd *Remonstrants*, and the opposite Party *Contra-Remonstrants*. The former had *Barneveldt* for their Leader, who out of Hatred to the Prince of *Orange*,

P. 34.

Buckingham's Levities.

King writes to the Pope. P. 35.

Coke, P. 107.

enter'd into Intrigues tending to the Destruction of the Government, for which he lost his Head, and one of his Accomplices, the famous *Hugo Grotius*, was condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, but made his Escape in a Trunk, which his Wife told the Guard was full of *Arminian* Books, that were to be immediately burnt.

A.D. 1618.

To put an End to this Controversy, the States-General resolv'd to call a national Synod at *Dort*, and amongst other Princes and States, invited King *James* to send some Divines to represent the Reform'd Church of *England*, who accordingly appointed Dr. *Carlton* Bishop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Hall* afterwards Bishop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Davenant* afterwards Bishop of *Sarum*, and Dr. *Ward* Archdeacon of *Taunton*, to assist at that Synod. Excellent Divines! And had our national Church been always blest with such Fathers, the dreadful Words *Schism* and *Persecution* had never been met with in our Histories. One of King *James's* Injunctions to them was, That they conform themselves to the Confessions of the Neighbour Reform'd Churches, and hold good Correspondence with them. How does this agree with *Laud's* forbidding the *Dutch* and *Walloon*s to worship God after their own manner, and with the Lord *Clarendon's* Panegyrick on King *Charles II.* for refusing to go to the Protestant Church at *Charenton* in *France*? The States-General allow'd these four Divines Ten Pounds a Day for their Entertainment; and King *James* sent after them one *Balcanqual* a *Scotish* Divine, but a Hater of the *Scotish* Church, to represent her. He had a particular Seat erected for him, which *Fuller* tells us discompos'd the Uniformity of the Building, which was extremely regular before. Dr. *Joseph Hall* falling sick, return'd to *England* for Recovery of his Health, and Dr. *Thomas Goad* Chaplain to Archbishop *Abbot*, was sent to supply his Place. This Synod having agreed upon a Confession of Faith, known by the Name of the *Belgick Confession*, the *English* Divines protested against what related to Discipline, and approv'd of all the doctrinal Points; which shews us, what few of the rural Clergy have not the least Notion of, that the Church of *England* is the very same with the Church of *Holland* in Matters of Doctrine; and then I think we need not scruple to conform to her on account of Discipline. The fierce *Montagne*, Author of the *Appeal*, which we shall hereafter have Occasion to speak of, fell furiously upon these reverend *English* Doctors, for approving any thing which the *Dutch* Protestants approv'd. The States-General gave them at their Departure a Medal of Gold, and 200 Pounds to bear their Expences back. This Synod condemn'd *Arminianism*; but tho' it sunk here, it rose again in *England*, and was cherish'd by the most rigid of the rigorous Churchmen in Opposition to *Puritanism*, or rather to the Purity of the Christian Religion.

Considering of what poor Materials the History of this Reign consists, we must not omit the Arrival of *Antonio de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spolato* in *England*. He had been fourteen Years Archbishop of that See in *Dalmatia*, under the State of *Venice*, and pretending Conscience, he renounced the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, and conform'd to that of *England* about a Year before he arriv'd here. He said the *Romish* Church was mystical *Babylon*, the Pope a *Nimrod*, a Tyrant, *Schismatick*, *Heretick*, and even *Antichrist* himself. It seems he had a Pique against the Pope, *Paul V.* for making him pay 500 Crowns a Year out of his Bishoprick to a Suffragan, and in a Fury left *Italy*. He made but a short Stay in the *United-Provinces*, not liking their *Presbyterian* Government, too mean for his archiepiscopal Spirit. Coming to *England*, he was receiv'd by King *James* with as much Favour as if he had been a real Convert. He soon found out the King's Foible, and flattering him for his Learning and Knowledge

Archbishop Spolato turns to the Church of England.

A.D. 1618. in Divinity, obtain'd several rich Presents and profitable Preferments, his Majesty sending him a fair Bason and Bowl of Silver, the Archbishop received it with this Compliment; *Mist mihi Rex Magnæ Britannicæ, &c.* The King of Great-Britain has sent me a Silver Bason to wash from me the Filth of the Roman Church, and a Silver Cup to mind me to drink the Purity of the Gospel. He was soon after made Dean of *Windsor*, with the good Parsonage of *West-Islesly* in *Berkshire* annex'd to it, and Master of the *Savoy*; which Benefices he was no sooner possess'd of, than he began to be very vexatious to his Tenants, and intended to question all his Predecessors Leases at the *Savoy*; but Dr. King Bishop of *London*, reprimanded him so severely for it, that he dropp'd that Design. Dr. Fuller owns King *James* was deluded with this Man's false Spirit, which must be taken for another Evidence of Wisdom. *Gondemar* the *Spanish* Envoy taking Offence at a Jest the Archbishop made upon him, told King *James* he was still a *Papist* in his Heart, and he wou'd prove it. To effect it, he wrote to his Master the King of *Spain*, to demand *de Dominis's* Pardon of the Pope, with a Promise of Preferment, and a Cardinal's Cap, if he wou'd sign a Recantation of what he had said and written against the Catholick Church. *Spolato* readily embrac'd the Motion, and sign'd the Recantation, which was presented him by *Gondemar*, who carry'd it immediately to the King. His Majesty order'd the Matter to be kept secret, *De Dominis* being at that very Instant an importunate Petitioner for the Archbishoprick of *Tork*, vacant, as it was thought, by the suppos'd Death of *Matthew*, which his Majesty denying him after he was convinc'd of his Falshood, *Spolato* desir'd leave to depart the Kingdom, and was commanded so to do within twenty Days, and never to return. This Message startled *de Dominis*, who expected to be courted to stay in *England*; and when he found the King was in earnest, he made all the Interest he cou'd to be permitted to stay, but all being in vain, he shipp'd himself with Count *Swartzenbourg* the Imperial Ambassador, and return'd to *Flanders*, from whence he went to *Rome*, where he liv'd on a small Pension paid him by Pope *Gregory XV.* whose Successor *Urban VIII.* prohibited the Payment of it; and upon Information of some Expressions of his in Praise of the Books he had written against Popery, he was seiz'd and thrown into Prison, where he dy'd, and his Corpse being excommunicated after his Death was burnt in the Field of *Flora*. Of this *Spolato* Dr. Fuller writes thus: "He was the first who, professing the Protestant Religion, us'd the Word *Puritan* to signify the Defenders of Matters of Doctrine in the Church of *England*. For merely the Word was only taken to denote such as dissented from the Hierarchy in Discipline and Church Government, which now was extended to brand such as were *Anti-Arminians* in their Judgments. As *Spolato* first abused the Word in this Sense, so we wish he had carried it away with him in his Return to *Rome*; whereas now, leaving the Word behind him in this extensive Signification, it has since by others been improv'd to asperse the most orthodox in Doctrine, and religious in Conversation." By this we see that the Divines and others, who were persecuted by *Laud* and the *Arminian* Prelates, were the most orthodox and religious, according to the Testimony of a Divine of our own Church; and how wise and how pious must King *James* be, to ridicule and hate the most religious and orthodox of his Subjects? Let it be remember'd that the Term *Puritan*, us'd as a Reproach, was the Invention of this Arch Apostate and Impostor *Antonio de Dominis* Archbishop of *Spolato*.

Recants:

P. 99.

Puritans, whence the Word.

Q. Anne's Death.

ance of one in *Libra* for twenty-eight Days together. *Echard*, who, as has been observ'd, affects every where the *marvellous*, will have it to prognosticate the Death of Queen *Anne*, Consort to this King; but doubtless the Swelling which attends *Hydropick* Distempers, was a much more certain Prognostication of her Majesty's dying of the *Dropy*. Her Character is various according to the Ingenuity or Information of the Historians. Read Sir *Edward Peyton*, pag. 27, 28; and *Echard*, pag. 395, and you will as soon reconcile two Contraries as their Histories: The latter says she was a peaceable and dutiful Wife, and a virtuous and pious Queen; the former represents her as amorous, luxurious, and the Reverse of Piety and Virtue, inso-much that she endeavour'd to corrupt her Son the chaste Prince *Henry*, the Example of whose Life was a tacit constant Rebuke of his Father's and his Mother's. "She so initiated him in the Court of *Cupid*, as one Night she shut him under Lock and Key with a beautiful young Lady now dead, which shew'd her Love to the Sport," &c. I care not to repeat any more of it, and shou'd not have repeated this, but to shew the Reader what sort of Piety the Archdeacon's Book is set out with; for *Mary Queen of Scots* was also, as he records it, a most virtuous pious Princess.

This Year his Majesty created *Robert Sidney* Lord Viscount *Lisle* Earl of *Leicester*, *William* Lord Compton Earl of *Northampton*, *William* Lord Cavendish Earl of *Devonshire*, and *Robert* Lord Rich Earl of *Warwick*.

About the beginning of the following Year, the Earl of *Northumberland* was discharg'd out of the Tower, where he had been confin'd ever since the *Gunpowder-Plot* for harbouring his Cousin *Thomas Percy*, one of the *Plotters*. His Liberty was procur'd him by the Lord *Hay* Viscount *Doncaster*, who marry'd his Daughter the Lady *Lucy* without his Consent. This Lady was the same who under the Name of the Countess of *Carlisle*, made the most shining Figure in the Court of King *Charles I.* as a Beauty, Wit, and even as a Politician. The old Earl wou'd give her nothing, nay, he cou'd hardly be brought to accept of his Liberty from the Hands of a Son-in-law, whom he thought unworthy his Alliance. The Earl valu'd himself on the Antiquity and Nobility of his Family, and hearing that the Favourite *Buckingham* was drawn about in a Coach and Six Horses, he rode through the City of *London* in a Coach with Eight Horses, which had never been seen in *England* before.

Now it was that the Troubles in *Bohemia* involved *Germany* in a cruel War. The House of *Austria* had possess'd themselves of that Kingdom, which was elective, and in the Person of *Ferdinand* Brother to *Charles V.* made it hereditary under Pretence of *Ferdinand's* Claim in Right of his Wife *Anne* Sister to *Lewis* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, who was slain by the *Turks* in the Battel of *Mohatz* an hundred Years before. *Maximilian* the Son of *Ferdinand* succeeded him, not only as Emperor, but as King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*. His Son and Successor the Emperor *Maximilian II.* held also both these Kingdoms: The same did his Brother the Emperor *Rodolph*. The great Power of the House of *Austria*, render'd all Attempts of the *Bohemians* to recover their Liberty abortive. *Rodolph* was a worthy Prince, and granted a Toleration of the Protestant Religion as well to the *Austrians* as *Bohemians*; and the latter were so easy under the good Government of *Maximilian II.* and *Rodolph*, that they were insensible of the Loss of their Freedom. *Rodolph's* Brother and Successor *Matthias*, was a mild but a weak Prince; and the *Papish* Party prevail'd upon him to surrender his Right to the Kingdom of *Bohemia* to his Cousin *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Austria*, Son of *Charles* younger Brother to the Emperor *Maximilian I.* This Archduke *Ferdinand* had, not the least Pre-
O
tence

A.D. 1618.

P. 27.

A.D. 1619.

Countess of Carlisle.

King of Bohemia.

A.D. 1619. tence of Right to the Crown of *Bobemia*, either by Election or Succession, for *Anne* Wife of *Philip III.* King of *Spain*, had the hereditary Right, her Mother being the eldest Daughter of *Maximilian II.* However, *Ferdinand* was declar'd Successor to *Matthias*, without Consent of the States of *Bobemia*, who were enough incens'd before by the Tyranny of the *Austrian* Governors, under the weak Government of *Matthias*. They assembled to represent their Grievances to the Emperor, especially those that concern'd *Religion*, those Governors having shamefully violated the Toleration granted them by *Maximilian* and *Rodolph*. The *Austrian* Ministers, instigated by Jesuits, instead of redressing their Grievances, insulted the principal Senators, and exasperated that Body to such a degree, that they fell upon them, and flung Count *Martinitz* *Slabata* the Emperor's Chief Justice, *Snesiansus* one of the Council of State, and *Fabricius* the Secretary, out of a Window in the Castle of *Prague*. This daring Act was like drawing the Sword, and the Desperateness of the Action oblig'd them to throw away the Scabbard. The Count *de la Tour*, a Leading Senator, made a pathetick Speech to the States against the Tyranny of the *Austrian* Governors, and *Ferdinand's* Succession. The Citizens of *Prague* and the *Bobemians* in general, took Fire after the Example of the Count, and chose a Council of thirty to undertake the Government till they could restore the Constitution, and elect them a King, as most certainly it was their Right to do in opposition to *Ferdinand*, who not long after succeeded *Matthias* in the Empire, by the Vote of *George Duke of Saxony*, who, tho' a Protestant, was prevail'd upon to abandon the Interest of Religion, and declare for one of the most cruel Persecutors the Reformation ever met with. The like did *Maurice Duke of Saxony*, in the Time of the Emperor *Charles V.* and how the House of *Saxony* have behav'd in our own Times, will, in the Case of the Massacre of *Thorn*, be remember'd with Horror. The *Bobemians* did not think themselves oblig'd to acknowledge *Ferdinand's* Election to the Empire, and much less to the Kingdom of *Bobemia*, for he was not legally their King: He was consequently no legal Elector as King of *Bobemia*, tho' his Vote was taken as such for himself, and without his own Vote for himself, he cou'd not have carry'd it. The States of *Bobemia* therefore disclaim'd his Election as invalid, and protested by Oath against his Claim to their Crown.

During these Commotions, King *James* and his Favourite *Buckingham*, were in full Peace, and enjoy'd all the Pleasures which usually attend it in a luxurious Court, but that he might not seem to have forgotten the Continent in this Lethargy of State, he sent the Viscount *Doncaster* to mediate a Reconciliation between the Emperor and the *Bobemians*, who carrying nothing but good Words and good Cloaths with him, the Effects of his Negotiation were equal to the Substance of it. His Majesty's Mediation was neglected by both Parties, and the *Bobemians* offer'd their Crown to *Charles Duke of Savoy*, tho' a Papist, on account of his better Title to it by Heirship, his Mother being a younger Daughter of *Maximilian II.* King *James* did his utmost to excite the Duke of *Savoy* to accept of this Offer, but the Pope and King of *Spain* dissuaded him from it, and then the States had Recourse to *Frederick* Elector Palatine; who besides that he was a zealous Protestant, had amass'd great Riches, and cou'd give them the best Assistance of any Prince in the Empire, if King *James*, the Elector's Father-in-law, wou'd assist him according to his Ability. The Prince of *Anhalt*, Count *de Holoch*, and the Baron *Done*, were most intimate with the Elector Palatine, who did not at first hearken to the Offer of the Crown made him by the *Bobemians*, who knew too little of King *James's*

The King neglected abroad.

Temper and Genius, in making the least Dependence on Succours from him. They apply'd to the before-mention'd Lords in a manner that succeeded, and the Elector accepted of the Royal Dignity, without concerting with his Father-in-law, who had a good Pretence to preserve his pacifick Counsels, his Son having so rashly involv'd himself in a difficult and dangerous Affair without his Consent. Baron *Done* was immediately dispatch'd to *England* to excuse the Suddenness of the Acceptation, but his Reception was as cold as cou'd be expected from a Prince who dreaded every thing which had the least Look of War, tho' his Majesty's Pretence was, that he wou'd not countenance any People in a Power to dispose of a Kingdom. Archbishop *Abbot* earnestly solicited him to assist the new King; and not being able to attend the Council himself on account of Sickness, he wrote to Sir *Robert Naunton* Secretary of State. My humble Advice is, there is no going back, but a countenancing of it against all the World, with ringing of Bells, and making Bonfires in London, so soon as it shall be certain of the Coronation. I am satisfied in my Conscience the Cause is just, God having rejected that proud and bloody Man, who wou'd have made the Kingdom not elective; and when God hath set up the Prince a Mark of Honour to all Christendom, to propagate the Gospel, and protect the Distressed, I dare to do no other, but to follow where God leads. Our striking in will comfort the *Bobemians*, honour the *Palgrave*, strengthen the Union, stir up *Denmark*, &c. He closes his Letter thus: This from my Bed, and when I can stand, I hope to do better service. Such Sentiments as these were sure to gain him the mortal Hatred of all Enemies to the true reform'd Religion; and one may suspect that such Sentiments as these provok'd the Earl of *Clarendon*, or his Editors, to say of this Archbishop, He was a Man of no Credit, and totally ignorant of the Constitution of the Church; an Assertion equally bold and false. The Elector was crown'd King of *Bobemia* at *Prague* about two Months after. But King *James* wou'd not suffer Bonfires to be made, nor the *Bobemians* to be comforted, nor the *Palgrave* to be honour'd, as that most reverend Father advis'd; and one cannot enough lament the Loss of this Opportunity to establish the Protestant Religion in *Germany*; for it is plain that a small Assistance wou'd at first have supported the King of *Bobemia*; 10000 Men, and 100000 Pounds in Money more than he had, wou'd have driven the *Austrians* out of the Kingdom; and the new King's Success at first wou'd have so encouraged the Protestant Princes and States, that *Ferdinand* wou'd soon have been oblig'd to give up an imaginary Title for Peace. Had King *James* committed no other weak and scandalous Act of Government, this alone had been sufficient to have render'd all Eulogy on his Wisdom idle and ridiculous. Instead of Assistance, he sent Embassies. Sir *Richard Weston* afterwards Lord Treasurer, and Sir *Edward Conway* afterwards Secretary of State, were his Ambassadors to the Emperor *Ferdinand*. I have often wonder'd how Men of any Distinction for Parts or Rank, cou'd be got to go on such Errands, which were sure to make them contemptible wherever they came. *Ferdinand* had proclaim'd the King of *Bobemia* Traitor, and given his Electoral Dignity to the House of *Bavaria*, who enjoy it to this Day. The Duke of *Saxony* undertook to put the Imperial Ban in Execution, and invade the *Bobemian* Provinces with an Army of 20000 Men; Forces were immediately rais'd on both Sides, and some *English* Volunteers permitted to serve under the Prince of *Orange*, who oppos'd *Spinola* General of the King of *Spain's* Army, which invaded the *Palatinate*. It is not to be question'd but the *States General* wou'd vigorously have seconded his Majesty's Endeavours to preserve that Electorate for his Son-in-law; and that

A.D. 1619.

Archbishop Abbot advises the King to assist the Elector Palatine.

K. James's Weakness and Covardice.

A.D. 1620.

A.D. 1620.

English in
the Prince
of Orange's
Army.

that *Spinola* would not have set foot in it, had he not been sure of King *James's* standing Neuter, and tamely seeing the Ruin of his Daughter, and a numerous Royal Family. Sir *Horatio Vere* commanded one Regiment only of about 1200 *English* in the Prince of *Orange's* Army, and had with him the young Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex* his Nephews, Captain *Fainfax*, afterwards the famous General *Fairfax*, Sir *Gerard Herbert*, Captain *Burroughs*, and several other brave Officers, who distinguish'd themselves in that Service.

But King *James* disown'd his Son-in-law's Proceedings by his Agent *Cottington* in *Spain*; and the *English* who serv'd in the *Palatinate* were look'd upon only as Auxiliaries in the *Dutch* Army. *Spinola* was put to it by the Prince of *Orange* and the *Hollanders* only, what then would have become of him if a good Body of *English* Troops had join'd the *Dutch*? The Prince of *Anhalt* made head against the Imperial Army in *Bohemia*; and the Forces on both Sides being pretty near equal, had King *James* sent or hir'd Troops to have join'd *Anhalt*, the Battel of *Prague* could not have ended so fatally. 'Twas fought on the 18th of *November*, and the Prince of *Anhalt* and the *Bohemians* were entirely routed by the *Imperialists*; and the King and Queen left *Prague* the next Day, raking little with them of the Treasure which some say the King had been too sparing of, considering his Kingdom, nay his All was at Stake. *Anhalt* his General made his Peace with the Emperor, and enter'd into his Service. The *Spaniards* reduc'd all the Electoral Territories, except two or three Towns garrison'd by the *English* under *Vere*, *Herbert*, and *Burroughs*. The Matter is now left to Negotiation; which is manag'd by King *James* with as much Resolution as he had exerted in the Conduct of the War. The Truth is, his Majesty was afraid the Court of *Spain* would break off the Treaty of Marriage, which was still spun out, if he did any thing by War or Negotiation to offend the Emperor. As he dreaded Arms, so he avoided in all Treaties to insist on Articles which might in the least put it to the Hazard. The King of *Bohemia's* accepting that Crown is allow'd to be a rash Action by all Writers; but the greatest Part of the Rashness consists in his doing it in Despight of King *James's* unactive pacifick Temper; knowing, as he must know if he knew any thing after having been so nearly ally'd to him almost ten Years, that he lov'd nothing in the World so much as Flattery, Ease and Pleasure, and hated nothing in the World so much as Action and Peril. *Gondemar* the *Spanish* Ambassador, to lull him into a yet deeper Sleep, assur'd the King that his Master was in earnest for the Match; and besides the two Millions, would make a Present of the *Palatinate* to the Prince of *Wales* at the Marriage, upon which Sir *John Digby*, who negotiated that Matter in *Spain*, is made Baron of *Shireburn*, and Vice-chamberlain to the King. How did People in those Days acquire Honour and Dignities! *Digby* coming to *England*, Sir *Walter Aston* was dispatch'd into *Spain* to keep the Treaty alive till *Digby's* Return thither. The Courtiers who were in the *Popish* Interest, as *Arundel*, *Worcester*, *Calvert*, *Weston*, and others, made their Court to the King by promoting the Match out of Zeal to that Religion. *Buckingham* and all his Dependants did the same. The Duke of *Lennox* and the Marquis of *Hamilton* were not so active; and the Earl of *Pembroke* oppos'd it as much he could without hazarding his Majesty's Favour. In the mean time *Gondemar* was as much of the King's Cabinet Council as any of them, except *Buckingham*. The Papists were so proud of his Protection, that nothing less than a Toleration was in their Hopes and Expectations. He got Discharges for a Multitude of Jesuits and Priests; and among others for one *Baldwin*, who was accus'd to have had a Hand in the Gunpow-

Gonde-
mar's In-
fluence on
the King.

der Plot. He procur'd a Squadron of Men of War to be sent to the *Mediterranean* under Sir *Robert Mansel* against the *Algerines*, who were become too strong for the *Spaniards*. He bought up Ordnance, and all Sorts of warlike Stores, which he shipp'd for *Spain* to supply the *Spanish* Magazines, even while the Arms of *Spain* were battering the few *English* that remain'd in the *Palatinate*. Secretary *Naunton* taking notice of the *Spanish* Ambassador's Influence at Court, and his unjustifiable Conduct, was remov'd, and Sir *Edward Conway* put in his Place. The same whom we heard of in Conjunction with *Weston* employ'd in the Affair of *Bohemia*, where these two Ministers could only obtain a Pass for them to return peaceably after the Loss of the Battel of *Prague*. *Conway* was so little qualify'd for the Post which was given him, that King *James* was wont to say, he had a Secretary who could neither write nor read. *Naunton* was a Man of Learning, Abilities and Honesty, and consequently very unfit to be of this King's Council at this time. His Majesty was probably jealous of Sir *Robert Naunton's* Learning, affecting to be himself the greatest Professor in his Court. *Gondemar* knew the Affectation, and never fail'd to compliment him on that Article. The *Spaniards* Conversation was full of Point and Conceit, which was a way of Wit then much in Vogue. He had some Scholarship, but for the Jest sake would talk false *Latin* to make the King merry; and when his Majesty laugh'd he would say, *You speak like a Pedant, and I like a Gentleman*. By such small Subtilties he insinuated himself so far into the King's Affection, that he gain'd his Belief in whatever he said to him, especially relating to the Treaty of Marriage. The Court Ladies partook of his Favours, which consisted more in Presents than Amours; and there was no Lady of any Eminence for Wit or Raillery, whose good Word he did not by that Means engage.

This Year Sir *Henry Montague*, Lord Chief Justice, bought the Lord High Treasurer's Staff for 3000*l*. which however he did not keep long, for within the Year he was made Baron *Kimbolton*, Viscount *Mandeville*, Lord President of the Council, The Treasurer's Staff being given to Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, who, according to Sir *Anthony Welden*, had been an Apprentice to a Mechanick in *London*, and serv'd three broken Citizens. Himself got a small Place in the *Custom-House*, where he acquir'd some Knowledge of the Revenue, and became a Projector. As such he was entertain'd first by *Somerset*, and afterwards by *Buckingham*. Such Sort of Instruments being very necessary to such Sort of Statesmen, who spend the publick Treasure faster than it comes in! *Cranfield's* chiefest Merit was his marrying a Kinswoman of the Favourite, *Anne Brett*, Daughter to the Countess of *Buckingham's* Sister; for otherwise, as *Welden* tells us, he was nothing but a Pack of Ignorance folder'd together with Impudence. And his Fortune was answerable to his Merit; for tho' he was Lord Treasurer, he did not long hold his Office, being two Years after convicted of Corruption by his Peers with this Censure, *Thou Lionel Earl of Middlesex shalt never sit, or have any Voice in this House of Peers, and shalt pay for a Fine to our Sovereign Lord the King 20000*l**. His Posterity had been degraded had it not been for the Votes of the Bishops Bench. Upon which *Welden* remarks, *I verily believe it is one Cause that they will themselves be degraded*.

I have mention'd some of *Villiers's* Amours, and by whom he was bestiended in them. *Wildeham's* son confirms what *Welden* said of him, *If his Eye could out a wanton Beauty, he had his Setters that could spread his Nets*. And one may easily imagine there could not be much Religion there, where was so much Lewdness. What it was in Appearance the rigid Churchmen made their Advantage of,

Bucking-
ham's
Lewdness.
P. 149.

A.D. 1620. of, and the *Arminian* Tenets taking Root were nourish'd by his Majesty.

Buckingham's Character.

L. rr. 61.

Is it not prodigious, that a Prince who was as wife as the belov'd Son of *David*, should commit the Reins of Government to a callow Youth of no more Capacity than is sufficient to qualify a modern *Beau*? A foreign Author writes of him, *He was the most stiff and imperious Man in the World, and his Proneness to Love made him a very improper Person for Negotiations.* Again; *The Design of a War with France was above the Reach of a voluptuous Man, very incapable of managing so great an Affair, as the weak Execution made apparent.* The subtil *Spaniard* *Gondemar* observing what an ill Choice King *James* made of his Ministers on account of their Youth, told him in *Raillery*, *He was the wisest and happiest Prince in Christendom to make Privy-Counsellors sage at the Age of twenty one, which his Master the King of Spain cou'd not do till sixty.* How fit *Buckingham* was for an Admiral and General, in both which Stations we shall hereafter find him, appears by this Verse which was in every one's Mouth:

*Mars ad Opus Veneris, Martis ad Arma Venus.
In Venus Wars he's Mars, in Mars's Venus.*

P. 98.

For an old King, says *Coke*, he having reign'd in Scotland and England 51 Years, to doat upon a young Favourite scarce of Age, yet younger in Understanding, tho' as old in Vices as any of his Time, and to commit the whole Ship of the Commonwealth both by Sea and Land to such a Phacton, is a Precedent without any Example. One may see, by all King *James's* Actions, that when he gave himself up to any one of his Favourites, he did it entirely, and the Strength of his Wisdom cou'd put no Restraint upon it. Why is it that *Buckingham* has so glorious a Character in the Lord *Clarendon's* History? Did not that grave Chancellor know he was prodigal, voluptuous, rash and inconsiderate? Cou'd those Qualities escape him? No, doubtless; but he had another Quality which aton'd for all his bad ones; *he was a Friend to Laud, and favour'd Arminianism and Popery.* A Prince under the Influence of such Counsels must needs be a zealous Defender of the Religion and Liberties of his Protestant Subjects. Not only *Buckingham*, but his Mother had a Hand on the Helm of the State. Few Places were dispos'd of without her Consent. As much Court was made to her as to her Son, and much more than to the King himself. She was an *Apostate* to Popery, and protected the *Romish Jesuits* and *Jesuitesses*, or female Jesuits; of which Order there were no less than 200 *English* Damsels of good Birth and Quality. The Countess of *Buckingham's* Favour to the Papists was so notorious, that *Gondemar* wrote to *Spain*, *there was never more Hope of England's Conversion to Rome than now; for there are more Prayers and Oblations offer'd here to the Mother than to the Son.*

L. rr. 95.

Papists favour'd.
Will. 152.

P. 149.

A.D. 1621.

Parliament.

The King's Wisdom.

The Projector's Schemes for raising Money having generally fail'd, and the Treasury been a long time empty, there was no way left to supply the Profusion of the King and his Minions, but what they thought the very worst way of all, the Calling a Parliament, who they doubted not would be ready enough to give Money, if they cou'd be made believe his Majesty would employ it for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*. The People of *England* had it very much at heart out of Affection to the Queen of *Bohemia*, whose Zeal for the Protestant Religion had endear'd her and her Royal Family to all good Protestants.

The Parliament met the 13th of *January*, and King *James* open'd it with a long Speech, as polite and eloquent as the former Speeches. I shall only repeat a Passage or two, to shew how consummate was the Wisdom which the Earl of *Clu-*

rendon dwells so much upon. *A Parliament is a Head and a Body, the Monarch and the two Estates.* It was first a Monarchy just as it was among the Jews. After this rate *Saul* came before the Judges. Then after a Parliament. There are no Parliaments but in Monarchical Governments: for in *Venice*, the *Netherlands*, and other free Governments there are none; that is, the Senate of *Venice* is not call'd a Parliament, the Assembly of the States General of the United Provinces is not call'd an *English* Parliament, they are only Free Governments. The Advantage of a Monarch to tell them, *That hunting after Grievances is the Spirit of the Devil*, makes a Parliament a much greater Blessing than the Liberty of a Senate or Diet. In this Speech the King jumbled together the *Jesuits* and the *Puritans*. A wise way to open a Session, which he so much in want of. He told them the Reason he had not to approve of his Son-in-law's Acceptation of the Crown of *Bohemia*, as not holding with the *Jesuits* to dispose of Kingdoms, but with the *Popish* Emperor *Ferdinand* to make all Opposition Rebellion. He acquainted them with the Expence of the Lord *Doncaster's* Embassy, 3500*l.* Whereas *Wilson* assures us 'twas at least 50000*l.* and the King own'd he had sent the King of *Bohemia* only 10000*l.* which Sums were not proper to appear together in comparison. The Parliament knew well enough what was meant by *Subsidies* for Recovery of the *Palatinate*. That the Favourites were at their Wit's End for Money, and having been the Source of all the Grievances, they resolv'd to proceed upon them in the first place. Several Petitions were deliver'd from Persons imprison'd and ruin'd by Projectors and Informers, who had been active in promoting those illegal Exactions to which the King's Necessities and ill Counsels had driven him. The chief Actors in the great Patents for *Inns, Ale-houses, and gold Thread*, were Sir *Giles Mompeffon* and Sir *Francis Mitchel*, who, according to *Wilson*, *grated the Bones and suck'd out the very Marrow of the People*, and whose Oppression was thoroughly ripp'd up and laid open by the House of Commons. The Marquis of *Buckingham* was known by every one to be at the Head of these Projects, *Mompesson* being his Creature, and *Mitchel* brought from the *Brothels* at *Clerkenwell*; where, *Wilson* says, *he pick'd up a Livelibood* by granting the Whores Licenses, to an Office at *Westminster*, that he might be near at hand to obey the Commands he receiv'd from Court. The King was sensible *Villiers* lay under the Imputation of these Grievances: yet in a Speech to the Peers he said, *I remember that since the Beginning of this Parliament Buckingham hath told me, he never found such Quiet and Rest as in this Time of Parliament from Projectors and Informers, who at other times miserably vex'd him at all Hours.* There was no manner of Disguise in this Application of the King to the Lords in Recommendation of his Minion; but it was a Sort of Insult on their Understandings to commend him for opposing the very thing which they all knew he had promoted; and the Commons were now preparing to call him to Account for that and other Grievances, as appears by a Letter from Sir *Anthony Ashley* to *Buckingham*: *Cabala. Your Lordship may be most assur'd, that your Adversaries continue their Meetings and Conferences here in Holborn, how to give his Majesty some foul Distaste of you, as making you the only Author of all Grievances and Oppressions whatsoever for your private Ends; and I hope to be able in a few Days to give you good Overture of an uniting Oath taken to this Purpose amongst them.* The Parliament however contented themselves with falling upon the Under-workers in the odious Business of Patents. Sir *Giles Mompeffon* fled the Kingdom, his Escape being facilitated by *Buckingham* himself. But his Friend and Partner Sir *Francis Mitchel* met with a Punish-

A.D. 1621.

Projectors.

Illegal Practices.

Mompesson and Mitchel punish'd.

Cabala.

Will. 158.

A.D. 1621. Punishment suitable to his Crime. He was degraded of his Knighthood with Ceremonies of Debasing, and sentenc'd to ride thro' the whole City with his Face to the Horse's Tail, and a Paper on his Breast declaring the Foulness of his Crime. After he had been sufficiently expos'd to the Scorn of the Rabble, he was thrown into *Finsbury* Goal, and good Part of the Money he had got by his wicked Practices was squeez'd out of him by Fine.

L. Chan. Bacon's Fall. About the same time fell the famous Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, *un de plus beaux Genies de Siecle*, one of the greatest Genius's of the Age, according to a *French* Critick, who quotes a witty Saying of his which shew'd his Disposition; *Money is like Dung, good for nothing till 'tis spread*; and truly he spread it abroad so lavishly, that having no Heap left for himself, he to support his Profusion suffer'd his Servants and Officers to set many things to Sale, which were inconsistent with the Integrity of a Judge; and the Charge of Bribery and Corruption was but too fully prov'd against him. *Wilson* writes, that *what he rak'd in and screw'd for one way, he scatter'd and threw abroad another; for his Servants being young, prodigal and expensive Touths, his Treasure was their common Store, which they took without Stint, &c.* He lost his Peerage and the Seal; and it was debated whether he shou'd carry the Title of Viscount *St. Albans* to his Grave; which he did. When his Fine was in Debate, a Member of Parliament mov'd it might be 40 s. only; for if more he cou'd not pay it. But whatever his Fine had been, *Buckingham*, who advanc'd him, cou'd easily have got it off.

Full. 88. His Successor in the Chancery was Dr. *John Williams* then Dean of *Westminster*, soon after made Bishop of *Lincoln*, with a Promise from *Villiers* of a better Bishoprick when it fell. *Welden* tells us his Promotion was owing to the Hopes which *Buckingham's* Mother had of marrying him. But the Lord-Keeper *Williams* thought otherwise of that Marriage than did Dr. *Williams* Dean of *Westminster*, which, says the same Author, was the Cause of his Downfall. The same Author informs us, that the late Chancellor *Bacon* had been degraded, if it had not been for the Bishops Votes. He adds, "St. *Albans* was so very a Slave to *Buckingham*, and all that Family, that he durst not deny the Command of the meanest of the Kindred, nor oppose any thing. By this you see a base Spirit is ever most concomitant with the proudest Mind; and surely never so many Parts, and so base and abject a Spirit, dwelt together in one earthen Cottage, as in this Man. I shall not remember his Baseness, being out of his Place, of pinning himself, for very Scraps, on that noble Gentleman Sir *Julius Caesar's* Hospitality, that at last he was forc'd to get the King's Warrant to remove him out of his House; yet in his Prosperity, the one being Chancellor, and the other Master of the *Rolls*, did so scorn and abuse him, as he would alter any thing the other did". The Letters which *Bacon* wrote to several Courtiers on King *James's* coming in, prove that there was indeed something very abject in a Mind the most enlighten'd of his Age in all good Literature, especially that to the Earl of *Salisbury* begging the Place of Solicitor-General, and another to Sir *Edward Coke*, then Attorney-General, on the same Subject. *Villiers* cou'd do no less than procure a Pardon for a Person, who had paid such a slavish Submission to his Pleasure; and the Lord-Keeper *Williams* took notice of the irregular Proceedings of the late Chancellor *Bacon* in the passing of it, writing thus to *Buckingham*: "His Majesty and your Lordship do conceive that my Lord of *St. Albans* Pardon and Grant of his Fine came both together to my Hands, and so your Lordship directs me to pass the one and the other. But his Lordship was too cunning

"for me; he pass'd his Fine, whereby he hath deceiv'd his Creditors, ten Days before he presented his Pardon to the Seal; so as now in his Pardon I find his Parliamentary Fine excepted, which he hath before the sealing of the same obtain'd and procur'd; and whether the House of Parliament will not hold themselves mocked and derided with such an Exception, I leave to your Lordship's Wisdom". The Lord-Keeper acted like a faithful Counsellor; but I do not find his Counsel was hearken'd to. Dr. *Williams* had been Domestick Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, and very much in his Favour. A little before the Chancellor dy'd he sent for *Williams*, and said, *If you want Money, I will leave you such a Legacy as shall furnish you to begin the World like a Gentleman.* Sir, says the Chaplain, *I kiss your Hands; you have fill'd my Cup full; I am far from Want, unless it be of your Lordship's Directions how to live in the World if I survive you.* *Egerton* reply'd, *Well, I know you are an expert Workman: Take these Tools to work with; they are the best I have.* So he gave him some Books and Papers written all with his own Hand, being Directions concerning the well ordering the High Court of Parliament, the Court of Chancery, the Star-Chamber and Council-Board; as if he foresaw that he wou'd have Occasion of such Knowledge in the Course of his Fortune.

Sir *Edward Villiers*, half Brother to the Marquis of *Buckingham*, was as deep in the Mire as *Mitchel* the Projector and Informer; but *Williams* advis'd the Marquis to send him on an Embassy out of the way, and leave *Mompesson* and *Mitchel* to the Resentment of the Parliament. *Williams* had been sworn a Privy-Counsellor before the Seal was given him; and when he took it, there was great grudging among the Lawyers, that the chief Post in the Law shou'd be given to a Doctor of Divinity. It seems indeed a little preposterous to Laymen, who have no Rule to go by but Reason and common Sense, which seem to make the Vocation of the Holy Ghost and a Judgment-seat in a Law-Court very incompatible. *Williams*, who had refus'd to be Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, accepted of a Commission from him to be a Justice of Peace in *Northamptonshire*; and an Historian who was let into the Secret, but had not Wit enough to keep it, tells us his being made Lord Keeper was only to prepare the way for filling the Courts of Judicature with Churchmen, who wou'd have fix'd firm Footing there, says *Sanderfon*, had King *James liv'd to have effected his Desires.* Dr. *Williams* was doubtless a Man of great Abilities; and besides the Directions in the Lord *Ellesmere's* Manuscripts for his Conduct, he kept Sir *Harry Finch*, a Lawyer, in his House five or six Months to advise with him upon all Occasions.

Things were not carry'd so swimmingly in Parliament, as to make the King fond of their Company. The Commons enter'd into a Debate about the Growth of *Popery*, which was their constant Complaint from the Beginning to the End of the Reigns of the House of *Stuart*; of whom but one had the Courage to own himself a Papist, and to run the Country for so doing; but every one of them conniv'd at, if they did not encourage it. The Commons also canvass'd the *Spanish* Match; But his Majesty had a Party in that House strong enough to prevent their falling on his Ministers. This Party were still stronger in the House of Lords. *All the Courtiers, and most of the Bishops*, according to *Wilson*, steering by his Compass. Prince *Charles* was almost always present in the House to awe the Members: *Yet there were some gallant Men*, continues my Author, *who aim'd at the publick Liberty more than their private Interest. If any thing were spoken in the House, that did in the least reflect upon the Government, or touch, as the Courtiers thought, that noli me tangere the Prerogative,*

L. Keeper Williams. His Successor in the Chancery was Dr. *John Williams* then Dean of *Westminster*, soon after made Bishop of *Lincoln*, with a Promise from *Villiers* of a better Bishoprick when it fell. *Welden* tells us his Promotion was owing to the Hopes which *Buckingham's* Mother had of marrying him. But the Lord-Keeper *Williams* thought otherwise of that Marriage than did Dr. *Williams* Dean of *Westminster*, which, says the same Author, was the Cause of his Downfall. The same Author informs us, that the late Chancellor *Bacon* had been degraded, if it had not been for the Bishops Votes. He adds, "St. *Albans* was so very a Slave to *Buckingham*, and all that Family, that he durst not deny the Command of the meanest of the Kindred, nor oppose any thing. By this you see a base Spirit is ever most concomitant with the proudest Mind; and surely never so many Parts, and so base and abject a Spirit, dwelt together in one earthen Cottage, as in this Man. I shall not remember his Baseness, being out of his Place, of pinning himself, for very Scraps, on that noble Gentleman Sir *Julius Caesar's* Hospitality, that at last he was forc'd to get the King's Warrant to remove him out of his House; yet in his Prosperity, the one being Chancellor, and the other Master of the *Rolls*, did so scorn and abuse him, as he would alter any thing the other did". The Letters which *Bacon* wrote to several Courtiers on King *James's* coming in, prove that there was indeed something very abject in a Mind the most enlighten'd of his Age in all good Literature, especially that to the Earl of *Salisbury* begging the Place of Solicitor-General, and another to Sir *Edward Coke*, then Attorney-General, on the same Subject. *Villiers* cou'd do no less than procure a Pardon for a Person, who had paid such a slavish Submission to his Pleasure; and the Lord-Keeper *Williams* took notice of the irregular Proceedings of the late Chancellor *Bacon* in the passing of it, writing thus to *Buckingham*: "His Majesty and your Lordship do conceive that my Lord of *St. Albans* Pardon and Grant of his Fine came both together to my Hands, and so your Lordship directs me to pass the one and the other. But his Lordship was too cunning

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P. 505.

P. 1612.

Cab.

A.D. 1621. *gative, those that mov'd in it were snapt up by them, tho' they often met with stout Encounters at their own Weapons from several noble Peers and Patriots, as Henry Earl of Oxford, Henry Earl of Southampton, Robert Earl of Essex, the Lord Say, the Lord Spencer, and others, who supported the Old English Honour, and would not let it fall to the Ground. The Lord Spencer, to excite that generous Spirit, put the House in mind of their generous Ancestors, in which the Earl of Arundel cut him short, saying, My Lord, when these things you speak of were doing, your Ancestors were keeping Sheep. A very poor Jest; and the poorer, for that the noble House of Spencer were Barons long before that of Arundel. If it reflected on the Lord Spencer's delighting in Flocks of Sheep, as we are told, it was a Reflection which no Man cou'd have thought on, who had any Love for his Country. The Lord Spencer retorted, When my Ancestors were keeping Sheep, yours were plotting Treason. This touch'd Arundel to the Quick, and refer'd to the Earl of Surrey and Duke of Norfolk beheaded in the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth. The Court Party cou'd not but be sensible he had been the Aggressor by an absurd, ridiculous Affront on a young Nobleman of great Honour and Merit. Lord Spencer shew'd himself ready to justify his Words by his Actions. But they were both commanded out of the House, who took into Consideration the Offence Lord Arundel had given, and he was order'd to give the Lord Spencer such Satisfaction as they prescrib'd, and upon Arundel's Refusal he was committed to the Tower. The Lord Spencer was readmitted to his Seat, as was also the Lord Arundel upon his Petition and begging Pardon. Two Days after the Parliament was adjourn'd; but the Commons before they parted, notwithstanding the King had engag'd his Crown, Blood and Soul for the Recovery of the Palatinate, agreed upon this Declaration:—"The Commons assembled in Parliament taking into the most serious Consideration the present State of the King's Children abroad, and generally assisted Estate of the true Professors of the Christian Religion, meaning the Presbyterians in the Electorate, profess'd by the Church of England in foreign Parts, and being touch'd with a true Sense and Fellow-feeling of their Distresses, do with unanimous Consent, in the Name of themselves and of the whole Body of the Kingdom whom they represent, declare unto his most Excellent Majesty, and to the whole World, their hearty Grief and Sorrow for the same, &c. and do solemnly protest, That they shall be ready to the utmost of their Powers, with their Lives and Fortunes, to assist him". Such was then the Sense of the Nation with respect to the Support of the King of Bohemia and the Protestant Religion: Such their Sense continu'd; and only King James and his Courtiers, who were most concern'd to support them, abandon'd both. The King, says my Author, was pleas'd with the Declaration, intending to make his Market of it, but not to enter into the War for which they declar'd. The Lord Digby had been sent Ambassador into Germany to treat with the Emperor for the Restitution of the Elector Palatine's Hereditary Dominions. A very hopeful Errand! The Duke of Bavaria was in Possession of most of them by Ferdinand's Donation; and 'twas likely so powerful a Prince as that Duke would be wheedled or menac'd out of them by Embassies. The Lord Digby made his Addresses first to the Emperor, then to the Duke of Bavaria, and lastly to the Archdutchess at Brussels; and all, according to Wilson, to as little Purpose as if he had staid at home. These Embassies were the Subject even of Walloon Wit, which was ever at as low an Ebb as ours is now; and in a Farce acted in the Spanish Netherlands, a Messenger was introduc'd bringing News in haste, that the Pala-*

tinatè wou'd shortly be replenish'd with a most formidable Army; for the King of Denmark wou'd furnish 100000 pick'd Herrings, the Hollanders 100000 Butterboxes, and England 100000 Ambassadors. Must not the Heart of every good Englishman weep Blood, to think that a Nation so renown'd and happy before King James came to the Crown shou'd become the Scorn of Beggars, and K. James's the Jest of Fools? Echar'd himself acknowledges, that this King was pictur'd abroad with a Scabbard without a Sword. And again: With a Sword which none cou'd draw out, tho' several tugg'd at it. At Brussels he was painted with his Pockets hanging out, and no Money in them, nor in his Purse. Had it been possible to divide the King's Reputation from that of the Kingdom, the just Indignation which glow'd in every honest English Breast would have been somewhat mitigated. But the Kingdom was disgrac'd with the King, the Weakness and Cowardice of this Administration made them despis'd by the most despicable People, and render'd them the vile Object of Flemish Drollery and Dutch Mirth. Echar'd owns Great Britain was said to be grown Little England, which had lost its Strength by changing of Sex, a King Elizabeth for a Queen James. The most moving Part of the Infamy which was thrown on our Nation, is the Picture of the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, the most belov'd and worthy Princess in the World, expos'd in the Netherlands like a poor Irish Mantler, with her Hair dishevell'd, and her Child on her Back, the King her Father carrying the Cradle after her. Every one of these Pictures had Mortos, expressing the Scorn in which our Neighbours held our pacifick Monarch. Such Derisions and Reflections were put upon him, says the historical Archdeacon. What Sentiments must those Englishmen have of this Reign, who liv'd in the Days of the Veres, the Norris's, the Drakes, the Rawleighs, and a hundred other illustrious Names in the glorious Reign of Queen Elizabeth? Cou'd such Englishmen content themselves amidst so much Shame and Disgrace, as Echar'd does with his Majesty's acting very laudably, and with great Reputation for the Establish'd Church, when at the same time he pointed all the dreadful Artillery of his Wit and Learning against the Puritans, who were by much the greater Body of English Protestants?

The Lord Digby at his Return from his fruitless Embassy in Germany, made a Speech by Command of the King to both Houses of Parliament, informing them how he had been amus'd by the Emperor, scorn'd by the Duke of Bavaria, and slighted by the Archduke. These ate the Laurels our Heroes brought home with them from abroad in this Reign. Digby concluded there was no way to recover the Palatinate but by Arms, and the King doubted not of their granting him the necessary Subsidies. The Ministers talk'd after the same rate: But neither the King nor his Ministers had Credit enough with the Parliament to gain their Belief, as they flatter'd themselves they shou'd. For according to my Author, As the King's Suits and Intreaties were slighted and disregarded abroad, so his Intentions were suspected and fear'd at home. The Parliament knew his Inclinations were for Peace. Gondemar's Power over him boded ill to the pretended War; and Letters had lately appear'd from the King to his Brother of Spain, promising great Indulgences to the Papists. Digby was also dispatch'd to Spain to close some way with the House of Austria, either by Marriage or Treaty. But the King had to do with cunning Gamesters, who smil'd to see how earnest he was for it; they had the Sign given out of his Hand, and saw all the Game he play'd, so faithless was the Council about him. Here's Wisdom, here Politicks, here a laudable Care for the Reform'd Religion! Here all the Virtues and Blessings which distinguish'd this Reign from all others! if one cou'd believe

Lords Arundel and Spencer quarrel.

Will. 153.

Parliament for the Palatinate.

K. James's Embassies ridicul'd.

A.D. 1621.

Character abroad.

England in Disgrace.

Ech. 399.

Ibid.

Will. 166.

P. 167.

K. James's Wisdom.

A.D. 1621. believe the Editors of the Earl of Clarendon's History, or Archdeacon Eckhard. The King saw the English were generally averse to the Spanish Match, and that the Insolence of the Papists alarm'd them daily; yet insensible of any ill Consequence of the general Discontent, he went on in his Way. The Parliament which had been adjourn'd in June to February, was summon'd to meet before its Time, to hear Digby's Relation of his Embassy; and they were so ill satisfy'd with it, that taking the State of the Nation into Consideration, they agreed upon a Remonstrance, of which the Popish Secretary Calvert, Weston, and others, giving the King notice, he went out of Town, and retir'd to Newmarket; for his Majesty's Custom was to run from Business, if he did not like it. The Remonstrance was drawn up in November, and set forth *The Growth of Popery, the distress'd Estate of the Protestants, the disastrous Accidents to his Majesty's Children abroad, express'd with Rejoycing, and even with Contempt of their Persons.* The Arminian and Popish Faction were suffer'd to insult the Royal Family of Bohemia; to rejoice at those Misfortunes for which all good Englishmen and Protestants were in the deepest Affliction, and treat Persons with Contempt. It is hardly credible, but so it was; and the same Faction, when Land was at their Head, wou'd not admit the Prayers for the Queen of Bohemia and her princely Children into our Liturgy. Such Well-wishers have the rigid Churchmen been to the Palatine House, and their Successors the Royal House of Hanover.

Grievances

Papists, &c. hate the House of Bohemia.

Popery encouraged.

A fruitless Embassy to France.

The King's Wisdom.

Stuarts never did a great thing in England

The Remonstrance further sets forth the great Armies rais'd by the King of Spain, of whose Alliance the King was so fond: *The Expectations of Papists from the Spanish Match, the daring bold Behaviour of Romish Priests, the great Resort of People to Mass-Houses, the licentious printing of Popish Books, the Swarms of Jesuits, the common Indiaries of all Christendom.* Then the Parliament propos'd Remedies for these growing Evils; *That his Majesty wou'd not omit this just Occasion speedily and effectually to take the Sword in hand; that he wou'd publicly avow the aiding of foreign Protestants, the French King having newly laid Siege to Roehelle and Montauban, the remaining Strength of the Reform'd in France.* But our King contented himself with sending an Ambassador Henry Viscount Doncaster, to mediate a Peace between them; and, as Wilson has it, he only follow'd the French King from Camp to City, and from City to Camp, with as little Success as his Majesty's Ambassadors had had in Germany. The same Author here very wisely remarks on King James's Wisdom, and the Blessings of his peaceable Temper, the Subject of such a Torrent of Praise in the *History of the Rebellion;* and Archdeacon Eckhard's, "Our King's Intentions aiming at Peace, he took, as he thought, the best way to it, which was to intreat for it, but that wou'd not prevail, for the Voice of Intreaty cannot be heard for the Trumpet. In War one Noise must expel another. The Parliament saw the Danger the Protestant Religion was in, and thought it their Duty to let the King see how inclineable they were to support the falling Condition of it with their Lives and Fortunes: But the King wou'd be call'd *Rex Pacificus* to the last. His Heart was not advanc'd to glorious Achievements. "God will not many Times make use of some Men to do great Things." This last Reflection extends thro' the Reign of this Royal House, during which not one great Thing was done for the Protestant Religion, or the Liberty of the Subject, but what came with an Ill-will, and did not last long. Before the House of Commons had had an Opportunity to present their Remonstrance to his Majesty, Sir Thomas Richardson their Speaker, receiv'd a Letter from him, imputing *the drawing of it to fiery Spirits, who debated Matters far above*

their Reach and Capacities. Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, Sir Robert Naunton, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Noy, Sir Henry Fane, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, Mr. Hampden, Serjeant Strode, Serjeant Glanville, and an hundred other such Members of this Parliament, had not the Reach and Capacity of Secretary Conway, who cou'd hardly write or read, and of the Favourite Villiers, whose Reach and Capacity consisted in the elegant Cut of a Coat, or in a nice Step in a Courant. I am sensible Satty and Mirth are inconsistent with the Sobriety and Gravity of History; but what can provoke Mirth and Satty, like talking of Capacities and Reach in an Administration which was a Jest to People who had till then been a Jest to all the World.

A.D. 1621.

King writes to the Speaker.

The King in his Letter intimated, that to enquire into his Government, was a Breach of the Royal Prerogative, and commanded the Speaker to let the House know, that none shou'd presume to meddle with his deep Matters of State, nor his Son's Match with the Infanta, nor the Honour of the King of Spain; which Points, if they are touch'd in the Paper prepar'd, he will not deign to bear it. This imperious way of treating the Parliament, was so well imitated by his Son, that he never met nor parted with one in any tolerable Humour; and how this wise Conduct ended, will be seen hereafter.

Wisdom.

The Parliament however sent him their Remonstrance, with a Petition, in which they declared, that the *Welfare of Religion and State, were fit for parliamentary Consideration, and cou'd not otherwise come fully and clearly to his Knowledge; and whereas his Majesty seem'd to abridge them of the ancient Liberty of Parliaments, Freedom of Speech, they were now forc'd to pray that it may be allow'd, and the Doubts and Scruples rais'd by his Letter to their Speaker, be remov'd.* His Majesty was very uneasy at this Petition, and us'd the twelve Members who were sent with it, a little roughly, insinuating that their giving Advice about his Son's Match was High Treason. Excellent Reason! He might as well have insinuated that it was Adultery. For to give good Advice, with all due Submission and Affection, can no more have a traitorous than a lewd Design in it. He added, *They ow'd their Privileges to the Grace of his Ancestors;* that is, all the Saxon Kings were arbitrary despotick Princes, who squander'd their Prerogative on the People, as this King did his Money on his Minions; and the Saxons had no Right to any thing but what their Kings gave them; which is a Proof that his Majesty knew as much of History as he did of Divinity.

More Wisdom and good Manners.

Learning.

About this Time the Lords of Parliament consider'd how cheap they were made by the Multitude of Scottish and Irish Viscounts, who had bought their Titles. They were not Natives of those Kingdoms, but private English Gentlemen, who purchas'd that Honour to have Precedence of the English Barons, contrary, says Eckhard, to the *Laws and Customs of England.* Thirty-three Lords, among whom were the Earls of Oxford, Huntington, Essex, Lincoln, Dorset, Salisbury, Warwick, sign'd a Petition to his Majesty to put a Stop to this Breach of their Customs and Laws. The King was so angry with them, that he cou'd not help shewing it, particularly to the Earl of Essex; *I fear thee not, Essex, if thou wert as well belov'd as thy Father, and hadst 40000 Men at thy Heels.* I can scarce believe his Majesty said so, tho' we are told it by an Archdeacon, there not being a Man in Great-Britain, who cou'd think King James wou'd not have been afraid of Queen Elizabeth's Earl of Essex with half 40000 Men at his Heels. The King did not alter the Precedence claim'd by the Scottish and Irish Viscounts, who had paid for their Title, but restrain'd himself in those Creations for the time to come.

Bravery.

Ech. 398.

There

A.D. 1621.
Life of Ld
Keeper
Williams,
p. 96.

Bishops
spoken of.

There happen'd an Incident in this Session of Parliament, which we shou'd not have had from *Echard*, if he had come to the Knowledge of it. I shall take it almost *verbatim* from Mr. *Ambrose Philips*, Fellow of *St. John's College Cambridge*: "When the Privilege of the Nobility was debated, and almost carried by a Majority, that the vouching of their Honour shou'd pass with them for an Oath, the Bishop of *Lincoln* prevented it by the Force of his Reasons; but the Debate continuing very long that Morning, an aged Bishop very infirm in Health, desir'd to be excus'd if he cou'd not stay it out. *With all our Hearts*, said some Lords, *you may all of you troop home as fast as you please*; and the Earl of *Essex* press'd it more passionately than any, desiring to know if their Lordships were not content to throw their Doors open, and let all the Bishops out if they would. The Bishop of *Lincoln*, then Lord-Keeper, said he wou'd put it to the Question "if commanded." But I do not find it was insisted upon.

Protestation.

His Majesty wrote to Secretary *Calvert* and Sir *Thomas Richardson*, to take off the Edge of some sharp Expressions he had us'd; and as it is a sure Sign of Wisdom to be convinc'd of one's Error, and own a Mistake, so the mistaking is a sure Sign of Weakness. The Parliament were not satisfy'd with this Softning, when their Privileges had been so solemnly attack'd. They expected a Dissolution, and resolv'd before they broke up, to assert those Privileges in as solemn a manner as they cou'd. To this End they drew up a *Protestation*, That the Liberties, Franchises, Privileges, and Jurisdictions of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted Birthright and Inheritance of the Subjects of England; and that the arduous Affairs of State, the making of Laws, and Redress of Grievances, are proper Subjects for Debate in Parliament; that every Member of right ought to have Freedom of Speech, and the Commons to treat of Matters in such Order as in their Judgments shall seem fittest; that every Member hath like Freedom from all Impeachment, Imprisonment, and Molestation, other than by Censure of the House, for any speaking concerning parliamentary Affairs. But to shew that they minded his Majesty's Business as well as their own, they gave him two entire Subsidies to enable him to begin the War for Recovery of the *Palatinate*.

Wilson,
p. 186.

The Parliament in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time petition'd her to marry, and she lik'd it, as King *James* himself said: But he thinks it Presumption in the Parliament humbly to beseech him, for the Good of Religion, to permit his Son to marry a Protestant Princess, telling them, if they had fix'd on any Place or Person, he wou'd have thought it High Treason; so many Degrees high was the King's Spirit mounted above a Woman's to humble Subjects, and so many Degrees lower than hers was his Spirit to dare Enemies.

A.D. 1622.

His Majesty was so incens'd at the Protestation, that by the Advice of *Buckingham*, he dissolv'd the Parliament on the 6th of *January*, by Proclamation; in which he laid all the Blame upon the Commons, at least on those fiery Spirits above-mention'd. Bishop *Laud* is said to have drawn that huffing Proclamation, so rash in Thought, and harsh in Expression, that the Lord-Keeper *Williams* advis'd to have it soften'd before it was publish'd, but *Laud* was never for making Abatements, and so it pass'd to the general Discontent of the whole Nation. The Lord-Keeper was very much troubled at it, seeing plainly of what dangerous Consequence it might be, and how much his Majesty trespass'd against the true Principles of English Policy, by quarrelling with his Parliament; and he did all he cou'd to persuade the King to make it his earnest Endeavour to unite with them when they were assembled next. A Week before the Parliament was dissolv'd, the King hasten'd to Town from

Ambrose
Philips,
p. 98.

hunting, and call'd a Council, at which the Judges assist'd; he declar'd before them all, that the Protestation was void, and sending for the Journal-Book belonging to the House of Commons, he tore it out with his own Hand. The Dissolution of the Parliament added Fuel to the Flame, which began to heat the whole Kingdom. The Infringement of their Privileges disgusted the People whom they represented, and who thought it not above their Reach and Capacity to observe, That a Prince who suffer'd the Protestants of Germany and France to be extirpated, ought not to have born the Title of Defender of the Faith; that he might almost have purchas'd such a Country as the *Palatinate* with the Money spent on Embassies; and that the promising the French Protestants Assistance, without assisting them, had only made them the more resolute to their Ruin; that all that was got by the King's Negotiations, was this arrogant Saying from the *Constable de Luines* in France, to Sir *Edward Herbert*, What has your Master to do with us or our Affairs? "Where- as the English Fleets, the Glory of the World, if employ'd, wou'd have taught the French Pride to know, that he who strikes with Passion, will many times thank them that take him off by friendly Admonition." All this *Echard* calls sawcy talking; and yet he repeats the most sawcy of all; it was mouth'd out that he was no King, but a Fidler's Son, otherwise he wou'd not suffer such Disorders at Home, and Dishonours abroad. To stop People's Mouths, a Proclamation was publish'd against talking of State-Affairs, which was never known in any good Reign, such as Queen *Elizabeth's*, and all the Reigns since the Revolution; it being a plain Confession that the Affairs of State cannot stand the Test of Truth.

A.D. 1622:
Arbitrary
Govern-
ment.

Wilson;
p. 190.

As soon as the Parliament was broken up, the King exerted his Royal Power against several of the leading Members of both Houses; the gallant Earl of *Oxford* was committed to the Tower for speaking against the Ministry, the weakest and wickedest that ever govern'd this Kingdom; the Earl of *Southampton* was confin'd for speaking the Truth of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had spoken disorderly in the House of Peers. Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *Mallory*, were committed to the Tower for their Freedom of Speech; Sir *Thomas Crew*, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, and Sir *James Perrot*, were sent into *Ireland* with a trifling Commission; Sir *Peter Haymen*, one of the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, was commanded to serve in the *Palatinate*, where his Service cou'd be of no use. Sir *Edward Coke*, late Lord Chief-Justice, was not only imprison'd in the Tower for the like Offence, Freedom of Speech in Parliament, but the Locks and Doors of his Chambers in the Temple were seal'd up, his Papers, and among others, several Securities for Money were taken away. None of his Children or Servants were suffer'd to come near him, and in this Confinement the King su'd him for 30000 *l.* an old pretended Debt due from Sir *William Hatton* to Queen *Elizabeth*, which was prosecuted with all Severity imaginable, tho' Sir *John Walter*, the Attorney-General, return'd the Brief that was sent him, with this Expression, *Let my Tongue cleave to the Roof of my Mouth, whenever I ope it against Sir Edward Coke*. The shutting up these Gentlemen, some of the most eminent of the Kingdom, merely by virtue of the Authority Royal, is an Instance of arbitrary Power not to be match'd but in French, Turkish, or Russian History. The Example was follow'd by this King's Son, as was that of raising Money without Act of Parliament, by Order of Privy-Council only. Letters were sent to the Judges and others, to move them to contribute for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, as was pretended, and the Names of those who refus'd, were order'd to be certify'd to the Council-Board. The like Letters were directed to the High-Sheriffs of Counties,

Lords and
Commons
imprison'd.

Coke,
p. 121.

Money rais'd
illegally.

A.D. 1622. ties, Justices of the Peace, Mayors of Cities, and Towns, to summon all before them of known Abilities, and take their Contributions. Those who would not contribute, were return'd as disaffected. "These, says Mr. Coke, were the Ways which this "pacifick King took in and out of Parliament, "which I believe, except in the Reign of Edward "the IVth, were never practis'd by any of our "English Kings; and all this under the specious "Pretext of recovering his Son-in-law's Patrimony, prodigally to squander among his Favourites, "especially Buckingham, whose Avarice could not "be supported otherwise by the Revenues of the "Crown, and the selling of all Places sacred and "civil. These were his Majesty's noble Atchievements over his Parliament, who presum'd to "advise him for his own Honour and the Nations Safety." Another way of managing leading Members in the House of Commons, was to bribe them by Places and Honours, which was also practis'd in the next Reign. Sir John Saville, Knight of the Shire for the County of York, was now bought off from the Country Interest by being made Comptroller of the Household, a Privy-Counsellor, and not long after a Baron.

K. James boasts that his Mother was a Martyr for Popery. H.J. Lach. p. 20. Cab. 211. K. James's Letter to the Pope.

The Lord Digby was sent to Spain to forward the Treaty of Marriage with the Infanta Maria, Sister to Philip IV. King James smooth'd the Way on his Part by his Indulgence to Papiests; and when those who had near Access to his Person, remonstrated to him against that Marriage, and that Indulgence, the only Answer they could get from him, was, *His Mother had been a Roman Catholic, and dy'd a Martyr for that Religion.* Gondemar boasted he had procur'd the Release of 4000 Papiests. Before Digby departed the King wrote a Letter to Pope Gregory the XVth, address'd thus; *To the most holy Father, &c. greeting, and all manner of Felicity.* With what Reputation his Majesty acted for the Church of England? He then tells the Pope, *He doubts not but his Holiness, out of his singular Piety, will further what he has been endeavouring.* This Epistle is from the Defender of our Protestant Faith to him whom all true Protestants term Antichrist. Again; *That which remains for us further to say concerning this Matter, this Gentleman, our Subject, George Gage, will deliver unto you more at large; praying your Holiness that you will give him in all Things Credence and Belief; beseeching Almighty God, from our Heart, to preserve you in Safety, and to grant you all other Happiness.* His Majesty prays from his Heart, that all other Happiness may be granted to the Pope by Almighty God; in which Happiness must be included the utter Extirpation of the Reform'd Religion, without which no Pope will ever think himself happy. How does this agree with the Prayer in King Edward VI. Liturgy, *From the Tyranny and all the detestable Enormities of the Bishop of Rome, good Lord deliver us?*

And encourages Popery, 193, 194.

Having mention'd the Lord Digby's Embassy to Spain, we cannot omit taking notice of his Reception there, which, according to *Wilson*, was so short of the Respect due to an extraordinary Ambassador of the King of England, that a Messenger might have hop'd for better. The Spaniards treated him as scurvily as if he had come from such a sort of Monarch as one of the Indian Kings in Queen Anne's Time; Yet to quicken the Business in England, his Majesty commanded the Lord-Keeper *Williams* to issue Writs under the Great-Seal, requiring the Judges in every Circuit, to enlarge all Papiests who were imprison'd according to Law for Recusancy.

Archbishop Abbot's Misfortune.

About this Time a sad Accident happen'd to that most reverend Prelate Dr. George Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, in Bramsbill-Park in Hampshire; where, by the Invitation of the Lord Zouch, he was at a Buck-hunting. The Keeper running amongst the Herd of Deer to bring them up to the fairer Mark, and the Archbishop sitting on

A.D. 1622.

Horseback, let fly a barb'd Arrow from a Cross-Bow, which unhappily shot the Keeper in the Left Arm, and he dy'd of the Wound immediately. The Archbishop's Enemies, who were all the rigid Clergy, did their utmost to have him depriv'd for this involuntary Crime, which the most bitter of them could not mount higher than casual Homicide. The learned Sir Henry Saville, his Grace's old Friend, ask'd Sir Edward Coke, *Whether a Bishop might hunt?* Which it was urg'd he might not do by the Canons; but those Canons had never been admitted as Laws in England; and the Lord Coke reply'd, *There's an old Law, that when a Bishop des he shall leave his Dogs to the King.* If a Bishop might not hunt that Law was useless. Laud was one of the Prelates, who, in Hopes of rising by the Archbishop's Fall, allc'dg'd that the Homicide, tho' involuntary, tainted the archiepiscopal Function; and his Conscience was so scrupulous, that he did not think the Orders Dr. Abbot conferr'd afterwards were valid; but sober Clergymen, even Dr. Andrews Bishop of Winchester, who was not thought to be very well with the Archbishop, reprov'd those who condemn'd his Irregularity, as they term'd his hunting; tho' some Years after, when Dr. Faxon was talk'd of for breeding the best Dogs in England, the Sport was then regular, and the Sportsman worthy to be call'd from his Game, and to be made Bishop of London. The Archbishop was so mortify'd at this Accident, that he retir'd to an Almshouse he had built at Guildford; which the King hearing of, took Compassion upon him, and said to a Lord who was speaking of it, *It might have been my Chance or thine.* His Grace not long after receiv'd an Order to return to his Charge at Lambeth, and to make the Widow of the Deceas'd some Amends for the Loss of her Husband, he settled twenty Pounds a Year upon her, which Pension got her another Husband in a very little while. The Bishoprick of St. David's becoming vacant about the same Time, Dr. Laud the turbulent Oxonian, was presented to it by Recommendation of the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, whom the Duke of Buckingham put upon it. Echard confesses he was charg'd not only with Arminian but Romish Tenets; and his Temper was so fiery, that Judge *Whitlocke* foretold *He would set the Nation in a Flame.* Nay, King James himself, who was hardly prevail'd with to prefer such an exceptionable Person, said to the Lord-Keeper, who importun'd him for Laud, *Is there no Hold but you will carry it? then take him to you; but on my Soul, you will repent it;* which the Keeper did in a few Months, owing his Disgrace to the Intrigues and Ingratitude of this lordly tyrannical Prelate, who concern'd himself so much with the State, that he made himself a part of it; and we are consequently necessitated to speak more of him than he deserves. I mean not on account of his low Birth; for having Capacity enough to go thro' an academical Education with some Reputation, it is no Blemish to his Character that his Fortune was made by himself, if he had taken none but warrantable Ways in the Progress of it. After he was made Bishop of St. David's by the Recommendation of the Lord-Keeper *Williams*; he by the same Favour retain'd his Prebend at Westminster, and had a Living of 120 l. a Year given him in his own Diocess of St. David's, for which Laud return'd his Thanks to Bishop *Williams* by Mr. Wynne in these Words, *My Life will be too short to requite his Lordship's Goodness:* But, according to Coke, his Favours were not eighteenth Months planted, when Laud became the Bishop's sharpest Enemy; and his Malice grew so high, that the Countess of Buckingham took notice of it. *Rushworth* assures us, *He was suspected of Popery while he was a Member of St. John's College Oxon, inasmuch that it was with Difficulty he got to be chosen Head of his House;* where he presided when Dr.

A.D. 1622. Robert Abbot, the Archbishop's Brother, afterwards Bishop of Salisbur, spoke thus of him in a Sermon preach'd at St Maries on Easter-Day 1615. "Men under Pretence of Truth, and preaching against Puritans, strike at the Heart and Root of Faith and Religion establish'd amongst us. This preaching against Puritans, was but the Practice of Parsons and Campian. Is it not worth minding from whom Laud learn'd his Lessons against Protestants, according to the Bishop of Sarum's Information? Again; "When these Jesuits came to England to seduce young Students, some of the latter, who were afraid to lose their Places if they shou'd professedly be Papists, were counsell'd by Campian and Parsons to speak freely against the Puritans, and that shou'd suffice; and these Students cannot suppose they are accounted Papists, because they speak against the Puritans. If some of them do at any time speak against the Papists, they do beat a little upon the Bush for fear of troubling or disquieting of the Birds that are in it. They speak nothing but that wherein one Papist will speak against another. The Papists beyond the Seas can say they are wholly theirs, and the Recusants at Home make their Brags of them. In all Things they keep themselves so near the Brink, that upon any Occasion they may step over to them." Laud himself was at the preaching of this Sermon, which was Fuel to his fiery Spirit, and gave this Account of it to his Patron Bishop Neile; I came Time enough to be at the Rehearsal of it upon much Persuasion, where I was fain to sit patiently and bear my self abused almost an Hour. I wou'd have taken no notice of it, but that the whole University apply it to me; and my own Friends tell me I shall sink my Credit, if I answer not Dr. Abbot as King James answer'd Bellarmine. Wilson confirms what Abbot said, The King's Animosity against Puritans was thought to be fomented by the Papists, whose Agent Bishop Laud was suspected to be. Coke says, The principal Stickler herein was Dr. William Laud, a Man of a most turbulent and aspiring Disposition; and one of the first Acts for which he was taken notice of, was to marry the Earl of Devonshire to the Lady Rich, Mother to Robert Earl of Warwick, when her Husband was alive, at which King James was highly incens'd. While he was at Oxford, his Business was to pick Quarrels in the Lectures of publick Readers, and send Informations of it to Bishop Neile, that he might fill the Ears of King James with Discontents against honest Men, who took Pains in their Places, and settled the Truth, which he call'd Puritanism, in their Auditors. Archbishop Abbot said of him, He was Buckingham's inward Counsellor, sitting sometimes privately with him whole Hours, feeding his Humour with Malice and Spite. As there was hardly a lewder Man upon Earth than Buckingham, what Notion can one have of the Piety of his Confessor and Counsellor? Laud's Contrivance to ruin his Patron and great Benefactor Bishop Williams Lord-Keeper, takes up almost a Volume of Bishop Hacket's Life of that Prelate. Coke's Indignation was so rais'd by reading it, that he expresses it thus: "You there see villanous Instruments, Perjuries, Subornations, and keeping back of Witnesses, razing Records, the displacing Sir Robert Heath from being Lord-Chief-Justice, because he wou'd not do Laud's Drudgery, and bringing in Sir John Finch, who would jurare in Verbo Magistrum." It would be endless shou'd one go about to repeat every thing that is said of this Laud's Fury, Pride, Insolence, Cruelty, Ingratitude, Superstition, &c. after Authors of undoubted Credit; one of them, the celebrated Mr. Locke, says of Laud and his Followers, they wou'd do the worst of Things by the worst of Means, enslave their Country, and betray them under the Masque of Religion. We will now see what the Lord Clarendon or his Editors say of him, his other Advo-

cates being too mean and too partial to be taken notice of. "The advancing of him was infinitely to the Benefit and Honour of the Church. Need one go any further? The Reader can have no Conception that any Thing more notoriously against the Truth cou'd be said of him, unless I repeated it out of the HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. "No Man was more plentifully replenish'd with a good Conscience, and a most sincere worthy Intention; the Splendor of his pious Life, and his unpolish'd Integrity; his singular Abilities and immense Virtue, and his Writings, more advanc'd the Protestant Religion, than it had been from the Reformation. He was the best provided of any Man with Innocence of Heart, and Integrity of Manners. To call him Papist was a senseless Appellation, his Heart being always set upon the Advancement of the Church."— Enough surely to shew us what Metal the Characters in that History are made of, especially where the Author or Authors add, He had hitherto avoided Court Business and Matters of State; which I may venture to assert, is one of the falsest Things that ever was asserted in History. He had been a Privy-Counsellor, and as we have mention'd after Archbishop Abbot, was the Confident of Villiers, who certainly did not consult him about Cases of Conscience; and when he went with the Prince to Spain, this very Laud, who had hitherto avoided Court Business, was left his Agent at Court. The Bishop being afraid he shou'd be left out of the High-Commission Court, on account of his persecuting Spirit, he immediately apply'd himself by Letter to Buckingham, in which are these Expressions: Since by his Majesty's gracious Goodness, and your Grace's sole Procurement, I am made a Governor, I wou'd be loth to be excluded, but am sure my Lord of Canterbury will leave me out, as hitherto he hath done. If his Majesty be not pleas'd to command that I shall be in, I humbly desire I may be depriv'd. He is begging a Power to domineer and oppress, out of the Innocence of his Heart, the Integrity of his Manners, out of his Piety and his immense Virtue, as we just now read in the History of the Rebellion. Here he affirms it was by the sole Procurement of the Duke of Buckingham, that he was made Bishop of St. David's; whereas Bishop Hacket assures us it was Bishop Williams that procur'd the Bishoprick for him; and A. Wood, who ador'd Laud, as much as he lov'd Adoration, owns it was done by the Endeavours of Dr. John Williams. Granting that Villiers did recommend him to the Lord-Keeper, to say that therefore he was the sole Procurer of the Bishoprick is false, for Williams was forc'd to struggle for him, and was more than once discourag'd in his Suit by the King. True it is, Laud had already thrown off the Protection of his Patron, and been very instrumental in his Disgrace; the Ingratitude of which, within a few Months after he had made him a Bishop, wou'd not agree with owning his Promotion to him, without more Shame than he was capable of.

General History wou'd not admit of so large a Digression concerning a particular Person; if that Person had not thrust himself into most of the State Affairs we shall be oblig'd to relate for twenty Years of our Period, and if it was not to enlighten a little those we shall find him concern'd in.

King James was still in Hopes that he shou'd preserve his Reputation abroad, according to Echarde, by pushing forward the Treaty of Marriage: But our Archdeacon tells us not how that Reputation was acquir'd; indeed he does tell us that the Lord Vaux, a Papist, had Liberty to transport 4000 Men to reinforce the King of Spain's Armies, both against his Majesty's Confederates of Holland, where his banish'd Children had Refuge, and even against his banish'd Childrens Country, the Palatinate itself.

A.D. 1622.

P. 65:

P. 90.

P. 98:

Ambrose Philips, p. 150.

P. 56:

P. 201.

P. 144.

Finch's Character.

P. 146.

Des Mai's Cell.

Ech. 400:

A.D. 1622. self, while the Lord Digby, now Earl of Bristol, was dressing the Articles of Marriage to the Satisfaction of the Spaniards; which however did not satisfy the Pope, and he had them dress'd again at Rome more still to the Advantage of the English Papists. He requir'd that the Romish Priests, who came to England, shou'd be subject to no Laws but what they brought with them; that the Children of the Infanta shou'd be bred in the Popish Religion; that she might have a Church and a Chapel open to all Corners; which being a perfect Toleration, King James did not care to venture on so bold a Step, and wrote several times to the Earl of Bristol for an Abatement; which he not being able to obtain, the King and Prince sign'd the Articles which the Earl sent them; and by which it was agreed, that *Papists shou'd not be interrupted in the Exercise of their Religion, nor be vex'd with any Oaths in order to the same.* More cou'd not be done by them to oblige the Pope, unless all Penal Laws had been repeal'd, Church Lands restor'd, and the National Church been turn'd into what it was before the Reformation; yet all this did not satisfy the Spaniards. They only amus'd King James with a Treaty of Marriage, while their Arms in Conjunction with the Emperor's reduc'd the whole Palatinate; and then the King of Spain declar'd himself to his Favourite the Conde Olivarez in a Letter written to him not long after the Earl of Bristol arriv'd at Madrid. *The King my Father declar'd at his Death, that his Intent was never to marry my Sister the Infanta Donna Maria with the Prince of Wales; which your Uncle Don Balthazar understood, and so treated this Match ever with Intention to delay it; notwithstanding it is now so far advanc'd, that, considering all the Averseness of the Infanta to it, it is time to seek some Means to divert the Treaty; which I wou'd have you find out, and I will make it good whatsoever it be. But in all other things procure the Satisfaction of the King of Great Britain, (who hath deserv'd much) and it shall content me, so it be not in the Match.* Thus, according to Wilson, was our King deluded; his Honour blemish'd, his Love among his Subjects diminish'd, his Childrens Patrimony destroy'd, &c. But my Lord Clarendon, or the Christchurch Men, affirm, without any manner of Reservation, *he had more Knowledge than any other Prince of his Age.* Which Knowledge could not unriddle the strange Conduct of Spain; and himself, Son and Favourite were so puzzled with the Remora's which happen'd in the Treaty, that a most chimerical Project was started for the Prince of Wales and Marquis of Buckingham to go themselves to Madrid, and remove them all by their Presence. The Match it self was like to be attended with such ill Consequences with regard to the Religion and Liberties of England, that no body who wishes well to them can read the Story, and much less write it with Pleasure. The Palatinate being entirely lost, Count Mansveldt, who commanded there for the King of Bohemia, march'd thro' Lorraine and Luxembourg, and enter'd the Netherlands, where he fought his way thro' the Spanish Army under Corduba. In which Action the Duke of Brunswick had his Arm shot off, and many English and Scots Gentlemen signaliz'd themselves out of Love to the Queen of Bohemia. Of these let us remember the brave Sir Charles Rich, Brother to the Earl of Warwick; Sir James Hays, Knevet, Hume, and Helburn; who behav'd very gallantly. Count Mansveldt join'd the Prince of Orange's Army; and they oblig'd Spinola to raise the Siege of Bergen-op-Zoon. A plain Indication, that if the Money given by the Parliament for the Palatine War had been employ'd even now for that Service, the Spaniards instead of making Conquests in Germany wou'd have been hard put to it to have preserv'd what they had possess'd themselves of in the Ne-

therlands. With that Money the Prince of Orange, who made head against Spinola without it, wou'd have been enabled to make such a Diverfion in the Low Countries, as wou'd not have permitted the Spaniards to have march'd their Armies into Germany.

The Emperor at this time held a Diet at Ratibon, in which the Affair of the Elector Palatine was canvass'd by the Popish and Protestant Parties. The latter argu'd strenuously for his Restoration, the former justify'd the Emperor in transferring the Electorate to the Duke of Bavaria. The German Protestants had the Palatine's Interest so much at heart, that without any Sollicitation of the King of Great Britain, who by no means interest'd himself so much in it, they did of themselves oblige the Emperor to consent, that the Investiture of the Duke of Bavaria shou'd not be prejudicial to the Children of the Palatine. There was a private Treaty carry'd on by some of King James's Ministers, that the young Prince Palatine shou'd be bred up in the Emperor's Court under pretence of marrying his Daughter; but in effect, says Wilson, *to be train'd up in the Popish Religion.* This Matter is touch'd in a Letter of the Conde Olivarez to his Master the Catholick King. *This will reduce the Prince Elector, that was an Enemy to the Obedience of the Church, by breeding his Son in the Emperor's Court in the Catholick Doctrine.*

It did not require more Knowledge than any Prince of the Age had, to have foreseen that a powerful Assistance sent to Count Mansveldt, or the Prince of Orange, and a powerful Negotiation at the Imperial Diet in Conjunction with the Protestant Princes, wou'd have recover'd the Palatine's Dominions with more Expedition and Honour than an odious tedious Marriage Treaty, in which King James at last gave up the Palatinate, ordering the Earl of Bristol not to insist upon it as a Condition of the Marriage. What Opinion Foreigners had of the King's Tameness and Negligence in this Affair, may be seen by that of the Learned and Noble Spanheim. The Protestant Religion was thereby entirely rooted out of Bohemia, the Electoral Dignity transferr'd from the Palatine Family, the Palatinate itself lost, the Liberty of Germany overtrown; and what must be an inexpressible Loss to a Nobleman as much superior to King James in Learning as the King was to him in Dignity, *The famous Library at Heidelbergh remov'd to Rome.* The Mules that carry'd the Books over the Alps had each a Silver Plate on his Forehead, wherein was engrav'd FERRO BIBLIOTHECAM PRINCIPIS PALATINI. All which Mischiefs are in a great measure owing to the Influence his Majesty permitted the crafty Gondemar to have over him; inso-much that the Conde wrote the Duke of Lerma, *I have lull'd King James so fast asleep, that I hope neither the Cries of his Daughter and her Chilaren, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and Subjects on their Behalf, shall be able to awaken him.*

As full as this cunning Spaniard was of his Concoits, he was often rebuff'd by the Repartees of the English, who hated him and his Errand. Vere Earl of Oxford being flatter'd by him for his great Actions and Qualities, reply'd, *I know of but two memorable things in my Life, I was born in Eighty-eight, and christen'd the Fifth of November.* As the King was once praising the Plenty of Provisions in England, especially Fish and Fowl, and saying, *One County had more than all Spain:* Yes, says Gondemar; but my Master has the Gold and Silver Mines in the East and West Indies. *And I by my Soule,* reply'd the King, *have much ado to keep my Men from taking them away from him.*

If the Adventures of Prince Charles and Buckingham had come into the Head of Miguel Cervantes, it wou'd have carry'd his Quixotism much higher than

Wilf. 203.

The Pope's Demands for it.

The Articles.

Papists to be tolerated.

Wilson, 215.

K. James deluded by the K. of Spain.

Palatinate.

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Welwood, 27.

Gondemar lull'd the K. asleep.

Gondemar.

A.D. 1623.

A.D. 1623. than the Knight of *Manca* did; yet the Earl of *Clarendon*, or the *Oxford* Doctors, tell this Story with as much Solemnity, as if the Journey had been the Effect of *Matchivillian* Policy; whereas it is thus represented by other Writers. "It was such an Adventure as *Don Quixote* never dreamt of; that because the King, the Prince's Father, was poor at home and despis'd abroad; which is not deny'd by Authors who deny every thing else; therefore by making his only Son an Hostage in another King's Court, where the Maxims both of Religion and State were directly contrary, he should think to persuade the King of *Spain* to overturn all, and also get such a Portion as was fourfold more than any Prince before had: As also that the King of *Spain* should restore the *Palatinate*, because the King knew not else which way to get it; yet the Journey must be made, it being *Buckingham's* Pleasure to have it so; so stark blind does Poverty and Coverousness make Mens Understanding and Reason". This Language is a little rough, as indeed is that Writer's Manner, but the Sentiments are just; and the Gravity of the Lord *Clarendon's* History of this Journey turn'd into a Jest by a Saying of *Archy* the King's Fool, an Officer who seems to be very superfluous in that Court: When his Majesty was once merrily dispos'd, that *Under-Courtier* told him he must change Caps with him. Why? says the King. Why? Who, replies *Archy*, sent the Prince into Spain? But what, said the King, wilt thou say if the Prince comes back again? Why then, quoth the Fool, I will take my Cap from your Head, and send it to the King of Spain.

P. 131.

P. 11, 12,
13, 14, 15,
16, 17, 18.

P. 16.

There is more good Sense couch'd under this Buffoonry of *Archy*, than in the pompous Relation which takes up so many Pages of the *History of the Rebellion* very faithfully copy'd by *Archdeacon Echard*. The Reasons which induc'd the Prince to take this Journey are too wild and romantick to find a Place in sober History; but they were back'd to the King with some Menaces from *Buckingham*, as unfit for him to speak as his Master to hear. If you go from your Promise, his Majesty having been surpriz'd into a Consent to it, it will so disoblige the Prince that he can never forget it, nor forgive the Rascal who has been the Cause of it; which put an End to the King's Imprecations and Deliberations upon the Matter. The Journey was consented to, and the two Persons nam'd who were to attend the Prince and Marquis, both very grateful to his Majesty, *Sir Francis Cottington* and *Endimion Porter*. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us the former had been the King's Agent in Spain. *Wilson* says indeed he had been a sort of Clerk to *Sir Charles Cornwallis* when he was Ambassador there. *Porter* had been *Mr. Edward Villiers's* Man; and being taken into *Buckingham's* Bedchamber was remov'd thence to the Prince's. There was another Attendant who was not to be so much entrusted, one *Sir Richard Graham*, who serv'd first in *Buckingham's* Stable. It is not, continues *Wilson*, to vilify the Persons, being Men in this World's Lottery as capable of Advancement as others; but to shew in how poor a Bark the King ventur'd the rich Freight, his Son, having only the Marquis to steer his Course. The Prince and he had false Beards, and went by the Names of *Jack* and *Tom Smith*; but their profuse Living render'd their Quality suspected.

The Journey.

At *Dover* the Mayor took them into Examination, which oblig'd *Buckingham* to discover himself. They were then permitted to embark; and landing at *Bologne* the 18th of February, they rode Post to *Paris*, where they saw the Court incog. and in particular the Princess *Henrietta Maria*; whose Eyes afterwards so inflam'd the Prince's Heart, that, according to *Wilson*, it set the Three Kingdoms a fire. At *Bordeaux* the Governor, the Duke d'Espernon, offer'd them the Civilities of his House; but *Cottington*, who, says my Author, had the least

Mien of a Gentleman, let him know his Companions were only travelling for Improvement, and had not Breeding suitable to his Grandeur. *Grammont*, Governor of *Bayonne*, had some Suspicion of them; but it being in Time of Peace, he ask'd no Questions.

A.D. 1623.

On the 6th of *March* they arriv'd at *Madrid*, about 800 Miles in 18 Days from their setting out. They alighted at the Earl of *Bristol's* House, who was strangely astonish'd at the Sight, having not been let into the Secret. The King of *Spain* had receiv'd Information of it, and 'twas presently rumour'd that some great Persons were arriv'd; who were the next Day known to be the Prince of *Wales* and *Buckingham*. The Earl of *Bristol* went first to Court, and had private Audience of the King, who sent his prime Favourite and Minister the Count-Duke d'*Olivarez* to congratulate his Highness's Arrival; who did it in a most submissive manner, the Spanish Stiffness bending so low as to embrace the Prince's Thigh; and in huge swelling Words he exaggerated the Honour his Highness's Presence did the Court of *Madrid*: An Obligation so great, that he deserv'd to have the Infanta thrown into his Arms. He also complimented the Marquis of *Buckingham*, telling him, Now the Prince of England was in Spain, his Master and he would divide the World between them. Which *Rodomontado* and others were swallow'd glibly enough. About 10 a-Clock at Night the King of *Spain* came in a close Coach to visit the Prince, who having Intimation of his coming met him in the way; and their Interview was with all the endearing Marks of Friendship and Affection which cou'd be expected from such great Princes. The next Day came *Gondemar*, who had been succeeded in his Embassy in *England* by the Marquis *Inviosa*; and after many Compliments in his usual Strain, he added, I have strange News to tell your Highness, for an Englishman is this Day sworn of the Privy Council to the King of Spain; meaning himself, who, he said, was an Englishman in Heart. The next Day the King and Prince went to take the Air in their Coaches at the *Prado*, where the latter had the first Glimpse of his fair Mistress. A Day or two after his Highness made his publick Entry on Horseback from the Monastery of *St. Jerom* to the Royal Palace with the same State the Kings of *Spain* use at their Coronation, the King himself riding under the same Canopy, and giving Precedence to the Prince of *Wales*. The Marquis of *Buckingham* and the Count-Duke d'*Olivarez* follow'd the Royal Canopy. Then came the Earl of *Bristol* between two of the eldest Counsellors of State; and then *Sir Walter Aston* between two Spanish Courtiers. The Cavalcade was the most splendid that can be imagin'd; the Grandees, the chief Magistrates of *Madrid*, the Officers of the Guard, and the Guard themselves glitter'd in Cloth of Gold and Silver, and the Ladies shin'd in the Balconies with a Lustre of Diamonds not to be purchas'd but with the Treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico*. The Scaffolds erected in the Streets for the several Councils of *Spain*, were cover'd with the richest Tapestry; and all the way as the King and Prince pass'd, they were entertain'd with painted and gilt Pageants, where the best Comedians and Dancers shew'd the utmost of their Skill to divert so glorious a Company. The Queen and Infanta were Spectators of the triumphal Entry at the Court Gate; but they soon retir'd, the Queen to receive the Prince, and the Infanta to her Apartment. The King and Prince embrac'd when they alighted, and pass'd immediately to the Queen's Quarter, who receiv'd them at her Chamber Door, and conducted the Prince to the Cloth of State, under which were three equal Chairs, where the Queen sat in the midst, the Prince on the right Hand, and the King on the left, with a Circle of the noblest and fairest Youth of both Sexes in the Court

A.D. 1623.
Arrival in Spain.

A.D. 1623. Court of Spain. Madam, said the Prince, the Honour of this Day's Solemnity is due to your Majesty, which conveys me hither to kiss your Princely Hand; and so he stoop'd to her Knee. Sir, said she, it is to your Highness, and in such manner as to the Royalty of Spain, due and done to your excellent Merit. After about half an Hour's Conversation in French, she reconducted the King and Prince to her Chamber Door. The King accompany'd his Highness to an Apartment prepar'd for him in the Royal Palace. The two Infants, the King's Brothers, receiv'd the Prince of Wales at the Entrance into that Apartment, and all three conducted him to his Bedchamber. An Hour after the Queen's Major Domo brought a Present of a fair Basin of massy Gold, a curious embroider'd Night-Gown, and other things of great Value. A Present was also sent by the Countess d'Olivarez to the Marquis of Buckingham, who, it is said, took it as an Act of Gallantry, and not of Ceremony; and fancy'd the Spanish Favourite's Lady encourag'd him to make Advances to her; which were incompatible with the Importance of his Negotiation, and the Severity of the Manners in Spain. The King gave Orders that his Highness shou'd have Keys to all his private Lodgings, even to his Bedchamber. The Prince was attended by Grandees and Titulados; and had all Honours paid him except that for which he came. He had never any better View of the Infanta than at a Distance, tho' he earnestly su'd for it, and was promis'd it from Day to Day by Olivarez. At last he was inform'd he cou'd not see the Infanta as a Lover till the Dispensation came from Rome.

English Noblemen in Spain.

For the greater Glory of his Highness's Court in Spain, the Marquis of Buckingham was created a Duke. The Patent was brought by the Viscount Doncaster, now Earl of Carlisle; with whom went several English Noblemen and Gentlemen, and others going before and coming after, the Prince was circled with a splendid Retinue of his own People; as the Lord Kensington, Captain of King James's Guard; the Earl of Denbigh, Edward Lord Kimbolton, the Lord Viscount Rockford, and others. The Outside of the Reception he met with was gallant and promising. But the grand Affair became every Day more intricate. The Spaniards doubted not of making him a Convert; for he seem'd to be so enamour'd, that they thought he wou'd at any rate have purchas'd the Enjoyment of his beautous Princess. Sanderson, an Historian very much in Credit with Echard, affirms, There never were any Proposals or Design to alter the Prince's Religion. But Echard himself tells us, "The Pope us'd all his Endeavours to cause the Prince to turn Catholick; the Spaniards promis'd him great Assistance if the English shou'd rebel; Orations, Processions and pompous Shows were made to allure him; Popish Books were dedicated, and Popish Pictures presented to him". The Pope himself wrote him a Letter, in which, according to Wilson, he us'd all the Rhetorick of his Cabalistical Consistory and holy Chair to charm him to his Obedience. The Archbishop of Embrun was told by the Duke of Buckingham, that when the Prince demanded to be admitted into the Infanta's Company, he was refus'd unless he wou'd first make Profession of the Catholick Religion before six or seven Witnesses at least, to which they endeavour'd to persuade him with all the Artifices imaginable. He was permitted to write to her, as he did several times, and receiv'd an Answer, which the Prince believ'd to be written with the Hand of the Infanta; but it appear'd afterwards to be compos'd by one of her Ladies of Honour. The Prince of Wales return'd a civil Answer to the Pope; wherein he says, *It has been his greatest Care to be united to his Holiness; that he had always been far from encouraging Novelty, and to be a Partisan of any Faction against the Catho-*

P. 548. P. 402.

Dageant, p. 49. Prince of Wales writes to the Pope.

lick Religion. That he will seek Occasion to take away Suspicion, and desir'd but one Religion and one Faith; having resolv'd in himself to spare nothing that he has in the World, his Estate and Life, for a thing so pleasing as the uniting us to the Church of Rome: for no Man in his Wits can think the Pope wou'd urite himself to the Church of England. He then implores the Almighty to give his Holiness Health and Happiness. How does this agree with Archbishop Abbot's Letter to King James when he heard of the Articles in Favour of Papiests, which were the Conditions of Marriage: *I beseech you to take into Consideration what that Act is, what the Consequence may be. By your Act you labour to set up the most damnable and heretical Doctrine of the Church of Rome, the Whore of Babylon. By this you shew yourself a Patron of those wicked Doctrines which your Conscience tells you are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable. And hereto I add what you have done by sending the Prince into Spain without the Consent of your Council, the Privy or Approbation of your People. The Drawers of him into this Action, so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the Kingdom, will not pass unquestion'd and unpunish'd. He closes all thus: And now, Sir, do with me what you please. Why shou'd Echard doubt the Truth of King James and the Prince's swearing to the Articles which contain'd this Toleration, when the Archbishop so severely rebukes him for it? His only Reason; that so trifling an Author as Nalson does not speak of it, and that what the Archbishop charges the King with directly is not probable. The Articles being sworn, and the Dispensation come from Rome, his Majesty cry'd out in a Transport, *All the Devils in Hell cannot break the Match.* To which one softly reply'd, *There is not a Devil left in Hell; they are all gone to Spain to make it.* Wilson informs us how the Dispensation was obtain'd. "The Pope finding by the Prince's Letter, and some other private Intimations, his good Affection to the Roman See, thought it high time to dally no longer, but to draw him altogether with the Cords of Love". The Articles which Nalson does not speak of, and therefore Echard does not believe them to be true, were confirm'd in Council, and the following Privy-Counsellors sign'd them as Witnesses: John Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper; Lionel Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer; Henry Viscount Mandeville, Lord President; Edward Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy-Seal; Lodowick Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Lord Steward; James Marquis of Hamilton; James Earl of Carlisle; Thomas Earl of Kelley; Oliver Viscount Grandison; Lancelot Bishop of Winchester; George Lord Carew; Arthur Lord Chichester; Sir Thomas Edmonds; Sir John Suckling; Sir George Calvert; Sir Edward Conway; Sir Richard Weston; Sir Julius Caesar.*

Most of these Counsellors were profess'd or suspected Papiests, and the others set their Hands against their Wills. The Articles being sworn, the King gave the Spanish Ambassador a Royal Entertainment; and, as Wilson avers, took a private Oath to observe certain other Articles in Favour of the Romanists, and for the free Exercise of Popery in all his Dominions. The Encouragement this gave the Papiests appear'd by the Boldness and Insolence of their Priests and Jesuits, who dar'd the Protestants to Disputations, and insulted them with this Question, *Where was your Church before Luther?* Many were perverted by their sophistical Arguments; particularly one Edward Bugs, Esq; a Gentleman of London, 70 Years old, whom they seduced in a Fit of Sickness. After his Recovery he was troubled in Conscience, and desir'd a publick Dispute; which was held at the House of Sir Humpbry Lind between Dr. White and Dr. Featly Protestants, and Father Eisler and Father Sweet Jesuits; where Featly handled the Argument with

Archbp. Abbot's Letter against tolerating Papiests.

P. 135.

Wilson, 239, 240.

Disputations.

A.D. 1623. great Dexterity, and so confounded the Jesuits, that Mr. *Buggs* with unspeakable Satisfaction return'd to the Truth of the Reform'd Religion. There was another Disputation, which wou'd have been of greater Consequence had the Person perverted been as eminent for Piety as Quality, I mean the Countess of *Buckingham*, the Duke's Mother, who had all along been in secret a Papist, and now declar'd it openly. The same Jesuit *Fisber* was the Countess's Champion, and the same Dr. *White* Dean of *Carlisle* oppos'd him; as did also the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, who advis'd the Disputation to clear the Duke's Character and Bishop *Laud*. The Dispute was held in Presence of the King, and a numerous Conflux of Persons of Quality. There were three Conferences, the first was manag'd by Dr. *White*, the second by Bishop *Williams*, and the third by Bishop *Laud*, his Majesty being Moderator. The partial *Heylyn* says, Bishop *Williams* only put in a word or two sometimes; which is false. For the second Conference was manag'd entirely by him, as Bishop *Hacket* affirms; and if he was not so vain as *Laud* to print his Disputation, Bishop *Hacket* gives us this Reason: He never wrote any thing with Intention to let the World see it, unless Necessity constrain'd him. But notwithstanding the Advantage the Protestant Disputants had in the Argument, the Countess remain'd unconverted, knowing full well that neither the King nor her Son had her Conversion at heart.

Bishop
Hacket,
35, 173.

About this time happen'd a very sad Accident in *Blackfriars*, where a great *Auditory* of Papists were assembled to hear Father *Drury* preach: The Floor of the Chamber falling down kill'd the Priest, and near 100 of his Congregation, maiming and bruising most of the rest.

Spanish
Match.

To return to *Spain*: We must observe that when the Articles were sworn, and the *Dispensation* arriv'd, the *Infanta* was stil'd Princess of *England* by those who favour'd the Match, and they were not many; so general was the Hatred to our Religion. The Prince was admitted Access to her in Presence of the King; and great was the Talk of celebrating the Nuptials, and her embarking for *England*, when on a sudden News came of the Pope's Death, which render'd the *Dispensation* null. But the *Spaniards* to keep the Prince in heart promis'd to procure another from the new Pope; and if a new one was not soon chosen, to have it from the Dean of the sacred College of Cardinals. The Prince's Impatience was stunn'd at this Delay; and the Court of *Spain* having given the Duke of *Buckingham* some Occasion of Disgust, it took off the Edge of his Zeal for the Match, and ended in as great Zeal against it. *Wilson* tells us, that Disgust arose from a Trick that was play'd him by the Countess *d'Olivarez*, who put a distemper'd Strumpet to Bed to him, when the Assignment was made for herself; and this is the general Report of Historians, who have written of the Journey to *Spain*. But the Author or Authors of the *History of the Rebellion*, who affect every where to be as directly against the Truth as is the Cause they wrote for, resolv'd not to leave the Character of this fast Friend to *Laud* with such a foul Spot, and wipe it off at the Expence of the Countess: She was then an old Woman past Children, of so abject a Presence, in a word, so crooked and deformed that she cou'd not provoke his Appetite. Sir *Anthony Welden* says in so many words, She was a very handsome Lady; and it was plotted between her Husband and her to palm a Stew upon *Buckingham* instead of that Beauty. *Welden* was a Courtier contemporary with this Affair; and it is impossible he shou'd mistake a crooked, deform'd old Hag for a beautiful Lady. Sir *Edward Peyton*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *Cambridge*, who much frequented the Court at that time, tells us, *Olivarez* foisted a foul Courtezan into his Bed, instead of his Lady often solicited by

P. 249.

Buckingham. Sir *Walter Aston*, who wish'd as well to the Cause as the Lord *Clarendon*, gives good Reason to believe the Lady was neither ugly nor coy; for in one of his Letters to the Duke after he was gone he writes, The Condesa of *Olivarez* bids me tell you she kisses your Grace's Hands, and prays for you by Name daily. *Larrey*, a French Historian, speaks of the Duke's Passion for this Countess. *Buckingham's* Resentment was just kindled, when he receiv'd a Letter from the Queen of *Bohemia*. The Archbishop of *Embrun* writes, that *Buckingham* shew'd him a Letter of the King of *Bohemia's* dated at the *Hague*, wherein he intreated him to take care that the Restitution of the *Palatinate* be inserted in the Marriage Treaty; and as an Acknowledgment of this Favour, and also as a Testimony of the perpetual Friendship he intend'd to contract with his Grace, he propos'd that his Daughter, about seven Years old, shou'd be marry'd to the Duke's eldest Son; to which *Embrun* found him much inclin'd: for he told him the King was not very averse to it. So much greater was his Affection to his Favourite than to his Family. The Queen of *Bohemia* in her Letter desir'd all his Friendship in behalf of herself and her Children. Accordingly he aggravated the Delays and Provocations of the *Spaniards* in his Letter to the King. At which his Majesty was so provok'd, that he wrote the Duke to bring back his Son with all Speed; but if his youthful Follies shou'd tye him to a long Expectation, he charged him by his Allegiance to come away and leave him. This Letter was immediately shewn to the Prince, and so wrought upon him, that he took a sudden Resolution to return to *England*; of which the *Spanish* Ministers having Notice, they were mightily concern'd, it destroying all their Hopes of completing the Prince's Conversion if he staid out the Winter; and in case of Consummation of the Marriage, then they hop'd the *Infanta* might prove with Child in the Spring, which wou'd give them a Pretence to keep her there till she was deliver'd, that so the Child might be bred up a naturaliz'd *Spaniard*. For whatever they did before, the *Spaniards* did now sincerely intend the Match, to secure the great Advantages they had obtain'd for the Papists in *England*. The Marriage Articles being stil'd at *Rome*, For the Augmentation and Weal of the Roman Catholics, *Olivarez* upbraided *Buckingham* with a Promise that the Prince shou'd turn Papist. The Duke said it was false; and hot Words pass'd between them to their mutual Resentment, especially on the Side of *Buckingham*, who made haste to embark aboard the *English* Fleet at *St. Andero*, which was sent to fetch the *Infanta*. He little regarded Ceremony at his Departure, and told the Count-Duke very frankly, I am oblig'd to the King, Queen, and Infanta in an eternal Tie of Gratitude; but for yourself, you have so far disoblig'd me, that I cannot without Flattery make the least Profession of Friendship for you. The Duke took no Leave of the Countess, and little of any one: he left the Prince to manage his own Business. His Highness took an Oath to solemnize the Marriage ten Days after the *Dispensation* came from the new Pope. The King of *Spain* took an Oath that it shou'd be solemniz'd. A Procuracy was seal'd by the Prince to the King and his Brother *Don Carlos*, and left in the Hands of the Earl of *Bristol*, who was not to know the Contents till the *Dispensation* came from *Rome*. His Highness oblig'd the King to swear to the Solemnization of the Match, alledging the *Infanta* might retire into a Cloyster, and defraud him of a Wife; and there was some Reason to be jealous of it, for whatever is said of her Inclination to the Marriage, is said to put a Colour on the Folly and Rashness of the Prince's Journey to *Spain*, and his long Stay there. Who that has read the Catholic King's Letter to *Olivarez* before-mention'd,

Dageant;
p. 251.

and

A.D. 1623. and *Olivarez's* Answer, can believe a Word of it? The Count-Duke says the Princess was resolv'd to put herself into the *Descalca*, an Order of bare-footed Nuns, rather than she would marry the Prince of *Wales*. But Archdeacon *Echard*, one of the most credulous Writers that ever assum'd the Title of an Historian, tells us, because it is for the Credit of King *Charles I.* She had many Divine Duties, he means Masses, perform'd for the Safety of the Prince's Return to England; and that she said at their parting, *If the Prince lov'd me, he would stay for me*; his Highness telling her, *My Heart can never be out of Anxiety, till you have past the intended Voyage, and are safe on the British Land.* *Echard* assures us, she said with a Blush, what would rather become the Mouth of a formal Pedant, than a gay young Princess, *If I am in Danger on the Ocean, or compos'd with the rolling brackish Waves, I shall cheer up myself, and remember all the Way to whom I am going.* Very likely this to come from the Mouth of a Lady who would never let him see her but with Ceremony, tho' he was very desirous of it. He was always ogling her when in her Presence, and once climb'd up a high Wall to have a Sight of her in a Garden. He presented her with a Necklace of Pearls of inestimable Value, which was return'd upon breaking off the Match; tho' it be now indifferent, says *Wilson*, whether the French or Spanish have them. He also made most of the Court Lords and Ladies Partakers of his Bounty, and *Buckingham* enrich'd the Spanish Beauties with Diamonds and Pearls.

The King of Spain brought the Prince to the *Escorial*, where he was magnificently entertain'd; and when they parted, his Majesty told his Highness, *Nothing in the World cou'd more oblige me, than the Confidence you had in me to put yourself in my Hands, being unusual with Princes.* But I, who value my Honour above all earthly Things, am the more endear'd to you, in that you gave me an Opportunity to express it. He protested, he earnestly desir'd a nearer Conjunction of brotherly Affection with him, for the more entire Union between them. The Prince reply'd, *I am sensible of those high Favours I have found during my Abode in your Court and Presence, which has set such an Estimation on his Worth, that I know not how to value it; but I will leave a Mediatrix who shall make good my Defects, if you will do me the Honour, and make me so happy, as to preserve me in the good Opinion of her, my most fair, my most dear Mistress.* They then embraced, and went their several Ways. A Marble Pillar was erected in the Place as a Monument of their parting. The Prince was attended to *St. Andero* by Cardinal *Zapata*, the Marquis *Aytone*, Count *Gondemar*, Count *Monterey*, Count *Baraias*, and other Grandees, who were all royally entertain'd aboard the English Fleet riding off that Port; but a Tempest rising as they were getting ashore again, frighted the *Dons* so much, that they were soon weary of the Sea-Coasts, and return'd to *Madrid*. At *St. Andero* Cardinal *Zapata* deliver'd his Highness a Packet of Letters seal'd up, in which the Prince, when he open'd it, found all the Letters written by him to the Infanta, folded up and seal'd as he sent them. A plain Indication that they resolv'd he should never make any way in her Affections, and never have her, if they cou'd not have whatever they demanded in Favour of Popery and Papists. Father *Orleans* affirms, that King *James* and *Buckingham* being both inclin'd to the Church of *Rome*, design'd chiefly by this Match to dispose the Affairs of *England* to an entire Re-union with the *Papal See*. *Heylin* discovers another main Design of that Treaty, which was, by the Assistance of an Army of Spanish Papists, to destroy the Puritans in *England*. His own Words are, *The near Alliance with the Court of Spain, would arm the King with Power to suppress that Faction.* I doubt

not his Party were very angry with him, and call'd him Idiot, Fool, Babbler, and an hundred Names, for discovering a Secret which made the Matter a thousand times worse than the Puritans themselves thought it was.

While the Prince was at *Madrid*, he receiv'd a Letter from the Pope, *Gregory XV*, dated *April 20th 1623*; which was not clandestinely deliver'd to him, but by the Pope's Nuntio, in Presence of the greatest Court Lords; and the Prince did not fail to send his Holiness a most dutiful and compliant Answer; wherein he says, *He will make it his Business for the Remainder of his Life, to have but one Religion and one Faith with the Pope, seeing that we believe in one Lord Jesus Christ.* And again; *'Tis certain I shall never be so affectionate to any Thing in the World, as to endeavour an Alliance with a Prince who hath the same Sentiments of the true Religion with myself.* Here he affirms that the Idolatries of the *Romish Church*, the Harlotries of the Whore of *Babylon*, are the true Religion. If so, what then must the Protestant Church of *England* be? And what does all the pretended Martyrdom come to? His Behaviour in *Spain* was agreeable to the pious Sentiments in his Letter to the Pope. *Howel*, his Secretary, who was with him at *Madrid*, says, *He made no Shew of the Protestant Religion at the Royal Palace where he lodg'd, but on the contrary, his Carriage in that Respect was such, that the Spaniards took him for a good Catholick:* And foreign Accounts say, *He there from a Balcony saw a Procession, and bow'd his Knee to the Host;* which I do not remember as something strange and surprizing; for as during his whole Life and Reign he countenanc'd and favour'd Papists, so might he from the same Principle comply with, and occasionally conform to Popery. I have seen a Vindication of this Letter with as much Reason and Eloquence as might be expected in so noble a Cause, but too mean and vile to deserve a sober Answer.

The Fleet setting sail for *England*, arriv'd at *Portsmouth* the 6th of *October*, and on News of his Highness's being landed, the whole Kingdom was in a Blaze; for there were few who had not Fears of some ill Accident or other happening to him in *Spain*; and wise Men did not impute the King of *Spain's* letting him go to his Honour. *Monsieur Spanheim* reflects upon it thus, in his Life of *Louisa Juliana*, Daughter to *William Prince of Orange*, and Mother to the King of *Bohemia*, Father of the Princess *Sophia Electress of Hanover*; so nearly were the Houses of *Hanover* and *Orange* related. *Never Prince*, says the learned *Spanheim*, *was more oblig'd to a Sister than Charles I. was to the Queen of Bohemia, since it was only the Consideration of her and her Children, who were then the next Heirs after him to the Crown of England, that prevail'd with the Court of Spain to permit him to see England again.*

While the Prince and *Buckingham* were at *St. Andero*, the Conduct of the Spaniard in delaying the Marriage, was much aggravated by the Duke, and the Prince reflecting upon it seriously, grew every Day more and more cool in it. One *Clark*, a Creature of *Buckingham's*, was dispatch'd to *Madrid*, with Orders to *Bristol* not to deliver the Powers left in his Hand, till he had further Directions. These Counsels were too late. The Prince had sworn to the Marriage, and the Earl of *Bristol* was so troubled at this Double-dealing, that he resolv'd to deliver the Procuracion within ten Days, if the Dispensation came, and justify himself by the Authority he had receiv'd from the King under the Great Seal of *England*, unless he had a Command from his Majesty to the contrary within a limited Time. *Bristol* had negotiated this Affair in the Reign of *Philip III.* the Infanta's Father, and built very much on the Merit of having obtain'd a Portion of two Millions, four times as

A.D. 1623. Observat. on H. L. Esq; p. 8.

Dodona Grove, p. 96.

The Prince arrives in England.

Dageant, p. 249.

P. 12.

much

A.D. 1623. much as had ever been given with an *Infanta* of *Spain*. It mortify'd him extremely to see the Building he had rais'd in so tottering a Condition, the Match, as he wisely conjectur'd, being now very uncertain. After the Prince's Departure, he follow'd the Negotiation closely, was daily at the Palace to attend the *Infanta*, and was assisted in it by the Countess *de Olivarez*. The Duke of *Buckingham* was jealous he wou'd rather push the Matter forward, than put it back; he therefore left *Clark* behind him to be a Spy upon him. When the Letter about stopping the Procuration was deliver'd to *Bristol*, he was equally troubled and surpriz'd, telling *Clark*, *it must for a Time be conceal'd, for he fear'd if the Spaniards shou'd come to the Knowledge of it, they wou'd stop the Prince.*

King *James* being at *Roylston* when the Prince and Duke came Post to *London*, they both hasten'd thither, and gave him a fair and plausible Account of their Proceedings, laying all the Blame on the Delays of the *Spaniards* and *Bristol's* Miscarriages; which the King, as an indulgent Father to his Son, and a kind Friend to his Favourite, took in current Payment without further Examination. The Prince and Duke fell in with those Lords of the Council who had ever been averse to the Marriage. These were of Opinion that a Parliament shou'd be called, as the best Remedy for all Evils; and that the fraudulent Dealings of the *Spaniards* shou'd be laid open. The News of a Parliament to be summon'd for that Purpose, was receiv'd with universal Joy throughout the Nation. An absolute Command was sent to *Bristol* to suspend the Delivery of the Proxy till *Christmas* tho' the Dispensation came, and to demand the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and Electoral Dignity, which were neglected in the Conclusion of the Treaty. The King cou'd not say a Truth himself, which all the Kingdom said while 'twas negotiating, *It wou'd be very strange in him to receive one Daughter in Joy, and leave another in Sighs and Tears.* There was a Clause in the Procuration left by the Prince, that the Power of that Instrument shou'd expire at *Christmas*; so that the Execution of it was to be respite'd till it was invalid. Thus was the Marriage effectually annull'd, and the Design kept secret for the greater Affront to the *Spaniards*, who made all solemn Provisions for accomplishing it, they being now in earnest after such ample Toleration was granted to the Papists. Thus when King *James* wou'd have sacrific'd all his true Interests to the Marriage, the *Spaniards* amus'd him with a fraudulent Treaty, and now he is wean'd from it they are as fond of it as ever he had been. An Embassy was sent from *Spain* to *England*, to congratulate the Prince's safe Arrival. The Ambassador was instructed to go to *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, and make known to the Princes how near the Marriage was to Consummation.

In the beginning of *December*, the new Pope's Dispensation came to *Madrid*, upon which Bonfires were made throughout all *Spain*, and the Artillery was every where fir'd. The *Polish* Envoy at Court, whose Errand was to obtain the *Infanta* for that King's Son, disappear'd when he understood the Dispensation was come, and saw the Preparations which were making for the Wedding. A Day was set to celebrate it, the 9th of *January*; a *Tarras* was erected between the Court and the next Church, near a quarter of a Mile in length, cover'd with Tapestry, and all Things were appointed in the highest State for so great a Solemnity. Presents were providing in the Court of *Spain* for King *James* and the Prince of *Wales*. The *Infanta's* Family was settled, and it seems by what we read in *Wilson*, the Dispensation had made a Conquest over her maiden Modesty. *She us'd her best Skill amongst the Sweets of Spain, to cloath her Lord and Husband with some Suits of perfum'd Amber Leather, some embroider'd with Pearl, and*

some with Gold. She had long practis'd the *English* *A.D. 1623.* Tongue to make it natural by the Help of her two Jesuit Tutors *Wadsworth* and *Boniface*. She had begun to draw the Letters she intended to send the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-law, on the Day of her Espousals. Her Journey into *England* was resolv'd about the beginning of *March*; and in the height of her Expectations, and the Expectations of the King and Kingdom of *Spain*, fell all this glorious Fabrick at once, the Earl of *Bristol* declaring by Command of his Master, that without the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and the Electoral Dignity, the Treaty shou'd proceed no farther. Four *English* Messengers, *Killingrew*, *Wood*, *Griesly*, and *Dacres*, follow'd each other at the Heels with Dispatches, confirming the Earl of *Bristol's* last Instructions. The King of *Spain* gave his Answer, *That the Palatinate was none of his to give, and the Electorate was in the Power of another; but if the Emperor and Duke of Bavaria would not yield to Reason, he wou'd arm himself against them.* Words were now a Coin which King *James* wou'd not be paid with, tho' he had had no other Payments from *Spain* since he had had any thing to do with her. The Earl of *Bristol* receiv'd Instructions to demand no more Audiences, nor deliver no more Letters to the *Infanta*, who was no more stil'd *Princess of England*. Such was the End of a Treaty which had lasted *Spanish Match* seven Years; a sort of Farce wherein the *English* were the Bubbles to the Catastrophe, and then *broken.* the Tables were turn'd on the *Spaniards*. When one has read the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories, where every Thing is grand by itself, or by Circumstances, what a poor Impression must a seven Years Treaty of Marriage make? How tedious must it seem to both Writer and Reader? and what a Waste of Time to both? Yet without this Transaction, these seven Years of this Reign wou'd have been a sort of *Vacuum*; and the Necessity of saying something, is the greatest Part of its Importance, considering how inglorious it was thro' the whole Course of it; for the breaking a Marriage which had been so solemnly sworn, was certainly as dishonourable an Action as the negotiating it was a weak one: But it was a politick one, if we consider the Bent of the Nation, which was generally against it. 'Tis suppos'd the Expence of the Embassies to *Spain* during those seven Years, of the Prince and Duke's romantick Journey, the Presents given away by all of them, and by the King of *England* to accomplish this Match, amounted to a Sum not much less than the promis'd Portion.

'Twas a common Saying concerning King *James*, *that he took Physick, and call'd Parliaments both alike, using both for meer Need, and not caring for either how little Time they lasted.* We have mention'd the Prince's having seen the *Princess Henrietta Maria* in *France*. Her Youth and Beauty gave her some Advantage of the *Infanta*; and the Duke had no difficult Task to alienate his Affections from the King of *Spain*, and turn them towards a Daughter of *France*. The Earls of *Holland* and *Carlisle* were sent thither to feel the Pulse of that Court, which beat as it was wish'd, and the Treaty of Marriage was begun and ended in fewer Months than that with *Spain* continu'd Years. The latter cou'd not handsomely be broken by the King and Prince, who had solemnly sworn to it; and therefore a Parliament is summon'd to meet the 12th of *February*, but the King put it off a Week longer to mourn for the Death of the Duke of *Richmond*, who was that Morning found dead in his Bed.

On the 19th of *February* the Parliament met, *Parliament.* and his Majesty made a Speech to them; which had less Cant and fewer Texts in it than his former Speeches. He told them *he wou'd advise with them in Matters relating to his Estate and Dignity; and*

A Marriage with Henrietta Maria of France.

A.D. 1624.

Expence of the Negotiation.

Full. 112.

A.D. 1624. and that as he had endeavour'd by this and the like Ways, to procure and cherish the Love of his People towards him, so he does hope, and his Hope is exceeded by Faith, that never any King was more beloved by his Subjects. Mr. Coke desires his Readers to compare this with what the King said and did last Parliament, when he boasted he had broken the Necks of three Parliaments, which were all that were in his Reign but this. He then ask'd their free Counsels about his Son's Match, the debating of which had formerly given him so great Offence. He spoke slightly of the Prince's Journey to Spain, but highly commended the Duke of Buckingham's Conduct, in whom he ever repos'd the most Trust of his Person. He added, as God shall judge me, I never thought or meant, or in Word express'd any thing that savour'd of a Toleration of Popery. A tremendous Appeal this! Upon which my Author makes these Reflections, very natural indeed, but easily like to escape the Conception of an Historian, such as Echard, who sinks all this King's unhappy Qualities, for the sake of that most happy one his Zeal for the Church. "How was Arch-
Coke 148. bishop Abbot mistaken, says Coke, when he wrote "his diffusive Letter against the King's Proclamation for the Toleration of Religion to Roman Catholics? How was my Lord-Keeper Williams mistaken, after the King had directed him and other Commissioners to draw up a Pardon for all Offences past by Roman Catholics, with a Dispensation for those to come in, putting a Stop to the Prohibition sent the Judges and Bishops to execute any Statute against them, If the King had never meant, nor in Words express'd, as God was his Judge, any thing that savour'd of a Toleration of Popery. Heylin, Echard, and such Writers, may take Pleasure in writing such History as this, but it must needs be shocking to all those that do not think his Favour to the rigid Ecclesiasticks sufficient to atone for worse Incidents even than this. His Majesty refer'd them to the Prince and Buckingham for what related to the breaking off the Spanish Match, and concluded thus; I speak as a Christian King, that never any wayfaring Men in the burning, dry, sandy Deserts, more thirsted for Water to quench his Thirst, than I thirst and long for the happy Success of this Parliament, that the good Issue of it may expiate and acquit the fruitless Issue of the former; which does not seem to be said with the greatest Depth of Wisdom, since this Parliament had by much a Majority of the same Members as the last; and the House of Commons shew'd by the Choice of their Speaker Sir Thomas Crew, that they came together in the same Temper, that Gentleman having lain under his Majesty's Displeasure for doing his Duty, and speaking freely in Parliament: But tho' they knew, says Wilson, there was an Intention of tolerating Popery; pray remember the dreadful Appeal before-mention'd; Yet they were silent, they seal'd up their Lips, and would not see the Light that discover'd it. That worthy Patriot Sir Robert Philips, Knight of the Shire for the County of Somerset, was one of the first who spoke in this Session; he said, This Day's Debate makes me call to mind the Customs of the Romans, who had a Feast once a Year for their Slaves, at which Time they had liberty to speak. After grievous Sufferings of many violent Oppressions, we have, as these Slaves had, a Day of Liberty of Speech, but shall not, I trust, be herein Slaves; for we are Freeman, not Bondmen. The Romans after their Feast were Slaves again, but it is our Hope to return Freeman. "This Gentleman, says a modern Author, left such an Example of publick Spirit to his Posterity, as it will be for their Glory to imitate. Warwick has a Fling at this Speech in his Memoirs, tho' he does not mention it. Sir Robert Philips spoke again thus; I more fear the Violation of publick Rights at Home than a foreign Enemy; the un-

accustom'd Violences trench into all we have; our Religion is made vendible by Commissions: Alas! Now a Toleration is granted, and Men for pecuniary annual Rents dispens'd withal, whereby Papists, without fear of the Law, practise Idolatry, and scoff at Parliament and all. Why is there nothing of all this in Echard's History? How comes it that those whose Duty it is to take Care of our Religion, to teach it and inculcate it, seem to have less Concern for it than Laymen, whose Duty only it is to learn and practise? Sir Robert Philips in another Speech said, It is well known the People of this State are under no other Subjection than what they did voluntarily consent to by the original Contract between King and People; and as there are many Prerogatives and Privileges conferr'd on the King, so there are left to the Subject many necessary Liberties and Privileges, as appears by the common Laws and Acts of Parliament, notwithstanding what those two Sycophants Sibthorp and Manwaring have prated in the Pulpit. How different are these Things from those in the Arch-deacon's Books? Sir Robert Philips, an hundred Years ago, asserted the Rights of the original Contract, which Filmer, Brady, the Oxford Decree, Hicks, Lesley, Hill, T--p, Swift, &c. deny with so much Assurance, and which so many others of the Clergy have condemn'd as a Fiction since the Revolution. The House went directly to the Business of the Spanish Treaty, in order to which Buckingham made a full Narrative of it before both Houses in the Banqueting-House, and at the End of every Passage, he call'd the Prince to witness to the Truth of what he said, who always answer'd I or Yes. Throughout all his Discourse, he labour'd to make the Earl of Bristol as hateful to the Parliament as himself had been, laying on him the whole Blame of the Spanish Delays, and charging him with deceiving the King in his Advices of the Intentions of that Court, both as to the Marriage and Restitution of the Palatinate. He said those Delays put his Highness on the Journey to Spain, to which the King was persuaded to consent by the Prince's Reasons: That Bristol had advised him to turn Papist to facilitate the Match: That the Spaniards hoping the Toleration would cause a Rebellion, offer'd the Prince an Army to suppress it: That his Highness finding he was only delay'd, left a Proxy with Bristol to conclude the Marriage when the Dispensation came, but forbid him to deliver it, which however Bristol would have done, and made the Espousals, if Griesly had not brought a Revocation of the Proxy over Night. He clos'd all thus: If the drawing of us out of Darkness into Light, did deserve Thanks, we allow'd it to the Prince, who by the Hazard of his Person, and by his great Care and Industry, had done this for us. The Duke's Narrative was receiv'd by both Houses with universal Applause; old Murmurs were forgotten, and they could scarce contain themselves from acknowledging him to be the Preserver of the Nation. The Prince having escaped the Danger he had thrown himself into by the Spanish Journey, had made his Royal Person more dear to them than ever, as 'tis usual in human Minds to sympathize with such as have been in extrem Peril, and to turn their Compassion into Love. The Duke having been the Companion of the Prince's Dangers, and having led him thro' them, contrary to the Expectations and Fears of the King and Kingdom, the Rashness of his first Counsels were forgotten in the Safety of the last; and the Merit of breaking the Match more than aton'd for the Offence in forwarding it. Thus from a Grievance the Duke became a Favourite to the People as well as to the King; and the Parliament having taken the Treaty of the Marriage with Spain into Consideration, advis'd the King to break it off, and proclaim open War, offering their Lives and Fortunes for the Reco-

A.D. 1624 very of the *Palatinate*, and the Electoral Dignity; so dear were our most gracious Sovereigns Royal Ancestors to the good People of *England* in all and the worst of Times. Upon this Declaration the King determin'd to send instantly to *Spain*, to signify to that King, by his Ambassador, that the Parliament advis'd him to break off the Treaties, and recover the *Palatinate* by War. A Dispatch was drawn to this Purpose, but the King immediately repented of it, and wrote this Letter to Secretary *Conway*: "I doubt not you have heard what a stinging Petition against the Papists the Lower-House hath sent to the Higher-House this Day, that they might jointly present it to me. You know my firm Resolution not to make this a War of Religion; and seeing I wou'd be loth to be Coney-catch'd by my People, I pray you stay the Post that is going into *Spain*, till I meet with my Son, who will be here to-morrow Morning. Do it upon Pretext of some more Letters to send by him, and if he shou'd be gone, hasten after him to stay him upon some such Pretext, and let none living know of this in the Love of me, and before two in the Afternoon to-morrow ye shall without fail hear from me." The King was not rightly inform'd of the Contents of that Petition, there being no such terrible Thing in it as a War of Religion, only a War for the Recovery of his Son-in-law's Dominions, which he told them in another Speech he would consider of, after he had thank'd them for their Advice, and represented the Difficulties he lay under. He also valu'd himself for the Title of *Rex Pacificus*, and said War was *Malum necessarium*, a necessary Evil, as some say of Women. The Parliament, to animate him, offer'd him three entire Subsidies, and three Fifteenths, which they assur'd him was the greatest Aid that ever had been given. The Earl of *Clarendon*, if it was he who wrote the *History of the Rebellion*, says, *They rais'd great Mountains of Promises, but never made them good, which too often falls out in such Counsels.* *Wilson* on the contrary charges the King with *promising much, and performing little.* Such sort of Slurs on parliamentary Proceedings were common after Queen *Elizabeth's* Death, the Kings of the House of *Stuart* having had an Aversion to Parliaments, and with good Reason, because their Government cou'd never stand the Test of them; they therefore put as much Disgrace on their Counsels as cou'd be done with Safety. *Coke* assures us the Money was not only given, but squander'd away in carrying on a *French Treaty*.

Earl of
Bristol.

The War with *Spain* being the Consequence of breaking off the Match, and that a Work of the Duke of *Buckingham's*, the Author of the *History of the Rebellion* tells us, "The King was infinitely offended, and wanted only a resolute and brisk Counsellor to assist him in destroying the Duke, and such a one he promis'd himself on the Arrival of the Earl of *Bristol*, whom he had recall'd, and who had the best Head of any Minister employ'd in the Marriage Treaty, or indeed in any other of King *James's* Affairs. The Earl had some Friends in Parliament, who sent him Information of what the Duke had said against him; and his Lordship to prepare the Way for a good Reception at home, wrote to his Grace; "If there have happen'd any Errors or Misunderstandings, I hope you will pass them over; and for any thing that shall personally concern my particular, I shall labour to give you that Satisfaction as may preserve your Friendship; and if that shall not serve the Turn, I shall not be found unarm'd with Patience against any thing that can happen to me." It was talk'd in *Spain* that his Life wou'd be in danger, and he was so well with that Court, as to have an Offer of Protection and Honour from the King; of which Sir *Walter Aston*

A.D. 1624 wrote thus to Secretary *Conway*: "The Conde *Olivarez* told the Earl they had receiv'd large Advertisements out of *England*, by which they understood the hard Measure that he was likely to suffer by the Power of his Enemies; and that the only Crime which they cou'd impute to him, was for labouring to effect the Marriage, which his Master cou'd not but take much to heart; and held himself oblig'd to publish to the World the good Service that my Lord had done unto the King of *Great-Britain*; and therefore for the better Encouragement likewise of his own and all other Ministers that shou'd truly serve their Masters, he was to offer him a Blank Paper, sign'd by the King, wherein his Lordship might set down his own Conditions and Demands; which he said he did not propose to corrupt any Servant of his Majesty's, but for a publick Declaration of what was due to his Lordship's Proceedings. He said farther, that in that Offer he laid before him the Lands and Dignities that were in his Master's Power to dispose of, out of which he left it at his Pleasure to chuse what Estate or Honour he shou'd think good." The Earl reply'd, *He was very sorry to hear this Language us'd to him; that his Catholick Majesty ow'd him nothing, but that what he had done was upon the King his Master's Commands, and without any Intention to serve Spain; and that howsoever he might have Reason to fear the Power of his Enemies, yet he trusted much upon the Innocency of his own Cause, and the Justice of the King, and that he cou'd not understand himself in any Danger; but were he sure to lose his Head at his Arrival there, he wou'd go to throw himself at his Majesty's Feet and Mercy, and rather there dye upon a Scaffold, than be Duke of Infantada in Spain, the Title which probably was offer'd him.*

Before his Arrival in *England*, the Marquis *Iniofa* the *Spanish* Ambassador, had complain'd by *Spanish* Letters to his Master, that he cou'd not procure a private Audience, tho' he had often desir'd it; and the War being near breaking out, the Marquis and his Brother-Ambassador *Don Carlo de Colonna*, resolv'd to be reveng'd on the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom they conceiv'd to be the chief Author of the Neglect they met with: Accordingly they drew up a Paper, wherein they represented, "That King *James* was kept as much a Prisoner by the Prince and Duke's Emiffaries, as ever was King *John* of *France* in *England*; that the Prince and Duke had contriv'd at *Madrid* to take the Administration of the Government from him: In order to which a War was to be begun, and Forces rais'd under that Pretence; that the Duke had traduc'd his Majesty as a slothful unactive Prince, who abandon'd his only Daughter and her Children; that he had divulg'd the King's Secrets with respect to his Majesty's and their Master's Designs about the *Hollanders*; that he was guilty of corrupt Dealing with the Ambassadors of several Princes; and that the Duke encourag'd the *Puritans* in their Wishes to have the Succession settled on the Princess *Palatine* and her Children, after the Demise of the King." We see by this, that the Protestants in *England* always long'd for the Government of the *Bohemian* Line, and their good Wishes were at last crown'd with Success in the Reign of our late glorious King and his present Majesty. This Paper contain'd several bold Untruths, which the *Spanish* Ambassadors doubted not wou'd terrify King *James*, and his Terror make a Breach between him and *Buckingham*: But it was some time before they cou'd get an Opportunity to deliver it. At last *Iniofa* and *Don Carlo*, being accidentally at Court, when there was but a very thin Circle, *Don Carlo* held the Prince and Duke in earnest Discourse, while *Iniofa*

A.D. 1624. slip the Paper into the King's Hand, with a Wink that he shou'd put it into his Pocket. At the Bottom of the Paper they pray'd his Majesty to admit Don *Francisco Carondelet*, Secretary to *Iniofa*, to a private Audience when the Prince and Duke were in the House of Lords; which was perform'd by the Earl of *Kelly*, who introduc'd Don *Francisco* and a Jesuit, nam'd *Maestro*, to the King; and they confirm'd the Contents of the Paper, tho' one may well question the Truth of their Evidence. However, it wrought so upon the King that it threw him into a Fit of Melancholy; and the next time he saw *Buckingham* he cry'd out, Ah *Stenny, Stenny*; for so he ever call'd him in Familiarity; *Wilt thou kill me?* At which *Buckingham* started, and said, *Who, Sir, has abus'd you?* His Majesty recollected that he had gone too far, if he intended to prevent the Mischief; so he sat silent, and the Duke fell into a violent Passion, finding somebody had been with the King in his Absence. Upon Enquiry he understood it was Father *Maestro*, and that he had been introduc'd by the Earl of *Kelly*. *Buckingham* in a Fury demand'd of him, *How he durst bring any one to the King without his Leave?* *Kelly* did not disown it, nor shew any Fear of him; which was enough for the Court to foresee that the Duke's Fall was not so far off as he imagin'd. 'Tis true, the King defended him to one of the *Spanish* Ministers; but cou'd not help saying, *He had noted him a turbulent Spirit of late, and knew not how to mitigate it; so that casting up the same, he doubted it might come to his Turns to pay the Reckoning.* Bishop *Hacket* in the Life of Bishop *Williams* informs us, that in this Perplexity the King prepar'd to take Coach for *Windsor*, and found a slight Cause to leave *Buckingham* behind. As his Majesty was putting his Foot into the Coach, the Duke besought him with Tears in his Eyes to let him know the Charge against him, swearing he wou'd clear himself of it, or confess it. The King would not satisfy him; but express'd his Sorrow, that he was the unhappy Man alive, to be forsaken of them that were dearest to him; and weeping as fast as the Duke did, he made haste with the Prince to *Windsor*. Contrary to this, the Author of the *History of the Rebellion* asserts, there appear'd no Marks or Evidence that the King did really lessen his Affection to him to the Hour of his Death. The Prince of *Wales* in Discourse with Bishop *Williams* said of *Buckingham*, *He hath lost the good Opinion of my Father, and I myself am in little better Condition.* The Lord Keeper *Williams* having Information of what had pass'd went immediately to the Duke, whom he found lying on his Couch in such Confusion and Desperation, that he seem'd perfectly stupid. He wou'd neither rise up nor speak, tho' press'd to it by the Keeper, who told him, *He believ'd God's directing Hand was in it to stir up his Grace, to advance him to those Favours which he possess'd to do him Service at this Extremity.* He intreated him to hasten after the King to *Windsor*, and not to stir out of his Presence, but carry himself in the most amiable manner to prevent the Access of his Enemies, who probably might put the King upon dissolving the Parliament, which might prove very fatal to his Grace at that Juncture. The Duke, as waking out of a Dream, took his Advice, thank'd him, and posted away to *Windsor*. When he was gone, the Lord Keeper set himself to discover what the Charge was; which he did by means of a Mistress kept by *Carondelet* the *Spanish* Secretary, who got the whole Secret out of him, and even procur'd a rough Draught of the Paper *Iniofa* had given the King. He soon after had an Opportunity to pump the Contrivance out of Don *Francisco*, who having a Friend that was a Priest, and lodg'd in *Drury-Lane*, the Keeper order'd him to be seiz'd on purpose to get the *Spaniard* to his

Buckingham in Danger.

Amb. Phillips, 123.

House; for he doubted not he wou'd come to intercede for his Friend. *Francisco* earnestly soliciting the Enlargement of the Priest, Bishop *Williams* reply'd, *Wou'd you have me run such a Hazard: he is a dead Man by our Statutes. Now the Eye of the Parliament is so vigilant upon the Breach of Justice, especially in this Kind, to the sadding of our godly Men, who detest them that creep here out of Seminaries above all Malefactors, because they come with an Intent to pervert them who have liv'd in the Bosom of our Church.* "My Lord, says *Francisco*, "let not the Dread of Parliament trouble you; "for I can tell you, if you have not heard it, that "it is upon Expiration". They then enter'd into a long Conversation, and upon Hopes of obtaining the Priest's Liberty, *Francisco* open'd himself at large concerning *Iniofa's* Project; which when the *Spaniard* was gone the Lord Keeper wrote down, and carry'd the Paper to the Prince, who was return'd to St. *James's*. His Highness was equally surpriz'd and pleas'd at the Discovery, the more for that the Lord Keeper had taken the Pains to vindicate the Duke as to every Article of *Iniofa's* Charge in the same Paper. *Buckingham's* Surprize and Pleasure were much greater still. The Prince deliver'd it to the King, who read it deliberately, and at several Stops said 'twas well, very well. At the End of it he embrac'd both the Prince and Duke, and express'd great Joy at the Detection of the *Spaniard's* Machinations against them. *Buckingham* put the Prince upon writing a Letter of Complaint to *Spain*; but the Catholick King wou'd not receive it, knowing the Contents of it, and that it was to demand Satisfaction for *Iniofa's* Conduct; which was so far approv'd of by King *Philip*, that he sent the Letter unopen'd to *Iniofa*, who, as my Author affirms, sent it thus to the Prince. It will be seen in the Sequel of this History, how grateful the Prince and Duke were to the Lord Keeper for this good Office, which supported them both in the King's Favour and Affection, when they were in the most tottering Condition.

A.D. 1624.

Sir A. W. P. 155.

As soon as the Earl of *Bristol* arriv'd in *England*, he receiv'd a Letter at *Dover* from the Lord *Conway*, commanding him in the King's Name to retire to his House, and not come to Court. Upon which the Earl petition'd that he might make his Answer in Parliament to any Charge against him, to prevent which he was committed to the Tower; and tho' he was soon releas'd, it was on Condition he made a Submission, and retir'd into the Countrey.

Earl of Bristol order'd to retire.

The Disgrace of the Earl of *Middlesex*, which has been spoken of, happen'd about this time. He had given the Duke Offence by checking his extravagant Demands on the Treasury to answer his Profusion in *Spain*; and *Buckingham* took hold of this Opportunity to ruin him, when he had the Parliament on his Side. He easily got an Impeachment against *Middlesex* sent from the House of Commons to the Lords. Upon which his Majesty told him, *He was in this Fit of Popularity making a Rod to scourge himself; and turning to the Prince, who was as forward in this Impeachment as Buckingham, he said, When I am dead you will have your Belly-full of Parliament Impeachments; and will remember to your Sorrow, how much you have contributed to the weakning of the Crown by it.* Kings who are for arbitrary Power have all Impeachments in Abhorrence, for that they call the Ministers of it to Account, and are Barriers to the Liberties of the People. He knew enough of the Disposition of his Son to foresee that his Government would render frequent Impeachments necessary; and this Foresight is extoll'd as propheticall by Archdeacon *Echard*.

The Parliament was not in so good Humour with the Court, but they began to pry into the secret Treaty of Marriage with a *French* Prince, and to express their Fears that it would contribute

A.D. 1624. to the Growth of Popery. To prevent which they deliver'd a Petition from both Houses, wherein they pray'd his Majesty, *That upon no Occasion of Marriage or Treaty, he would take away or slacken the Execution of the Laws against Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants.* The King told them in his Answer, that his Heart bled when he heard of the Increase of Popery. I hope this will be remember'd when we come to the Archbishop of Embrun's Negotiation to convert him and his Kingdoms to that Religion. *That it was as Thorns in his Eyes, and Pricks in his Sides. He could not have been an honest Man, if it had not been his Desire to hinder it. If he was not a Martyr, he was sure he was a Confessor, never King having suffer'd more ill Tongues.* He protested he had never dispens'd with the Laws. How well this agrees with Lord Keeper Williams's Letter to the Judges: "His Majesty having resolv'd to grant some Conivance to the Papists, hath commanded me to issue Writs under the Broad Seal, requiring you in every Circuit to discharge such as are in Prison. You are to make no Niceness or Difficulty to extend his princely Favour to them for any Church Recusancy whatsoever; as refusing the Oaths of Supremacy, dispersing Popish Books, saying of Mass, or any thing which doth touch or concern Religion". In the Close of the King's Answer to the Petition of both Houses, he tells them, *they had given him the best Advice in the World, and might assure themselves that by God's Grace no such Conditions should be insisted upon any other Treaty whatsoever.* And in a Month or two after, such Conditions were agreed to in the French Treaty of Marriage, particularly that all English Catholics should be no more enquir'd after for their Religion, nor constrain'd to take the Oath, which contains something contrary to the Catholic Religion, &c. And generally that they should receive more Grace and Liberty in favour of the Alliance with France, than had been promis'd them in Consideration of that with Spain. Upon all which Wilson makes these just Reflections: "If the King had seriously consider'd the Minute of this Petition, and the very last Clause, wherein the Glory of God, and the Safety of his Kingdom so much consisted, as the Parliament wisely express'd and foresaw, and which the King says is the best Advice in the World, and which he promis'd so faithfully to observe in the next Treaty of Marriage for his Son, it might perhaps have kept the Crown on the Head of his Posterity: But when Princes break with People in those things which concern the Honour of God, God will let their People break with them; which Maxims hold in all Powers, whether Kingdoms or Commonwealths".

Amboyna. The Cruelties and Rapine of the Dutch at Amboyna in the East Indies will never be read by an Englishman without Horror and Resentment. The English had five Factories in Amboyna, one of the Spice Islands called also *Setibe*. The chief Factory was at Amboyna, the Capital of the Island, from whence the English supply'd not only Europe, but Persia, Japan, and other Countries with Spices. They had a Fort at Amboyna for the Security of this valuable Trade; and being better belov'd in the Spice Islands than the Dutch, the latter, who were the stronger in India, under some Pretext surpriz'd the Fort, and possess'd themselves of the English Factories. This did not satisfy them; they resolv'd to extirpate that Nation in those Parts; and pretending the English had plotted with the Natives to recover the Fort by Treason, they massacred some of them in a most horrible bloody manner, and made the rest Slaves not only in that Island, but at *Polcroon* and other Places to the Number of 1800. They also seiz'd their Effects to the Value of 400000*l.* This wicked and barbarous Action deserv'd the most exemplar

ry Vengeance. The Honour and Interest of England were deeply concern'd in it. But how was it resented by King James: He only sent a Message to the Dutch Ambassador, that he had never heard nor read a more cruel and impious Act. But he added, *I do forgive them, and I hope God will; yet my Son's Son shall revenge this Blood, and punish so horrid a Massacre.* Neither his Son, nor his Son's Son struck a Stroke to revenge it, unless we allow that King Charles the Second's War to destroy the Dutch Protestants, and facilitate the Conquest of their Country by France, was to revenge the Wickedness and Cruelty of their Countrymen at Amboyna 50 Years before. Oliver Cromwel indeed when he gave Peace to the Hollanders oblig'd them to make what Satisfaction they cou'd, after a bloody and expensive War, for the Massacre at Amboyna. And since the Revenge was taken by him, this barbarous Action would doubtless not have been so often aggravated by certain Historians, were it not more to render the Dutch odious, as they are Presbyterians and Republicans, than as they were Enemies to the Trade of England.

With what wonderful Delight does Echard dwell on the History of the Treaty of Marriage with the Princess Henrietta Maria, Daughter to Henry IV. of France. To which Alliance are in a great measure owing all the Miseries this Kingdom has ever since been involved in by the Principles and Practices of the Papists. The States General of the United Provinces recommended to the King a Protestant Lady of high Quality with a vast Fortune; but either not being the Daughter of a King, or being a Protestant, his Majesty would not hearken to the Proposition. I have mention'd the Earl of Holland's being first sent to Paris on that Errand, where he appear'd so forward in the Business, and Richlieu the prime Minister was so well inform'd of King James's Apprehension of a second Disappointment in the Marriage of his Son, that tho' Lewis XIII. told the Earl of Holland, *he had rather have the Prince of England to be his Brother than any other Man in the World; yet Richlieu stood off, telling him his Master, who was the eldest Son of the Church, should not abate any thing of what was granted to the Catholic King.* And Coke says more was granted to Richlieu than to Olivarez. However, it is a dear Match with both the Earl of Clarendon and Archdeacon Echard, who are almost in as much Joy about it as the Bridegroom himself. It must be on account of that Lady's inveterate Hatred to Presbyterians; for excepting the Good she did England by that excellent Quality, they have not one Reason to speak of this Alliance but with Sorrow and Lamentation. The Princess's Portion was but 800000 Crowns; of which 2 or 300000 were to be laid out in Jewels, and for the rest she was to have a Jointure of 40000*l.* a Year. If she dy'd childless before her Husband, the Moiety of her Portion was to be return'd; and yet this Portion was to be paid at several Payments. Father Berulle of the Oratory, afterwards Cardinal, was sent to Rome to obtain a Dispensation; and to dispose his Holiness to it, he was order'd to explain the Benefit this Marriage would be to the English Papists, since King James and the Prince would oblige themselves by Oath no more to enquire after Catholics, nor punish them when discover'd; to enlarge all that had been imprison'd, and restore what Money or Goods had been taken from them: in a word, to treat them with more Favour than they could have expected from the Alliance with Spain.

This was the least of the Papists Expectations; for there was now a secret Treaty on foot, carry'd on by the Archbishop of Embrun and Monsieur Dageant, a Creature of Richlieu's, for the Conversion of the Kingdom to Popery; and it was almost brought to Perfection. Dageant tells the Story with so many Circumstances, that Echard thought himself

Laws dispens'd with.

Coke, 170.

A.D. 1624.
Coke, 142.

Henrietta Maria of France.

P. 169.

Ibid.

The Marriage in Favour of Papists.

Archbp. of Embrun.

A.D. 1624. himself obliged to take notice of it; but endeavours to invalidate the Credit of the Author, who writes it thus: "The King of *England*, at the Recommendation of our King, did often mitigate and abate the ordinary rigorous Proceedings against the *Roman* Catholics in that Country. He was also very well pleas'd with the Propositions that were privately offer'd to him on behalf of his Majesty, tending to reunite him to the Bosom of the Church; insomuch that after some reiterated Conferences, which were manag'd to that Effect in the King's Presence without communicating any thing of it to his Council, the Archbishop of *Embrun* made a Voyage into *England*, as it were without any Design, in the Habit and under the Name of a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, whom Curiosity had induc'd to see *England*. He had no sooner set his Foot on Land at *Dover*, but the Duke of *Buckingham* came to meet him; and having saluted him, whisper'd him thus in the Ear: Sir, You who call yourself a Counsellor of *Grenoble*, being the Archbishop of *Embrun*, are very welcome in these Dominions: You need not change your Name, nor conceal your Quality, for you shall receive nothing but Honour here, especially from the King my Master, who bath a particular Esteem for you. Indeed the King treated him very honourably, granted him several Favours in behalf of the Catholics, and even permitted him to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to them in the House of the Ambassador of *France*. There were near 18000 Persons to whom nothing was said in the Entry at the Door, or elsewhere, tho' there was a great Concourse of People to see the Ceremony. During the Time he resided there, he had several Conferences with the King, whom he satisfy'd as to all the Points in Controversy; and who wrote a large Letter to the Pope, in which he acknowledg'd him as the universal Father of the Christian Church, and the Chief of all Catholics; assuring him, that after he had taken care of these things to which he had agreed, he wou'd openly declare himself. In the mean time he promis'd not to suffer any Search to be made in his Kingdom after Priests". In his Letter to the Pope, he desir'd his Holiness to vouchsafe that the Goods of the Church, which were now the Inheritances of private Families might remain so. He said he wou'd have profess'd the Catholic Religion before now, but that he desir'd first to gain over his Brother-in-law the King of *Denmark*, whom under another Pretence he had sollicitated to come to *England*, where he hop'd to convert him; and they two being joined together, wou'd draw after them almost all the Northern Countries. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and the English Gentleman who carry'd the King's Letter to the Pope, were the only Persons of King *James's* Subjects to whom he discover'd these Intentions. The Duke had promis'd to follow him, and had made a considerable Progress in his Conversion, at the same time that he pretended to be the Head of the Puritans to preserve his Popularity in the Parliament, and had consulted with Dr. *Preston* of *Cambridge*, how the King might seize the Dean and Chapter Lands; but he met not that Encouragement from the Doctor which he expected, and that made him the more inclinable to hearken to the Advice of the Lord Keeper *Williams*, who dissuaded him from that Project. King *James* sollicitated Monsieur *Dageant* to prevail with his Master *Lewis XIII.* to make use of his Interest with the Electoral Princes who were his Friends, that the Duke of *Savoy* might be elected King of the *Romans*, as he design'd to do with those Electors who were Friends to him, promising to assist *Savoy* with Forces in his Election and Instalment. But King *James* was too well known to be trusted by either the *French*

King or Duke of *Savoy*; and *Dageant* did not undertake the Affair. What he speaks of the Conversion was confirm'd eleven Years after by the Archbishop of *Embrun's* own Narrative, which he wrote at the Desire of Cardinal *Richlieu*, who demanded of him by Letter, Whether there was certainly at that time any Negotiation depending between his Holiness and the King of Great Britain concerning his Conversion. In Answer to which the Archbishop wrote a full Relation of his Reception at the English Court, and his Conferences with King *James*; in which, besides what is related by *Dageant*, we find he had two Hours Audience of his Majesty at *Royston* when he first came over; and represented the Grievances of the Catholics with such Success, that he cou'd not but acknowledge the peculiar Providence of God. For at that first Meeting, Orders were given to release the Catholics out of Prison, and suspend the Execution of the Laws against them. The People complain'd of his administering the Sacrament of Confirmation to so numerous a Congregation, but to no purpose; his Majesty answering them, He does nothing contrary to my Pleasure. At this time, and all others, says the Archbishop, wherein I had the Honour to see this King, he was so well pleas'd with my Propositions, that he freely disclos'd his Thoughts to me; and when I propos'd to him to grant Liberty of Conscience to the Papists, as the most effectual Means to give full Satisfaction to the Pope, he put his Hand upon mine and said, I plainly see you are the Person appointed by God, in whom I ought to confide and reveal the Secrets of my Heart. Afterwards he very freely acknowledg'd the good Opinion he had conceiv'd of the Catholic Faith, protesting to me that during his Minority, his Tutors having perceiv'd his Inclination to the Roman Religion, he ran great Hazard of being assassinated. Then as to the Toleration of Popery, he propos'd to have an Assembly of English Prelates and Divines, in Conjunction with an equal Number of Foreigners to meet at *Bologne*, after the Marriage with the Princess *Henrietta Maria* was consummated, with Consent of the French King and the Pope, to whom he wou'd write concerning it; and that I shou'd carry his Letter to the Pope, for whom, he said, he had a great Affection and Respect. This Assembly were to reunite the Church of *England* with the *French* and other Popish Churches. It wou'd have extraordinary and admirable Events, says the King, who promis'd to negotiate the Matter with the Princes in *Germany*, and the principal Puritan Lords in *England* and *Scotland*, that it might end to the great Advantage of the Catholic Church. The Archbishop proceeds: "As soon as I arriv'd in *France*, I gave the King a particular Account of all things, who was pleas'd to signify that he was very well satisfy'd with the good Designs of the King of *Great Britain*; and declar'd, that a Report was already spread abroad in *France*, that I had treated with that King about his Conversion, of which he had been inform'd by several Persons. I reply'd there were the same Suspensions in the Court of *England*: That the King of *Great Britain* had earnestly enjoin'd me to keep the Matter secret, and that I was oblig'd to beseech his Majesty to do the like. But all these generous Resolutions were made void by King *James's* Death. The first News of which was brought me at *Mas* by the King himself, who express'd his Regret in these Words, All our Hopes of *England* are lost". When the Archbishop of *Embrun* wrote this Narrative for *Richlieu*, *Lewis XIII.* was alive, and cou'd not but remember the Conversation he had with him about King *James's* Conversion to Popery; which that Prelate durst not have avcr'd in the Royal Presence, and repeated it to the Cardinal *Richlieu*, had it not been true. *Lewis XIII.* was sure to see this Narrative, and *Embrun* wou'd not have mention'd the Discourse

Sent to convert K. James.

Dageant, 125.

A.D. 1624. course he had with the King concerning the Conversion of King James, had there been no such Discourse. He adds, That when Buckingham came afterwards to Paris to conclude the Treaty of Marriage with the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, "he persuaded him to use his Endeavours to prevail with his new King to keep a good Correspondence with the Pope, and to that End to maintain a trusty Catholick Agent at Rome; but he desired that the Proposition might come first from the King with whom I discours'd on this Subject; and he consented to it, ordering me to impart it to Monsieur *Tronson*, that he might put him in mind of it on the Road as he accompanied the new Queen of England, which *I believe his Majesty may remember*". Such were like to be the happy Effects of a Match, which was to restore the ancient Correspondence between the Pope and King of England, and settle an English Ambassador at Rome. But there is no Hint of any Danger from it in the History of this Alliance with France written by Archdeacon *Echard*. The Pope easily granted a Dispensation for the Marriage with the Princess *Henrietta Maria*. But it did not take effect in this King's Life-time, tho' he liv'd long enough to sign the Articles; and the Author of *Richlieu's* Life tells us, he swore to release all Catholick Prisoners, and to prohibit for the future their being ill treated for their Religion.

Papists in Places.

Indeed they were so far from being ill treated, that the Parliament, to use *Wilson's* Words, "bolted out divers of the Nobility and Gentry of Eminency, possibly affected, that had earth'd themselves in Places of high Trust and Power in the Kingdom, as if they meant to undermine the Nation;" as *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, *Sir Thomas Compton*, the Earl of *Castlehaven*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Colchester*, the Lord *Petre*, the Lord *Morley*, the Lord *Teinham*, the Lord *Windsor*, the Lord *Eure*, the Lord *Wotton*, the Lord *Scrope*, "Sir *William Courtney*, *Sir Thomas Brudenel*, *Sir Thomas Somerset*, *Sir Gilbert Ireland*, *Sir Francis Stoners*, *Sir Anthony Brown*, *Sir Francis Howard*, *Sir William Powell*, *Sir Francis Lacon*, *Sir Lewis Lewkner*, *Sir William Auberrie*, *Sir John Gage*, *Sir John Shelley*, *Sir Henry Carvel*, *Sir Thomas Wiseman*, *Sir Thomas Gerrard*, *Sir John Philpot*, *Sir Thomas Ruffel*, *Sir Henry Bedingsfield*, *Sir William Wray*, *Sir John Conway*, *Sir Charles Jones*, *Sir Ralph Coniers*, *Sir Thomas Lamplugh*, *Sir Thomas Savage*, *Sir William Moseley*, *Sir Hugh Beeston*, *Sir Thomas Riddal*, *Sir Marmaduke Wirvel*, *Sir John Townsend*, *Sir William Norris*, *Sir Philip Knevet*, *Sir John Tasborough*, *Sir William Selbie*, *Sir Richard Titchborn*, *Sir John Hall*, *Sir George Perkins*, *Sir Thomas Penruddock*, *Sir Nicholas Sanders*, besides Esquires and Gentlemen. These were dispers'd and seated in every County, who were not only in Office and Commission, but had Countenance from Court, by which they grew up and flourish'd; so that their Exuberance hinder'd the Growth of any Goodness or Piety their Malice pleas'd to drop upon. We have mention'd Count *Manfvelde's* March into the Netherlands, when he cou'd no longer maintain himself in the *Palatinate*; and the King to make good Part of his Promise to the Parliament, sent a Man of War, commanded by *Sir John Chudleigh* to bring him into England, where he was royally entertain'd at *St. James's*. Orders were soon given to raise six Regiments of Foot of 2000 Men each, to be commanded by the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Doncaster*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Carlisle*, the Lord *Cromwell*, *Sir Charles Rich*, *Sir John Burroughs*, and Colonel *Gray*. These Forces were design'd to pass thro' France into Germany, Passage having been promis'd them by the French Court, and even an Addition of Strength. Instead of which, notwithstanding the Treaty of Marriage was at that time depending, when the English Fleet with *Manfvelde's* Army aboard came before

Calais, the French dally'd with them so long, that *Manfvelde* was forc'd to sail to *Zealand*, where his Soldiers were serv'd as bad as at *Calais*; and not suffer'd to land. Provisions falling short, the Fleet sail'd up to *Guertenberg* in *Brabant*, where they far'd no better than at *Calais* and *Zealand*. Thus by the Detention of the Soldiers so long aboard, a Pestilence broke out and rag'd so extremely, that Multitudes were thrown into the Sea; and when afterwards they were suffer'd to land in the Territories of the States of the *United Provinces*, there was not a Moiety of them left; and those that remain'd fit for Service had not only the *Spaniards* to fight with, but their own Countrymen, whom the King had permitted the Lord *Vaux* and *Sir William Parham* to transport into *Flanders* in the Service of the King of *Spain*. My Author says he was present when the noble Earl of *Southampton* dy'd of a Lethargy at *Berghen-op-Zoom*, as he was conveying to England the Corpse of the Lord *Wriotbesley* his eldest Son, who dy'd of a burning Fever at *Rosendale* this Winter. About the same time dy'd the Marquis of *Hamilton*, suspected to be poison'd, the Symptoms being very presumptuous, his Head and Body swelling to an excessive Bigness, full of great Blisters of various Colours, which with other suspicious Circumstances caus'd such a Clamour at Court, that Physicians were order'd to inspect the Corpse; but the Matter, according to *Wilson*, was huddled up and little spoken, only by *Dr. Egleham* a *Scotsman*, who exclaim'd against *Buckingham* as the Author of it. 'Tis true, poisoning was more practis'd than it had been at any time in England; for not only *Sir Thomas Overbury* was murder'd after that manner, but, as we have hinted, there were more than Whispers that Prince *Henry*, the Duke of *Richmond*, and this Marquis went the same way. We are told his Majesty shou'd say when he heard of *Hamilton's* sudden Death, *If the Branches be thus cut down, the Stock cannot continue long*. *Sir Anthony Welden* tells us, the King had some Suspicion that he shou'd be so serv'd by his often saying to the Earl of *Montgomery* in his last Sickness, *For God sake look I have fair Play*.

This Sickness began with some Fits of an Ague, which turn'd to a *Tertian*, and is not reckon'd dangerous in the Spring. *Wilson* thinks his full feeding, and continual Use of sweet Wine, set the gross Humours at work; which was sufficient to turn his Ague into a Fever, and that enough to carry the greatest Monarch out of the World without the Help of Poison. Six Days before he dy'd the Duke apply'd Plaisters to the King's Wrists and Belly; and the Countess of *Buckingham* tamper'd with him in the Absence of the Doctors, giving him a Medicine to drink. The King complain'd of the Plaister, and his Physicians disallow'd of the Drink, insomuch that some of them refus'd to meddle further with him till the Plaisters were remov'd, his Majesty finding himself the worse for using them, which occasion'd Droughts, Ravings, Fainting, and an intermitting Pulse. When some of the Doctors would have imputed these Effects to a Cold taken, the King cry'd, *No, no; it is that which I had from Buckingham*; who told him, as we read in *Wilson*, they were approv'd Medicines, and wou'd do him much good. Some of his Majesty's Physicians and Servants muttering against them they were frown'd upon, and others making a Noise were forc'd to fly for it. My Author adds, "Tho' the still Voice was silenc'd by the Duke's Power, yet the Clamour made so deep Impressions that his Innocence cou'd never wear them out. One of *Buckingham's* great Provocations was thought to be his Fear, that the King being now weary of his too much Greatness and Power, wou'd set up *Bristol* his deadly Enemy against him to pull him down. This Medicine was one of those thirteen Articles

A.D. 1625. " ticles that were afterwards laid to his Charge
 " in Parliament, who may be misinform'd,
 " but seldom accuse any upon false Rumour,
 Sir Anthony Welden writes to the same Purpose:
 " The Plaister so tormented him, that he was
 " glad to have it pull'd off, and with it the Skin
 " also. Buckingham coming into the Chamber
 " when he was at the Point of Death, an honest
 " Servant of his Majesty's cry'd, *Ab, my Lord,*
 " *you have undone us all his poor Servants, tho' you*
 " *are so well provided you need not care;* at which
 " Buckingham kick'd him, and the Man catching
 " hold of his Foot, made his Head come first to
 " the Ground. Buckingham getting up, ran to the
 " dying King's Bed-side, *Justice, for I am abus'd*
 " *and wrongfully accus'd:* At which the poor King
 " mournfully fix'd his Eyes upon him, as who wou'd
 " have said *not wrongfully.* Sir Edward Peyton tells the
 melancholy Story in a more homely manner:
 " Thus fill'd with Venom of Greatness, he made
 " no bones to fend his Majesty packing to another
 " World, as appear'd plainly in Parliament;" of
 which himself was a Member, one of the Knights for
 Cambridgehire; by the Witness of divers Physicians,
 especially Dr. Ramsay, in full hearing at a
 Committee. Sir Dudley Diggs, another Member,
 said, *I forbear to speak further of the Plaister in regard*
of the King's Honour. Osborn speaks of the
 Poison. *Coke avers the Proof was next to positive.*
 The Article concerning that Poison is in *Rushworth*,
 and more at large in *Whitlocke*. Bishop Burnet
 writes, *My Father was then in London, and did*
very much suspect an ill Practice in the Matter; but
perhaps Dr. Craig my Mother's Uncle, who was one
of the King's Physicians, possess'd him with these Ap-
prehensions, for he was disgrac'd for saying he believ-
ed the King was poison'd. To these Testimonies
 let me add that of a noble Person now living,
 MS. who told me, that Dr. Craig Physician to the King,
 invited six Lords to Supper at the Bear-Tavern at
 the Bridge-Foot, a House then of as much note
 as *Brawn's* is now. The Duke of *Lauderdale's*
 Father was one of those Lords: The Doctor then
 assur'd them, that if they had Courage and Interest
 enough to protect him, he wou'd accuse the
 Duke of *Buckingham* of High-Treason for poisoning
 the King, and wou'd prove it. When he had
 so said, the Lords remain'd silent some Time; at
 last *Lauderdale's* Father said, *He wou'd not advise*
 P. 113. *him to do it for his own sake;* however he was of
 Opinion they shou'd consider of the Matter, and
 have another Meeting upon it, but they never
 met. Dr. *Fuller* informs us, that the Countess of
Buckingham contracted much Suspicion to herself
 and her Son, for applying a Plaister to the King's
 Wrists and Belly, without the Consent of his
 Physicians, upon which the King grew worse,
 a Piece of it eating down into his Belly. The
 Physicians refus'd to administer Physick till the
 Plaisters were taken off, and then his Fits were
 easier, as Dr. *Chambers* testify'd; notwithstanding
 which the Plaisters were laid on again contrary to
 the Advice of the Doctors; and his Majesty growing
 worse, Mr. *Hayes*, one of the King's Surgeons,
 was call'd out of his Bed to take them off again.
 Mr. *Baker*, a Servant of the Duke's, made a Julep,
 which the Duke brought to his Majesty; the King
 drank twice of it, but refus'd the third time. After
 his Death a Bill was brought to his Physicians
 to sign that the *Ingredients of the Julep and Plasters*
were safe, but most of them refus'd it, and gave
 the same in Evidence before a select Committee
 of Parliament two Years after. Contrary to all
 these Suspicions and Proofs, the Earl of *Clarendon*,
 or some body in his Name, affirms, *There was not*
the least Colour or Ground for it, as appear'd upon
the most malicious Examination; which surely
 is enough to give every impartial Man a just
 Idea of his Impartiality. *Echard* informs us
 that the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, hearing of the

King's desperate Condition, *went and presented him-*
self before him. But probably he had not heard
 that the Duke was afraid of the Lord-Keeper's
 Attendance, inasmuch that he wou'd not at first
 give him leave to attend, as by this Close of a
 Letter from the Lord-Keeper to *Buckingham*, dated
 the 22d of *March*, five Days before the King's
 Death; *I am extremely sorry to bear what a grie-*
vous Fit his Majesty had this last Night. Cabala. The
 Plaisters were apply'd, and the Drink given the
 21st of *March*. *And now am an humble Suitor a-*
gain that I may come and look upon his Majesty, re-
 solv'd to say *what I shall never cease to say,* God
 bless him. " It were worth the Knowledge, says
 " *Welden*, what the King's Confession was, or
 " what other Expressions he made of himself;
 " but that was only known to Bishop *Williams*,
 " who it was thought had babbled something
 " which incens'd King *Charles I.* and *Buckingham's*
 " Hatred so much against him." Among the few
 Things which cou'd be preserv'd of his Majesty's
 Death-bed Sayings, one is that calling to the Prince
 his Son, he recommended to him to love his in-
 tended Wife, but not her Religion; which doubtless
 he never said, tho' 'tis affirm'd by *Echard*, it agrees
 so little with the Progress he had made to unite
 the Church of *England* with the *Papish* Churches.
 And how needless was such Advice, if the royal
 Father had known his Son to be so zealous a Pro-
 testant as the Lord *Clarendon* represents him? Four
 Days before the King dy'd, he desir'd to receive
 the Holy Sacrament; and some one asking him,
 Whether he was prepar'd in Point of Faith and
 Charity, he said he was, and gave humble Thanks
 to God for it. He repeated the Articles of the
 Creed one by one, saying at the End of them, *I*
believe them all as they are receiv'd and expounded
by that Part of the Catholick Church which is esta-
blish'd here in England. *Whatever I have written*
of this Faith in my Life, I am now ready to seal in
my Death; adding, *I forgive all Men that have*
offended me, and desire to be forgiven by all Christi-
ans whom I have in any wise offended. Having
 receiv'd the Sacrament, he profess'd some Hours
 after to the Standers-by, *They cou'd not imagine what*
Ease and Comfort he found in himself since the re-
 ceiving it; and so he gently departed on *Sunday*
 the 27th of *March*, in the sixtieth Year of his Age,
 having reign'd in *England* twenty-two Years and
 three Days. The Papists, who thought themselves
 pretty sure of him, crept much about the Cham-
 ber-Door when he was dying, but the Lord-
 Keeper *Williams* commanded them, as a Privy-
 Counsellor, to keep at a greater Distance. If they
 cou'd have got Access to him, we shou'd doubt-
 less have heard true or false, that he dy'd a very
 good Catholick.

From the Actions of this Prince, one may easily
 form his Character; and like a Picture after
 the Life, the Blemishes must be drawn as well as
 the Beauties, to preserve the Likeness. Notice
 has been taken that he was a Lover of Peace, and
 that he valu'd himself much on the Title he ac-
 quir'd by it of *Rex Pacificus*. But was not that
 Love of Peace rather a Fear of War, or a Love of
 a State of Inaction and Indolence, or an immoderate
 Desire of Sport and Pastime. He is generally
 allow'd to be a Lover of Learning, but it border'd
 more upon Pedantry, than rose to a compleat Under-
 standing. *Coke* explains what sort of Learning it
 was; " The Learning wherein he and his Flatter-
 ers boasted, was a Scandal to his Crown, for
 " all his Writings against *Bellarmino* and *Perrone*,
 " were only Brawls and Contentions, without any
 " Learning, about the Papal Power of King-killing,
 " it being before exploded by the Nation, and
 " the asserting such a Power prohibited." This
 Quality has been touch'd upon elsewhere, and so
 has almost all the Qualities of King *James* in the
 Course of his History. Nay, even *Heylin*, who o-
 therwise

A.D. 1625. therwife speaks fo honourably of his Zeal for the Bifhops, cannot help confeffing he was not the wifeft Man, nor the wifeft King of the Britifh Nations; that tho' he much pleas'd himfelf with boafting of King-craft, wife Men cou'd fee what that King-craft was; it being no hard Matter to prove, that in all publick Treaties and Negotiations, and many private Conferences and Debates of Council, he was outwitted, and made ufe of to other Mens Ends, by almoft all that undertook him. He is highly extoll'd for being moft bountiful; but how was that Bounty difpens'd, on Favourites and Flatterers? and how was the Money rais'd, by Monopolies, Bencvolences, and other unlawful Ways? I have heard the late Duke of Ormond prais'd by the Difaffected for his Generofity and Liberality; a Panegyrick which is a Scandal to common Senfe and common Honesty. He was liberal and generous to his Creatures, but at the Expence of his Creditors: He wou'd give but not pay. King James had nothing of Cruelty in his Nature, unlefs he was surpriz'd into it by Fear; and the fame Difpofition that made him hate the fpillng of Blood in War, turn'd the Bent of his Mind towards Mercy in Peace: But I can't fay, as Dr. Fuller does, that not one Perfon of Honour was put to Death in his Reign, fince Sir Walter Raleigh, a Perfon of more Honour than we meet with in his History, was not only put to Death, but without Juftice or Reafon. His Wifdom was next to infinite, if we may believe Sir Francis Bacon and other Panegyrifts. Echard quaintly expreffes it, He caught People's Inclinations at the firft Rebound; but he confeffes others thought his Wifdom was indeed Craft, and had more of Subtily in difcovering Mifchiefs, than of Ability in furmounting them. He adds, some thought this Quality wicked, and thofe that were fofter-mouth'd term'd it an exquisite Skill in Diffimulation; in which he fo much delighted, that it feems to be the greateft of all his Blemifhes. Sir Anthony Welden is very coarfe in his Exprefions on this Subject, but what he fays is not the lefs true; He was fo crafty in petty Things, as the circumventing a Courtier, or changing a Favourite, that a wife Man was wont to fay of him, He was the wifeft Fool in Chriftendom. For my own part, I cannot help diftinguifhing between Diffimulation and Falshood; I do not think the profefing and promifing a Thing, and not doing it, or doing the contrary, is to difemble, but to deceive. Befides, King James's Difguifed were fo thin, that very weak Eyes might eafily have feen thro' them. Dr. Fuller frankly gives us the Reafon why this King's Wifdom is fo magnify'd by Echard, Sanderson, Clarendon, and that fort of Hiftorians; No King of England ever did fo much to preferve the Revenues of the Hierarchy. His Wit, fays the fame Doctor, was piercing, tho' his Majesty was wont to ftoop to his Mirth. It had the Edge of Pun and Quibble, and did, according to Echard, too often descend to inferior Fefts. The Archdeacon puts the greateft Affront that can be on the Genius of England, by affirming that the Genius of this King was fuitable to that of the Nation. Thus when Edward III. and Henry V. were fpreading the Glory and Terror of their Arms over the Dominions of France; when Henry VIII. was at Bologne and Tournay, and the Englifh Name was terrible to all its Enemes; when the Genius of the Nation exerted itfelf in breaking the Power and humbling the Pride of Spain, it was

A.D. 1625. exactly like that of King James. It appear'd the fame afterwards in Effex, Fairfax, Blake, in Talmaff, Churchill, and a thoufand glorious Names, in whom the Genius of England thin'd out with fo much Luftre. Mr. Echard affures us, That in fpite of Calumny he was eminent for Chafteity; which was remarkable in a Court fo loofe and luxurious. The Nonsense of which fpoils the Eulogy; it being impoffible for a Man who is himfelf very chafte, to encourage Lewdnefs and Luxury in others; and every one will allow that Luxury and Lewdnefs can never prevail at Court, without the Countenance and Favour of the Sovereign. The fame Hiftorian afferts, that he was pious and religious; and the next Words are another Instance of his Confiftency; Yet in his Paffion he wou'd be guilty of the profaneft Oaths and Curfes. Welden tells us, he was infinitely inclin'd to Prayer, but more out of Fear than Confcience. What follows of his Character in general, is taken from Coke; it is expreffed with Acrimony enough, but has too much Truth in it: "He neglected foreign and domeftick Affairs to wallow in fenfual Pleafures, only great in making himfelf little, not below'd at Home, and contemptible Abroad. He fquander'd away the facred Patrimony of the Crown amongst Flatterers and Favourites; he neglected the Increafe of the Royal Navy, and fuffer'd the Dutch to fifh on our Coafts, contrary to Treaty: He debauch'd and effeminated the Genius of the Englifh Nation by a diffolute Life, that became more scandaliz'd for Swearing and Drinking than in any Age before: He broke all the Meafures of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, by which they made themfelves Arbiters of Chriftendom. While he was fearful of all his Enemies, he exercis'd tyrannical Power over his Parliaments. He fuffer'd the French King to fuppreff the Reform'd in France, and the Emperor of Germany to fubdue the Proteftants in the Empire, as well as his own Son-in-law: He left an empty Exchequer, and a vaft Debt upon the Crown, at the fame time that he was engag'd in a foreign War, the Money that was given him for it being all wafted on the French Treaty."

If thefe Things are true, as is fufficiently fhewn in his History, let the Imitators of the Earl of Clarendon invert his Character, and he will then appear the wife, the pious, and the glorious King they wou'd paint him; but the Bifhop of Salisbury in *The History of his own Times*, fhews what thofe Authors were who flatter'd him, and what the King was whom they flatter'd. "I have feen the Originals of about twenty Letters he wrote to the Prince and Duke of Buckingham while they were in Spain, which fhews a Meannefs as well as a Fondnefs that render him very contemptible. The great Figure the Crown of England had made in Queen Elizabeth's Time, who had render'd herfelf the Arbitrer of Chriftendom, and was the Wonder of the Age, was fo much eclipsed, if not quite darken'd during this Reign, that King James was become the Scorn of the Age; and while hungry Writers flatter'd him out of meafure at home, he was despis'd by all abroad as a Pedant, without true Judgment, Courage, or Steadinefs; fubject to his Favourites, and deliver'd up to the Counfels, or rather to the Corruption of Spain."



T H E
H I S T O R Y
 O F
E N G L A N D
 During the R E I G N of
 King **CHARLES** the First.

A.D. 1625.



PRINCE Charles, now Charles the First King of England, was at Theobalds when his Father dy'd, and the Lords of the Council attending there, order'd him to be proclaim'd at the Palace Gate; and notify'd it to the Lord Mayor,

that the same might be done at London, where News of the King's Death came in Sermon-time. Bishop Laud being then preaching at Court broke off his Discourse, to which his Congregation was too much disturb'd to hearken.

The new King was proclaim'd the same Day in London and Westminster with the usual Solemnities; and in the Evening came to Whitehall in a close Coach, attended by the Duke of Buckingham and that eminent Divine Dr. Preston, who apply'd Comfort now to one, now to the other, on so sad an Occasion; tho' we have Reason to believe they did not want Comfort so much as the Doctor apprehended.

The next Day his Majesty was congratulated on his Accession to the Throne by the Nobility and foreign Ministers; and a Proclamation was publish'd, wherein he promis'd to shew himself a benign and gracious Sovereign.

On the 23d of April the Corpse of the deceas'd King was remov'd from Theobalds to Somerset-House, and carry'd thence in great State on Saturday the 7th of May to Westminster-Abbey, where it was solemnly interr'd. King Charles himself walk'd as chief Mourner between the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, his Train born up by twelve

Peers. The Funeral Sermon was preach'd by the Lord-Keeper Williams with *high Strains of Rhetorick and Commendation*, says Echard. How well grounded, one may perceive by the Bishop's commending him for being eminent in War.

The Funeral Solemnities are follow'd with those for the King's Marriage with the Princess Henrietta Maria of France, whose Zeal for the Romish Religion Cardinal Berulle so highly extoll'd to the Pope. The Earls of Holland and Carlisle were at Paris his Majesty's Ambassadors and Commissioners to compleat the Ceremony of the Espousals. The King's Proxy was the Duke de Chevreuse of the House of Guise; and on Sunday the 11th of May N. S. the Marriage was solemniz'd in the Church of Nostre Dame. The French King and Monsieur his Brother gave her to the Duke de Chevreuse. The Cardinal de Richlieu perform'd the Rites according to the Superstition of the Church of Rome. The News of which was not confin'd to the Walls of Paris, says Mr. Echard very elegantly, but resounded thro' all the Streets of London, where it was generally receiv'd with unusual Expressions of the most dilated Joy; which if it had been more true wou'd have been a melancholy Proof of the People's having lost their Senses, as well as their Honour in the last Reign. A Foreigner tells us,

"It was taken for an ill Omen, that this Marriage was celebrated in the immediate Time of the Funeral, and that the Joy for the one shou'd mix with the Grief for the other, there being but one Night between the two Ceremonies." That there were Rejoycings is not to be doubted; but

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French Match.

Larrey.

Full. 119.

A.D. 1625. but one may well doubt whether these Appearances of Joy were so unaffected, as the deep Concern all good *Englisbmen* and good Protestants were in at the King's marrying a bigotted Papist, and entering into Alliance with a Prince, who had render'd himself the most arbitrary of any Monarch in *Europe* by the Counsels and Ministry of a tyrannical Priest. General *Ludlow* thought thus of it: "In the Beginning of his Reign he marry'd a Daughter of *France*, who was not wanting on her Part to press him upon all Occasions to pursue the Design of enlarging his Power; not omitting to solicit him also to mould the Church of *England* to a nearer Compliance with the See of *Rome*; wherein she was but too well seconded by the corrupt Ministers of State, whose Influence upon the King was always greater than cou'd well consist with the Peace and Happiness of *England*". If such Reflections as these cou'd have been conceiv'd by the Historian *Echard*, he wou'd not have dwelt with so much Delight on the joyous Circumstances of this Popish Wedding. Besides the Earls of *Holland* and *Carlisle*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and Earl of *Montgomery*, were sent to *Paris* to fetch the Queen. *Buckingham* behav'd there with so much Vanity and Indiscretion, that it was a Scandal to the vainest Court in *Europe*. He had the Ambition to make his Addressees even to the *French* Queen, and was not so ill receiv'd as *French* Authors wou'd have us believe; nay, one of them owns "he was so far from being ill receiv'd by the Queen, that he left the *Chevalier Balhafer*, his Confident, to carry on the Intrigue with her; that this Agent succeeded so well, that he brought him precious Favours from that Princess, as her Garter, a Diamond of great Value. The Cardinal had his Spies; but to no purpose: Those *Argors* were deceiv'd; but he still suspected something, and the Hatred between the two Rivals was redoubled". *Buckingham* had once contriv'd to pay her a private Visit, and consummate the Amour; but the Cardinal had Intimation of that very important Secret, and had the Duke gone to the Assignment he wou'd have been assassinated. He had notice that his Plot was discover'd, and gave it over with a Menace, *I will see and speak with her in spite of the Power of France*. A true *Gasconade*; or rather a Threat, which wou'd have founded well in the Mouth of *Don Quixot* in Pursuit of his charming *Dulcinea del Toboso*; for not the Power of *England* cou'd have forc'd the *French* Queen out of her enchanted Castle. Yet this is the Man whom the Lord *Clarendon*, or the *Oxonians*, cry up for his good Parts and Qualities. He was Bishop *Laud's* Friend and Patron, and deserv'd on that Account as much Praise as is given him.

Buckingham's Amour with Anne of Austria.

Madame de *Motteville*, who was this Queen's chief Companion and Confident, speaks of it very tenderly; yet one can't help observing that the Duke of *Buckingham* was enough favour'd by the Wife of *Lewis* the XIIIth to give Jealousy to her Husband. "No wonder, says *Motteville* speaking in her Memoirs of the Duke of *Buckingham*, if with such amiable Qualities he had such aspiring Thoughts; such a noble, tho' so dangerous and unwarrantable a Passion; and that he had the good Luck to persuade those who were Witnesses of it, that his Addressees were not troublesome. The Queen far from keeping it a Secret made no Difficulty to tell me afterwards, that whilst she was young she cou'd not imagine that the pleasing Conversation which is commonly call'd honourable Gallantry was blameable. There was a great Rumour about a Walk she took in the Garden belonging to her Apartment, when she went to conduct the Queen of *England* to *Amiens*. All her Retinue were there; and the Duke of *Buckingham* advancing to entertain her with Discourse, *Putange*, Master

A.D. 1625. of her Horse, stepp'd aside for a few Moments, thinking it ill Manners to hear what the Duke had to say to her. By chance they came to a By-walk, where they were unobserv'd; and the Duke was so importunate with her, that she cry'd out. *Putange* running to her, she chid him for leaving her". The Duke of *Buckingham's* Passion put him upon another very bold Action. Tho' he had taken Leave of the Queen-Mother and the Queen at *Amiens*, in order to conduct the Queen of *England* to the Sea-side, where the *Englisb* Fleet waited to transport her to *Dover*; yet he left *Henrietta Maria* at *Boulogne*, pretending he had receiv'd an Express from his Master, which brought him Orders to treat of an Affair with the Queen-Mother. Accordingly he hasten'd back; and after some Discourse with that Queen about his chimerical Negotiations, he went to wait upon *Anne* of *Austria*, whom he found all alone in her Bed. This Princess knew of his coming by Letters from the *Duchess de Chevreuse*, one of the Ladies who accompany'd the Queen of *England*; and she talk'd of it before *Madame Nogent* with a Smile; so that she was not so much surpriz'd at the Sight of him, as at the Liberty he took in kneeling down by her Bed-side, and kissing her Sheet with such extraordinary Transports, as shew'd his Passion to be violent to a degree of Distraction. The Queen's Confusion was so great, that for a long while she said not a word. But the Countess de *Launoi* told him, it was not the Custom in *France* to do as he did. To which he reply'd with great Presence of Mind, *I am no Frenchman, and am not oblig'd to conform to the Custom of France*. Then addressing himself to the Queen, he carest'd her aloud in the tenderest Expressions that cou'd be; and her Majesty only complain'd that he was too bold, bidding him rise and be gone. He obey'd; and after having seen her again the next Day in Presence of the whole Court, he departed with a full Resolution to return again to *France* as soon as possible. Every thing relating to him was told *Lewis XIII.* to the Queen's Disadvantage, inso much that several of her Domesticks were turn'd away. *Putange*, Master of her Horse, was banish'd; as were also two of her Women *Datal* and *Laporte*, and her Physician. It is probable that the Jealousy of Cardinal *Richieu*, who was also in Love with *Anne* of *Austria*, was the Occasion of this Rigor.

The dismal Consequences of the *French* Match are lively represented by *Echard* himself, notwithstanding the Pains and Pleasure he took in writing of it. "It prov'd one great Occasion of the Calamities of the Nation, and against the main Bent and Genius of the People. For almost all the Protestants took the alarm, as if the Marriage had been only made to introduce the *Roman* Catholick Religion; King *James* having in effect condescended to many Particulars in Favour of the Queen's Domesticks and the *Englisb* Papists, and taken so little care for the Education of the Children to be born of this Marriage, that unless he was resolv'd to break his Word, the Articles of the Contract were judg'd to be a Design to strengthen the *Romish* Party in *England*". Which being the whole Truth of the Matter, we shall make no Flourishes upon it, as the Archdeacon has done, only remember that the young Queen was attended to *Bologne* by *Monsieur* her Brother, and a numerous Company of Lords and Ladies: That she embark'd aboard an *Englisb* Man of War, convoy'd by a Fleet of near 30 Ships of the Royal Navy: That after a tempestuous Passage she arriv'd at *Dover*, where the King met her, and receiv'd her with great Marks of Affection and Tenderness, and consummated the Marriage at *Canterbury*; where, as the reverend Author very gallantly expresses himself, the Duke de *Chevreuse* of the House of *Guise*, who perpetrated the bloody Massacre at *Paris*, resign'd her to

A.D. 1625. those Embraces which he ever prefer'd with conjugal Purity; of which something will be said hereafter. From Canterbury the Royal Pair went to Gravesend, Where, says the Archdeacon, they enter'd their Imperial Barge, and past up the River in a triumphant manner; tho' the Triumph appear'd much more at Somerset-House, where, according to him, a Popish Chapel was open'd, a Convent of Capuchin Fryars establish'd, and greater Numbers of Priests and Jesuits repair'd than had been seen in England together since the Reformation, which began to cause Uneasiness and Murmurs in the People. Nor must we forget that amidst the Exultations for this blessed Marriage, the City of London was in Mourning and Lamentation, the most dreadful Pestilence that ever had been known in Europe then raging there, above 40000 dying this Year of the Plague; and a French Historian represents these Things very fair, tho' there is no Light of them in Echard and other such Historians. "This publick Rejoicing suited ill with a Time of Mourning; fatal Predictions were not wanting on the Queen's Entry in such a calamitous Conjunction, as if she had brought in her Retinue all the Scourges that were to make the Kingdom desolate: Such said they was the Entry of the Horse of Troy, which was welcom'd with Shouts of Joy by that City, tho' it contain'd their Ruin, &c.

A Pestilence.

Larrey, p. 16.

Buckingham.

P. 135.

P. 41.

Laud.

We have seen in the Reign of the Father what Hope the Duke of Buckingham had to continue in the same Degree of Favour with the Son. The Archdeacon tells us, King Charles was charm'd with some Qualifications which really were very wonderful; and then leaves off without telling us one of them. Larry indeed is more particular, He had not charm'd but bewitch'd him, causing him to make Peace and War, to revenge his private Injuries, obliging him to dissolve his Parliaments to save him from being impeach'd; and in short, engaging him in all his Piques; thus sacrificing his Country, his Religion, his Master and Benefactor to his own Ambition. After this manner almost all Historians speak of him, except the Author of The History of the Rebellion, whose Work is the Reverse of Fact and Character in almost all Places. He assures us, He was not by Nature ambitious; and the Experience he had gain'd, if he had liv'd longer, and his Jealousy of his Master's Honour, might have repair'd many Inconveniences, &c. Coke lets us know why it was that the Lord Clarendon and Mr. Echard cry up his Qualifications as really wonderful. "His only Support was Laud Bishop of St. David's, who from being an Informer was become his Vicegerent; a List of all the eminent Men for Promotions in the Church is given him; those whom Laud wou'd have prefer'd were noted O for Orthodox, and those whom he lik'd not, were mark'd with P for Puritans. These two stopp'd up both the King's Ears from any other Doctrine in Church or State, but what was infus'd by them." It is extremely pleasant to read what Excuse the Archdeacon finds for this King's sacrificing his own and his Peoples Interests to Buckingham's Pride and Avarice: A young and good-natur'd Prince, how this tallies with this Prince's Mother's Account of his Perverseness and Obstinacy, may suffer in the Opinion of such as know not how to make candid Allowances for the Heights of Friendship, and the Necessities of rewarding Services. While he is himself making one of the most idle Reflections that ever disgrac'd History, he calls in question the Judgment of his Readers, who do not know that a Prince may ruin himself and his Subjects out of Love to a Favourite, and finding himself under a Necessity of rewarding those that never did him any real Service.

I shall not imitate this sagacious Historian in drawing the Characters of Archbishop Abbot, Bishop Williams, and Bishop Laud. What he says

of them all is arbitrary and partial, founded on no Facts, and faint Copies of the Lord Clarendon's, which having the same Infirmities, I shall content myself with relating what Persons did, and let the Reader determine what they were.

The Earl of Clarendon, or whoever else wrote the History that goes by his Name, opens it with two or three Misrepresentations, which well consider'd, will give any impartial Man a Disgust to the whole Work. He intimates that the Parliaments of England were not for a War to recover the Palatinate out of Zeal for the Protestant Religion, but out of Wantonness, and having surfeited with uninterrupted Pleasures. He then sets forth the ill Condition of the Exchequer at King James's Death, but does not say a word of that King's having wasted the Money upon his Minions, which had been given only for that Use. The present King's Wants put Buckingham upon calling a Parliament to supply them, or rather his own. The People of England were so much of the same Mind as at the last Election, that very few new Members were elected.

The Parliament met on Saturday the 18th of Parliament June at Westminster, and chose the last Speaker Sir Thomas Crew to fill that Chair. The King made a Speech to them in Subtance, That the last Parliament had engag'd his Father in the War of the Palatinate, which was of Necessity to be prosecuted and supply'd. He then urg'd his great Wants and Charges, and concluded with a Compliment which had been seldom paid by Sovereigns, The veiling his Crown to the two Houses. The Lord-Keeper Williams spoke the same purpose: But there was not one Word said in either of their Speeches of any Steps taken towards redressing Grievances, and putting the Laws against Papists in Execution, pursuant to the Petition of the last Parliament. No Excuse was made for misemploying the Subsidies which they had given for the Palatine War, only a peremptory Demand of more Money to be expended as the King and Buckingham thought fit. Yet, says Echard, there were many Reasons to dispose People to a general Concurrence and Satisfaction; and it cannot be deny'd that there were all the wise and just Measures that a new King cou'd take to render himself acceptable to his People, and considerable to the World: So notoriously against Truth and Reason, that almost all Historians do deny that there was one wise and just Measure taken. On the contrary, about a Month before the Parliament met, the King order'd the Lord-Keeper to cause a Suspension of the Laws against Papists. The Keeper apprehensive of his Fall, thought it was to no purpose to give his Advice, or to scruple those Orders; but when a Warrant came soon after from his Majesty to pass a Grant for 2000 l. a Year to the Lord Conway for twenty-one Years, Bishop Williams boggled at it, telling the King, He durst not do it for fear of infringing his Duty to his Majesty, and drawing some Danger upon himself: The Reasons he gave with much ado prevail'd; but he made the Lord Conway his Enemy. His Majesty in the Declaration he sent the Lord-Keeper for granting full Liberty of Conscience to Papists, notwithstanding the Rigor of the Laws, whether penal or pecuniary, said, It was his Will they shou'd stand discharg'd. Thus we see that in almost the first Moon of his Reign, he set up a despotick Power against the Constitution, and his Will against Law, in Pursuance of the Design form'd by King James to introduce arbitrary Government, which his Son prosecuted more openly and avowedly. He granted a general Pardon to all Papists under Prosecution, not only as Papists, but as Criminals, and releas'd twenty Priests from Goal: So soon did the sad Effects of the Popish Alliance with France appear, and so kind was the young King to the young Queen, who, as the reverend Historian writes with a kind of Transport,

A.D. 1625.

P. 3.

Ambrose Philips, p. 159.

King dispenses with the Laws against Papists.

Larrey, p. 21.

A.D. 1625. was in the Bloom of her Youth and Beauty, about sixteen Years of Age, a Lady of excellent Air and Presence, of a warm Zeal against the Church of England, a great Spirit, and of no less Vivacity in her Looks than Activity in her Motions. But he speaks not of the Parliament with the same Pleasure: And we are told, that according to the fluctuating and unsteady Counsels of Parliaments, they grew weary of the War; which is not true; they were not weary of the War, they were only grown weary of giving Money to feed the Pride and Luxury of Favourites, who were the Cause of the Grievances for which they could have no Redress. The Parliament had the same tender Sentiments of the Sufferings of the Royal House of Bohemia as the last had, but they insisted on an Account of the last Supply, before they were willing to trust a lavish Ministry with a new one. They desir'd to have Grievances redress'd, before they enabled the Court to live a while without them, and so long continue the Hardships the People labour'd under in Spirituals and Temporal.

P. 32.

Ships lent
the French
King.

It was about six Weeks after this King's Accession to the Throne, that the Duke of *Buckingham* as Lord-High-Admiral, treated with the Marquis *d'Effiat* the French Minister, for a Squadron of English Men of War to join the French Fleet, which was fitting out against the Protestants at *Rochelle*, whose Admiral the Duke *de Soubise* was Master at Sea, and cou'd relieve that City as Occasion requir'd. *Echard* endeavours to excuse this King's assisting the French Papists to destroy the only remaining Strength of the Protestants in France, on Account that the Treaty for so doing was made in King *James's* Time. A vain Pretence to throw the Odium on the Memory of the Father, to purge the Son of it: As if there was any Treaty made by King *James* himself without the Influence, if not the Direction of the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *Buckingham*, who are now executing what was then agreed upon; And as if the French had not broken that Treaty by refusing to let Count *Manfeldt* land his Army at *Calais*, and the English Ministers might not have recover'd the false Step they had made in promising Assistance to the French King against the Reformed in France, had King *Charles* not been willing to oblige his Brother-in-law and his Queen, by arming the English Protestants against their Brethren in France. The reverend Historian assures us, *There had been great Increase and Affluence of Trade in King James's Reign; and Coke writes, The Trade of the Nation was not only decay'd, but the Seas were ignominiously infested with Pyrates and Enemies, to the Loss of very many of the Merchants and Subjects of England; which is the more likely, for that when de Effiat demanded the Men of War that were to join the French Fleet, there was but one, the Vanguard, fit for such Service; so Buckingham, by his Power of Lord-Admiral, prest seven great Merchant-Men, and put Officers and Soldiers aboard them; as the Great Neptune Sir Ferdinando Gorge Commander, the Industry Capt. James Meyer, the Pearl Capt. Anthony Tench, the Marygold Capt. Thomas Daws, the Loyalty Capt. Jasper Dare, the Peter and John Capt. John Davis, the Gift of God Capt. Henry Lewen; all under Admiral Pennington in the Vanguard.*

P. 189.

P. 190.

On the 8th of May the Duke caus'd Warrants under the Great-Seal to be issu'd to summon the Companies aboard that had been rais'd for the French Service, giving out that they were to be employ'd against *Genoa*, and no more French Soldiers or Seamen to be shipp'd on the English Ships, than the English Seamen and Soldiers cou'd master. But no sooner were those Ships arriv'd at *Diep*, than the Duke *de Montmerency*, Admiral of France, offer'd to put two hundred Men into the *Industry*, and the like Number into every one of the rest, declaring they were to fight against the

City and Inhabitants of *Rochelle*. Tho *Pennington* *A.D. 1625.* was as good a Tool for such bad Work as cou'd have been employ'd, yet Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, the other Captains and their Crews, abhor'd this Service, refus'd to take the French Men on board, and engage in it, notwithstanding the Rewards *Montmerency* tempted them with, and the Threats he made use of to frighten them. So *Pennington* return'd to England. The Duke *de Rohan*, and the *Rochellers*, hearing what had happen'd, dispatch'd Monsieur *de la Zouche* to solicit the King on their Behalf, that the Ships might not return to France in that Employ. *Buckingham* told him the King his Master was oblig'd, and the Ships must and shou'd go out. This Matter was transacting before and after the Session of Parliament, When, as in *Echard* we read, there had been no Measures taken but what were just and wise; and when, as the Lord *Clarendon* or the *Christ-Churchmen* affirm, the Duke had given the Parliament no visible Cause of Disgust; and again, they had no Crime at all to impute to him. How little Regard have these Historians to save Decencies with their Readers, and by preserving some Probability to give a Colour to their Belief. Three Weeks after the Session was open'd, the Lord *Conway* wrote a Letter as from the King to Vice-Admiral *Pennington*, signifying that the Command of that Squadron was assign'd over to the French King, who was to put aboard the English Ships as many French Men as he pleas'd: But the Captains of the Ships represented, that the Propriety of them being in the Merchants, they cou'd not therefore deliver them without sufficient Security for all Losses and Damages which might happen. The Duke *de Chevreuse*, the Marquis *de Effiat*, and Monsieur *Villeaucher's*, offer'd to be bound for it, but the Captains wou'd not take their Bond; upon which Sir *John Hippsley*, and Sir *Thomas Dove*, remonstrated to the Duke the Danger of such an Enterprize, and had almost dissuaded him from it; but the French Ambassadors persisting in the Demand of the Ships, *Meyer* and *Tench* who were deputed by the rest to protest against the Service, were prevail'd upon to return to *Diep*, being assur'd privately that Means shou'd be us'd to prevent their going against *Rochelle*; instead of which, when they arriv'd there, they were follow'd by a Letter from the King to *Pennington*, commanding him positively to deliver up the Ships to the Marquis *de Effiat* for the French King's Service; and in case of the Captains Backwardness or Refusal, to use all forcible Means to compel them, even to sinking; *P. 194.* which no doubt will be remember'd, when the Ecclesiastical Historians are declaiming on his Majesty's Zeal for the Protestant Religion. *Pennington* threaten'd the Captains accordingly, telling them it was as much as their Lives were worth, if they deliver'd not their Ships to the French; he himself bravely surrender'd the *Vanguard*, and commanded the other Captains to follow his Example, which they all refusing, and immediately weighing Anchor to be gone, *Pennington* fir'd at them, and forc'd all of them to come back except Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, who to the Honour of the Nation and himself, scorn'd so base an Action, bore his Fire, and made Sail for England. Mr. *Edward Nicholas* a Servant of *Buckingham*, whose Merits for future Preferment began on this noble Occasion, was sent to *Diepe* to persuade the English Captains to serve; but tho' he us'd all his Rhetoric, he prevail'd not, not one of the Officers or Seamen wou'd take French Pay, a poor Gunner excepted, who was soon after kill'd in charging a Canon. *Nicholas*, that Man of Honour, Integrity, and Virtue, as the above-mention'd Historians represent him, took a Diamond Ring, and a Hatband *The Reign set with Diamonds*, which the French Ambassador begins ill. had Orders to give him for his notable Exploit. Such were the first Actions of this Reign, so prudent

Coke, 192.

A.D. 1625. dent and so promising, to make the King considerable in the World.

Mountague's Book.

Clergy create Difference between King and Parliament.

P. 108.

The Air of the King's Speeches, &c.

Bishops, Cab. 116. call Mountague's Book the Church.

One would have thought that the main Business of an English Parliament, was to take Care of the Protestant Religion, but the reverend Author tells us, that Care of theirs retarded the main Business, which was to give Money to be as laudably expended as were the three last Subsidies. However, the House not thinking like that Divine, enquir'd into the Execution of the Laws against Priests and Jesuits, and complain'd of the Growth of Popery and Arminianism; the latter at least under the Protection of Laud and his Brethren; one of whom Mr. Richard Mountague was question'd by them for his Appello Casarem, contriv'd, says Whitlock, to put a Jealousy between the King and his Subjects, and to encourage Popery. His Majesty had not sat three Months on his Throne, before the Parliament saw into the Design of the Laudian Priesthood, to create Jealousies between him and them; which Jealousies daily increasing by the Countenance that was given them, created such a Division as ended in a Civil War. The historical Archdeacon tells us that Mountague gain'd Reputation by his Writings, and was too hard for the famous Selden; which I think is sufficient to confirm the Judgment we have made of his Characters. A French Author calls Mountague Un etrange Homme, a strange Mortal; and tho' a Papist, owns he play'd Casaubon a scally Trick, Un Vilain Tour; that he abus'd and insulted the Learned at pleasure, calling the great Scaliger, Stultus Philosophus, a Fool of a Philosopher. A Man of this Temper was a fit Instrument to be employ'd by Bishop Laud. The Book he was question'd for was stil'd, with equal Elegance and Modesty, A new Gag for an old Goose. So ingenious and polite are the chief Writers of the Party if it is our good Fortune to light upon them. 'Twas publish'd in King James's Reign, taken notice of by the Parliament, and suppress'd by Archbishop Abbot, who disciplin'd Mountague on that Occasion, for which this Parliament gave his Grace Thanks, and summon'd Mountague to appear at their Bar for reprinting his Book with a Dedication to the King; and a Defence intitled, Appello Casarem, which they voted to be contrary to the Articles establish'd by Parliament, to tend to the King's Dishonour, and the Disturbance of Church and State, obliging him to enter into a Bond of 2000 Pounds to appear again upon Summons. The Spirit of this Reign, and by whom it was influenc'd, appears in the making this obnoxious Priest Chaplain to the King, in a few Weeks after King James's Death. He would now have been severely censur'd, according to Dr. Fuller, had not his Majesty interpos'd, sending a Message to the House of Commons, that those Things which were then spoken and determin'd concerning Mountague without his Privity did not please him; adding, that being his Chaplain, he thought he might have as much Protection as the Servant of an ordinary Burgess; which is like the Sophistry of the Court Arguments in those Days. No Servant to Lord or Commoner was protected in Offences against the publick Peace, and nothing could be more offensive than endeavouring to create Jealousies between his Majesty and his Subjects. This Air appear'd early in the King's Speeches and Messages, and agreeing so exactly with the Airs and Manners of John Buckeridge Bishop of Rochester, John Howson Bishop of Oxford, and William Laud Bishop of St. Davids, one may easily imagine by whose Counsels King Charles was guided. These three Bishops wrote a Letter to Buckingham, which began thus, We are bold to be Suitors to you in Behalf of the Church; and then they plead for Mountague and his Opinions, concluding with severe Reflections on the Synod of Dort, perhaps out of Pique to the pious and learned Dr. Carleton Bishop of Chichester, who wrote against Mountague; as did

also Dr. Sutcliffe Dean of Exeter, Mr. Wootton Divinity Professor at Gresham-Collage, and several other orthodox Divines; so far was Mountague from being the Church, as Laud and his Brethren term'd him, distinguishing their own rigid Party from the Protestant Church of England, and engaging the King in that fatal Distinction he conniv'd at, if not encourag'd their persecuting the most religious and worthy Ministers to the general Discontent of the Nation, as will too plainly appear hereafter: Mountague's Business occasion'd the first Breach between the King and the House of Commons, who were as backward in giving Subsidies as the King was in redressing Grievances. They presented a Petition concerning Religion, as it was in Danger from Popery and false Doctors, praying that he would revoke his Order for suspending the penal Laws against Papists. His Majesty told them their Address was of too great Importance to give a precise Answer to it, but he would do it in a little Time; which Echard calls a distinct satisfactory Answer to their Petition for Religion: Indeed it so satisfy'd the Commons for the present, that they gave two Subsidies, the Papists to pay double.

The Pestilence all this while increasing, and the Members of Parliament flying from it into the Country before the Supplies which were still wanting were voted, it was propos'd in Council at Hampton-Court three Weeks after the opening the Session at Westminster, to adjourn it to Oxford. This Motion came from Buckingham, but the Lord-Keeper Williams, who was then in very good Terms with the Duke, oppos'd it, saying, It was not another Place, but another Temper, that must do his Majesty's Business; that the Plague had so overspread the whole Land, no Man who travell'd knew where to lodge in Safety; for which Reason the Lords and Commons would not take it kindly to be forced abroad in such a mortal Time; and 'tis likely when they come together, they will vote out of Discontent and Displeasure; that his Majesty was ill-advis'd to give Offences, tho' small ones, in the beginning of his Reign. Admirable Counsel, had there been any Disposition in the Prince to hearken to it. Mountague's Affair was but a small Offence, considering the Smallness of the Man; but the King's intermeddling in it, as it were out of Spite to the Parliament, drew it into Consequence. Bishop Williams again, The House of Commons hath given two Subsidies, and tho' they remove to Oxford, yet it is the same Session; wherefore if they alledge, that it is not usual for the House to give twice in a Session; tho' I wish heartily they would, yet how shall we persuade them out of their Custom if they insist upon it? And it is not prudent in the King to run a probable Hazard of a Denial. To all this the Duke reply'd, That publick Necessity might sway more than one Man's Jealousy; upon which the Lord-Keeper requested that he might speak a few Words with the King in private; and it being granted, he told his Majesty, That the Lord Duke had Enemies in the House of Commons, who had contriv'd Complaints, and made them ready to be prefer'd, and would spend the Time at Oxford about them; and what Folly it were to continue a Session that had no other Aim but to bring the Duke upon the Stage? But if your Majesty think that this is like a Hectick, quickly known, but hardly cur'd, my humble Motion is, that this Malady or Malice, call it which you will, may sleep till after Christmas: For I hope to give such Account by that Time, by undertaking with the chief Sticklers, that they shall supersede from their Business against your great Servant, and that Passage to your weighty Council shall be made smooth and peaceable. And why do you conceal this from Buckingham? says the King: the Keeper reply'd, Good Lord, Sir, fain would I begin at that End, but he will not bear me

A.D. 1625.

Larry, 22.

Ech. 421.

Parliament at Oxford.

Ambrose Philips, p. 161 seq.

A.D. 1625. with Moderation. 'Tis thought this Discovery made by Bishop Williams, completed the Duke's Hatred against him, and hasten'd his Fall: For Buckingham now grown jealous, the natural Effect of Danger, defy'd the Lord-Keeper and his Confederates to do their worst, and persisted in his Desire to have the Parliament remov'd to Oxford that he might clear himself: So rash, so inconsiderate were this King's Counsellors who had his Ear. The Lord Clarendon, or whoever drew those Characters, tells us the Duke was a *wiser Man than any Servant or Friend he had*. It is not in this Character only, but in all the rest that the Author seems to affect to be as directly contrary to the Truth and Likeness as possible. Was the Duke wiser than the Lord-Keeper? For it is not pretended that Williams would not on any Terms have preserv'd his Friendship, had not Buckingham been weary of being his Friend. It is plain by the wise and faithful Counsel Bishop Williams gave for his Preservation, that the Lord-Keeper exceeded the Duke of Buckingham as much in Ability as Buckingham exceeded him in Power. King James knew this full well, and told the Earl of Carlisle, *If I had sent Williams into Spain with my Son, I had kept Hearts Ease and Honour*, both which he wanted. The Characteristics in the History of the Rebellion, are for the most part made up of the like arbitrary Assertions, without the least Proofs from the Facts, which will be very easy for me to prove in the general, or in particular Instances, when I am call'd upon, if I have not done it sufficiently already. The Lord-Keeper had promis'd the Parliament at their breaking up, that the Laws against Popish Priests should be put in Execution; yet on the very next Day, the 12th of August, his Majesty caus'd a Warrant to be seal'd to pardon six of them. Bishop Williams thought it a *burning Shame* for him who was of the reform'd Religion, to affix the Seal to such a Warrant, which was brought twice to him, and he both Times refus'd to pass it. This Design was to ensnare him, but another was caught by it. The Duke of Buckingham moved the King to command it be seal'd in his Sight at Hampton-Court, which when it came to be known, took off the Odium from the Keeper, and threw it upon the Duke.

On the first of August the Parliament met at Oxford in the Divinity-School. Heylin and Echard, two Authors of equal Credit and Discretion, seem to think the Speaker of the House of Commons had too much Honour done him in being permitted to sit in the Professor's Chair. The judicious Heylin says, *The placing the Speaker there, first put them into a Conceit, that the determining in all Points and Controversies in Divinity did belong to them*. As much as to say, if he had been plac'd in the Professor of Musick's Chair, he would immediately have fal'n a fiddling. Echard, every whit as judicious as Heylin, apes even this stupid ridiculous Reflection. Sir Thomas Crew's being plac'd in the Divinity-Chair, was thought so much to inspire the House of Commons with controversial Knowledge, that from thence no Parliaments were without a Committee for Religion. After this wise way of thinking, if Serjeant Crew had sat himself down in the Coronation-Chair at Westminster, Crew instead of Cromwell would have laid violent Hands on the Crown. There is nothing in History so silly as this childish Reflection of these two historical Priests, let the Reader be Judge, and assure himself that there are not two Historians of their Kidney in more Estimation among them; which shews us how well they are furnish'd with History. The Speaker had no sooner taken this enviy'd Seat, than Sir Robert Philips of Somersetshire, complain'd he had seen the above-mention'd Pardon for the six Fryars and Jesuits, bearing Date the very Day after the Lord-Keeper had in his Majesty's Name promis'd the Laws against them should

be rigorously put in Execution. The House was immediately in a Flame, finding themselves dealt with so doubly. The Cry was at first against the Keeper, who being a Protestant Bishop, should not have dar'd to have done such Wrong to his Religion. The Lord-Keeper was clear'd by the Evidence of Bembo Servant to the Clerk of the Crown, who confess'd he brought it to the Seal, but it stopp'd there. It was afterwards sent by Secretary Conway's Servant Derick, but it still was stopp'd, till the Duke, as has been observ'd, got the King to command that it should be seal'd at Hampton-Court. Both King and Duke were very uneasy at this Discovery, and truly they had good Reason to be so, for this Proceeding was as mean as it was dangerous; to promise a Thing one Day, and do the contrary the next, in Defiance of the Laws, was a very hopeful beginning of a Reign, and could not but preface it would have as happy an End. The impartial Author of the History of the Rebellion, sinks the lending the French King Ships to destroy the Protestants at Rochelle. Sir John Pennington had Intelligence that the English Ships were intended against Rochelle; he told the King of it, whose Answer was, *Pennington go and deliver your Ships*; which he would not do without a Warrant under his Majesty's own Hand for his Discharge, which the King gave him. The French making some Difficulty to restore those Ships, the same Pennington was forc'd to seize above an hundred French Vessels by way of Reprisal, and then the English Ships were deliver'd. 'Tis worth remembering that only two English Sailors assisted against Rochelle in the Ships King Charles lent King Lewis, such an Abhorrence of that Service had our Seamen, it being against Protestants, and to enslave a free People. The Author or Authors of the History of the Rebellion, sink also this Pardon to the Popish Priests as not within his Period, but he takes Notice, and wrong Notice too, of the Proceedings of this very Parliament concerning the Duke of Buckingham, and the War for the Recovery of the Palatinate. The Commons desir'd a Conference with the Lords in Christ-Church, where Sir Edward Coke open'd the Complaint against Conway, not without glancing at the Duke, who was accus'd also for abusing the King's Favour, by assuming to himself the Disposal of all Offices by Sea and Land. Bishop Williams hasten'd to Woodstock, where the King and Duke then were; and after having acquainted the Duke with the Disposition of both Houses, he spoke to him as follows; *My Lord, I am come unsent for, yet because your Grace made me, I must and will serve you, tho' you are one that will destroy that which you made. Let me perish, I deserve to perish ten times, if I were not as earnest as any Friend to save you from perishing. The Sword is the Cause of the Wound, but the Buckler is in Fault if it do not defend the Body. You brought the two Houses hither, my Lord, against my Counsel: My Suspicion is confirm'd, that your Grace will suffer for it. What's now to be done, but to wind up the Session quickly. The Occasion is for you, because two Colleges in the University, and two Houses in the Town, are visited with the Plague; let the Members be promis'd fairly and friendly, that they may meet again after Christmas; requite the Injuries done to you with Benefits not Revenge, for no Man that is wise will shew himself angry with the People of England. Confer one or two of your great Places upon your safest Friends, so shall you go less in Envy, and not less in Power. At the Close of this Session declare yourself to be the forwardest to serve the King and Commonwealth, and to give the Parliament Satisfaction. Fear them not when they meet again in the same Body, whose ill Affections I expect to mitigate. But if they proceed, trust me with your Cause, when it is transmitted to the House of Lords, and I will lay my Life upon it to preserve you from*

Earl of Clarendon's Characters false.

Ambrose Philips, p. 163.

Obj. H. L. p. 34.

P. 422.

Parliament at Oxford.

A.D. 1625.
Weak Counsels.

Ambrose Philips.

Sentence

A.D. 1625. *Sentence on the least Dishonour.* To all which, the Duke reply'd only, *I will look whom I trust to,* and so flung out of the Room with Threats in his Countenance. I am sensible the Keeper did this more to serve himself than his Patron; but the Advice was good, and let the Motive be what it will, a wife Man will always embrace the Counsel of Wisdom. Mr. *Ambrose Philips* charges *Heylin* on this Occasion with a notorious Falſity, to the great Detriment of the Biſhop's good Name, as if he had been baſe and ungrateful to the Duke, whereas he prov'd in a Paper he deliver'd the King about a Week after, that he had done his utmoſt, and more than any one, to ſcreen the Duke from parliamentary Proſecution.

Life of
Ld-Keeper
Williams,
p. 167.

The Committee of Religion ſummon'd *Mountague* the Gagger to appear before them according to his Bail-Bond, and appointed his Book to be examin'd again, but the Houſe did not fit long enough to bring him to Punishment. The Secretaries *Comway* and *Cook*, after the King had reminded them of the War he had been led into, and the Supplies wanting to carry it on, urg'd new Reasons for them from the State of Affairs in *Germany, France, the Low-Countries, Denmark, Sweden, and Italy.* The Lord-Treaſurer added the Debts of King *James* above 300000 Pounds, his Majesty's Debts and Expences in four Months time above 200000 Pounds, and 300000 Pounds for the Navy, in all about Two Millions; tho' it was not likely the Miniſtry cou'd obtain near ſuch a Sum, when the Parliament talk'd of nothing but the Miſapplication of the Treafury, *Grievances, Buckingham, and Mountague.* When the Miniſters mention'd an intended War, the Houſe deſir'd to know *what War?* This ſo reaſonable a Motion was ill taken, and ſcorn'd by the King: For even then, ſays the Hiſtorian, it evidently appear'd that he meant to rule by Will and Pleaſure. To ſhew his Reſentment at this Motion, he commanded Serjeant *Glanville* to attend the Fleet at Plymouth, ſaying, *He ſhall there underſtand what he ſo much deſir'd to know; and breaking this Parliament before they had given him Money, he ſent Sir Sackville Crow with the Crown-Jewels to pawn them in the Netherlands.*

Reybold.

The King
intends
arbitrary
Government.

We are often told by *Echard*, and other ſuch Hiſtory Writers, that the laſt Parliament, as was remember'd to this, led King *James* into the War, and that the latter left his Son in it. The Author of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion charges them as wavering and inconstant for it. But, what an impartial Author he is? Takes not the leaſt Notice of the Reaſons given in this Houſe of Commons for poſtponing a further Supply: *Tho' the former Parliament did engage the late King in a War, this is not oblig'd to be carry'd blindly, where ſound Counſels are wanting: It is not uſual to grant Subſidies twice in one Parliament, and no Grievances redreſs'd.* It was ſpoken by Sir *John Elliot*, who deſir'd to know, *whether the Money deſign'd for the Palatinate, did not maintain the Ships ſent againſt Rochelle, which was levell'd againſt Buckingham:* Yet *Echard* ſo wiſely copying the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, even in Falſity affirms, this Parliament had no Crime to impute to him but *what was as well known to the laſt.* He and his Original might have ſaid as well known before the Crime was committed as after. Cou'd the ſending Ships againſt the Proteſtants in *France*, cou'd the pardoning the ſix *Romiſh* Prieſts, contrary to the King's Word, be known to the laſt Parliament? The preſent Houſe of Commons, whom they wrongfully thus abuſe, knew him ſo much better now than he was known laſt Year, that they order'd Enquiry to be made, *Whether he broke not the Marriage with Spain out of Spleen to Olivarez; and whether he made not the Match with France upon harder Terms?* Was the Match with *France* better known before than after it was made? The Parli-

Whit.
p. 2.

ament cou'd eaſily prove, that two Millions of Money was ſtipulated by the Conditions with *Spain*, and but 800000 Crowns by thoſe with *France*, which certainly were much harder Terms.

A.D. 1625.

"The Commons, ſays Dr. *Fuller*, not ſo careful to ſave their own Perſons from the Plague, as to ſecure the Land from a worſe and more ſpreading Contagion, the daily Growth of Popery, preſented a Petition to his Majesty, containing ſixteen Particulars of the Cauſes of Grievances, and Remedies to redreſs them; to every Clause of which, according to *Echard*, his Majesty answer'd in a parliamentary Way, with ſo much Fairneſs and Satisfaction, that nothing cou'd be deſir'd more. We ſhall ſee whether any Thing more was deſir'd, in the Sequel of this Hiſtory; but while the Parliament ſeem'd in a pretty good Humour, on the Cloſe of the King's Answer, *Buckingham* made a Speech, putting them in Mind of the good Opinion the laſt Parliament had of him for his Conduct in the *Spaniſh* Treaty of Marriage, and he made no queſtion but ſpeaking now with the ſame Heart, he thou'd be as acceptable to them: He then enter'd into a particular Juſtification of himſelf, and gave ſeveral of his Actions ſo plauſible a Turn, that many of the Members began to think him not ſo bad as was repreſented: But Sir *John Elliot* when a Debate about him aroſe, apply'd to him moſt of the Miſcarriages of the late Reign, and this ever ſince he was concern'd in the Miniſtry; and ſpeaking of the further Supply which was deſir'd, he ſaid, *They ought to be better ſecur'd from domeſtick Foes, before they engag'd againſt foreign Enemies; and that the great Sums given for Honours and Offices, wou'd go far in fitting out the Fleet.* The Truth is, the Nation had no liking for an Expedition which was the Contrivance of *Buckingham*, whom they did not like. He intended the War againſt *Spain*, and they were for carrying it on in the *Palatinate* or *Low-Countries.* His Intention was to ſhew the *Spaniards* his Power and Reſentment; their Deſire was to recover his Majesty's Brother-in-law's Dominions, and preſerve the Proteſtant Religion in *Germany*, which was never nam'd by the laſt King and this, but only as a Pretext to demand Money, which when rais'd, was ſure to be apply'd to ſuch Uſes as wou'd increaſe the Grievances. Some Members were for going on the Supply, which the Neceſſity of the publick Affairs requir'd; but others ſaid Neceſſity was a dangerous Counſellor, and liable to be us'd as a continual Argument; that thoſe Miniſters who had thrown the King and Kingdom into ſuch Neceſſity ought to answer for it; and that there was as much Neceſſity for redreſſing Grievances as for granting more Subſidies: Upon which it was agreed to ſend his Majesty a ſhort Declaration of their loyal Intentions to ſerve him in due Time and in a parliamentary way, beſeeching him to reſt aſſur'd of their true and hearty Affections, and to eſteem the ſame to be the greateſt Security and Reputation a juſt King can have, and to account all ſuch Enemies and Slanderers of the Commonwealth who ſhall dare ſay the contrary. The contrary was ſaid by *Buckingham, Laud, Neile, Weſton*, and in a word by almoſt every one who had Acceſs to the King's Perſon with the leaſt Degree of Favour.

Nothing is more apparent than that his Majesty's ſcreening *Buckingham* and *Montague* from Parliamentary Punishment made the firſt Breach between him and his People; and there cou'd be no Hope of a Reconciliation, while ſuch Counſellors as *Laud* and *Neile* had his Ear upon all Occaſions. He ſaw plainly the Commons wou'd give him no Money, till he had given them Satisfaction as to *Buckingham*, and other Grievances. But as much as he wanted it, he reſolv'd to raiſe it without them; that is, without Law or Right, rather than let Juſtice be done on thoſe Offenders, who had flat-ter'd him with an Opinion that he cou'd not him-ſelf

The King's
ill Conduct

A.D. 1625. self offend. The Lord-Keeper *Williams*, with whom sided the Lords of the Council, begg'd of him with Tears not to dissolve the Parliament; and remember'd him of his Father's last Advice, to part with them always in Friendship, especially with his first, and to call them often. King *James* had experienc'd the many Inconveniences of being at Variance with his Parliaments; and King *Charles's* Want of Temper or Wisdom appear'd signally in protect'ing his Favourite in direct Opposition to the Sense of the Nation. We are not to regard what is said in *Clarendon's* and *Echard's* Histories of his Majesty's Firmness, so much to his Detriment and Dishonour. Impartial Writers do here begin the Division which parted him and his People for ever. Here, I say, at the abrupt Dissolution of this his first Parliament four or five Months after his Father's Death. "The King's Love for *Buckingham*, says *Larrey*, appear'd signally on this Occasion: If he wou'd have abandon'd him to the House of Commons, they wou'd immediately have granted him the Subsidies he demanded; but he chose rather to renounce them, and in some measure the Affections of his People, than sacrifice his Favourite". What follows shews us how sincerely the Author of the History of the Rebellion and Archdeacon *Echard* deal with us, when they declaim on his Qualifications as really wonderful. "Thus *Buckingham* was the fatal Beginning of that Misunderstanding which continu'd ever after between the King and his Subjects in those great Assemblies of Parliament, which are so dear to the Nation; and yet his Ascendant over his Master was not owing either to his Charms or Capacity, but to the Weakness and ill Fortune of the King. If the King had too much Complaisance, or rather Blindness for his Favourite, the Favourite had but too little Regard for his Master's Interests and Glory; for instead of sacrificing his Fortune to his Master, he sacrific'd his Master to his Ambition". Such was the Fate of this Monarch during the whole Course of this Reign. For *Laud* and his Brethren wou'd never let him once give into moderate Counsels in religious Matters, tho' the Bent of the Nation was *Buritan*, and tho' his Government might have been easy and glorious by it; and even in the Catastrophe of the Civil War, when his Royal Life was in Danger, his Chaplains at the *Ile of Wight* Treaty, Partizans of *Laud*, wou'd not let him secure his own Dominion, unless he secur'd theirs also. How he was manag'd by his Favourites, and how inflexible he was in any Opinion they infus'd into him, the Source of all his Misfortunes, may be seen by what the *French* Author adds. "Those that succeeded *Buckingham* had the same Power, and the King was as tender and as much bewitch'd to them, suffering himself to be govern'd, and having no Will but theirs. Firm on this Head, or rather opinionated to such a Degree, that nothing cou'd convince him to the contrary. A Person who prov'd too true a Prophet foretold of him, I wish this Prince may be well inspir'd when he comes to the Throne, for if he takes the wrong way all is lost; opinionated as he is, and willing absolutely whatever he wills. Nothing can make him change his Resolution, when it's once taken. *Lilly* says the same of him: "He was noted to be very wilful and obstinate by Queen *Anne* his Mother, and some others who were about him in his Infancy. His Mother being once told he was very sick and like to dye, said, He wou'd not dye then, but live to be the Ruin of himself, and occasion the Loss of his three Kingdoms by his Wilfulness".

The King's Firmness is Obstinate.

P. 31.

K. Charles obstinate.

Parliament.

The Parliament had Notice that they were to be dissolv'd; and when the Usher of the Black Rod came to call the Commons up to the House of Lords, they being in a grand Committee wou'd

not suffer the Speaker to resume the Chair, till *A.D. 1625.* Mr. *Glawville* the Chairman had made a Report in Form of a Protestation, as a Sort of Direction to the next Parliament to take up the Business of *Buckingham* and Grievances where they left it, and where it was broken off by this sudden Dissolution.

The Plague raging at *London*, the Court, King, Queen, and *French* Attendants, was prodigally kept at *Salisbury*, where the King and the Lords of the Council were to seek how to defray the Household Expences, the Purveyors not having wherewithal to supply the King and Queen's Table: Upon which he sends for the Farmers of the Customs, and oblig'd them to supply him with more than they cou'd well spare. He pres'd the City of *Salisbury* for a Loan of 1000*l.* and *Bristol* for another Loan of 3000*l.* Several Aldermen of *Bristol* came to excuse the Payment, but they were thrown into Goal, where they lay till the Sum was brought to Court. Fifty Thousand dy'd of this Plague at *London*; so great was the Mortality that the City was almost uninhabited. I have read somewhere, that in *July* this Year, a Man walking from *Somerset-House* to *St. Antholine's* Church in the City met only three Persons in the way; yet the Desolation hinder'd not the Rejoycings of the Court upon the King's Marriage with a bigotted *French* Papist.

The great Plague.

Much Talk there was of a Fleet with Land Forces on Board, but whither they were to be sent none of the Council knew but the Duke; yet the Lord *Clarendon's* Indignation rises against the Parliament for not giving Supplies towards an Expedition, which was under the Management of a Person whom they were about to impeach. To make good the Deficiencies, Letters were issu'd under the Privy-Seal to raise Money by Loan. The Persons to whom they were directed were tax'd by the King himself in what Sums he pleas'd, which *Echard* calls borrowing Money of his Subjects with their own Consent; tho' he confesses the Names of all who wou'd not lend were to be return'd to him, and the Fear of the Consequence did doubtless contribute much to the Consent of the Lenders.

Warrants were granted for disarming Papists; which had the good Effects that all such Warrants had in the former Reign, and will have in this. I must own the Lord *Clarendon*, or his Editor's Representation of these Matters are quite contrary to mine. I find myself at a great Loss in this Work; in that I can make little or no Use of his Six Volumes of History; nay, I am rather perplex'd than help'd by it, being every now and then oblig'd to clear up Matters which are very much darken'd by the Dust he raises. The Events are so chang'd by the Turn he gives them, and the Gloss he puts upon them, that none will ever have a just Idea of Things or Persons as they are there represented.

Octavo.

Let us instance in the Lord *Wimbleton's* shameful Expedition to *Cadiz*. The Author of the History of the Rebellion asserts, it was undertaken with the Advice of Parliament, and the universal Approbation of the People; whereas *Whitlock* assures us, not one even of the King's Council knew of it but *Buckingham*; and *Sanderson*, who is a Champion in the same Cause with the Lord *Clarendon*, affirms, that Sir *Robert Mansel*, Vice-Admiral, and the most experienc'd Sea-Officer in *England*, declar'd against the Undertaking: the Lord *Chichester*, another old Officer, did the same; but the Duke of *Buckingham*, who knew as little of military Affairs as any other Courtier, approv'd of it, and that was enough. The Lord *Wimbleton* had a Fleet of 80 Ships, on which were embark'd about 10000 Soldiers. They sail'd the 8th of *October*, and soon met with a furious Storm common in Autumn, which separated the Fleet; and sunk one of the best Ships, which with all the Crew

Cales Expedition. P. 40.

P. 16.

Larr. 35.

A.D. 1625. was lost. The Author of the *History of the Rebellion* says there was not a Ship lost, and upon the matter not a Man, to diminish the Shame of this disgraceful Enterprize. About the latter End of the Month the Fleet, which had join'd again, arriv'd at the *Streights* Mouth; and a Council of War being held, the gallant young Earl of *Essex*, Vice-Admiral, in Emulation of the Glory his Father had formerly won there, was for attacking the Forts at the Mouth of the Harbour of *Cadiz*, which was not thought practicable; only the Fort *Puntal* that very much incommoded the Men who attempted to land, was attack'd and carry'd by Sir *John Burroughs*. This Fort open'd and shut the Entrance into the Harbour; and the *English* by the Help of the *Puntal* might either have attack'd the Galleons that were in the Port, or have intercepted those that were expected from *America* with Plate. The *Spaniards* were so alarm'd at the taking this Fort, that King *Philip* was putting himself at the Head of his Army, which was to march against the *English*; but *Olivarez* represented to him the Necessity those Troops would soon be under to abandon that Conquest and return home, the Winter Season advancing so fast. The Governor of *Cadiz* dispatch'd some light Frigates to give Advice to the Galleons homeward bound from *New Spain*, that they should steer to *Cape Finistre*, and get into the *Groyn*e. One of these Advice-Boats fell into the Hands of the *English*, who believing the *Spaniards* would accordingly make for *Corunna*, lay off that Port to intercept the Plate Fleet. But the Galleons by good Luck missing all the Advice-Boats sail'd directly to *Cadiz*, from whence the *English* were gone to wait for them at the *Groyn*e. Great Faults were committed by the Lord *Wimbleton* and his Officers. They mis-spent their Time ashore in intrenching themselves in the *Puntal* instead of attacking the Bulworks, which in the Surprize of the *Spaniards* at the Loss of that Fort, they might easily have carry'd. They suffer'd both Soldiers and Seamen to come ashore for Refreshment, who surfeiting themselves with new Wine it threw them into Distempers, which kill'd great Numbers of them. Notwithstanding this Sickness and Death, the Earl of *Clarendon* very quaintly assures us, *all the Ships, and upon the matter all the Men were seen.* Every Ship, and upon the matter every Man was not only sav'd but seen; and those Seamen and Soldiers who were left dead drunk ashore when the Ships came away, the Generosity of the *Spaniards* sent them all back again. I will make no Remark upon this fine Flourish; if the Reader can believe a word of it, he has a stock of Faith enough to run thro' the *Roman* Legends. *F. Orleans* affirms the Loss of Men to be very considerable. *Larrey* says, the Ships and Men that return'd were seen indeed, but with *Murmuring* and *Indignation*. *The Complaints ought to have been against Buckingham, but his Credit or good Fortune* turn'd them on *Wimbleton*, who laid the blame on others; however, he was for some time not admitted into the King's Presence. And thus ended an Expedition, which was the more inglorious for that in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time the *English* put the Coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal* in a Blaze, burnt *Cadiz*, menac'd *Lisbon*, brought off the Galleons and Carracks loaden with the Silver of *Mexico* and *Peru*, and carry'd Terror to the old and new World. But as *Larrey* so words it, *Those Days of Glory and Triumph* for England were pass'd. This famous Enterprize was preceded by no Declaration of War. The most that was like it was a Proclamation to recall all *English* Men out of the *Spanish* Service. The Duke of *Buckingham* and Earl of *Holland* went at the same time to the *Hague*, where they concluded a League with the *United Provinces*, and with the Ambassadors of *France* and *Denmark*; but neither *England* nor *Holland* reap'd any Advantage by it.

The King of *Denmark* did indeed take Arms, and one of his Reasons was the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, his Nephew's Dominions. Some Troops were sent to his Assistance from *England*. But it is said he miscarry'd by a too frequent Use of the Bowl. *His drinking out of Reason* lost many *Battels* to the Emperor's General *Wallestein*. The Miscarriage of this King in the Invasion of the Empire is by *Echard*, and all of 'em, imputed to the Parliament for not giving the Money the Court wanted; which however they would gladly have given him, if the King would have satisfy'd them that the Subsidies should have been better spent than the last were, and that due Remedies should be apply'd to the Distempers of the State.

At the Close of this Year *Coke* sums up the several Articles of Male Administration in the first nine Months of King *Charles's* Reign, which may be thought too invidious to repeat: But as the Facts are true, let Posterity know the Mischiefs and the Cause of it.

1. *The protecting a seditious, virulent, ill-natur'd Priest, Richard Mountague, in Opposition to the Sense of the Parliament.*
2. *The dispensing with the Laws against Papists in Compliance with the French Treaty.*
3. *Breach of Word with the Parliament concerning the Execution of those Laws.*
4. *The War upon the King of Spain without Declaration.*
5. *The lending Ships against the Protestants at Rochelle.*
6. *The abrupt Dissolution of the Parliament to screen Buckingham from Punishment.*

If these Facts are true, and no body will pretend to disprove them, what fine Histories must *Clarendon's* and *Echard's* be, where they are either all sunk; or if any of them are mention'd, 'tis with such Explanations as alter the Nature of them, and render them the Subject rather of Applause than Complaint.

I have said nothing of the Squadron of Ships that was sent to join the *Dutch*, and block up *Dunkirk*. They also being sent out of Season were dispers'd by a Storm, and left the Coasts of *England* expos'd to the Insults of 22 *Dunkirk* Men of War with Land Forces, which alarm'd *Ireland* as well as *England*. But why should we wonder that all the Enterprizes of a certain Set of Men since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, have been inglorious both at home and abroad? The Rights and Liberties of the People, the Defence of which acquires true Glory, are what they never had at heart, and their Interests have always been separate from those of the Publick.

Tho' the Plague was still raging, insomuch that the Term was adjourn'd to *Reading*, it did not at all soften the hard Hearts of those evil Counsellors about the King, who endeavour'd to engross his Affections by alienating them from his Subjects. However, there was no living without Money, and that which the Loan brought in made but ill Payment for the Clamour and Discontent which it occasion'd; 'twas therefore resolv'd to call a Parliament, but little Care was taken to have them meet in a better Humour than they parted with the last; nay, so wild was the way of thinking, that Sir *Edward Coke*, late Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and other Gentlemen, who in the last Parliament had appear'd against the Duke, were prick'd for Sheriffs, and so could not be chosen Members.

Sir *Edward Coke*, Sheriff of *Buckinghamshire*.
Richard Knightley, Esq; *Northamptonshire*.
Sir Robert Philips, *Somersetshire*.
Sir Thomas Wentworth, *Yorkshire*.
 Gentlemen prick'd for Sheriffs.

Clar. quaint and wrong.

P. 39.

Ill Success in the War.

P. 39.

England dishonour'd

Sir E. P. 67.

Instances of ill Government.

A.D. 1625. Sir Edward Coke was then near 80 Years old; and it was barbarous to put a Gentleman of his Age, who had been Lord Chief Justice of both Benches, into the inferior and troublesome Office of a Sheriff. He excepted against several Parts of the Sheriff's Oath, and by Advice of all the Judges, one of his Exceptions was allow'd, and order'd to be left out of the Oath for the future. Of P. 210. Sir Robert Philips, Coke says, I revere his Memory, and shou'd be glad I knew any of his Descendants to whom I cou'd acknowledge it. But if any of those Descendants shou'd have degenerated, and been as great Enemies to Liberty as Sir Robert was a Friend to it, Mr. Coke did not lose much in the Loss of that Wish of his. Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was at this time another Patriot, receiv'd the same Marks of the Court's Displeasure. Such Methods were not likely to put former Grievances out of mind; and when the Parliament met, we shall soon see them brought upon the Stage again: Tho' to stop their Mouths concerning Popery, the Bishops were order'd to proceed against Papists by Excommunication, and shutting the Church-Doors against those that durst not come within them under Pain of Damnation. All convicted Papists were by Proclamation confin'd to their Places of Abode, or within four Miles of it. But no Orders of this Kind had the Effect that was pretended. The Papists knew well enough the King was compell'd to do what he did by the Complaints of the Parliament, and they abated very little of their Insolence. It was thought necessary to declare, that the King wou'd give up *Mountague* to Justice. Upon which *Laud* said very gravely, if not very foolishly, I seem to see a Cloud arising, and threatening the Church.

Williams's Fall.

We have taken notice of *Buckingham's* Displeasure against the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, and his Disgrace is the least we cou'd expect from it: But his Merit and Services requir'd some Colour for displacing him; which not being to be found, the Ministry reviv'd a Proposition made by the Keeper *Williams* himself to King *James*, That the Office of Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper shou'd be Triennial; and Bishop *Williams* having enjoy'd it above four Years, must according to his own Proposal surrender the Seal. If the Queen cou'd have befriended him he had stood still; for he was in her Favour by reason of the Speech he made to her in *French* at her coming to *Whitehall*. The Keeper having Intimation of the Counsels that were taking against him, wrote a Letter from *Foxley* in *Berkshire* to the King at *Salisbury* justifying his Conduct in Parliament, especially concerning the Duke; who having read the Letter cou'd not but own that the Justification was valid; but *Buckingham* said he had other Proof against him, which cou'd not appear while he was in Office for People wou'd be afraid to accuse him. The Lord-Keeper offer'd to answer any Accusation in a legal Way; and that it was preposterous to punish first, and afterwards condemn. He said the Wrong done him wou'd soon startle others; for who that had any thing to lose wou'd think himself secure upon such Precedents? Then the Triennial Trust was trump'd up; so that, says Mr. *Ambrose Philips*, his Enemies cou'd lay no Accusations to his Charge; and all his Crime was their Hatred and Malice. To prove which he quotes *Sir Anthony Welden*, p. 176. Bishop *Williams's* Ruin was determin'd not upon any known Crime, but upon Circumstances and Examinations to pick out Faults committed in his whole Lifetime. This Bishop has never a good Word from the *Laudeans* on account of his opposing *Laud's* superstitious Innovations; and therefore it is that the Author of the *History of the Rebellion* says very falsely, as well as affectedly, He was generally thought so very unequal to the Place, that his Remove was the only Recompence and Satisfaction that cou'd be made for his Promotion. What a Consci-

Clar. wrong.

ence this Author had? The famous Lawyer Judge *Hobart* being desir'd by *Buckingham* to certify the Lord-Keeper's Inabilities and Ignorance, upon which he wou'd engage to throw him out, and he shou'd succeed him, the reverend Judge reply'd, My Lord, Somewhat might have been said at the first; but I shou'd do the Lord-Keeper great Wrong if I shou'd say it now. Mr. *Ambrose Philips* writes of it thus: "Never was the Court of Chancery better order'd than in his Time. Mr. *Evelyn*, one of the six Clerks, and in his Time the best Head-piece of the Office, took Pleasure in saying, as many yet know, that the Lord-Keeper *Williams* had the most towering sublime Wit that he ever heard speak, and that his Decrees in all Causes were just; that the Lord *Coventry* did seldom alter any thing he had settled before him but upon new Presumptions; and that he spoke of him always in Court very honourably". *Echard* too speaking of this Bishop has also a Fal- P. 175. sity: He was sequester'd from the Council-Table, and the Presence of the King, before the Seal was taken from him. When the Lord *Conway* came to him with a Message from his Majesty about surrendering the Seal on the 15th of October, the Lord-Keeper ask'd him, If he was restrain'd from the Council-Board before the delivering the Seal? *Conway* reply'd, I know of no such Intent. After which the Keeper had Audience of the King himself; and among other things he petition'd, not to be commanded from the Council-Table, but P. 179. that his Absence may be left wholly to his own Discretion". His Majesty answer'd, I ever intended it so, and never said a word to the contrary. But *Echard* has said a word to the contrary; and it is a melancholy Reflection to consider, that two such Historians as the two last mention'd shou'd have so long impos'd upon a Number of credulous Readers with whom a great deal of Pains must be taken, and perhaps in vain with many to deceive them, and set them right again. On the 25th of October, Sir *John Suckling*, Comptroller of the Household; brought a Warrant from the King to the Lord-Keeper to deliver the great Seal to him; which Bishop *Williams* did accordingly: But, says *Ambrose Philips*, with no Signs of Unwillingness, as one intimates; for he was glad to bear that so worthy a Person as Sir *Thomas Coventry*, Attorney-General, was to succeed him. One can hardly meet with one Fact which is not thus figur'd in their Histories.

The Coronation was on *Candlemas-Day*; and there are so many large Descriptions of it, that we shall say the less, there being nothing which makes it more different from other Coronations than the striking out that Part of the antient Oath, That the King shou'd consent to such Laws as the People shou'd chuse; and inserting, Saving the King's Royal Prerogative; which was become the only Topick for Court Preachers; Cathedral Preachers, and all the Preachers in England, who sought Preferment under *Laud*, to whose Management is imputed the Alteration made in the Coronation Oath; and it is not to be question'd, but if he was one of the Committee appointed to prepare that Oath, the Change which was made in it was his own. Cook in his Appeal says, It was charg'd upon the late Archbishop, that he emasculated the Oath, and left out very material Words, as which the People shall chuse. The Author of the *Life and Reign of King Charles*, printed by *Reybold*, mentions the same thing, clear forgetting or slighting the grand and more essential Part of the Coronation Oath, which is confidently averr'd the late Archbishop purposely emasculated. Lilly affirms positively, He was crown'd at Westminster, where William Laud alter'd the old Coronation Oath, and fram'd another new. Dr. *Fuller* writes of it thus: Others did equally consent, tho' Bishop *Laud* was most active. Notwithstanding which *Echard* asserts, The Oath was the

A.D. 1626.

Coronation.

L. C. J. Atkins.

Laud alters the Coronation Oath.

A.D. 1626. the same that us'd to be taken by the King's Predecessors, tho' Bishop Laud is condemn'd for it; and for making another Addition in the Coronation Prayers us'd, says Fuller, in popish Times: *Sit Petrus in Clave, & Paulus in Dogmate*; that the King might have Peter's Key of Discipline, and Paul's Doctrine. The Bishop of Lincoln, as Dean of Westminster, had a Claim to officiate at this Solemnity, and wrote a Letter to the Duke that he might be permitted: Which Letter begins thus; *Being come hither according to the Duty of my Place to do my best Service for the Preparation to the Coronation, &c. I do most humbly beseech your Grace to receive a Creature of your own, by bringing me to kiss his Majesty's Hand.* But it stood him in no stead; tho' Bishop Andrews, as Dean of Westminster, attended at the Coronation of King James, yet Bishop Williams had Orders to absent himself, and to depute one of the Prebendaries in his place. He resolv'd not to name Bishop Laud, who by his Favour had kept his Prebend, and sent the King a List of all the Prebendaries to chuse whom he pleas'd, and he immediately pitch'd upon Laud at the Desire of Buckingham. Echard in the Description of this Solemnity has certain Circumstances, which add very much to its Importance, and to the Dignity of his History. "The King omitted riding thro' London to save Charges." 'Twas a bright Day, and nothing was lost nor broken; not a Crewet, nor a Fork. The Theatre was clear, and there was very little Noise. The King was array'd in White, contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, who usually wore Purple. And this not out of Necessity but Choice, to declare that Virgin Purity with which he came to be espous'd to his Kingdom, laying aside the Robe of Majesty to cloath himself in the Robe of Innocence". Is it not Pity the Fact is false, there being so many pretty Conceits and Jingles in it; for *Whitlock* assures us, *his Robe was White Sattin; Purple not being to be had.* There never was so small a Portion of a Reign, scarce ten Months, which had been charged with so much Male-Administration; yet the Reverend Author plays with *Virgin Purity* and *Robe of Innocence*, as if he had been describing the Virgin Purity of Edward VI.

Second Parliament.

Larr. 42.

Favour to Papists.

The new Parliament met on the 6th of February; and the new Keeper Coventry made a Speech to them, which turn'd on the Necessity of a good Understanding between the King and them; but he gave the Pre-eminence to the former, and fix'd the Center of Authority there without distinguishing between the Executive and Legislative Power, that a Power superior to both might be understood to be in the King. He protested the King's Intentions were good; and the Parliament were very uncivil not to take the Keeper's Word for it. Tho' the Court had good Reason to hope well from the Choice of the Speaker, Sir Heneage Finch, Recorder of London; yet they soon shew'd the same Spirit and Resolution as appear'd in the Oxford Parliament. They immediately fell upon the shameful Expedition to Cadix, the Misemployment of the King's Revenue, evil Counsellors, favouring of Papists, notwithstanding what Echard tells us of his Majesty's having given them full Satisfaction in that matter, Loans, Taxes, and Mountague; for it seems Laud would not yet let the King give up that Incendiary to Justice. To cool them in their Warmth, the Privy-Council requir'd Neile, Bishop of Durham, Laud's Patron, to apprehend such of his Majesty's Subjects as should be present at Mass, and commit them to Prison. The Attorney General sent Letters to the Judges, to direct their strict Proceedings against Recusants in the Lent Circuit; which had no better Effect than other the like Orders in this Reign as well as the last. For among other Grievances we find this complain'd of by the House of Commons:

1. The Increase and countenancing of Popery.
2. The Diminution of the Kingdom in Strength and Honour.
3. Plurality of Offices in one Hand.
4. Sales of Honours and Places of Judicature.
5. Delivery up of Ships to the French.
6. Misemployment of three Subsidies and three Fifteenths.

A.D. 1626
W. 3.
III Practises in the State.

These Grievances were debated for Redress but a few Days after the Archdeacon declaim'd upon the Virgin Purity of the Government, which is otherwise represented in Larrey. "What is there to be expected from a Prince, who suffers himself to be absolutely govern'd by such a Minister as Buckingham? And what Security is there for the Laws in Church and State, unless the Parliament take care and punish the Attempts of those ambitious Disturbers of the publick Peace, Traytors to God and their Country. The House of Commons talk'd in Terms pretty near like these, which the House of Lords did not seem to disapprove. Popery was dreaded, and arbitrary Power not to be born. The King might easily have appeas'd them, by giving them the reasonable Satisfaction they desir'd; but he chose rather to save his Favourite". Can *Clarendon* or *Echard* be impartial? Can they indeed be true without remembering a word of these things?

P. 43.

I shall not enter into the Derail of the Prosecution of *Mountague*, only sum up the Charge against him in brief, as the Committee who had the Case before them did, that it may be seen what a fit Man he was to make a Bishop, and what Sort of Bishops were in Favour with King Charles. "There are divers Passages in his Appeal full of Bitterness, Railing, and injurious to other Persons, disgraceful and contemptible to many worthy Divines of this Kingdom, and other reform'd Churches beyond the Seas; impious and profane in scoffing at Preaching, meditating the holy Scripture, and all Shew of Religion". *Laud* said *Mountague's* Cause was the Cause of the Church. "All which do aggravate his former Offences, having proceeded from pernicious and enormous Heat against the Peace of the Church, and the Sincerity of the reform'd Religion publicly profess'd, and by Law establish'd in this Kingdom. All which Offences being to the Dishonour of God, and of mischievous Effect and Consequence against the Church and Commonwealth of England, and other of his Majesty's Realms and Dominions; the Commons in Parliament assembled do hereby pray, that the said *Richard Mountague* may be punish'd according to his Demerits in such exemplary Manner, as may deter others from attempting so presumptuously the Peace of the Church and State". His Punishment was first the Bishoprick of *Chichester*, and then that of *Norwich*; which shew'd sufficiently that all those who would, like him, in Contempt of the Parliament and Constitution of England, assert a despotick Power in Church and State, might expect the same Reward to the full Satisfaction of their Pride and Avarice.

Mountague.

The Charge against him.

Arbitrary Power.

There was no Demand of Supplies in the Keeper's Speech; but Sir *Richard Weston* brought a Message from the King, representing the pressing State of *Christendom*, and his Majesty's Patience in waiting so long to hear what they had resolv'd about Supplies. To this handsome Message was tack'd a politick Indication, *That the King would not accept of less than he wanted, and 'twas not fit to depend any longer on Uncertainties.* A new Style brought into the Speeches from the Throne since King *Charles* late on it. He affected very much to speak *en Maistre*, and to let his Subjects know that he took what they gave him as their Duty, and not their Gift. *If they had any Grievances to be redress'd of which his Majesty was not sensible,* they

Parliament.

Coke, 221.

A.D. 1625. they must complain in a mannerly way without the least Reflection on his or his blessed Father's Government. Such Speeches as these cou'd not but open the Hearts and Purles of an aggriev'd People. The Commons return'd a general Answer promising a Supply. The King sent to them again, that they shou'd apply to redress Grievances, not to hunt after them. Good Sense and good Reason this, to redress what they did not know; for they cou'd know nothing without Enquiry. But there must be no stirring any thing for fear, as Coke phrases it, of throwing an ill Odor on the former or present Administration.

In the Debate of these Matters, Mr. Clement Coke Member for Ailsbury, Son to Sir Edward, warm'd perhaps as much with his Father's Injuries as with those of the Publick, said in the House of Commons, 'twas better to die by a foreign Enemy, than to be destroy'd at home, according to Warwick, but he can't help erring, he said suffer at Home, and not be destroy'd; and the Saying was highly resent'd by the Court, who had wrought so upon the Upper-House, that they appointed a Committee to consider of the Defence of the Kingdom, and the Safeguard of the Seas; and they advis'd the equipping a Fleet of Ships immediately to act against Spain, and another to guard the Coasts and Trade, which they sent to the House of Commons, who they were sure wou'd not take it well to have Matters that requir'd Money come from the House of Peers to them, who had yet come to no Resolution about raising any. The King sent them a Message that he was as willing to bear and redress Grievances as any of his Predecessors, but wou'd not allow any of his Servants to be question'd; which has the same Infirmary as his last Message, and is not only against Reason, but against Common Sense. Can evil Counsels be remedy'd without questioning evil Counsellors, or Grievances be redress'd without questioning the Cause of them? 'Twas added, I see you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham; I admire what has so alter'd your Affections; I desire you to hasten the Supply, or it will be worse for you. A small Portion of natural Understanding wou'd have inform'd these Counsellors, that a King cou'd not have said any thing more poorly, and that tho' two or three private Persons may be menac'd without Danger, yet that it is very dangerous to threaten a whole Nation. The Messages which follow are all in the same Strain, and so worded, that one may easily perceive the King was in the Hands of Men of Laud's Temper, and not likely to get out of them. His forbidding the Parliament to question the Duke, which was their undoubted Right to do, made them more zealous in the Prosecution. Dr. Turner Burgess for Shaftsbury, whom Warwick calls by his own Name, an inconsiderate inconsiderable Court-Dependant, began the Charge with Six Queries.

" I. Whether, as Admiral, he had not caus'd the Loss of the King's Royalty in the Narrow Seas?

" II. Whether the late ill Successes of the Fleet had not happen'd by the Admiral's not having personally executed the Place?

" III. Whether the Duke had not engros'd all great Offices, and prefer'd his undeserving Kindred?

" IV. Whether he had not sold Places of Judicature?

" V. Whether his Mother was not Patroness of the Romish Party?

" VI. Whether he had not by his Profusion wasted the King's Treasury?

This occasion'd the moving two other Questions:

" Whether these six Heads, which were grounded on Common Fame, shou'd be debated in Parliament?

" Whether an Accufation upon common Fame, A.D. 1626. by a Member of the House, be a parliamentary Way?

Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Noy, Mr. Selden, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Elliot, Mr. Sandys, and other leading Members, being for the Affirmative, it was resolv'd, That Common Fame is a good Ground of Proceeding for the House of Commons. Whitlock mentioning Sir Thomas Wentworth with Noy and Selden, 'tis probable there was a Vacancy when his Shrievalty was out, and he got into the House.

The Court taking the Alarm, a Message is brought by Sir Richard Weston, a most ungracious Messenger, taking notice of the seditious Speech of Mr. Coke and Dr. Turner's Articles against the Duke of Buckingham, but indeed against the Honour and Government of the King and his Father. As Mountague is the Church, so Buckingham is the State. His Majesty cannot suffer an Enquiry on the meanest of his Servants, much less against one so fine way of near him; and wonders at the foolish Impudence of any Man, that can think he shou'd be drawn to offer such a Sacrifice, much unworthy the Greatness of a King, and Master of such a Servant. He desires the Justice of the House against Delinquents, that he be not constrain'd to use his Regal Power; as was done some Years after, when he enter'd the House in Person to seize five of their Members. This Language wou'd hardly become the Chairman of a Quarter-Sessions to a petty Country Jury, which is the lowest of all Images, much less of a Monarch of Great-Britain to the most illustrious Assembly in the World. Dr. Turner explain'd himself, saying, To accuse upon Common Fame, is warranted by the Imperial Law, and by the Canons of the Church; that this House in the Time of Henry VI. did accuse the Duke of Suffolk; and that Sir Richard Weston himself, the Bearer of this wise Message, did present the common Undertakers upon common Fame. The next Day the Doctor wrote a Letter to the Speaker, to excuse his not attending the House by Reason of Sickness, and submitting to their Judgments, but not acknowledging any Fault. Sir Richard Weston's Message had the Effect which generally attends Precipitation and Rashness, and which Archa might easily have foreseen. The Parliament grew still the more warm against the Duke, who was the great Grievance; and the King's supporting him against the Cry of his People, made the Grievance still the greater. Whitlock tells us, Sir John Elliot made a bold and sharp Speech. Echard calls this being in a Fury; Sir William Walter told the House that the Cause of all Grievances, was that which was in the Court of Lewis the XIth of France; all the King's Council ride upon one Horse, as did Oliver the Barber, who govern'd Lewis as much as Villiers govern'd Charles. Amidst these Agitations the Commons remember'd the King's Necessities, and voted him three Subsidies, and three Fifteenths, to which they afterwards added a Fourth. This shew'd that their insisting upon Redress of Grievances, was not a Pretence only to put off Supplies. His Majesty resenting their Proceedings against his Favourite, more than their dutiful Behaviour in the Supply, summon'd both Houses to attend him at Whitehall, where he declared to them with the usual Prudence and Temper, That he call'd them for several and distinct Reasons; the Lords to thank them for their Care of the Publick, and the Commons to tell them of their Errors. That is, Villiers and Laud understood the State and Interest of the Nation better than Wentworth, Noy, Selden, Diggs, &c. 'Tis all of a Piece, and the Keeper is taught to imitate his Master's engaging Style. " After the great Affairs are settled, and Satisfaction given to the King's Demands, he will hear and answer their just Grievances, as the just Grievances in the last Parliament were answer'd

A.D. 1626. "answer'd after the Subsidies were given. His Majesty excepts to the not punishing Coke and "Turner." He then prais'd the Duke and his Merit from King and Parliament, declaring his Majesty's Pleasure that they proceed no further in the Enquiry touching him. Cou'd any Men in their Wits imagine, that 500 Gentlemen, Representatives of a powerful People, cou'd look with any thing but Contempt on the Person that dar'd to bully them; yet so it is, and Coventry goes on; *The Supply is not suitable to the Engagements; his Majesty requires a further Supply, and your Resolutions of it by a Day, else you are not to sit long, nor will the King expect a Supply this Way:* He will have Recourse to Loans, Benevolences, Ship-Money, Monopolies, and the like: He will no longer suffer the Parliament to raise Money for the publick Service, which I think was as direct a Menace as cou'd be, that he wou'd no longer maintain the Constitution. Himself spoke after the Keeper, and mentioning Coke, said, *It is better for a King to be invaded, and almost destroy'd by a foreign Power, than to be despis'd by his own Subjects: remember the calling, sitting, and dissolving of Parliaments is in my Power.* And shou'd he not also have remember'd, that the raising of Money for the Support and Defence of himself and his Kingdom, was in the Power of the Parliament? The Wisdom and Moderation of these Counsels are equally conspicuous and exemplary. The King wants Money, and yet irritates those that are to give it; the Ministers are conscious of the Weakness and Errors of the late Management, and yet treat those who are to amend it, as Fools and Scoundrels:

Coke, 223 For besides the foolish Impudence in the fine Speech above-mention'd, Coventry told them the King had taken notice of their suffering the greatest Council of State, Villiers and Laud, to be censur'd and traduc'd by Men whose Tears and Education cannot attain to that Depth. The famous Selden, the Glory of the English Nation for Learning and Abilities, did censure evil Counsellors, and his Education is here censur'd. Coke and Turner are meant indeed, but Selden, Glanville, Pym, Herbert, Wandsford, Sherland, and other principal Members before mentioned, did also severely censure the Duke. Whittlocke observes there were in this House many Persons of extraordinary Parts and Abilities; and as to their Estates, one may make a Judgment by what H. L'Estrange says of the next Parliament, consisting in a manner of the same Members, *Their Estates modestly estimat'd, were able to buy the House of Peers, the King excepted, though an hundred and eighteen, thrice over;* a proper Assembly this, to bear the Insults of a weak and imperious Administration. Sir John Elliot, one of the leading Members, is represented by Echard as out of his Wits; but as he begins his Character and Account of him with a staring Falshy, we are not oblig'd to believe the rest of it: *He was a Man of a new Family, his Authority is Dr. Prideaux Grandson to Elliot;* and yet with all this Evidence it is notoriously false: How then shall we give Credit to him, when he has no other Evidence but his own frail Word? My Authority is Mr. Brown Willis, Son-in-law to Daniel Elliot Esq; Sir John's Grandson, who in his *Notitia Parliamentaria*, writes thus: *Of the Antiquity of the Elliots, it being expected I shou'd say something, I hope the Reader will pardon my making a little Excursion, while I shall only remark, that they flourish'd ten Generations before they seated themselves at St. Germain's about the Year 1540, which was almost an hundred Years before this new Gentleman Sir John Elliot appear'd, who was in the thirteenth or fourteenth Generation. I hope this is sufficient to teach us not to take the Archdeacon's Word in his Characteristicks.*

Such Speeches and Messages as we have been repeating, cou'd not but set the House in a Flame, and fill every honest English Heart with Indigna-

A.D. 1626. tion. The House of Commons immediately resolv'd themselves into a Grand Committee, order'd the Doors to be lock'd, and all Proceedings to cease. His Majesty being inform'd of the great Exceptions taken at his last Speech, commanded the Duke of Buckingham to give Satisfaction at a Conference to be held between both Houses, according to Echard: It is thus related by Larrey, "The Commons wou'd not forbear their Profession, and all they cou'd be brought to shew their Deference to the King, was to consent that Buckingham shou'd come by his Order to the Parliament, which shou'd be extraordinarily assembled on that Account in the Painted-Chamber, and there in Presence of Lords and Commons, give Account of his Administration and of all his Employments. The Houses met accordingly at the Place appointed, Buckingham did not fail to be there, and appear'd with all the Moderation and Humility of a Man before his Superiors." We read in Clarendon, *He had a great Contempt for the Parliament.* "He thought to carry his Point by this humble and moderate Carriage, and deliver'd a study'd Discourse on all his Actions and Negotiations as Ambassador and as Admiral, &c." He said he did nothing in single Counsels, excus'd his not going with the Fleet, his Master commanding him into the Low-Countries to treat with the Ministers of Denmark, Sweden, and Holland. He gave a plausible Turn to most of the Allegations against him, and express'd himself at the Close of the Speech, in the Manner which he thought wou'd be most effectual to take off the Edge of their Resentment. "Join unanimously with your Sovereign to support the Protestant Religion, assist him to relieve Part of his Family, persecuted by the House of Austria for Religion's Sake; re-animate the first Ardor of the English Nation for the Recovery of the Palatinate, and haste to establish the King's Sister and his Nephews in their Estates and Dignities." What must one have thought of the Lords and Commons of England, if they cou'd have been impos'd upon by his pretended Zeal for the Protestant Religion, when they all knew very well that his Family were most of them rank Papists, and himself the greatest Protector they ever had here since the Reformation? It is true, the People desir'd nothing more passionately than that the Interests of the Royal House of Bohemia, the Heir of which is our present gracious Sovereign, shou'd be vigorously supported; and the Duke's naming the Assistance of a Family who was so dear to them, had the greatest Effect upon the two Houses, but not sufficient to put a Stop to the Prosecution. The Lord Conway spoke afterwards by his Majesty's Command, and vouch'd for the Duke that whatever he had done was by Order: To answer the Charge of mis-spending the publick Money, he gave an Estimate of the Expence of the Fleet and Army, the Succours sent to Count Mansveldt, and of the building several Forts in England and Ireland; but it was by no means satisfactory. The Commons being return'd to their House, every Member in his Place made a Protestation, Whether he heard Mr. Coke speak the Words charg'd upon him or not, and every one deny'd the hearing of them. They then drew up a Remonstrance, which was presented to the King, denying those Words said to be spoken by Mr. Coke, excusing Dr. Turner, and avowing their Proceedings against the Duke, or any other Subject; praying the King not to give ear to officious Reports of private Persons for their own Ends. They expected a present Answer, which, says Echard, possibly might have had happy Effects, if it had been a good one. Then Buckingham must have been punish'd, Laud disgrac'd, Mountague silenc'd, evil Counsellors remov'd, the Palatine War carry'd on with Vigor, Papists prosecuted, Puritans reliev'd, Peace

More fine speaking.

The Parliament bully'd.

Sir John Elliot.

A.D. 1626. have been restor'd to Church and State, and the Civil War have been prevented. Instead of a present Answer, the King said he cou'd give no present one; and then the reverend Historian offers two Reasons for it, which as they are jumbled together make but ordinary Work: *The King was either conscious of his own Integrity and the Duke's Fidelity, or perfectly averse to all Measures that might retard the War.* His Majesty's Integrity to be yok'd with his Grace's Fidelity, under so heavy a Charge against him by the House of Commons, is very extraordinary, as is that very wise Reflection of *retarding the War*; whereas the only Way to have the War prosecuted, was to have deliver'd up the Duke to national Justice, and the Subsidies wou'd soon have been rais'd to carry it on.

House of Lords dissatisfied.

Whitl.

Sand. 30.

Earl of Bristol.

Irregularities.

Tho' the Lords had been thank'd by the King, yet it was not long before a Discontent appear'd also in that august Assembly, who petition'd the King against the Precedency challeng'd by the Scots and Irish new made Peers, but had this cold Answer, *I will take Order therein.* They were also discontented at the Imprisonment of the Earl of Arundel in time of Parliament, for his Son's marrying the Duke of Lenox's Sister, whom his Majesty had design'd for the Lord Lorn. The Earl of Arundel had five Proxies, which were lost by his Imprisonment; and no Precedent was found of any Peer's having been committed in Session of Parliament, except the Bishop of Winchester in Edward III. Time. The Lords pass'd a Vote against it, which was follow'd by a Remonstrance and a Petition for the Release of the Earl; but no Answer being given to it, they petition'd again, and the King express'd his Dislike of it: But after a Petition or two more, Arundel was releas'd with so much Reluctancy, that according to the Archdeacon, the Favour was rather despis'd than acknowledg'd. Thus was there ill Blood made in the House of Lords as well as in the House of Commons; and instead of giving way in the least to the present Disposition of the People, the King's Counsellors, Villiers and Laud were the chief, put him upon Counsels which added Fuel to the Fire they were kindling in the Nation. Mr. Pym Chairman of the Committee of Religion, reported a Letter to the Lord-Mayor of York for the Reprive of some Jesuits, Priests, and other Recufants; which Letter was compar'd with the Original in the Signet-Office, and his Majesty took Offence at their being *too inquisitive after his Actions.* Now Innocence defies all Inquisition, and is the better pleas'd the more it is enquir'd into, which makes one doubt whether *Echar'd's* Coronation Robe was not of his own making. The Parliament justify'd the searching the Signet-Office, as warranted by Precedents on the like Occasions.

We have mention'd the Displeasure of the Court against the Earl of Bristol, who was not permitted to come to the last Parliament; and his Writ of Summons to this being detain'd, he petition'd the King that he might have it, as what had never been deny'd to any Peer: But the Lord Conway sending him a dilatory Answer, the Earl petition'd the House of Peers, and the Peers petition'd the King, that his Writ might be issu'd, which was done; but with a Letter from the Lord-Keeper Coventry to the Earl, signifying his Majesty's Pleasure that he shou'd forbear Attendance. How impolitick and irregular are their Proceedings? His Lordship not seeming ready to comply, the Keeper Coventry, for there was at this Time no Want of Instruments to set up the Prerogative against Privilege, inform'd the Lords that the King wou'd have the Earl sent for as a Delinquent to answer Offences in Spain and since his Return. Sir Robert Heath Attorney-General exhibited eleven Articles against him, the other nine in a former Charge were left out. The Earl of Bristol had

given in Answer to those Articles in King James's *A.D. 1626.* Time without any Replication; and the charging him again with them now, was plainly to prevent his articling against Buckingham, as it was known he intended. One of the Articles against Bristol was for intimidating King James, by magnifying the Power of Spain in writing thus to him, *If you love your Quiet, take heed how you attack such a formidable Enemy; if you shou'd, there will be an End to your Pleasure and Tranquility, and your innocent Diversions, such as Hunting and Feasting will be interrupted.* A fine Letter this, to be written by one of the wisest Ministers of State to the very wisest Monarch of the Age. The Earl was also accused of intriguing with Spain to introduce Popery into England, and solliciting King James to release Jesuits; of misinforming the King with relation to the Marriage-Treaty; of saying, *He car'd not what the Success of it wou'd be, he wou'd make his Fortune by it*; of occasioning the Prince's perilous Journey to Spain; of persuading the Prince to change his Religion, &c. This terrible Accusation, tho' supported by the King's Name and Authority, did not surprize the Earl of Bristol, depending either on his own Innocence or the Affection of the Parliament. Being brought to the Bar of the House of Lords, he spoke thus after the Articles against him had been read, *I am a Freeman, and a Peer untainted, and have somewhat to say of high Consequence.* He was order'd to proceed: Then, said he, *I accuse that Man, the Duke of Buckingham, of High-Treason, and will prove it:* Accordingly he tender'd to the House twelve Articles against him, and the Lords receiv'd them: The chief were, *That he had plotted with Gondemar to bring the Prince into Spain to change his Religion; that he frequented the Popish Service in Spain, and ador'd their Sacrament; that he had broken the Match out of his own particular Ends; that he had abus'd King James by a sinister Relation of those Affairs.* Out of both these Charges, 'tis probable one may pick some Truth, for the Earl and the Duke do both agree that there were Endeavours us'd to change the Prince's Religion, and that King James was abus'd with false Informations about the Treaty of Marriage; and it is more than probable the one was as guilty as the other; but the Duke's Guilt is apparent, according to Larrey, *Most of the Historians, as well Protestants as Papists, agree about the Duke of Buckingham's Popery, excepting the Earl of Clarendon,* who disagrees with most Historians, and I am not the only Writer who has taken notice of it. Speaking of the Duke of Buckingham's ingratiating himself with King James's last Parliament, and his falling so soon into the Displeasure of K. Charles's two first Parliaments, he, or some body in his Name, says, *The Duke's Behaviour met with wonderful Applause; the Commons came to a hasty Resolution to dissuade the King from the Match, and frankly and resolutely to enter into a War with Spain; towards the carrying on of which, they rais'd great Mountains of Promises, and prevailing in the first, never remember'd to make good the latter, which too often falls out in such Counsels;* which is only in every Word untrue, tho' it is one of the Passages given us by the Author as Instances of sober History; but I will produce an historical Passage that seems to have much more Sobriety in it: *It is not to be wonder'd at, that the Parliament who was so active and ready to undertake a War for the Restitution of the Palatinate under King James, were now so unactive under King Charles. They had got better Knowledge of the Favourite's Designs, and wou'd not be his Bubble to raise Armies under the Pretence of that Restitution, only to satisfy the Vanity of an offended Minister.* That they gave Mountains of Money instead of Mountains of Promises, appears by the frequent Complaints in this King's two first Parliaments of its being wasted and mispent.

Larr. 59.

His Articles against Buckingham.

Clarendon.

Larrey, 71.

A.D. 1626. The Earl of *Bristol* exhibited Articles also against Secretary *Conway* as the Duke's Creature, and unfit to be one of his Judges. The Lords would not commit the Earl, nor would they permit his Cause to be mov'd into the *King's-Bench*, as his Majesty would have had it. They order'd that the Articles exhibited against him should not hinder his Testimony against the Duke. The Earl of *Effex*, the Lord *Sheffield*, and the Lord *Say*, were most zealous in the Prosecution of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and a few Days after the Earl of *Bristol* deliver'd in his Answer to the Charge against him, introducing it with a Speech to clear two Objections, his ill Affection to the Protestant Religion, and his good Affection to *Spain*. He produc'd several Letters of Thanks for his Care in the Business of the *Palatinate*, and answer'd punctually every Article touching the Match with *Spain*, producing the Declaration for Privilege to *Roman Catholics*, which was little less than a Toleration. He laid great Blame on the Adviser of the Prince's Journey to *Spain*, and set forth how industrious he had been to hinder the Duke's perswading the Prince to change his Religion. He owns he had in Discourse given his Opinion for marrying the Elector *Palatine's* Son with the Emperor's Daughter; so that the Son, if he were bred in the Emperor's Court, might have Protestant Tutors, and Freedom of Religion for himself and Family. He declar'd he intended nothing but Honour and Service to the King, and humbly submitted all to their Lordships Judgment. The House of Peers seem'd to be mov'd with his Speech, and satisfy'd of his Innocence; and the Charge brought against him with so much Heat vanish'd and appear'd no more, tho' the Attorney-General pray'd the Lords to give more Credit to the Evidence of the King in favour of the Duke than to the passionate Accusation of the Earl. The Commons proceeded against *Buckingham* as far as an Impeachment, which was sent up to the Lords by eight of their Members. Sir *Dudley Diggs* introduc'd it with an eloquent Speech, comparing *England* to the *World*, the *Commons* to the *Earth and Sea*, the *King* to the *Sun*, the *Lords* to the *Planets*, the *Clergy* to the *Fire*, the *Judges and Magistrates* to the *Air*, the *Duke of Buckingham* to a *blazing Star*. The Impeachment was founded on Dr. *Turner's* six Queries; to which was added a new Article, that of the *Plaster* apply'd to King *James's* Side or Belly in so suspicious a manner, which occasion'd such Symptoms, that a great many People, and the King himself, says *Larrey*, suspected it was *Poison*. We read in *Lilly*, "That King *James* was really and absolutely poison'd by a *Plaster* apply'd by *Buckingham's* Mother to that King's Stomach, as was evidently prov'd before a Committee; and even the most sober of the King's Friends held him very much overseen to deny a *Parliament* Justice in matter of *Poison*, the Party poison'd being his Father". Sir *John Elliot* spoke last, and recapitulated the Heads of the Charge, comparing *Buckingham* to *Sejanus*; for after the Example of that base Flatterer, he stil'd himself the *Companion of his Master's Labours*; while he usurp'd the sovereign Authority, and falsly'd its Glory. As his Crime was the same, so he did not fail to wish him the same Punishment. It was wonder'd by many, according to *Echard*, that considering the Duke's Power and Influence, greater Offences were not objected against him: By which it appears, that with such Men as the Historian, the engrossing of Offices, employing unfit Persons because related or ally'd to him, neglecting his Duty as Lord High-Admiral and Lord-Warden of the Cinque-Ports, the plundering of 20000 Pounds out of a *French Ship*, the extorting 10000 Pounds from the *East-India Company*, the delivering up seven Ships to the *French* for the Destruction of the reform'd Religion in *France*, the putting off

Offices, Honours, and even Bishopricks to Sale, the patronizing *Romish* Priests and Jesuits is nothing, and deserv'd not the Pains the Commons took to bring him to account for it. As soon as Sir *Dudley Diggs* and Sir *John Elliot* had done speaking, they were beckon'd by two Gentlemen to come out of the House of Lords, and going to them, found them to be two Gentlemen of the King's Chamber, who had two Warrants to carry *Elliot* and *Diggs* to the *Tower*, contrary to the Opinion of the Judges, that their Restraint was an Arrest of the whole Body. The Archdeacon inserts a Letter written, as he pretends, by an eminent Hand to the King concerning the Duke's Impeachment; which being as compleat a Piece of Sophistry as any in the History of the Rebellion, or his own History, I shall in part repeat; No Favourite was ever call'd to Account but it was follow'd by Rebellion; witness the Earl of *Somerset* in the last Reign, the Earl of *Effex* in Queen *Elizabeth's*, &c. *Richard II. Henry VI. and Edward VI. were destroyed by it. Excellent History! Leicester, Hatton, and Raleigh* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time were worse than the Duke. This is their way of talking; they assert positively without any Proof, and if that will not pass for Argument they have no other. No Lawyer durst speak against them; if you decourt *Buckingham*, the Monarchy will fall with him; but *Felton* cut his Throat and the Monarchy remain'd as it was, till *Laud* and his Brethren had fill'd up the Measure of the Iniquities of these Times. If the Parliament prevail in him, they will make Privy Counsellors, Lord-Stewards, and Lord-Chamberlains, How he conjures! Ambassadors, Auditors, &c. The Truth of these wonderful Predictions afterwards appear'd in the Event. But there was another Paper which probably the Archdeacon never heard of, left on the King's Table, and it is a much more wonderful one, tho' there is no Spirit of Prophecy in it; The principal Actors in this Scene are Papists or Puritans; the Papists hate the Duke for breaking the Match with the Infanta; the Puritans, because he, being such an admirable Divine, looks upon them as Sectaries; the rest are Bankrupts, Debauchees, Republicans, and the like; which appearing so evidently by the Names of the Duke's Prosecutors, 'tis pity the reverend Author had not honour'd his History with this Letter also.

The King went to the House of Lords, and complain'd bitterly of the Commons for their Want of Respect to him in accusing as a Delinquent a Peer of the Realm honour'd with his Trust, and for whose Innocence his own Honour and Conscience oblig'd him to give Testimony; but the Commons sent Sir *Nathaniel Rich* with a Message to the Lords, desiring the Duke might be committed, which the Lords did not think fit to do; and the Commons growing still more warm, turn'd themselves into a grand Committee, lock'd up their Doors, and resolv'd to proceed no further till they were righted in their Privileges. Sir *Dudley Charlton* in vain endeavour'd to allay this Heat, by blaming Sir *Dudley Diggs* and Sir *John Elliot*. Sir *Dudley* deny'd he spoke the Words that gave the Offence, and was releas'd; so also was Sir *John Elliot*, who instead of denying his Speech, justify'd the Passages objected against him, and the House pass'd a Vote in Justification of him, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and all the other Members who manag'd the Impeachment; and to shew their strict Regard to Justice, committed Mr. *Moore*, another of their Members, for speaking Words reflecting on the King.

'Tis worth observing that Mr. *Echard* applauds the Wisdom and Discretion of the University of *Cambridge* in chusing the Duke of *Buckingham* their Chancellor at this very Juncture, when the Parliament was prosecuting him as the greatest Enemy to the Rights and Liberties of the People. Fuller says, a grand Party there unsought, unsent, unjust, according

Lord Conway articulated against.

Impeachment of the Duke of Bucks.

K. James poison'd.

A.D. 1626.

Member of Parliament imprisoned.

Sand.

Larrey, 78

Cambridge

A.D. 1626. according to his usual Jangling, gave their Suffrages for *Thomas Earl of Berkshire*, second Son to their late Chancellor *Thomas Earl of Suffolk*, and that the Duke carry'd it by very few Voices. The Parliament intended to write to the University about it, but the King wou'd not let them; on the contrary he wrote himself to *Cambridge*, and applauded the new Election, because, as the Archdeacon observes, it shew'd their Dislike to the Commons. A few Days after the Duke deliver'd in his Answer to the Articles of Impeachment, which he introduc'd with a very handsome artful Speech to the Lords; *That his Accuser, Common Fame, was too subtle, and the House of Commons too great for him to contest with all, but he doubted not in time it wou'd be found that Common Fame had abus'd them both.* *Echard* assures us, *the Duke's Answer was a kind of new Grievance.* When these Men pretend to Wit, 'tis as awkward as the Ass's setting up for a Fop. His Adversaries expected a Defence of a more disdainful Nature, but there appear'd a Water-Spout on the Thames, which making a furious Assault on the Duke's House, gave these Adversaries a Handle to have it pass for portentous among the Vulgar, especially when at the same time a great Part of the Church-yard Wall of *St. Andrew's Holborn* fell down, several Graves were laid open, and Coffins tumbled into the midst of the Street, in a Storm of Hail, Rain, and Thunder, which some said was rais'd by *Dr. Lamb a Wizard* and *Quack*, whom the Duke employ'd and protect'd. The King sent to the Parliament to quicken them in the Matter of Subsidies, and the Parliament petition'd about Recusants, naming those in Places of Trust, and praying they may be remov'd. They also presented an Address by their Speaker, professing their Affection and Loyalty, and desiring his Majesty not to permit the Duke to have any more Access to him. To which the King return'd no Answer. A very likely way to get Subsidies! and the Commons foreseeing they should not sit long unless they wou'd give Money and forgive the Duke, agreed upon a Remonstrance against him, and against taking Tonnage and Poundage, tho' not granted by Act of Parliament. This hasten'd the Dissolution, tho' the Lords drew up a Petition to the King not to dissolve them, expressing themselves very dutifully and affectionately, "We are your Majesty's Hereditary Great Council: Permit us then to represent the Evils we foresee both at home at abroad, that must be the Consequence of dissolving this Parliament. Your Glory and the Happiness of your Subjects consist in a happy Union between them and your Majesty. This is the greatest Security of your Majesty's Authority and their Love. By this way alone your Majesty will obtain what you desire, and you will possess the Riches with the Hearts of the Nation. Their Treasure will be always open in a Parliamentary Way: But every thing is to be apprehended from a Dissolution, that will break all those sacred Ties; which we most humbly beg your Majesty to reflect on seriously". The Earls of *Manchester, Carlisle* and *Holland* were deputed to deliver this Petition to the King; but he answer'd only, *I am determin'd, and will hear nothing to the contrary.* *Echard* says the Petition was never deliver'd. *Villiers* and *Laud* were his chief Counsellors; and what they deserv'd for shutting his Ears against such wholesome Counsel as the Lords gave him, let the Reader determine. This is that *Opiniatretè* which was the distinguishing Character of King *Charles I.* and which is a sure Sign of Want of good Sense and good Nature. *Lilly the Astrologer* tells us, "The old *Scotish Lady* his Nurse was us'd to affirm, that he was of a very evil Nature even in his Infancy; and the Lady, who afterwards took charge of him, cannot deny it, but that he was beyond mea-

sure wilful and unthankful"; which, as well as A.D. 1626. some other Particulars I shou'd not have quoted after the Astrologer, for whose Science I have a hearty Contempt, did they not agree with the Facts in other Histories. All the Counsel *Laud* and *Villiers* gave him render'd his Government daily more and more unpopular; and what must be the winding up of such a Bottom was not hard to foresee.

On the 15th of June, this great, warm, and Partia- ruffing Parliament, as *Whitlock* calls them, was ment dis- dissolv'd by Commission; and the same Day the solv'd. Earl of *Bristol* was imprison'd, and the Earl of *Arundel* confin'd, that nothing might be omitted to increase the Aversion the People had to the Ministry. There is no Gloss in *Clarendon* for this Rashness and Obstinacy. "The Course of emptying Men from Prosecution, says my Author, by dissolving of Parliaments, made the Power of Parliaments much more formidable; as conceiv'd to be without Limit, since the Sovereign Power seem'd to be compell'd (as unable otherwise to set Bounds to their Proceedings) to that Cure, and to determine their Being, because it cou'd not determine their Jurisdiction". An Anonymous Historian tells us the Parliament had Printed by their Proofs ready against *Buckingham*. The Commons Remonstrance against the Duke, which they had not time to deliver, was printed and dispers'd. He was charg'd in it with being the Author of all the Misunderstandings between the King and his People, and of almost all the Grievances they complain'd of. The King publish'd a Declaration containing the Grounds and Causes for dissolving this and the former Parliament, and a Proclamation for suppressing the Parliament's Remonstrance; which must be own'd to be the shortest way of answering it. The Parliament said in their Remonstrance, "How can we suffer a Man so dangerous and ill designing in the Administration, to enjoy the chief Offices of the State? How can we grant Subsidies to your Majesty, which must pass thro' his Hands, and which he will employ to ruin our Liberties and Religion? Is it not he that has put your Majesty on levying Tonnage and Poundage, which were granted to the late King only during his Life, and which cannot be rais'd after his Death without a new Bill? We cannot look on these pernicious Counsellors but with Horror, who engage your Majesty in such Measures, as a good King, such as your Majesty, ought not to take. We repeat it, That we look on the pernicious Counsellors as Vipers, as publick Plagues, and as capital Enemies to the King and People". *Bishop Laud* was one of the Chiefs of the Council, fatal, say they, to both. The Remonstrance again: "The King cannot exact Contributions but in a Parliamentary Way, nor the Parliament see their Privileges violated without complaining and Murmurs. Your Majesty promised that there shou'd be no Occasion for such Complaints: How comes it that one of your Ministers has the Power to make you break so solemn an Engagement? Remove so dangerous an Enemy from your Court and Person. Free us from your just Fears, and then your Majesty shall find us ready to give such Supplies, as can be expected from a People to a King who is infinitely belov'd; and we are ready to sacrifice our Lives and Estates to make you the most powerful Prince that ever sat on the Throne of England, and are uneasy only for our Liberties and Religion". The Archdeacon has learnt of the Author of *Clarendon's* History to sink such Papers as he does not like, or so to curtail them that the Spirit of them is lost. Thus we have only a word or two of this Remonstrance, of which his Majesty in his Declaration after the Dissolution of the Parliament, says a thing extremely unbecoming the

Remonstrance against Tonnage, Poundage, and Buckingham.

Larrey. King's ill Conduct.

Larr. 83. Remonstr. against Buck.

A.D. 1626. Royal Dignity; *The Duke is only odious to the Parliament, because he serv'd the late King and myself faithfully.* The contrary to this was known to every Mortal that read this Declaration. The Lord Clarendon, if he was the Historian, says, *He engag'd his old unwilling Master and the Kingdom in a War with Spain; not to mention the bold Journey thither on the Breach of the Match, in a Time when the Crown was so poor; and this only upon personal Animosities between him and the Duke of Olivarez, &c.* Was this serving the late King faithfully? Clarendon again: *The Duke took great Pains to lessen the King's Affection to his Wife.* Was this to serve him himself faithfully? I could fill many Pages with Instances directly opposite to that Assertion; but these are, I think, sufficient to give one a just Notion of the Integrity as well as the Sense of that Declaration, where indeed it was not forgotten to extol *his supreme, immediate and independent Authority of Calling, Adjourning, Proroguing and Dissolving the Parliament.* What has all this to do with screening a Criminal from Justice, and with taking Tonnage and Poundage against Law? *The Right of my Prerogative is inseparable from the Crown, and for which I am bound to give an Account to none but God my only superior.* And was not the People's Money as much their Right? And if he took it from them illegally, as he did, tho' there was to be a severe Account given of it at the last Judgment, yet it was the People's Right inseparable from their Birth, to keep what was their own, and to hinder his taking it from them against Law if they cou'd.

Weak Management.

His Majesty caus'd an Information to be prefer'd in the *Star-Chamber* against the Duke of Buckingham for the same Matters contain'd in the Articles of Impeachment. To which the Duke put in his Answer; but it came not to a Hearing; and was itself a Farce that only expos'd the Actors to Contempt and Laughter, every body seeing the vain Artifice to evade Justice.

Illegal Taxes.

Several other illegal Ways besides that of Tonnage and Poundage were made use of to extort Money from the People; as a *free Gift.* By this means, says Larrey, *to give new Grounds of Complaint, and to transfer the Nation's Hatred of the Favourite to the King.* *Knighthood*, an old, obsolete, nonsensical Project, attended with Circumstances that render'd the Grievance as monstrous as it was oppressive. The King at his Coronation set forth a Proclamation containing, That in regard of the Infection then spreading thro' the Kingdom, he wou'd dispense with those Knights, who by an ancient Statute were to attend at that Solemnity; and they were thereby requir'd not to attend. However, within a few Months after he took Advantage of their Absence, and rais'd a vast Sum of Money out of their Estates at the Council-Table; where they pleading the said Proclamation for their Justification were answer'd, *The Law of the Land is above any Proclamation.* Like that Tyrant, says Coke, *who when he cou'd not by Law execute a Virgin, commanded her to be deflower'd, and then put to Death.* Another says of it, *He set up the Project of Knighthood, and call'd to account all Gentlemen and others that attended not his Coronation, tho' he had before forbidden their Attendance by Proclamation.* Those two impartial Historians Mr. Echard and the Author of *the History of the Rebellion* have not the least Hint of this Proclamation, but insist upon the Foundation it had in Right, a shame to the Lawyer who said it, that because 15 l. a Year made a Man liable to a Knight's Tax, when 15 l. a Year was as much as 150 at the Time when Knighthood was reviv'd; therefore every Man of 40 l. a Year shou'd pay it, when 40 l. was no more than 4 l. in Edward the Second's Time, when that romantick Tax was rated at 15 l. a Year. Loans and other lawless Ways and Means to pick the People's Pockets were thought of; Pro-

Cook's Appeal.

Knight-hood.

Illegal Taxes. P. 67.

jects very grievous, unjust, ridiculous and scandalous were set on foot, as we read in Clarendon; for there is a Force in Truth which will sometimes oblige even its Enemies to confess it.

There was hardly any thing talk'd of, but the Parliament's Remonstrance and the King's Declaration. The major Vote was apparently on the Side of the Remonstrance, which sunk deeply into the Minds of the aggrieved People; but the King's Declaration shew'd only that the Court rather thought something shou'd be said, than really that they had any thing to say against it.

The Loan was regulated by the Sum the Parliament had voted for Subsidies and Fifteenths; as if the King exacted no more than the House of Commons had given him, tho' indeed they had given him nothing. His Majesty promis'd to call another Parliament as soon as his Affairs wou'd permit him, to make good the Subsidies which he anticipated by the Loan. The Peers offer'd their Contributions readily, and the Papists offer'd double; but the Court understanding on what Conditions, did not think proper to revoke the Penal Laws, and give new Umbrage to the Protestants for so poor a Consideration as 10 or 20000 l. to which their double Payment might at that time amount. Archdeacon Echard owns that Laud undertook to justify the levying of this illegal Imposition; and drew up Instructions which were sent to the two Archbishops to be dispers'd among the inferior Clergy, and to be publish'd in all Parishes. He adds, *There were plausible Reasons for raising this Money without Act of Parliament; which is Nonsense.* There cannot be a plausible Reason for acting contrary to Law. The Subsidies might have been levy'd regularly, if the Court wou'd have let the Parliament have proceeded regularly against Buckingham. The Wisdom of this Ministry appears farther in Echard's Account of the Loan. "The Reluctance of private Persons to pay it made the Government most severe in the Execution of the Project; and the Severity made the People more averse to it. So that the Steps taken to promote the Design caus'd it to have less Success, and to appear more odious". But then he takes upon him to insinuate, that without this illegal Tax they had hazarded the Loss of all their Estates; and proceeds, *The Clergy were earnestly excited from above to promote and advance this Design, in which they labour'd very heartily.*

P. 430.

The Reader is desir'd to understand always when we speak of Clergy on these Occasions, such Clergymen as Neile, Wren, Mountague, Cosins, Manwaring, Sibthorp, and all under the Influence of Laud; that the sincere Protestants of the true Church of England, such as Moreton, Carlton, Davenant, Usher, Browrig, Hall, Featly, Prideaux, Oldsworth, Skute, Udal, Ward, Gouge, Sibs, and a great Number of pious, learned Divines, always bore their Testimony against Laud's Innovations in Church and State; and it ought to be remember'd to the Honour of the University of Oxford, that great Discontents grew there, to use Dr. Fuller's Words, *for the multiplying Innovations in Divine Service; which I remark here, that the Reader may distinguish such Divines as Sibthorp and Manwaring from true Church of England Ministers, who in all times since our Church was reform'd have been the Support and Ornament of the Reformation.* It is to Laud only and his Creatures that must be imputed the spiritual and temporal Grievances of this Reign; and we never mean any other Clergy, when we speak of the Mischiefs and Miseries they were the Occasion of. Sibthorp and Manwaring undertook to prove out of Scripture, *that the King might impose publick Taxes without Consent of Parliament, and that the People were bound in Conscience to obey his Will and Pleasure.* This Doctrine was preach'd by Sibthorp in an Assize Sermon at Northampton. He

Clergy, the bad and the good.

Clergy preach up arbitrary Power.

Sibthorp's Sermon.

A.D. 1626. publish'd it under the Title of *Apostolick Obedience*, and dedicated it to the King, whose Royal Disposition to arbitrary despotick Power he must surely be well acquainted with, or he durst not have been so impudent as to have prefix'd his Majesty's Name to it. *Manwaring* preach'd two Sermons to the same purpose before the King and Court with great Applause. He also publish'd them under the Title of, *Religion and Allegiance*. Let us therefore see what the *Allegiance* and *Religion* of *Laudan* Clergy are made of. *The King is not bound to observe the Laws of the Realm concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties*. His Majesty being thus absolv'd for breaking the Coronation Oath, it is said farther, *His Royal Will in imposing Taxes without Consent of Parliament binds the Subjects Conscience on Pain of Damnation*. As impious as this Doctrine is, 'tis every whit as false. But there would be no Terror in his impotent Threat, and his Brethren might have preach'd to Eternity without bringing a Penny into the *Exchequer*, if the Writs to the Sheriff and the Sheriffs Myrmidons had not plunder'd the People by that pretended Authority. *Those who refuse to pay the Loan offend God*. Wretched Sycophant. Those who refuse to do things contrary to Law are guilty of Sin: They offend God, there's their *Religion*; and the King's supreme Authority, there's their *Allegiance*, and become guilty of *Impiety, Disloyalty, and Rebellion*. For this wonderful Preachment, and being punish'd for it, *Manwaring*, fenfeless and worthless as he was, got a good Bishoprick, tho' *Echard* himself confesses, *Manwaring's* and *Sibthorp's* Sermons occasion'd some hard Reflections upon the Clergy in general, when in so large a Body only two were found to run into such Extremes. There needs no Authority to prove this so barefac'd a Falsity, only two who preach'd up arbitrary Power. The thing speaks itself. General *Ludlow* tells us, *This was not the only Work of which the Clergy were judg'd capable, and therefore drivers of them enter'd the Lists as Champions of the Prerogative, asserting that the Possessions and Estates of the Subjects did of Right belong to the King, and that he might dispose of them at his Pleasure; thereby vacating and annulling as much as in them lay all the Laws of England that secure a Property to the People*. Not a Syllable of this in *Clarendon* or *Echard*. It was then as in our Days: Those evil Counsellors who betray'd the People's Liberties generally made use of the meanest, most ignorant, and most immoral of the Clergy to carry on their Design. They could not make Tools of the Pious, Learned, and Wise. *A. Wood* acknowledges *Sibthorp* was a Person of little Learning and few Parts; only made it his Endeavour by his Forwardness to gain Preferment. Such a one was *Sacheverel* in our Days; and such will all those Clergy be, who turn *Religion* and *Allegiance* into *Superstition* and *Slavery*. All their Preaching did not reconcile the People to the *Loan*. They may sometimes be preach'd out of their Opinions, but seldom or never out of their Money, when the Law is on their Side. The Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace in *Dorsetshire* said the *Case* was without Precedent. The same said the Citizens of *London*. But the Privy-Council told them *Precedents in former Time was Obedience, and not Direction*. All false, again and sophistical. There were no Precedents of Obedience contrary to Law without Objection, which these sage Counsellors, and *Laud* among the rest, call *Direction*. Some of the Persons who refus'd the *Loan* were press'd for Seamen, some for Soldiers, and the Country Gentlemen were thrown into Prison in Counties distant from their Seats, particularly *Sir Thomas Wentworth*, *Sir John Hottham*, *George Ratchiffe*, Esq; *Sir William Constable*, *Yorkshire*; *Sir John Wray*, *Sir William Armyne*, *Sir Thomas Grantham*, *Sir Edward Ayscough*, *Lincolnshire*; *Sir William Wilmer*, *Sir Eras-*

mus Dryden, *Richard Knightley*, Esq; *Northamptonshire*; *Sir Walter Earl*, *Sir John Strangways*, *John Tregonwell*, Esq; *Dorsetshire*; *Sir John Heveningham*, *Sir Samuel Barnardston*, *Suffolk*; *Sir Habbottle Grimston*, *Sir Francis Barrington*, *Essex*; *Sir Robert Poyntz*, *Henry Fowle*, Esq; *Gloucestershire*; *John Hampden*, Esq; *Sir Edward Hampden*, *Buckinghamshire*; *Sir Maurice Berkley*, *Somersetshire*; *Sir John Corbet*, *Shropshire*; *Sir William Chauncey*, *Richard Anderson*, Esq; *Hertfordshire*; *Peter Dalton*, Esq; *Cheeshire*. *Sir Beauchamp St. John*, *Bedfordshire*; *Sir John Elliot*, *William Coriton*, Esq; *Corwall*; *Sir Thomas Darnel*, *Mr. Norwood*, *Sir Peter Hayman*, *Kent*; and others, Knights of Shires, Citizens and Burgessees in Parliament. This is another of those popular Steps which distinguish *K. Charles's* Reign from all others. The Archdeacon tells us, *The Gentlemen were branded as Puritans, while the Papists, who were most liberal in the Loan, were caress'd by the Courtiers, which still added to the popular Disgusts*; yet he is afterwards amaz'd how *Disgusts* heap'd upon *Disgusts* should turn *Discontent* into *Indignation*, and *Indignation* into the worst Sort of *Action Civil War*.

Besides the *Loan* there was a *Benevolence* requir'd: Another Way of forcing People to give a free Gift. Commissions were issu'd for *Musters*, *martial Law* was executed, and the Inhabitants of the Sea Coasts were commanded to repair to, and dwell upon their Estates. Soldiers were billeted, and great Outrages committed by them. *Sir Randolph Crew*, a very worthy Magistrate, was remov'd from the High Office of Lord Chief Justice; and *Sir Nicholas Hyde*, whose greatest Merit was his drawing the Duke's Answer, had his Place given him. To crown all these ungrateful Measures, the Bishop of *Lincoln* was prosecuted in the *Star-Chamber* for speaking against the *Loan*. *Laud* was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Bath and Wells*, and soon after to the Deanery of the Royal Chapel, for his Services, says *Echard*; but has not one Piece of real Service to remember. It must be for these Services, or the sake of the good Company he was in, that the venerable Body of Doctors at *Cambridge* treated him with Splendor, he being then attending the Duke of *Buckingham*, whose Services too had made him too powerful for the Parliament. The judicious *Fuller* informs us, the Duke presented the *Beadles* with fine silver Staves having the King's Arms engrav'd upon them, not forgetting his own, for the greater Honour of the Esquire *Beadles* and the University.

With the Money rais'd by the *Loan* and *Benevolence*, a Squadron of Ships was sent to the *Elbe* to secure the Commerce of the *English* trading to *Hamburg*; but we do not hear how it came to be interrupted.

The main Fleet was fitted out at *Portsmouth*. The Fleet 'Twas said to be design'd against the *Algerines*, but against it was really intended against *France*, and for one of the most unaccountable Wars that ever a Prince enter'd into, considering that neither King *Charles*, nor the Duke cou'd have the least Concern for the Safety of *Rockelle*, a City they had lent the *French* King Ships to reduce a Year before; tho' now Satisfaction was demanded for employing them in that Service, and for the Capture of *English* Merchant Ships to the Value of 30000*l.* tho' the Duke of *Buckingham* was himself the Aggressor by seizing the *St. Peter* of *New Haven*, and taking 20000*l.* out of her in Jewels and other rich Commodities.

The Resentment on the *French* King's Part was for dismissing the Queen's *French* Servants, whose Insolence was become intolerable. The King told them himself *he would bear it no longer, and they must be gone*. Her Majesty's Priests had been so bold, as to enjoin her in Penance to walk barefoot to *Tyburn* to pay her Devotions, where so many *Papish* Priests had receiv'd *Martyrdom* and *Sainthood*, for plotting against the Religion and Laws of their

Ech. 630.

Manwaring's against the Laws.

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A.D. 1626.

A.D. 1627.

A.D. 1627. their Country. The Bishop of Mende, and Madam de St. George, who were the greatest Offenders, began to make Apologies, but the King turn'd short upon them, saying, *I name none, but I tell you my Resolution.* The Queen fell into a furious Passion, and flew into great Indecencies in Words and Actions, upbraiding him with want of Love, which he endeavour'd to disprove by the softest and most soothing Expressions; but failing in that, he had Recourse to his Authority, saying, *Be satisfied, it must be so.* About one hundred and twenty of these French Domesticks were sent back to France, after they had been paid their Wages and Pensions to the full. The Lord Carlton was dispatch'd to Paris, to notify this Action, and explain the Causes of it; but it was too great a Disgrace to a Daughter of France, to be put up without some Shew of Resentment. The French Court said the Marriage Articles were violated, and Orders were given to confiscate all English Ships in the Ports of France. This Broil was the chief Pretence of the War, and truly 'tis a kind of Riddle which wants Interpretation, that Buckingham shou'd begin a War at one end of France to see his Mistress at another, as was insinuated; or that so good a Friend to Popery, shou'd be concern'd for the Safety of Protestants. It was not only talk'd in England, that Buckingham's chief Design in the French War was to mortify Richlieu his more happy Rival, at least as he imagin'd, and see his Mistress the Queen of France: It was also the Talk in France, and even in the Court, where the Duchesse de Chevreuse did not stick to speak of his Fleet and Forces with Joy, and the Queen herself did the same among her Confidants. Madam de Motteville tells us, *nothing was more grateful to her and the Dutchesse de Chevreuse, who was in Love with the Earl of Holland. Her Majesty took Pleasure in hearing the Wisbes of the Dutchesse for the Prosperity of the English.*

Some Months before this the Queen of England began to be out of Conceit with her Husband, whose sullen Temper was not at all suitable to her Gaiety. Buckingham heighten'd her Disgust into an Aversion, by telling her frankly, *that if he pleas'd he cou'd set them together by the Ears;* and he did it to such a Degree as to make her grow melancholy, and long to return to France. In order to which she endeavour'd to gain Buckingham, knowing what a passionate Desire he had to renew his Visits to Queen Anne of Austria. He came into it with Eagerness, and did her so great Service, as to obtain Leave for her from the King her Husband, on Condition she procur'd Leave for Buckingham from the Court of France to accompany her. She wrote so to her Mother Mary de Medicis; but neither that Princess, nor the King her Brother, wou'd consent to it. Buckingham's Pretence was to compose the Difference between the two Crowns by Treaty; and being deny'd in that Proposition, he in Revenge put the King upon this War, which seems to be pretty near the Truth. Be it as it will, he got a Fleet and Army together, and came before Rochelle with 100 Sail of Ships about the middle of July; but the Rochellers, as much in Distress as they were, had not such a good Opinion of the Duke's Friendship towards them, as to put themselves immediately into his Hands, and told Sir William Beecher, the Duke's Messenger, they were bound by Oath not to do any Thing without the Consent of the rest of the Religion. Buckingham began his Expedition with a Memorial in his own Name, not his Master's; wherein he took Notice of the French King's refusing Passage to Count Mansveldt's Army before-mention'd; which Affront had been born with two or three Years, and the Ships to reduce Rochelle were lent since that; so absurd was the Cause as well as Course of this War.

Buckingham to land the Army in the Isle of Oleron, as an Enterprize more feasible than that of the Isle of Rbe, which was stronger and better provided. This was agreed upon, but Sobiez was no sooner gone to his Friends in Rochelle, than Buckingham alter'd his Resolution, and sail'd to the Isle of Rbe, where he landed 1200 Men about the first of August. The French encounter'd them, but were repuls'd, and the whole Army came safe ashore. Toiras Governor of the Island had five Battalions of Foot, and six Squadrons of Horse to oppose Buckingham's landing; but the Fire of his Cannon drove away the French, and the English landed with little or no Loss. Larrey thinks if the Duke had attack'd the Fort and Citadell immediately, while the French were in Consternation, he might have made himself Master of both; but instead of using that Diligence, he spent his Time in making Lines about his Camp, and gave the Enemy an Opportunity to finish their Works, and put them out of Danger. Some Days after he besieg'd the Citadell in Form, and finding a greater Resistance than he expected, he endeavour'd to reduce it by starving the Garrison; but Relief arriving from the Continent, 8000 Men commanded by Marechal Schomberg, the Duke after a brave tho' unfortunate Assault on the Citadell, rais'd the Siege, and in his Retreat was pursu'd by the French now superior to him in Numbers. The Garrison of Fort le Prie attack'd the English in their Rear, and routed them in a narrow Lane or Causey. The Horse fell in upon the Foot, who tumbled into the Salt-Pits and perish'd, or in the Ditches on both Sides. Coming to a Bridge, the Crowd was so great, that many of the English were drown'd in the River; however, they made a Stand at this Bridge, and the French perceiving they were resolv'd to sell their Lives dearly, left the Pursuit, and Buckingham reach'd his Ships with the Remains of his Army. There were slain in this wretched Expedition Sir William Heydon and the martial Sir John Burroughs, with many gallant Officers, and above 2500 Soldiers, tho' Buckingham did his utmost to lessen the Loss in the Reports that were made to both King and People. I have met with another Account of this Retreat in a contemporary History: "The Night before the Retreat, the Duke call'd a Council of War, and there shew'd them the Necessity of a Retreat, and that himself in martial Discipline being wholly unexpectant, left the managing of the next Day's Action to them, offering the Service of his Person to any Hazard whatever, as far as any private Soldier. The Council unanimously chose Sir William Courtney to manage the Retreat, a heavy, dull, covetous old Man, who having been twenty or thirty Years a private Captain in Holland, was by Sir John Burroughs's Means made Colonel in this Expedition; and Burroughs being dead, the Command for that Day was given to old Courtney; but he either through Want of Judgment or Forgetfulness, having not sufficiently provided for the Security of the English Rear, many of them were cut to Pieces; and had not Sir Pierce Crosby with 800 Irish, made good their Retreat, the whole Army had been lost." Courtney himself fell into a Salt Pan, and escap'd by his Man Anthony's crying out, *Oh, save my Captain;* but the poor Fellow lost his own Life in attempting it. A Doctor of Physick who was in this Expedition at Rbe, hearing several Officers tell his Majesty there were but three or four hundred kill'd, cou'd not forbear undeceiving him; assuring him there were two thousand slain, for which Truth he was forbidden the Court. We have not seen one good Step taken by this notable General, whose Heroism makes such a Figure in Echar'd's History. The English who had been accustom'd to see their Generals return with Triumph in all Enterprizes during the glorious Reign

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Buckingham's Passion for the French Queen.

Mott. Mem. 17.

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Isle of Rbe
Retreat.

MS.

Isle of Rbe

The Duke de Sobiez Brother to the Duke de Rohan, being aboard the English Fleet, advis'd

A.D. 1627. of Queen Elizabeth, conceiv'd the utmost Indignation against Buckingham and his Advisers, of whom *Laud* was the chief, as appears by the Cry at that Time, *There must some be sacrific'd, and Laud as soon as any.* That Prelate hearing of it, told the King, who answer'd, *I desire you not to trouble yourself with any Reports, till you see me forsake my Friends.* These Friends were *Villiers, Laud, Neile, Weston, Conway,* &c. who flatter'd him with absolute Power; and his Enemies were those generous Patriots who defended the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects in Parliament. The Archdeacon acknowledges that the King did not at all resent the Dishonour which was thrown on the English Name by his Friend *Buckingham.* Yet the Peoples Resentments were increas'd by it, all Tongues and Pens were sharpen'd against this inglorious Expedition; the Citizens murmur'd at a visible Decay of Trade; the Merchants were discourag'd from building of Ships; the Mariners came in Multitudes to Whitehall clamouring for their Pay; Land Soldiers were kept up and billeted, and martial Law continu'd to be executed. In sum, the Duke was universally detested, and upon his Account every Grievance and Misfortune were aggravated and represented in the most hideous Manner. Compare this Account of the Times with that in *Clarendon.* The Kingdom prosper'd exceedingly, and enjoy'd a longer Peace, a greater Plenty, and in fuller Security than had been in any former Age. During the whole Time that these Pressures were exercis'd, the Nation enjoy'd the greatest Calm, and the FULLEST Measure of FELICITY that any People in any Age had been bless'd with, to the Wonder and Envy of all Christendom. And in another Place he tells us what those Felicities were; "Upon every Dissolution of Parliament, such as had given any Offence were imprison'd or discharg'd. New Projects were every Day set on Foot for Money, which serv'd only to offend and incense the People. Many Persons of the best Quality and Condition under the Peerage, were committed to several Prisons with unheard of Circumstances, for refusing to pay Money requir'd by these extravagant Ways. Supplemental Acts of State were made to supply Defects of Law, and so Tonnage and Poundage, and other Duties on Merchandise, were collected by Order of the Board, which had been positively refus'd to be settled by Act of Parliament. New and greater Impositions were laid upon Trade, obsolete Laws were reviv'd and rigorously executed, the Counties were incens'd, the Endeavours to raise Money by pressing found Opposition, and the Authority was not submitted to, as being counted illegal. Many were executed by martial Law, which rais'd an Asperity in the Minds of more than the common People; and this Distemper was so universal, that all wise Men look'd upon it as a Prediction of the Destruction that wou'd follow; nor was there Serenity in the Countenance of any Man." I believe this is one of the Parts of *Clarendon's* History, which his Lordship wrote himself, notwithstanding how inconsistent the one Passage is with the other; for the Earl must have felt some Part of those Pressures in which he was some time passive before, he became active.

The English having so ingloriously left France, the French King order'd the Siege of *Rochelle* in Form, which Cardinal *Richlieu* undertook in Person, and with the Reduction of that City, began the Destruction of the Protestant Religion in France: The Pretence was that the *Rochellers* had invited the English to enter France and give them Assistance; whereas in truth, till *Buckingham* made the Rupture to satisfy his own private Resentment, King *Charles* was so far from assisting the *Rochellers*, that he lent the French King Ships to reduce them; and when the Duke came first before the City, the Jealousy which they had conceiv'd of

his Insincerity, hinder'd their joining heartily with him. *Larrey* says, He was accus'd of corresponding with the Enemy, and of Treason. Again; his Imprudence and Slowness were taken for Treason and Correspondence with the Enemy. He adds, Notwithstanding this ill Success, the King continu'd bewitch'd to his Favourite; he receiv'd him with great Marks of Affection, and care's'd him as much as if the Fleet had return'd victorious. Another Instance of the despicable Conduct of this Administration which ran counter to every thing that was laudable and popular. And considering where Envy and Spite were wont to inhabit in the Days of Monckery, one can't well impute these envious and spiteful Counsels to any one with more Reason and Probability than to *Laud.*

While *Buckingham* was making War in France, the Court was more successful in their War against the Liberties and Properties of the People. Sir *John Elliot*, one of the Gentlemen who were in Goal for not paying the Loan, petition'd the King, setting forth the Illegality of that Tax, or any Tax without Consent of Parliament, alledging his Conscience cou'd not submit to it, and praying his Liberty, but cou'd not obtain it. Sir *Peter Hayman* one of the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, another Gentleman who refus'd the Loan, was sent to serve in the *Palatinate.* Five of these Gentlemen were brought by *Habeas Corpus* to the King's-Bench, and by their Council took Exceptions to the Return; For that it had not the Cause of their Commitment, but of their Detainer in Prison, per speciale Mandatum Regis, which is a particular Cause; and the Law is most tender of the Liberty of the Subject. This was argued by *Noy* whom a Place had not yet corrupted, by the great *Selden, Brampton,* and *Calthorpe*, who pray'd that the Prisoners might be releas'd. *Heath* the King's Attorney, who had been corrupted by a Place, argued in Maintenance of the Return, and there was a Chief-Justice Sir *Nicholas Hyde* ready to do what he wou'd have him; so he declar'd as the Opinion of the Court, that the Return was positive and absolute by the King's Command, that the Matter of the Return is sufficient, &c. and that the Prisoners, Gentlemen of the best Fashion in England, ought to be remanded. This worthy Judge *Hyde* and his Brethren gave their righteous Opinion also for executing by martial Law; and the FELICITY of the Times must doubtless be inconceivably great, as we read in *Clarendon*, when the Law was in such Hands as *Hyde's.*

Now it was that Archbishop *Abbot* was sequester'd from his sacred Office and Jurisdiction; nor as *Echard* tells us, because he was grown infirm and unactive, and many thought him useles and unfit; which is as false as every Word that is said of this most reverend Father of our Church by the Author of *Clarendon's* History. It was, as *Welwood* assures us, because he refus'd to license *Sibthorpe's* scandalous Sermon, which the King himself sent to him by Mr. *Murray* to have his *Imprimatur*, and the Authority of the Archbishop for that insolent Priest's erroneous Doctrines, which establish the King's Will for Law. His Grace refusing to license it, *Murray* came to him again, telling him his Majesty insist'd upon it; but that not prevailing, he was told in a third Message, If he did not do it, the King wou'd take another Course with him. Upon this his Grace deliver'd his Objections in Writing, some of which I will repeat to shew with what Reason *Echard* call'd the Archbishop useles and unfit, than which one can hardly call himself any thing worse. His Grace represented, "That the Passage in *Sibthorpe* quoted out of *St. Matthew* to recommend the Tax, plainly shew'd the hard Condition of the Jews under the Yoke of the Roman Emperors, their Masters and Conquerors, but it was no Ways proper to establish the Right of such a Tax in the English

Enormous Grievances

A.D. 1627
P. 103.

P. 106.

Hyde an ill Judge.

Archbishop Abbot disfirm grac'd.

P. 44.

The Archbishop against Sibthorpe.

English

A.D. 1627. "English Nation; that the Tax laid upon the Jews was a Poll Tax; and that Richard II. by levying such a Tax, caus'd an Insurrection, which was attended with horrible Massacres; and that a good King, such as his Majesty was, ought to exact nothing from his Subjects but according to the Laws." The Archdeacon tells us this Arch'bishop was not fit to be a Bishop as many thought. But Dr. Fuller gives us a better Reason for his Unfitness; He was averse to comply with the Court Designs, which made him obnoxious to the King's Displeasure; but the Blame of the Prosecution did most light upon Bishop Laud, Men accounting he endeavour'd to supplant him whom he could not be contented to succeed. The State Pre- tence to suspend him was his accidental shooting the Park-Keeper at the Lord Zouch's, which is already spoken of. Larrey confirms Laud's busying himself in this bad Work; he ply'd the King to ruin the Arch'bishop, who charg'd Laud with that Act of Injustice, and representing to his Majesty that his Objections to Sibthorp's Sermon proceeded from a Spirit of Rebellion. This is the same Laud who in Clarendon is still'd a Man of immense Virtue; but as to Archbishop Abbot, he was ignorant, remiss, illiterate, and unmannerly. There are so many Fal- sities in that Author's Character of his Grace, that one does not know where to begin with detecting them. He affirms as positively as a Man can affirm any thing upon Oath, he was made Bishop of London before he had been Parson, Vicar, or Curate of any Parish Church in England, or Dean or Pre- bendary of any Cathedral Church. I beg the Rea- der to mind this bold Assertion, and the Truth and Moderation of it, when he comes to other Cha- racters in that impartial History. A. Wood an Hi- storian in the same Interest, asserts on the contra- ry, In the latter End of 1599, he was made Dean of Winchester, and in February 1609 translated from Coventry and Litchfield to London. In Cla- rendon it is said, He was totally ignorant of the Con- stitution of the Church. In A. Wood we read the Title of one of his Books, which is directly the Reverse of such Ignorance, A Treatise of perpetual Visibilty and Succession of the Church, &c. In Cla- rendon he is accus'd of Rashness; in A. Wood he is commended for Vigilancy. In Clarendon we are told he had Learning sufficient for a Head of a College, which is said by way of Contempt; in Wood, He was a Man of Learning, and an able Statesman. Welwood tells us, Dr. Abbot was a Man of considerable Learning and genteel Education; the later of which is as unusual in a Headship, as Piety in a rigid Priesthood. The whole Cha- racter of Dr. Abbot in Clarendon is of a Piece with this Invective and Invention. Laud's is as much invented, but then it is all Eulogy, and consequently ridiculous. I shou'd be ashamed of asserting with- out proving; and the Proofs of what I say here, will be but too frequent in the Course of our Hi- story: Five Bishops were deputed to take the Archbishop's holy Office from him, and exercise it themselves, whose Names ought to be remem- ber'd to their Dishonour, as the good Archbishop's will ever be with Honour. Dr. George Mountaine Bishop of London, Dr. Richard Neile Bishop of Dur- ham, Dr. Walter Curl Bishop of Rochester, Dr. John Howson Bishop of Oxford, Dr. William Laud Bishop of Bath and Wells. Larrey observes Dr. Abbot was not accus'd of any Crime which made him unwor- thy of the Ministry, and complain'd of the Injustice done him, making it appear that he was only guilty of displeasing Buckingham and Laud, Favourers of the Papists, excepting that, he desy'd his greatest Enemies to lay any other Thing to his Charge. The Arch- bishop could not help putting Buckingham in mind of his being instrumental in his Preferment at Court; but as Laud was guilty of the foulest Ingratitude to Archbishop Williams, so was this greater Favourite Buckingham alike guilty towards his Benefactor the

Laud's Design to supplant him.

P. 94.

ib. Laud a Backbiter. P. 88.

Clar. false.

P. 584.

ib.

Bishops against the good Arch- bishop. P. 95.

See Amb. Philips.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he had never since ceased to persecute. As the ungrateful Man is the most infamous of all Creatures, let his Title and Fortune be what it will, so where- ever that Vice is found, one may be sure there is no true Virtue in its Company.

A.D. 1627. P. 96.

The Papists in Ireland offer'd to pay 5000 Men constantly, if they might have a Toleration for their Religion. Some advis'd the King to accept their Offer on those wicked Terms, pleading he might lawfully take what they were forward to give; but that Notion dropt at the Interposition of the Bishops in Ireland, especially that pious Pre- late Bishop Downham, who preach'd effectually a- gainst it, from this Text, That we being deliver'd from the Hands of our Enemies, might serve him without Fear.

Dr. Fuller; 128.

The Peoples Jealousies were not like to be less'd by the Discovery of a Design to bring over 1000 German Horse, for which 30000 Pounds was paid to Philip Burenberch a Dutch Merchant. These German Troops were to be sent to England under the Command of Sir William Balfour and Colonel Dalbier. Echard calls these Levies a ne- cessary Preparation for the King's foreign Engage- ments. With whom? If with any foreign Power for the Palatine Service, the Germans were near the Place of Action, and every Step towards Eng- land was out of their way. If for a War against Spain or France, With whom had the King engag'd for a Body of Horse? The People had indeed some foolish Fears that this foreign Cavalry might be made part of a standing Army.

German Horse hir'd.

About the same Time a Commission was granted to twenty-three Lords and others to raise Money by Excise. Laud was one of these Commission- ers. The Archdeacon owns this was a disobligh- ing Measure, a notorious Violation of the Law, and Invasion of the Peoples Properties, was a dis- obliging Thing; it is the very Pink of Civility. The Ministers being puzzled by the Difficulties they had brought their Master and themselves into, Re- course is had to a wiser Counsellor Sir Robert Cot- ton, whose great Learning and Abilities render'd him worthy the Trust that was put in him. He made a very judicious Speech to the King and Council, advising his Majesty to call a Parliament, to begin with Religion, and satisfy them about the Observation of the Laws against Papists, and about raising Money without their Consent; for whatever specious Reasons are given for it, the People cannot bear it, looking on every Tax that is not authoriz'd by Parliament as Tyranny, breaking in upon their very Laws, and imposing of Servitude. "Take away these Causes, said Sir Robert Cotton, discontinue the raising Taxes, release the Prisoners, demand of your Parliament the Subsidies you have Oc- casion for; you are certain to obtain them by this Method, and to be Master of your Subjects Purfes, if you are Master of their Hearts, and shew them the Sincerity and Tenderness of your own." He clos'd all with the Means of recon- ciling the Duke to the People, and that was to give him the Credit of this good Counsel, and have it thought that he advis'd the calling a Parli- ament. The Nation, continu'd Sir Robert, look on with Horror, because the Dissolution of the two Par- liaments are imputed to him; their Sentiments will be different when they behold him as the Author of the third. Sir Robert Cotton's Advice was follow'd, the Prisoners who had exclaim'd against the ille- gal Taxes were releas'd, and it was resolv'd to call a Parliament.

Excise Money.

Bp Laud a Commission- er of Excise.

Sir Robert Cotton's Speech.

The Eng- lish in Sla-

About the same Time a Society of Priests and Jesuits was discover'd at Clerkenwell, and among their Papers was found a Copy of a Letter writ- ten to their Rector at Brussels on the Subject of the approaching Parliament, wherein 'twas said, We have planted the sovereign Drug Arminianism, and it thriv'd wonderfully under the Culture of Neile and

Arminians

A.D. 1627.

Bishops
such.King for
arbitrary
Govern-
ment.

A.D. 1628.

Parliament

The King's
usual Style

and Land, as the Jesuits say in their Letter. The Bishops of Winchester, Bath and Wells, Chichester, and Norwich, Neile, Laud, Mountague, and White, are at the Head of the Arminians, and my Lord Buckingham supports them with all his Credit; the King intends to establish arbitrary Government, and becomes daily more and more an Enemy to the Puritans. If the Administration during the whole Course of this Reign did not confirm what the Priests wrote, their Letter would not have been worth taking notice of: Echard has sunk it, and so he serves every thing that makes against these Arminian Prelates.

Writs being issu'd for summoning a Parliament, it boded no Good to Buckingham, that the Gentlemen who prosecuted him, and almost all those who had been imprison'd about the illegal Taxes, were elected Members. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Lincoln, had Writs of Summons; so had the Earl of Bristol; and smoother Methods were put in Practice to prepare for the ensuing Session on the 17th of March. The Bishop of Lincoln receiv'd a Letter from the Lord-Keeper Coventry, a Month before the Parliament met, to dissuade him from appearing, but the Bishop resolv'd to stand on his Privilege, and wrote thus to the Lord-Keeper; *I must crave some Time to resolve by the best Counsels which God shall give me, whether I shall obey your Lordship's Letter, tho' mentioning his Majesty's Pleasure before my own Right, which by the Law of God and Man I may in all Humility maintain; which he did accordingly, and his Writ was not deny'd.*

The Court took another disobliging Measure at the very beginning of the Parliament, by picking out Laud to preach the Sermon at the opening of the Session, when his Majesty made a Speech to the Two Houses, admonishing them to expedite their Business; and acquainting them with the common Danger, he then demanded Supplies, but told them if they did not do their Duty, he must use such other Means as he may to prevent Ruin. He bad them not to take this as a Threatning; and then gives them a discreet and decent Reason for it, *I scorn to threaten any but my Equals.* The Language of this Reign has an Air quite different from that of all other Reigns, and the Sentiments are the same, imperious and positive. The Parliament are treated as the French say *de haut en bas*, very contemptuously. There does not seem to be the least Occasion for this Menace, unless the King had resolv'd to do nothing for them, which should dispose them to do something for him. Coke takes Notice of this haughty way of speaking before so augst an Assembly: His Majesty is not equal to any one Member of Parliament, and superior to the whole Body; but Decency would not admit the Prince to say so much to his People. *What a Monster does the King make of a Parliament; they are Mr. Coke's Words, the Head so incomprehensibly big, and the Body so scornful and little; but if it becomes any Man to glory in his own Actions, it worse becomes him to glory in that which he himself had not done; so that admit the King had been so superlatively great, as to scorn all the World besides, yet it would have better become any other to have said it than himself.* A Member of the House of Commons express'd his Sense of this Sally thus, *Is this the Idea the King has of these Assemblies so much esteem'd by our Fathers and his Predecessors British, Saxon, and Norman? Those Princes us'd to call them the Assembly of Sages, the supreme and general Council of the Kingdom, &c. Things were chang'd under the late King, who by putting Sights upon Parliaments, occasion'd Discontent in them. We with Sorrow see the Son tread in his Father's Steps; whether it proceeds from his being educated in that unhappy Aversion, or that it is inspir'd by his pernicious Favourite.* However, his Majesty told the Two Houses, he would gladly forget and forgive

what was past, and hop'd they would not follow A.D. 1628. former Courses of Distraction. The Lord-Keeper Coventry, whose Speeches were no more popular than the King's, spoke of the general Affairs of Christendom, the Enemies and Dangers to this Kingdom: He perswaded the Parliament to be speedy and liberal in their Supplies, and assur'd them his Majesty had forgott'n all former Distastes; which was very evident by his holding the Duke of Buckingham still in his Bosom. The Commons made Choice of Sir John Finch for their Speaker, which shew'd that the House was then in no ill Disposition towards the Court, if the Court had shewn the least Readiness to give them Satisfaction about Grievances.

After the Speaker was chosen, a Writing was dropp'd on the Table by one of the Members, containing the Particulars of those Grievances, and an earnest Exhortation to the Commons to remember there could be no Safety but in the lawful Power of the Prince and the Freedom of Parliament. *How long, said the Writer, are we to be treated like Children, and diverted in our Pursuit! We are bugbear'd with Enemies abroad, to prevent our seeing those that are at home. If the first are so much to be fear'd, why were they made so? The late King left us in Peace with all the World, what Necessity was there that his Successor should declare War against Spain and France? Did he consult his Parliament, and must we pay for the Follies of a Favourite who has engag'd him therein without Reason? We are apprehensive of greater Evils from the Ambition of this Man, than from that of the House of Austria; and the Arminian Bishops Neile, Laud, and Mountague, whose Protector he is, are no less formidable than the Jesuits." Now read Clarendon, and you will know what Judgment to make of his Sincerity and Impartiality. The Church flourish'd with learned and extraordinary Men; we have just named them; and which in other good Times it in some Degree wanted, was supply'd withal to feed those Lamps. There the Christchurch Men shine out most apparently. The Protestant Religion was more advanc'd by Dr. Laud than it had been from the Reformation; Trade increas'd to that Degree, that we were the Exchange of Christendom; the Royal Navy very formidable at Sea, &c. There is a great deal more of it, and all so diametrically contrary to the Truth, that my Patience cannot hold out to the End.*

One of the first Petitions of this Parliament was to leave the Care of the Royal Navy before-mention'd to his Majesty's faithful Subjects the Commons, who would give such Orders that nothing should be wanting, neither as to the Number of Ships, Men, or Provisions. It was complain'd, that by the Duke of Buckingham's pernicious Counsels the King laid Taxes on the People, and kept foreign Troops in the Kingdom; and as if England had no Soldiers of her own, some were brought from Scotland, others sent for from Germany. The Behaviour of the Deputy Lieutenants in the several Counties got them the Name of Janisaries; and as bad as the Judges were, they were forc'd to give a Check to the arbitrary Proceedings of the Attorney-Generall. These and other Matters being debated in the House of Commons, they came to the following Resolutions, Sir Edward Littleton in the Chair;

That no Freeman ought to be imprison'd without Cause shew'd either by the King or Council.

That in such Case a Habeas Corpus ought to be granted.

That if no Cause of Commitment be return'd, the Party is to be bail'd.

That no Tax ought to be impos'd without Consent of Parliament.

That no Freeman ought to be confin'd by the King's Privy-Council, or others, but by Act of Parliament, or due Course of Law.

Paper
dropp'd on
the Table
in the
House of
Commons.

Laud pro-
tested by
Bucking-
ham.

P. 76;

Larrey;
119.

Whitl. 4

Parlia-
ment.

Illegal and
arbitrary
Govern-
ment.
The

AD. 1628. The Administration was by these Votes declar'd illegal, and the Government arbitrary, tending to the Destruction of the Constitution of England. The Commons did not incline to grant Supplies till they were satisfy'd in these things. Many warm Speeches were made by Sir Thomas Wentworth not yet corrupted, Sir Robert Phillips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Edward Coke, Mr. Creswel, Mr. Selden, Mr. Hakewell, and others. Sir Benjamin Rudyard indeed was of Opinion to trust to the King as to the Grievances, and go upon the Supply; but both King James and King Charles had been so often trusted, and with such ill Effect, that the major Vote of the House did not fall in with Sir Benjamin's. Sir John Cook, Secretary of State, seconded that Knight, and with the same Success.

Notwithstanding what the Author of the History of the Rebellion told us of the Advancement of the Protestant Religion, the Lords and Commons of England were truly sensible of the contrary, and join'd in a Petition against Popery and Papists: "That the Laws against Romish Priests might be executed: That Children may not be transported beyond Sea to be bred Papists: That Recusants may be confin'd according to Law: That they may not be permitted to resort to Ambassadors Houses to Mass: That they may not be in Offices: That the Judges give Account of the Proceedings against them: That their Children may be brought up in the Reform'd Religion". The Answer to this was favourable enough, as other Answers to such kind of Petitions usually were; but the Papists knew better than to be much disturb'd by them. The Commons were remind'd of the Supply; and they remind'd the Court of the things in which they were aggriev'd. Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir John Elliot, and Sir Henry Martin reflect'd on the late Management of the War, and seem'd averse to any new foreign Expeditions, from which no body expected any good, while they were conducted by Villiers. Sir John Cook deliver'd a Message from the King to clear Buckingham from some Words suppos'd to be spoken by him in Council. He declar'd the Duke was the first who mov'd the King to this Parliament; and his Majesty had said he count'd it his Glory to be King of Freeman. This Message was well receiv'd by the Parliament; and so was another brought the next Day by the same Messenger, Sir John Cook, That his Majesty wou'd preserve all their Rights and Liberties, upon which the House debated the Supply, and unanimously gave the King five Subsidies to the great Joy of the Court; it being, as his Majesty owns, the greatest Gift that ever was given in Parliament. Secretary Cook report'd to the House the King and the Duke's great Satisfaction in the Subsidies with which they were pleas'd; but Sir John Elliot with good Reason express'd his Dislike, that the Duke's Name shou'd be intermingled with the King's, contrary to the Custom of our Fathers, and the Honour of our Time. If they had bought off this Elliot instead of Wentworth, it might have been better both for the Duke and the Publick.

At this Juncture it wou'd have been very easy to have establish'd a good Understanding between the King and his People. Had Buckingham retir'd to a private Enjoyment of his immense Riches; had the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury been restor'd to the Exercise of his sacred Function, of which he had been unjustly depriv'd; had Montague been punish'd, Laud decour'd; had the Papists been deliver'd over to the Law, as Echard says the pious King promis'd; had Neile, Wren, and other such Prelates, fall'n under the Weight of Parliamentary Displeasure, and the general Hatred of the People; had the Petition of Right, which was then on foot in the House of Commons, and soon after confirm'd by the King, been duly observ'd; all which was most just, reasonable and

easy; there is no room to doubt but this Prince might have reign'd as happily and gloriously, as ever did any one of his Predecessors; he being as obstinate in his good Measures as in his bad, and influenc'd in both rather by the Will of his Ministers than his own. Instead of such prudent and safe Methods of Government, it was his Majesty's Unhappines to hear no Counsel but what came from Villiers, Laud, and such like Counsellors; for whom there was no Safety, but in the absolute Power of the Prince; which they therefore endeavour'd to raise as high as he wou'd have it, and succeeded too well in their Endeavours.

After this a Conference was appointed between the two Houses about the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, which was open'd by Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Edward Littleton, afterwards Lord-Keeper, spoke at large concerning personal Liberty. Mr. Selden shew'd, that the late Imprisonments of the Gentlemen for refusing the Loan were without Precedent. Sir Edward Coke maintain'd the Argument as to the rational Part of the Law. The Managers prov'd, that the above-cited Resolutions of the Commons were Part of Magna Charta, six Acts of Parliament, twelve Precedents in Terms, and thirty one more. Secretary Cook quicken'd the Supplies, and told the House the King desir'd them not to make any Recess in the Easter Holidays, that the Business might be dispatch'd; but this was thought to break in upon the Commons Right of Adjournment. Secretary Cook moving to have the Vote of Subsidies turn'd immediately into an Act, was seconded by Sir Dudley Diggs: But Sir Thomas Wentworth, still untainted in his Principles, propos'd a middle Way, which was resolv'd upon, That Grievances and Supply go hand in hand. Sir John Cook had been over-pressing with relation to the Subsidies, considering he knew the Inclination of the House; but he gave great Offence in his next Message about them, saying, I must with some Grief tell you, that Notice is taken of this House, as if they press'd not upon the Abuses of Power only, but upon Power itself. This touches the King, and us who are supported by that Power. He was bid to explain himself; but he answer'd, I cannot descend to Particulars, or go farther than his Majesty gave me Warrant to deliver. Two Days after he press'd the Supply again; and the Commons drew up a Representation to justify their Proceedings, as to the Subsidies and Grievances, which was deliver'd by their Speaker with a Petition against billeting of Soldiers. The King answer'd, They shou'd go on speedily with their Business without more Apologies, and he wou'd give them a more ample Answer to this Petition in convenient time.

The Commons continuing their Debates about Grievances, and how the Subject shou'd be secur'd against them in time to come, Sir Edward Coke mov'd the House to sue the King by Petition, that his Majesty wou'd give the People Assurance of their Rights by Assent in Parliament, as he uses to pass other Acts, which produc'd the famous Petition of Right, containing several Articles of Complaints of great Hardships, Infringements of, and References to Magna Charta, and several former Acts of Parliament; in the Close of which was the petitioning Part to continue for ever as a Law, That no Man shou'd pay any Tax, or such like Charge, without Act of Parliament, or be confin'd or molest'd concerning the same; That no Freeman be imprison'd or detain'd, but in such manner as the Law directs; That all martial Law be revok'd. The King's Serjeant Ashley argu'd against this Petition before the House of Lords, saying, It tended to Anarchy, for the King must be allow'd to govern by Acts of State. The Peers resent'd his Boldness, committed him, and he made a Recantation. Another of his Majesty's Serjeants, Sir David, spoke much more like a wife Man and an English-

A.D. 1628. The King's ill Counsellors ruin all.

Illegalities and Irregularities instanc'd by chief Members of Parliament.

Sir Thomas Wentworth opposes the King.

The Secretary's offensive Speech.

The Petition of Right.

Sir Thomas Wentworth against the King's Proceedings.

Papists favour'd.

A Supply.

A happy Juncture lost.

A.D. 1628.

man; and notwithstanding the Obligations of his Post, defended the Subjects as well as the Sovereign's Rights, asserting the *English* Monarchy to be truly Regal, but not Tyrannical; and that the Government was over free Men, and not Slaves; which probably occasion'd the same Expression in the Message from the King.

While the *Petition* was preparing, the King came to the House of Lords; and sending for the Commons, the Lord-Keeper made a Speech to them, urging the Dispatch of the Supply, and informing them he was commanded to let them know, *his Majesty did hold Magna Charta, and the other six Statutes they insisted upon to be in Force; and that he will maintain all his Subjects in the just Freedom of their Persons and Estates; that he will govern according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and they shou'd find as much Security in his Royal Word, as in any Law they cou'd make.* One can form no favourable Judgment of the Abilities of the King's Counsellors from their Speeches and Actions. How gross is this eternal begging of Money without redressing one Grievance, when they knew the Commons wou'd give none till that was done? If his Majesty did really intend to keep his royal Promise, what Harm was there in a Law to oblige him and his Successors to do it. An honest Man takes it not ill that he is bound to do what he intends; and a wise Man will never expose his Honour to be question'd. Larrey observes, the King on his side gave fine Hopes; but they were said to be superficial and indefinite, and promis'd all, but perform'd nothing. It was therefore necessary to have a more precise Explanation, such as the *Petition of Right*. Secretary Cook, who represented the University of Cambridge, made a Speech for relying on his Majesty's Royal Promise: But Sir Benjamin Rudyard mov'd, that the Effect of the King's Promise might be put into a Bill, which was carry'd; tho' the King sent another Message to them to take his Word, and he was again refus'd. 'Tis unaccountable that Laud and the other Counsellors shou'd thus expose their kind Master's Honour. The Prerogative was not prejudic'd by this new Law; his Majesty had promis'd by the Keeper to observe the Substance of it. And why shou'd these Men again and again make him desire to have his Word taken, when it was evident the Parliament would not take it? The generous Sir Robert Philips said freely, *We are now come to the End of our Journey, and an Answer to this Message will give Happiness or Misery to the Kingdom.* Sir Thomas Wentworth, even yet uncorrupted, declar'd, *Since there had been a publick Violation of the Laws by the King's Ministers, nothing cou'd satisfy but a publick Amend; and as himself was the Precept, so was he also the Example.* The Court was very uneasy at this new Law, which had nothing in it to make a Prince uneasy who resolv'd to make the Law the Measure of his Government. They wou'd fain have put a Stop to it if they cou'd, but the Subsidy Bill lay in the way. The Commons wou'd have the *Petition* pass'd first, and the King sent to them to dispatch the other: for they must sit no longer than ten Days. His Majesty cou'd not help it. He must always speak *en maitre*, and shew the Parliament their Subjection and Inferiority; which tho' very just, is disagreeable and indecorous. The hurrying of the Subsidies was easily seen through. The Commons address'd that they might proceed with their *Petition of Right*. Coke tells us, Sir Robert Heath, Attorney-General, pleaded eagerly, yet impertinently against the Bill, which met with some small Opposition in the House of Lords, where the Duke of Buckingham, Laud, Neile, and such like Prelates did what they cou'd to crush it: But the Representation of Grievances was so lively in the Speeches of the best Members of that illustrious Assembly, that the Court Lords and Pre-

lates cou'd not hinder their Fellow Subjects of this Happiness, as earnestly as they endeavour'd it. Archbishop Abbot urg'd his own Case, how he was shut out of his Houses at Lambeth and Croydon by Laud and other Bishops; how he had been confin'd at Ford, a moorish Place, on purpose to kill him, as Coke says; and debarr'd from the Management of his Jurisdiction, which Laud assum'd in Defiance of Law or Conscience. Bishop Williams spoke learnedly and elegantly for the *Petition*, yet he made an Amendment to it, which pass'd the Lords, but the Commons threw it out: *That as they desir'd to preserve their own Liberties, so they had Regard to leave entire that Power wherewith his Majesty was intrusted for the Protection of his People; which was thought needless, and to lessen the Energy of the Petition, insomuch that his Lordship cou'd not escape the Censure of being sprinkled with Court Holy-Water.* However, Coke tells us, neither the King nor Laud ever after forgot what he said in Favour of the *Petition*. This is that pious Laud on whom the Earl of Clarendon and Archdeacon Echard are so lavish of their Declamation and Rhetorick. The Lords having heard the King's Counsel against the *Petition*, how monstrous was it to hear *English* Men plead against the Liberties and Properties of the People of England? Heard also the Commons in Defence of it. The Courtiers puzzled the Cause as much as they cou'd, and were not asham'd to declare themselves against their own and the Commons Rights, till they enter'd into a Committee of the whole House; and the Lord Say mov'd, that those Peers who stood for the Liberty of the Nation, and might make their Protestation, should be recorded; and the other opposite Party shou'd, with the Subscription of their Names, enter their Reasons; which shou'd also be recorded, that so Posterity might not seek who they were that so ignobly betray'd the Freedom of their Country; as the Lord Keeper Coventry, Lord Treasurer Weston, Villiers Duke of Buckingham, Howard Earl of Arundel, Hay Earl of Carlisle, Rich Earl of Holland, Howard Earl of Suffolk, Cecil Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Newport, Marquis of Hamilton, Earl of Denbigh, Lord Conway, Lord Carlton, Villiers Earl of Anglesey, Earl of Carnarvon, Earl of Dover, Cecil Earl of Exeter, Laud Bishop of Bath and Wells, Neile Bishop of Winchester, White Bishop of Norwich, Buckeridge Bishop of Ely, Goodman Bishop of Gloucester, Montain Bishop of London, Howson Bishop of Oxford, Dove Bishop of Peterburgh, Harjnet Archbishop of York, Mountague Bishop of Chichester, Edward Cecil Viscount Wimbledon, William Lord Petre, Earl of Lindsey, Earl of Newcastle, Compton Earl of Northampton, Mordaunt Earl of Peterburgh, Savage Earl Rivers, Somerset Earl of Worcester, with others, who for the Merit of their noble Posterity shall not now be remember'd. The House of Peers were surpriz'd at the Lord Say's Speech. The Betrayers dreaded the Mark that in such Case wou'd be put upon them. For Larrey assures us, that Lord desir'd they might be distinguish'd from the other Lords by sitting by themselves on the other Side of the House. So the *Petition* pass'd the Peers with a Salvo to the Right of the Sovereign. The Commons in a Debate on this Amendment justify'd their legal Rights with Reasons worthy a Roman Senate. Mr. Noy said, to add a Saving is not safe. Doubtful Words may beget ill Construction. Besides, the Words are not only doubtful, but unknown to us, and never us'd in any Act or *Petition* before. Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had not yet sold his Birthright, spoke thus: *If we admit of this Addition, we leave the Subject worse than we found him, and we shall have little Thanks for our Labour when we come home. Let us leave all Power to his Majesty to punish Malefactors, but these Laws are not acquainted with sovereign Power. We may not recede from our Petition neither in part nor in*

Sir Tho. Wentworth complains of the Ministry.

A.D. 1628. Laud against the Archbishop

Bishop Williams gives Offence to the Court.

Noy against the Court.

Wentworth still against the whole Court.

A.D. 1628. whole. We cannot read these two remarkable Instances of the true Spirit of *Englishmen* without weeping over the Frailty and Corruption of human Nature. These two Gentlemen, now so good Patriots, will in a Year or two become the Instruments not only of sovereign but arbitrary Power. *Wentworth* especially apostatis'd in the most shameful manner, to arbitrary adding military Power; and when his tragical End was the Effect of his Apostasy, *Echard* assures us, *never so white a Soul* flew into the Bosom of *Abraham*. *Sir Edward Coke* to several unanswerable Reasons added, *Take we heed what we yield unto.* *Magna Charta* is such a Fellow, that he will have no Sovereign. I wonder this sovereign Right was not in *Magna Charta*, or in the Confirmations of it. If we grant this, by Implication we give a sovereign Power above all these Laws. Power in Law is taken for a Power with Force. Let us hold our Privileges according to the Law. That Power which is above this, is not fit for the King or People to have it disputed. Further; *Mr. Selden* said, *If the Salvo has no Reference to our Petition, what does it here? I am sure others will say it hath Reference, and so must we.* How far does it exceed all Examples of former Times, no Man can shew the like. The greatest Antiquary in the World, the great Dictator of Learning in England, as *Foreigners* still'd him, the great *Selden* declares in the House of Commons, That never was the like Attempt as this in the Reign of *King Charles* the First to establish a Tyranny on the Ruins of Liberty. For what else can we call the setting up the sovereign Power above the Law? The Lords had afterwards a Conference with the Commons on the Subject of the Amendment. The Lord Keeper *Coventry* who spoke for it was answer'd by *Mr. Mason*. At another Conference, *Serjeant Glanville* argu'd the legal, and *Sir Henry Martin* the rational Part of the Petition; which they perform'd so well, that their Lordships were satisfy'd, and agreed to throw out the *Salvo*, and pass the Petition of Right as the Commons had drawn it, after it had been in Debate ten Weeks. The King came to the House of Peers the second of *June*, and made this short Speech to both Houses. *I am come hither to perform my Duty: I think no Man can think it long, since I have not taken so many Days in answering the Petition, as you have spent Weeks in framing it; and I am come hither to shew you, that as well in formal things as essential, I desire to give you as much Content as in me lies.* Then the Bill was read, and the King deliver'd his Answer to the petitioning Clause of it before repeated in writing. *The King willeth that Right be done according to the Law and Customs of the Realm, and that the Statutes be put in due Execution, that his Subjects may have no Cause to complain of any Wrong or Oppression contrary to their just Rights and Liberties; to the Preservation whereof he held himself in Conscience as well obliged, as of his Prerogative.* The Archdeacon *Echard* has in many Places shewn himself to be a sage Historian; yet his Sagacity no where appears more than in the following Reflection: *IF this had been taken as a free and full Answer, it might have caus'd a happy Union of King and Parliament.* *IF the Parliament* wou'd have taken it for what it was not: *IF they wou'd have taken it for an Answer, whereas it was only a Message deliver'd in his Presence, and was, as he owns himself, scant and dubious, then all wou'd have gone well.* But the Commons insist'd upon it, that their Petition shou'd have the same enacting Answer pronounc'd in the same manner as Acts of Parliament were pass'd. The Lords were of the same Opinion, and join'd in an Address to his Majesty to pass it accordingly.

Sir John Elliot reminded the House of the Grievances which remain'd unredress'd, and *Mr. Rous* complain'd of a scandalous, wicked, seditious

Sermon preach'd by one *Dr. Roger Manwaring*; upon which a Committee was appointed to examine it, and *Mr. Pym* the Chairman reported it thus to the House: *His Charge having digested many Charges into it, is become a Monster of Charges. The main and great one is this: A Plot and Policy to alter and subvert the Frame and Fabrick of this State and Commonwealth. For this End he labours to infuse into the Conscience of his Majesty the Persuasion of a Power not bounding itself with Laws, which King James calls in one of his Speeches Tyranny with Perjury. He endeavours to persuade the Consciences of his Subjects, that they are bound to obey illegal Commands under Pain of Damnation. He robs the Subjects of the Property of their Goods, and brands them that will not lose this Property with scandalous and odious Titles, to make them hateful both to Prince and People. We see here by whom the fatal Division between Prince and People was begun. Such was the Doctrine that procur'd Preferment, and such the Clergy whom *Laud* mark'd in his Register for Orthodox. The Commons Impeachment against *Manwaring* being carry'd to the Lords, that seditious Priest had this moderate Censure, To be imprison'd during the Pleasure of the House; to be fin'd a thousand Pounds; to make his Submission at the Bar of the House of Peers, and the Bar of the House of Commons; to be suspended three Years; to be disabled from preaching at Court; to be disabled of having any Ecclesiastical Dignity, and his Book to be burnt.* To shew how well the Court was dispos'd to that happy *Union Echard* speaks of, they immediately made him Dean of *Worcester*, and soon after Bishop of *St. David's*. But before *Laud* cou'd get him a Place on the Bench of Bishops, he made his Submission at the Bar of the House with Tears in his Eyes, acknowledging that the Sermon for which he was made a Member of that most honourable Assembly, was rash, scandalous, and unadvis'd, full of dangerous Passages, Inferences, and scandalous Aspersions. He own'd that the Sentence pass'd upon him for his great Offence was just. He begg'd Pardon of God, the King, and the Parliament, &c. A fit Man this, to be pick'd out for one of the first Dignities of the Church. Here were wise Counsellors and wise Prelates to make the King run himself further into the Disaffection of the People for the sake of a worthless, insolent Chaplain.

The Answer to the Petition of Right remain'd still as it was given; and his Majesty sent a Message that he would not alter it. The more rash and unadvis'd, because he did alter it: for the Subsidy Bill having been read but twice, and the House resolving not to take that Answer, the King sent another Message to them, *Not to entertain any long Business, for that he wou'd conclude the Session in a few Days.* He also admonish'd them not to lay Aspersions on the Government, *semper idem.* There is really something pleasant in these Messages hardly consistent with the Gravity of History. It was allow'd there had been Male-Administration; but it must not be mention'd, because it wou'd asperse. To speak the Truth of any one who has done ill, is necessary towards having it righted; but if you so speak, you asperse. To scandalize, to accuse falsely, is Aspersions. It is not pretended, that what was said in Parliament of the bad Management at this time was not true; yet the Court will not have it talk'd of, because they must then be aspers'd. *Sir John Finch*, for such an Action as his ought never to be mention'd without his Name, rose from the Speaker's Chair, and apprehending that *Elliot* was about aiming at the Duke, he enjoind him Silence, telling him there was a Command laid upon him not to proceed. How regular, how politick, how prudent, how discreet these Gentlemen are: The Speaker stops *Sir John Elliot's* Mouth with a Command from some body, who had no Business in that House.

Sir Edw. Coke.

Mr. Selden.

A.D. 1628. Dr. Manwaring.

Who began the Division between King and People. Laud's Orthodox Clergy.

Manwaring sent to make his Submission at the Bar of the House of Jur'd.

Impolitick Management of the Ministry.

Pleasant things.

Finch's Insolence.

A.D. 1628. Sir Dudley Diggs cry'd out in great Concern, *Must we not proceed; let us sit in Silence: We are miserable, and know not what to do.* The Lord Clarendon says, they were *so happy as to be the Envy and Wonder of Christendom.* There was for a while a profound Silence in the House; at last Sir Nathaniel Rich said, *We must now speak, or for ever hold our peace.* Some Members objected, that probably Sir John Elliot had given the King Offence by something spoken in a late Speech of his. In a Reign so full of ill Counsels and ill Steps, 'twas impossible to speak and not offend as often as the Ministers were mention'd. However, not only Sir John Elliot, but every Member of the House of Commons was vindicated by this Vote, *That there had been no undutiful Speech in that House from the Beginning of the Parliament to that Day.* Then the Commons turn'd themselves into a Committee, to consider what is fit to be done for the Safety of the Kingdom, and no Man to go out upon Pain of being sent to the Tower". The Speaker, like a noble publick-spirited Briton, begg'd leave to be gone, when he had such a Call from his Country for his Service. Upon which Mr. Whitby was put into the Chair. Mr. Wandsford mov'd that they shou'd not fear to make a Remonstrance of their Rights. Sir Edward Coke said, *Let us palliate no longer: If we do God will not prosper us. I think the Duke of Buckingham is the Cause of all our Miseries; and till the King be inform'd of that, we shall never go out or sit with Honour. That Man is the Grievance of Grievances. Let us set down the Causes of all our Disasters, and all reflect on him.* Mr. Selden advis'd, that a Declaration be drawn to express the House's dutiful Carriage, and set forth the Violation of their Liberties; to shew how that great Person the Duke had rais'd Distractions, fearing to be question'd. *All this time,* said that illustrious Senator, *we have cast a Mantle on what was done last Parliament; but now being driven again to look on that Man, let us proceed with that which was then so well begun.* In Conclusion the House agreed upon several Heads, containing more of the Lord Clarendon's Felicities, as *Innovations in Religion, Misgovernment, Misfortune, and the late Designs with the Causes of them.* When the Question was putting that it shou'd be instanc'd that the Duke was the Cause of all those Evils, the Speaker return'd from Court, where he had been to learn his Lesson, tho' he was the Parliament's Servant, and told them the King commanded for the present that the House shou'd adjourn, and all Committees cease till to-morrow the 17th of June, when his Majesty wou'd come to the Parliament and pass their Petition.

Accordingly the King came to the House of Peers; and the Commons attending, the Bill was read by the Clerk, and at the End of it his Majesty said, *Soit droit fait comme il est desire.* Upon which there was a general Shout of both Lords and Commons, and an universal Joy within Doors and without. The King made a short Speech: *I assure you my Maxim is, that the Peoples Liberties serve to strengthen the King's Prerogative, and the King's Prerogative to defend the Peoples Liberties; and now if this Parliament have not a happy Conclusion, the Fault is yours, and I am free from it.*

This again was a happy Juncture for a lasting Reconciliation between the King and Parliament, if Buckingham's Fate had not follow'd his Majesty like an evil Genius. Had he had Capacity enough to have known the Danger he was in by defying the Legislature, he wou'd surely have sav'd himself by withdrawing from Court, and have sav'd his Master the Odium of standing out against the Cry of his People. But Laud was his most intimate Friend and Counsellor; and as there is hardly one Act of Discretion and Moderation in that haughty Prelate's whole Life, so it is no wonder

he shou'd inspire the Duke with the most revengeful and resolute Sentiments. Echard tells us the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Lincoln, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Warwick, and other Protestant Lords were admitted to kiss the King's Hand. The Bishop of Lincoln had also private Talk with his Majesty and the Duke of Buckingham; wherein he represented, "That in order to gain the Affections of the People, the Puritans who were many and strong should be a little conniv'd at and indulg'd, which wou'd make them more pliant". The King answer'd, *I thought of this before, and will do so;* but instead of so doing, the Bishop was brought into the Star Chamber, as a Reward for his good Advice, which he pursu'd in his Diocese; and being reproach'd for it by Sir John Lamb, one of his Spiritual Court, and the infamous Sibthorp, his Lordship said *it was not only his own but the royal Pleasure.* Which Words Lamb and Sibthorp carry'd to Laud, and he to the King then at Bisbam. Upon which it was resolv'd, that a Bill should be exhibited in the Star-Chamber against the Bishop on the Evidence of those two wretched Delators Lamb and Sibthorp for revealing the King's Secrets, being a sworn Counsellor, of which more hereafter.

The Duke of Buckingham being still the great Spring which mov'd the Wheels of Government, the House of Commons did not think themselves secure even in the new Law, and therefore they proceeded with their Declaration at the Motion of Sir John Strangeways, Knight of the Shire for the County of Dorset: *Let us perfect our great Remonstrance,* said the Knight; *for King James was wont to say, he knew that by Parliament which otherwise he could never have known.* The Reader will observe in many Places of this History, how the Posterity of certain Names deviated from the Honour of their Ancestors. Some Members, as Sir Humphry May, Sir Henry Martin, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, were sweeten'd by the passing of the Petition of Right, and endeavour'd to moderate Matters. But the Grievances were too many and too crying to stop the Mouths of Strangeways and other Members, who in many Speeches enlarg'd upon them; and in ten Days the Remonstrance was ready to be presented to the King. We have read Clarendon and his Copier Echard's Encomiums on his Majesty's Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and on the flourishing Trade and State of the Nation; we have read what full and gracious Answer the King gave to the Addressee for prosecuting Papists, and we shall now see on what solid Foundations those Encomiums were built. The Parliaments Remonstrance complain'd of "Innovations and Alterations of Religion; the great Esteem and Favour many Papists receive at Court; their publick Resort to Mass contrary to his Majesty's Answers to the Parliament's Petitions; Letters to stop Proceedings against them; the daily Growth of the Arminian Faction, favour'd and protected by Neile Bishop of Winchester, and Laud Bishop of Bath and Wells, whilst the orthodox Party are silenc'd". Here the Reader will take notice, that those Ministers Laud mark'd in his Register with a P for Puritan were really Orthodox, and those he mark'd with an O for Orthodox were Papists, or their Abettors, Neile was inform'd against by Mr. Oliver Cromwell, according to Whitlock, tho' he was not then one of the House. The second Article of the Remonstrance was concerning the Dangers "of Innovation and Alteration of Government occasion'd by billeting Soldiers, by procuring 1000 German Horse and Horsemen, by a standing Commission on to the Duke to be General at Land in Time of Peace". The Parliament do in these two Articles directly charge the Government with favouring Popery and arbitrary Power. Let the Reader stop here and consider a little, how I have

made

A.D. 1628.

King promises Favour to the Puritans;

ib. 198.

but acts the contrary.

Sir John Strangeways against the Court.

Parliament's Remonstrance of Grievances. Coke, 264. Laud complain'd of.

The Design to alter the Constitution.

Amb. Phil. Shout in the House of Lords.

Another happy Juncture lost.

A.D. 1628. made out that such a Design form'd soon after the Death of Queen Elizabeth, was continu'd to the beginning of this Reign, and continues still by the Evidence of the Parliaments Remonstrance.

England dishonour'd by Buckingham.

“ It complains of the Disaster at the Isle of Rhe, of the Dishonour to the Nation, never so dishonour'd in the Days of the Plantagenets and Tudors: The Loss of Trade, the Increase of which the Lord Clarendon boasts of; and all these Evils and Dangers, the House of Commons impute to the excessive Power of the Duke of Buckingham, humbly submitting it to his Majesty's Wisdom, Whether it can be safe for himself and Kingdom to have so great Power trusted in the Hands of any one Subject whatsoever, or to continue the Duke near his Person? Archdeacon Echar'd informs us, that the King was very much oblig'd by it, but he gives us no Hint how the Commons were oblig'd; for at that very Instant did his Majesty order the Information against the Duke fill'd by the Attorney-General in the Star-Chamber, to be taken off the File, the King declaring, himself knew the Duke's Innocency of those Things mention'd in the Commons and the Earl of Bristol's Articles: And when the Parliament deliver'd their Remonstrance to him in the Banqueting-House, he told them with some Indignation, He little expected such a Remonstrance after he had pass'd the Petition of Right; and as to their Grievances, he wou'd consider of them as they deserv'd. Finch the Speaker is said to be an Incendiary between him and his Parliament, constantly disclosing to him whatever pass'd in the House, and giving the worst Turn to what was said there.

Weak Management.

Finch an Incendiary

Reybold.

Dr. Lambe kill'd.

Larr. 144.

In the mean time Dr. Lambe a Quack and Creature of the Duke's, was set upon in the Streets of London by the Rabble, who call'd him Witch, Devil, and the Duke's Conjuror. This Scoundrel, who got his Living by selling Nostrums and sometimes Poison, was talk'd of as being concern'd in poisoning King James. The French Historian says Buckingham employ'd him to execute his private Intrigues and most odious Designs. The Mob fell upon him in open Day, and, continues my Author, for Proof that this was the unanimous Consent of the People, not a Man stirr'd to his Assistance, but every Body joye'd at his Death, and applauded his Murderers. The Fellow had been indicted as a Wizard, and doubtless he was as much a Witch as ever old Woman was that burnt for't. He had also been try'd for a Rape; however he was still the Duke's Favourite and Confident as well as Dr. Laud. I am far from applauding the Murderers, nor in any Case approve of Rabble Justice, there being no Rule but the Law for Executions of any kind. Lambe knew well enough he was mortally hated for his Master's sake as much as his own, and it was to dare the Mob to Vengeance, to be seen walking in London Streets in the Face of Day. Buckingham himself durst not do it at that Time; if he had, one might justly have fear'd what the Consequence wou'd have been by these bold Rhimes then in every Body's Mouth.

Let Charles and George do what they can,
The Duke shall die like Doctor Lambe.

And probably the Rage of the People might so far infect Lieutenant Felton, that he took Fire upon the Remonstrance against the Duke, and resolv'd to be his Executioner. Lambe was become a Person of Importance on Account of Buckingham's Favour, and as soon as the Court had News of his Death, a Council was call'd, who order'd the Lord-Mayor Sir Richard Dean to find out and punish the chief Actors in this Tragedy, but none were found, says Whitlocke, and the City was fin'd 6000 Pounds to make some Attonement for the Loss of so useful a Person. Echar'd assures us, he had special Acquaintance with the Duke; and tho' he was a Wi-

zard and a Ravisher, Larrey says his greatest Crime was his Attachment to the Duke.

A.D. 1628.

A Prophecy of the civil War.

A Report was made to the House of Commons of certain Words spoken against them by the Duke of Buckingham, who deny'd them, and charg'd one Melvin a Scotsman for speaking Words against himself, That he intend'd to put the King upon a War against the Commonalty. It is worth observing that this was fourteen Years before that War broke out; and tho' Melvin had not the Spirit of Truth in him with respect to the Duke, yet one can't deny but he had the Spirit of Prophecy.

His Majesty being at last tir'd with the Complaints against the Commission of Excise, cancell'd it, notwithstanding Bishop Laud was Commissioner. This Commission was not of the Nature of the present, but a Power to certain Lords and Commons to levy an Excise, not stated and establish'd as that Duty is now.

Excise.

The Commons order'd another Remonstrance to be drawn concerning the Peoples Rights as to the Payment of Tonnage and Poundage on Merchandize, and voted, That the taking it without Consent of Parliament was illegal, as was also the laying any Imposition on Goods without such Consent. Two Articles of Right as certain as that there are such Things as Law and Justice, tho' in these Times they were not so much consider'd as they ought to have been. The King came to the Upper-House, while this Remonstrance was reading in the Lower, and sending for the latter, spoke to them thus, It may seem strange that I come so suddenly to end this Session before I give my Assent to the Bills: I will tell you the Cause, tho' I must avow that I owe the Account of my Actions to God alone. You observe the Style. One wou'd think every Man is accountable for his Actions to Reason and Justice.

Tonnage and Poundage.

Illegal Taxes.

Again; Every body knows that a while ago the House of Commons gave me a Remonstrance, how acceptable may be easily imagin'd, and for the Merit of it I will not call that in question, for I am sure no wise Man can justify it. Selden, Coke, Glawville, and the major Part of the Parliament did justify it, and his Majesty calls them Fools for it. The Archdeacon giving himself the same Airs, says, The King after this Manner shew'd his Resentment. Mr. Coke, whose Authority is at least as good as Echar'd's, turns it thus, Did ever King of England but this King's Father, treat a Parliament or either House at this Rate before? At the Opening of the Parliament he call'd them Fools if they wou'd not do as he wou'd have them; and now he calls them so again, or no wise Men, for telling him their Grievances. We have seen by their Counsels what wise Counsellors his Majesty had about him, Villiers, Laud, Conway, Weston, Neile. The Fools the King speaks of here, are the above-mention'd Selden, Coke, Glawville, Pym, Wandsford, Diggs, Whitby, Noy, Wentworth, Philips, Hakewell, Seymour, Strangeways, Martin, Rich, Creswell, Littleton, Hobart, Strode, Hollis, Waller, Hampden, Hayman, Coriton, Valentine, Elliot, Corbet, Herveingham, &c. Of one of these, Wentworth, the Archdeacon affirms, he was a more able Minister than Wolfey, Cromwell, Burleigh, Walsingham, or in a word, a more able Minister than ever was known in Britain from the Reign of Cassibelan to that of King James; yet this, the wisest of Men, justify'd the Remonstrance; which shews the Inconvenience of speaking in a Passion, or rather of hearkening to proud, malicious Counsellors, such as Villiers and Laud. I do not repeat the whole Speech, it being all in the same Style. His Majesty told the Parliament he cou'd not want Tonnage and Poundage; and having pass'd the Subsidy and other Bills, the Lord-Keeper prorogu'd them. One of those Bills was for Restitution in Blood of Carew Raleigh Esq; Son to Sir Walter Raleigh, and another to confirm the Letters Patents made by King James to the Earl of Bristol, who upon Buckingham's Death so well reconcil'd him-

P. 447.

A.D. 1628. self to the Court, that 'twas visible he sided with the Country only because the Country sided with him. The reverend Historian affirms the King had made the *greatest Concessions*. Every thing is superlatively good with him that gives Credit to the Cause he espouses. These *greatest Concessions* are really nothing at all: For the *Petition of Right* did but confirm old Statutes, it added no new Liberties; and *Clarendon* says 'twas no *Prejudice to the Crown*, which he and *Echard* always understand *Liberties* to be. The latter owns that as great as these *Concessions* were, the Court endeavoured to evade them, tho' the Parliament had purchas'd them with the largest Subsidies that had ever been granted. Thus was this Parliament also dismiss'd with Anger, and by the following Reflections we may perceive what wise Men his Majesty's Counsellors were. "The Crimes for which the King inveigh'd so against the Parliament, were for representing their Grievances, and the dangerous and feeble State of himself and the Kingdom; for explaining how the Customs had been taken against Law, yet declaring their Readiness to relieve him, and reconcile him to his Subjects. For whom was it the King thus contented? But for a Favourite who against his Father's Will, and Advice of his Council, without a Declaration or Reason shew'd, the next Day after the King's Father's Death, excited him to make War against the King of *Spain*, and after made him dissolve the Parliament, as we read in the Bishop of *Litchfield's* Life of Archbishop *Williams*, to save himself from being impeach'd in it. So he did the second Parliament, and then engag'd the King in a War against *France*, wherein he himself was the Aggressor; and in the Management of those Wars brought greater Loss and Dishonour to the Nation than ever was before; a Favourite who impoverish'd the Crown to support his intolerable Ambition and Avarice."

All Counsellors.

England in Disgrace

Rochellers

Buckingham, when he left *France*, promis'd the *Rochellers* to send them Relief, but his own Indifference in the Quarrel of those Protestants, or his own Danger and Difficulties at home, hinder'd him from going abroad. The *Rochellers* sent Deputies after Deputies for nine Months together, to press him to perform his Promise. King *Charles* wrote a Letter to the *Mayor, Sheriff, Peers, Burgers, and Inhabitants* of the City of *Rochelle*, dated the 19th of *May 1628*.

Gentlemen,

The King's Letters to them. **B**E not discomfited tho' my Fleet be return'd, bold out to the last, for I am resolv'd that all my Fleet shall perish rather than you shall not be reliev'd; and to this End I have countermanded it, and have sent Ships to wake them change their Design that they had taken to come back. I shall shortly send you some Number of Ships to re-inforce it, and with the Help of God the Success will be happy for your Deliverance.

Your good Friend,
CHARLES R.

A Week after his Majesty wrote them another Letter, and sent it by a Soldier, seal'd with the Arms of *England*.

Gentlemen,

H. J. L. 65 **I** Have been troubled to hear that my Fleet was upon the Point of returning without answering my Commands, which were to force the Entry of your Provisions whatever came of it; and have given it new Orders to return into your Road, and not stir till it has reliev'd you with Victuals, or that I have sent them an additional Strength, for which I have caus'd Men to work with all Diligence. Be assured that I will never abandon you, and that I

will employ all the Force of my Kingdom for your Deliverance, until it please God to bless me with giving you an assur'd Peace. *A.D. 1628.*

Gentlemen,

Given at our Palace at Westminster, May 27. 1628. Old Stile. Your good Friend,
CHARLES R.

The Author makes these Observations upon the two Letters, "That which follow'd ill suited with these fine Promises, which at the bottom serv'd only to amuse the poor *Rochellers*, if we may judge by the Proceedings of *Buckingham* and *Denbigh*, and their Fleet before *Rochelle*, and by the tricking Delays made use of here for sending Relief, which in the End was of no Service to the Besieg'd, for it assisted them with no manner of Provisions or Victuals, only serv'd to tantalize them at a Distance, but to their sad Cost and Misery; for when the *English* shew'd themselves at the Head of the Bay, the Mayor and his Council caus'd more than 200 Hogheads of *Pilchards*, which were little corrupted, to be thrown away for fear of bringing a Contagion into the City, and believing they shou'd have no Need of them, Succours being so near the Gates. But Cardinal *Ricblieu*, who was at the Siege in Person, was well inform'd that the Fleet wou'd not do him any great Hurt, nor the City much good; and he knew pretty well it only rode there to make a Shew and no more: For what the Deputies built in the Day-time with the King, the Queen overthrew in the Night, and kept the King her Brother from receiving any Damage, not valuing how much she thereby wounded the sacred Word of her Husband, or the Honour of the *English* Nation." *Ludlow* speaks of the fatal Consequences of the Loss of *Rochelle*; by this Means that strong Town of *Rochelle*, wherein the Security of the Protestants of *France* chiefly consisted, by this Treachery was deliver'd up to the *Papists*, and those of the Reform'd Religion in all Parts of that Kingdom expos'd to the Rage of their bloody and cruel Enemies.

Of the Fleet which thus in vain appear'd before *Rochelle*, the Duke of *Buckingham* was to have been Admiral and General of the Land Forces, as at the Expedition of the Isle of *Rhe*. About the latter End of *August* he went to *Portsmouth* to embark with Succours for that distress'd City. He had a Power, says *Larrey*, strong enough to beat the *French* and raise the Siege; but it had no better Success than the former; and if you believe a great many Historians, no better Designs. This was not, however, *Buckingham's* Fault, whose Death prevented the Execution of his Intentions, whether they were to betray or succour the Besieg'd. For tho' there is not the least Hint of Double-dealing in those impartial Historians *Clarendon* and *Echard*, *Buckingham*, if not his Master, was very much suspected not to be in earnest in the *French* Expeditions. On the 23d of *August*, as the Duke was coming out of his Chamber to Breakfast, just as *Sir Thomas Fryer*, one of his Colonels, was taking Leave of him, one *Felton*, a discarded Officer, stabb'd him to the Heart with a Knife, accompanying his Blow with these Words, *Lord have Mercy on your Soul*. The Duke fell dead to the Ground without speaking a Word, tho' some pretend he was heard to say in falling, *the Villain has kill'd me*. The Murderer might have escap'd, if he had not been frightened with the Noise of the *Domesticks*, who cry'd out the *French* had murder'd the Duke, laying it to the Duke de *Sobiez's* Charge, who often solicited the Duke of *Buckingham* so earnestly to hasten the Succours, that those who saw him did sometimes think he was quarrelling about it; *Felton*, to excuse the *French*, who were like to be massacred, slept forth and said, *I am he who did it, let me innocent*

P. 66.

P. 67.

Duke of Buckingham kill'd by Felton.

His Designs suspected.

Whit.

A.D. 1628. *nocent Man suffer for it*; so he was seiz'd without offering to escape, and sent to Prison.

Ghost. If any one has the Curiosity to read a very long Story of the *Ghost of Sir George Villiers*, the Duke's Father, which appear'd to warn him of his Fate, he may find many Pages upon it in the Lord *Clarendon* and Archdeacon *Echard's* sober Histories; but unless the Reader is dispos'd to give more Credit to it than I do, it will be no more worth his while to read it, than I think it worth mine to write it. *Echard* ran away with this old Woman's Tale, as with that of the *Devil and Oliver Cromwel*, and thought it a wonderful Rarity, as being in such a notable History as that of the *Rebellion*; but unfortunately it was told before by *Lilly* the Astrologer in his *Observations on the Life of King Charles I.* and indeed the *Conjuror* had much more Right to raise this Devil than the Earl of *Clarendon* or the *Christchurch Men*; who, be what they will, are not reckon'd among the *Conjurors*. *Lilly* informs us, the *Ghost of Sir George Villiers* appear'd to old *Parker of Lambeth*, who had been intimate with *Sir George the Duke's Father*, and bad him go tell his Son the Duke of *Buckingham*, to refrain such and such Company, or he wou'd come to Destruction, and that by such a Token. The Duke flighted the Advice, and the *Ghost* coming to *Parker* a second time, pull'd out a Dagger or Knife, saying, that shou'd end his Son if he refrain'd not that Company. *Parker* carries the Message, and the Duke desir'd him to trouble him no more about it. A Month after he met *Parker* on *Lambeth-Bridge*, and said, Now, Mr. *Parker*, what say you of your Dream? *Parker* reply'd, I wish it may never come to pass. But within six Weeks, says *Lilly*, he was stabb'd, and soon after the Dream or Vision *Parker* dy'd. The Duke had doubtless himself boding Thoughts of some untimely End to a Life which his Conduct had render'd odious to the People; and what he said to *Bishop Laud* when he took his Leave of him, is more credible than the Apparition, I know your Lordship has good Access to the King, pray put his Majesty in mind to be good to my poor Wife and Children. The King was at *Southwick*, *Sir Daniel Norton's* Seat, four Miles from *Portsmouth*, when the melancholy News came to him: He receiv'd it with remarkable Concern and Sorrow; but thro' the whole Kingdom, according to *Larrey*, the Duke's Name was never mention'd but to be ill spoken of. However, his Majesty's Favour follow'd him to the Grave, and he had the Honour to be bury'd in *Westminster-Abbey* among the Tombs of the Monarchs of *England*. In common Prudence only, the Court shou'd have taken hold of this Opportunity to have wip'd off the Odium against the Government contracted by *Buckingham's* Maledministration. He was dead, and it was only to have left him where Life did to have caus'd a good Agreement between King and People. But as I have hinted elsewhere, and must again hint, this Government seem'd to study what wou'd be most unpopular, and to rule in Spite. The Memory of *Buckingham* was generally hated, and therefore the Lord *Clarendon*, with particular Applause, tells us, The King admitted very few into any Degree of Trust, whom he believ'd to have been his Grace's Enemies; which indeed is not true, for he admitted *Sir Thomas Wentworth*, one of the Duke's greatest Enemies, into the greatest Degree of Trust. Again; no Prince ever express'd a more tender Concern to the Family, and all that was dear to this great Man, as was *Bishop Laud* in an especial manner; and yet the Archdeacon acknowledges his great Misfortune was the Want of a wise Friend. Then it was no Misfortune to him that, as *Larrey* says, he hated Parliaments, was a bad Protestant, a barefac'd Arminian, a masqu'd Papist, a Man of no Religion or Experience. The Assassin *Felton* was at first far from repenting of the bloody Act, but at last he became sensible of his Sin, and begg'd

Weak Court
Sellers.

when he was condemn'd, that the Hand which did it might be cut off before he was executed. He declar'd he was provok'd to it by the Remonstrance against him, and his having been so often screen'd from Parliament. While he lay in Prison in London, he was visited by many, to whom he vindicated the Puritans, whose Enemies charg'd them with setting him on; and *Felton* protest'd they knew nothing of his wicked Intent. It is very likely that *Bishop Laud* wou'd have extorted such a Confession from him; for of all the Lords of the Council, that pious Prelate was the only one who, contrary to the Laws of the Land, threaten'd him with the Rack. *Felton* reply'd, I know not whom I may accuse, perhaps *Bishop Laud* or any other in that Torture. His Majesty seem'd inclin'd to the *Bishop's* merciful Motion, by ordering the Judges to give their Opinion upon it, and they all agreed that by Law he might not be put to the Rack. Being try'd and condemn'd at the *King's-Bench*, he was executed pursuant to the Sentence, and his Body sent to *Portsmouth*, where it hung on a Gibbet for some time, and was afterwards stolen away Gibbet and all.

As many ill Qualities as may be deduc'd from *Buckingham's* Actions, it ought to be remember'd that he was generous, easy of Access, polite in his Manners, pleasant in Conversation, and had a Genius equal to his Station, considering the Business that was to be done in it, if he had not been a Slave to his Passions, in which the Lust of Power and Women was most prevalent. Revenge and Cruelty were laid to his Charge, and such a Haughtiness towards those who had displeas'd him, that 'tis said he once told the Queen herself, I wou'd have you know there have been Queens beheaded in England. After his Death *Laud*, now *Bishop of London*, grew daily more in Favour with the King, to his Majesty's great Misfortune; there not being a Man in England who was less fit for his Service, whether we consider his Temper or his Abilities in so difficult and troublesome a Juncture.

I am very far from giving into Tales of Ghosts, Apparitions, Presages, and Omens, with which the Lord *Clarendon* and *Echard's* Histories abound, yet I can't help taking notice of an Accident which happen'd as *Laud* and *Neile* were consecrating their good Brother *Mountague*, for at that very Instant News came of the Duke's being stabb'd.

One of the first Things *Laud* did after his Promotion to London, was to procure a Pardon for their other good Brother *Roger Manwaring*, and a very rich Benefice to be holden by Dispensation, with the Rectory of *St. Giles's in the Field*. This Prelate, says *Larrey*, was extremely solicitous to keep up the King's Hatred and Diffidence of Parliaments. All that was done this Year, or the following, serves only to inflame or to incense both Parties more and more against each other. Can any thing be plainer than the Source of all the Misfortunes which beset this King and Kingdom? Was it not his Majesty's suffering himself to be govern'd by other Men's Passions, and giving Ear to the Counsels of such fiery Spirits as *Laud*, which Judge *Whitlocke* said was hot enough to set the World in a Flame?

We have mention'd the Remonstrance against Tonnage and Poundage, which was drawn up by the Parliament, and the Delivery of it prevented by a Dissolution. Wise and sober Men wou'd at least have abated the Rigor of levying that illegal Tax, or not have permitted it to be levy'd with Circumstances to render it still more odious. But the Ministers in this Reign had infected the publick Officers with a Contempt of Law, and a tyrannical Air, which must be very provoking to a free and injur'd People. *John Rolle* Esq; a Merchant and Member of Parliament for *Kellington in Cornwall*, had his Goods seiz'd by the Custom-house Officers, for not paying such Customs as

A.D. 1628

Laud's Cruelty.

Whitlocke.

Felton hang'd. L. strange Fol. 94.

Character.

Laud a Favourite.

Sets the King against Parliaments. P. 152.

Manwaring preferred.

A.D. 1628. the Farmers demanded. Mr. Rolle apply'd to the Commissioners for Redress, and one of them told him, *Privilege of Parliament extended only to Persons and not Goods.* Whatever Language these Gentlemen us'd then, Members of Parliament now never hear it at that or any other Board. *If all the Parliament were in you,* said another of them with more Insolence, *we wou'd take your Goods.* "Thus it is, according to *Larrey,* that these odious Ministers of arbitrary Power, by their Proceedings, make such a Power insupportable, and by their Oppressions some Times incite the People to Rebellion." About the same Time Mr. *Richard Chambers* a Merchant of London, had his Goods also seiz'd under the same Pretence. Mr. *Chambers* brought a Writ of *Replevin*: The Barons of the Exchequer granted an Injunction against it. The Merchant offer'd to give Bond for the Payment of such Duties as the Court shou'd direct; but the Barons refus'd his Security, and wou'd oblige him to pay what the Farmers requir'd; which *Chambers* refusing, the Custom-house Officers, very ready at such Work, detain'd double the Value of the Customs out of Mr. *Chambers's* Merchandize. *Samuel Vassal* Esq; a Merchant of London, and afterwards Citizen in Parliament for that Capital, was prosecuted by the Attorney-General *Sir Robert Heath*, for not paying 5 s. 6 d. for every hundred Pounds Weight of Currants. Mr. *Vassal* pleaded the Statute *de Tallagio non concedendo*; the Attorney-General demurr'd; Mr. *Vassal* join'd in the Demurrer, but the Court of Exchequer wou'd not hear his Counsel, saying, *The King is in Possession, and we will keep him so.* Rare Judges! They committed Mr. *Vassal* to Prison. The Proceedings agreeing very ill with the *Petition of Right*, the King commanded it to be printed, with his Answer and other Additions. *Norton* the Printer confess'd he had wrought off 1500 Copies without those Additions; but they were suppress'd by Warrant, and the Attorney-General commanded that no more shou'd be printed, and those that were shou'd not be publish'd. *Coke* adds, *These were the just and religious Acts of this pious King; and can any Man believe the Parliament at their Meeting shou'd, without Breach of Trust, sit still, and not represent these Things to him? Far from thinking so much like an English Man as Mr. Coke, Grandson of the great Lawyer and Judge Sir Edward Coke, Archdeacon Echard draws the Curtain, and discovers the King in secret Council with his Ministers just before the next Session of Parliament; and Directions were given, "That if the House of Commons proceeded to accuse the King's Servants, to asperse his Counsellors, to speak of them is to asperse, to handle Matters of Religion improper for them, there Laud appears as much as if he had given it under his Hand and Seal, to raise Objections against his Majesty's Speech, then the Privy-Counsellors were to intimate that those Debates tended to a Breach, and the King shou'd immediately declare he wou'd not suffer it. Thus, continues Echard, were Matters prepar'd for the second Meeting of Parliament. The Simplicity of the Historian in telling this Tale, is very singular. The secret Committee of Council advis'd the King before-hand to hear no Complaints against his Servants, and to support the Abettors of Popery in their superstitious Innovations. These were call'd *Arminians*: For besides the heretical Doctrine of *Arminius*, which King *James* had labour'd so much to root out in *Holland*, the English *Arminians* preach'd another Heresy, that the King's Power was absolute and arbitrary, and must be obey'd under Pain of Damnation.*

There was another Preparation for the Meeting of Parliament, the Consequence of which was like the Consequences of almost every Step of this Ministry, the making more ill Blood, and pre-

paring Matters for the future terrible Division between King and Parliament. *Wesson* the new Treasurer had bought off *Sir Thomas Wentworth* from the Country Party, and he was made a Privy-Counsellor, Lord-President of the North, and Viscount *Wentworth*. The Archdeacon tells us with the former Simplicity, *Being thus gain'd, he became a devout Friend to the Church.* Exquisite Nonsense! As if Bribery and Treachery wou'd lead a Man to true Religion and Devotion. The Lord *Digby*, whom the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* allow to be as much for Church and King as Dr. *Laud*, said of this great Man, and *Noy* soon after alike corrupted with the Attorney-General's Place, "Sir *Thomas Wentworth* and Mr. *Noy* were most keen and active Patriots when the *Petition of Right* was in Agitation, and *Wentworth* the first Mover and Insistor for this Clause, *That for the Comfort and Safety of Subjects, his Majesty wou'd be pleas'd to declare his Will and Pleasure, that all his Ministers shou'd serve him according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.* And to whom now can all the Inundations upon Liberties under Pretence of Law, and the late Shipwreck of our Property be attributed more than to *Noy*? And all those other Mischiefs, whereby this Monarchy hath been brought almost to the Brink of Ruin, so much to any as to that GRAND APOSTATE to the Commonwealth *Sir Thomas Wentworth*? *Who, says Echard, coming to a right Understanding with Bishop Laud, they two enter'd into an inviolable League of Friendship: What must that League be but a Confederacy against the Commonwealth, which the Lord Digby tells us the Grand Apostate Wentworth had betray'd?*

Before the Parliament met, there had been a *Rochelle*; Feint made to relieve *Rochelle* with the Fleet and Forces which were to have been commanded by *Buckingham*. The Earl of *Lindsey*, their Commander after the Duke's Death, sail'd to *Rochelle*, but return'd without doing any Service. Upon this the *Rochellers*, in the last Distress and Despair, were forc'd to surrender themselves, their Religion, Rights, and Liberties, and those of all the Protestants in *France*, into the Hands of their most cruel implacable Enemy Cardinal *Richlieu*, as has been already hinted. The *Germans* under *Dalbier* were dispos'd of to the King of *Denmark*, to whose Assistance were sent the Lord *Vere* and General *Morgan* with a good Body of Troops; but all Enterprizes in these Times, had the Success which attends rash or ungrateful Counsels: And had not Bishop *Laud* and his Brethren triumph'd in the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commission* Court, and *Spiritual* Courts, there wou'd have been no Triumphs in this Period of our History. *Coke* on this Occasion speaks the Truth, tho' a little coarsely; "The War against *France* was not more inconsiderately begun about two Years before, than the Peace made with it was secret. The first Time it was heard of, was at the Siege of *Privas*, where the Peace was proclaim'd between *Lewis XIII.* and his good Brother of *England*. The Reform'd were astonish'd and confounded that the King of *England*, who brought them into the War, shou'd leave them out of the Peace. Upon this *Privas* surrenders, so does *Castres*, and then *Nimes*. The Duke *de Rohan* is forced to submit, the Power of the Protestants is rooted out, and while the King of *England* is making War against the Parliament, *Richlieu* marches into *Italy*, takes *Salusses* and *Pignerol* from the Duke of *Savoy*, which prepar'd the Way for the exorbitant Power of *Lewis XIV.*" But Mr. Archdeacon has a good Excuse for abandoning the Reform'd in *France*. The King by aiding those of *Rochelle*, train'd up his own Subjects in the School of Rebellion, and taught them to confederate with Foreigners, and at length brought down the Judgments

A.D. 1628. *Wentworth* bought off.

So is *Noy*; *Rushw.* 1356. *Ld Digby* against them.

Wentworth a Confident of *Laud's*.

All foreign Enterprizes unsuccessful.

K. Charles the Occasion of the Ruin of the French Protestants P. 290.

P. 411. *Echard* against them.

A.D. 1628.

Tyrannical Proceedings.

Coke 278.

Whitl. 11.

Evil Counsellors.

A.D. 1629. *ments of Heaven upon his own Head.* If this will bear Reflection, it must be by Persons of more Patience and Insensibility than I can boast of. We are told there were some popular Steps taken at this Time, Archbishop *Abbot* is sent for to Court, and receiv'd with Solemnity; *Dr. Potter*, a true Protestant Divine, is made Bishop of *Carlisle*; and *Mountague's* Appeal call'd in by Proclamation, after he was made a Bishop, to shew what an Abhorrence the Court had for a Doctrine which they wou'd not suffer to be condemn'd.

A.D. 1629. On the 20th of *January* the Parliament met, and *Echard* wonders they had not entirely bury'd their Jealousies after the *Petition of Right* had been so exactly observ'd by filling the *Fleet* and *Marsbalsca* with Prisoners for not paying Customs levy'd without Consent of Parliament. The House of Commons took the Matter into Debate immediately, *The Jealousy of the Nation*, to use *Larrey's* Words, appear'd rous'd, the same *Complain'ts*, the same *Commotions*, and the same *Ardor* as in the foregoing *Session* on the *Petition of Right*. The Case of *Mr. Rolle*, a Member, was enquir'd into; upon which another Member spoke thus, "It is

P. 154. Warm against Grievances
ib. "Time now, Gentlemen, to shew your Zeal for the Defence of your Laws; your Liberty is at Stake if you do not hasten to its Support. It is attack'd in its Sanctuary, in the Person of one of your Members. Nay, even all the Parliament is attack'd by the Infulence of the Officers of Custom: The Seizure of Person and Goods is put into Practice: They begin by plundering and imprisoning, and afterwards ask our Consent to our Slavery, by giving our Sanction to the Bill for the raising this Tax, &c."

England enslav'd. The King on his Side order'd the Parliament to attend him at the *Banqueting-House*, where "He commended the House of Lords, who having the Honour by their Dignities to be near the Majesty of Kings, were by that Means more affectionate to the Crown; but complain'd of the House of Commons, who, he said, were too restles, too jealous, too factious; and under Colour of preserving their Privileges, disputed the Rights of the Sovereign. He spoke of the Tax in question, as of a Right he held by the Gift of the People, and never had a Thought of holding it otherwise." How then came the Goals so full of Merchants, for not yielding to pay it till 'twas so given? *As to arbitrary Power*, he told them he had as great an Aversion to it as they; which having particular Reference to the Imprisonment of the Subjects for refusing Payment of Customs not granted by Parliament, is very extraordinary. The Courtiers hurrying on the Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, caus'd a just Jealousy that they wanted to have it dispatch'd to rid themselves of the Parliament, and therefore the latter resolv'd not to pass it till they had provided for the Security of Religion; for notwithstanding the Lord *Clarendon* represents it every where as more secure than ever, others knew the contrary; and *Mr. Rous* a Member of the House of Commons spoke thus; "What we

P. 155. The King's fine Speaking
ib. 156. "are now upon, Gentlemen, is of greater Concern than our Laws and Liberties, it concerns the Security of our Religion to which our Laws and Liberties are link'd, and become so inseparable, that the dis-uniting of the first certainly destroys the two other." We shou'd remember they were told not to meddle with Religion, it being a Thing improper for them. It was indeed to meddle with *Laud*, and that was now as bad as their meddling with *Villiers* before. *Mr. Rous* went on, "We suffer *Popery* to come in again into the Land, and to increase; we have open'd our Gates to it, and like another *Trojan Horse*, it has got within our Walls." He enlarg'd upon the Growth of *Arminianism*, which is the Egg of

Popery encourag'd, *Popery: If you suffer it to hatch and grow up, you'll*

soon bear the Arminians, Laud, Neile, Piers, Wren, Mountague, Lyndsay, Skinner, speak the Language of Papists. He concludes, *Let us now, by the unanimous Consent and Resolution of us all, make a Vow and Covenant henceforth to hold fast to our God and our Religion, which are the Centre of the Publick Peace, and ought to be so of our Care and Debates.* *Mr. Pym* said, "The Toleration of *Popery*, and the Liberty given to *Arminianism*, wou'd destroy the Kingdom if not speedily prevented; that the Doctrine was pernicious, and opposite to that of the first Reformers, and the Canons of the Church of *England*. He added, *It is the Duty of Parliaments to establish the true Religion, and punish the false.* If it was their Duty, it cou'd not be improper for them. *That the Parliaments have always insisted on their Right to do it; that they have confirm'd general Councils; that Henry III. did nothing against the Pope but with Advice of Parliament.* And he exhorted the House to preserve their Rights, to enquire into the false Doctors and their Books. He mention'd the Novelities introduc'd by *Cosins* into his Church, where Images of Saints and Angels were set up, as also Crucifixes and lighted Candles, with other *Romish* Customs. *Secretary Cook* brought a Message to hasten the *Tonnage* and *Poundage*; and again another to the same Purpose; but the House resolv'd that Religion shou'd take Place before that Bill. *Sir Francis Seymour* made a warm Speech in this Debate, but Means were afterwards us'd to gain him as *Sir Thomas Wentworth* had been gain'd. *Worthy Sir Robert Philips* said, *Two Sects are damnably crept in to undermine the King and Kingdom, the one Popery, the other Arminianism.* Is there a Vicar or Curate, who wou'd not stare to hear it said that

Archbishop *Laud* was a *Sectary*, yet so he is term'd by this noble Patriot *Sir Robert Philips*. Such Speeches cou'd not but be most ungrateful to the Court and their Creatures. One *Lewis* cry'd, *The Devil take the Parliament.* It seems he was a Disciple of pious Bishop *Laud*; and Archdeacon *Echard* does not approve of the Parliament's sending for *Lewis*, because the Words were not spoken in *St. Stephen's Chapel*. *Secretary Cook* brings a third Message for the *Tonnage* and *Poundage* Bill, which was thought so reasonable, says the Archdeacon, that *Sir Thomas Edmunds* one of his Majesty's domestick Servants, press'd earnestly for a Compliance. 'Tis a Quibble to say how simple this Historian is, he certainly shou'd have produc'd another Spokesman to have seconded *Sir John Cook* effectually. *Mr. Coryton* reply'd to *Edmunds*, and the House sent an Answer to his Majesty, that these Messages were inconvenient, breeding Debate and Loss of Time. *Sir John Elliot* spoke with his usual Warmth, *We see some among our Bishops who are not orthodox; witness the two Bishops complain'd of the last Meeting of Parliament, Neile and Laud.* Let us enquire whether there are not such amongst us; let us not be afraid to exclude them from the Government both in Church and State, lest they corrupt one and the other. It is the Clergy's Business to instruct the People, but it belongs to the Parliament to restrain the Clergy when they err from sound Doctrine. *The Church of England wou'd be in a piteous Case if it was otherwise; if she was abandon'd to those new Doctors who trump up to us a new Liturgy that was unknown to our Reformers.* It is our Business to be watchful over these ill-meaning Pastors, and not to suffer them to infect the Church and destroy the orthodox Faith. The House of Commons being mov'd with the Speeches of these three Members, after some Debate pass'd the Vow propos'd by *Mr. Rous*:

"We the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, profess, and avow for Truth the Sense of the Articles which were established by Parliament in the thirteenth Year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the publick

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J.D. 1629. lick Act of the Church of England, and by the general and current Expositions of the Writers of our Church have been delivered unto us; and we reject the Sense of the Jesuits and Arminian, and all others wherein they differ from us. Both Houses join'd in an Address to the King for a general Fast. The Answer was an angry one, *Fighting will do you more good than fasting, tho' I do not disapprove of the latter.* The House of Commons soon after presented a Declaration, that "They were resolv'd to apply themselves entirely to the securing of their Religion, which was equally in Danger from *Arminians* and *Papists*; they hop'd their Zeal wou'd meet with his Majesty's Approbation, because his Piety and Glory were concern'd in the Peace of the Kingdom; that Schism and Heresy shou'd not prevail over the Reformation." How astonishing is this? They here call Bishop *Laud* a *Schismatick*; that very Bishop who had prosecuted the most religious and learned of our Divines as guilty of Schism. "They pray'd that their Care of Religion might have Precedency of the *Tonnage Act*;" and he requir'd the contrary, adding, *I am zealous for the Defence of the Church, and well inform'd it is in no Danger.* But that Information came from *Laud*, whom the Parliament did not look upon as a Member of the Reform'd Church of *England*, but as one fallen into the *Schism* and Sin of *Arminianism*. And now, according to *Echard*, the Spirit being rais'd, it was the Art of subtle Men to keep it up. This is the poor Sophistry, which runs thro' his History; a wretched Copy of *Clarendon's*. How soon wou'd the Art of these subtle Men have been render'd useles and vain by the King's hearkening to the humble and earnest Petition of the Parliament for the Security of their Religion against Popery and its Abettors? Had the Laws been put in due Execution against *Papists*, and the Authors of popish Innovations been discountenanc'd, the Art of the subtle Men wou'd have been of no more Use to them, than the Wisdom of the wise Men proves to be in the History of the *Rebellion*. The House debated a Declaration of the King's prohibiting Disputes about Religion, which they judg'd to be the Advice of *Laud* and *Mountague*. They complain'd of the King's pardoning the latter; and observ'd, that tho' the Warrant to draw his Pardon was for him only, yet three other such Divines were put in, *Coleus*, *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*. Upon which a Member cry'd out, *In this Laud is contracted all the Danger we fear; for he that procur'd these Pardons may be the Author of these new Opinions.* In the Height of the Debate about Religion, Mr. *Rolle's* Warehouse was lock'd up by a Pursuivant, and himself call'd out of the House and serv'd with a *Subpana*. Sir *Humphry May*, a Privy-Counsellor, declar'd the King and Council knew nothing of it; and the Attorney-General wrote to Mr. *Rolle* to excuse it as a Mistake. The Matter was refer'd to the Committee of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, who receiv'd Petitions from several Merchants under Prosecution for refusing to pay that Custom as the Farmers demanded it. Mr. *Noy*, who was not yet Attorney-General, said, *We cannot safely give unless we are in Possession; for it will not be a Gift but Confirmation; neither will I give without a Declaration in this Bill, that the King hath no Right but by our free Gift. If it will not be accepted as it is fit for us to give, we cannot help it: If it be the King's already, we do not give it.* It was high time to take off a Man who had so much Law and Reason about him, and who consequently must do a great deal of Mischiefe where Reason and Law were against him. The House sent to the Barons of the *Exchequer* to vacate their Orders for stopping Merchants Goods. The Barons answer'd, Those Orders did not determine the Right of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Thus the

Laud a Schismatick.

Laud accus'd in Parliament as the Cause of all Mischiefe.

Noy against giving is bought off.

Money illegally taken.

A.D. 1629. Merchants had been all along imprison'd and plunder'd for refusing to pay a Tax, which the Judges durst not determine they ought to pay. The Answer of the Barons being unsatisfactory, the House resolv'd to enquire farther into their Proceedings. At the same time an Information was prepar'd in the *Star-Chamber* against Mr. *Chambers*, while his Petition lay before the Parliament; which the House so resent'd, that they sent Sir *William Acton*, Sheriff of *London*, to the *Tower*. Several Custom-House Officers being examin'd, and charged with Breach of Privilege in the Case of Mr. *Rolle*, the King sent a Message to the House, that *what they did was by his own direct Order.* 'Twas said in the Debate, that *these Interruptions proceeded from some Prelates and others Abettors of the Popish Party, who fear to be discover'd, and wou'd provoke to a Breach.* Here again we are told that *Laud*, *Neile*, *Mountague*, and the like Prelates, were using not the Art of subtle Men, but the Zeal and Fury of Bigots, to make a Breach between his Majesty and his People. It is necessary for me to remind the Reader often of the Designs of the Enemies of our happy Constitution in Church and State, for that they have endeavour'd in their Histories to turn the Tables upon us, and prove that the Lovers of the Protestant Religion and Liberty were the Authors of that fatal *Breach*. Enquiry was made concerning ten popish Priests arraign'd at the *King's-Bench*, of which one only was condemn'd, and he repriev'd, and the other nine were releas'd. Sir *Robert Philips* complain'd, that 500 at a time have been seen coming from *Mas* in *Somerset-House*; and that there are 940 *English Scots* and *Irish* in Religious Houses in the *Netherlands* maintain'd by the *Papists* of *England*. The reverend Historian confesses, that tho' the Secretary and Attorney-General gave fair Accounts of the King's Justice and Mercy in Execution of the *Penal Laws*, yet they cou'd not qualify the general *Outcry*. What a Wonderment he makes of it? We have seen how frequently his Majesty had promis'd to have those Laws duly executed at the Parliament's Request. Here are ten *Romish* Priests arraign'd, one of them only condemn'd, he repriev'd, and nine releas'd by *Hyde* the Chief Justice. *Echard* is amaz'd that the House of Commons wou'd not take the Secretary and Attorney-General's Words against the Matter of Fact then before them.

Bishops for the Papists.

The Parliament adjourning for three or four Days, when they met they receiv'd a Message from his Majesty to adjourn, *being weary'd with their great Delays, says Echard, and ill Success.* At other times the King's chief Struggles were for Supplies, but now he strove only for Confirmation of what he had possess'd since his Accession to the Crown. He takes care not to say against Law, because without Consent of Parliament; and it is plain enough his Majesty was so willing to have his Right to *Tonnage* suppos'd to be hereditary, notwithstanding what he himself had said to the contrary, that he was determin'd not to satisfy the Parliament concerning Religion for a Present which lessen'd the Idea he had conceiv'd of his Prerogative, and subjected a Tax the Crown had been many Years in Possession of by the Gift of the Parliament only, to the same Gift still: A Tenure the King did not think so honourable, or so certain, as that of Inheritance. *Sanderfon*, such another Historian as *Echard*, tells us the King cou'd not in Honour suffer the Commons, that *School of Dissention*, to insist on a Right to dispose of their own Money; tho' in the same Page he allows that his Majesty took that Tax presuming it wou'd be given him; and so it had been without question, if the King wou'd have satisfy'd the Parliament concerning Religion.

The Message to adjourn had been comply'd with very unwillingly, the House of Commons look-

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A.D. 1629. looking upon it as a sort of Infringement of their Privileges; and when they met again it was with the same Zeal for the Defence of their Liberties. Sir John Elliot began the Debate with a Complaint against the Lord Treasurer Weston, whose Merit was an inviolable Attachment to Popery and arbitrary Power, tho' he was an occasional Conformist, and went to Church with the other Courtiers. Under Colour of that Conformity he did the Papists more Service than he cou'd have done had he gone to Mass. The Character given of him in the Lord Clarendon's History has more visible Marks of Invention than most of the other Characters. " His Education had been very good amongst Books and Men. After some Years Study of the Law in the Middle Temple he travell'd into foreign Parts, and at an Age fit to make Observations and Reflections, out of which that which is commonly call'd Experience is constituted". A very elaborate Description of the Constitution of Experience. Reflections and Observations upon Facts in ancient and modern History wisely made, are more useful than what a Man can see or hear in his Travels, which surely is never call'd Experience; and tho' Weston travell'd at an Age fit to make Observations and Reflections, it is not explain'd to us that he made them. But it is said, that having spent his Fortune at Court, and drawn in his Friends to be bound for him, he was at last promoted, and doubtless had too much Experience to think he cou'd repair his broken Fortune by defending the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. The following Allegory has a Quaintness in it which is not very common: " He did swim in those troublesome and boist'rous Waters, where the Duke of Buckingham rode Admiral with a good Grace"; to swim with a Grace in a Storm is a Flower in Eloquence; " when very many who were about him were drown'd, or forc'd on Shore with shrewd Hurts and Bruises; which shew'd he knew well, how and when to use his Limbs and Strength to the best Advantage; sometime only to avoid sinking, and sometime to advance and get ground". I have made this short Digression to let the Reader a little into the Nature of the Lord Clarendon's Characters, which are sometimes too fulsome, sometimes too malicious, always too partial to give great Delight to an honest Mind. 'Tis acknowledg'd in the History of the Rebellion, that the Treasurer Weston's Wife and all his Daughters were declar'd of the Roman Religion; and tho' he himself and his Sons sometimes went to Church, he was never thought to have Zeal for it; and his domestick Conversation and Dependants with whom only he us'd entire Freedom were all known Papists. Such was the Favourite of a King, whom the same Historian represents as zealous for the Protestant Religion; but he explains it all away afterwards: Weston never had Reputation and Credit with the Popish Party; not with the Party with whom he only us'd entire Confidence, his Friends and Dependants; which is so much in Probability, that a Man must be an Infidel not to believe it. Sir John Elliot spoke against Neile Bishop of Winchester, and more especially against the great Lord Treasurer, in whose Person all Evil is contracted. I find him acting and building on those Grounds laid by his great Master the Duke, and that his Spirit is moving to these Interruptions. These Men break Parliaments for fear Parliaments shou'd break them. I find him the Head of the great Party the Papists. Echard too says he had no Credit with them. All Jesuits and Priests derive from him their Shelter and Protection. Buckingham is dead, but he revives in the two Chiefs, Neile and Weston, who are animated with the same Spirit, and tread in the same Steps; but let not that hinder us from doing our Duty. He was going on when Sir John Finch the Speaker deliver'd a Mes-

sage from his Majesty commanding them again to adjourn. Thus in five Days they had had two Messages to adjourn, both of them unparliamentary and irregular. The House saw that as often as they offer'd to make Enquiry into Male-Administration their Debates wou'd be stopp'd by a Command to adjourn. They resent'd this Irregularity in the Speaker, whose Duty it was not to deliver any such Command: for the Adjournment did properly belong to themselves. Sir John Elliot being about to deliver a Remonstrance on the Subject of his Complaint, which bore hard on Neile and Weston; that Court Tool the Speaker Finch boldly refus'd to read it, nay, the very Clerk was so far gain'd too, that he also refus'd it. Sir Miles Hobart fearing the Speaker wou'd have deserted the Service lock'd the Door of the House, and Mr. Strode said, *Let the Remonstrance be read, that we may not be turn'd off like scatter'd Sheep, and sent home as we were last Sessions with a Scorn put upon us in Print.* Then Sir John Elliot read the Remonstrance, and it was propos'd to put the Question; but Finch the Speaker cry'd, *I am otherwise commanded by the King.* The great Selden, a Name of more Weight than any Name in the History of the Rebellion, said, *Dare you not put the Question when we command you? If you will not put it, we must sit still and do nothing. We are here by Command from the King under the great Seal, and you before both Houses are appointed our Speaker, and do you refuse to perform your Office?* Sir Robert Philips urg'd Precedents for the Right of the House to adjourn itself; and that most learned Lawyer and reverend Judge Sir Edward Coke said, *The King prorogues, but the House adjourns.* Finch cou'd make no other Answer to this, than that his Majesty had expressly commanded him to rise as soon as he had deliver'd the Message of Adjournment. Accordingly he rose and left the Chair. But Mr. Denzil Hollis and Mr. Benjamin Valentine drew him back, and held him down in by Force. We must interrupt the Story to observe that his Majesty by this Message exercised the most arbitrary Act of Power, which ever was acted by King of England, and that in the most flagrant manner, in plain Violation of the Privileges of Parliament. Sir Thomas Edmunds and other Privy-Counsellors, then in the House, endeavour'd to free the Speaker. Mr. Hollis cry'd, *He shall sit till he pleases us to rise.* Finch fell a weeping; the Betrayers of the Cause of Liberty have generally such noble Spirits; and spoke thus with an Interruption of Tears, *I do not say I will not, but I dare not.* He desir'd they would not command his Ruin, in regard he had been their faithful Servant; but he durst not sin against the express Command of his Sovereign. Mr. Selden reply'd, *I ever lov'd your Person, but I cannot chuse but condemn you now, that you being a Servant of the House shou'd refuse their Commands; which Obstinacy will be a Precedent to Posterity, if it shou'd go unpunish'd.* He therefore wish'd him to proceed; which he still refus'd, and fell a weeping afresh. Sir Peter Hayman, a Countryman of his, said, *I am sorry you are my Kinsman, for you are the Disgrace of your Country, and a Blot of a noble Family. Posterity will remember you with Scorn and Disdain. For my part, since you will not be persuaded to do your Duty, I think it fit you shou'd be call'd to the Bar, and a new Speaker chosen.* Finch knew well enough their Power was not to last long, and there was nothing to be got by them, but much by obeying the King; so he remain'd inflexible. Echard not regarding what those very eminent Lawyers Selden and Coke had said of the Right of the Commons, and the Duty of a Speaker, applauds Finch's Fidelity to the King, which prevail'd over his Duty to his Country. The House perceiving it, and knowing this was the only Opportunity they shou'd have to bear their Testimony against a long

A.D. 1629. The King's irregular Conduct.

Weston Lord Treasurer complain'd of.

Finch a Court Tool.

The King very arbitrary.

Finch's Character.

A.D. 1629. Roll of Enormities drawn up in a Protestation against the Ministry, they order'd it to be read, and every Article had a *Plaudite* from the Members.

Commons Protestation.

1. Whoever shall bring in Innovations in Religion, or by Favour seek to introduce Popery or Arminianism, or Opinions disagreeing from the true and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Commonwealth. 2. Whatsoever Counsellor shall advise the taking or levying the Subsidies of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* not granted by Parliament, shall be reputed an Innovator in the Government, and a capital Enemy to the Kingdom and Commonwealth. 3. If any Merchant or Person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the Subsidies of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* not being granted by Parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to the same. After we have seen how all these Enormities were committed, and shall see how the Ministers will continue to commit and increase them, is it not very merry to hear *Warwick* tell us they voted against Innovations in Religion, and paying *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, as if there had been such a Design? There is something extremely ridiculous in it when *Effronteris* and *Stupidity* meet together. The King hearing of these Disorders, says the Archdeacon, he means only Votes of Parliament, sent a Messenger to the Serjeant of the House of Commons to bring away his Mace; this is no Disorder with him, which being remov'd from the Table would stop all Proceedings. Whoever knows least of the Constitution knows that the Serjeant is a Servant to that House, and that no King ever pretended to take him from their Service on purpose to stop Proceedings. The Door being lock'd his Majesty was so provok'd, according to the reverend Historian, that without more ado he sent to *Maxwell*, Usher of the Black Rod, to call them up to a Dissolution. He too finding the Door lock'd, the next Recourse is to Arms. He in great Indignation, to use the Archdeacon's Words, sent for the Captain of his Guards to force an Entrance. But the Parliament having fate thus two Hours adjourn'd to the 10th of *March*, as they were commanded, and the forcible Entry into their House was not made till some Years after. Bishop *Williams*, who foresaw the dismal Effects of such arbitrary Counsels and Actions, endeavour'd to prevent the fatal Effects of them, and importun'd the Lord *Weston* to carry this Message from him to his Majesty: That the Parliament might meet again for all this, and that there might be a Conference between the Two Houses to debate about Differences; that he hop'd the Lords would check, if not censure the Commons, who were so very rude. His Advice to let the Parliament sit was good, but his Reason very unpromising, and given rather to flatter the imperious Humour of the Court, than that it was his Judgment; which was too good to imagine the Lords would take upon them to censure the Commons for asserting their Rights, which they did in the preceding Votes; and did no more than was their Right to do both as to the Speaker and Protestation, whatever is insolently and impertinently said to the contrary.

Echard mistakes in placing the Imprisonment of the Members before the Dissolution of the Parliament. His Guides *Warwick* and *Saunderson* affirm they were imprison'd after the Parliament was dissolv'd. The King came to the House of Peers on the 10th of *March*, and made a Speech to them without sending for the Commons, who being to be severely handled in it, 'twas certainly very decent, tho' not very regular, to let them be out of the hearing of it. It is merely the undutiful and seditious Carriage of the Lower House, said his Majesty, that has made the Dissolution of this Parliament. Then after some Praises bestow'd on the

House of Lords, he said, *It is so far from me to adjudge all the House alike guilty, that I know that there are many there as dutiful Subjects as any in the World.* Every Englishman having a Duty to his Country as well as to his King, one knows not well what is meant by dutiful in this King's Speech, unless it be an abject, slavish Submission to arbitrary Power. What follows in the Speech, *It being some few Vipers*, is a Figure which in *Plebeian* Rhetorick is term'd calling of Names; but the Objection I make to it is, that these few Vipers were by much the Majority of this House of Commons. The Parliament being dissolv'd, the King as he was disrobing in a sort of Fury said, *He would never put on those Robes again.* He publish'd a Declaration of the Causes why he did it; wherein, according to *Echard*, is a fair Account of his taking *Tonnage* and *Poundage* contrary to Law. He complain'd of the Parliament's falling upon his Ministers, in which they were misled by some Vipers, who like *Empericks* and *lewd Artists*, more calling of Names, strove to make new Work, and to have some Disease afoot to keep themselves in Request, and to be employ'd in the Cure. What Elegance, what Decorum! and at the same time how keen the Satyr, and how consistent with the Imperial Stile! There were as severe Writings publish'd against these Ministers, particularly *Weston* and *Laud*, who were accus'd of advising the Dissolution of the Parliament, and in those anonymous Writings threaten'd with a tragical Exit, if, says *Larrey*, they did not repent of their Wickedness, which was alledg'd to be so enormous, that neither God nor Man could let it escape unpunish'd.

Warrants were directed to Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Henry Hammond*, Sir *John Corbet*, Sir *John Hoveningham*, Sir *Miles Hobart*, Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, Sir *John Barrington*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Strode*, Mr. *Coryton*, Mr. *Valentine*, Mr. *Long*, to appear before the Council; and they appeared accordingly. Mr. *Hollis* was ask'd a Question becoming the Wisdom of Roman Senators, *Why did you sit above some of the Privy-Council so near the Speaker's Chair?* He reply'd, *I seated myself there some other times before, and took it as my Due there, and in any Place whatsoever;* on Account of his noble Birth, Son to the Earl of *Clare*. *That he came into the House with as much Zeal as any other to serve his Majesty; yet finding his Majesty was offended, he humbly desir'd to be the Subject rather of his Mercy than of his Power.* The Treasurer *Weston* answer'd, *You mean rather of his Majesty's Mercy than of his Justice.* Mr. *Hollis* reply'd, *I say of his Majesty's Power.* Sir *John Elliot* was charg'd for Words spoken; to which he answer'd, *Whatsoever was said or done by me in that Place, and at that Time, was in the Capacity of a publick Man, and a Member of the House; and I am and ever will be ready to give an Account of my Sayings and Doings there, whenever I shall be called unto it by that House, where I conceive I am only to be question'd; and in the mean time I being now but a private Man, I will not now trouble myself to remember what I said or did there as a publick Person.* Which seems to denote that the Parliament was not then in Being; and if the Council had question'd these Gentlemen before the House broke up, they would doubtless have been question'd themselves severely. Sir *Miles Hobart's* Offence was locking the Door of the House, and putting the Key in his Pocket. *Saunderson* tells us he was accus'd as doing it by the Command of the House: But Sir *Edward Peyton* informs us, he was remember'd for it on another Occasion. An ordinary Officer, one *Richard Plumley*, pretending a Quarrel with Sir *Miles*, took an Advantage of him, pull'd him out of his Coach, and beat him so that he dy'd. *Plumley* was so far from being punish'd, that he was made Admiral of the Irish Seas, and knighted when justly he should have been

AD.1629. been try'd for his Life. All these Gentlemen were committed to Prison for doing their Duty; that is, for speaking freely in Parliament, and refusing to answer out of it what they said in it. *Hollis, Elliot, Strode and Valentine* were sent to the Tower, the rest to the Fleet and Gatehouse.

Proclamation against Parliaments.

Brit. Con. p. 361.

P. 352.

Parliament Men corrupted.

Acherley, 353.

The Declaration before-mention'd was follow'd by a Proclamation containing this frank Confession of the Designs of the Court to subvert the Constitution of the English Government: *The Calling again of a Parliament is for ill Ends divulg'd and spread about. His Majesty did therefore declare, that the late Abuses had driven him out of the Course of frequent meeting his People in Parliament, and did command his Subjects not to prescribe him any time for Parliaments.* "From these plain incontestable Facts, says Mr. Acherley, may be taken a View of the Matters controverted between this King and his Parliament; what were the Power his Majesty aspir'd to, and what were the Rights the Lords and Commons contended for". The Lord Clarendon, or some body for him, is forc'd to confess here, *the People concluded no more Parliaments were to be expected,* and that therefore there was really an Intention to alter the Government; of which a greater Instance cou'd not be than this publick declaring, as was interpreted, *there shou'd be no more Parliaments.* The French Jesuit Orleans, who was a Confident of our abdicated King James, and whose History is recommended to us by Archdeacon Echard, gives us more of this Secret than a cunning Man wou'd have done. *Clarendon owns the King held the Queen in perfect Adoration;* and Orleans shews us how she put him upon the fatal Design of altering the Government. *I must in Justice to the Queen declare, That she being a Daughter of France was full of that Spirit which warms the Blood of absolute Monarchs; and as such looked on a limited Authority, that was not to be us'd without Art, as no better than Servitude; and therefore she made the utmost Efforts to rescue the King her Husband from under all Restrictions of Laws, Oaths, &c.*

The above-mention'd Gentlemen were not only imprison'd, but the Studies of some of them, as the great Selden, Mr. Hollis, Sir John Elliot, Mr. Long and Mr. Strode were seal'd up, and Prosecutions order'd against most of them in the Star-Chamber, to break the stubborn Spirit of Liberty, which gather'd Strength by Opposition; so the chief Assertors of it were tempted to make their Peace with the Court. Something has been said already of that grand Apostate Sir Thomas Wentworth, who gave himself up Body and Soul to Laud and his Measures. The good Queen just mention'd persuaded the King to make Laud his Favourite on the Death of Buckingham; and she afterwards got Laud to gain Wentworth to assist her in the wicked Project to introduce a tyrannical Government. The Bishop of Lincoln was spoke to to gain Sir John Elliot; but his Virtue was impenetrable. Sir John Saville cou'd not resist the Temptation; and he was made a Lord, and Comptroller of the Household. Sir Dudley Deggs was also found frail in the Day of Trial, and was made Master of the Rolls. Heath after a little more Court Drudgery was remov'd to the Bench of Judges to make room for Noy to be Attorney-General, and Sir Edward Littleton was made Solicitor. These Men did not give themselves up by Halves, or keep any Reserve of Conscience or Honour, Littleton only in some small Degree excepted. It may be said of all the rest what I have read of Noy, he sacrific'd all his Knowledge of the Law, and his great Learning, to the Favour of Laud, and had as deep a Hand in all the illegal Practices of this Ministry as any one. Instead of declaiming on the Characters of these odious Ministers, as Echard does after Clarendon, I will repeat what a learned Writer says of their Admini-

stration after the Dissolution of the Parliament, by which will be seen what Steps were taken to change the Form of the Constitution; and if what Mr. Acherley tells us is true, Clarendon and Echard are false in every Page. "The King's Ministers by whom he administer'd gave themselves over to Licentiousness and wanton Acts of Power; for they thinking themselves freed from Parliamentary Inquisitions, and being above the Reach of ordinary Justice, and secur'd from extraordinary, imagin'd that no Fault which was like to find no Punishment. Proclamations supply'd Defects in Law. Tonnage and Poundage, and other Impositions on Merchandise, were collected by Order of the Privy-Council; and the Members came now to be punish'd, as he threaten'd at the Close of the last Parliament; by which the principal Privilege, viz. Freedom of Speech was, as the Ministers hop'd, to be quite extinguish'd. The Ministers therefore caus'd three Members of the House of Commons, Sir John Elliot, Denzil Hollis and Benjamin Valentine to be prosecuted by his Majesty's Attorney-General for Words spoken by them in their Debates in Parliament; and without any Regard to Parliamentary Privileges these Members were condemn'd and fin'd, Sir John Elliot 2000 Pounds, Mr. Hollis 1000 Marks, and Mr. Valentine 500. All of them were imprison'd till they shou'd pay their Fines, which Imprisonment was accompany'd with some arbitrary Severities; for these Gentlemen were deny'd not only Pen, Ink, and Paper, but their Wives were in their Sickneses deny'd Admittance, and consequently the Rigor of the Punishment comprehended an additional Sentence of Divorce between them and their Wives, infomuch that Sir John Elliot, after many Yeats Confinement, sunk and dy'd under the Oppression. But this Prosecution and Condemnation being a Wound given to the two Estates of Lords and Commons in their tenderest Privilege, and having rais'd great Discontents, was in the Reign of King Charles II. revers'd and unanimously declar'd illegal: In which Reversal, as in a Looking-Glass, the Prosecution, Imprisonment, and Death of that Patriot, and the Power of the Ministers by which he, and in him the undoubted Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and of all the Commons of England were trampled under Foot, appear to this Day in Colours, administering a Detestation of such Proceedings." I chuse to keep to this Lawyer-like Stile, for the greater Authority of the Quotation, which proves how this King's Ministers executed the Project to alter the Form of Government, in the Opinion of those who can best judge of it, the Lawyers of England.

Walter Long Esq; of Wiltshire was prosecuted in the Star-Chamber in an unprecedented Manner, says the same learned Lawyer, for suffering himself to be chosen a Burgess for Bath when he was High-Sheriff of Wilts. He was condemn'd and fin'd 1332 l. for absenting himself from that County during the Session of Parliament, and imprison'd in the Tower. "This was an Addition, continues my Author, to the Number of Violations of parliamentary Privileges, which in these Times were treated as the vilest Clogs to Government." That Question had been lately determin'd in the Case of Sir Edward Coke, who being made High-Sheriff of Buckinghamshire to prevent his being elected a Member of Parliament, was notwithstanding chosen a Burgess for a Borough in another County, and his Election was voted and resolv'd to be good by the House of Commons. Mr. Acherley again; "The King's Ministers being thus freed of Fear, quarter'd great Companies of Soldiers and Sea-men on private Houses; many People were put to death by Martial Law, who ought to have been

P. 360.

Tyrannical Proceedings,

Detested.

A.D. 1629. " been try'd by the Law of the Land, consequent-
 ly, in the Opinion of this learned Lawyer, many
 " People were murder'd. Others by the same Mar-
 " tial Law were exempted from the Punishments
 " which by the Laws of the Land they deserv'd."
 This is confirm'd by the Lord Clarendon himself,
 who has given us so much Eulogy on the Blessings
 of this Reign: *It rais'd an Asperity in the Minds of*
more than the common People: This Distemper was
so universal, that the least Spark still meeting with
combustible Matter enough to make a Flame, all wise
Men look'd upon it as a Prediction of the Destruction
and Dissolution which wou'd follow. But none of

Miserable
Times.

P. 76.

the wife Men about the King wou'd advise him to
 take one Step towards curing that Distemper, and
 calming the Minds of the People. Clarendon a-
 gain; *There was no Serenity in the Countenance of*
any Man who had Age and Experience to consider
Things to come. Let us now observe how very
 consistent one Part of his History is with the o-
 ther. " It is no wonder if England was generally
 " thought secure with the Advantage of its own
 " Climate; the Court in great Plenty, or rather,
 " which is the Discredit of Plenty, Excess and
 " Luxury; the Country rich, and which is more,
 " fully enjoying the Pleasure of its own Wealth,
 " and so the easier corrupted with the Pride and
 " Wantonness of it; the Church flourish'd, Trade
 " increas'd, the Royal Navy in Number and E-
 " quipage much above the former, very formida-
 " ble at Sea. *What comes after is said more in flat*
Contradiction of the Truth, even than what went
before. The Reputation of the Greatness and
 " Power of the King much more with foreign
 " Princes than any of his Progenitors. Lastly,
 " for a Compliment of all these Blessings, they
 " were enjoy'd by and under the Protection of a
 " King of the most harmless Disposition, the most
 " exemplary Mercy, &c." Foreigners generally have
 not the same Biass to a Side as the Historians who
 are Natives, and by Education or Principle are al-
 ways list'd on the one or the other. Monsieur

P. 167.

Larrey writes thus of these blessed Times: " He
 " was resolv'd to act without the Assistance of
 " Parliaments, rather than give them any Satis-
 " faction. He continu'd to levy Taxes that were
 " not granted him to supply his Wants: *Tonnage*
 " and *Poundage* were collected; and to that was
 " added another Tax on the Inhabitants of the
 " Sea-Port Towns and Forests, which was levy'd
 " with as much Haughtiness and Rigor as if they
 " had been the inseparable Rights of the Crown,
 " incensing the Nation more by these kind of
 " Taxes which infring'd on their Liberties, than
 " he cou'd have done by much greater, that had
 " only drain'd their Purfes, and not infring'd their
 " Liberties. *Popery* was tolerated, and *Arminia-*
 " *nism* favour'd. *Neile* and *Laud* were the Cause.
 " Nevertheless it was long before they came to a
 " Rupture, tho' it may be properly said, they were
 " only without War and not in Peace. The Death
 " of the Emperor *Ferdinand* gave the King new
 " Hopes to restore the Prince *Palatine* his Ne-
 " phew, and he ought then to have quitted these
 " vain Disputes about Ecclesiastical Discipline,
 " which caus'd his Subjects Hatred, and to have
 " apply'd himself to have reliev'd a Family that
 " nearly concern'd him, and to procure the Re-
 " storation of their Dominions: But he only sent
 " the Earl of *Arundel* to congratulate the new
 " Emperor, and solicit for the *Palatinate*." This
 Negotiation was like all the former; and the Lord
Arundel being referr'd to the Duke of *Bavaria*,
 that Prince answer'd haughtily, *I conquer'd the Pa-*
latinate with my Sword, and with my Sword I will
maintain the Possession of it. " Thus the Earl of
 " *Arundel* return'd without obtaining any Thing,
 " and King *Charles* being altogether taken up with
 " his Episcopal Disputes, neglected his Nephew's
 " Fortune, to light up the Fires of Civil Wars in

English
Ministers
ill us'd
abroad.

" his own Dominions." Coke informs us, his Am-
 bassador Sir *Henry Vane*, who was also sent to Ger-
 many about the *Palatinate*, was treated in a more
 rough, scornful, and dishonourable Manner, than any
 even of King *James's* Ministers who had been sent
 on the same Errand. Such was his Majesty's Re-
 putation abroad, such the Happiness and Tranqui-
 lity at home.

A.D. 1629.

A Peace being concluded with France, *Eschard Peace with*
 tells us the Articles contain'd nothing extraordinary. France and
 However the King was pleas'd at the Instance of Spain.
 the Queen to order the Release of several
 Popish Priests and others, who were then confin'd
 in several Prisons according to the Laws. Her
 Majesty was about the same Time brought-to-bed
 of a Prince who was christen'd *Charles*, but dy'd
 an Hour after. The War with Spain, if it de-
 serves that Name, remain'd still on the same foot.
 The English as well as the Spaniards committed
 few Acts of Hostility; but the Court of Spain
 thought fit to send Sir *Peter Paul Rubens*, the fa-
 mous Painter of *Antwerp*, Secretary and Gentle-
 man of the Chamber to the Archduchess *En-*
genia, to propose a Treaty of Peace; and as the
 Archdeacon discreetly expresses it, *he seem'd to offer*
 Restitution of the *Palatinate*, which our Court
 no doubt seem'd to accept of; but the Negotia-
 tion had no Effect till *Don Carlos de Colonna* came
 over next Year, and concluded the Treaty between
 England and Spain, which was solemnly sworn
 upon a Latin Bible brought for that Purpose by
 Bishop *Laud*.

Among other illegal Ways of raising Money, a
 Corporation of *Starch-Makers* was settled, who
 were to pay a round Sum for their Monopoly, a
 Precedent for other Monopolies on a like Pay-
 ment. One *Atkinson* being ow'd a great Sum of
 Money by a Servant of the King's, su'd him for
 his Debt. Immediately the Earl of *Montgomery*
 Lord-Chamberlain, sent the Creditor to Goal for
 suing him without his Leave. *Atkinson* brought
 his *Habeas Corpus*, and was discharg'd. The Earl
 resenting it, committed *Atkinson* again to Prison
 in Contempt of the Court, and, says *Whitlocke*;
 to the Admiration of all wise Men; for there were
 some Men of Wisdom on the Side of the Laws
 and Liberties of the English Nation. Three of
 the Judges, *Jones*, *Whitlocke*, and *Croke*, granted a
 new *Habeas Corpus*, which the faithful *Hyde* Chief-
 Justice refus'd: But before the Return of it, the
 Earl of *Montgomery*, upon wiser Thoughts, releas'd
Atkinson. *Heath* the Attorney-General, not yet a
 Judge, fit, as *Whitlocke* says, for such Work, ex-
 hibited an Information in the *Star-Chamber* against
 Mr. *Chambers* the Merchant, who had been before
 plunder'd for not paying *Tonnage* and *Poundage*
 contrary to Law. His Crime was for saying, *Mer-*
chants have more Excouragement, and are less screw'd
up in Turkey than in England. Mr. *Chambers* con-
 fess'd the Words, but he spoke then of the inferior
 Officers of the Customs, who had much wrong'd
 him, without reflecting on the Government; yet
 the Court fin'd him 2000 Pounds, and order'd
 him to make a Submission, which this generous
 Citizen refusing as unjust and false, the Fine was
 estreated into the *Exchequer*, where he pleaded
Magna Charta and other Statutes against it, as not
 being by legal Judgment of his Peers, nor saving his
 Merchandize; but the Barons wou'd not suffer his
 Plea to be fil'd: He was thrown into Prison, and
 a *Habeas Corpus* deny'd. Thus, says *Coke*, " You
 " see the Fruits of the *Petition of Right*, and the
 " King's repeated Declarations to maintain the
 " Laws of the Land, and the Liberties and Pro-
 " perty of the Subject." *Whitlocke* adds, after 12
 Years Imprisonment and long waiting for Satis-
 faction for his Losses, *Chambers* at last dy'd in Want.
 The Judges were somewhat perplex'd about the
Habeas Corpus for the Parliament-Men, and wrote
 a Letter to his Majesty, *That by their Oaths they*
 were

Monopolies.

Chambers.

Tyranny
again.

Coke, 288

III Judges.

A.D. 1629. were to bail the Prisoners: The Lord-Keeper Coventry, as fit a Man as *Heath*, wou'd not acknowledge that he had shew'd the Letter to the King as the Judges had desir'd him, but told Judge *Whitlocke* whom they deputed to receive his Answer, that he and his Brethren must attend the King at *Greenwich*, where his Majesty express'd himself to be displeas'd with their Determination, and commanded them not to deliver any Opinion in the Case. The Prisoners were afterwards remov'd to several Prisons, and a Letter came from the King to the Judges, that this was done because of their insolent Carriage at the Bar. At last the Judges declar'd they wou'd bail them upon Sureties for their good Behaviour. The famous *Selden* pray'd that his Sureties might be taken, and the Matter of the good Behaviour omitted as a distinct Thing. The rest of the Prisoners stood to what *Selden* mov'd, but the Court remanded him and them to the *Tower*. Who wou'd not gladly have suffer'd in that Cause for which the great *Selden* was a Sufferer? And how idle is it for the Author of the *History of the Rebellion* to talk of Law, Learning, Wisdom, and Reason, while *Selden* was a Prisoner for the Defence of them. The Shame of keeping these Patriots in Goal was so great, that it was intimated to them, if they wou'd petition the King they shou'd be releas'd, but they refus'd to do it; and some of them moving for better Usage in their Prisons, it cou'd not be obtain'd; which sufficiently proves the Design of this King and his Ministers to alter the Form of Government, or in other Words to destroy the Constitution of England, which was restor'd at the Revolution, and has since then ever flourish'd.

Members of Parliament ill treated.

Whitl. 14.

Tumult.

Some time this Year there happen'd a very great Tumult in the Street, occasion'd by the arresting one *Billingham*, an Isle of *Rhe* Captain, who was rescu'd by the Templars under Pretence that the Serjeants took him within their Precincts. The Lord-Mayor *Sir James Cambel* march'd at the Head of 500 Citizens to recover the Prisoner, and a hot Skirmish ensu'd, in which some of the Lord-Mayor's Company were kill'd, and several woundéd; but the Tumult being suppress'd, the Offenders were seiz'd, and two of the principal, Captain *Albursf*, and Mr. *Stamford* Servant to the late Duke of *Buckingham*, try'd, condemn'd, and executed at *Tyburn*. *Stamford* had before been pardon'd for Murder.

Sir Robert Dudley.

A Book appear'd at this Juncture written by *Sir Robert Dudley*, under the Name of the Duke of *Northumberland* then in *Italy*: It was entitl'd, *A Proposition for his Majesty's Service, to bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments*. 'Twas a Project to raise Money without them; for dispersing which, the Earl of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Clare*, Mr. *Selden*, *Sir Robert Cotton*, and Mr. *St. John*, were committed to Prison. But *Sir David Powlis* discovering the Author of that Pamphlet, these Lords and Gentlemen were releas'd. *Sir Edward Peyton* makes more of this Manuscript, and insinuates that it was written with the King's Privy; his Story is this, "*Pickern* Matter-Falconer, found the written Project in the King's Cabinet, it being open, and seeing what it was, he brought it to Car Earl of *Somerset*, who shew'd it to *Sir Robert Cotton*, the Earl of *Clare*, Mr. *St. John*, and Mr. *Selden*, who had frequent Meetings; *Sir Robert* had a Man who in his Cups told it to a false Brother, and he betray'd them all." The Court found it necessary to prosecute these Gentlemen for spreading their Libel, in order to clear themselves; but the Prosecution was stopp'd in respect of the great Joy on the Birth of the King's Son.

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A.D. 1630.

Earl of Pembroke's Death.

We must open the next Year with the sudden Death of *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, which is said to have been foretold by the famous Fortune-Teller the Lady *Davis*, who was imprison'd

for it. Her Prophecy was, that he shou'd not live his Birth-day when fifty Years old. The same was predict'd, according to *A. Wood*, by Mr. *Thomas Allen* of *Gloucester-Hall* in *Oxford*. He was very pleasant and healthful that Day; he supped at the Countess of *Bedford's*, and when he came home, said, *He wou'd never trust a Woman Prophet for Lady Davis's sake*. He seem'd very well after he was in Bed, somewhat late in the Night, and had not been there long before he fetch'd a deep Sigh and dy'd away. By his Death the Office of Chancellor of the University of *Oxford* became vacant, and no doubt his Successor, right or wrong, will be Dr. *William Laud* Bishop of *London*; who, notwithstanding the Opposition made by Bishop *Williams's* Interest, had a great Majority of Voices. Mr. Archdeacon cannot help it. Now it happens that he was not chosen duly at all; for in the History of his *Trial* printed by Order of Parliament, we read, "By indirect Means this Prelate procur'd himself to be elected Chancellor upon the Death of the right honourable *William Earl of Pembroke* in April 1630, whose noble Brother was then really elected by most Voices, tho' mis-calculated by Practice in the Scrutiny by this Prelate's Creatures. What Alterations were there made upon his Advancement and Chancellorship, will appear by these subsequent Depositions of *Sir Nathaniel Brent*, *Mr. Corbet* of *Merton-College*, *Mr. Nixon* Alderman of *Oxford*, *Mr. Bendy*, *Dr. Wallis*, &c. *Echard* of this Dr. *Laud* again; He was the greatest Patron of Religion, the greatest Promoter of Discipline and Government; as will be seen with a Vengeance in Dr. *Leighton's* unjust, barbarous, and bloody Treatment by him; The greatest Benefactor to the Designs of Piety, &c. It will not bear repeating. He says after this, *The Parliament having omitted the proper Season for Accommodation: His stupid Meaning is of yielding up all their Rights to the Will of the Prince: The Court was necessitated to have Recourse to such Ways of raising Supplies, as upon great Exigencies had been practis'd in former Times*. Here he takes upon him to form a Judgment by his own private Sense, directly opposite to the Sense of the Nation. He knew the proper Season to accommodate Matters better than the Parliament of *England*, but he is not so fair as to tell us that Accommodation cou'd not be made without their giving up all Redress of Grievances; and he then asserts, directly opposite to the Opinion of *Selden*, *Coke*, *Glanville*, *Whitlocke*, and even *Noy* and *Littleton*, before they apostatiz'd, that his Majesty did no more than what was usual, and his Right in raising Money without Consent of Parliament. This Writer has been sufficiently dealt withal elsewhere; but as his History apes that of the *Rebellion*, it must sometimes undergo Animadversion. Let us read what a learned Lawyer says on this Subject; "The deepest, most dangerous Wound that was ever given this Constitution, was the assuming a Legislative Power to impose Taxes in a new Manner." The Archdeacon avers it was formerly practis'd; it refers to Ship-Money, of which more hereafter.

A.D. 1630.

P. 71.

Ach. 364.

A Commission was granted something like that to *Empson* and *Dudley* in *Henry VII's* Time. It was to compound for defective Titles to Possessions, as *Empson* and *Dudley's* was to take Fines and Forfeitures on obsolete Penal Laws. The Judges oppos'd this Design, and were the Occasion of quashing it. But tho' the King receeded, yet the Tendency he discover'd to it, depriv'd him of the Merit of dropping it; for it look'd according to the Archdeacon, as if the Court were pursuing Measures not justifiable by Law. Indeed almost all their Measures did so look, and this therefore was the less to be wonder'd at.

Money Projects.

The next Project was *Wentworth's*, but it was only the Revival of that mention'd after the Coronation

A.D. 1630. nation to raise Money by *Knighthood*. This Impo-
 sition was equally illegal, whimsical, and ridicu-
 Ach. 363. lous, as far as any thing can be ridiculous, which
 is illegal. The learned Barrister tells us, "His
 Majesty's Ministers levy'd Money by Fines and
 Imprisonments upon all Men of 40*l.* per Annum
 and upwards, who refus'd to take upon them
 the Order of *Knighthood*, tho' in Respect of their
 Estates and Qualities they were altogether unfit."
Knighthood. *Larrey* enlarges on it. "The King had Recourse
 to extraordinary Levies to supply his Necessi-
 ties. The Creation of a great Number of
 Knights was one Project, and the Subject of
 Mirth and Raillery in those Times; for it seems
 as if *Knighthood* was but of little Use in a Reign
 wherein all was quiet and peaceable. The King
 had ended all War, and had no Enemies unless
 he look'd on his Subjects as Enemies, who op-
 pos'd introducing Innovations in Church and
 State." The good Lord-Keeper *Coventry* was
 one of the Commissioners for levying of this
 merry Tax, which oblig'd the Yeomen of *Eng-
 land* to pass over the Heads of the Esquires and
 Gentlemen, and commence Knights. Thus they
 were thrust into *Knighthood*, or into a Goal up-
 on refusing to pay this unjust romantick Impo-
 sition, which turn'd Industry into Errantry. 'Tis a
 poor Excuse for extorting this Payment, that but
 14000 Pounds of it came into the King's Purse,
 tho' 100000 Pounds was taken out of the Sub-
 jects. To oppress the People, and let others have
 the Benefit of it, if Benefit can ever come from
 Oppression, adds Weakness to the Injustice; and
 several as unwarrantable Projects and Monopolies
 had the like Infirmity.

Power
abroad.

Notwithstanding the King's Wants, according
 to the Archdeacon, *the King exerted some Power
 in foreign Parts*. How quaintly he expresses it!
Woods Rogers of *Bristol* exerted some Power in
 the *South-Sea*, and took a Town, which we fear
 is more than we shall find in this Piece of Histo-
 ry. The King was so far from being in Want,
 that there was a flowing Treasury, as we read in
Acherley: "By all which unpleasing and provo-
 king Ways, the King receiv'd vast Sums of Mo-
 ney, not only from Persons of Quality, but from
 Persons of any reasonable Condition throughout
 the Kingdom." It wanted but a small Portion
 of common Sense to foresee that a severe Account
 must one time or other be given for Money ex-
 torted thus from the People. The victorious *Gus-
 tavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden* had penetrated
 into *Germany*, with a brave tho' small Army, to
 deliver the *Germans* from the Tyranny of the
 House of *Austria*, in which the King of *England*
 was nearly concern'd; and *Echard* informs us, he
 resolv'd to take hold of this Opportunity to re-
 cover the *Palatinate* for the Elector *Palatine*. His
 Ambassador at *Ratisbone* met with nothing but fair
 Words, and he therefore sent an Army of 6000
 Men under the Marquis of *Hamilton* to join the
 King of *Sweden*. These Forces were rais'd in *Scot-
 land*, and before the Marquis cou'd embark, the
 Lord *Ochltrey* charg'd him with High-Treason, as
 raising that Army to make himself King of *Scot-
 land*. *Weston* the Treasurer encourag'd this Charge,
 and urg'd it home to the King, who freely told
Hamilton what he was accus'd of, but added, *That
 the World may know what Confidence I have in you,
 you shall lie this Night in my Chamber*. For, to use
Echard's Words, *it was the King's Principle never
 to suspect or desert his Friends*. These Men never
 consider what they say; the King's Ministers are
 his Friends. Cou'd they do no ill, and must they
 never be deserted? A very wise Principle truly,
 and like to have good Effects in a Government
 no better belov'd than this was, which affected rather
 to provoke than appease the People. We
 are coming to an Instance of this Disposition,
 which cannot be written or read without Horror

Hamilton
sent with
Forces to
Germany.

Laud's
Cruelty.

and the utmost Indignation against *Laud*, who was
 the Cause of it. 'Tis a Scandal to all History, and
 has no Parallel in any other. I have large Me-
 moirs relating to it, and shall therefore enter into
 the Detail.

Alexander Leighton Doctor of Divinity in the
 two Universities of *St. Andrews* and *Leyden*, one
Zachary Grey a *Cambridge* Doctor of Laws, as im-
 pudently as falsely asserted he never took his Do-
 ctor's Degree, was Father of the seraphick Dr.
Leighton Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and Sir *Ellis
 Leighton* who however was a Scandal to his Name.
 When the *High-Commission* Court and Spiritual
 Courts had render'd *Laud* and his Brethren odious
 to the Nation, several Gentlemen and Citizens
 came to Dr. *Leighton's* House in *Blackfriars*, to de-
 sire him to draw up Articles against the Oppressi-
 on of those Prelates, which after much Persuasion
 he did; and those Articles being expiated upon,
 made a Book call'd *Sion's Plea against Prelacy*. The
 Gentlemen and Citizens desir'd him to go beyond
 Sea and print it, but he wou'd not do it till feve-
 ral pious, learned, and judicious Ministers and o-
 thers, some of them Members of Parliament, set
 their Hands to it in Approbation of its Contents.
 Dr. *Leighton* then went abroad, and re-urn'd with
 an Impression of it, to his very great Charge and
 Loss. Two Copies of the Book were deliver'd to
 the Parliament a few Days before they were dis-
 solv'd, and it was not long after that as he came
 out of *Blackfriars* Church, *Croft* and *Tomlins*, two
 High-Commission Pursuivants, arrested him, and
 dragg'd him with great Force and Violence to the
 House of *Laud* Bishop of *London*, who returning
 from *Clapham* with Dr. *Corbet* in his Coach, *Leigh-
 ton* demanded to be heard. *Croft* made as if he
 shou'd; but instead of it, he brought him through
 a subterraneous Passage to a Door not open'd
 since Queen *Mary's* bloody Reign; and having
 provided Bolts to put on his Hands, he was carry'd
 with a huge Multitude of Bills and Staves to
Newgate, where in the Entry his Wife was almost
 kill'd, and himself was cast into a nasty Dog-hole
 full of Rats and Mice, no Light but from the un-
 cover'd Roof, no Place but the Ruins of an old
 Chimney for Fire; no Bedding, and no Meat nor
 Drink from Tuesday-Night to Thursday-Noon.
 In this doleful Place and Plight they kept him,
 with two Doors shut upon him, for the Space of
 fifteen Weeks, suffering none to come at him, not
 even his Wife in all that time. I copy this from a
 Manuscript drawn up by Dr. *Leighton* himself, and
 afterwards presented to the Parliament. Four Days
 after his Commitment, the *High-Commission Court*
 Pursuivant, with other Ruffians belonging to that
 impious Court, came to Dr. *Leighton's* House in
Blackfriars under Pretence of searching a *Presby-
 terian's* House for *Jesuits* Books, laid violent Hands
 upon his distress'd Wife, and us'd her with such
 barbarous Inhumanity as is a Shame to express.
 They rifled every Soul in the House, and held a
 cock'd Pistol to a Boy's Breast of five Years old,
 threatening to kill him if he wou'd not tell where
 the Books were; at which the Child was so fright-
 ned that he never recover'd himself. They spoil'd
 and carry'd away all the Doctor's Books, Household-
 Stuff, Apparel, Arms, &c. notwithstanding Mrs.
Leighton told them there wou'd be a Day of Reck-
 oning for it. They took away also a great Num-
 ber of Books belonging to the Doctor from one
 Mr. *Archer*, with whom he had left them for Se-
 curity. The Keeper of *Newgate* deny'd him a
 Copy of his Commitment, and the Sheriffs of
London, *Arthur Abdy* and *Robert Cambel*, refus'd
 to bail him upon his Wife's Petition according to
 the Statute in this Behalf, one of the Sheriffs say-
 ing, *He wish'd the Laws of the Land, and Privi-
 leges of the Subject, had never been named in Par-
 liament*. At fifteen Weeks end he was serv'd with
 a *Subpœna*, and an Information was laid against
 him

The horrid
Treatment
of Dr.
Leighton.

A.D. 1630. him by that fit Tool Sir Robert Heath then Attorney-General, who came to him in Newgate, and told him the King was inform'd he would not be examin'd. Dr. Leighton reply'd, *I have the more Wrong, and the contrary will appear; I am willing to be examin'd by the meanest of his Majesty's Subjects coming with lawful Authority, tho' I refus'd to answer before the High-Commissioners, as having no lawful Authority.* He then gave his Reasons, with which Heath seem'd to be satisfy'd. Sir Henry Martyn and Dr. Reeves two Civilians, with the Clerk of the High-Commission Court, and seven or eight of the Commissioners, had before been with him in Newgate to examine him, and he refus'd it; for that they had by an unlawful Warrant violently cast him into a loathsome Prison; that by the Laws of God and Man they were forbidden to meddle with the Body or Goods of the Subject. Sir Henry Martyn and Dr. Reeves told him they were order'd by the King to take his Examination. Dr. Leighton said, *'tis more than I know; if you will lay aside your Commission, and examine me by the King's Command, I will answer.* Sir Henry Martyn reply'd, *Not so.* Dr. Leighton to him, *Not so neither as you would, will I be examin'd;* which made Heath the Attorney accost him as he did. Sir Henry and he had much Discourse about the King's Supremacy, the Hierarchy, going to Religious Assemblies different from Church-Worship, Fasting and Prayer; by which it appears that if Sir Henry Martyn understood Civil Law no better than he did Divinity, Dr. Leighton would have made as good a Judge of the Admiralty. Reeves said, *I believe in my Conscience you have done more Hurt than the Jesuits;* but that Civilian making his Belief serve instead of Reason and Argument is not much to be regarded. Sir Henry Martin looking stedfastly upon Leighton, and seeing his Countenance thro' long fasting, beastly Lodging, and other Affliction very pale and meagre, the Tears rush'd into his Eyes. But Reeves, another Tool of Laud's, was insensible, as was also the Attorney Heath, who on Assurance that he shou'd come off as he pleas'd, got a Confession out of the Doctor that he wrote the Book he was charg'd with; and at a second Conference promis'd him not only Pardon but Favour, if he would confess who set him on; which Dr. Leighton refusing, he was immediately brought into the Star-Chamber Court, and requir'd to put in Answer to a long Invective call'd an Information; which he did very amply, and to the Satisfaction of all religious, reasonable Persons. But no Council durst plead for him; and tho' he was so ill in Prison, that four Physicians and an Attorney certify'd his Case to be desperate, suppos'd to be the Effect of Poison, yet absent, sick, and unheard, the following Sentence pass'd upon him, as it is *verbatim* in his Petition to the Parliament. "This horrid Sentence was to be inflict'd with Knife, Fire and Whip at and upon the Pillory, with 10000*l.* Fine; which some of the Lords of the High-Commission Court conceiv'd shou'd never be inflict'd, only it was impos'd as on a dying Man to terrify others. But Dr. Laud and his Combinants caus'd the said Sentence to be executed the 26th Day of November following with a witness: for the Hangman was arm'd with strong Drink all the Night before in Prison, and threatening Words to do it cruelly. Your Petitioner's Hands being ty'd to a Stake (besides all other Torments) he receiv'd thirty-six Stripes with a terrible Cord. After which he stood almost two Hours in the Pillory in cold Frost and Snow; and then suffer'd the rest, as cutting off the Ear, firing the Face, flitting of the Nose. Here the Clerk of the House of Commons, when the Petition was read, was order'd to stop; and when he was going on again, the Compassion of the House was such, that he was bid to stop again till they had recover'd themselves; but

Laud and his Brethren of the High-Commission A.D. 1630. Court heard it all with Pleasure, as with Pleasure does Echard write it. The Petitioner proceeds: "He was made a Theatre of Misery to Men and Angels; and being so broken with his Sufferings that he was not able to go, the Warden of the Fleet would not suffer him to be carry'd in a Coach, but hurry'd him away by Water to the farther endangering of his Life, &c." Dr. Leighton between the passing and Execution of the Sentence found Means to make his Escape out of the Fleet; which News was immediately carry'd to Laud. It was brought to me on Thursday Night, Laud's In-fays that cruel Prelate in his Diary. By this and what follows out of the same Diary, we see who it was who was most busy in this bloody Work. "He was taken again in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the Fleet. On Friday Nov. the 26th Part of the Sentence was executed upon him in this manner, much the same as we have related it. And says Bishop Laud again: "On that Day sevendnight his Sores upon his Back, Ear, Nose and Face being not cured, he was whipp'd again at the Pillory in Cheapside, and there had the Remainder of the Sentence executed by cutting off the other Ear, flitting the other Side of the Nose, and branding the other Cheek". This hellish Cruelty which the Parliament cou'd not bear the hearing of, does Bishop Laud dwell upon, not in a publick Assembly only, where he might be oblig'd to hear it, but in his Closet where he might have avoided it, and yet he meditates upon it with Delight. This is the Bishop of whom Echard says, No Man in the World was so fit to make a Chancellor of the University of Oxford, considering his Religion and Charity. Mr. Elphinston and Mr. Anderson, two Scots Gentlemen, were fin'd 500*l.* apiece for helping Dr. Leighton their Countryman to fly from this infernal Punishment, without any Crime committed, as appears by the Parliament's giving him 6000*l.* and making him Warden of that Prison where he so long liv'd in loathsome Confinement. The Laudean Prelates were the *Jehus* of this Court, and had the greatest Hand in all the tyrannical Proceedings there. One of them, Harsnet of York, when Mr. Long a Member of Parliament was brought into it for attending the Service of the House, being Sheriff of Wiltshire, brow-beat Mr. Long's Council, who pleaded ancient Records touching the Privileges of Parliament to exempt Members from the Jurisdiction of that detested Court: *Don't trouble us, says Harsnet, with Moth-eaten Records: We sit here not to be guided by Precedents, but to make Precedents;* and so proceeded to censure. Was it not high time to take care of such Prelates and such Practices? Not only the Star-Chamber, but Westminster-Hall was exercis'd with some irregular Cafes, as the Archdeacon says it. Sir Henry Martyn made a great Complaint to his Majesty against the Judges of the King's-Bench for granting Prohibitions against his Court. The King commanded the Judges to appear; and they justify'd their Proceedings to be according to Law, from whence they cou'd not depart by vertue of their Oaths; which proves plainly that his Majesty's Privy-Cousellors made light of the Law, when their Passions or Interests were controul'd by it.

About three Years before this there was establish'd a Society for buying in Impropriations for augmenting poor Vicarages, and maintaining a Preaching Ministry. An excellent Project! and it had the Success it deserv'd. It is incredible what large Sums were advanc'd in a short time towards so laudable an Employment, according to Dr. Fuller. This Society chose four Divines, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Sibbs, Mr. Offspring, Mr. Davenport; four Lawyers, Ralph Eyre, Esq; Simon Brown, Esq; of Lincoln's-Inn, Charles Sherland, Esq; of Gray's-Inn, John White, Esq; of the Middle-Temple; and four Mer-

A.D. 1630. Merchants, Mr. John Geering, Mr. Richard Davis, Mr. George Harwood, Mr. Francis Bridges to be their Feoffees; who succeeded so well, that Fuller thinks within 50 Years Purchases wou'd rather have been wanting than Money to make them. These worthy Feoffees presented the most religious and sober Ministers to the Livings they purchas'd, whom Laud look'd on with a jealous Eye, lest they shou'd prove a Thorn in the Sides of Episcopacy; though when that Prelate oblig'd Noy the Attorney to prosecute the Feoffees in the Exchequer, Fuller owns it appear'd they prefer'd no Ministers, whose Sufficiency and Conformity were not first examin'd by the Bishop. Mr. White, afterwards Chairman of the Committee upon insufficient ones, offer'd Bishop Laud, that if he dislike'd either the Feoffees or their Divines, they wou'd willingly submit to any Alteration. But Laud would be satisfy'd with nothing less than the dissolving a Society, who had the Impudence to set up a pious Preaching Ministry. And it had been well if he had not push'd the Matter farther. The Court of Exchequer condemn'd the Proceedings of the Feoffees as dangerous to the Church, and pronounc'd their Gifts and Feoffments illegal, broke the Society, and seiz'd the Money which had been given by religious Persons for the Subsistence of religious Ministers. Dr. Fuller charges Laud with this worst Sort of Sacrilege.

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Laud's Sacrilege.

Mr. Huntley, a Minister, persecuted.

Mr. Huntley, a Minister of Kent, having been thrown into Jail by the High-Commission Court, brought his Action against Barker the Keeper, and some of the Commissioners by Name, whom after long Debate the Judges order'd to answer. Laud, chief of that detestable Court, took the alarm, and represented to the King that the Commissioners wou'd be ruin'd, if they were accountable for their Doings. Upon which his Majesty sent Dr. Reeves, his Advocate, to the Lord Chief Justice, requiring him to proceed no farther. The Judges in this singular Case resolv'd not to break their Oaths, but to insist upon it that the Commissioners shou'd answer; and those petty Tyrants had behav'd so ill, and were become so obnoxious and odious, that even the Privy-Council approv'd of it, notwithstanding the Opposition of Laud Bishop of London, and Neile Bishop of Winchester, who spoke vehemently against it.

Birth of K. Charles the IIId.

On the 29th of May the Queen was deliver'd of a Son at the Palace of St. James's about Noon. At which time a Star appear'd in a clear Sky to the Wonder of numberless Spectators, according to Echard; as if it prognosticated what a Blessing he was to be to this blessed Nation, as will be seen in his History. The Historians who make the most of this Prognostick, are a little puzzled how to reconcile the Glory of this Appearance with that Prince's Misfortunes and Mismanagements. Sanderfon, as considerable an Author as Echard, assures us it was a Miracle wrought by God in Favour of the new-born Prince; and the latter takes notice of it in the same manner. Larry observes upon it: *These Interpreters of the heavenly Signs carry'd their Predictions higher; and they wou'd needs have it that this wondrous Star promis'd the Prince, whose Birth it shone on, not less than the Conquest of the East, which way it pointed.* But if it had been a Blazing Star it cou'd not have been more disagreeable to the Puritans, who did not at all join in the surpassing Exultation on that Occasion. Heylin thinks he has got great Advantage against the Protestants for their Behaviour at the Birth of the Prince; and I shall shew how in his own Words: "I can tell you it was otherwise with too many of the Puritans, who had laid their Line another way, and desir'd not that the King shou'd have any Children; infomuch that at a great Feast in Friday-street, when some of the Company shew'd great Joy at the News of the Queen's first being with Child, a leading

P. 141.

P. 236.

Observat. on L'estr. p. 96.

Puritans not pleas'd with it.

A.D. 1630. "Man of that Faction, whom I cou'd name were it worth while, did not stick to say, I can see no such Cause of Joy for the Queen's being with Child; God has already provided better for us than we deserve, in giving such a hopeful Progeny to the Queen of Bohemia brought up in the Reform'd Religion; whereas it is uncertain what Religion the King's Children will follow, when brought up under a Mother so devoted to the Church of Rome. I remember very well, that being at a Town one Day's Journey from London when the News came of the Prince's Birth, there was great Joy shew'd by all the rest of the Parish in causing Bonfires to be made, and the Bells to be rung, and sending Victuals unto those of the younger Sort, who were most busily employ'd in that publick Joy: But so that from the rest of the Houses being of the Presbyterian or Puritan Party, there came neither Man nor Child, nor Wood nor Victuals, their Doors being shut close all that Evening as in a Time of general Mourning and Disconsolation". Here is an Accusation against the Presbyterians and Puritans by their most inveterate Enemy Heylin, a Creature and Tool of Laud's, that their Souls sigh'd for the Succession of the Protestant Line, which now is in Possession of the Throne of Great Britain, even before the Birth of the two last Kings of the House of Stuart. The Queen of Bohemia, as has been intimated elsewhere; had endear'd herself and her Posterity to all true Protestants in Britain by her great Zeal for the Reform'd Religion; infomuch that when it was propos'd to marry her Son to the Emperor's Daughter, if he was educated in the Imperial Court, the pious Queen declar'd she had rather be his Executioner, than suffer her Child to be bred up in Idolatry. Shou'd we not hope, as we pray, for an Eternity of Blessings on the Posterity of a Princess, who in the midst of Misfortunes prefer'd Religion to Empire? And may not the Puritans and Presbyterians reasonably value themselves on their early Devotion to the Interests of that Royal House who now wear the British Crown. A Merit their Adversaries have so little Claim to, that they take Pride in nothing more than the wicked and obstinate Opposition they have constantly given it, and constantly will give it, notwithstanding they may thro' false Policy be employ'd and caref'd, which will bear farther Remarks in a more proper place.

A.D. 1630.

They long for the Protestant Succession.

A.D. 1631.

Bishop Davenant.

It was not the sober and religious inferior Clergy only, who met with Vexation, the Fathers of our Church felt the Weight of the Displeasure of Laud and his Brethren. The very learned and pious Dr. Davenant Bishop of Salisbury, one of the most elequent Preachers of his Time, preaching in his Course a Lent-Sermon at Whitehall before the King and Court, and handling the Point of Predestination according to the 17th Article of the Church of England; the King took Offence at it, and Harfnet Archbishop of York, and Neile Bishop of Winchester, told him so after Sermon, as did also the Earl of Montgomery Lord Chamberlain. Accordingly he was two Days after summon'd to appear before the Privy-Council, where Bishop Davenant presented himself on his Knees; and Dr. Fuller tells us, he might have continu'd on his Knees for any Favour the Bishops Laud, Harfnet, or Neile shew'd him; but the temporal Lords bad him rise and stand to his Defence, being as yet only accus'd not convict'd. Harfnet spoke with great Vehemence against him, upbraiding him with King James and the present King's Favour to him, and charging him with disobeying the King's Declaration forbidding the meddling with controverted Points in Sermons. The Bishop of Salisbury said very justly, that an establish'd Article of the Church cou'd not be deem'd a Point in Controversy, and his preaching upon it therefore was no Breach of the Royal Command: But Harfnet, to whom Laud left

Bishop Davenant summon'd before the Council. P. 138.

A.D. 1631. left this invidious Work, continu'd to rebuke the Bishop with his wonted Fierceness; and to make the Matter up as well as he cou'd, his Lordship said, *I am sorry I understood not his Majesty's Intention, if I had I shou'd have made Choice of some other Subject which might have given no Offence; and for the Time to come I shall conform myself as readily as any other to his Majesty's Command.* The Earl of Arundel approv'd of Bishop Davenant's Answer, and advis'd him to say no more, the Privy-Council being satisfi'd that his Sermon was not an intended Violation of his Majesty's Declaration: So his Lordship was dismiss'd, and the Lord Chamberlain afterwards introducing him to the King, he kiss'd his Majesty Hand. Thus ended an Affair which, as Fuller observes, the good Bishop's Adversaries *Harsnet, Neile, &c.* hop'd wou'd make him fall totally and finally from the King's Favour.

St. Paul's Church. It is not one of the least important Passages in Archdeacon Echar'd's History, where he relates at large the Activity of Bishop Laud in the Repair of the Cathedral of St. Paul. I shou'd have taken as much Pleasure as himself in viewing the masterly Strokes of that great Architect *Inigo Jones*; I shou'd have been as much charm'd with the *Corinthian Pillars, the Cherubims, &c.* but I shou'd not have been in Astonishment, as he is, that *this new Structure of the principal Church in the Metropolis of the Kingdom* met with Exceptions and Murmurings, occasion'd by Laud's causing Shops and Houses to be pull'd down without the Consent of the Owners, to make room for the Building. If the Owners did not consent, their having a *reasonable Compensation* is no Satisfaction. Common Sense teaches every one, that for a Man to be turn'd out of his House, Way of Trade and Living, is not to be compensated by paying him a reasonable Price for his House. If the Owners did not consent, the Sheriff of London was requir'd to force their Property from them, to demolish their Houses, and drive away the Tradesmen to seek out new Dwellings and Shops. Laud got Briefs for Contributions throughout the Kingdom, and Letters Monitory were sent from the Lords of the Council to quicken the Gentlemen in the Country in raising Money for so righteous and religious a Work. Sir *Francis Knollys* and Sir *Thomas Vachel*, two Justices of the Peace in *Berkshire*, who were not over forward in it, as not liking either Laud or his Projects, were check'd for delaying to gather in the Contribution-Money, and not giving liberally themselves. By this compulsory Method great Sums of Money were rais'd, and *this one Thing*, according to Archdeacon Echar'd, *was enough to remove all other Prejudices against Laud.* The Privy-Council having little else to do, and being under the Influence of that Prelate, publish'd an Order that no Body carry any Thing in the Church which may profane it; that Parents shou'd be punish'd for Childrens playing in the Church at any Time, &c. We defy all History to shew any thing so trifling in the Acts of any Council that was ever thought worth naming.

Hamil- ton in Germany. We must now take some Notice of the Marquis of Hamilton's Expedition in Germany, where he commanded an Army of 6000 English and Scots, sent to the Assistance of the great *Gustavus Adolphus*. A Treaty had been made between the King of Sweden and the Marquis, without any mention of King Charles, for fear of offending the Emperor. Neither was any mention made of recovering the Palatinate. This Fear and Precaution of the Kings, says *Larrey*, appear'd in his Letter to the Queen of Bohemia, excusing his making Peace with Spain, as being done with a View of engaging that Monarch to mediate for the Restitution of the Elector Palatine's Dominions. *That is to say*, continues the French Historian, *King Charles suffer'd himself to be amus'd by the Artifices of the Spaniards as his Father had been before, be-*

ing as timorous and irresolute as he, dreading War, and loving Peace. The Lord Clarendon is so far from owning any thing of this, that he assures us King Charles was very formidable to all the Kings in Europe, and had as great a Reputation abroad as any of the Plantagenets. The 16th of July Hamilton sail'd from Yarmouth for Zealand in Denmark, where arriving safely, he went directly to that Court. From Zealand he proceeded to Pomerania, where he landed his Army, and went himself to wait upon the King of Sweden, then preparing for the Battel of *Leipsick*. His Majesty appointed those Forces to cover the Towns in that Province, to secure his Retreat in Case he was forc'd to make one. Gustavus was victorious in the Battel, and wrote a Letter to the King of England with his own Hand, to inform him of his Success, and exhort him to continue his Assistance; but in the main he did not much rely upon it; and cou'd not, according to *Larrey*, confide in a Prince who kept such Measures with one of the most dangerous Enemies of the common Cause. We shall in the next Year see to what Purpose the Marquis of Hamilton and his 6000 Men were sent to Germany.

In England there was an uncommon Trial of a Lord Aud- Nobleman *Mervin Lord Audley Earl of Castleba-ley's Trial.* ven, for a Rape committed on his own Wife by his Servant *Broadway*, himself holding her while his Man ravish'd her; and for Sodomy with *Fitzpatrick* another of his Servants. The Lord-Keeper Coventry was made Lord High-Steward on this Occasion, assisted by eight Judges. The Trial was in Westminster-Hall, and there were twenty-seven Peers. The horrid Crime was sufficiently prov'd, all the Peers, except *Dudley Lord North*; voted him guilty of the Rape, and fifteen of them declar'd him guilty of the Sodomy: So he was condemn'd to be hang'd, but the Sentence was mitigated, and he was beheaded on Tower-Hill. *Broadway* and *Fitzpatrick* were executed at Tyburn.

The next Project to raise Money was by sealing *Projects of Cards and Dice*, and that of Knighthood was profecuted with Vigor. *Wentworth* now at the Head of all arbitrary Counsels, dipp'd deeply in the Guilt of this scandalous Project, and procur'd three of his Countrymen *James Maliverer Esq; William Ingleby Esq; and Thomas Moyser Esq;* all of *Yorkshire*, to be fin'd severely, the *Maliverer* 2000 Pounds; as a Composition for the Order of Knighthood, whereas he might have been a Baronet for half the Money. Other Persons were fin'd grievously in other Parts of England to their utter undoing, according to *Rushworth*. A Charter was granted to the Soap-Makers of Westminster for 10000 Pounds down, and 8 Pounds a Year, which brought a good Revenue into the Exchequer yearly. Two Proclamations publish'd at this Time were worth remembering, one for the better Direction of those who come to Court to be cur'd of the King's Evil, the other against eating and selling of Flesh in Lent.

Bishop Laud was all this while very busy with his Prosecutions in the High-Commission Court, and in all other Courts where he had Influence. Mr. *Thomas Ford* of *Magdalen-College Oxon*, Mr. *Giles Hodges* of *Exeter-College*, were summon'd to appear before the Vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. *Smith* Warden of *Wadham-College*, from whom Fuller tells us they appeal'd to the Proctors, as suspecting *Smith* to be partial. Their Crime was for touching upon Controversy contrary to the King's Instructions, which were intended chiefly to hinder the preaching against Popery and Arminianism. The Proctors were Mr. *Atherton Bruch* of *Brasen-Nose College*, and Mr. *John Doughty* of *Merton*, who receiv'd their Appeals. Laud immediately complain'd to the King then at Woodstock, and his Majesty immediately appointed the Business to be brought before himself, who heard the Cause in August, and

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A.D. 1631. the Issue of it was, Mr. Ford, Mr. Thorn, and Mr. Hodges were sentenc'd to be banish'd the University; and the two Proctors Mr. Bruch and Mr. Doughty were turn'd out of their Offices. At the same time the very learned and reverend Dr. Prideaux Rector of Exeter-College, and Dr. Wilkinſon Principal of Magdalen, receiv'd a sharp Admonition for giving countenance to thoſe three Divines who were expell'd Oxford for preaching againſt the Hereſy of Arminius, which Laud took into his Protection. Mr. Ford refus'd to make any Addreſs to be reſtor'd to the University; and the Rage of Biſhop Laud did not ſtop at his Expulſion, for being inform'd that the Town of Plymouth intended to chuſe him Lecturer, Letters were ſent to require them not to do it on Pain of the King's Diſpleaſure. There is nothing but Severity and Irregularity.

Sir Giles Allington.

While the infamous Tryal of the Lord Audley was depending, Sir Giles Allington's Caſe was proſecuted in the High-Commiſſion Court. The Knight had marry'd his Nièce contrary to Admonition and Authority, as Echar'd phraſes it. Sanderſon affirms he had the Opinion of Council upon it before Marriage. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury had indeed admoniſh'd him againſt it as inceſtuous, and he was afterwards queſtion'd for it in the High-Commiſſion Court. Allington was rich and cou'd bleed freely, ſo they were very loath to part with him. Sir Giles apply'd to the Court of Common-Pleas for a Prohibition. The Court order'd a Rule for it. Immediately Biſhop Laud runs to the King again, who blam'd the Judges, and Laud threaten'd to excommunicate them if they granted a Prohibition; ſo the High-Commiſſioners proceed and ſentence Allington to pay 12000 Pounds to the King, and give 20000 Pounds Security not to cohabit or be in private with his Wife, as alſo to do Penance in the Cathedral of St. Paul's London, and Great St. Mary's at Cambridge in which County he liv'd. He and his Wife paſs'd thro' that Ceremony; but, ſays Sanderſon, no Penalty of the Purſe, or Shame of the Sin, cou'd keep them long aſunder.

St. Paul's.

Biſhop Laud going forward with repairing and decorating his Cathedral, ſet up certain Images, which, according to Ruſſworth, were to the Diſcontent of many Perſons. The King came himſelf to viſit this Church in a kind of Proceſſion. Above 80000 Pounds were gather'd by the Briefs, beſides 19000 Pounds laid out by Sir Paul Pindar. Echar'd affures us the Prebends were afterwards turn'd out of their Stalls, and Horſes put in their Places by the Puritans.

Hamilton.

We have hinted that the Marquis of Hamilton had been accus'd of High-Treaſon, and now the Lord-Keeper and Judges conſider how to examine into the Truth of it. The Lord Rea a Scotch Baron impeach'd Ramſay and Meldrum, two of his Countrymen, for exciting him to go beyond Sea to join in the Conſpiracy; but they poſitively denying it, and no Witneſſes being produc'd, David Ramſay, who was a Soldier, offer'd to clear himſelf by ſolemn Combat. The Lord Rea accepted the Challenge; upon which a Court of Chivalry was erected, and Robert Earl of Lindſey made Lord-High-Conſtable of England on that Occaſion. The Sureties for the Lord Rea were Sir Robert Gordon, Sir Piercy Croſby, Sir Walter Croſby, Sir William Forbes, and William Innys Eſq; For Ramſay the Earl of Abercorn and the Earl of Roxburgh. Mr. Selden was one of the Lord Rea's Council, and Tuttle-Fields was appointed to be the Place of Combat; but before it was to be decided, his Maſteſty ſent Richard St. George King at Arms, with a Letter to the Lord High-Conſtable, by which he revok'd his Letters Patents for the Tryal of this Cauſe.

Hamilton in Germany.

In the mean time the Marquis of Hamilton, by Command of the King of Sweden, quarter'd his

little Army at Cuſtrein, Frankfort upon Oder, Landſberg, Croſar, and other neighbouring Towns in Pomerania, where a third Part of his Soldiers languish'd and dy'd of various Sickneſſes. The Marquis was afterwards order'd to join General Banier and beſiege Magdeburgh, which was attempted without Succels, and Hamilton receiv'd Orders to march to Halberſtadt. Sir Henry Vane was then in the King of Sweden's Camp, Ambaſſador from England, but cou'd get no other Anſwer from that Prince about the Palatinate, than that he cou'd not undertake the War with the Bavarian, who was in Poſſeſſion of it, unleſs King Charles wou'd enter into a War with Spain, which he knew was not to be expected when a Treaty of Peace had been juſt concluded between the Kings of England and Spain. The Marquis of Hamilton was ſoon after this recall'd, and an End put to an Enterprize which like all the foreign Enterprizes of the Engliſh ſince Queen Elizabeth's Death, is hardly worth our Remembrance.

A.D. 1632 Kings of Sweden and Bohemia.

The King of Sweden fell the next Year in the Field of Lutzen, where his Army was crown'd with Victory; and the King of Bohemia dying of the Infection at Menz, the Earl of Arundel was ſent to Holland to invite the belo' d Queen and her Children into England; but that Princeſs excus'd her not accepting the Invitation on account of her great Sorrow, which render'd her incapable of taking ſuch a Journey.

Ld Wentworth and Mr. Bellafis.

This Year the Lord Viſcount Wentworth was ſent Deputy to Ireland to tyrannize there as he had done in the Court of the North, of which he was Lord-Prefident, and of which Mr. Edward Hyde ſaid in Parliament, It was a Maſs of new exorbitant intolerable Power. He had not been long Prefident of the North, before he procur'd Mr. Bellafis Son and Heir of the Lord Viſcount Faulconberg, to be ſummon'd before the Council for ſtanding with his Hat upon his Head, and looking in his Face as he paſs'd by him with the Mace carry'd before him. Mr. Bellafis anſwer'd that his Face was turn'd another Way, he being talking with the Lord Fairfax, and the Lord Wentworth paſs'd before he was aware of it. The Council commanded him to kneel, which he did ſeemingly only, and poſitively refus'd to ſign a Submiſſion that he was ſorry he had given Offence to the ſaid Lord, upon which he was ſent to Priſon. When he was ſummon'd to appear again, he ſaid he hop'd it wou'd be underſtood that his Submiſſion was to have relation to the Lord Wentworth's Place and not to his Perſon; but his Friends prevail'd with him to ſubmit in the Form that was tender'd to him, thinking his Honour was ſav'd by giving the Board and Wentworth eſpecially to underſtand how he himſelf underſtood his Submiſſion.

The Archdeacon telling us of ſeveral Church-Promotions, extols Biſhop Laud's great Care in recommending Perſons to Eccleſiaſtical Preferments who were of the greateſt Probity; and then is ſo weak as to name them, Neile tranſlated to the Archbiſhoprick of York, Curl tranſlated to Wincheſter, Pierce promoted to Bath and Wells, Lyndſay to Peterborough. He informs us alſo that he got Mr. Francis Windebank his old Friend, to be made Secretary of State, tho' ſuch an Advocate and Patron to Romiſh Priests and Jeſuits, to uſe his own Words, that he was himſelf reckon'd a Papiſt. Now it was that Biſhop Laud's Integrity ſhone out bright again in the Proſecution of Henry Sherfield Eſq; Recorder of Saluſbury. That worthy Gentleman was ſcandaliz'd at ſome Painting in Glaſs in a Window of St. Edmund's Church in that City, where the Creation of the World was repreſented in Emblems which ſuited ill with Religion, for Almighty God was painted there like an old Man. The Recorder order'd that blaſphemous Picture to be taken down as a Diſhonour to the Reformation,

Mr. Sherfield's Suffering.

A.D. 1632. Reformation, for which he was cited to the Star-Chamber, where he pleaded the Scripture that forbids severely the making any Pictures of the Deity, and the Act of Parliament 13 Q. Eliz. which orders such Pictures to be pull'd down as Monuments of Superstition, pursuant also to another Statute of Edward VI. Notwithstanding this Plea of Religion and Law, and the very plain Plea of Reason and Sense, the Court fin'd him 500 Pounds. Laud who sat then in Court, endeavour'd to justify the Blasphemy of painting the Creator like a Creature, and was so very weak as to quote the *Antient of Days*; but the Earl of Dorset reply'd, *The Antient of Days is the Eternal God, who is injuriously represented in that Picture as an old Architect with a Pair of Compasses drawing the Plan of the Universe.* "The People murmur'd, says Larrey, at Mr. Sherfield's Sentence, who they thought had Scripture and Law on his Side." Mr. Nathaniel Bernard Lecturer of St. Sepulchers London, in a Sermon preach'd at St. Mary's in Cambridge on this Text, *The Glory is departed from Israel, because the Ark of God was taken away.* was by Procurement of Laud censur'd in the High-Commission Court, for delivering some smart Passages against Possibility of Salvation in the Church of Rome according to the Decrees of the Council of Trent. Mr. Bernard was order'd to make a Recantation which was drawn up for him, but he refus'd to sign it, and was fin'd 1000 Pounds, suspended his Ministry, condemn'd in Costs of Suit, and thrown into Goal, where he dy'd, his ill Usage there shortening his Life. But Dr. Fuller observes, *He that maketh Inquisition for Blood, either has been or will be the Avenger of it.* Laud was the Man meant here. Dr. Comber, says Fuller, Vice-chancellor, gave speedy notice of the Sermon to Dr. Laud Bishop of London. But as quick as he was, the Bishop's University-Agents had sent him Information of it before. About the same Time the very eminent Mr. Arthur Hildersham Minister of *Abby de la Zouche*, who had been silenc'd before by Bishop Neile, and restor'd by Dr. Ridley Archbishop *Abbot's* Vicar-General, was again silenc'd by the Spiritual Court at *Leicester*, where Sir *John Lamb* and *Sibthorpe* did Laud's Business; but the Piety and Merit of this celebrated Divine, made even the vile Court of *Leicester* ashamed of keeping such a Minister out of his Pulpit, to which they restor'd him a few Months after. This Year another Proclamation was publish'd for keeping of *Lent*; and another, that all Gentlemen keep their Residence at their Mansions in the Country, and not inhabit in the City of London or Places adjacent, that they might not bring Infection to Town with them. Every Year is productive of Proclamations; sometimes twenty, sometimes more yearly. Not a word has been heard of a Parliament for about four Years, and Laud rules without Controul in the Star-Chamber, High-Commission, and other spiritual Courts; and how the Protestant Religion advanc'd, we may find sooner in Fuller's than in *Clarendon's* History. A grave Divine preaching before the University at St. Mary's Cambridge, had this Passage in his Sermon, *As at the Olympian Games he was counted the Conqueror who cou'd drive his Chariot Wheels nearest the Mark, yet so as not to hinder his running or to stick thereon: Metaque Fervidis Evitata Rotis; so he who in his Sermon can preach near Popery, yet no Popery, there is your Man.* "Indeed it now began to be the general Complaint of most moderate Men, that many in the University, both in the Schools and Pulpits, approach'd the Opinions of the Church of Rome nearer than ever before," as Dr. Fuller writes; who being an orthodox Divine, and of that University, and of that Time, must know these Things better than *Clarendon* and *Echard*, who both assure us on their exemplary Veracity, that great Care was taken by Bishop Laud

to prefer Persons of the greatest Probity in the Church, tho' we read these Persons came nearer Popery than ever. 'Tis necessary to digress thus on Ecclesiastical Affairs, to shew how industriously those two Writers conceal the Attachment of Bishop Laud and his Brethren to the Papal Hierarchy and Superstition, in Opposition to the Sense of the most pious and most worthy of our Protestant Bishops and Clergy.

Echard begins his Account of the King's Journey to Scotland, as pompous as all other his Relations, where he intends that the King or Bishop Laud shall make a shining Figure. "The Scots Nation, says he, tho' very falsely, by King James's pacifick Deportment whilst there, and his obliging Bounty whilst in England, had with great Plenty enjoy'd a continual Peace for above forty Years, which none of their Records can give an account of for so long a Time before." The Author of the *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, writes quite contrary to this: "Nothing but a dark Prospect of Persecution, and a Cloud threatening Dissolution to the Church, now appear'd; the Prisons were fill'd with depriv'd Ministers, and the remote Parts with the Banish'd, the King's Letters coming every Post, pressing to more and more Severities, &c." Such was K. James's pacifick Deportment, and King Charles, his Son, according to the same Author, was no less zealous than his Father in the Episcopal Part of Church-Affairs, and the Church of Scotland got no Advantage by the Change. Both these two Kings were afraid of drawing their Swords against any foreign Power; and this abject Fear which render'd them contemptible to all Nations round them, is the pacifick Deportment so much declaim'd upon by such Writers as the Archdeacon. They tell you you are in profound Peace, when the Laws of both Kingdoms are violated, and the best Men in both are either thrown into Goals, or driven from their Habitations into remote Banishment. No two Kings were ever stouter in their Attacks on the British Constitution: But what says *Coke* of one of them? *King Charles prospering, as he thought in his domestick War, having taken more Prisoners in it, I mean Members of Parliament and Hertfordshire Constables, than his Father and he had done in all their Wars against France, Spain, and the Empire, for the Recovery of the Palatinate, was very unwilling to enter into a foreign, &c.*

Echard then gives us what he calls a true History of the Church of Scotland, much like the Truth of his other History. It was govern'd first by Superintendents, and afterwards by Bishops; but he does not say that those Superintendents were subjected to the General Assembly of Presbyters: And he is no more true than he is in other Places, when he tells us those Superintendents were remov'd to make way for Bishops again; Episcopacy being never suffer'd in Scotland till ten Years after King James had conform'd to the Church of England. The Church of Scotland all this while exercis'd a compleat Presbyterial Government, and no other. There were exact regular Meetings of Kirk or Parochial Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies; the Nobility upon all Occasions sign'd the Book of Polity, the Foundation of the Presbytery, and those Ministers who retain'd the Title of Bishops, did not, as the Archdeacon affirms, govern the Kirk, having nothing left them but a ministerial Authority, and were equally subjected to Presbytery, Synod, Assembly, &c. The Historian gives us a melancholy Instance of it in the Person of the titular Bishop of Orkney, who, as a private Minister, was censur'd by the Assembly for solemnizing the adulterous Marriage of the Queen, King James's Mother, with *Bothwell*, for which they depriv'd him, and restor'd him to his Ministry afterwards upon his Humiliation. They were allow'd to be call'd Bishops; but to use the

Mr. Bernard.

Rushw. 140.

P. 167.

P. 166.

A.D. 1632.

A.D. 1633.

P. 172.

High Govern- ment in Scotland.

P. 290.

Church of Scotland.

Mem. Ch. Scotl. 52.

Ib. 72.

Ib. 73.

Words

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A.D. 1633. Words of the Scots Historian, they were really only Superintendents, and not that neither very long, for the Assembly Anno 1574, voted the Bishops to be only Pastors of one Parish, and delated several of them for not preaching: They actually depos'd the Bishop of Dunkeld, and delated the Bishop of Glasgow for the like Offence. The next Year the Assembly voted, That the Name of Bishop is common to every one that hath a particular Flock, over which he hath a peculiar Charge to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments. No Bishop was to appoint Ministers without the Consent of the Flock, nor to suspend other Ministers without the Consent of his Brethren. Such were the Bishops in the Scots Kirk, and such their Way of governing. They preach'd God's Word, administer'd the Sacraments, and were called Bishops sometimes; and sometimes Presbyters; as Tallents tells us after Binius the Bishops of Rome or Popes were for 200 Years after Christ. Tho' Echard inculpates that the Kirk Bishops had as much Power as Spotswood and Sharp usurp'd afterwards in the Archbishoprick of St. Andrew's. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Brechin, Dumblain and the Isles were of this very Assembly, and acknowledg'd they understood themselves to be Bishops in such a Presbyterial Sense only, for which they are censur'd by Archbishop Spotswood. Two Years after, in 1577, the Assembly ordain'd that all Bishops be call'd by their own Names; and the next Year they voted the very Name of Bishop to be a Nuisance. If Echard's true History is such, what must his false be. He proceeds: In the Year 1580, Episcopacy was condemn'd as contrary to the Word of God, and Presbytery establish'd by Tumult. There is something else besides Falshood in this Assertion, which is so common in his other Histories that I need not name it, and it breaks in too much upon Decency. The Preamble to the Act which pass'd in 1580, shews it was not the Effect of Tumult; Forasmuch as Episcopacy, &c. was brought in by the Folly and Corruption of Men's Inventions to the great Overthrow of the true Kirk, the whole Assembly in one Voice, after Liberty given to all Men to reason the Matter, none opposing themselves in the Defence of the said pretended Office, findeth and declareth the same unlawful, as being unscriptural, and having no Warrant from the Word of God. In the Year 1592, spoken of by the Archdeacon, King James gave his Royal Assent to a Statute confirming the Privileges of the Kirk, their Assemblies, Synods and Presbyteries, by a very good Token, of which not a Syllable from the reverend Historian; That the Assembly then sitting order'd a Deputation to the King, to admonish him, in the Name of the Eternal God, to have respect in time to the Estate of true Religion, to the many Murthers and Oppressions daily multiply'd thro' Impunity, and to discharge the kingly Office in both, as he will eschew the fearful Challenge of God, and avert his Wrath from himself and the whole Land. Which Admonition, it is said, the King never forgave them. Indeed he cou'd not but be much more taken with the Compliment of Archbishop Whitgift, that he had the Holy Spirit in him, than with such homely Truth as the Scots Kirk told him, and consequently like Whitgift's Church much better than that he was educated in. The Archdeacon continues his true History thus: "King James finding the increasing Power of the Ministers and Preachers, which often overtopp'd that of the Civil Magistracy, took Occasion and Advantage from some of their Exorbitancies and Miscarriages to restore Episcopacy in the Nation by a Parliament, A. D. 1612". Had there been one word of Truth in this Passage besides the Restoration of Bishops, we wou'd have forgiven it. The first Exorbitance and Miscarriage we meet with after the Statute for establishing the

Kirk, was an Act of the same Assembly, ordaining, *A.D. 1633.* That no Minister within this Realm utter from the Pulpit any rash or irreverent Speeches against his Majesty or his Council, or their Proceedings, under Pain of being depos'd. Which, says the Scots Historian, effectually clears them from the Charge of being mutinous, and of refusing to submit to Authority. Indeed the Synod of Fife did the next Year order a Fast, for the Reasons mention'd at large in Calderwood; and some of their Members were deputed to the King, to tell him that which his true Subjects think, the Words of the Deputation, touching his too much bearing with, favouring and countenancing Papists and Traytors, his Negligence in repressing Idolatry, &c. And to declare freely to his Majesty the Resolution of all goodly and faithful Subjects, That they are ready to give their Lives rather than to suffer the same. Did Whitgift, Barcroft, Neile, Laud, Harsnet, Wren, Cosens, Mountague, and their Brethren of the same Stamp, talk so to him after he came to England? How can the Presbytery hope to continue in Scotland, when at the Instigation of those Prelates he was about to extirpate it in England? Instead of the Archdeacon's Exorbitances and Miscarriages read the Scots Historian. "In the next Year following, and then after, the Ministers struggled with the Defection of the Times, the refractory Disposition of the Prince, which the reverend Historian terms his Pacifick Department, and the growing Insolencies of the Courtiers, till they were crush'd". The Miscarriages and Exorbitances are all on the Court Side; and Echard bespatters the Church of Scotland with them, to justify the Insolencies of the Courtiers. It is not deny'd but the Ministers had some Reasons for their Admonitions. The King said he wou'd not decline the Judgment of the Assembly, provided it was done privately. To which an old Presbyter, Andrew Melvin, reply'd bluntly, We cannot justify private Rebuke for open Offences. Some time after this his Majesty and the Presbyters were in a manner reconcil'd. The King in a solemn Speech thank'd God that he was bred in that Kirk, the purest Kirk in the World; and said those bitter things against the Church of England which are repeated in the Introduction. He took a soft Way to have his Ends of them for their Admonishments. He began with the poorer Ministers, whom in my Author's Words he wheedled or bought off. He then easily got an Assembly to petition the Parliament in the Name of the Church, that some Commissioners from them might sit and vote with that Representative. The Presbyters greedily enough swallow'd this Bait. After which little Opposition was made to the Appellation that was to be given them, which cou'd not well be any other than that of Bishop. But these Presbyters forming an Assembly at Dundee, it was not reckon'd legal, so many Presbyteries protesting against it, and another Assembly met at Aberdeen; however, the former gain'd their Ends, the King supporting them; and an Act pass'd three or four Years before he came to England, to admit the Kirk's Commissioners to sit in Parliament as Bishops. After which Episcopacy with the Dignities, Powers and Revenues arriv'd by several Gradations to the Pitch King James intended, to mortify the Presbytery for their Admonitions. The Scots Historian closes his true History of this Matter thus: "I have been more particular in this Part, as it relates to the Manner how Episcopacy got at first Footing in the Church of Scotland; that the Fraud, the Artifice and hypocritical Fawnings, the arbitrary and outrageous Dealings which were practis'd with the Ministers might appear, as also the Strugglings and Opposition it met with for so many Years. The Time drew near that the King was to receive an Addition of Glory, and be called to a Kingdom infinitely more opulent,

ib. 81.
ib. 82.
ib. 83.
P. 87, 89.
Calderw. 186.
Mem. Ch. of Scot. 125.
K. James admonish'd

A.D. 1633.
Mem. Ch. of Scot. 151.
4
popu-

A.D. 1633. "populous and powerful than his own, and withal
 "wrapt up in that Ecclesiastical Hierarchy which
 "he so much desir'd. In the mean time he dai-
 "ly spent the Hours in Contests with the Mini-
 "sters, oppressing, imprisoning, removing, banish-
 "ing; so that he no sooner was become a King
 "of an *Episcopal Church*, but as was always nat-
 "urally the Spirit of Episcopacy in *Scotland*, he
 "became a Persecutor: nay, a Persecutor of that
 "very Church, which, as before is observ'd, he
 "had in the Face of the Assembly, with Eyes
 "and Hands lifted up to Heaven, solemnly prai-
 "sed and blessed God for being born in it".
 Now *Echard*: He nominated thirteen new Bishops
 for so many Episcopal Sees as had been in the Church
 in the Days of Popery; which Bishops he also arm'd
 with the Power of an High Commission, the bet-
 ter to cure the Spirit of the Presbyterians. He ad-
 vanc'd towards an Uniformity with the Worship and
 Ceremonies in England. "This was the Time, in
 "the Words of the Scots Historian, when Mr. *John*
 "*Spotswood*, who was prosecuted even by the
 "King's Friends in the Church for having been
 "openly at *Mas* in *France*, was protected by the
 "King from their Censure, and afterwards made
 "Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*". King *James*
 was so earnest in advancing absolute Power in
Scotland, that he offended even his own Bishops
 by proposing in Parliament when he was at *Edin-*
burgh, A. D. 1617. that whatever he himself did
 with the Advice of the Archbishops and Bishops in
 the external Polity of the Church shou'd have the
 Force of an Ecclesiastical Law. The Ministers
 sign'd a Protestation against that notorious Invasion
 of the Rights of the *Kirk*. Wherefore he resolv'd
 to exercise that Power without the Ceremony of an
Act. One of his wife Reasons for it was, that
 King *David* gave Orders concerning Church Mat-
 ters, as we read in *Salmonet*. But the very Bishops
 in *Scotland* oppos'd this. So he got an Assembly
 at *Perth* to agree to the *Articles* which go by that
 Name. 1. *Kneeling at the Sacrament*. 2. *Private*
Communion. 3. *Private Baptism*. 4. *Confir-*
mation. 5. *Holidays*. Orders were sent to all Mi-
 nisters to exhort the People to conform to these
Articles, and to preach upon the Lawfulness of
 them. But according to my Author, "This it
 "was never in their Power to do; nor where Mi-
 "nisters did conform was it in their Power to
 "make the People comply with, or hear them:
 "But a dreadful Rent being thus made in the
 "*Church*, the People divided from their Pastors,
 "and dissenting Ministers set up private Commu-
 "nions, and were almost universally follow'd. The
 "*High Commission* was the highest Exercise of Ty-
 "ranny that was ever practis'd by any King in
 "*Great Britain*, since Laws and Constitutions
 "were allow'd to be the Rule of Government;
 "for it actually put the King in Possession of the
 "Bodies and Goods of all his Subjects, and em-
 "power'd him to use them as he pleas'd without
 "the ordinary Forms of Justice, and merely by
 "the Agency of the Clergy, making the Bishops
 "Instruments of arbitrary Power, not only to de-
 "stroy the Liberties of the Church, but even of
 "the whole Country, Clergy and Laity. There's
 "scarce any Kind of Cruelty, Injustice and Op-
 "pression to be nam'd in the World, which was
 "not practis'd on the Ministers of the Church;
 "the Bishop of *St. Andrew's* telling them at one
 "of his Meetings, He shou'd proceed to Sentence
 "without having Regard to Wives, Children or
 "Estate". When the *Articles of Perth* were
 brought into Parliament in the Year 1621. to be
 pass'd into an Act, they met with great Opposition.
 But the King by the Management of the Members,
 says the same Author, and the Assistance of the
 Bishops got a Majority to vote it. Many noble
 Lords declaring their Dissent to it with much Ear-
 nestness, as the Earl of *Roth*, Earl of *Montieth*,

A.D. 1633. Earl of *Eglington*, Earl of *Linlithgow*, Earl of
Kintail, Lord *Gray*, Lord *Ross*, Lord *Tester*, Lord
Cathcart, Lord *Couper*, Lord *Burlic*, Lord *Torpi-*
chen, Lord *Balmerinoch*, Lord *Elphinston*, Lord
Forbes. The Earl of *Mortoun*, the Earl of *Buchan*
 and the Lord *Lauderdale* staid without the Parlia-
 ment-Door, because they wou'd not vote for it;
 and of the Commissioners for Shires and Burghs
 forty-four voted against it, besides nine Lords and
 twenty-six Commissioners that were Neuters, and
 came not to the House. So far was the Hierarchy
 from being the general Sense of the *Scots* Na-
 tion, as the Archdeacon and other Ecclesiastical
 Writers wou'd make us believe Upon King
Charles's Accession to the Throne, the Episcopal
 Party receiv'd all possible Encouragement. The
 Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was made Lord Chan-
 cellor of *Scotland*, and eight other Bishops Privy-
 Counsellors, to the unspeakable Discontent of the
 People, as well Nobility as Gentry and Populace.
 For tho' a long and cruel Persecution had in some
 measure suppress'd that Spirit of Liberty which
 animated the *Scots* after the Reformation, yet the
 Disgust rais'd by the Tyranny of the High-Com-
 mission Court lay hidden like latent Embers, and
 only wanted Wind to be blown into a Flame.

That Wind cou'd not be wanting when King
Charles carry'd *Laud* with him to *Edinburgh*, there
 being a Kind of Fatality in all this Prince's Coun-
 cils leading to the Ruin that attended them. The
 Earls of *Arundel*, *Northumberland*, *Holland*, *Pem-*
broke, *Southampton*, and other Lords waited on his
 Majesty to *Scotland*, where he was crown'd the
 18th of *June* by *Spotswood* Archbishop of *St. An-*
drews, assisted by the Bishops of *Rosse* and *Mur-*
ray. One must believe that *Laud's* Activity, so
 much applauded by *Echard*, appear'd here as well
 as in other Places. *Larrey* speaks thus of him: P. 297:
 "The Archbishop of *Glasgow* ought to have been
 "on the Right of the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*;
 "but *Laud*, who had the Direction of the Cere-
 "mony, seeing he was not in his Pontifical Robes
 "as the others were, being a Person who abhor'd
 "Pomp, had the Boldness to pull him forcibly
 "from his Place, and to substitute the Bishop of
 "*Rosse* in his stead. To this outrageous Insult
 "*Laud* added Words that were not less insulting:
 "Are you a Churchman, and dare you appear here
 "without a Habit suitable to the Episcopal Digni-
 "ty and the Solemnity of this Day? The *Scots* saw
 "by this Action what was to be expected from
 "such a Man, who was zealous for Episcopacy
 "even to Superstition; but they knew him much
 "better soon after". *Echard* himself can't help
 speaking some Truths on this Occasion: "The *Scots*
 "look'd with an evil Eye on the Bishop of *Lon-*
 "*don*, and with a worse when they heard him
 "preach in the Royal Chapel chiefly on the Be-
 "nefit of Conformity, and the Reverence due to
 "Ceremonies. They grew more exasperated when
 "the King during his Stay erected and endow'd
 "an Episcopal See at *Edinburgh*, and committed
 "the framing and composing a Liturgy for the
 "Church of *Scotland* to a select Number of
 "Bishops". These several Steps were with great
 Indignation complain'd against. And *Laud's* Foot
 was visible in every one of them, that Prelate
 haunting his Majesty like his evil Genius.

The Parliament which the King held at *Edin-*
burgh granted him a Subsidy, and pass'd several
Acts in a few Days; but warmly oppos'd two Bills
 which were brought to them relating to Ecclesi-
 astical Affairs. "They thought, says *Larrey*, the
 "King's Zeal for Episcopacy was but an ill Omen,
 "and look'd like a melancholy Prelude to their
 "Divisions. The first of the two Bills was for
 "revoking Alienations formerly made of Tithes and
 "other Estates of the Clergy". This Act was not
 contested so much as the second concerning Eccle-
 siastical Habits, the Direction of which was to be

A.D. 1633. left to his Majesty, and so the *Surplice* wou'd be impos'd on the *Kirk*, for which they had an Abhorrence. *Larrey* assures us the *Presbyterians* had the major Vote in this Parliament. And how wise were the Counsellors who put the King on such a Novelty at such a Juncture? His Majesty endeavour'd to intimidate the House by drawing a List of their Names out of his Bosom, and telling them *he wou'd mark down those that were well or ill affected to him, and that he wou'd remember both.* He was pleas'd to tell his Parliament in *England*, he scorn'd to threaten his Inferiors; but this Menace is no great Proof of it. However, many of the Members persisterd strongly in their Opposition, and thirteen of the Lords spoke with as much Vehemence as the Commons. Some time after a Pamphlet appear'd, in which the *Scots* complain'd that there was an Infringement of their Laws and their Religion by the King's awing the Parliament with his Presence. The Pamphlet was written by one *William Hagg* who fled for it; but being found in the Custody of the Lord *Balmerine*, he was charg'd with it, try'd by his Peers for Treason in concealing it, and condemn'd to lose his Head; but, says *Echard*, he obtain'd a most gracious Pardon. I wonder he had not translated *Salmonet*: The King cou'd not resist the Mildness of his Nature, always delighting in Mercy, which he prefer'd to all his other Virtues; as appear'd by his putting this Lord in the last Hazard of Life for a little Pamphlet which had but too much Truth in it. Neither of these impartial Historians let us know how *Balmerino* came by this most gracious Pardon,

P. 385.

as Mr *Acherley* does. The *Scots* in general associat'd to execute military Justice after the old Scottish Fashion by cutting to pieces the Judges, and by burning their Houses, if *Balmerino* was executed. Archbishop *Spotswood* was in so much haste to carry his Information against this Peer after the King to *London*, that he began his Journey on a Sunday. Indeed *Salmonet* the French Papist is a little fairer in this than the Archdeacon; for he gives us a Hint of the *Scots* Resentment at the Trial of Lord *Balmerine*: *The People got together at the Palace Gate, and threaten'd the Judges as they went in.*

The Earls of *Rothes*, *Cassils* and *Lothian*; the Lords *Lindsay*, *Torpichen*, *Simclair*, *Couper*, and four more enter'd their Dissent to the *Habit Act*. But the Majority being prepar'd to pass it, their Opposition had no other Effect than to shew the Court the good Reasons which ought to have hinder'd the bringing in the Bill. *Rushworth* tells us, 'twas observ'd that at the Dissolution of the *Scots* Parliament the King look'd on those Lords with an unfavourable Aspect. The *Presbyterians* presented a Petition to him complaining of the five Articles of *Perth*, which had occasion'd so great a Division in the Church, that the Episcopal Clergy were generally abandon'd by their Flocks. King *Charles* animated by *Laud*, they are *Larrey's* Words, press'd the Observance of those Articles, and the *Presbyterians* were obstinate in their Refusal. *Salmonet* informs us, that the Rumour of a *Liturgie* was already spread amongst the People, who were alarm'd at it, and disgust'd at the making all the Bishops Privy-Counsellors. He errs in that, there were only eight of the thirteen Bishops made Lords of the Privy-Council. In this Ferment did the King leave his antient Kingdom, and every Step he took after his Return to *England* serv'd only to increase it.

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Dr. Laud made Abp. of Canterbury.

P. 12.

No sooner was he return'd to *Whitehall* than he gave fresh Occasion of Disgust to both Kingdoms by advancing *Dr. Laud* to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, vacant by the Death of the most Reverend, Learned and Pious *Dr. Abbot*. *Laud* had been twice offer'd a Cardinal's Cap; But *Echard* affirms, that upon his Refusal the Tempter left him for ever. One of the most fla-

A.D. 1633. grant Falsities in Story; for as I have observ'd twice elsewhere, the Lord *Wiquefort* informs us in his Treatise of the Ambassador and his Function, that he treated with Count *Rosetti*, the Popish Agent in *England*, for a Pension of 48000 Livres a Year; which if the Pope wou'd have settled upon him, he wou'd not only have accepted of the Cardinal's Cap, but have gone to *Rome*, and have dwelt with the Pope and his Cardinals as long as he liv'd. *Larrey* also takes notice of this Negotiation. We have already observ'd, that the Author of *Clarendon's* History represents good Archbishop *Abbot* as unfit for that high Station. The Reader is desir'd to compare it with what follows out of the French Historian: "While *Abbot* was alive *Laud* observ'd some Measures: for tho' that Prelate was in Disgrace, he was never the less respected by the Church, by the Universities, and the whole Kingdom. Tho' he was stripp'd of Part of the Temporalities of his Bishoprick, and depriv'd of the Functions; yet the Character of so eminent a Post which he still held, and his Learning and Integrity were Barriers which *Arminianism* durst not attempt to force". The Archdeacon enters again into *Laud's* Panegyrick, and with some Tautology repeats that "his Heart was entirely set on the Advancement and Grandeur of the Church. He continu'd Archbishop in great Splendor seven Years. His Proceedings were with the utmost Vigor and Authority. He brought the Grandeur and Advancement of the Church of *England* to that Height, that it shew'd rather a Rivalship than a Resemblance of the Church of *Rome*". *What an Applause is there, to rival the Idolatry of the Roman Worship, and the Tyranny of its Hierarchy.* "In this and all his great and pious Designs, he had the hearty Concurrence of the King, and caus'd his Friend *Dr. William Juxon* to be made Bishop of *London* and Lord High Treasurer, and many of the inferior Clergy to be advanc'd into Civil Offices; Doctors and Ministers of Parishes were every where made Justices of the Peace. As he lov'd Pomp and Ceremony, he promoted Beauty and Regularity. He caus'd the Communion Table to be plac'd Altar-wise, and to be rail'd in. He was strict about the Surplice and Vestments. His Greatness was too big for Opposition. He was a vigorous Actor, and had a singular Influence at the Council Table, in the Star-Chamber and High-Commission Courts, so many Channels to convey the Royal Authority to Subjects for the Good of them and the Publick. But what gave the greatest and most Dislike to him, was that he wou'd not suffer the common Vices of great Men to go unpunish'd". He design'd the Discipline of the Church shou'd be felt, as it was with a Vengeance while 'twas subjected to his Tyranny. This is scarce a half Length of *Laud's* Picture, as the Archdeacon has drawn it; but it contains enough to shew the Painter might have done it winking, as well as with his Eyes open according to real Likeness. I will not copy much after *Prynne*, because what he says of this Prelate may be thought to be sharpen'd by the Sharpness of his Sufferings owing to *Laud's* Revenge and Cruelty. I will now content myself with what a foreign Author writes of him upon his Advancement to the Archiepiscopal Dignity. "Historians *Larrey* say this new *Phaeton's* Head was turn'd with 302. "Advancement, and that he did not fall from the Height which Fortune rais'd him to, till after he had set *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* in a Flame. As Primate of *England* he undertook to govern the Church; nor had he less Power in *Scotland*, supporting the Bishop of *St. Andrews* and the Bishop of *Dumblaine* there. *Church* "In *Ireland* the Lord *Strafford* did whatever this *Phaeton*, "Prelate pleas'd, so that his Spirit spreading thro' "the

Laud's Pride and Superstition.

Larrey 302.

Laud's Church Phaeton

AD.1633. " the three Kingdoms, was as it were the Soul
 " that gave them Motion. All Restraint being
 " taken off by Archbishop *Abbot's* Death, he ap-
 " ply'd himself eagerly to render himself and his
 " Party triumphant, arrogating to himself an Au-
 " thority in the three Kingdoms, which defac'd
 " the King's Supremacy, and can be justly com-
 " par'd to nothing but the *Pope's*. What is most
 " to be wonder'd at, is that the King, enchanted
 " by this Archbishop, lent him his Power to raise
 " him above himself, and stil'd those Persons se-
 " ditious and Rebels who defended the Royal
 " Authority against the Infringements of this am-
 " bitious Prelate. The *High-Commission* Court was
 " establish'd in his Favour, and made up of Ec-
 " clesiasticks and Seculars devoted to him: The
 " *Star-Chamber* was not less on his Side, and no-
 " thing that resisted him went unpunish'd, &c." I
 " could fill a large Volume with such like History of
 " *Laud*, but I am and shall be tir'd with writing so
 " much of him, which his thrusting himself into al-
 " most all Sorts of Business, renders unavoidable.

Church of
Scotland.

As soon as the King was return'd from *Scotland*,
 he sends back Articles of Orders to be observ'd by
 the Dean of the Chapel-Royal in the Palace of
Holy-Rood at *Edinburgh*; for Prayers to be per-
 form'd there twice a Day after the *English* Man-
 ner; that the Communion be receiv'd monthly on
 the Knees; and that he who officiates on *Sundays*
 and *Holidays*, do it in a Surplice; which Orders
 the Bishop of *Dumblaine* then *Dean* durst not o-
 bey for fear of exasperating the People. Bishop
Laud had a Warrant from the King to correspond
 with that *Dean*, to whom he wrote several Let-
 ters to promote the Design, and to inform the
 King who comply'd with his Pleasure, and who
 did not. The Bishop of *Dumblaine* answer'd, *He*
did what he cou'd, but the Times requir'd *Patience*.
 A plain Proof that *Laud's* Innovations in the
 Church of *Scotland*, was in direct Opposition to
 their Religion and the general Inclinations of the
 People; which if he knew it, was to sacrifice a
 kind Master to his own Bigotry and Obstinacy;
 and if he did not know it, he was very unfit to
 sit in the Seat of Council.

Rushw.

On the 13th of *October* the Queen was brought
 to-bed of her second Son *James*, who was crea-
 ted Duke of *York*, and in time succeeded his Fa-
 ther in his Kingdom and his Misfortunes. The
 Tyranny of the *Star-Chamber* Court, and the fla-
 vish Submission of the Judges who sat there to
 the Will of *Laud*, is no where better seen than
 in the Tryal of *William Prynne* Esq; of *Lincoln's-*
Inn, for writing a Book against the Stage and the
 lewd Practices of the Players, which *Jeremy Col-*
lier, a Priest of the same Principles with *Laud*,
 expos'd so successfully some Years ago: But it is
 not at all strange that a Bishop such as *Laud*, and
 a Minister of State such as *Cottington*, &c. who
 are about an Edict enjoining the Profanation of
 the Lord's-Day, shou'd worry a learned Gentle-
 man in a more barbarous Manner than ever was
 baited Bull, for writing against obscene Plays and
 Players. The Book entit'd *Histrionastrix*, was
 publish'd six Weeks before the Queen acted a
Pastoral at *Somerset-House*. The Words excepted
 against were only in the Index, *Women Actors no-*
torious Whores; which Place the Prelates and their
Instruments, in the Words of *Whitlocke*, shew'd to
 the King, and inform'd both King and Queen, that
 his Book was purposely written against her and her
Pastoral; which the Reader will observe to be
 the most brazen Falshood that harden'd Fronts
 cou'd be guilty of, the Book being publish'd six
 Weeks before the *Pastoral* was acted. The Lord
 Commissioner *Whitlocke* proceeds, *Yet the King and*
Queen tho' thus exasperated, did nothing against
Prynne till Laud set Dr. Heylin to work, who bore
Prynne a great Malice for confuting some of his
Doctrines, to peruse the Histrionastrix, and to col-

lect the scandalous Points out of them; which Heylin
did, tho' as Prynne affirms, not at all warranted
by the Text of his Book. The Archbishop went with
these Notes to Mr. Attorney Noy on a Sabbath-day
Morning, and charg'd him to prosecute Prynne, whom
in the mean Time the Bishops and Lords in the Star-
Chamber sent close Prisoner to the Tower. The
Lord-Commissioner informs us why these Bishops
order'd this inhuman Prosecution, Prynne had an-
ger'd them by some Books of his against Arminianism
and the Jurisdiction of Bishops, and by some Prohibi-
tions which he had mov'd. Besides that the Book
Histrionastrix was publish'd six Weeks before the
Queen's Pastoral was acted; it contain'd a thousand
Pages, and must be written many Months if not
Years, and therefore cou'd not be intended against
the Queen, as the Lord Commissioner tells us the
Bishops and their Instruments represented, and that
it was purposely written against her Pastoral, which
cou'd not be in Being when Mr. Prynne wrote his
Book. There is so good Authority for what we
say of the Proceedings of these Bishops and their
Instruments, that I hope the Reader will spare a
little Attention here: For this Accusation of theirs
being notoriously false, the Prosecution against Mr.
Prynne, and the unjust and barbarous Usage he
met with from Laud and his Brethren, ought al-
ways to be remember'd when Clarendon and E-
chard are declaiming on their Piety; for nothing
can be plainer than that this bloody Act was found-
ed on the greatest Injustice which cou'd be pra-
ctis'd in a Court; and that Laud's Activity was
never more signal than in this impious Process.
Mr. Hudson a Lawyer of Gray's-Inn, who open'd
Rushw. the Information against Mr. Prynne, told the Judges
220. very frankly he was prosecuted because he wrote
against Plays, and the King, Queen, and Lords of
the Council delighted in them; which the Lawyer
aggravated by adding, that he also wrote against
Maypoles. Noy that Grand Apostate, as the Lord
Digby call'd him, charg'd Mr. Prynne with writing
against St. George for England. Wou'd one think
such Stuff as this shou'd pass in a Court where
Persons of Rank at least were Judges, whatever
their other Qualifications might be? Noy added,
that Prynne had call'd Stage-Players Rogues, and
had fallen upon Men's Hair, Women's Hair, Bi-
shops, and Bonafires. They are his very Words,
and the Case is at large in Rushworth, to which I
refer. The Reader will find the most eminent
Lawyers in England, as Mr. Atkins afterwards Judge
Atkins, Mr. Holburn afterwards Sir Robert Holburn,
Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Hern, pleading for Mr. Prynne
their Brother Lawyer with equal Reason and So-
berity; and both Lawyers and Judges against him
foaming at the Mouth with Virulence in Defence
of a Parcel of despicable Wretches whom the
Law terms Vagabonds. For as to harmless Inter-
ludes and Pastorals represented by young People
of Quality, Prynne disown'd any Intention against
Actors or Spectators; and Mr. Atkins explain'd the
real Meaning of the Book in opening Mr. Prynne's
Answer. " That the said Prynne taking into his
" serious Consideration the frequent Resort of fun-
" dry sorts of People to common Stage-Plays a-
" bout the City of London, and having read di-
" vers Councils, Laws, and Statutes of this and o-
" ther Realms against the frequenting common
" Stage-Plays, and the Judgment and Opinion of
" several Divines, and other antient Authors and
" divers Writers, allow'd by publick Authority,
" and his own Judgment, running with those, not
" intending to have relation to the King, Queen,
" State, or Government, or your Lordships, did
" about seven Yeats ago compile this Book enti-
" tled Histrionastrix." When those righteous Judges
the Star-Chamber Lords came to pass their Cen-
sure, they all made Speeches, there being no more
Shame to speak than to judge in such a Cause.
The Lord Cottington spoke first as well as he cou'd,
 and

Whitlocke
Memorials,
p. 18.

P. 224

Mr.
Prynne's
Sufferings.

A.D. 1633. and among other such Passages said, Prynne *in writing it was assisted immediately by the Devil, or rather be assisted the Devil; so he condemn'd him to pay the King 5000 Pounds, to stand twice in the Pillory, to have both his Ears cut off, one in each Place, and to be perpetually imprison'd.* He did not forget to have him degraded at Oxford; upon which the pious, meek; and charitable Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. Laud, who sat with remarkable Pleasure among Mr. Prynne's never to be forgotten Judges, cry'd out, *I am sorry Oxford ever bred such an evil Member.* Thus according to the Custom of the Star-Chamber, the Chief-Justice Richardson spoke before Sentence, and said *he thought the Devil deserv'd to be punish'd for the Book as well as Prynne.* What Mouths they had? His own Words are, *I wou'd to God in Heaven the Devil, and all else that had their Heads and Hands in the Book were, &c. For I think they are all ill Willers to the State, and deserve severe Punishments as well as Mr. Prynne doth.* The Nonsense shocks one as well as the Injustice; and when by his Sentence he had shut up Prynne in Goal for Life, without Pen, Ink, and Paper, he added, *yet let him have some pretty Prayer-Book, that was all they knew of Religion, to pray to God to forgive him his Sins.* Richardson and other such Judges, had no Notion of praying without Book. The Earl of Dorset said, *The Devil had put Spectacles on Prynne's Nose.* Did not Tully, Hortensius, and the Senators of old Rome talk thus? The Earl concluded with an Encomium on his Popish bigotted Queen; *Were all such Saints as she, I think the Roman Church were not to be condemn'd.* For this Saintship I refer the Reader to Sir Edward Peyton, whose Words I do not make use of. It is not that I do not believe them, but to keep my History as clean as possible. The End of the Earl's Speech was, *I declare you to be a Schism-Maker, a Sedition Sower, a Wolf in Sheep's Clothing; and then for a Name in Latin, Omnium malorum nequissimum. I fine you 10000 Pounds; then his Lordship gives his Reason for it, which is more than you are worth; I will not set you at Liberty no more than a mad Dog; I condemn you to perpetual Imprisonment, as those Monsters that are no longer fit to live among Men.* His Lordship's odoriferous Breath holds out still longer; *Now for corporal Punishment, my Lords, whether I shou'd burn him in the Forehead and slit him in the Nose?* The Reader will remember that all this courtly Language and human Sentiments, are address'd to a Gentleman of greater Endowments both of Learning and Parts than his Judges, especially his Lordship, who goes on sweetly, *I shou'd be loath he shou'd escape with his Ears, for he may get a Peruke and so hide them, or force his Conscience to make use of his unlovely Love-locks on both Sides; therefore I wou'd have him branded on the Forehead, slit in the Nose, and his Ears cropt too.* Nay, after the Execution of the execrable Sentence, which wou'd hardly bear reading, but that we shall see these unrighteous Judges severely accounting for it even in this World, in their Persons and Estates, Noy in a Speech to this hated Court said, *He is mercifully dealt withal, he has been in Prison, he has been degraded, he has had his Ears cut off, and undergone all Shame.* Such were the Judgments of the Star-Chamber, which, according to Echard, was the *Bulwark for the Liberty of the Subject*; and he regrets the Loss of it afterwards, when for this and other the like sanguinary, unjust, and unheard of Proceedings it was abolish'd. "The Star-Chamber, says Larrey, did not contribute less than the High-Commission Court to carry on Laud's Designs, who, as it is said of Wolfey, had a Desire to be stil'd the Transalpine Pope." Father Orleans owns *he was suspected to have had such an Ambition*; yet the Author of the History of the Rebellion is positive that *he was nothing ally'd to Popery.* How he was ally'd

to Injustice and Cruelty, we have seen in Mr. Prynne's infamous Prosecution; and how to Profaneness, we shall see by his procuring a new Book of Sports to profane the Lord's-Day.

A French Popish Author speaking of Charles I. says, *That like his Father he lov'd to retire from Error, witness his Endeavours to compromise the two Religions, ours and his own: He had the Archbishop of Canterbury Laud always with him, who being in his Heart a good Catholick, inspir'd the King his Master with a strong Desire to re-establish the Liturgy in Scotland, believing that if he cou'd but once gain that Point, there wou'd then be so little Difference between the orthodox Religion Popery and theirs, that it wou'd be easy to lead the King into it by Degrees.* The Archbishop advis'd him to begin with Scotland, as the farthest from the Heart of his Kingdom, telling him that a Commotion there wou'd not be so much to be fear'd. Of this more hereafter; but what we have taken out of the French Papist's Book, proves the Falsity of the Assertion in Clarendon's History, that Laud was nothing ally'd to Popery. It proves that he was a very good Papist in his Heart, and that he excited the King to impose the Common-Prayer Book on the Scots, which was the beginning of the Civil Wars. Thus the Light at Noon-day is not more apparent, than that this domineering Prelate was the Cause of those ruinous and sanguinary Wars that ensu'd between this Prince and his People.

A Proclamation for Sports and Pastimes on the Sabbath-day, had been publish'd in King James's Reign, and there was no better Reason for publishing it again now, than that it was generally detested by the People, who every where trembled to see Sabbath-breaking enjoyn'd by an Edict. Larrey writes of it thus, *Neither King James's Authority, nor the Charms which Pleasure always carries along with it, cou'd prevail with the People, who look'd upon the Day of Rest to be profan'd.* Thus his Edict had more Persons against it than for it, and consequently was but indifferently put in Execution; but nevertheless his Successor had a mind to revive it; and he was worse obey'd than King James. He added a new Decree to his Proclamation, which was more odious than the former. And it is observable that Laud refin'd upon all the extraordinary illegal Acts of Government in the former Administration. Dr. Fuller informs us, the Archbishop was charg'd with not only reviving but enlarging the Book of Sports. He adds, in the Language of a true Protestant Doctor of the Church of England, "Many moderate Men are of Opinion, that this Abuse of the Lord's-Day was a principal Procurer of God's Anger since poured out on this Land in a long and bloody Civil War." One of the best Reasons given by King James for commanding his Subjects to commit this Sin was, that for want of Wrestling, Cudgeling, and the like, on Sabbath-Days, they were render'd unfit for his Wars. 'Tis Heylin who says it, tho' his Brother Echard does not think there was any thing military in it, but that Drinking, Gaming, and Dancing on the Sabbath-Day, was commanded with a pious Intention.

The Custom of Revels, Wakes, and other Parish Festivals, was at that Time grown to a great Enormity. Drunkenness, Lewdness, and Riot, were but the least Part of it; Fighting and Blood generally accompany'd it; no County in England was then, and is now more debauch'd and disturb'd by Revels and Clerks Ales than that of Somerset; and it was so scandalous even in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, that there was this Order made against it at the Sessions held at Bridgewater the 10th of September 1593.

That no Church-Ale, Clerks-Ale, Bid-Ale, or Tipling be suffer'd; and that such only be suffer'd to ripple, as be or shall be lawfully licens'd according to the Order now made by us: John Popham, Alexander

Divine Catast.
68, 69.

P. 507.

A.D. 1633.

M.M. 195;

Book of Sports.

P. 306;

P. 147;

Obs. L'estr.
p. 113.

Somersetshire Revels

A.D. 1633. and Popham, John Court, Henry Walrond, Edward Hext, George Sydenham, Thomas Horner, John Colles, John May, John Rodney.

At that time twelve-month there was a second Order made, That no Church-Ales be admitted in any Part of this Shire. It was sign'd by the Justices at Bridgwater the 28th of September 1595. John Popham who was also Lord-Chief-Justice of England, Sir George Sydenham, George Speke Esq; Alexander Colles Esq; Alexander Popham Esq; Sir Edward Hext, Sir Henry Berkley, Henry Walrond Esq; John Fraunces Esq; John Lancaster Esq; Thomas Phillips Esq;

In March 1627, Sir John Denham one of the Barons of the Exchequer, being then in Somersetshire on the Western Circuit, had a Petition deliver'd him against Revels and Church-Ales by the following Ministers, Mr. Adam Abraham, Mr. William Gyllet, Mr. Ralph Turner, Mr. John Ford, Mr. John Fathers, Mr. George Drake; and the Baron issu'd an Order accordingly. These Orders were this Year reviv'd by Judge Richardson who went the Western Circuit for Lent-Assize, at the Request of the Justices, without the Consent of Dr. Pierce Bishop of Bath and Wells, who immediately gave his Patron Laud notice of it, and he immediately complain'd to the King. He also wrote to Pierce to know whether those riotous Meetings might not be kept with Decency and Sobriety. Bishop Pierce's Answer was, that if the Order of the Judges against Revels was revok'd, it wou'd be acceptable to the Gentry; which is so directly contrary to the Truth, that one cou'd not believe a Clergyman was guilty of it, if the Truth was not before us. It was at the earnest Request of the Gentlemen of Somersetshire, that the Judges Richardson and Denham, issu'd their Orders to Lawrence Musgrave and all the Constables in that large County, to hinder such unlawful Riots and Revels, those Gentlemen giving for Reason at the Assizes, "That many Persons had been indicted for murdering Bastards begotten at Revels, and for other grand Disorders occasion'd by those intemperate Meetings;" of which Dr. Pierce says not a Syllable in his Letter to his Patron the Archbishop; and what he said of the Gentry, is so far from being true, that when Judge Richardson came their Circuit again the next Year, they desir'd him to repeat that Order, and he punish'd some Persons for the Breach of it; which, and his requiring the Order to be read in Churches, irritated Archbishop Laud beyond Measure; and he complain'd of him again to the King, who now was oblig'd to concern himself in this unworthy Business, and Richardson was summon'd to appear before the Council, where his Majesty commanded him to reverse the Order at the next Assizes, as he wou'd answer the contrary at his Peril; which he did, but in the following Terms of his Charge; *I at your Request, together with my Brother Denham, have made a very good Order for suppressing unruly Wakes and Revels, wherein I thought I had done God, the King, and the Country good Service; but some ill-affected Persons, Bishop Laud and Bishop Pierce, have misinform'd his Majesty concerning this Order, who has given me an expresse Command to reverse it, which I conceive is hardly in my Power to do, because it was no Order made by myself, but by the joint Consent of the whole Bench, and a mere Confirmation and Enlargement of divers Orders made by the Judges and Justices in this Circuit, in Queen Elizabeth's, King James's, and King Charles's Reigns, before ever I came into these Parts.* He then produc'd the Precedents as we have insert'd them, and added, *But being commanded to reverse the Order, I do as much as in me lies revoke it; yet I doubt not if the Justices of the Peace will truly inform his Majesty of the Grounds of the former Order, and of the great Disorders occasion'd by Wakes and Church-Ales, his Majesty will give Order to revive it: Upon which*

all the Justices there present, and it was a numerous Bench, drew up such a Petition, that they might have Favour and Allowance to suppress all unlawful Assemblies of Church-Ales, Clerk-Ales, Bid-Ales, and to punish all Disorders then usually committed; and giving their Reason, *For that since the Rumour of the revoking former Orders, The Profanation of the Lord's-Day, riotous Tippling, Contempt of Authority, Quarrels, Murders, have increas'd, &c.* This Petition was sign'd by John Lord Pawlet, Sir William Portman, Sir John Stawel, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Francis Popham, Sir Edward Rodney, Sir Francis Dodington, Sir John Horner, John Harrington Esq; George Speke Esq; William Capell Esq; Edward Pawlet Esq; John Windham Esq; William Bassett Esq; Robert Hopton Esq; Thomas Lutterel Esq; William Fraunces Esq; Robert Cuffe Esq; Richard Cole Esq; William Walrond Esq; Gerrard Wood Esq; Anthony Stocker Esq; William Every Esq; George Pawlett Esq; John Symes Esq; Men, says Fuller, who in Birth, Brains, Spirit, and Estate, were inferior to no County in England. John Harrington Esq; Custos Rotulorum of the County, was directed to carry this Petition to their Lord-Lieutenant the Earl of Pembroke, and desire him to deliver it to the King. Bishop Pierce gives the Archbishop quick Information of what was coming, and the Earl of Pembroke happening to be out of Town, Laud hastens the Publication of the second Book of Sports, for which he wrote this Warrant with his own Hand, to be sign'd by his Majesty, to justify himself if he shou'd be question'd.

CHARLES R.

Canterbury, "See that our Declaration concerning Recreations on the Lord's-Day after Evening-Prayer be printed."

After the publishing of this Declaration, the Lord Chief-Justice Richardson returning from his last Western Circuit, was again summon'd before the King and Council for not revoking his Order about Revels as far as in him lay; where he was so reprimanded by the Archbishop, that when he came from the Board, the Earl of Dorset meeting him with Tears in his Eyes, ask'd how he did? Judge Richardson reply'd, *Very ill, my Lord, for I am like to be choak'd with the Archbishop's Lawn Sleeves.* And for this Cause alone he was by Laud's Means, to his great Grief and Loss, put from riding the Western, and forc'd to go the Essex Circuit, reputed the meanest of all others, and which no Justice but the puny Judge or Serjeant us'd to ride. I hope none will after this deny that the whole Sabbath-Guilt of the Sin of profaning the Sabbath by an breaking Ediſt, lies at Laud's Door. What a Tool Pierce was to him, appears sufficiently in the above-mention'd Letter written in answer to Laud, wherein he further tells him, that by Information of seventy-two Priests of his Diocese, he found that the Churches had been better frequented since the People were commanded to play upon Sundays: *That they had not heard of any Disorders at Revels; that they are of Opinion to keep Revels for a Memorial of the Dedications of their several Churches, for the civilizing of the People, for composing of Differences, and for many other Reasons;* which I myself who write this History in this very County, and have known the wicked Customs of these Revels above forty Years, do know to be every Word false in Fact at least: Yet Bishop Pierce says he examin'd his seventy-two Priests apart, and they agreeing all in their Representation of the Purity and Convenience of Revels, he cannot help liking his seventy-two to the Septuagint, or seventy-two Interpreters who agreed so soon in the Translation of the Old Testament, such Heads had they, and such Hearts in these felicitous Times. But we that believe no more of his seventy-two Interpreters, than we do of his seventy-two Parsons, cannot be out of Humour at meeting

A.D. 1633. meeting with a Composition of so much Simplicity and Insincerity.

One of the worst Effects of the Edict for Sabbath-breaking, was the suspending a great Number of religious and worthy Divines by the Prosecutions of *Laud* and his Brethren in the Spiritual Courts, for not reading that profane Edict in sacred Places. *Wren* Bishop of *Norwich*, and *Pierce* just mention'd, were the most active in promoting this Sabbath-breaking. *William Lilly*, who was the Top-Astrologer of his Time, contemporary with these Things, writes thus of them, of this *Wren* in particular: "There was also one *Wren* Bishop of *Norwich*, born in *London*, a Fellow, whose Father sold Babies and such Pedlary Ware in *Cheapside*. The Conjuror goes on in the same blunt Manner. This Fellow very peremptorily one Day, as he sat in Judicature in the High-Commission Court, said openly, He hop'd to live to see the Time when a Master of Arts, or a Minister, shall be as good a Man as any Jack Gentleman in England. And verily the Pride of this saucy Citizen's Son, hath been one main Cause of the Ruin of the Clergy. Concerning this *Wren*, I know *Canterbury* said of him, The rash and unwarrantable Proceedings of *Wren* will undo the Clergy. Upon his plaguing and punishing many godly Clothiers in the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, they were enforc'd to leave their Native Country, and betake themselves and Families into the *United-Provinces*, where they have taught the *Dutch* the Art and Manufacture of Cloathing, even to the utter Impoverishment of this whole Nation; and yet this wretched *Wren* lives, &c." The great Body of the Protestant Clergy of the Church of *England*, Bishops and their Inferiors, abhor'd the Impiety of Sabbath-breaking; many of them bore their Testimony against it. A Western Bishop, probably pious Bishop *Hall* of *Exeter*, being press'd to return the Names of such Clergymen as refus'd to read the Declaration, deny'd it utterly, saying, I will never turn Accuser of my Brethren, there be enough in the World to do that Office. Besides the Impiety of this Declaration, there was something so monstrous in it, that 'tis taken notice of by Foreigners: There is something very whimsical and extraordinary to be observed in this Affair, to see the Court and the Church of *England* govern'd by her Prelates, to be for Dances and Festivals, and the People for whom those Feasts were instituted to be against them, as contrary to the Purity of the Reformation.

It was not in *Somersetshire* only that *Laud* busy'd himself in promoting the Profanation of the Lord's-Day, he quarrell'd with Sir *Nicholas Rainton* Lord-Mayor of *London*, for prohibiting an Apple-Woman to sell Apples on the Sabbath near *St. Paul's-Church*, and with the Lord-Mayor *Dean* for shutting up Taverns, Alehouses, Brandy-Shops, &c.

The Gentlemen of the Inns of Court paid at this Time a very costly and splendid Compliment to the King and Queen, in the most famous Masque that ever was seen; which is the more worthy Remembrance, for that Mr. *Selden* and Mr. *Whitlocke* were two of the Managers of it. The Shew, the Musick, the Dancing, were all incomparable; the Queen danc'd in Person, and it is hinted by some Historians, that these Societies of Lawyers put themselves to 21000 Pounds Charge, purely to take off the Prejudice which the Writings of their Brother *Prynne* might have given the Court against their Profession.

Sir *David Fowles* of *Yorkshire* having offended the Lord *Wentworth* by obstructing his raising Money in that County on the Pretence of *Knight-hood*, was prosecuted in the *Star-Chamber*, fin'd 5000 Pounds to the King, and 3000 Pounds to the Lord *Wentworth*. Sir *Thomas Layton* High-Sheriff of *Yorkshire* gave Evidence that *Wentworth*

said at their Assizes, The King's Little-Finger shall be heavier than the Loins of the Law; but it was not regarded. On the contrary, the Court of *Star-Chamber* flatter'd him in their Decree against Sir *David Fowles* as a modern *Dedicator* does his Patron in the Epistle.

During the Imprisonment of Mr. *Prynne*, Dr. *Bastwick* was brought into the High-Commission Court for a Book entitl'd *Elenchus Papismi & Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium*, in Answer to one *Short* a Papist, who maintain'd the Pope's Supremacy, the Mass, and Popery. Dr. *Bastwick* in his Epistle dedicatory, declar'd he intended nothing against our Bishops but against those of *Rome*, yet he was sentenc'd in 1000 Pounds Fine, to be excommunicated, to be debarr'd his Practice, and imprison'd: These Men will never be satisfy'd with Excommunication, without some Lay Severities, as Money, Goal, Pillory, &c. *Whitlocke* informs us the Doctor was so barbarously us'd for maintaining the King's Prerogative against Papacy; "On the other Part, continues he, one who was a fierce Papist, named *Chowney*, wrote a Book of the Popish Religion and the Church of *Rome*, averring it to be the true Church. The Book was dedicated to, and patroniz'd by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, so far was *Chowney* from being punish'd and question'd. In the Censure of Dr. *Bastwick*, all the Bishops deny'd openly that they held their Jurisdiction as Bishops from the King, for which perhaps they might have been censur'd themselves in *Henry* the II'd or *Edward* the III'd's Time. They affirm'd they had their Jurisdiction from God only; which Denial of the Supremacy of the King under God, *Henry VIII.* wou'd have taken ill, and it may be have confuted them by his kingly Arguments and *Regia Mannu*. The Archbishop countenanc'd this Book of *Chowney*, That the *Romish* Church err'd not in Fundamentals." *Whitlocke* adds, Somewhat was noted to pass from him and other Bishops in defaming the Holy Scriptures. The Reader may well be tir'd with such History as this is, where the Facts are so poor, and at the same time so disagreeable. Nothing of greater Importance can be expected from a Government under the Influence of so furious and so imperious a Prelate as *Laud*, who has nothing in his Head or Heart but his own Grandeur and the Dominion of the Church. "He eagerly apply'd himself, says *Larrey*, to render his Party and himself at their Head triumphant. He had taken Care to be invest'd with the King's Authority, and wou'd scarce suffer his Majesty to interfere with him in his Visitations. As presumptuous as *Wolfsey*, and using the same Authority in *England* as *Richlieu* did in *France*; nevertheless there was a vast Difference between them, *Richlieu* and *Laud*. The Cardinal, as much a Cardinal as he was, endeavour'd all he cou'd to lessen the unlawful Power of the Pope. On the contrary *Laud* procur'd at least indirectly, the restoring it in the Church of *England*. The Cardinal made his Master triumphant both at *Laud* and *Sea*, but *Laud* made his to lose his Empire over the one, and the Glory which his Predecessors had gain'd on the other." As directly opposite to this as Falshood is to Truth, is the Lord *Clarendon's* telling us, *The Reputation of the Greatness and Power of the King, was much more with foreign Princes than any one of his Progenitors*. After which I think there is no need of bringing Proofs of the Falsties and Misrepresentations in that History or the Archdeacon's, which is a vile Copy of it, and that too of the worst Parts of it.

Archbishop *Laud* began the next Year with increasing the Odium against him, as well on account of his Pride and Haughtiness, as of the Innovations he introduc'd in the Churches and Schools. In his Visitation of the Churches he

Bishop
Wren's
Arrogance.

Larrey,
p. 307.

A Masque.

Went-
worth.

A.D. 1633.
Rushw.
p. 220.

Whitl.
p. 29.

Richlieu
and *Laud*
compar'd.

P. 311.

Clarendon
wrong.
Vol. I.

P. 76.

A.D. 1634.

Larrey,
signaliz'd
p. 311.

A.D. 1634. signaliz'd his Zeal by erecting and adorning *Altars* for the *Communion*, in ordering the Sacrament to be receiv'd kneeling, the sacerdotal Habits to be always worn in Divine Service, and the Episcopal Liturgy to be in use every where, "That, says *Larrey*, all *Puritans*, as he injuriously stil'd the *Presbyterians*, and all Nonconformists, shou'd be disposse'd of their Livings, from whom with the Honour of their Ministry, he likewise took away their Means of subsisting; there was no Way left for them but to submit, being reduc'd to the Extremity either of starving or renouncing *Presbytery*. The greatest Part refus'd to obey, alledging the Ceremonies were superstitious and idolatrous."

Dutch and French Churches, However, this did not satisfy Archbishop *Laud*, but contrary to Justice, Reason, Compact, and the Rights of the Commercial World, he resolv'd the *Dutch* and *French* Churches shou'd feel the Severity of his Discipline as well as the *Puritan*. In his Metropolitan Visitation he summon'd the Ministers of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches which were settled here in the Reign of *Edward VI.* and Queen *Elizabeth*, to appear before his Vicar-General, by whom all *Dutch* and *French* Protestants, who were born in *England*, were enjoin'd to conform to *Laud's* Church-Service and Ceremonies. The Fathers of these *French* and *Dutch* Protestants, had been driven from the *Netherlands* and *France* by terrible Persecutions, and the Liberties King *Edward* and Q. *Elizabeth* granted them, had been confirm'd by *K. James* and by this King's Royal Word. *Wren* Bishop of *Norwich* before-mention'd, one of *Laud's* Instruments, rejected the Petition of the *Dutch* and *French* Congregations at *Norwich*, where they settled at first, and set up the *Woolen* Manufactures, which have been and is of inconceivable Advantage to the Nation. *Laud* values not that a Rush, if his Ecclesiastical Dominion is in the least lessen'd. He threaten'd, in case they did not submit, he wou'd proceed against them according to the Laws and Canons of his Church. There were Congregations of these Protestants at *Ipswich* also, then one of the most trading and flourishing Towns in *England*; but *Laud's* Threats so terrify'd those industrious People, that thousands of Families were frighted out of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. A hundred and forty of the principal Manufacturers who supply'd *Hamburg* and all the Countries within the *Sound*, fled to the *United Provinces* from the Cruelties of the Spiritual Courts, and set up the same Manufactures there, which the *Dutch* knew not before, and have ever since carry'd on that Trade to our unspeakable Loss. *Echard* tells us that this Persecution of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches, was one of *Laud's* great Designs: And now it was, says the Author of the *History of the Rebellion*, that Trade increas'd to such a Degree, that we were the Exchange of the World. And "Now it was, according to *Larrey*, that the Kingdom lay expos'd to the Insults of Pyrates, the Corsairs of *Algiers* and *Tunis* came with Impunity into the Channel which lay unguarded, plundered the *English* Ships, and pursu'd them to their Ports. King *Charles* compleated the making himself despis'd by the little Care he took of his Fleets, being wholly bent on arbitrary Power and Episcopacy, which was, said he, its Right-Hand." The States of the *United-Provinces* having recover'd the Cautionary Towns, and observing what a wild careless sort of Government there was in *England*, had too little Regard for the Rights of that Crown to the Sovereignty of the Sea, and probably took Advantage of that Carelessness to extend their Fishery farther on our Coasts than they had presum'd to do in former Reigns. They were not Strangers to the whole Business of the Court, which was to support *Laud* in his Ecclesiastical Tyranny, little mindful of the Commerce or Honour of a Nation whom they had so many Ways

disgusted. The *English* were alarm'd when they found that the *Dutch* asserted a Right to their Fishery, a Book being written by the famous *Hugo Grotius* to that Purpose, entituled *Mare Liberum*, which was fully answer'd by the as famous *Selden*, in his *Mare Clausum*, tho' he had been so ill treated by this King and his Ministers for asserting the Privileges of Parliament. His Majesty was willing enough to fit out a Fleet if he had had Money, but very loth to call a Parliament to give it, there being such a Mass of Grievances heap'd together since the last Session, to be remov'd before Subsidies cou'd be expected; wherefore, says *Echard*, with equal Sagacity and Truth, "A Project was form'd out of many antient Records by the deep-

sighted Attorney *Mr. Noy*, to impose upon every Sea-Port and Place of Merchandize, the Obligation of finding such a Number of Ships and Men in Proportion to their Wealth;" which the Historian follows with a Reflection as idle as 'tis sophistical; *The legal Rights of this Aid was never yet disputed in any Court of Judicature*. It had never yet been collected in so illegal a Manner, and therefore cou'd not have been disputed; but it came afterwards into such a Dispute, that the Judges had like to have follow'd their Brother *Treshilian* to the Gallows for it. In order to force this Tax upon the Kingdom, *Sir Robert Heath* was remov'd from the Chief-Justiceship of the *Common-Pleas*, and *Sir John Finch* put in his Place. *Great were the Discourses*, says *Rushworth*, *what the Occasion should be of that sudden Advancement; but four Days after the Writ of Ship-Money coming forth, it was conceiv'd he was to be instrumental in that Business*. "Nor shall he stay here, they are *Coke's* Words, but be the prime Agent in breaking thro' the Bounds of *Charta de Foresta*, by enlarging the Limits of the Forest, so as no Man, if the Parliament in 1641 had not prevented it, cou'd tell where it wou'd have stopp'd." The first Writ for levying it, was directed to *Sir Robert Parkhurst* Lord-Mayor of *London*, and the first Name in signing of it, is *William Canterbury*. It was read in Common-Council, upon which a Petition was drawn up against it by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common-Council, wherein they set forth, *That they conceive themselves exempted from such a Charge by antient Privileges, Grants, and Acts of Parliament*. *Echard* told us *Noy* had found out Records quite contrary to those Acts of Parliament, and that the charging the City with this Tax was never disputed. *Larrey* writes with Reason and Sobriety, "It wou'd seem as if all that *Noy* had spoken against *Tonnage* and *Poundage* Anno 1628, might be naturally apply'd against this Tax *Ship-Money*. Absolute Power appear'd equally in both, and since there was not the Concurrence of Parliament, this was violating the Peoples Rights." *Noy* dy'd before the Writs he had contriv'd were put in Execution. The Infamy he acquir'd by his Apostacy from his first good Principles, does not hinder Archbishop *Laud's* Lamentation for his Death; *I have lost a dear Friend, and the Church the greatest she had of his Condition*. The Archdeacon owns he was accounted a Papiist if not an Atheist. There was something very remarkable in his Will; *The rest of all my Lands, Goods, &c. I leave to my Son Edward Noy, whom I make my Executor, to be consumed and scatter'd about*. *A. Wood* speaks more than he will be thank'd for; *As his Majesty was somewhat troubled at the Loss of Noy, and the Clergy separated more, so the Generality of the Commons repaired joyc'd, by which we have a clear Idea of the State of the Nation at that Time*. When the King and the Clergy were in Grief, the People were generally in Joy; and what treacherous Counsellors must they be, who separated their Interests which are inseparable? This Summer the King and Queen went a Progress Northward, and were

Persecuted by Laud.

P. 475.

P. 76.

P. 318.

Mare Liberum & Mare Clausum.

Ship-Money.

Noy.

King and Clergy separated from the People.

A Progress

A.D. 1634. entertain'd by the Earl of Newcastle so magnificently, that it cost him 10000 Pounds.

Sir Edw. In September the great Lawyer Sir Edward Coke departed this Life, on which Occasion his Grandson writes as follows: "While he lay on his Death-bed, Laud's old Friend Sir Francis Windebank

Coke 509. "came by Order of Council to search for seditious and dangerous Papers, by Vertue of which Order he took Sir Edward Coke's Comment upon *Littleton*, and the History of his Life before it, written with his own Hand; his Comment upon *Magna Charta*, and his 11 and 12 Reports in Manuscript; 51 other Manuscripts, with Sir Edward's Last Will, wherein he had for several Years been making Provision for his younger Children. The Books and Papers were kept till seven Years after, when one of Sir Edward's Sons in 1641 mov'd the House of Commons, that they might be deliver'd to Sir Robert Coke, Heir to Sir Edward; which the King was pleas'd to grant, and such as cou'd be found were deliver'd; but Sir Edward's Will was never heard more of to this Day". Invasions of Property were so common in this Administration, that so small an Irregularity will not be wonder'd at.

Convocation in Ireland by Laud and Wentworth's Directions. One sees what a League there was between Laud and Wentworth to destroy the Protestant Interest by the latter's Conduct in Ireland, where he procur'd an Act of Convocation to repeal the excellent Articles of that Church establish'd in 1615, more conformable to the Reform'd Religion in all other Parts of *Christendom*, than the 39 Articles which were made the new Establishment. The Doctrine of Predestination according to *Calvin's* Explanation was settled by the Articles of the Year 1615, as were also other *Calvinian* Tenets. By those Articles the Observation of the *Lord's Day* was resolv'd *Jure Divino*, and *Arminianism* was condemn'd. But all was repeal'd by *Wentworth's* Convocation under his vigorous Management. The most reverend Father Archbishop *Usser* gave his negative Vote to this Alteration; and *Sanderson* is so simple as to own, that the Reason for making it might be in relation to the *Papists*.

Whitlock tells us great Care was taken to favour the Clergy in levying *Ship-Money*. All the rest of the People, except Courtiers and Officers, generally murmur'd at it. The Lord Keeper *Coventry* approv'd and assist'd the Project as far as his Learning in these Matters did extend, and that was not far. Whereas in *Clarendon*, he understood the whole Science and Mystery of the Law; he was most sharp-sighted in the Consequence of things, as that of *Ship-Money* in particular. This again gives us a just Conception of the Characters in that History, which wou'd have been more true had they been made at a venture; but the Partiality and Falstity ate invented and labour'd.

Laud's Superstition. Laud's Ecclesiastical Injunctions about the Altar and Ceremonies were every where vigorously executed. Complaint was made to the Mayor and Recorder of *Abingdon* against some wicked People, who refus'd to bow at the Altar, or stand at the Creed, for which they ought to be severely punish'd. The Recorder answer'd, *These Offences*

Recorder of Abingdon gives great Offence. more properly belong to the Ecclesiastical Judges than to Justices of the Peace; and advis'd the Complainants to inform the Chancellor of the Diocese. The Matter being of so great Importance, the Informers apply'd to the Council Table against the Recorder for putting off the Punishment of such Delinquents; where he was gravely charg'd with refusing to punish those who refus'd to bow down to the Altar, and stand up at the Creed. The Recorder alledg'd in his own Vindication, *That he knew no common Law nor Statute for their Punishment, especially by Justices of the Peace; that the Complainants did not prefer any Indictment against those wicked People; and that the Matters whereof they were accus'd were merely spiritual, proper for*

spiritual Judges, as they were call'd; and he might A.D. 1634. have been censur'd for encroaching on their Jurisdiction, if he shou'd have taken cognizance of them. Upon which the Council, notwithstanding Archbishop *Laud* was one of them, were satisfy'd, and the Recorder was dismiss'd.

Ship-Money, which in the last Year was confin'd to Maritime Towns only, was now extended to all Counties in the Kingdom, as being Partakers of the general Benefit, according to the sagacious *Echard*, who argues with uncommon Sagacity thus: "Indeed the mighty Increase of the *French Navy*, and the Invasions of the *Algerines*, were a great Proof of the Necessity of setting out a Fleet, which under the present Exigencies cou'd not be done without extraordinary Aid". Which is as foolish as 'tis false. Was the King of *England* afraid of his dear Brother of *France*? Had the *Turks* invaded the Kingdom, or if their Rovers were in the Channel, was it necessary to raise 300000*l.* to drive them out of it, when *Tonnage* and *Poundage* were more than sufficient for that Service? Or suppose it was necessary, Did not the King and his Counsellors know that it must be done with Consent of Parliament? and cou'd not the Parliament have met, and have rais'd the Money before a Fleet cou'd be equipp'd? The Sophistry and Weakness of such Arguments render them unworthy Remark; but the best of them have no better. The Lord Keeper *Coventry* was order'd to direct the Judges to promote this illegal Imposition in their Circuits, and to persuade the People to a ready obeying the Writs for Payment of the Tax, which he did with the Ability the Lord *Clarendon* speaks of; and *Whitlocke* tells us the Judges put on the Work in their Charges at the Assizes with great Zeal and Gravity, but did not convince many of the Legality of it; and this illegal Pill was gilt, it wou'd not go down; but many People, especially of the knowing Gentry, express'd great Discontent at this Burthen, as an Imposition against Law and the Rights of the Subjects. While the Judges were thus labouring to deprive them of their Property, and every Man's Door was beset with Tax-gatherers against Law, see what *Warwick* says, Every Man sat quiet under his own Vine. The Fountains of Justice were clear, for the Judges were upright Men. This Writer is below Reflection. His Matter, his Manner, his Stile and Integrity are all of a piece, and so mean that 'tis ridiculous to be serious with him. Yet *Echard* copies him with great Pleasure, tho' it is no better than robbing the Spittle: I can easily make good what I say, but the Digression wou'd be too long.

The reverend Historian copying still from *Warwick*, excuses this lawless Imposition, because the Weight was not heavy, but 230000*l.* More Sagacity! The smallest Sum is as illegal as the greatest, when taken without Consent of Parliament. Whatever a Man pays by Violence, he is robb'd of so much; and if the Sum forc'd from him against Law and Right be small, 'tis a heavy Burthen still, being a Precedent for other illegal Taxes. Besides, as the Tax was continu'd four Years, and a Million of Money rais'd by it, it made the Burthen very heavy to those who bore it so long. Is it worth while to mention another Excuse of *Warwick's* for it? That the King kept all the *Ship-Money* in a Bag by itself, that it might be carefully and solely apply'd to those necessary Uses, as the assisting the *Spaniards* against the *Dutch*, and driving the *Mediterranean* Pyrates out of the *British* Channel, &c.

This Imposition not being sufficient to answer the Exigences, an Office was erected for Licensing Subjects to travel; another Office for Letters; another for compounding defective Titles; another for Forfeitures for such as spoil the Highways, and for Swearers and Curfers. Of the latter Sir Edward

A.D. 1635. *ward Peyton* speaks bluntly: King Charles granted Twelve-pence an Oath to Robin Lashley, which was observ'd more to get Money than suppress Swearing, in much Esteem from the Example of King James. All these things were enacted without a Statute. Proclamations serv'd instead of Laws, and some of them were of the following Importance: A Proclamation for the Time to cure the King's Evil; another about Butter Casks; a third about Farthings; a fourth about Soap; another about the King's Evil again: All in the Compass of a few Months. How happy and glorious was the English Nation!

A Fleet. By the Help of Ship-Money a Fleet of 40 Ships was set out. The Earl of Lindsey was Admiral, and the Earl of Essex Vice-Admiral. The latter was order'd to scour the Channel with 20 Ships: But the Pirates were gone long enough before his coming. Now according to the Archdeacon, the English Name was glorious and terrible. Inasmuch that the Dutch durst not attempt Dunkirk, then in the Hands of the Spaniards, for fear of the Earl of Lindsey. The French King and the States of the United Provinces were in League against the King of Spain. The French were to attack Dunkirk by Land, and the Dutch by Sea; but the latter drew off in Dread of the English Navy. Thus all the Service that was done by Ship-Money was the clearing the Channel of a few Turkish Rovers, and the frightening our Protestant Allies the Hollanders from a Conquest, which would have been a good Barrier against Spain. Echarde affirms the Dangers were really imminent, and might well justify the taking of Money against Law. The judicious Warwick: Ship-Money was rais'd with all due Caution, the Necessity was apparent, and the Sovereign Power hath an Authority independent of any other Consent. They are not worth answering. But let the Lord Clarendon do it: The Damage and Mischief cannot be express'd, which the Crown and State sustain'd by the deserv'd Reproach and Infamy that attended the Judges. Warwick vouches for them, that they were as learned and upright as ever fill'd their Benches, there being but one illiterate Man amongst them, Thomas Trevor; but then he too was an honest Gentleman. You see what History they give us.

Warwick's Judgment. P. 50. P. 51. This Year arriv'd the Prince Elector in England, to solicit King Charles his Unkle to assist him towards recovering his Electoral Dignity and Patrimony. A very hopeless Journey! Laud was at the Head of the State as well as the Church; the Palatines were Presbyterians, and was it likely he would do any Thing for their Deliverance? Prince Rupert the Elector's Brother arriv'd also at the Court of England. They were both receiv'd with great Ceremony, Courtesy, and Magnificence, which were all they obtain'd by this Visit.

Prince Elector and Prince Rupert in England. About the same Time the Queen was brought to-bed of a second Daughter the Princess Elizabeth. The States General of the United Provinces sent a solemn Embassy to congratulate her Majesty's safe Delivery. The Ambassadors brought a noble Present: "A large Piece of Ambergrease, two fair China Basons almost transparent, a curious Clock, four fine Pieces of Painting by those two famous Painters Tintoret and Titian". Echarde assures us the Clock was made by Rodolphus the Emperor; but Whitlocke had not heard of the Imperial Clockmaker. The reverend Historian mentions a Proclamation to restrain the Increase of Hackney-Coaches; and another to hinder the Resort of Gentlemen and Ladies to London. If it was not for the War that was all this while carrying on against the Puritans by Laud's General Sir John Lamb, and an Army of Advocates, Proctors, Informers, Parators, Serjeants, Bailiffs, &c. what Business would have been done in this Kingdom, the Events are below Remembrance; for surely the following Proclamations hardly deserve

Proclamations. a Place in History. As that for the Use of a Net call'd a Trawl, that for sealing of Purl, that for sealing of Bonelace, another about Farthing Tokens, and another about the King's Evil, with many others equally important, as may be seen in Rushworth.

A.D. 1635. Mr. Samuel Ward, Minister in Ipswich, having said something against bowing at the Name of Jesus, and preach'd against Sabbath-breaking, was prosecuted in the High-Commission Court, confin'd, suspended, and enjoin'd a publick Recantation; which he refusing was thrown into Jail, where he lay a long time. Pierce Bishop of Bath and Wells did not come behind Wren Bishop of Norwich to ingratiate himself with Laud. Pierce excommunicated the Church-Wardens of Beckington in Somersetshire for not erecting an Altar in that Church. They appeal'd to the Archbishop, and he reject'd their Appeal. They petition'd the King, and he reject'd their Petition. So the Excommunication standing against them a whole Year, they were committed to the same Prison with Thieves and Felons, where they lay till they submitted to do Penance in three Parish Churches.

There was this Year an Information against several Persons of Quality for residing in Town contrary to the Proclamation, as the Earl of Clare, Lord Viscount Newark, Lord Viscount Monson, Lord Mohun, Lord Fitz-Williams, Lord Tunbridge, Lord Stafford, Sir Edward Peyton, Author of the Divine Catastrophe, which we have sometimes made use of; Sir Robert Harley, Sir Thomas Thynne, Sir Edmund Lenthall, Sir George Windham, Sir Francis Godolphin, Sir Thomas Pope, Sir Theobald Gorge, and about 30 Knights more; John Brownlow, Esq; Thomas Pitts, Esq; Richard Moyle, Esq; Edmund Pye, Esq; and about 100 Esquires more; the Countesses of Oxford, Lady Tyrwhit, Lady Bertie, Lady Lucy, Lady Kingsmill, Lady Egerton, Lady Offley, Lady Montague, Lady Winter, and about 20 Ladies more, who were all forc'd to make their Peace as well as they cou'd by Fines and Compositions. One Sir James Bagg was also prosecuted in the Star-Chamber for saying of Weston Lord Treasurer, I have laid many a thousand Pounds under his Pillow. The Words were liable to a better Construction than the Court put upon them. The Queen was present at the Trial. Finch spoke of the Sentence first, and fin'd Sir James 5000 l. to the King. Then Archbishop Laud made a long Speech, calling the Knight a base Fellow, and ending it thus: I fine him 5000 l. and Imprisonment during the King's Pleasure. Here's a holy Primitive Bishop, who at the same time also was one of the Lords of the Treasury, declaiming against a Gentleman in a temporal Court, and giving Authority to Injustice by his Presence and Preaching. The Lord Cottington was of Opinion the Knight ought to be acquitted; so was the Earl of Dorset; but Laud seldom sat in Court with Intention to have any one acquitted. The Votes of the Judges being equal, the Lord Keeper's casting Vote gave it against Bagg; but by the King's Command the Sentence was not register'd.

The Reverend Mr. Charles Chancey, Minister of Ware in Hertfordshire, a pious and learned Divine of an antient Family in that County, was prosecuted in the High-Commission Court for preaching against the Disorders us'd by many on Christmas Holidays, the Increase of Popery and Arminianism; that Idolatry was admitted into the Church; and that not only the Prophets of Baal, but Baal himself is receiv'd, and the Preaching of the Gospel will be suppress'd. The next Passage in his Sermon must doubtless touch Laud to the Quick, and bring that worthy Divine into the Troubles which ended in Banishment. There want Men of Courage to tell Superiors in the Church of their Neglect; for that there is Increase of much Atheism, Popery, Arminianism and Heresy in our Church; Heresy

Sir James Bagg. *Mr. Chancey's Prosecution.* K k 708

A.D. 1636. not only broach'd but maintain'd. Laud was the main Instigation of this Prosecution, and threaten'd Mr. Chancey's Advocate. The Court refer'd the Case to himself then Bishop of London, who suspended Mr. Chancey till he shou'd give it under his Hand, that *he was perswaded in his Conscience that kneeling at the Sacrament was commendable; that the Rail round the Communion Table was a decent convenient Ornament, &c.* Which tho' he did very unwillingly, Laud had him condemn'd in great Costs of Suit, and committed to Prison till it was paid. His Sufferings oblig'd him afterwards to remove to *New England*; and they were continu'd in his Family by the same persecuting Spirit. His Son Dr. *Ichabod Chancey* was Chaplain to Sir *Edward Harley's* Regiment, when Sir *Edward* was Governor of *Dunkirk*. He was outed of all Church Preferment by the *Bartholomew Act*, and driven with his Family into *Holland*. From whence in a Time of Toleration he return'd, and practis'd Physick at *Bristol* with good Success. This Digression shews that the Malignity is hereditary in a certain Profession, and that Persecution is the very Essence of it.

Archbishop Laud was now in the Height of his Glory, says Echard, being a Commissioner of the Treasury. It is monstrous to write of the Episcopal Function after these People. "He met with much Opposition from the Lord *Cottingham*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, who often impos'd upon him, taking Advantage of the Vehemency of his Temper; which indeed was downright Rage, and disgust'd even his own Friends. He found the Treasurer's Place was honestly worth 7000*l.* a Year, and observ'd that divers Treasurers of late rais'd themselves from private Fortunes to the Titles and Estates of Earls, which he believ'd cou'd not be done without Wrong; therefore he resolv'd to recommend a fit Person, a Doctor of *Divinity*, to this High Office, and this was Dr. *Fuxon*, whom he brought in with-

Dr. Juxon made Lord High-Treasurer.

P. 23.

P. 137.

out Opposition". It was by his Recommendation also that he was made Bishop of London. He met with no Opposition, because, as the Archdeacon owns, *it was done by Surprise.* It is said in *Clarendon*, *On a sudden the Staff was put into the Bishop's Hand.* Dr. *Fuxon* was so far from being a fit Person, that he knew no more of the Revenue than any other Sportsman. *Whitlocke* writes of him, *He was Parson of Somerton in Oxfordshire, where he had a convenient Livelihood. He was much delighted with hunting, and kept a Pack of good Hounds.* Is not this extremely Apostolical? Lord *Clarendon* tells us he was a Man so unknown, that his Name was scarce heard of, who had been two Years before but a Chaplain. *L'Estrange* says he was none of the greatest Scholars; and *Clarendon*, that the making him Lord High-Treasurer inflam'd those that were angry before. But Laud was under no Concern at pleasing or displeasing any one. His Business was to subject every thing to the Church, or rather to himself, and particularly the Treasury by means of the Treasurer. His own Words prove it in his Diary: "*William Fuxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High-Treasurer.* No Churchman had it since *Henry VIII's* Time. "I pray God blefs him, that the Church may have Honour. And now if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more". The Church, the Archbishop I mean, and not the Reform'd Church of England, were willing enough to hold themselves up, as the Lord *Clarendon* acknowledges. *It was look'd upon as the Gulph ready to swallow all the great Offices, there being others in View of that Robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the rest.* The reverend Historian proceeds: *The Archbishop was infinitely pleas'd with what he had done, and believ'd he had provided a stranger Support for the Church.* Then comes a long Character of Dr. *Fuxon* copy'd from

A.D. 1636. Sir Philip *Warwick*, who, as he tells us, knew him better than the Earl of *Clarendon*, who knew all Men else better than they knew themselves. He does this after he had told us that a much greater Man than *Warwick*, Monsieur *Le Clerc*, took *Fuxon* for one by no means fit for the Place. He continues: *The Treasury being thus hopefully establish'd more Ship-Money was rais'd, and a huge Man of War built, called the Royal Sovereign.* The Fame of which drew Multitudes from all Parts to see it, that Sight being all they were like to have for their Money. A Fleet was fitted out under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who seiz'd and sunk several Dutch Herring-Busses in the *North Seas*. Upon which the States came to a Composition, and agreed to pay 30000*l.* a Year for that Fishery, according to *Echard*; but only 20000*l.* according to *Larrey*, which *Whitlocke* tells us the King readily took; and *Coke*, that it ill agreed with the King's Reason for levying Ship-Money, which was that Pirates infested our Coasts to the endangering the Safety of the Nation, who were by no means so much afraid of Pirates, as of the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commission Courts.* The Dutch at this very Juncture took a large East India Ship called the *Bona Esperanza*, and confiscated both Ship and Goods to the Value of 150000*l.* as also the *Dragon* and *Katherine*, two East India Ships belonging to Sir *William Curteen* and Company, valu'd at 300000*l.* Which three Ships and Cargo's amount to as much as the Payment for the Fishery wou'd come to in fifteen Years, tho' the 30000 Pounds yearly was not paid half so long. The reverend Historian again; *This honourable Disposal of Ship-Money, and the apparent good Effects of it, did not reconcile the People to it.* They knew nothing of what he calls *honourable Disposal*, but every Day felt the Weight of the Burthen which was illegally laid upon them.

Ships taken.

Mr. *Chambers* of London, Merchant, the same who suffer'd so much about *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, was again prosecuted about *Ship-Money.* Sir *Edward Bromfield*, Lord Mayor of London, imprison'd him for refusing to pay it; and Mr. *Chambers* commenced a Suit of Trespass and false Imprisonment against Sir *Edward Bromfield.* The Case came to a Hearing in the Court of *King's-Bench*, where Sir *Robert Berkley*, one of the upright Judges of this Reign, declar'd openly, *There is a Rule of Law, and a Rule of Government; and many things which ought not to be done by the Rule of Law, might be done by the Rule of Government.* We must not forget that *Warwick* told us these Judges were the most righteous that ever sat in *Westminster-Hall.* *Berkley* refus'd to let the Legality of Ship-Money be argu'd by Mr. *Chambers's* Council, for which he was afterwards call'd to a severe Account. The whole City boggled at the Payment of it, and the Privy-Council were forc'd to write them a threatening Letter; which was answer'd by a Petition from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of London, presented to the Board by the Recorder Sir *William Cockaine*, and several Aldermen and Common-Council-Men, desiring at least an Abatement of 20 Ships rated upon them. Secretary *Cook* told them by their Lordships Order, *That Petitions were not to be receiv'd, as tending to the Danger of the Commonwealth.* If the Parliament complains, 'tis to asperse. If the People petition, 'tis dangerous. *Cook* went on: *The Command is given to all in general, and to every Particular of the City. The State will require an Account both of the City in general, and of every Particular of the Performance of the Command: And whereas you speak of Precedents, you shall know that the Precedents of former Times were Obedience, and not Direction; and that there are also Precedents of the Punishment of those who disobey.* Such Language as this to a Deputation from the greatest City in the World was like to sow rare Seed, which

M. Chambers.

Ministry insolent.

A.D. 1636. which brought forth a plentiful Crop, as will be seen hereafter.

Judges for Ship-Money.

The Clamour against this Tax was so loud and general, that the Courtiers were oblig'd to do something new towards stopping the People's Mouths, and opening their Purfes. *Echard's* Words are as smooth as if the King had been about to restore the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects, and give due Course to the *Laws*. "His Majesty, who in his Nature lov'd not harsh Proceedings, took a more soft and plausible Method, and order'd the Legality of this Tax to be formally decided by his twelve Judges, putting the grand Question to them in Writing. After a Consideration of ev'ry Judge by himself, and a Consultation of all the Judges together, they declar'd Ship-Money to be legal." Which is so false, that I am ashamed to bring the Proofs of it against an Author of his Function. Every Judge was so far from thinking it legal by Consideration of the Case with himself, that *Whitlocke* tells us Judge *Croke* and Judge *Hutton* thought it illegal, and sign'd for Conformity only, because the Majority of the Judges had done it. *Mr. Coke* says, *The King having previously extorted the Opinion of the Judges.* And *Milton*, "The rare Invention of Ship-Money was found by *Finch*, whose Solicitations and Importunities, not their Considerations, prevail'd with the major Part of the Judges." *Whitlocke* again; *After much Solicitation by the Chief-Justice Finch, promising Preferment to some, and highly threatenng others, he got that Answer from them.* He adds, *This Opinion and Subscription of the Judges was inroll'd in all the Courts of Westminster-Hall, and much distast'd many Gentlemen of the Country, and of their own Profession, as a Thing extrajudicial, unusual, and of very ill Consequence in this great Business or any other.* *Lord Clarendon* owns *Finch* had too much Influence on his Brethren to induce them to concur in a Judgment they had all Cause to repent. *Warwick* who knew as much of Law as of Reason, affirms, *All the Judges distinctly, to every particular Head of the Case, answer'd affirmatively, and nothing cou'd have led them hereunto but their Books.* As silly and as false as this is, *Echard* steals it word for word. *The Earl of Clarendon*, as we have observ'd, declares the Judges Opinion was deservedly attended with Reproach and Infamy. *Larrey* writes of it thus, *The Judges in their Circuits had less Regard for the Laws, than Complaisance for the Court.* *Clarendon, King Charles's Historian*, says, *The Council, the Star-Chamber, the Judges slighting of the Laws, gave Ground to the Resentment of the House of Commons, and nothing cou'd prevent the fatal Catastrophe of the three Kingdoms.* Judge *Berkley* declar'd at *York Assizes*, *Ship-Money is a lawful and inseparable Flower of the Crown, and the King may command Inland as well as Maritime Counties, to send Ships, which, he added, is not my Judgment alone, but the Judgment of all my Brethren.* False to Astonishment! He knew it was not the Judgment of *Hutton* and *Croke*. Nay, tho' *Warwick* positively affirms that every one of the Judges answer'd distinctly and affirmatively, yet Judge *Hutton* was always in the Negative, and never wou'd subscribe, as the Lord-Keeper *Finch* witness'd for him, tho' *Warwick* has printed his Name with the rest of the Judges. *Mr. Acherley* speaks of this Judgment thus, "One wou'd have thought a small Share of Penetration might have seen thro' the Fallacy and Flattery of such an Oblation of England's Liberties; and therefore from the Proceedings upon the Foundation of this wild Opinion, the Propensity of the Managers in those Times to an arbitrary and unlimited Power was unhappily expos'd."

Rushw. 127.

Laud.

Every Incident which relates to *Laud*, is a fresh Instance of his Pride and Tyranny: He now claim'd a Right of *Royal Visitation* in both Universities

Oxford and *Cambridge*, who pleaded that the Right of visiting was in the King alone, as King and their Founder. The Cause came to a Hearing before his Majesty sitting in Council. Sir *John Bankes* the King's Attorney-General pleading for the Archbishop, *Mr. Gardiner* Recorder of *London* for *Cambridge*, and Serjeant *Thyn* for *Oxford*. While *Gardiner* was pleading, *Laud* interrupted him, saying, *I may visit as oft as I will.* His Majesty spoke against the Puritans tho' they were out of the Question. The Archbishop urg'd the Necessity of visiting *Cambridge*, because they come into Chapel without Surplices, and there were Chapels not consecrated. *Dr. Chadderton* answer'd with a true Evangelical Spirit, *I hope they are consecrated by Faith and a good Conscience.* Here, as in a Mirror, one may see the Difference between *Laud's Church* and the true Church of *England*. The *Earl of Holland* was for compromising the Matter; *If you will visit, you may do it by Commission.* The Archbishop cry'd, *No, I desire to have my own Power.* What a strong Lust of Dominion was in him? The *Lord Holland* urg'd the same when the Case of the University of *Oxford* was heard, and the Archbishop again cry'd out, *No, I desire to have my own Power.* So, according to *Rushworth*, the King adjudg'd it against himself, as he had all along argu'd. The Archbishop invited the King, Queen, and Court to *Oxford*, where he entertain'd them with the Magnificence which he always affected. The *Prince Elector Palatine* was then at Court with *Prince Rupert*, who was actually created Master of Arts, as were the *Earl of Essex*, the *Earl of Hertford*, the *Duke of Lenox*, the *Earl of Berkshire*, the *Earl of Elgin*, the *Earl of Sunderland*, the *Lord Digby*, the *Lord Craven*, and several other Persons of Quality. Many glorious Speeches were made, says *Echard*, and three Comedies, which were represented with as much Variety of Scenes as cou'd be invented by the fine Head of *Inigo Jones*. The Archbishop was so taken with the Comedies, that he order'd them to be acted again; and as he writes in his Diary, *All Things then going well and happily.* *Mr. Coke* represents Matters otherwise, speaking of this Prelate; "Plum'd thus in his own Feathers all Black and White, without one borrow'd from *Cæsar*, whereby the more he assumes to himself, the less he leaves the King, he now soars higher. The Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, in their own Names, enjoin the Removal of the Communion-Table in the Parish Churches from the Body of the Church to the East-End of the Chancel, and cause it to be rail'd in, refusing to administer the Sacrament to such as will not come up to the Rails and kneel down; that the Book of Sports be read in Churches." The cruel unheard-of Persecution rais'd by *Laud* and his Brethren in the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commission*, and *Spiritual Courts*, so terrify'd the Puritans, that incredible Numbers of them left the Kingdom. *All Things went well and happily*, says the Archbishop and the Archdeacon. About this Time there was a Prosecution carry'd on by *Laud's* main Instrument *Wren* Bishop of *Bishop Norwich*, against the chief Inhabitants of the Town *Wren* of *Yarmouth*, as *Miles Corbet Esq;* Recorder, *Mr. Harris*, *Mr. Green*, *Mr. Day*, Aldermen, who had imprison'd the Parson of that Town *Mr. Brooks* for his insolent Behaviour towards their Lecturer *Mr. Brinsley*, who preach'd in the Chapel which had been us'd by the *Dutch* Congregation, till those industrious Protestants were driven out of the Kingdom by the Bishops of *Norwich*, *Harsnet* and *Wren*. *Sanderson* confesses the Inhabitants crowded to hear *Mr. Brinsley*, and neglected *Brooks*; of which *Laud* having Information, he sends an Inhibition to *Brinsley*, requiring him not to preach in the Chapel, where *Mr. Brooks* serv'd the Inhibition upon him, and the Magistrates sent the Parson to Prison; for which the Archbishop procur'd

A.D. 1636.

Against the Universities.

Rushw. 332.

Yarmouth.

A.D. 1636. an Order for throwing the Magistrates into Goal for turning Mr. *Brinsley* out of the Town, and the Chapel into a Warehouse. Wou'd one have thought that so holy a Man as *Dr. Laud* cou'd have been guilty of Sacrilege? And there wou'd be no Excuse for him, had the *Dutch Presbyterian* Chapel been episcopally consecrated.

An English
Envoy at
Rome.

P. 12.

Foreign Affairs were little minded in *England*, where the Archbishop was wholly taken up with making Conquests over the *Puritans*. The chief Business abroad was the Pope's appointing Cardinal *Barberino*, his Predecessor's Nephew, to be Protector of the *English* and *Scottish* Nations, as Cardinal *Ludovico* was of the *Irish*. And these two Cardinals erected a special Society of four Orders of Jesuits in *England*, of whom the Pope's Legate residing in *England* for the time being was to be Rector, and Cardinal *Barberino* the Principal Superintendent. At the latter End of the Year Signior *Panzani* the Pope's Nuntio at *London*, and Major *Brett* the *English* Agent at *Rome*, being discharged from their Negotiations, Signior *Gregorio Con*, or Mr. *Gregory Con* a *Scots* Papist, was appointed by the Pope to succeed *Panzani* as his Nuntio, and Sir *William Hamilton* was sent hence Envoy to *Rome*: So great was the Advancement of the Protestant Religion by *Laud* and his Brethren, according to the Author of the *History of the Rebellion*. At this Time, says an anonymous Writer, there was a great Harmony between *Rome* and *England*; the *Roman Agents* at *London* were so zealous for the Promotion of Popery, that it is taken notice of by the Lord *Wicquefort*, who informs us that the Hatred the Court of *England* express'd towards Cardinal *Richlieu*, was one main Cause of the Troubles they met with. Why they shou'd hate so good a Catholick as Cardinal *Richlieu*, one can't conceive, unless it was because he hated the Jesuits. I may say for certain, says *Wicquefort*, that the Contempt the *English* had for that Minister, was one of the chief Causes of the King's Misfortune, and of the Disorders of the Kingdom. This Year the Lord *Scudamore* was Ambassador in *France*, and being about to make his publick Entry into *Paris*, the Master of the Ceremonies ask'd the Cardinal whether he wou'd send his Coach to meet him. *Richlieu* reply'd, *If the Ambassador will visit me, I will send my Coach, but not otherwise.* The Lord *Scudamore* being told it, said, *I will do as my Predecessors did:* That is, he wou'd not visit him. The Lord *Fielding* and the Earl of *Leicester*, had set him that Example; and we do not learn from *Wicquefort*, why there was this Coldness between the Court of *England* and the Prime Minister of *France*; but 'tis probable 'twas on account of the Queen-Mother *Mary de Medicis*, whom that Cardinal mortally hated, and whom the Court of *England* always sided with.

The Earl of *Arundel* was sent Ambassador to the new Emperor *Ferdinand III.* he staid some Months in *Germany*, and treated about the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, with the same Success the *English* Ambassadors had had ever since the Electorate was lost. Indeed what Success cou'd be expected from Embassies that carry'd nothing with them but Words, and that were not likely to be follow'd by Fleets and Armies. The Duke of *Bavaria*, who was in Possession of the Elector's Territories, look'd on the Ambassador with disdain, and other Princes interested in the Affair did not treat him much better; so he left *Germany* in Distaste and Choler, without taking any Leave.

A.D. 1637.

The Sufferings of
William
Prynne,
Dr. Bastwick, Mr.
Burton.

The Plague which broke out in the last Year, increas'd in the following, which caus'd many to post into the Country: But Sicknes or Health, Peace or War, 'tis all one; the Archbishop is alike busy with his sanguinary Prosecutions. Three Gentlemen whom he prosecuted at this Time, were of the most reputable Professions, *William Prynne*

Esq; Utter Barrister of *Lincoln's-Inn*, whom he had caus'd to be mutilated and mangled some Years before. *Dr. John Bastwick* a Physician, and Mr. *Henry Burton* Batchelor of Divinity. *Echard* begins their Case with a direct Falsity; *Their Answers* were so libellous no Counsellor wou'd put his Hand to them; for Mr. *Tomlins*, Council for *Prynne*, did actually sign his Answer, which was refus'd both at the *Star-Chamber* Office, and in open Court. Mr. *Holt*, another Counsellor, a Bencher of *Gray's-Inn*, assign'd Mr. *Prynne*, after he had drawn his Answer, was privately commanded not to sign it. And when his Promise to do it was urg'd, he said *I have Orders to the contrary, and dare not do it for a hundred Pieces.* Mr. *Burton's* Answer was drawn, engros'd, and subscrib'd by Mr. *Holt* by Order of the Court; yet nine Days after, when it had been perus'd by the Archbishop, 'twas pretended to be scandalous, and refer'd to Sir *John Bramstone* and Sir *John Finch*, the two chief Justices, to be purg'd. Accordingly they expung'd 64 whole Sheets, and would not suffer Mr. *Burton's* Council to defend the Answer; Sir *John Finch* threatening to pull his Gown over his Ears for offering it. The two righteous Judges left only three Lines in the Beginning and two in the End, amounting to a general not guilty; whereas in what they had struck out, Mr. *Burton* had confess'd and justify'd what he was charg'd with. And because he wou'd not acknowledge this purg'd Answer directly contrary to that he put in upon Oath, he was taken pro Confesso, as was Mr. *Prynne* for a supposed contemptuous Answer, which the Court of *Star-Chamber* wou'd not accept, tho' sign'd by Council, and twice tender'd. This is Mr. *Prynne's* own Account of it printed by Order of Parliament: And tho' *Echard* affirms and repeats it again, it was only sign'd by himself, yet we prove upon him that it was sign'd by Mr. *Tomlins* his Council and himself too, and that Mr. *Holt* who drew the Answer, order'd it to be engros'd, and promis'd to sign, was commanded not to sign it. I do not so often bring Proofs of such Falshoods against the Author of the *History of the Rebellion* and *Echard*, as being under any manner of Surprize at finding them in their Histories. If I had found Truth these, I shou'd indeed have been surpriz'd as much as if I had seen Tyranny prov'd to be the Constitution, Superstition and Persecution to be Religion, Law to be Sedition, and Liberty Rebellion. *Dr. Bastwick's* Council were so threaten'd and terrify'd, that they refus'd to sign his Answer which he drew up himself. It was left at the *Star-Chamber* Office, and another Copy of it tender'd in open Court, where 'twas rejected, and the Doctor taken pro Confesso. This is the most daring and impious Act of Injustice that ever was attempted in any Court; and the Offences of these three Gentlemen were for the most Part personal against *Laud*, who sat imperiously on the Bench with the Lord High-Treasurer *Juxon* by his Side, and was the Man who set Sir *John Banks* the Attorney-General to work; and as *Banks's* Clerk Mr. *Cocksbute* testify'd upon Oath, order'd him to let him know from time to time how the wicked Work went on. *Laud* was charg'd by *Burton* with several Innovations and Alterations in Church-Service, I shall only take notice of one of them, because it shews how well-dispos'd he and his Disciples have been from the beginning of the Protestant Succession; 'tis the sixth Innovation: That the Lady *Elizabeth*, our present most gracious Sovereign's Royal Great Grandmother, and her princely Children, be dast'd out of the new Collect, whereas they were in the Collect of the former Book. *Dr. Bastwick's* Crime was for saying, That Prelates were Invaders of the King's Prerogative, witness *Laud's* usurping the Royal Visitation in the two Universities, witness their solemn denying to hold their Jurisdiction of the King, and even his Supremacy, as in *Whitlocke*. That they were

A.D. 1637.

Trial of
Laud
Archbishop
of Cant.
p. 111.

ib. p. 111.

P. 461.

P. 111.

ib.

Tyrannical
Proceedings.

Laud and
his Faction
hate the
Protestant
Succession.

A.D. 1637. were *Advancers of Popery, Superstition, and Profaneness*, witness *Laud's* magnifying the bloody Reign of Queen *Mary*, and running down King *Edward*; his desiring that *Fox's* Martyrology might be taken out of Churches; witness his *Altars*, his *Cringes*, his *Candles* and *Candlesticks*, his *Copes*, *Hoods*, and his very impious Book of Sports. *Prynne*, who was a Presbyterian, had express'd his Sentiments with Freedom; *Echard* stiles him the most *inveterate Offender*; *Rusworth* assures us he was the *more moderate and cautious*. Eternal Falshood! *Laud*, incapable of Moderation, justify'd his superstitious Innovations in a Speech of two Hours long, and then left the Prisoners to this dreadful Sentence; "That Mr. *Prynne* having once lost his Ears before, should stand in the Pillory, have the Remainder of his Ears cut off, and be stigmatiz'd on both Cheeks with S. L. as a seditious Libeller." This Part of the Sentence was mov'd by *Finch*, who had not yet run his Country; "That Dr. *Bastwick* the Physician, and Mr. *Burton* Bachelor of Divinity, should stand in the Pillory and have both their Ears cut off, and all three pay 5000 Pounds apiece to the King." If this Blood was remember'd when the Archbishop was on the Scaffold for Execution, it must needs moderate the Peoples Compassion. *Rusworth* tells us, the Hangman rather saw'd off the Remainder of *Prynne's* Ears than cut them. These three Gentlemen were afterwards committed Prisoners, one to the Castle of *Launceston* in *Cornwall*, another to the Castle of *Launceston* in *Wales*. They were afterwards remov'd to remote Islands, *Guernsey*, *Fersey*, and *Scilly*, where they were kept close Prisoners, the Wives of Dr. *Bastwick* and Mr. *Burton* not being allow'd after many Petitions to have Access to them, nor to set footing in the Island, neither was any Friend permitted to have any Access to Mr. *Prynne*. The People of *England* had in general an Abhorrence of this Cruelty, which one cannot write nor read without trembling. The Parliament afterwards voted the Prosecution and Sentence illegal, and their unrighteous Judges to make Reparation. Had the Offence been legally prov'd on the Offenders, the Punishment was by no Means adequate to it. Christians, Protestants, and *Englishmen*, to be mangled and branded like Slaves at *Morocco*. A noted Divine of the Church of *England* writes of it thus, *Most moderate Men thought the Censure too sharp, too base, and ignominious for Gentlemen of their ingenious Vocation*. *Laud* after this Sentence was pronounc'd, gave the Judges his hearty Thanks for it in a formal Speech, and was the leading Counsellor when the three much-injur'd Gentlemen were illegally banish'd. The Behaviour of these Sufferers argu'd alike their Innocence and their Courage. Tho' the Executioner par'd Mr. *Burton's* Ears so close, that he cut the *Temporal Artery*, and the Blood stream'd down on the Scaffold, yet he never shrunk in the least. Dr. *Bastwick* was much admir'd, says *Fuller*, and highly commended for the Erection of his Mind, triumphing over Pain and Shame. He made a Speech on the Pillory, in which he said, *Indeed I wrote a Book against Antichrist, the Pope; and the Pope of Canterbury said it was written against him*. Mr. *Prynne* told the Spectators, among other Things, *Rather than I would have my Cause a leading Cause, to the depriving the Subjects of their Liberties, I suffer my Body to become an Example of this Punishment*. As he was carrying back to Prison, he made this Distich on his own stigmatizing.

S. L.

*Stigmata maxillis referens, insignia Laudis
Exultans remeo, Victima grata Deo.*

More Tyranny.

The learned Mr. *Acherley* observes on this Occasion, *That the Cruelty of these corporal Punishments, which*

were arbitrary and impos'd for no Offence against the A.D. 1637. Laws for which such Punishments cou'd be inflicted, bound down all Gentlemen under a servile Fear of the like Treatment, in the midst of the Lord *Clarendon's* Felicities, which he tells us were the *Wonder of the World*. *Echard* aping that impartial History, affirms also, *That all this Time England had a mighty Show of Glory and Felicity, the Church was shining in Grandeur*. Shining in Piety and Innocence, in Purity and Virtue, wou'd have been a Glory indeed; but to have told St *Paul* and St. *Peter* their Church wou'd shine in Grandeur, wou'd doubtless to them have been a Prophecy of Antichrist and his Equipage. He adds, the *Happiness was too great to remain unalterable*. The Truth is, the dismal Effects of arbitrary Power were felt in all Parts of the Kingdom, to which it was not confin'd, but extended to *Scotland* so much, that it became intolerable. Indeed after the bloody Outrage committed on the Bodies of these three Gentlemen, the Plot thickens apace, and draws daily nearer to the Catastrophe, which was precipitated by *Laud's* Rage and Rashness.

We read in *Rusworth*, that "The Report of *Troubles in Scotland*, the Sentence against Mr. *Prynne*, &c and the smart Execution, flew quickly into *Scotland*, and the Discourse among the *Scots*, was that the *Bishops of England* were the Cause thereof, that they must expect to have a *Star-Chamber* erected in their Kingdom to strengthen their Bishops Power there, besides the *High-Commission Court*." And while they were in these Fears, and under this Provocation, Archbishop *Laud* attempted to force the *Common-Prayer-Book* upon them, which occasion'd the Tumult at *Edinburgh*. That Tumult led gradually to the *Scots* War, and that War as gradually to the *Civil War in England*; wherefore it is of Importance to remark how and by whom the first *Troubles* were rais'd in *Scotland*, which in a few Years infected *England*. I must here declare, that the reverend Historian's History is of no Use to me. The whole Story on this Head is one continu'd Misrepresentation. Father *Orleans* speaks some Truth here; "The Resolution taken at this Time to put in Execution what had been projected by King *James* for establishing the *English Liturgy* in *Scotland*, occasion'd an Insurrection which afterwards involved both Kingdoms, and was properly the immediate Cause of the Revolution." Bishop *Burnet* names the Prime Mover in that Cause; *The Scots Bishops were so encourag'd by Archbishop Laud, that they lost all Temper*; of which one of the most zealous of them, *Sydserfe*, made great Acknowledgments in his old Age. Madam *Motterville* before-mention'd, who wrote *Memoirs of Anne of Austria*, and probably had her *Memoirs* relating to *England* from Queen *Henrietta Maria*, having told us that *Laud* put the King upon imposing the *Common-Prayer-Book* on the *Kirk* in *Scotland*, adds, "King *Charles* carry'd the Book one Night into the Queen's Chamber, and desir'd her to read it, telling her *he wanted her to peruse it, that she might see how near they came to the Faith*. He calls *Popery* the *Faith*. But it was not that Faith of which his Subjects stil'd him the Defender. Thus we see that the *Popish* Queen as well as Archbishop *Laud*, was one of the Cabinet-Council for imposing a Liturgy on the *Scots* Presbyterians. The fairest Account of these Matters are in my *Scots* History: "King *Charles* I. falling in with the pernicious Counsels of Archbishop *Laud*; renews his Father's Project, and directs him and several of the *English* Clergy to revise the Liturgy for the Use of the *Kirk*. These Revisers made several Alterations, which render'd it even more distasteful than the *English* Liturgy itself. This was sent down to *Scotland*, where the People were greatly alarm'd at an Innovation so much abhor'd by them; infomuch

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that

A.D. 1637. " that several of the Episcopal Clergy took the
 " Freedom to remonstrate against it: But the Bi-
 " shops and some of the Lords of the Council
 " set themselves immediately to work, and as if
 " they were resolv'd to irritate the Scots Nation,
 " the *Common-Prayer-Book* was not only appointed
 " to be read, but the Minister must wear a Sur-
 " plice. A new uncouth Sight, next to frightful
 " to the ignorant well-meaning People. It was
 " begun at *Holyrood-House* Chapel, where none
 " being oblig'd to go but the King's Servants, it
 " gave not much Offence." Before the *Service-Book*
 came down, there were *Book-Canons* set forth
 by the King's Authority, and all the Subjects of
Scotland were enjoin'd to submit to the Episcopal
 Censure. Their Consistories, Classes, and Pres-
 byteries, were held in the Nature of Conventicles,
 and there remain'd no Shadow of their former
 Ecclesiastical Policy. There were several
 Alterations in *Laud's* Liturgy approaching near
 the Romish *Missal*, and one in the Delivery of
 the Sacrament, which the *Scots* apprehended was
 to introduce *Transubstantiation*.

Rushw.
396.

The 23^d of July was the Day appointed for
 the Opening of this dreaded and dangerous Scene.
 The Dean of *Edinburgh* being to preach that Day
 in the Great Church, resolv'd before Sermon to
 read the *Service-Book* in his Habit and Surplice.
 There was a great Concourse of People expecting
 what wou'd be the Issue of the Matter. At the
 usual Hour the Dean in his Surplice comes out of
 the Vestry, the People gazing as at a *Raree-Show*,
 and making Gestures of Contempt. He pass'd
 thro' the Crowd to the *Reading-Desk*, and began
 to read, the Auditory continuing quiet, till on a
 sudden an old Woman disgusted at some Words,
 starts up in a Fury, and crys, *Villain, Dost thou say*
the Mass at my Lugg; then taking up her little Stool,
 she flung it at the Dean's Head, making an hideous
 Noise. Some who sat next to her follow'd
 her Example, and by Degrees the whole Church
 was in an Uproar. The Dean quitted the Desk,
 and pull'd off his Surplice for fear of being torn
 to Pieces. The Bishop of *Edinburgh* went up in-
 to the Pulpit, and beckening for Silence, offer'd
 to speak, but it was all to no Purpose: The Peo-
 ple flung at him Sticks, Stools, and any Thing
 that came to hand from all Quarters, and both
 Bishop and Dean made their Retreat to the Ves-
 try. The Lord Chancellor call'd to the Magis-
 trates to appease the Multitude, who were now
 become as tumultuous without the Church as with-
 in, and broke the Windows. They stroll'd about
 the City, and visited every Church where the Cu-
 rates intended to read *Common-Prayer*, which set
 all in Confusion. The Clergy with the Magis-
 trates and Courtiers, who still staid in the Great
 Church, taking hold of the Multitudes employing
 themselves elsewhere, lock'd themselves in, and
 boldly return'd to their Devotions. The Liturgy
 was again read, but the Rabble returning before
 they had done, waited for their coming out, assau-
 lted the Bishop in the Street, and it was not with-
 out Difficulty that he got safe to his Palace, not-
 withstanding the Earl of *Rothes* a popular Noble-
 man had taken him into his Coach to protect him
 from Violence, which the Populace push'd no far-
 ther at that Time. The Care of the Magistrates,
 and the Power of the Court, aw'd them for the
 present, but when Harvest was over, and they had
 more Leisure, they began to stir a little in Oppo-
 sition to the *Service-Book*.

It was soon found that the Generality of the Na-
 tion, as well Gentry as Commonalty, were dis-
 gustted at it, and about two Months after great
 Numbers of Gentlemen well attended came to
Edinburgh, where a Petition was drawn up and
 handed about to be sign'd, requesting the Council
 in their own Names, and the Names of all the No-
 blemen, Gentlemen, and others who shou'd agree to

Mem. Hist.
Cb. Scot.
p. 181.

the same, that the *Service-Book* might be no far-
 ther press'd till his Majesty's Pleasure be farther
 known. My Author affirms, that an infinite Num-
 ber set their Hands to this Petition, and amongst
 them several Gentlemen of good Rank. *Echard* fallie
 again; Not a Person of note countenanc'd it. He
 and his fellow Labourers have a prodigious Advan-
 tage in the use of Terms: He calls it a *Sedition*.
 Thus *Conscience* is with them *Schism*, *Petitioning*
Sedition, *Publick-Spirit Faction*, *Passive-Obedience*
Loyalty, *Superstitious* and *Persecution*, the Church;
 it serves them instead of Fact and Argument; and
 then the Latitude and Liberty they take as to Truth,
 make them carry away their Cause with them in
 every Paragraph. The Council, according to my
 Author, pretended to resent the Petition, and threat-
 ened the Gentlemen who presented it, to send their
 Names to the King as disorderly and disaffected Per-
 sons. *Echard* says, *Wise Men*, I wonder whom he
 means, for I have not yet met with one wise Action
 in all the History, were of Opinion, that if three or
 four of them had been hang'd, it might have sav'd
 the succeeding Torrent of Blood. Instead of giving
 a gentle Answer to the Petition, which wou'd have
 been some Sign of Wisdom, the Council publish'd
 a Proclamation to remove the Session, which is the
 Scots Term, to *Linlithgow*, in hopes of preventing
 the Peoples flocking to *Edinburgh*. They also dis-
 solv'd all Meetings on Church Affairs; which only
 exasperated the Citizens who gather'd together the
 next Day, and the Gentlemen who had petition'd
 appear'd among them. They surrounded the Coun-
 cil House, the Lords sitting in Council, and de-
 manded a more favourable Answer to their Peti-
 tion. The Bishop of *Galloway* coming thither at
 the Instant, was insulted, as were the Earl of *Tra-*
quair and the Lord-Treasurer, from whom they
 took his White-Staff. A Party of them beset the
 Town-House, and oblig'd the Magistrates to sign
 a Paper not to permit the idolatrous *Service-Book*
 as they call'd it. The Lords of the Council were
 their Prisoners, and there was no Way of freeing
 themselves but by the Mediation of several Lords
 and Gentlemen of Quality who oppos'd the Li-
 turgy. They prevail'd with the Populace to let
 the Lords of the Council go quietly to their Homes,
 some of the Citizens being their Guard. The
 next Day another Petition was presented to the
 Privy-Council, sign'd by nineteen Noblemen and
 three hundred Gentlemen of note, and the prin-
 cipal Inhabitants of the City of *Edinburgh*. This
 Petition was transmitted to the King, who instead
 of moderate Counsels, sent down a Proclamation
 to remove the Session to *Stirling*, and another for-
 bidding all tumultuous Meetings on Pain of Re-
 bellion. But these Proclamations now signify'd no
 more; in *Scotland* than his Embassies did in *Germany*
 about the *Palatinate*. They were to many Words
 only; the People united in Defence of the Cause
 they had undertaken, the Petitioners took no No-
 tice of the Council, but resolv'd to proceed in
 their own Way for the Preservation of their Re-
 ligion and Liberties. The Earl of *Hume*, the Lord
Lindsay and several other Lords, with a great Num-
 ber of Gentlemen, enter'd a Protestation against
 these Proclamations, which they sent to the Coun-
 cil; and from that time some of these Lords and
 Gentlemen met daily to consider the State of the
 Nation. Here the famous TABLES were form'd,
 by whose Order every Degree sate by themselves.
 1. The Nobility. 2. The Gentlemen. 3. The Bur-
 roughs. 4. The Ministers; who all communicated
 their Resolves to each other, and acted in Concert
 with perfect Unanimity. They minded not the
 Orders of Council, nor even the King's Menaces;
 which being inspir'd by *Laud*, wanted not Severi-
 ty and Irritation; but so far took the Administra-
 tion into their Hands, as to proceed to the re-
 dressing of those Grievances, which tho' often
 complain'd of, the Court wou'd not redress. They
 began

Scots
TABLES;

A.D. 1637. began with the Church, and all Episcopal Pomp and Ceremony vanish'd at once. The Bishops fled, and the General TABLES renew'd the ancient Confession of Faith and Presbyterian Government, entering into a solemn Covenant one with another to defend and preserve the true Protestant Reform'd Religion and the Person of the King. They understood his Majesty highly resent'd their Proceedings; but imputing his Resentment to *Laud's* prepossessing him against them, it only animated them in the Prosecution of their new Undertaking. The imprison'd Ministers were every where set free, the banish'd call'd home, and all restor'd to their Livings, to the inexpressible Joy of the Scots Nation, who forbore not upon all Occasions to express their Detestation of the Innovations impos'd upon them by *Laud* and his Brethren. Some of their Bishops renounc'd Episcopacy, as *Ramsay* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *Graham* Bishop of *Orkney*, *Fairly* Bishop of *Argyle*, and almost all the rest of the Clergy submitted to the TABLES, and took the Covenant. Is the Sun at Noon more visible than that the Perplexity which the King had brought himself into, was the Effect of Archbishop *Laud's* desperate Counsels; so insensible of the apparent Consequences, and so incapable of Moderation, that he day by day hurries his Master into new Difficulties and Dangers? The *Astrologer* we have often quoted had a very mean Opinion of this Prelate's Capacity. "*Strafford* advises with *Cantebury* about composing these emergent Differences all to little purpose, for the Bishop was a very Ass in every thing but Church Matters". *Lilly* means the Grandeur and Power of his own Hierarchy.

The Persecution against scrupulous Consciences was all this while as hot as ever in England, that both Nations might not be without Provocations. To avoid the High-Commission and Spiritual Courts, many hundred Families, sober and industrious People, remov'd to the English Plantations in *America*. It cou'd not but be a horrid Scandal to a Government to see its best Subjects chuse to leave their dear Country, their Dwellings and Trades, and wander with their Wives and Children in those distant Wildernesses, rather than continue expos'd to the Tyranny of those merciless mercenary Courts. One cannot think it was out of Care of the publick Good, that a Proclamation was publish'd to prohibit their transporting themselves, and block up the Passage of those voluntary Exiles, who were willing to go to another Part of the World, where, as they said, they might not meet with such Disturbance as they had met with here in England from Ecclesiastical Courts. What *Echard* quotes out of the Proclamation is not the less absurd and ridiculous for the Place from whence he took it. *Because of the many idle and refractory Humours, whose only or principal End is to live without the Reach of Government.* False as the rest. They were the most quiet, industrious People in the Kingdom, which every one knew they left with bleeding Hearts purely for Conscience sake to enjoy the Purity and Freedom of their Religion, which the reverend Historian terms a Humour. Thus with him *Dr. Reynolds*, *Dr. Wallis*, *Dr. Wilkins*, *Dr. Bates*, *Dr. Wincup*, *Dr. Gilpin*, *Dr. Collings*, *Dr. Jacomb*, *Dr. Annesley*, *Dr. Arthur*, and thousands more, who were professedly of the same Religion with these Refugees, were *humourous Fellows*. As Wit is not one of the Ingredients in the Composition of History, so neither is Stupidity; and one can make nothing else of both the Proclamation and his Paraphrase. 'Tis not deny'd but that *Laud*, *Wren*, *Pierce*, and such Prelates, made these conscientious Christians so uneasy at home, that they ran the greatest Risks of Life, Health, and Living to avoid them. Had Care of the State been in Question, a Check upon that Tyranny, which is called Authority in the

Proclamation, wou'd have given them immediate Ease, and the Loss of so many useful Families have been prevented. But such Christian Compliance, so agreeable to charitable and benevolent Minds, was not to be expected from the Ministry at that time, nor from their Master. *Larrey* tells us, *The persecuted Protestants crowded the Sea-Ports to get over to America.* There was a Tribe of them, says *Echard* with more Contempt than becomes him. This Tribe is now the populous and opulent Colony of *New England*. He adds, *They cast off all Subjection to the English Church*; by which he means they conform'd to the Profession and Practice of all the Reform'd Churches in *Christendom* both in Faith, Worship and Discipline.

He owns the Proceedings in the spiritual Courts were now so severe, that it gave Occasion to strike at their Jurisdiction; but the same Judges who had given it as their Opinion, *That the raising Money without Act of Parliament was according to Law*, declar'd that the *Spiritual Courts* were also according to Law, tho' the King's Name was not us'd in them. Immediately out comes a Proclamation to give a Sanction to the Opinion of the Judges, according to the Archdeacon. And as if these Proclamations were really any farther minded than the People were forc'd to it, 'twas also to give Satisfaction to the Subjects. He proceeds: *Thus was a great Point gain'd, and the Severities were never the less relax'd, for the Archbishop was inspir'd with Virtue and Ferwor, which his subordinate Instruments borrow'd from him.* This is follow'd by some small Truths, too good for the Company they keep. "Some of the Archbishop's Instruments, the Clergy, endeavour'd to introduce many things, which had too near a Resemblance to Popercy; nor were they blameless in their Lives, several being vicious to a Scandal; nor so humble and meek as they ought to have appear'd; but so very high, that one was complain'd of for saying, *I hope to see the Day when a Minister shall be as good a Man as any upstart Jack Gentleman in England.* The Lord *Clarendon* assures us, and so does *Warwick*, *the Church flourish'd with learned and extraordinary Men.* And to shew how finely we are taught by *Clarendon* and *Echard*, mark the Agreement: *There was not one Churchman in any degree of Acceptance, not those Instruments accepted and prefer'd by Laud, of a scandalous Insufficiency Clergy in Learning, or a more scandalous Condition of Life.* Not one! I think there's no need of saying any thing more of these Historians; but the Provocation is beyond measure. General *Ludlow*, every way equal to the Lord *Clarendon* tho' he had written that History, tells us, *The most profitable Reforms in the English Church were given to those of the Clergy who were most forward to promote Superstition, and profane the Lord's Day.* Not one!

The next Truth is extorted from Mr. *Echard*: *Puritans.* The Puritans were generally free from outward Scandal, which is follow'd by a Reflection to vulgar and so puerile that it is a Shame to repeat it, except some Particulars in Commerce. At *Billinggate* the Saying among the Fishery is, the *Presbyterians* will not swear, but they'll cheat. *Billinggate* is not the worst Place from whence he fetches his Wit and his Raillery. The Puritans would not whore, but they wou'd cozen; and sure those who wou'd whore, drink, swear and profane the Sabbath, us'd a great deal of Conscience as to cheating, when it lay in their way; which it did not do so often as in that of the Puritans, who had above nine Parts in ten of the Trade of the Nation.

The next Man *Laud* took to task in this very Year was *John Lilburn*, a younger Son of *Richard Lilburn*, Esq; of *Thickley Panchardon* in the County-Palatine of *Durham*, one of the best Families in the Bishoprick. *Echard* insults him as a *Tradesman*,

A.D. 1637.
The Covenant.

P. 184.

Laud's Weakness,
P. 48.

Persecution in England.

Plantations.

Rushaw.
409.

A.D. 1637.

P. 341.

Spiritual Courts.

P. 460.

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P. 5.

Lilburn.

man,

A.D. 1637. man, whereas in truth he never set up as a Tradesman; and if he had, the Difference in their Descents shou'd have given a Check to that Insult. *Lilburn* was put to a Packer; but disliking a Trade he left him, and was taken to be Clerk to *William Prynne*, Esq; his Inclination bending to the Law. Mr. *Prynne* soon after suffering for his *Histrionastrix*, *Lilburn* took his Master's Part, and wrote against his Persecutors, for which he was brought into the *Star-Chamber*, *Laud* sitting there again in Triumph. He was condemn'd to be whipp'd from the *Fleet Prison* to *Westminster-Hall*, where he was afterwards to stand in the Pillory. Tho' he was whipp'd so bloodily that every Heart bled for him, yet he bore it with a Courage which was amazing, and while he was in the Hands of the Tormentor express'd his Indignation at the Injustice that was done him. He continu'd doing so when he was in the Pillory; of which the precious Judges of the *Star-Chamber* being inform'd, they sent an Order to have him gagg'd. Mr. *Lilburn* had 500 Stripes with a treble Cord having Knots upon it; and it was said by a Member of the House of Commons in 1640. "To sum up his Sufferings; "By Imprisonment he was made a dead Trunk, by "Whipping a Rogue, by Pillory a Cheat, by Gagging a Beast. They had better have hang'd him "outright". We read in *Rusworth*, "When "once the *Star-Chamber* Court began to swell big, "and was delighted with Blood; *which was not "till Laud's Time, springing out of the Ears, Noses "and Shoulders of the punish'd; and nothing wou'd "satisfy the Revenge of some Clergymen but cropt "Ears, slit Noses, whipp'd Backs, gagg'd Mouths, "and withal to be thrown into Dungeons, and "some to be banish'd not only from their native "Country to remote Islands, but by Order of this "Court to be separated from their Wives and "Children; then began the English Nation to lay "to heart the slavish Condition they were like to "come into if this Court continu'd". These were felicitous Times, when, as the Lord *Clarendon* wou'd have us believe, the Happiness of the golden Age was restor'd.*

Ep. Williams prosecuted. While the Court of *Star-Chamber* was intent upon these good Works, *Laud* took hold of this seasonable Opportunity to bring his Patron and Benefactor Bishop *Williams* before them. That able Statesman had liv'd splendidly for some Years at his Palace of *Bugden* in *Huntingtonshire*, whereby his Hospitality and pleasant manner of receiving all Persons he grew very popular, and the neglecting so useful a Minister for the sake of so odious a one as *Laud* occasion'd still more murmuring. *The King and the Archbishop had entertain'd insuperable Prejudices against him, and look'd upon him as a dangerous Affecter of Popularity.* To gain the good Will of the People by Acts of Humanity and Bounty is to endanger the State, which in truth had a very small Share of that good Will. Again; *He was a Favourer of the Puritans, and his subtle and serpentine Ways, which they never found out, gave too just an Occasion to many to believe him not strictly honest.* It is the whole Drift of the learned and reverend Bishop *Hacket* in his Life of Bishop *Williams* to prove that he was strictly honest. The first Informers against the Bishop of *Lincoln* were Sir *John Lambe*, whom he prefer'd and got to be knighted, and Dr. *Sibthorp*. *Lambe* was a Spiritual-Court Officer, and what *Sibthorp* was, has been shewn already. Their Information was of terrible Importance; "That the Bishop "had discourag'd them in prosecuting of Puritans; "that he ask'd *Lambe* whether they paid the Loan-Money;" who saying they did, but were not good Churchmen, the Bishop reply'd, *If they pay the King they are the best Subjects, and I am sure they will carry all at last.* *Laud* had not Foresight enough to think after that manner. The Bishop also told *Lambe* and *Sibthorp*, as those Informers

A.D. 1637. swore, that the King had communicated to him his Intentions to have the Puritans more mildly dealt with, which his Majesty had said several Years before in a Conversation with the Bishop not at the Council-Board; and his Lordship having intimated as much to these two Persecutors to induce them to stop their Hands a little, *Lambe* upon being refus'd an Official's Place by the Bishop, and *Sibthorp* to please Bishop *Laud*, deliver'd their Information to *Noy*, then Attorney-General, who was order'd to draw it up in Form, and file it in the *Star-Chamber*. Bishop *Williams* demurr'd to it as no fit Matter for the Cognizance of that Court, the Words being spoken of Matters done in Parliament. The Lord-Keeper and the other Judges were startled at this Demurrer, and to clear themselves refer'd it to Judge *Richardson*, who having lain long under the Archbishop's Displeasure about the Business of the *Somersetshire Revels*, to set all things right again over-ru'd the Demurrer in a private Chamber. Bishop *Williams* then apply'd himself to the Lord Treasurer *Weston* for a Composition; but the King wou'd hear nothing till the Bishop had confess'd his Fault. Upon which Bishop *Williams* resolv'd to defend himself; and by the Advice of the most learned Council in *England* put in a strong Plea, which being argu'd in open Court was refer'd to the same Judge *Richardson*, who in the same manner smother'd it in a Chamber. This Plea thus over-ru'd, the Bishop put in a special Answer, setting forth the Conspiracy of *Lambe*, *Sibthorp*, &c. to ruin him, and advance themselves; that their Hatred to him was for not permitting them to plunder and rob the King's Subjects in the Ecclesiastical Courts, by haling them into their Nets *ex Officio mero*, without any previous Complaint, under an imaginary Colour of *Puritanism*. *Noy* join'd Issue to this Answer, and Witnesses were examin'd to prove it. But as much as *Noy* was in the arbitrary Proceedings of the Ministry after his Apostasy, he grew weary of this Business, and *Laud* procur'd another Prosecutor, one *Richard Kilvert*, so profligate a Villain that the Archdeacon is asham'd to name him; and Dr. *Fuller* writes, *He wou'd do what an Full, honest Man wou'd be asham'd of, and like a Mastiff Dog fiercely fly upon any Person for Profit. He was seconded in this Suit and abetted by the Court, who supported him with Money.* *Kilvert* brib'd one *Warren*, an Examiner in the *Star-Chamber*, contrary to *Warren's* Oath, to reveal that the Bishop's Cause depended on the Testimony of *John Pregon*, Register of *Lincoln* and *Leicestershire*. To invalidate his Evidence, *Kilvert* suborn'd Witnesses to swear *Bastardy* against *Pregon*. The Bishop to support the Credit of his Witness, us'd his utmost Endeavours to find out the Subornation, and the *Bastardy* was so ill prov'd, that the *Bastard* was at *Lincoln* Sessions father'd upon another. Another Bench of Justices, of whom Sir *John Munson* was most active, father'd it upon *Pregon*. The last Order was dissolv'd as illegal by the Court of King's Bench, and *Pregon* clear'd from the Child. In this Dispute something must necessarily pass, which look'd like Concern in the Bishop for the Character of his Evidence, who deny'd that his Lordship had spoken the Words sworn against him by *Lambe* and Dr. *Sibthorp*. *Kilvert* call'd this Subornation, and dropping the first Information proceeded against his Lordship upon the last. *This Band-Dog*, says Dr. *Fuller*, *let go his first Hold too hard for his Teeth to enter, and fasten'd his Fangs on a softer Place.* Some Days before the Hearing a Privy-Counsellor, suppos'd to be the Earl of *Dorset*, Friend to the Bishop, interpos'd so far as to get the Suit compounded for 2000*l.* but the Sum being offer'd, the Price was soon risen in the Market, and to the 2000*l.* was added the Surrender of his Deanery of *Westminster*, Parsonage of *Walgrave* in *Northamptonshire*, a Place he much delight-

A.D. 1637. delighted in, and Prebend of *Lincoln*, all which the Bishop held in *Commendam*. But his Lordship reply'd, he wou'd in no Case forego those few Remainers of his dead Master King James's Favour. The same Lord continuing still his Interposition, prevail'd to have the Suit superseded for 4000*l.* Bishop *Williams* saying, *I take no Delight in fencing at Law with my Sovereign*, agreed to it; when a great Adversary stepping in, suppos'd to be the great *Laud*, set his Majesty so violently upon a Trial that all was frustrated; and what was yet worse, the friendly Offices of the Lord of the Council was urg'd against the Bishop as a Proof of his Guilt by his Forwardness to compound. The Court of *Star-Chamber* coming to the Censure, Sir *John Finch*, Lord Chief Justice, fin'd the Bishop of *Lincoln* 10000*l.* Sir *Francis Windebank*, Secretary of State, and a Creature of *Laud's*, to the 10000*l.* Fine, added degrading. Both of these two *Star-Chamber* Judges fled for their Lives three or four Years after, or they wou'd doubtless have been Examples of national Justice, The other Judges brought the Fine down to 8000*l.* to the King, and 1000*l.* to Sir *John Monson*, a *Lincolnshire*-Justice, with Imprisonment during the King's Pleasure. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* heartily agreed to all but the degrading, which his Friend and Tool had propos'd probably on purpose that *Laud* might shew his Clemency in only ruining and jailing the Bishop without that Ceremony. He preach'd near an Hour before he pass'd Sentence, alledging that *Jezabel* was the first in Scripture who was branded with the Infamy which the Bishop is charged with. Some of the *Star-Chamber* Lords, as *Weston* the Treasurer, the Earl of *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Manchester* concurr'd in the Fine, hoping the King wou'd have taken to himself the sole Honour of mitigating it. But the utmost Penny was exacted. The Bishop was suspended by the High-Commission Court, which *Echard* on this very Occasion calls *the Glory of the Nation*. He remain'd four Years a Prisoner in the Tower, and was pursu'd thither by *Laud*, who four Months after the Bishop of *Lincoln* was releas'd was sent thither himself, and never got out but to his Trial and Execution. He sent two Bishops and three Doctors to him in Prison to take his Answer to certain ensnaring Interrogatories; which Bishop *Williams* answer'd so warily, that the Bishops and Doctors cou'd take no Advantage of it. But, as Dr. *Fuller* assures us, *They painted his Lordship out in an ugly Shape to the King*. This Trial lasted nine Days, and the *Star-Chamber* Court was every Day crowded, the People generally pitying the Bishop of *Lincoln*, who, 'twas visible, was to be sacrific'd to the Envy, Jealousy, Malice and Ingratitude of *Laud*, who in Defiance of the publick Hatred continu'd daily to increase and provoke it.

Star-Chamber Court.

Is it not astonishing that the Archdeacon shou'd take hold of this Opportunity to write an Encomium on the Court of *Star-Chamber*? And let him not say he praises what it had been, and not what it was; for it wou'd be false, as I am about to prove. His Commendations of it are: *It had for many Ages been the Glory of England*. He sets out with a Falsity; it was erected by *Henry VIII.* about 140 Years before; for the Defence of Honour and Honesty. It generally consisted of 30 or 40 of the greatest, wisest, and most learned of all Professions in the Kingdom, and oftentimes with the King at the Head of them, so that no Court came so near the venerable Senate of Rome. I am not astonish'd that it is the Reverse of the Truth, but that the reverend Historian shou'd declaim thus in Praise of it, when it had just been guilty of so vile an Act of Injustice against one of the Fathers of our Church. *Osborn*, a Gentleman of good Observation and Judgment, who liv'd in the best Days of that Court, when other Sort of Men than *Weston*, *Cottington*, *Windebank*, *Conway*, *Jermyn*,

Warw. 57.

Finch, &c. fate there, writes thus of it: *The Earl A.D. 1637.* of *Northumberland* was cast into the Sea of the *Star-Chamber*, that Den of arbitrary Justice, where the Keeper for the time being, two Bishops, two Judges, and as many wise Lords and honest great Officers sate as were pleas'd to come. The most of whom, tho' unable to render a Reason, every Wednesday and Friday in Term Time concur, &c. to tear such as refuse to worship the Minion, and to yield to the Prerogative Royal. As much as the Historian praises this rare Court at this extraordinary Juncture, he owns the Bishop's Sufferings were a chief Cause of its Suppression.

Mr. *Ambrose Philips* sinks the whole Prosecution in the *Star-Chamber*, perhaps because of the Subornation; which he had no Reason to do, Bishop *Williams* being evidently clear of any more Concern about *Pregon* than to have his Credit legally supported, as being his principal Witness; or perhaps it was to avoid speaking of *Laud's* Invetteracy in this unjust Prosecution; for tho' he confesses the Bishop of *Lincoln* was a Man of more Temper than *Laud*, yet to gain him the Esteem of staunch Churchmen, he tells us these Bishops were his Pattern, *Whitgift*, *Bancroft*, *Overal*, *Harsnet*; and that he dissuaded the King from letting the *Bohemian* Brafsmen come to settle in *England*, because they were *Presbyterians*, notwithstanding they offer'd to bring over 200000*l.* with them, urging the ill Examples of the *Dutch* and *French* Churches with respect to Discipline. If that is true, I don't think Mr. *Echard* has wrong'd him much in saying he had more of the Serpent than the Dove in him. The Truth is, Mr. *Philips* has taken some Pains to set the Bishop's Character right with his Brethren *Fellows of Colleges*; but he has by so doing left it Mongrel with very little Merit on either Side. The Lord *Wentworth*, Deputy of *Ireland*, was so zealous in the Prosecution of this Bishop, that he put off his going to his Government a Term or two, of purpose, says *Heylin*, to have a Fling at him.

Philips's Life of Bp. Williams.

The Events of this Year come out of the *Star-Illegal Chamber Court*, *High-Commission Court*, *Spiritual Acts*. Courts, every one of them arbitrary and tyrannical; *Council Board*, or *Bench of Ship-Money Judges*. The Expression is bald, but fit for the Subject. The whole Administration are so many illegal Acts of Government one after another. *William Pargiter*, Esq; and *Samuel Danvers*, Esq; were committed Prisoners to the *Gatehouse* and the *Fleet*, for refusing to pay *Array Money* to the Earl of *Exeter*, Lord Lieutenant of *Northamptonshire*. The Reason given for levying this Money and *Militia*, was the Apprehension of an Invasion from *Scotland*. Sir *Robert Berkley*, that upright Judge, deny'd the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* to Mr. *Pargiter* and Mr. *Danvers*, contrary, as in *Rushworth*, to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, to former Resolutions in Parliament, and to the Petition of Right, and contrary to the Knowledge of the said Sir *Robert Berkley*, who was the King's Serjeant at Law. *Warwick* affirms, He was as learned P. 51. and as upright a Judge as ever sate on the Bench.

Kilvert, Profecutor of Bishop *Williams*, had another Jobb cut out for him, and that was to threaten to profecute *Vintners* for selling Wine above Price, and Breach of the Decree for dressing Meats. Alderman *Abell*, Master of the Company, communicated *Kilvert's* Message to them, and for fear of the Fellow they submitted to the Payment of 40*s.* a Ton. *Kilvert* demanded 4*l.* and it was farm'd at 3000*l.* a Year. We see what Sort of Tools were at this Time employ'd, and about what dirty Work.

P. 416.

Vintner's Company.

Rushw. 452.

Mr. *Laurence Snelling*, Minister of *Paul's Cray* Mr. *Snelling* in *Kent*, was articled against in the *High-Commission Court* for not reading the Book of *Sports* on the Lord's Day. He pleaded in his Defence the Law of God, the Laws of the Realm, the Authorities

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A.D. 1637. of Councils, Fathers, and late Writers of all Sorts. The Archbishop sat on the Bench in Person, as was usual with him. Mr. *Snelling's* Answer was rejected, and that reverend Divine excommunicated, and turn'd out of his Living. I remember only an Instance or two of this Prelate's arbitrary and illegal Prosecutions; I cou'd fill a Volume with them were it necessary, and will do it when it is thought to be so.

Sup. Laud and Archy the King's Fool.

Among so many disagreeable and terrible Incidents, wherein we find Archbishop *Laud* the principal Agent, let us relate one merry one, and that is the Case between the *Archbishop* and *Archy* the King's Fool, as it is told by *Rusworth*. *Archy* meeting the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, soon after News had come from *Scotland* of a Tumult at *Stirling* on account of the *Common-Prayer*, his Majesty's Fool, who it seems had counsell'd the not sending the Service-Book thither, cry'd, *Whea's Feule now? Doth not your Grace hear the News from Striveling?* The Lord Archbishop was just going into the Council Chamber, where he made a formal Complaint against the Fool. The Matter was taken into serious Consideration, and that produc'd the following Order in Favour of his Grace.

At Whitehall, March II. 1637.

P R E S E N T

The King's most Excellent Majesty;

The Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his Grace; the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, *Weston* Lord Treasurer, *Manchester* Lord Privy-Seal, Duke of *Lennox*, Marquis of *Hamilton*, Earl Marshall, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Northumberland*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Holland*, Lord *Newburgh*, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary *Cooke*, Mr. Secretary *Windebanke*.

“ It is this Day order'd by his Majesty with the Advice of the Board, That *Archibald Armstrong*, the King's Fool, for certain Words spoken against the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, and prov'd to be utter'd by him by two Witnesses, shall have his Coat pull'd over his Head, and he discharg'd of the King's Service, and banish'd the Court; for which the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household is pray'd and requir'd to give Order to be executed; and immediately the same was put in Execution”.

Bp. Williams prosecuted a-gain.

No sooner was one Sentence pass'd against the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, than Preparations were made for another. The infamous Wretch *Kilvert* had corrupted *Walker* the Bishop's Secretary, *Powell* his Steward, and one *Lund*, who had all been fin'd in the *Star-Chamber*, and order'd to be imprison'd: But, says *Echard*, they escap'd both Fine and Imprisonment, which were in a short time commuted into such other Offices as they were to do for *Kilvert* against their Master. That Villain had been put in Possession of the Bishop's Palace at *Bugden*; where “ glad of the Office, says Mr. Philips, he makes sure of all that cou'd be found, Goods of all Sorts, Plate, Books, and such like, to the Value of 10000*l.* of which he never gave Account but of 800*l.* He sell'd the Timber, kill'd the Deer in the Park, sold an Organ that cost 120*l.* for 10*l.* and Pictures which cost 400*l.* for 5*l.* He continu'd there revelling for three Summers, and gave no Account at all for four Cellars of Ale and Beer, with Wood, Hay, Corn, and the like. Thus a brave personal Estate was squander'd away, and not the least of the King's Fine paid all this while, &c.” *Powell* in rifling his Lordship's Papers found a Letter

from Mr. *Osbaldeston*, Head Schoolmaster at *Westminster*, to the Lord Bishop, wherein were some mysterious Expressions, which by Interpretation and stretching were made to reflect on Archbishop *Laud*. *Kilvert* presently prefers a new Bill against my Lord of *Lincoln* for divulging a scandalous Libel against a Privy-Counsellor; which shews sufficiently that *Laud* and *Kilvert* were in League against Bishop *Williams*. The latter deny'd he ever receiv'd the Letter; but it being found in his Box, he was again condemn'd and sentenc'd by that barbarous Court which had before sentenc'd him. The Words in the Letter give us the Opinion the very learned Mr. *Osbaldeston* had of the Merit, as well as Virtue of Archbishop *Laud*: *The little Vermin, the Urchin, and Hocus Pocus is this stormy Christmas at true and real Variance with the Leviathan.* The Vermin was interpreted to be the Archbishop, the *Leviathan* to be the Lord Treasurer *Weston*. Mr. *Osbaldeston* was try'd for writing the Letter. He deny'd the Words to be so meant by him, and depos'd that he intended one Dr. *Spicer*, a Civilian, by *Hocus Pocus*, and the Lord Chief Justice by the *Leviathan*. But such Men as the Bishop of *Lincoln* and Mr. *Osbaldeston* were never once brought into that Court to be clear'd; so tho' it was impossible to prove any other Construction in the Words than what he who wrote them swore; yet, as the most impudent Act of Injustice which that detestable Court cou'd be guilty of, they proceeded to sentence that honest and wise Magistrate. Sir *John Finch* fin'd the Bishop 10000*l.* so did the wife and honest Secretary *Windebank*. The rest cut off 2000*l.* and one Lord was for no Fine, saying out of *Ovid*, *Qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadet.* The reverend and eminent Mr. *Osbaldeston* was sentenc'd 5000*l.* Loss of his good Living of *Whetbamstead* in *Hertfordshire* worth 300*l.* a Year, and to have his Ears tack'd to the Pillory in the Presence of his Scholars; whom, says Dr. *Fuller*, his Industry had improv'd to as great Eminency of Learning as any of his Predecessors; insomuch that he had above fourscore Doctors in the two Universities, who gratefully acknowledg'd their Education under him. Among others of Mr. *Osbaldeston's* grateful Scholars was the famous Poet Mr. *Abraham Cowley*, who has express'd his Gratitude in a fine Epistle in Verse. Nothing wou'd serve the Revenge of *Laud* but the Ears of this excellent Scholar, who being sensible of his implacable Spirit, and perceiving how he and his Fellow Judges wou'd determine the Matter, left the Court before he was to be apprehended, went home; and having settled his Affairs as well as he cou'd, conceal'd himself at a Friend's House in *London*, leaving a Paper behind him with this written upon it, *Gone beyond Canterbury*, which was understood to be beyond Sea; but it rather meant beyond the Power of *Laud*; so safe the Place where he was hidden.

The Archbishop was not yet contented with what he had done against the Bishop of *Lincoln*. Nothing but his Degradation wou'd satisfy the Envy and Malice of that lordly Prelate. In order to which, a new Information with ten Articles was drawn up against him, tending all to blacken him for tampering with Witnesses about *Preigion*, for which he had already been so severely censur'd. The Bishop put in a Plea and Demurrer, that *Deus not judicat bis in id ipsum*, God punishes not the same Fault twice; and that he cou'd prove it was a Conspiracy of *Kilvert* with other Persons, if he might have Freedom to produce his Witnesses against them; which was deny'd him. His Lordship then put in a Rejoinder, and an Appeal to the next Parliament whenever it shou'd be assembled, pleading his Privilege of Peerage, his *Freehold*, and that he cou'd not be degraded of his Orders and Dignities. The very word *Parliament* frighten'd the *Star-Chamber Court*, who had a long Reckoning

A.D. 1637. Mr. Osbaldeston persecuted by Laud.

Bp. Williams again.

AD. 1637. ing to make up with them, and the Proceedings were quash'd so far as not to come to a final Censure. Tho' the Rage of his Persecutors abated not against him, their dull Libellers made him the Subject of their Raillery and Ribaldry: Their Historians have not been more sparing of their foul Language. *Sanderfon* speaking of his severe Censures, says, *His Punishments fitted his Villanies*: For the Character of a Bishop is no Defence against Defamation with these pretended Zealots for the Church, if the Man has made himself unacceptable to them by Temper and Charity. *Clarendon* and *Echard* have not indeed made use of *Sanderfon's* sawcy Expressions, but their Meaning has as much Bitterness.

Mr Hampden and Ship-Money.

The Case of Ship-Money was this Year brought upon the Stage by *Mr. Hampden* of *Buckinghamshire*, an Inland County, which he thought had no Reason to pay a Maritime Tax. 'Twas argu'd in the Exchequer-Chamber by *Oliver St. John* Esq; and *Robert Holburn* Esq; the latter yet untainted in Principle, both of *Lincoln's-Inn*, of Council for *Mr. Hampden*; and by *Sir John Banks* Attorney, and *Sir Edward Littleton* Solicitor-General for the King. I know not whether the Reader will think what the reverend Historian says of this Tryal, to be more absurd or more ridiculous. *Mr. Hampden* had demanded Justice in the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*, and he tells us, *he was most graciously allow'd to be heard*. He adds, the Account of the Tryal is imperfect in *Whitlocke*, one of the greatest Lawyers of his Time, who was present at it; but extremely perfect in *Frankland*, whom I know no more of than what he tells me. The Pleadings take up 120 Pages Folio in *Rushworth*, who was a Lawyer also, and it appears beyond Doubt by *Mr. St. John's* Argument, that all the Law-Books in the Studies of the Lawyers, led them to declare that Imposition to be illegal. *Echard* proceeds from his profound Skill in such Matters, *This Cause was attended with such Niceties and Intricacies in the Law, as made it very difficult*. There never was any thing more plain in both Law and Reason, than that no Man's Money shou'd be taken from him without his own Consent by his Representatives in Parliament; and there was not the least Difficulty in it, but what was occasion'd by the Opposition of Authority and Power to Reason and Law. *Mr. St. John* in the Close of his first Day's Argument, sets the Matter in a fair Light. "In a Time of Peace his Majesty's Vigilancy foresees the Danger likely to ensue; the Supplies for Prevention of this Danger, will serve if brought in seven Months after. The Case is, whether without their Consent in Parliament, his Majesty may alter the Property of the Subjects Goods." Which fully answers the pretended Necessity of raising Money without the tedious Form of a Statute, since with all those Forms it cou'd come in time enough to prevent Danger. All the Judges except *Judge Hutton* and *Judge Croke*, gave Judgment against *Mr. Hampden*. *Croke*, according to *Whitlocke*, was resolv'd to deliver his Opinion for the King as the other Judges did, against his Knowledge and Conscience; but a few Days before the Time, he chang'd his Resolution by the Persuasions of his virtuous and prudent Lady, who observing the Perturbation of his Mind by his Looks, and guessing at the Cause, said to him, *I will be content to suffer any Want or Misery with you, rather than occasion you to do any Thing against your Judgment and Conscience*. She must certainly know what was his Conscience and Judgment, and that his first Resolution was against both. As for the rest of the Judges, *Hutton* excepted, their Infamy will live as long as their Names.

One wou'd think that this odious Tax had exasperated the People enough already, and that Mischief enough had been done without so solemn a Decision to make an illegal Imposition legal; but

as I have frequently observ'd this Ministry with *Laud* at their Head, seem'd to study how they cou'd act most in Despite of the Nation.

It was the same Management in *Scotland*, where in direct Opposition to the Principles and Bent of the People, the same *Laud* obstinately persisted in the Design to impose his own Episcopacy, with all its Superstitions and Ceremonies upon a Protestant and pure Church; *the purest in the World*, if you will take *King James* the First's Word for it. "The King by the Advice of *Bishop Laud*, says *Mr. Acherley*, order'd the new Bishops there to prepare a *Liturgy*, which was remitted to *England*, revis'd and approv'd by three *English* Bishops, *Laud*, *Juxon*, and *Wren*. We have seen what Success they had when they attempted to use it; and the same Author reasons upon it thus; "In this Place it may be proper to enquire what Profit the King's Ministers had in View either to themselves or to the Crown, in forming and carrying on these Undertakings, which they knew to be in *Scotland* an Abomination; for it may be demanded of what Signification was it to the Crown, whether the national Church of *Scotland* was a *Presbytery* or *Episcopacy*. The Problem is difficult to resolve any other Way, than it was the Exercise of a Power which depriv'd all Limitation and all Imaginations of a Disappointment." This Affair is related by the reverend Historian, as wisely and sincerely as the rest, *Whether this Torrent was the unnatural Overflowings of the Waters of Popularity*, how florid is his Expression? or *the Artifice of great Men, which destroy'd the Sluices and Flood-gates which kept the Populacy and Presbytery in due Bounds, it is hard to determine with Exactness*. Whether the Fustian or Nonsense of this Passage is most prevalent, is much harder to determine; for we are told the *Service-Book* was an *Abomination* in *Scotland*, and the *Torrent*, the unnatural *Overflowings of the Waters of Popularity*, was the very natural Effects of an old Woman's Fury who flung her Stool at the Dean of *Edinburgh's* Head. The Earls of *Traquair*, *Roxburgh*, and the Lord *Lorn*, were sent for to Court to inform his Majesty of the State of the *Scots* Nation. After the setting up of the TABLES, and after some Consultations, the Marquis of *Hamilton* was order'd to go to *Scotland* as Lord High-Commissioner. *Mr. Echard* tells us he was met there by Multitudes of both Sexes, whose Applauses consisted of Execrations and Exclamations against Popery and Bishops; for notwithstanding the *Scots* by *Laud's* Council were threatened to be treated as *Rebels, far from being dismay'd at these Threats*, they are the Words of my Author, *they stood boldly to what they had done; and when the Marquis of Hamilton propos'd two Things to them, their Answer will sufficiently acquaint us that they acted like Men who were under no Apprehension of the Power of their Enemies*. His Proposals were, 1. *What they expected from the King in Satisfaction of their Grievances*. 2. *Whether they wou'd after Satisfaction return to their Obedience, and renounce the Covenant*. The first they answer'd, *We expect a free Parliament and a legal General Assembly, to whom we are willing to refer all our Demands*. To the second their Reply was, *We have not forsaken our Obedience, and therefore need no Terms of Return. But as to our Covenant, we will as soon renounce our Baptism; nor will we enter into any Treaty, if it is mention'd to us a second Time*. Many long and tedious Debates were held, and many Expedients offer'd in the King's Name, to keep if possible the Bishops in their Seats. The Marquis not being able to gain any one Point, return'd to Court to acquaint the King with the Demands and Resolutions of the *Covenanters*, so they now begin to be call'd; upon which he was sent back with a Declaration consisting of eleven Heads, granting them Things which

A.D. 1637.

A.D. 1638.

Scots Troubles.

P. 386.

Mem. Ch. Scot. 185.

A.D. 1638. which they wou'd have rejoyc'd at before, but now rejected. 1. *To annul the Service-Book.* 2. *The Book of Canons.* 3. *The High-Commission.* 4. *The five Articles of Perth.* 5. *All Persons whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, to be liable to the Censure of Parliament and General Assembly.* 6. *No Oath to be impos'd upon the Ministers at their Entry, but what was contain'd in the Act of Parliament.* 7. *The antient Confession of Faith to be receiv'd and subscrib'd as it was in the King's Father's Reign, with the Band thereto annex'd.* 8. *A Parliament at Edinburgh the 14th of May after.* 9. *A General Assembly at Glasgow the 21st of May.* 10. *A general Pardon.* 11. *A general Fast.* These were great Things; but as the main Thing *Episcopacy* was left behind, the *Covenanters* protested against these Concessions, and claim'd a Right to call a *General Assembly*, and it was call'd accordingly, the Marquis of *Hamilton* consenting to it. They met at *Glasgow* the 25th of *November* to the Number of 260 Commissioners, the Marquis of *Hamilton* presid'd in it; but they took so little Notice of him, that after eight Days he dissolv'd them as far as it lay in his Power. The Earl of *Rothes* made Answer, *We are sorry you will leave us, but our Conscience bears us Witness we have done nothing amiss, and therefore will not desert the Work we are come about.* The Lord *Ereskin*, the Earl of *Argyle*, and others, came to the Assembly, and desir'd to be admitted into the *Covenant*, which the Nation in general fell in with. This *Echard* terms an *increasing of the Tumults*. The Marquis return'd to *London*, leaving the Assembly sitting: He bestows as much Wit as he has to spare upon them; *They were doing the Work of the Lord: God approv'd and seal'd their Proceedings; their sitting was the Prerogative of Jesus.* He adds, *Rolloch*, one of them, said, *God spake thro' Doll Michelson a Wench, who declar'd the Covenant was approv'd in Heaven; and another of them, We help the Angel of the Lord against the Mighty.* But he is not to be trusted the more because he takes his Cant and his History from Bishop *Gutbry*. This Assembly abolish'd *Episcopacy*, restor'd the Church of *Scotland* to her Rights, and dissannull'd whatever had been acted against them since King *James* impos'd Bishops upon them. "Such Zeal and

"such Faithfulness, says my *Scots* Author, to the Principles they profess'd, cou'd not fail to prompt to all proper Means to support what they had undertaken; and the Marquis of *Hamilton* being gone back in Disgust, and having us'd some threatening Speeches at his parting, they resolv'd not to be surpriz'd, but immediately to put themselves into a Posture of Defence, that they might be able to go thro' with their Undertaking. Their arming was not without very good Intelligence from *England* of the Resolution taken there to reduce them by Force." The Marquis threatening them to their Faces when he went from *Scotland*, *You must not think to use your Kings now as you did formerly, when they were only Kings of Rebels; the King now has another loyal and warlike Nation at his Command, you shall soon feel it to your Cost; wherefore the English Historians are manifestly partial, who say, the King arm'd only in his own Defence, and in charging the Scots with a Design to begin the War; it being manifest they were capable of no other Design than of securing themselves against being trampled on by a bigotted Court and incens'd Clergy, whose tyrannical Government had rais'd equal Disgust and Dread in the Minds of the People of England, which was well known to those in Scotland; and the latter were assur'd from good Hands, they shou'd not want Assistance; and without hope of such Assistance, it had been Madness for the Scots to have taken Arms.*

But that Hope was as yet founded on the general Discontent of the *English* Nation, which the

Scots imagin'd wou'd dispose them to meet *Deliverance* half way. The pretended Invitation was not till after the first *Pacification* was made, as I shall shew at large. Mr. *Acherley* is out in placing it at the first Entrance of the *Scots*, and *Echard's* Account is all false.

When News came to *London* of the Proceedings in *Scotland*, the King desir'd his Council to consider, Whether the *Disobedience* of the *Scots* was a just Cause for him to use the Power of *England* to make War upon his People of *Scotland*, considering that the Numbers adhering to the *Presbytery*, were the general Body of the Nation? *The Episcopals*, whom they oppos'd, being but a handful of Men, bearing no Proportion with the others. But his Majesty's imperious Ministers, says my Author, soon resolv'd in the Affirmative; not considering what might ensue upon the provoking a People so warlike and tenacious. The *Scots* laid Taxes on themselves for raising and maintaining 18000 Men, and sent into *Sweden* and the *Low-Countries* to invite home the old experienc'd Generals and Officers of their Nation, in whom they cou'd put Confidence, to serve their Country on this so necessary an Occasion. There is not one of all the Encouragements which *Echard* tells us the *Scots* had to undertake the War, that has any Foundation in Fact or Reason. The only real Encouragement they had, was the Disposition they believ'd the *English* were in to engage in the same Cause, the Defence of the true Protestant Religion, and the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of the two Nations.

I wou'd not have the Reader think that I set a Value on all the Authors I make use of; I perhaps have a meaner Opinion of some of them than himself can have; but if there's an Appearance of Truth in what they say, I do not much matter their manner of saying it; and besides, 'tis the Misfortune of all Historians who write to this Age, that their Word will not pass without Evidence. Now the more homely the Witness, and the more plain his Testimony, it is likely to be the more true. For which Reason only I make use sometimes of *William Lilly*, *Roger Coke* of *Peyton*, and *Welden*. I have intimated in many Places, that *Laud's* false Zeal, his Pride, Obstinacy, Superstition and Cruelty led the King into those fatal Measures which brought him to a Scaffold; that the Clergy who were *Laud's* Disciples, were the main Instruments in the Miseries of those miserable Times, and that the *Scots* Troubles were the Beginning of those in *England*. Let us therefore produce a Witness to prove it, and there cannot be a plainer Proof than this given by the Conjuror *Lilly*.

"In July 1637, viz. 23^d Day, there was great Disturbance in *Edinburgh* about a new *Service-Book* endeavour'd to be obrud'd on the *Scots* by the King and *Canterbury*. I have heard an old Woman began the Quarrel by casting her Stool at the Priest when he read the *Service-Book*. Many very modest Divines exceedingly blame both the King and *Canterbury* for that Book. It admitted unto the People, as I remember, the Communion but in one Kind. However, by the Prudence of some grave Men, being then *Privy-Counsellors* in *Scotland*, Matters were slubber'd over all that Winter in *Scotland*, but in *May* or *April* new Tumults arose; and truly I may almost say, that that corrupt *Common-Prayer Book* was the sole and whole Occasion of all the Miseries and Wars that since that time have happen'd in both Nations. Had his Majesty first endeavour'd the Imposition of that lame Book upon the *English*, most Men did believe we had swallow'd it, and then the *Scots* must have done it afterwards; for the Clergy at that time generally were such idle and lazy Lubbers, and so pamper'd with Court Preferment, and Places

"temporal

A.D. 1638.

Acherley;
p. 391.

Scots Trou-
bles begin
those in
England.

P. 33.

Mem. Ch.
Scot. 188.

A.D. 1638. "temporal in every Shire of England, and such flattering Sycophants, that doubtless the great Hand of God was in it; that those rude Scots first broke the Ice, and taught us the Way to expel an insulting Priesthood, and to resist the King, he endeavouring by unwarrantable Means to intrude things contrary to the divine Law of Almighty God upon our Consciences". The Phrase is indeed very uncourtly, but the Fact is notorious, and nothing therefore can have a better Claim to History. Lilly in another place says, "All Men knew the Scots Troubles were promoted by the Clergy, whom the Nobility began to disdain and scorn, and the Gentry and Yeomanry of England extremely to hate; for at this present time the High-Commission Court, and other bawdy Courts, did most horrible Injustice against the Persons and Estates of any Gentlemen who by Misfortune came thither".

Reybold, p. 36.

Commissions were this Year issu'd to certain Lords and Gentlemen, with a Power to impose new and unheard-of Imposts on various Commodities. The Earl of Arundel had also a Commission to take into his Hands the military Charge of the Northern Parts; and the Earl of Worcester a Papist, was empower'd to raise an Army of Papists in Wales. This, says my anonymous Author, was well known, that he was to master the West Marches, and assist the Irish Army's landing at Milford, as Need shou'd require; and to further it, the Earl of Bridgewater Lord-President of those Marches, was commanded to resign his Place.

BISHOPS WAR.

By the Advice of Archbishop Laud, according to Whitlocke, the King hasten'd his Levies of Men and Money without Consent of Parliament; and because this was the BISHOPS WAR, it was held fit that they shou'd contribute largely towards the Preservation of their own Hierarchy; accordingly Orders were issu'd from the Council to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to send Directions to the other Bishops to give largely, which they did, and about 1000 Pounds was rais'd in each Diocese by a Medium. The Doctors of the Commons gave 700 Pounds to the Bishops War; in raising which Sir John Lamb the Informer shew'd his Activity. The Queen wrote a Letter to the Papists to contribute, which they also did very largely; and by these and other such extraordinary Means, Bishop Juxon had heap'd up 600000*l.* in the Exchequer for this agreeable Service. The Papists were so over-liberal, that the Pope was forc'd to write to them suddenly to desist from making such Offers. In the mean time the Remonstrances, Declarations, and Pamphlets publish'd by the Covenanters, were dispers'd in England, and their Emisseries and Agents insinuated into the Company of all who were any way discontented at the Proceedings of the State. Those who had been imprison'd for the Loan, or distrain'd for Ship-Money, or were otherwise disoblig'd, had Applications made to them from the Scots, whose Designs were secretly favour'd and assisted, especially by such as inclin'd to the Presbyterian Government, or whom the publick Administration had in any wise disgust'd; which must needs be nine Parts in ten of the People of England, who by themselves or their Friends had been persecuted in Person or Purse during the Male-Administration of this Reign.

Rushw.

The King sent a Letter to most of the Nobility, certifying his Resolution of going in Person into the North with an Army against the Scots, for the Defence of the Realm of England, and the Glory of God, and requiring them to attend his Royal Standard at York. The Towns of Hull and Newcastle were order'd to be fortified at the Charge of the Inhabitants. At this Time the Church of Rome had Agents in Scotland as well as England; one of them was Chamberlain a Priest, whom Richlieu sent thither to help blow up the Coals that were kindling. A Letter of his was in-

Rushw. 791.

tercepted, wherein he said, Scotland is in a very ill Posture, and in evident Danger to sever it self from the Crown. And in another Letter, The King hath taken a Resolution to tame the Scots by Force, and to this Purpose goeth about to raise an Army in Ireland, not daring to trust himself with the English, who are already much irritated against him, by raising of the Shipmoney, which he pretends to raise to maintain his Fleet, and which they refuse downright to pay. This Counsel of raising an Army, has been suggested to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the President of Ireland: Strafford is meant: who are they alone that govern him, for he hath never yet opened his Mouth, or spoken one sole Word of it to his Council: The which highly disobligeeth all these Lords; and Men hold this Counsel of the Army from Ireland, a most pernicious Counsel: But I know not what better Method he cou'd take, for it is most dangerous to raise it in England, where all the World is in Discontent. For to raise an Army here, were to give them the Sword in their Hands: And they have such a Correspondence with the Scots, that they begin already to break the Altars which the Bishops had erected, and to accuse the Bishops of Crimes. There was another Letter written by a Romish Priest, to one Monsieur And---, wherein he wrote thus; "Our Scots Business troubles us shrewdly, and grows worse and worse. They will have a Parliament, and the King (for the Consequence of it in this Kingdom) will never permit it; and so they have taken a Resolution to levy an Army in Ireland, which is held here by wise Men to be a very desperate Counsel." The Lord Clarendon assures us, the wise Men thought it very wholesome Counsel. Again, "The King consults with none but the Archbishop, and the Deputy of Ireland, which disgusts all, and makes Men see more Weakness in him than ever was imagin'd." The Archdeacon assures us, he was wiser than the wisest of his Counsellors. Among the many Proclamations of Importance which were publish'd this Year, we find these; 1. One forbidding the sending Food to the Presbyterians at New England. 2. Another to forbid the Transportation of English Horns. 3. Forbidding the wearing of Demicasters 4. About Cards and Dice. 5. The Cure of the King's Evil, which generally cost two or three Proclamations in a Year or two. 6. The Cure of the King's Evil again. 7. Concerning Starch. Thus we see, that besides the levying War against the Scots at the Instigation of Laud, the Ministers of State had not a great deal to do.

A.D. 1639.

King's Weakness.

Proclamations.

The King had got together an Army of 16000 Foot, and 5000 Horse, of which the Earl of Arundel was made General, the Earl of Essex Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Holland General of the Horse. A Fleet was also equipp'd, consisting of 16 Men of War. Sir John Pennington was Admiral of it; and Captain Popham, afterwards Admiral, commanded the City Ship; and though he was a Presbyterian, did not refuse the Service; which gives one Reason to surmise there was no thought of Blows. Five thousand Men were put aboard the Fleet, under the Command of the Marquis of Hamilton, who was to land near Edinburgh, and make a Diversion, while the Army of the Covenanters march'd towards England.

A.D. 1639.

The Reverend Historian opens this Piece of History with some flat Contradictions to Truth. As, King Charles was too yielding, Laud's real Advice was for Peace. The Flower of the English Gentry cheerfully put themselves upon Action. As to the yielding, Larrey says, he seem'd to grant them all they ask'd, in order to reduce them afterwards by force of Arms. As to Laud's advising to Peace, see what the Scots Commissioners alledge, among a hundred Things against him in their Charge. Canterbury procur'd us to be declar'd Rebels and Traitors in all the Parish Kirks of England. Canterbury kindled the War against us. Canterbury said at the

A.D. 1639. Council-Table, that the Pacification with us ought to be broken. Canterbury ordered Prayers against us as Rebels and Traytors, to be read in all Churches.
Bishops War. Canterbury was the prime Incendiary. General Ludlow tells us, how the Flower of the English Gentry cheerfully put themselves upon Action. "Though divers of the Nobility and Gentry did appear, yet was it rather out of Compliment than Affection to the Design, being sensible of the Oppressions they themselves lay under, and how dangerous to the People of England, a thorough Success against the Scots might prove." *Echard* then informs us of some Omens, a Commodity he deals in as well as Ghosts and Apparitions, which being now the Entertainment of old Women, Children, and Fools only, are happily plac'd in his History, to be forgotten. *A Swallow dung'd three drops of Dung, being immediately converted into Blood, cou'd never be got out by Cleansing.* Such Weight as this wou'd sink any History in the World. Archbishop *Spotswood* advis'd the King to have no Mercy on the Scots, but to cut them off all by the Sword and the Gallows; for they were gain'd by Punishments, and lost by Favours.

The Earl of *Essex*, with a Detachment of Horse and Foot, possess'd himself of *Berwick*, which the Covenanters intended to Garrison. *Echard* affirms, the Scots had not then any considerable Body of Men nearer than *Edinburgh*: But a Scots Historian writes the quite contrary. "When the King advanc'd towards the Borders, they were ready in the Field, and that with such a resolute Countenance, as that the English Army cared not to attack them. The Archdeacon: The Scots were but 3000 Men, ill arm'd, and ordinary Fellows." The reverse of this is our Scots History. "When the Earl of *Holland*, General of the Horse to the King, advanc'd in a Bravade with a strong Brigade of Horse, and a Detachment of Foot, he was driven back faster than he came, by half the Number of the Scots Cavalry, with Musketeers in their Intervals; a manner of Fighting which the English had not seen, and which some Scotch Officers had learnt under the great *Gustavus Adolphus*. It would make too much Sport with the English Courage and Bravery, which is so well confirm'd in the World, to give an Account how like Scoundrels this Army behav'd. An English Historian of Note says, they were rais'd by the Clergy, and imitated their Masters; for as the Clergy, who prompted this War, accompanied the King to *Tork* when he came to take the Field, so the raw and undisciplin'd Army accompany'd him to the Field, but left him when they shou'd have engag'd. In a word, none of the Troops, after the first Skirmish, car'd to engage, or to look the Scots in the Face; who, on the other hand, though they wou'd not attack the King, yet stood ready, and shew'd all Forwardness to give Battel." The Reverend Historian's Account of them makes these Scoundrels, being the Clergy's Troop, according to the Scots Author, to be such Heroes, that one of them offer'd, with 2000 Horse only, to make the Scots creep upon their Bellies to beg his Majesty's Mercy. It is worth Observation, that these Heroick Persons preserv'd this Air through the whole Course of the Civil War, in the midst of Defeats and Disgraces. They flatter'd their Masters with hopes of their being as invincible in the Field as themselves were in the Spiritual Courts. The Truth is, the King encamp'd on the English Side of the *Tweed*, and the Covenanters at *Kelfo* in Scotland, being about 12000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, much inferior to the King's Forces in Number. So that those English Lords and Gentlemen who were near his Majesty, and by no means willing to have the Scots Army destroy'd, for fear of the ill Consequences in England, found that it was not convenient for them to hazard a Battel at that Time, by

laying too great Strefs on the Good-will of the English Officers and Soldiers. They therefore endeavour'd to bring on a Treaty, by representing to his Majesty that it was an unnatural Thing for him to make War upon his own People of Scotland, merely for endeavouring to be deliver'd from the Innovation of the Common Prayer; the same being in Reality a matter of Difference in Religious Forms, not material enough to be pursu'd with Bloodshed. The Scots at the same time sent an humble Representation to the King, professing great Deference to his Royal Person, and requesting no more than a Redress of their Grievances. This was thought so reasonable, that his Majesty cou'd not well deny it; and the Marquis of *Hamilton* having only appear'd before *Leith*, where the Covenanters were prepar'd to receive him in another manner than he expected, and writing to the King they were so powerful he cou'd attempt nothing on that Side, his Majesty was prevail'd upon to consent to a Treaty. His Commissioners were the Earls of *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Holland*, *Salisbury*, and *Berkshire*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Secretary *Cook*. The Scots Commissioners were the Earls of *Roths* and *Dumferling*, the Lord *Lowdon*, *Douglas*, Sheriff of *Tweedale*, Mr. *Henderson*, and Mr. *Johnson*. After four or five Days Debate, the Commissioners on both Sides came to a Conclusion for a Pacification to continue twenty Years. Both Armies to be Disbanded. An Act of Oblivion. The King's Forts and Castles to be restor'd. An Assembly and Parliament to be call'd, to make a full Settlement. My Scots Author writes, "Notice was given the Scots Army, that they might send some to treat with his Majesty upon their Demands; which was done, and in which all Artifice was us'd to make a superficial Agreement, that the Scots might be oblig'd to Disband, and so might be surpriz'd again unarm'd." This agrees exactly with what I quoted out of *Larrey*. "However, they made a Pacification, and according to the Terms, broke their Army; but having certain Intelligence from England of the treacherous Design, they kept the Generals and Officers in half Pay. As they had been inform'd, so it prov'd; for the King, forc'd by the Clergy, sought Occasions of new Quarrel." Several of the King's Commissioners were well-wishers to the Scots; and it is suppos'd, that in their Conferences with the Scotch Commissioners they made no Scruple of discovering their Thoughts to them, and assuring them, that though this was not an Opportunity for them to insist on other Terms, yet if they wou'd keep up the Spirit, and as well as they cou'd with good Policy, the Force they had, their Friends in England wou'd let them know when it wou'd be a fit Time for them to appear again, and in the joint Names of both Kingdoms demand a Parliament in both to redress Grievances. There was no formal Invitation, but such general Discourses of the Discontents of the English, their Desires to be reliev'd, and their Readiness to assist in it. The King disbanded his Army with very disagreeable Circumstances, as if he had not approv'd of their Behaviour. The Gentry were suddenly dismiss'd, without any Acknowledgment of their Love and Loyalty, to use the Archdeacon's Words. The Earl of *Essex* was discharg'd without Ceremony, and shortly after refus'd the Command of *Needwood Forest*. The Earl of *Newcastle* was so affronted by the Earl of *Holland*, that he sent him a Challenge, but the King interpos'd. Sir *John Cook* was remov'd from the Secretary's Place, and Sir *Henry Vane* put into it, contrary to the Endeavours of the Earl of *Strafford*, and purely by the powerful Influence of the Queen.

The grand Point aim'd at by the Party in England who wish'd well to the Scots, was to procure a free Parliament, as has been observ'd, which they knew wou'd remove those imperious Ministers and Measures that aggrieved both Nations. A Paper

A.D. 1639. was publish'd highly reflecting on the fraudulent Pacification, which was order'd to be burnt by the common Hangman, as was the Pacification it self, under Colour that many false Copies of that Agreement had been dispers'd by the Scots. Lilly tells this Story thus, " That Day which was assign'd for certain of the English Nobility and Scottish to treat about those Articles of Pacification, the Scottish Nobility were to produce, the Nobles of each Nation being set, the Earl of Arundel began with much Gravity to rebuke the Scots for their Unadvisedness and Rebellion, in raising their Army against their lawful King, and disturbing the Peace of both Nations; and yet he commended the good Nature of the King, who was notwithstanding their high Provocation and Misdemeanors, very inclinable to hear their just Grievances; and to that Purpose had appointed himself, and some other Lords of his Council, to meet them that Day to treat with them, and to hear their Grievances. This gallant Man was proceeding farther in his Speech, and aggravating the Scots Offences, when, lo, unexpectedly, his Majesty enter'd the Room, and call'd for the Articles the Scots desir'd to be ratify'd, read them scarce over, but took Pen and Ink immediately and sign'd them, without ever advising with any of his Council; which so displeas'd the Nobility of the English Nation, that the very next Day after signing the Scots Articles, they all hasten'd home to their own Habitations, the King staying behind, and for his daily Exercise playing at a scurvy Game, call'd Pigeon-Holes or Nine-Pins; his Fellow-Gamesters also were equal to the Game, viz. Lackeys, Pages, and such others, *ejusdem Generis*. He again no sooner came to London, but, as I remember, caus'd those Articles to be burn'd by the common Hangman, making himself as ridiculous in doing the one, as he was reputed weak and simple of Judgment in doing the other. The burning of the Scots Articles was imputed to the Importunity of the proud Clergy and Bishops." The Covenanters were by this confirm'd in their Jealousies that there was Hypocrisy in the Treaty. They kept up their Fortifications at Leith, their Councils and Meetings. They inforc'd Subscriptions to the Acts of the Assembly at Glasgow, contrary to the King's Declaration. They declar'd those that had taken up Arms for his Majesty, Incendiaries and Traytors. They annull'd all the Acts of the College of Justice. And the King, who had given them Hopes of his Presence in the ensuing Parliament, resolv'd not to expose himself to new Affronts, which he was sure to meet with at Edinburgh after this new Disgust, occasion'd by burning the Pacification, which his Friends in England thought dishonourable, but the Puritans and Peesbyterians were pleas'd with it, as it gave the Scots Time to increase their Strength.

The King hurries on the Scots first Pacification, P. 37.

P. 38.

P. 39.

Scotch Affairs.

Salm. 166.

P. 2.

P. 5.

According to the King's Direction, the General Assembly sat at Edinburgh, and abolish'd Episcopacy, the five Articles of Perth, the High Commission and Liturgy: All which was assented to by the Earl of Traquair, his Majesty's High-Commissioner, who also sign'd the Covenant, not as High-Commissioner, but as Earl of Traquair. The Bishops of Dunkeld and Orkney abjur'd Episcopacy, as being not founded on the Word of God: So Larry words it, but was attended with terrible and pernicious Consequences in several Parts of Christendom, particularly in the Church of Scotland. After the Assembly; sat the Parliament, who highly debated the Choice of the Lords of the Articles, in regard the Bishops were abolish'd, of whom eight us'd to be nam'd by the King to be of that Number, but now it was voted that his Majesty should nominate eight Noblemen instead of them for this Sessions only, and afterwards there should be no Nomination for them. The Parliament fram'd an Act Recissory, touching

the Exchequer, Judicatory Proxies, and Ward Lands; which encroaching on the King's Prerogative, his Majesty order'd his Commissioners to Prorogue them: But the Parliament declar'd the Prorogation illegal, as without their Consent; and sent four Deputies to London; the Earl of Dumferling, the Lord London, Sir William Douglas, and Mr. Robert Barclay, to justify their Proceedings. Thither also came the Earl of Traquair, and both Parties were order'd to be heard by a Committee of Council. But the Scotch Deputies, pursuant to Instructions from their Principals, refus'd to address themselves to the Council, and his Majesty condescended to hear them himself. Many passionate Expressions and Recriminations pass'd between the Deputies and Traquair; but the latter was most favour'd, and the King refus'd to ratify the Acts of the Assembly and Parliament.

During these Scottish Broils, an Engagement happen'd on the English Coast, near Dover, between the Dutch and Spanish Fleets: The latter, about seventy Sail, were bound to Dunkirk with Recruits of Men and Money for that Garrison. The Dutch Fleet intercepted them, and attack'd them near Dover and Calais. The Dutch, though but twenty-five Sail, took two Spanish Galeons, sunk another, and shatter'd the rest. The Spaniards made towards the Coast of England, and the Dutch follow'd them, but would not attack them within our King's Dominions. The Spanish Resident at London, importun'd his Majesty to keep off the Dutch for two Tides. The Dutch Ambassador made Application to him against the Spaniards. The King in Amity with both, resolv'd to stand Neuter; and indeed had no Maritime Strength ready at that Time, nor Disposition at any Time to do otherwise. The Spanish Admiral by Night convey'd away fourteen Ships, and 4000 Men in them. His Majesty sent the Earl of Arundel on board the Spanish Admiral, Don Antonio d'Oquendo, to desire him to retreat as soon as the Wind was fair, because he would not have an Engagement upon his Seas; but the Wind continuing long contrary, and the Dutch Fleet being reinforc'd, encompass'd their Enemies within Pistol-Shot for some Days: At last Van Tromp, the Dutch Admiral, engag'd them, and by his Men of War and Fireships, forc'd them to cut their Cables. Twenty-three of the Spanish Ships ran ashore and stranded in the Downs. Don Oquendo with the rest put to Sea, and was pursu'd by Van Tromp, who burnt the Admiral of Portugal, took eleven more of the Spanish Fleet, sunk five, and drove three more on the French Coast: So that only ten escap'd, and got into Dunkirk. Whitlocke informs us many believ'd this Armado was design'd for an Invasion of England, by Encouragement of the Pope's Agents and Emisaries; and it does not disagree with the Pope's Orders to the Papists to desist from contributing to the Bishops War, in Supposition that their Money might be wanted for some better Service even than that.

Prince Elector Prisoner in France.

The young Prince Elector, pursuant to the Advice given him by the young Prince of Orange, came again into England at this Time, to solicit the King of England, his Uncle, to procure him the Command of the Swedish Army in Germany, upon the Death of Duke Bernard. His Majesty desir'd the French Ambassador to move it to his Master, who willingly undertook it, and Cardinal Richlieu promis'd to further it. In the mean Time his Electoral Highness precipitated his Journey into Germany, and without staying for the French King's procuring him that Command, he attempted to pass through France in Disguise, to reach the Swedish Army; but the English Ships in the Downs saluting him, and his own Ship discharging a Volley at his landing at Bologne, the French suspected there was a Person of high Rank aboard, and apprehended him. The Prince deny'd himself upon Examination, which increasing their Suspicion, he was secur'd

A.D. 1639. secur'd by a Guard. The French Court took this rash Attempt so ill, or pretended so to do, that his Highness was detain'd Prisoner in France some Years.

Jun 20 for Scotland.

The same Night that the Scots Deputies, the Lords *Dunferling* and *Lowdon* return'd to *Edinburgh*, a great part of the Castle-Wall fell down, with the Cannon mounted. The Covenanters suppos'd it to be done by Treachery, and wou'd not suffer it to be re-edify'd as his Majesty commanded, which highly offended him, and he concluded to force them to Obedience. In order to this, he appointed a select Council for *Scottish* Affairs; and at the Head of it was always *Laud*. *Larrey* writes, *there were many Courtiers who condemn'd the Scots War; the end of which, as they said, was only to establish Arbitrary Power and Episcopacy; and the King was only the Archbishop of Canterbury's Knight*. *Laud*, *Strafford* and *Hamilton* were this select Council, term'd a Junto; and they resolv'd, that at any Rate the King's Authority must be vindicated, and rescu'd from Contempt. *Sanderfon* tells us, they vot'd to force the Scotch to submit.

Ach. 393.

The Earl of *Traquair* brought with him to *London*, a Letter to the French King, which he had intercepted. 'Twas advis'd and compos'd by *Montross*, and transcrib'd by *Lowdon*. It was sign'd by *Roches*, *Montross*, *Lesley*, *Mar*, *Montgomery*, *Lowdon*, *Forrester*; directed *Au Roy*. They address'd to the French King, as a Sanctuary for afflicted States, praying the wonted Assistance, which that Crown had always afforded to their Nation. This Letter was no doubt drawn up by Advice of *Richlieu's* Emissaries in Scotland, who were order'd to promise the Scots Malecontents his Master's Assistance. His Majesty was mightily concern'd at Sight of it, and objected it to the Scots as an insufferable Indignity: But the Covenanters boldly avow'd the Letter as a National Act, in which all Men, without Exception, were involv'd; arguing, that when a People are distress'd by Sea and Land, it is allow'd by the Law of God and Man, to call for Help from God and Man. They also recriminated, That a Letter lately sent to the Pope, containing Matters utterly unjustifiable was not hid from the World. There was something merry in this Story of the Letter, which Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* never heard of; though they had heard of a silly Tale about the Address *Au Roy*. In the first Draft of this Letter, instead of *Rayons de Soleil*, *Rays of the Sun*, 'twas said, *Rayes de Soleil*. Now *Ray* in French is a *Thornback*; and when Lord *Lauderdale's* Father read it, he refus'd to sign it; not because it was Treason, but because it was Nonfense; saying, the French King's Glory shin'd like a *Thornback*.

MS. M. F.

The Earl of *Dunferling* and the Lord *Lowdon* were come back to *London* with fresh Demands, to have the Prorogation taken off, the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Dumbarton* evacuated; and an Oath which the Scots in *England* and *Ireland* were oblig'd to take contrary to the Covenant, vacated. Instead of a favourable Answer, the Lord *Lowdon* was sent to the Tower, for transcribing the above-mention'd Letter, where he was very likely to have been dispatch'd, as by the following Story, which has to vouch it an Authority too Noble to be call'd in Question.

Lord Lowdon's Danger in the Tower.

Sir *William Balfour*, Governor of the Tower, when Lord *Lowdon* was committed, some Days after receiv'd a Warrant from the King for the beheading that Lord the next Day within the Tower, for fear of any Disturbance if it had been done openly on the Hill. The Lieutenant, who was at Cards with *Lowdon*, chang'd Countenance, and holding up his Hands in Amazement, shew'd his Lordship the Warrant; who said to him, *Well, Sir, you must do your Duty: I only desire Time to make a Settlement on some younger Children, and that you will let my Lawyer come to me for that End*; to which *Balfour* consented; and the Lawyer carry'd

away with him a Letter to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, informing him of the Matter, and telling him, *He was a Scotchman, and must answer it to his Country*. *Balfour* follows the Lawyer to the Marquis, whom they cou'd not presently find, it being Night, at last they found him at *Lady Clayton's*; and having deliver'd him the Lord *Lowdon's* Letter, which *Balfour* further explain'd, the Marquis took Sir *William* with him to Court, not staying for his Coach, and desired Admittance about a Business of very great Importance to his Majesty. He was told the King and Queen were in Bed, and had given positive Orders not to admit any one. The Marquis in vain insist'd on his own Right as one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, and the Right of the Lieutenant of the Tower, especially when he had any State Prisoner: Upon which Sir *William* knock'd at the King's Bedchamber Door, which being open'd to him, he fell upon his Knees, and having just mention'd the Warrant, his Majesty stopp'd him, saying, *it shall be executed*. Upon which the Marquis enters, and falling on his Knees, humbly expostulated with the King concerning it. The Queen express'd great Displeasure at his Intrusion: But the Marquis taking her up short, let her know she was a Subject as well as himself; and that the Business he came about was of the highest Concernment to his Majesty, to herself, to the whole Nation, and to himself in particular. He then spoke with great Earnestness to the King, and us'd all the Arguments he cou'd think of to dissuade him from the Execution. But all to no purpose. *Sir*, says he, *if you persist in this Resolution, no Scotoman will ever draw a Sword for you; or if they would who should command them? The King reply'd, Yourself*. No, *Sir*, said *Hamilton*; *I dare never appear in Scotland afterwards*. The King nevertheless swore twice, *By God Lowdon shall dye*. Then the Marquis craving Leave to speak one word more said, *Sir, I desire your Majesty to look out for another House, for within four and twenty Hours there will not be one Stone of Whitehall left upon another*. This touch'd the King more than all the Arguments of Pity, Justice, or distant Danger. He call'd for the Warrant, tore it, and dismiss'd the Marquis and Lieutenant somewhat sullenly. This Incident being not in *Bishop Burnet's* Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*, he was ask'd why he did not insert it, and reply'd, *I knew it, but durst not tell it*. He owns there the King was advis'd to proceed capitally against *Lowdon*, but Lord *Hamilton* oppos'd it. The late Duke *Hamilton* own'd it to be true in the late Queen's Time, adding, *I'll print it if I outlive her*. And this Story is so well known to all the People of the first Quality in *North Britain*, that I am not afraid to conclude from thence, there was no Passion so strong in King *Charles* the First as the Desire of arbitrary Power and Revenge on those whom he took to be his Enemies.

About this Time it was resolv'd to call a Parliament to obtain Supplies for the Scots War. The Junto agreed to it, as the only Way to raise the Money they wanted; and as *Buckingham* formerly had the Merit of advising the calling a Parliament, so *Strafford* has it now to ingratiate him with the People. *Whitlocke* writes, "In the mean time, and it was a strange time for such a Business so near the Sitting of a Parliament, the King tells "his Lords, *It will be long ere the Parliament meets, and Subsidies granted by them will be long in levying: In the Interim my Affairs suffer without some speedy Course of Supply*". Upon which the Lords told him they wou'd engage their own Credit. *Strafford* subscrib'd 20000 *l*. *Richmond* as much. *Hamilton* excus'd himself on account of Inability. Most of the rest subscrib'd, and some few refus'd. The Judges and Officers of Courts of Justice Ecclesiastical and Temporal were assess'd by the Council according to the Quality and Profit of their

A.D. 1639.

A.D. 1639. their Places. But thro' a Mistake the Six Clerks in *Chancery* were tax'd 2000 *l.* a piece, as much as their Places were then worth. The Queen appointed Sir *Kenelm Digby*, whose Father was hang'd for the *Gunpowder Plot*, and Mr. *Walter Mountague*, afterwards an Abbot in *France*, to negotiate with the *Papists*, who now contributed beyond their Abilities. And *Sanderson* confesses their large Contributions gave Occasion throughout the War to call the King's Forces the *Papish Army*.

Bishops War.

Sand. 287.

The *Scots* on their Side send for their Commanders home, who had serv'd in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*; and one Historian, as great an Admirer of this Government as Mr. *Echard*, and as great a Politician, assures us, they solicited the Turk to fall upon the Emperor, and prevent his assisting King *Charles* against them. If the *Jesuits* had any Hand in the ensuing Commotions, as is pretended by a Letter of *Andreas de Habernsfield*, a noble *Bohemian*, Servant to the Queen of *Bohemia*, it must be from an Opinion of the Weakness of the Covenanters, whose Designs they hop'd wou'd end in their Destruction. Great Resort was made to the *Scots* Commissioners in *London*, and many secret Councils were held with them by the discontented *English*. *Whitlock* names some of their Correspondents: The Earls of *Essex*, *Bedford*, *Holland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Pym*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen of great Quality, who, he says, were deep in with them. And *Welwood* shews us what was the Substance of their Correspondence: "Informations of the Backwardness of England to assist the King in this War; and that they were well assur'd of Friends all over the Kingdom, and some of nearest Access to the King's Person". But he thinks it was not these Informations which encourag'd the *Scots* not only to march again to the Borders of *England*, but to invade and possess themselves of the *Northern* Counties. He is of Opinion they took that bold Step by means of a forg'd Letter they receiv'd just when they were ready to march, sign'd by several of the principal Noblemen of *England*; which is the Invitation so much talk'd of by Mr. *Acherley*, Dr. *Welwood*, Bishop *Burnet*, and even by Archdeacon *Echard*, tho' very confusedly and obscurely. This very Letter I have read several times, and the Copy of it will now be communicated to the Publick with the exact History of that whole Secret.

A.D. 1640.

Lord Saville's Intrigue to bring in the Scots.

Mention has been made of the general Encouragement given the *Scots* by the *English* to proceed in their Undertakings after the *Pacification* was burnt, and a new Rupture seem'd to be drawing on. But as the *Scots* had only Words, and no Engagement, nor any thing under hand, Sir *Archibald Johnston* Lord of *Wariston*, a Man of great Zeal and Abilities, who kept a constant Correspondence with Lord *Lowdon*, one of the *Scots* Commissioners in *England*, wrote to his Lordship to get some solid Assurance of Assistance from their Friends in *England*. The last Letter to the Lord *Lowdon* on that Subject was dated the 23d of *June* 1640, and sign'd *Nathaniel Black*. The Contents as follows in the genuine *Scottish* Stile.

My L.

MIND these ar by Warrant of the best and pryemst to desire you most seriously to deal with our Friends in all Earnestness, as they desire the great Business to prosper for their and our Deliverance, that they would now at last find out the Ways of giving us full Assurance of their concurring with us in their Persons, Means and Credit; for seing our Army, as we trust, about 25000 Men, Horse and Foot (if not more, as we have appointed and expects, but counts the least) has now their Rendezvous at *Leith* this Week and the Beginning of the next; whereof

A.D. 1640. some Regiments in *Fife* are come this Day, and the *West* Regiments will be here on *Thursday*, and that before the 10th of *July* we will be all lying at the Borders ready to march in on 6 Hours Advertisement; and seing the best national Heads amongs us in natural Parts and Wisdom will be questioning both the Warrant and Call of our Voyage and Danger, and Sequels thereof, except first by one solid Way or other we be clear'd of our Friends Approbation of that our Course, and Concurrence with us in it: Therefore ye must above all deal with them, as they love their and our common Safety and Deliverance, now when it is so near and easy by their Assurance before and Concurrence after our Entry, that they wou'd against that time of our lying down on the Borders (besides the Relations made by bare Words, unknown Papers, and common Carriers of Servants, whereupon we are come so far, but dare not hazard the Flower of our Nation thereupon) further assure us of their Approbation and Concurrence, either by Subscriptions of some principal Persons sent to us, or by some eminent Person or Persons (whom we might trust for the rest) that joining with us (allbeit it were but one) their single Persons immediately before our Entry, or by their rising in one or sundry Bodies amongs themselves, or by sending to us near the Borders some present Supply of Money, or clear Evidence where we shall find it ready near hand, that we might pay for our Entertainment in the passage, or by any other solid and certain way of Engagement and Assurance, whilke we do not presume to prescribe in the particular, but above all recommend it in general, that their Grant of it (in any way that would satisfy themselves, if they were in our Case, and we in theirs) may farther confirm our Conscience of our Calls, and strengthen our Hand against the Apprehensions of Danger from the invironing Forces of a whole forraine, potent Nation, if they concurred unanimously against us, as Invaders of them in a hostile way; whereas the Lord knows our Intentions and Actions shall be for them as for our own Souls. Besides this, there seems to be a Necessity of our meeting on the Borders before our Entry with some eminent and judicious Persons, that having advis'd how they may resolve there (if they think it necessary, as we apprehend, but conclude nothing) that as in 1585. (besides that at the Reformation) there was a League intended between Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* the VIth, and the two Dominions against the Council of *Trent*; so there may be some League and Band drawn up, wherein as we may profess our sincere Resolutions for them as for ourselves, so as we go peaceably without wronging any through the Countries, all Favourers of the Protestant Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom may subscribe as a Mark of Distinction from our common Foes the *Papists*, Prelates, and their Adherents, some Band of this Kind for maintaining the Protestant Religion, and the several Churches and Liberties of the Kingdom; for having the same Friends and Foes in this Cause; for making no Peace without settling both Churches and Kingdoms, and for mutual Concurrence with others against our common Adversaries *Papists* and Prelates in that Cause; and to that End we take not on us to prescribe the Way to be taken after our Entry, nor the particular Way of their assuring us before our Entry. But as an Assurance of us before our Entry, and Band of Conjunction after our Entry, is necessary for the Safety and Surety of both Nations in one another; so we leave to their Wisdom to consider this or any other Mean God shall direct them to think of most conducible to this great Work on Earth in hand. For besides that, we shall have ready by the Grace of God our De-

A.D. 1640. • clarification of our innocent Intention and Carriage
 • so fully, clearly and brotherly (upon the Grounds
 • ye sent down) as shall give great Satisfaction to
 • them all.

• But it's time to return to our Assurance be-
 • fore hand, whereunto we suspect the greatest
 • Impediment to be the Hazard of their revealing
 • it. By God's Assistance we are resolv'd on a
 • solid way of Secrecy in the Particulars, whilke
 • will be intrusted to a very few most sure Per-
 • sons, (albeit by Generals we would be the more
 • enabled to encourage the Army that will relye
 • much on their Confidence in some few) as know-
 • ing our own and the Cause's Prejudice in the
 • Discovery and Danger of our Friends; and on
 • the other Part, seing we will then be lying on
 • the Borders ready to march in on that Assurance
 • before it can be discover'd, and to concur with
 • them and they with us before they can be indan-
 • ger'd, they will be in no more Hazard by assu-
 • ring us immediately before our Entry, nor they
 • will be by declaring themselves for us after our
 • Entry, according to their Resolutions and Promi-
 • ses: for by the Lord's Assistance we shall follow
 • hard, and hinder the King's Forces from harm-
 • ing them. And as this Fore-Assurance is no Pre-
 • judice to them, (whom no doubt when all is done
 • the King and their Adversaries suspect, and know
 • well enough already, but for fear of Tumults ab-
 • stain from meddling with them) so it will be a
 • great Encouragement to us of God's Call for
 • their Deliverance as well as for our own. We
 • cannot think that they who resolve to wear their
 • Lives, Liberties and Estates with us in this com-
 • mon Cause of Religion and Liberty, will be slack
 • to give us the Fore-Assurances thereof by all
 • possible and probable Means; as it wou'd be a
 • Token of our Inconsiderateness in so weighty
 • and so *kittle* a Passage, so their shifting or refus-
 • ing would be apprehended by some as a Ground
 • of Jealousy, lest they fail'd us in our greatest en-
 • compassing Straits. God is our Witness, we de-
 • sire and intend their Deliverance as our own.

• It were a pitiful Case, that both should fail for
 • Want of Assurance and Correspondence, when
 • Matters are brought to so great a Height, and
 • our Army's lying on the Borders, the sole and
 • principal Means in any Probability, either of
 • God's Way or Man's Way, to effectuate both;
 • but we trust they will find out the Ways in their
 • Wisdom to give us Satisfaction herein, as by
 • God's Assistance we intend, and shall endeavour
 • in all our Ways to give full Content as in the
 • Sight of God, to whose great Time and Work
 • we are all subservient in this Business for his Son
 • and against the Man of Sin, by whatever Way,
 • either by Writ or trusty Messengers, they re-
 • solve to assure us before the 10th of *July* on the
 • Borders before our Entry, they wou'd condescend
 • as far as is possible, what Force will be against
 • us, and both what Forces and with what Assis-
 • tance of Horse and Foot, and with what Money
 • or Munition, in what Places severally or toge-
 • ther, in what Times and by what Ways, what
 • Guides they would send us; what Marks to dis-
 • tinguish Papists and Protestants, Friends and
 • Foes; to whom we shall give Sureties for our
 • Entertainment when we want Money (as we
 • shall often, and give every where but to Prelates
 • and Papists) and all such other Particulars they
 • know we stand in need to be inform'd of clearly.
 • I resum'd all your former Letters, and has writ-
 • ten this by Warrant of our surest and secretest
 • Heads, whilke above all I recommend to your
 • special Care and Trust, as the very Hinge and
 • Merth of our Business. Ye know my Hand,
 • and the Subscription of your own.

Nathaniel Black.

P. S. *Whilke ye may take for more vore his own.*

They receiv'd no direct Answer to this Letter; but what follows was sent them instead of one, sign'd by several *English* Lords, and address'd to a Gentleman to be communicated to them.

Sir,

• According to our Promise unto you, we have
 • seriously perused and well-weighed the Con-
 • tents of the Letter which you did deliver unto
 • us, and have thought fit to return unto you our
 • Apprehensions of it, and our Answer unto it,
 • and that in so few Words as the Greatness of
 • the Occasion will permit us to do.

• *First,* We find the Desires of the Authors of
 • that Letter to be, that their *English* Friends
 • wou'd give them some solid Assurance before
 • their coming into *England*, that they came
 • by their Invitations and Approbations; which in
 • our Opinion would much wrong both our Ca-
 • ses; for it is publish'd throughout all *England*, that
 • their coming into *England* is necessitated by those
 • crafty wicked Counsellors near the King, who on
 • purpose to divert this Quarrel of Religion, and
 • to make it a national Quarrel, have made the
 • King to besiege them by Land and Sea, taken their
 • Ships, destry'd their Trade, undone their For-
 • tunes, and all to draw a War upon our King-
 • dom; upon which Ground we meant to make
 • it a Part of our Remonstrance to the King as
 • an unsupportable Grievance to our whole Nati-
 • on; which Part is absolutely taken away from
 • us, if they come in by the Persuasion of a discon-
 • tented Faction here, as they will be call'd, and
 • not by any Necessity the King laid upon them
 • to occasion their coming.

• *Secondly,* They desire not only our Invitation,
 • but our personal Conjunction with Horse and
 • Foot, and Men, and Money, and Credit, and
 • the particular Names, and Times, and Places,
 • and all by Covenant, before they enter. We
 • know they understand it very well, that if Ne-
 • cessity brings them, their Entry must be just;
 • for that cannot break any Law which is subject
 • to no Law, as Necessity is not. But if we call
 • them in without absolute Necessity compelling
 • us thereunto, of a just Entry we shall make it
 • an unjustifiable one on our Parts, as being abso-
 • lute Treason by our Law of *England*, to be of
 • Council for the bringing in of any foreign For-
 • ces, to adhere unto them, to supply them with
 • Money, in the very Words of the Act of Parli-
 • ament to resolve what shall be Treason, in King
 • *Edward* the III'd's Days, as it is printed in our
 • Books.

• Now we durst let our Friends in the *North*
 • judge if we can justify it to *our God* for the Hope
 • of never so good Success, for most of the great-
 • est Persons of the Kingdom of *England*, to be-
 • gin with undeniable Treason by their own Laws
 • guilty, and well known by them all to be so.
 • It hath been the Happiness of the *Scottish* Nati-
 • on, that in all their Turmoils, though in Appear-
 • ance foul, yet they have never done any Act
 • but what they will justify by the fundamental
 • Laws of their own Nation, unto which only
 • they are subject. This we assure you hath pro-
 • cur'd them many Friends, and much Honour
 • and Glory abroad; and we are confident that
 • they wou'd not have us in our Case less sensible
 • of our Honour and Piety than they themselves,
 • who have so often avow'd this in their publick
 • Writs and publick Speeches to the King: It is
 • not Security only that we expect from the King,
 • but from our Consciences and good God, who
 • otherwise will be justly offended with us, and
 • give us up into our Enemies Hands. But if the
 • *Scots* come in their own just Right, as necessita-
 • ted unto it without any such Contract and Assu-
 • rance

A.D. 1640. rance from us, we are resolv'd to do more, and more effectually for obtaining their and our honest Ends in a fair, just, and noble Way, than either they can expect or desire in this that is propounded; but it consists of so many Particulars, as it cannot well all be now recited; nor is it yet safe nor fit for them to know, for it is impossible to keep such Secrets long conceal'd in any Army. Here is not much Trust requir'd neither, that they put in us; for Policy of State will tell them, it is better to make the Seat of War in another's Country, rather than to seat it in their own. Besides, What Cause has this Nation given them since this Difference, to doubt of their Fidelity unto them? First, The greatest Band, the Enemies are all one, the common Interest one, the End is all one; a free Parliament to try all Offenders, and to settle Religion and Liberty, and to make our abus'd King more great in Goodness than they have made him unhappy in Ill. In the Parliament, what might we not have obtain'd for ourselves, if we would have join'd to ruin them? But we foresaw our own must follow presently; and since the Parliament, What Kingdom hath ever shew'd more Strictness against the Importunity of the King, than this hath done, in all his Demands, Men, Money, Ships, Loans, Soldiers, or any Thing that might enable him to bring an Army against them; which appears by the great Violence which hath been us'd to gather Forces, and the poor Companies which are yet rais'd? How many of the greatest Houses of England have gotten his Majesty's irreconcilable Displeasure against them, for their suspected Affections to them, who should find it, were they under the just Censure of the Law? To what End was all this, I pray you, if when our Deliverances drew nigh, we should forsake them in their greatest encompassing Streights? Is not that Deliverance more precious that is begun and continu'd without the Breach of one fundamental Law, rather than that which is compass'd by the Subversion of the greatest of all? Or may not a Prince be as easily won to do his Subjects Right, by a just Expostulation of his Nobility and Subjects in an opportune Season, as well as in an unlawful Convention, if they receive the same Fruit and Assistance by it? In Conclusion, we shall certainly appear (if they will believe so) just to them, just to God, just to the King, just to ourselves, to our Religion and Liberties; and according to that irrefragable Position of their noble Example, without the transgressing either of the Laws of God or Man. This we thought fit to acquaint you with, and leave it to your Discretion and Fidelity to dispose of as you shall see Cause; and shall ever rest

Your respective Friends,

Bedford, Essex, Brooke, Warwick,
Say and Seal, Mandeville, Savile.

This is the important Letter which most Authors make mention of, but none ever saw, and all are mistaken in. *Welwood* says twelve Noblemen sign'd it; *Mr. Acherley* puts the Earl of *Mulgrave*, Earl of *Clare*, and Earl of *Bolingbroke's* Hands to it, as also the Hands of several *Leading Commoners*; whereas in Fact there were no Hands to it but those of the seven Lords above-mention'd; and it is uncertain whether those Hands were counterfeited by Lord *Savile* himself, or *Mr. Henry Darley*. They were afterwards cut out by *Sir Archibald Johnston* who had the Original, and restor'd to every one of those Lords his Name. *Darley* carry'd *Sir Archibald's* Letter sign'd *Nathaniel Black* to Lord *Savile* from the Lord *Lowdon*; and this Letter pretended to be from the seven Lords, is doubtless address'd to *Mr. Darley*,

A.D. 1640. who had been with those Lords, as well as with *Savile*. It is evidently written to an *Englishman* and no Peer, to shun the Danger of Correspondence with the *Scots*. There is no Inscription to it; *Darley* it seems shun'd that; however, he went post with it, inclos'd in *Savile's* Letter, to the *Scots* on the Borders. The Lord *Lowdon* went for *Scotland* about the 28th of *June*, before *Savile's* pretended Letter cou'd be procur'd; and it is probable both the Letters, the pretended one, and his own long Letter, which was very particular, were written in *Yorkshire* the 8th of *July*: The latter having the Authority of the other Letter, with the Lords Names to it, was without doubt a much greater Assurance to them, and the Hinge upon which that great Affair turn'd.

The Lords whom *Mr. Darley* had been with, refus'd to give any Thing under their Hands in answer to *Sir Archibald Johnston's* Letter. They agreed in promising the *Scots* all good Offices and Services upon Occasion, in general Terms, but never came to Particulars, nor to a formal *Invitation*, much less to any Compact sign'd by them. However, the Lord *Savile* who knew their good Intentions, resolv'd to make the most of it, and he and *Darley* concerted the two Letters which *Savile* worded. His Design was to bring the *Scots* in, to prosecute and destroy the Earl of *Strafford* as an *Incendiary*, and then to betray those Lords to the King, which he did afterwards, when *Strafford* was beheaded, and instigated his Majesty to try them for High-Treason upon the very Letter he himself had counterfeited; and it was to procure that Letter, that King *Charles* went to *Scotland* in *August* 1641; which tho' he fail'd in, yet he discover'd so much of the pretended Correspondence, as to form a Charge of High-Treason upon it against the Lord *Mandeville*, call'd also *Kimbolton*, and five Members of the House of Commons, and enter'd their House with an arm'd Force to seize them; and that his so doing brought on the Civil War, is agreed on all Hands. *Savile* wrote Letters to all the Lords on purpose to get Answers to them, and by their Names to those Answers, he so well counterfeited the Names of the several Lords, that when those Lords afterwards saw their pretended Hand-writing, they declar'd, ev'ry one of them, they cou'd not swear they did not write their Names, tho' they cou'd swear they had sign'd no such Letter. What follows is the Letter of positive Assurance and Particulars, written by Lord *Savile* to Lord *Lowdon*.

To the Right Honourable John, &c.

The rest is cut out.

Right Honourable,

HOW much more safe it were for me to have attended you in Person with Assurance of Liberty, than to be here in perpetual Danger of Constraint upon the least Colour of Suspicion; your Lordship, who have lately tasted the Fruits of our *English* Justice, will easily imagine. Yet consulting with some Friends of yours here, who know the many Dependancies upon me, and Opportunities of doing Service; whereas it is conceiv'd my Presence wou'd be very necessary, and that by my Person I can contribute nothing more than what is compris'd in this Paper, it was concluded by an unanimous Consent, that it was very requisite for me to defer my coming till some other Time; and thus in Submission to this Resolution, I shall faithfully and fully give Answer to such Particulars of the Letter as I conceive are of most Consequence for your Knowledge and my Discharge.

Your Lordship may remember that it was the 27th of *June* e're you did communicate the Letter unto me; the next Day was to be set apart for hearing of the Word and Prayer; two Days more were spent in *London*, to let your Friends know

A.D. 1640. know the State of your Affairs, and to settle a Way of giving them certain and speedy Intelligence of your Proceedings; five Days more were spent on my Journey into my own County, so as I have neglected but three Days, and I presume you will not say they were altogether neglected, when you have perus'd this together with the inclos'd. I conceive the main Scope of your Letter, Lord *Wariston's*, may be compris'd under these two Heads, A fair Call before your Entry, and a Concurrence after. In answer to the first of these, I shall refer you to the inclos'd, which doth fully explain their own Sense, and is the best Index of their Hearts, rather than to cloath their Expressions with any Language of my own. And thus much, my Lord, let me tell you, that altho' it be not the Way which your Letter doth desire, yet upon a due Consideration of the State of our Government, it was thought by *wise Men*, and I am persuaded your Lordship will approve of it as more safe, more just, more honourable for them, and no less effectual and powerful for both our Ends, than your own. And good, my Lord, let not petty Jealousies, or improbable Fears, retard so good a Business for the *Church of God* and our Common Liberties, as by his Providence is so near at this Time, if it please God that you speed your Entry at or near the Time prefix'd in your Letter. And I beseech you not to imagine that it is for fear of their Persons being known, that they refuse to be the Callers of you in, or Contractors before-hand for either Men or Money, or any other Supply, but only to keep their Consciences and Honour clear; for their Persons are mutually engag'd one to another, upon the first Assurance of your Entry into this Kingdom, to unite themselves into a considerable Body, and to draw up a Remonstrance to be presented to the King, wherein they will comprize yours and their own just Grievances, and require a mutual Redress. And now, my Lord, for your Satisfaction in Point of Concurrence, give me Leave to tell you that all my Intelligence is calculated only for the Meridian of *Yorkshire*, and the more Southern Parts; for till your Entry there, you must expect great Difficulties, because there are many Papists in those Parts, whom none can make Friends to the Cause. But, alas! my Lord, What can that Number do against your Army, if it be so great as it is mention'd in the Letter, and that you make a speedy Entry before they can be in a Readiness? Grumble and mutter they may peradventure, fight they dare not; but I shall proceed briefly to relate Things as they appear to me upon my best Enquiry.

These are certain.

1. In the Judgments of all that I have met with, it is approv'd that your Army and Entry are the sole and principal Means in any Probability to effectuate both our Desires.
2. That if we clash one against another, or be divided one from another, we are in extreme Peril to be both lost.
3. That some *Covenant* of mutual Defence of the Religion and Liberties already establish'd in both Kingdoms, is also absolutely necessary to be drawn up and subscrib'd by both of us. And it is desir'd that you will be pleas'd (as better vers'd in Businesses of this Nature) to do it, and to tender it to all *English* as you march along; and it is presum'd many are very ready to join with you in it.

Before your Entry these things are done.

Biron's Troops in *Carlisle* have no Saddles, nor shall have any; 800 of the best have no Pistols, nor shall have any.

A.D. 1640. There's already of the King's Money about 2000 *l.* which before you can come, in an ordinary March, will be perhaps double or treble that Sum. 'Tis intended for you, which you shall have notice of at your first coming into the Country, where it will be in a Readiness; which will be a good leading Case to the whole Kingdom.

These Things are intended, and probable after your Entry.

That the Sheriff and Gentry will for the Security of their Wives and Children and Evidences seize upon *York* or *Hull*, or both, whereby the King will be disappointed of a great Part of his Strength, which he depends upon there, and your Way made open: That the Lords, as I formerly mention'd, will upon the first Certainty of your Entry join together, as is touch'd in their Letter.

That some Troops of Horse, the Number whereof is not yet certain, and a Regiment of Foot, besides particular Persons out of every Regiment, will turn to you.

That the Gentry will be willing to afford you Victuals in a plentiful manner, and the meaner Sort upon very easy Conditions.

I am likewise to recommend unto you from your Friends in the *South* these ensuing Considerations, which they conceive will be of good Advantage to you for the perfecting your Design.

1. That upon your Entry you should march with all possible Speed to *London*, where the Lords and City will be ready to receive and join with you.

2. That in the Way, especially at first, you should forbear to take any thing from any, whether *Prelate* or *Papist*, without their Consent and Payment for it; for these Reasons, because your Friends do make account to send you back when the Work is done, with a liberal Recompense for your Charges; and they conceive it will be more for your Honour to have less with Love and Justice, than more with Violence and Oppression; as also to take away the Scandal Abroad and here at Home, by those who yet stand well-affected to you. The first Impressions last long, and make a great Noise; therefore good, my Lord, let your first Approaches be fair and sweet according to your Declaration.

3. That where you hear there are any considerable Bodies of Men, that you would send to them, and let them know your Unwillingness to fight with any in this Quarrel, coming in for our Good as well as your own, and send them your Declaration to that Purpose. But if any be so mad as to assault you, spare them not; and be assur'd it will not make it a national Quarrel, because the Army is patch'd up of *Strangers*, *Papists*, and the *SCUM* of the Country, which if your Swords prevent not, will undoubtedly die in a *Halter*; so as in my poor Skill I cannot see any Danger, nor any Doubt of good Success, but a happy Deliverance of the poor imprison'd and fetter'd Gospel in both Kingdoms, and a just Judgment upon the Authors of these desperate Counsels. My Lord, I shall humbly beg for myself, that the Bearer hereof may be return'd with all possible Speed and Secrecy, and an undoubted Assurance of your Resolutions, because I am to transmit it into the *South* with all Speed. Thus presuming of your Favour herein, I rest your Lordship's Servant, *MUM*.

P. S. Let us hear the certain Day of your beginning to march.

This encouraging Letter from the Lord *Savile* to the Lord *Lowdon*, animated the *Scots* to march far

A.D. 1640. far into England; most of the Substance of it is his own Invention, especially about the Money and the King's Horse at Carlisle. His Advice, probably then real, is good, but when it had had the Success he desir'd, the Scots and their Friends were to be sacrific'd to his Ambition; and, as has been observ'd, he was so treacherous as to advise the King to prosecute the Lords on the Letter himself had forg'd. The Scots not hastening their March as was expected, one of their Chiefs receiv'd this Letter :

Worthy Sir,

SUCH is our Affection to your Cause, and Care of your Affair, that nothing hath been omitted which might conduce to the Furtherance of your Design, nor the Discharge of our own Promises. But your often sailing in Point of Entrance after solemn Engagements by Word and Writ, hath possess'd the most of us with a just Jealousy that you are hatching your own Peace, which hath deaded the Hearts of all your Friends, disabled the most active to do you any farther Service, and disappointed yourselves of near 10000 Pounds, which was provided and kept for you till you had twice fail'd, and that there was little or no Hope of your coming. The Lord hath given you Favour in the Eyes of the People, so as I know not whether they are more incens'd against our own Soldiers, or desirous of yours. If you really intend to come, strike while the Iron is hot; if you be uncertain what to resolve, let us know it, that we may secure our Lives, tho' we hazard our Estates by retiring. Here is no Body of an Army to interrupt you, no Ordnance to dismay you; no Money to pay our own; the City hath once more refus'd to lend, the Train'd-Bands to be press'd; the Country storms at the billeting of Soldiers; Quarrels arise every Day about it. If you have a good Cause, why do you stand still? If a bad, why have you come so far? Either die or do, and so you shall be Sons of Valour. P. S. If there be any Thing of Consequence, you shall have speedy Intelligence of it.

Your Friend,

J. H. R.

This Letter was dated the 9th, and they enter'd England the 21st of August. It is not known who sent it, but it seem'd to quicken the Scots Motions, falling into the Hands of Lord Wariston*. We must leave the Scots making Preparations for this March, and return to the Affairs of England, where we find

Edward Bagshaw Esq; Reader of the Middle-Temple, fallen into the Displeasure of Archbishop Laud for reading on the Statute of 25 Edward III. and saying, *An Act of Parliament wou'd be good without Assent of the Bishops, and that no benefic'd Clerk was by the Law capable of temporal Jurisdiction.* Thus the making Dr. Fuxon Lord High-Treasurer was against Law; and indeed it is amazing how Fuxon cou'd be so impos'd upon by Laud, as to accept of such a troublesome temporal Office, when he had upon him so many Calls of the Holy Ghost to Spiritual Functions; for whatever my Judgment is of such Calls, otherwise than establish'd by Custom and Law, these Men assert they are purely Divine, as is indeed the due Discharge of their Vocation; so weighty, that in the Language of the Fathers, it shou'd make Angels tremble. *Doit faire trembler les Anges*, said a French Papist. But instead of trembling under the

Burden of a Minister of the Gospel, and a Governour of seven or eight hundred other Ministers, Dr. Fuxon claps the whole Load of the Treasury upon his Shoulders; and instead of trembling, is in much Ease and Joy. The Archbishop procur'd an Order for silencing Mr. Bagshaw; but the Gentlemen of the Temple were so far from thinking the worse of him, that when he went out of Town some time after, he was accompany'd with forty or fifty Horse of that honourable Society.

Lord Lowdon staid not long in London after the Marquis of Hamilton got his Discharge, as is seen by Lord Savile's Letter. Echard thinks the Favour shewn Lowdon in not cutting off his Head after he was sent to the Tower, was very impolitick. The Treason was for transcribing a Letter which was never sent, address'd AU ROY; a Stile only us'd from Subjects to their natural King, according to his wise Observation; whereas the Stile is always us'd by ev'ry one who has Occasion to write to the King of France, whether Frenchman or Foreigner. His Observation is as wise which refers to Cardinal Richlieu's fomenting the Scottish Troubles to revenge the Duke of Buckingham's Expedition at Rhe, which had been sufficiently reveng'd by the Infamy of it; whereas nothing is plainer than that Richlieu gave the King what Trouble he cou'd, in Resentment of the Queen's supporting her Mother Mary de Medicis to the utmost of her Ability; and every good Office done that Princess, grated the very Soul of the implacable Cardinal, who persecuted her to Death. The reverend Author proceeds in the same Degree of Wisdom, *The threatenning Insults from the North, caus'd the King to resolve upon new Measures*, the very same as he took last Year, to raise an Army, march them to the North, and return again to London, tho' not with so much saving to his Honour as the last Campaign: *And as if the Oracle of Delphos was to be consulted, the great Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was sent for over.* It is wonderfully pleasant; *Great was the Expectation of all the English, what might be the Effect of his Arrival, and great was the Opinion which Men had generally conceiv'd of his Parts;* which he explains well enough a Line or two after: *some said freely, He was sent for only to compleat that bad Work which others of less Brains than he had begun.* Larrey tells us; *The Applause that was given him; came only from the Mouths of his Creatures;* and that in Ireland he employ'd his Time in making secret Levies of Men and Money to assist the King against the Scots Presbyterians; that he oblig'd all the Scots who had Habitations or Estates in Ireland, to take an Oath quite contrary to the Covenant; and that he turn'd the Lord-Chancellor Loftus out of his Office, for not assisting in raising Troops, &c. It was prov'd against Strafford, that he gave the King this dangerous and treasonable Advice as soon as he came over, *Sir, you have tried your People, and are denied by them; therefore you are clear before God and Man, if you make use of other Means for your Supply; you have an Army in Ireland.* This is the Counsel of the Archdeacon's Oracle of Delphos; he might as well have call'd him the Colossus of Rhodes. The Scots were well acquainted with the Advice he had given his Majesty to treat them as Rebels; upon which they join'd heartily in that Prosecution which ended in cutting off the Head of this Delphian Oracle, who by his Conduct in Ireland had so rais'd the Spirits of the Papists, that they soon after made

Mr. Bagshaw persecuted by Laud.

Salm. 169.

* These Original Papers relating to the Affairs of Scotland, carry with them sufficient Evidence of their Truth: But if that shou'd ever be call'd in question, they will be so well vouch'd, as will leave no room for Suspicion, and be much to the Confusion of those who suspected it. 'Twill by this appear how hard it is to come at the Truth even in Things of the greatest Impor-

tance; for neither Welwood nor even Bishop Burnet, who wou'd not have sunk what they had known, nor Clarendon nor Echard, who probably wou'd have told us no more than made for their Purpose, had Knowledge of these Matters just as they pass. The latest Account, Mr. Acherley's, is the best, yet it is not perfect nor full.

A.D. 1640. a bold and bloody Attempt to extirpate the whole Generation of Protestants in that Kingdom by a general Massacre. He advis'd the King, says the French Historian, to keep an equal Balance between the Papists and the Protestants; but the former who already were too powerful, abus'd the Favour, and the Event shew'd that Strafford cou'd not have given more pernicious Counsel. One wou'd think Echard had taken his Panegyrick on *Wentworth*, from *Gregorio Leti*, who writes, that in the Opinion of the English, *Strafford* was the greatest Politician in the World; and a few Pages after gives us an Account of *Oliver Cromwell's* Discourse with Cardinal *Ricliciu* at *Paris*, of his Entertainment at that Court, and of his quitting it after he had got a Bastard on a Wench upon Promise of Marriage. It is great pity those excellent Memoirs of his had not fallen into the Archdeacon's Hands, he might have outdone himself in copying after so catholick and so sincere an Historian.

Parliament. To carry on this second War with the Scots, a Parliament was call'd after a very disorderly manner; according to *Echard*, Many Pulpits were employ'd by the Scots Faction to obtain their Ends, and no Pains spar'd in packing of Voices, which were often so violent, that these Meetings for Elections appear'd more like riotous Tumults. False beyond Conception! What need all this Stir when the Nation had so long lain under Oppression, and were generally averse to the Ministers, who had been the Occasion of it? It therefore did not require much Pains to get such a Representative as wou'd insist on the Redress of Grievances, which were continu'd notwithstanding the Parliament was so soon to meet. *The Court*, says he, still proceeded in the same unpopular Ways, Ship-Money was levy'd with the same Severity, and the same Rigor us'd in the Ecclesiastical Courts, without complying with the Humour of any Man; which happy Temper appear'd at the Opening of the Session the 13th of April, when his Majesty rode in State to *Westminster*, to hear a Sermon preach'd by *Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, one of the most obnoxious Prelates in the Kingdom. The Two Houses being met, he made a short Speech to them, and refer'd them to another obnoxious Person the Lord-Keeper *Finch*, who succeeded *Coventry*. This Keeper began his Oration with a Piece of Eloquence which the Archdeacon is extremely taken with: "His Majesty's kingly Resolutions are seated in the Ark of his sacred Breast, and it were too high a Presumption for any *Uzrah* uncall'd to touch it. Therefore you are to remember, that tho' the King sometimes lays by the Beams and Rays of Majesty, yet he never lays by Majesty itself." He then laid before them the transcendent Happiness of the Nation, which will be presently set forth in the House of Commons. He represented the Scots as so many REBELS, whom the King was resolv'd to reduce, and demanded immediate Aid before they enter'd upon Grievances. They had the prettiest dictating Way with them. When he had ended his Speech, the King re-assum'd his, to give them an Account of the Letter he had intercepted, directed to the French King, which the Lord-Keeper wou'd read to them. He told them he had secur'd one of the Parties concern'd in the Tower. The Lord-Keeper holding the Letter folded, read the Superscription, *Au Roy*; and then raising his Voice very theatrically, said, None but the French can write such a Superscription to the French King; and whoever writes so, acknowledges the King they address to for their Sovereign. Here's Logick as well as Rhetorick! Does every Foreigner who addresses to the King of England thus *AU ROY, TO THE KING*, acknowledge him to be his Sovereign? Does not *Monsieur Voltaire* in his Epistle Dedicatory to the *Henriade*, say *To the Queen*? Yet as boyish as this Reasoning is, 'tis gravely continu'd by *Finch* before the most illustrious Assembly in the World, There-

fore these Words are sufficient to convict the Scots *A.D. 1640!* of Felony, and hang them all. This Acting is not yet over. Then the Lord-Keeper read the Letter itself, and expatiated upon it, to prove the Treason of the Lords who subscribed it; concluding with the Necessity the King lay under to prevent the Conspirators, and consequently how necessary it was for the Parliament to assist him with Money. The wise Ministers did not once think the Artifice of the Letter star'd both Houses in the Face. That the News was stale to them, and the Majority of both Houses were by no Means in any Disposition to look on their Scots Neighbours as Rebels and Traytors. *Larrey* writes, All these Springs were play'd to no Purpose. The Commons were determin'd, and nothing cou'd make them alter their Resolution to have Grievances precede Supply. I can't write this Incident no more than I cou'd have seen it without laughing, to see the Lord-Keeper gravely folding up the Letter, then turning *AU ROY* to the Lords and Commons; then the King speaking to it; then the Keeper speaking again to it; when all the while it was a Farce in the Opinion of that august Assembly.

The Commons chose Serjeant *Glanville* their Speaker, who has much Laud from the Archdeacon; but he omits that he had all along been a great Opposer of the Illegalities and Irregularities of this Administration, and was gain'd by the Court the same Way as had before been try'd upon *Wentworth* and *Noy* with Success, and upon *Elliot* and *Pym* with none; but succeeded afterwards on the Lord *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Strangeways*, Sir *Robert Holburn*, and especially Mr. *Edward Hyde*. *Whitlocke* informs us, "*Glanville* had engag'd to be a better Servant to the King than formerly; he was very active to promote his Majesty's Designs, whereof he gave sufficient Testimony, and of the Change of his former Opinion." Secretary *Windebank* acquainted the House with the Examination of the Lord *Lowdon*; more of it still; saying, He own'd the Letter, but with Prevarication. We have seen the contrary, and that instead of denying the Letter, the Scots justify'd it as a national Act and recriminated. *Acherley* says, the Turn which the Scots gave to it, took off all Impression, so it fell to the Ground, and was never more spoken of. The Happiness which *Finch* the Lord-Keeper had just been declaiming upon, and which the Lord *Clarendon* and *Echard* declaim upon eternally, shin'd out most gloriously in a Heap of Petitions deliver'd to the House of Commons by several Knights of the Shires, complaining of Ship-money, Projects, Monopolies, Star-Chamber, High-Tyrannical Commission, Spiritual Courts, &c. Mr. *Harbottle Proceed-* *Grimston*, Speaker of the House of Commons that call'd home the King, said, The Dangers at home are greater than those from abroad, and the Diseases and Distempers in the Body politick are grown to the Height, that for a Cure Examples ought to be made. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* spoke against the Discontinuance of Parliaments, for want of which the Commonwealth was in its gasping Extremities. Mr. *Pym*, who, according to Mr. *Echard*, was a Man of publick Reputation and long Experience in Parliaments, made an elaborate Speech against Grievances, the long Intervals of Parliaments, Innovations in Religion, and Invasions on Property. Mr. *Grimston*, afterwards Master of the Rolls, insisted upon the irregular and preposterous engaging the Judges to deliver their Opinion for the Lawfulness of Ship-Money. Read what *Warwick* says of the Learning and Integrity of those Judges on this Occasion, and then make a Judgment of that ingenious Writer both as to Capacity and Sincerity. Mr. *Peard* called Ship Money an Abomination, and therefore *Clarendon* and *Echard* call him a bold Lawyer of small Note. One Sign of it was, that his Borough sent him up to *Westminster* again the very

A.D. 1640. very next Parliament. The Attorney-General answer'd all Arguments as fast as he cou'd have the hearing of them, if you will believe the Archdeacon, especially as to Ship-Money; and IF Peard had been reprimanded, it wou'd have been very severely. We shall see how easy it was to answer Law and Reason, when this hated Tax is brought upon the Stage again. The House enquir'd into the Proceedings against Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Hollis*, and the imprison'd Members; nay, they were so presumptuous, as to bring Sir *John Finch* their late Speaker into question for leaving the Chair; and, says the reverend Historian, voted it a particular Breach of Privilege, tho' he did it by the King's special Command. If he had learn'd any thing of the Constitution by having turn'd over so much History, he wou'd have known that Thought of his to have been the most absurd that ever an Historian was guilty of. The King had no Commands to lay on the Speaker of the House of Commons as their Speaker, and consequently *Finch's* leaving the Chair contrary to the Command of the House, whose Servant he was, must be a particular Breach of Privilege.

Finch question'd.

Six or seven Days after the Lords and Commons were summon'd to attend the King at the Banqueting-House, where he order'd the Lord-Keeper to acquaint them, that his Army intended against the Scots stood him in 100000*l.* a Month; that he had expended his own Money as well as the Ship-Money for that End; that the Parliament in Ireland had given him 500000*l.* and after a Supply was granted, he wou'd give a gracious Ear to Grievances if they were just; a Word which in itself is affirmative, and as good and significant as any in Language; but in this King's and his Ministers Stile, it is a Negative, and signifies *I will not do it unless I think fit*; for who was to judge whether those Grievances were just or not? the very Persons *Laud*, *Strafford*, &c. who were the Occasion of them. On the Report of the Keeper's Speech made next Day, *Edmund Waller* Esq; one of the finest Wits of the Age, spoke boldly and elegantly, charging the Bishops and Ministers with a Design to set up a new Species of absolute Monarchy; and concluding with a Motion that there might be an Order immediately made, That the first Thing the House shou'd consider of, shou'd be the restoring the Nation in general to their fundamental and vital Liberties, and then consider of a Supply. The Court cou'd not bear to hear talk of Liberties instead of Supplies; and the King coming to the House of Lords, desir'd them to advise the House of Commons to give Precedence to Supply; which was so irregular, that a Novice in the Constitution cou'd not but be surpriz'd at it. The Commons immediately declar'd, that by their undoubted fundamental Right, all Supplies ought to have their Rise, Progress, and whole modelling in their House; which Right had never been infring'd or so much as question'd by the Lords. *Echard* tells us, that instead of complying, the Commons rais'd an unseasonable Dispute, which ended in an Acknowledgment of their Privileges by the House of Peers, who were sensible of the Error into which the King had drawn them. His Majesty was still impatient for the Money, and the Parliament cou'd not but suspect that as soon as they had given it, they wou'd be dismiss'd as their Predecessors had been. To quicken the Supply, he took a Method which the Archdeacon says was believ'd wou'd not fail of Success. The Wise Men who contriv'd this and the like Messages, might believe so, but no other Mortal who understood any thing of Affairs. Sir *Henry Vane* was order'd to shew the Necessity of a Supply. Had there been a Necessity for the War, a Supply wou'd have been necessary: But other Sort of wise Men argu'd thus; "If the Scots were not Slaves, what they did for Recovery of their Liberties was not illegal; and if what they fo

Bishops charg'd with subverting the Constitution.

The Lords drawn into an Error by the King

" did was no Wrong, then a War made upon them with English Forces, was to subdue them, and compel them to submit as Slaves to what was illegal, and as such unjust, and cou'd end in nothing but supporting that illegal, unlimited Power which equally press'd England. Again; Such a War is in Effect to impose a Law that a Man shall not defend his Person against Wounds and Imprisonment, nor his Property against Depredations, or the Laws or Constitutions of his Country against such as wou'd illegally subvert them, all which wou'd in any Man's own Case appear monstrous. Again; It was urg'd the King had no more Right to use the Forces of England to make War upon his Scots Subjects, than he had to call French Armies to make War upon the English People to enslave them, by supporting with those Forces his Prerogative Imposition of Taxes, Ship-Money, Tonnage, Poundage, &c. And upon the Premises, the Conclusion was evident, that a War upon the Scots to support such a Prerogative was unjust; and if so, the Necessity of Supplies to raise an Army vanish'd." The other Message brought them, was a Demand of twelve Subsidies at once. *Echard* tells us it was but 800000*l.* and considering his Majesty offer'd to forbear the levying of Ship-Money, which he had no Right to levy, he thinks it a very reasonable and healing Proposal. The learned *Acherley* writes, Now the Vizor was pull'd off, and the Mystery reveal'd: It appear'd that the Necessity so much insisted upon, was a mere Fiction, removeable at Pleasure; for here was a Price of twelve Subsidies set upon it, and for that Sum the King wou'd part with the Pretence, and the Nation shou'd never suffer again under Necessity. The Consequence whereof was, that a Parliament of Judges cou'd give the King a present Necessity, which the Parliament of England must buy off at the Rate of twelve Subsidies. The same judicious Lawyer shews how this pretended Necessity stood with respect to the Scots; "The King needed no Force, for he had all the Power to obviate the War in himself, if he wou'd please to revoke his own Edicts, and declare them illegal, and wou'd disclaim the pretended Prerogative by which they were made, and make the Punishment of the Advisers exemplary; it wou'd remove the Cause, and then the War, which was the Effect, wou'd, for want of Fuel, dye and be extinguish'd." This sober Reasoning cuts off a great Part of the fine Reflections in the History of the Rebellion. It is own'd there, that the Grievances complain'd of were real, that Resistance in case of tyrannical Oppression was lawful; but when Complaint is made, it is aspersing; it is seditious; when any Thing is done to put a Stop to them, it is Rebellion; when Money is wanted to support Profusion and Luxury, and enrich Favourites, it is Necessity; when the Power of imperious Prelates is in Exercise, it is the Church; and so in other Instances, equally vain and impertinent. The Offer to give up Ship-Money, was mightily cry'd up by Sir *John Wray* and other Members; but the unreasonable Demand of twelve Subsidies, gave great Distaste to the major Part of the House. Sir *Henry Vane* was censur'd for demanding twelve when his Commission was but for six; and it was said he did it on purpose to raise Animosities in the House, with Intention to cause a Division between the King and them; for he inform'd his Majesty at the same time they wou'd give nothing. The Story of Mr. *Hyde's* endeavouring to soften Matters, Serjeant *Glanville's* wheedling Speech to forward the Supply, Mr. *Waller's* Discourse with Sir *Thomas Fermyn*, to persuade him to disown *Vane's* Demand as a Privy-Counsellor, the Solicitor *Herbert's* seconding Sir *Henry Vane*, and Sir *Henry* and *Herbert's* causing the King to dissolve the Parliament, is told as largely in the History of the Rebellion, as

The King's War with the Scots unjust.

Ach. 396.

A. D. 1640. are all Stories which the Author of it had a hand in. But the true Representation of the Matter is as follows: Upon Sir *Henry Vane's* telling the King he must expect no Money from the Parliament to carry on the War against the *Scots*, the Ministers were much perplex'd and uneasy; but that which ripen'd their Resolutions to dissolve them, was an Information given the King, that the Commons intended to enquire into, and as my Author terms it, anathematize the Causes of the War against *Scotland*, for which the Supplies were demanded. In this Enquiry his Majesty's assum'd Power to impose the Taxes of *Ship-Money*, &c. wou'd doubtless have pass'd under Examination, and therefore it was obvious, the Commons, to blast the Design, wou'd vote, *That a War upon the Scots was unjust.* The King for that Reason, early the next Morning, *May* the 5th, sent for the Speaker to attend him, and took Care he shou'd go with his Majesty to the House of Peers, upon an Apprehension that if the Speaker had gone to the House of Commons, that House wou'd have enter'd on the Debate, and shut their Doors; and before they cou'd be fetch'd to the Upper-House, wou'd pass that Vote, besides entering on some ungrateful Discourses which the Ministers were unwilling to hear. The King following close after the Speaker, sent immediately the Usher of the *Black-Rod* to bring up the Commons to attend him in the House of Lords, where he treated them with an abrupt hasty Dissolution after a Sitting of twenty-two Days, without doing one publick Act. The learned Author adds, *Tho' by this fourth Repetition of his Power*, in which he took infinite Delight, *all the Rights and Privileges imparted to the two Estates of Lords and Commons, were frustrated and render'd useless.* The King had no sooner dissolv'd the Parliament than he repented of it, but with a Penitence which was as weak as the Offence: For to repent of a Thing without Attonement to the utmost of one's Power, is as useless in Politicks as in Divinity. It was whimsical enough to think of recalling the same Parliament by Proclamation; or that a Body of Gentlemen so ill us'd, wou'd have met again in better Humour, had it been practicable to recal them: But a mild Declaration to excuse that hasty Dissolution; a sincere Pacification with the *Scots*; a stop put to illegal Taxes, and to the Tyranny of the *Star-Chamber Court*, *High-Commission Court*, *Spiritual Court*, with an Intimation of another Parliament to redress Grievances, and punish Delinquents, wou'd have shewn in the best manner, that his Majesty did sincerely repent of this Rashness, wou'd have reconcil'd him to his People, have open'd their Hearts, and their Purses, and have made him a powerful and glorious King; instead of which, several leading Members of both Houses were insulted and imprison'd. The Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Brooks* Studies, nay, their very Pockets, were search'd for Papers, the Court having violent Suspicions that those Lords and others held Correspondence with the *Scots*, as indeed they did, and had frequent secret Conferences with their Commissioners, under Pretext of hearing their Ministers preach. *Henry Bellasis*, Esq; whom the Earl of *Strafford* had prosecuted for not pulling off his Hat to him; Sir *John Hotham*, and *John Crew*, Esq; afterwards Lord *Crew*, were thrown into Prison. *Whitlocke* informs us who it was that advis'd the King to dissolve this Parliament, which might easily have been brought into what Temper the King pleas'd. *The chief Blame and Odium of all was laid upon Archbishop Laud, and those Differences between the King and his People, which were late too much increas'd, and were hop'd might have been cemented by this Parliament, were aggravated; the Scotch Troubles, which many sober Men expected this Parliament wou'd have appeas'd, were by the breach of it, fear'd to grow wider.* By Archbishop *Laud's* Counsels also, the King was

persuaded to let the *Convocation* sit after the Parliament was dissolv'd, by a new Commission; a Thing which was monstrous in the Eyes of all those who had ever look'd upon the Law: Can it be deny'd but that all the desperate Counsels which gradually terminated in the *Civil War*, came from that prime Counsellor, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, no more fit to be a Prime Minister in such turbulent Times, than a Madman is to look after a sick Person in a *Delirium*? Can it be deny'd but that the King's Obstinacy in pursuing his Counsels at all Ventures, was the real Cause of his Misfortunes and Death? The sitting of the Convocation after the Dissolution, must be the Effect of that Prelate's Wisdom and Moderation. The Clergy, who at that Time paid him blind Obedience, were in Terms ill enough with the Laity, and their irregular Session in Synod, was a sure Method to add to the Offence which they had before plentifully given, by preaching up the King's Will for Law, and persecuting Men of Conscience and Piety for opposing *Sabbath-breaking*, and superstitious Innovations: Yet fit they will, and make *Canons*, and raise Money, in Defiance of all Laws and Customs to the contrary. *Echard* assures us, and after that he may assure any Thing, the Archbishop boggled at the *Convocation's* sitting, the Parliament being dissolv'd, and that the King was the Mover in it; for he spares not his Majesty. when he hopes to clear the Archbishop. *Whitlocke* following Truth, and the Reason of the Thing asserts it was done chiefly by *Laud's Counsel and Persuasion.* The Reverend Historian gives us the Opinion of the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and some other Lawyers, who were deep in *Ship-Money*, that the *Convocation* might legally sit; as if after the twelve Judges, some of 'em, if not all, against Conscience and Knowledge, had solemnly given their Opinion, that the King might raise Money without Consent of Parliament, the Judgment of the Court-Lawyers had the least Weight in it. *Echard* proceeds: *The Convocation went on and finish'd their seventeen Canons with as little Opposition as cou'd be imagin'd:* He wou'd not tell you *Dr. Brownrig*, *Dr. Hacket*, *Dr. Holdsworth*, *Mr. Warmister*, excellent Divines, and two of them afterwards Fathers and Bishops of our Protestant Church, and thirty-six Ministers of that Synod, earnestly protested against the very sitting of it. And here we must not omit so fair an Opportunity to do Homage to the Merit of those pious and learned Doctors of our National Church, who at this Time preserv'd its Purity, amidst *Laud's* Innovations and Superstitions, who bore their Testimony against his Severity, and were zealous for a thorough Reformation: For wherever we mention Archbishop *Laud*, and such Ecclesiasticks as the Majority of his Convocation consisted of, we do never intend the Church of *England*, as it was reform'd in King *Edward* the VIth's Reign, and as it is now in his present Majesty King *GEORGE's*; but *Laud's* Church, as it was corrupted in the Reign we are writing.

In one of the *Canons*, the Convocation oblig'd the Clergy, and their Dependants, to take a sort of *Anti-Covenanting Oath*; the Sense of which was, that Archbishop *Laud's* Church contain'd all Things necessary to Salvation; and that the Swearer wou'd never give his Consent to alter its Government by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. Some of these *Canons* were for asserting the Prerogative Royal; for the better keeping the King's Inauguration Day; for Rites and Ceremonies; for preaching up Conformity; for setting the Communion-Table, now turn'd into an Altar, to the East, and for railing of it in; for Excommunication; for Absolution; for Commutation; for Marriage-Licenses; the latter Ready-Money Articles: And Archdeacon *Echard* affirms all these *Canons* were for the Honour and Advantage of the Church and State. *Dr. Fuller* writes, *Most took Exception against that Clause*

Parliament hastily dissolved.

Good Methods of sever'd.

Members insulted and imprison'd.

P. 32.

Laud an Incendiary.

A. D. 1640. Convocation.

Dr. Fuller, 168. Good Clergy.

Oath. Canons.

A.D. 1639. in the Oath, We will never give our Consent to alter this Church-Government; as if the same were intended to abridge the Liberty of King and State in future Parliaments and Convocations, if hereafter they see Cause to change any Thing therein. And this Obligation seem'd the more unreasonable, because some of those Orders specify'd in the Oath, as Archbishops, Archdeacons, &c. stand only establish'd Jure Humano; so that Echard has no divine Right to the Archdeaconry of Stow: in which I suppose he disagrees with Dr. Fuller. No wise Man, continues the Doctor, ever deny'd but that by the same Power and Authority they were alterable. Archdeacon Echard does not only deny, but argue against it with as much Argument as he has, and yet it would be taken ill, if we shou'd not take him for a wise Man. As a Proof of it he adds, it was hop'd these Proceedings would have added Strength as well as Ornament to the Church: Whereas the People were at that very Instant so exasperated at the Insolence of this Synod, in sitting thus after the Parliament was dissolv'd, that the King thought it necessary to appoint a Guard to defend them. Whitlock, who has more Truth in one Page, than there is in a hundred of Clarendon's, speaks of the Convocation differently from Mr. Echard, Their Seats were not very easy, they were in danger of the King's Displeasure if they rose, and of the Peoples Fury if they sate; to be beaten up by Tumults while they were at their Work, and to be beaten down next Parliament for doing of that Work. The Resentment of the People was such against the Archbishop, whom they look'd upon as the Author of this and other evil Counsels, that 500 of them beset his House at Lambeth, where, according to Echard, he made a resolute Defence, but according to Ludlow, he made his Escape by Water. A Cobler being taken up for this Rebellion, part of the Earl of Clarendon's History, he was try'd, condemn'd, hang'd, drawn and quarter'd: But Purchase the Bumbailiff, who rais'd a Rebellion for Laud's Church in Queen Anne's Time, was try'd, condemn'd and pardon'd Whitlock, one of the greatest Lawyers of the Age says, there was nothing in it but the breach of the Peace, and a few Glafs of Windows: But as merry as he makes the Business, Laud let the Man be murder'd, as he must be, if it was breach of the Peace only; though the Lord Chancellor Hide in his History, if it is his, declares, that the attacking Archbishop Laud's Glafs-Windows was High-Treason.

Tumult.

Laud attacked. Vol. I. P. 143.

Ibid. Dr. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester.

It is not easy to guess why Dr. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who was afterwards known to be a Papist, should be the only Member of the Convocation who refus'd to subscribe the Cavons. The Archbishop, who was then with the Bishops and Clergy in Henry the VIIth's Chappel at Westminster Abbey, presently cry'd out, My Lord of Gloucester, I admonish you to Subscribe; he delighted wonderfully in all acts of Superiority: And again, My Lord of Gloucester, I admonish, &c. And a third Time, as they do at Auctions, My Lord of Gloucester, I admonish you, &c. The Bishop of Gloucester as often pleaded Conscience, and the furious Archbishop was for suspending him immediately: But moderate Bishop Davenant thought it more prudent to consult Lawyers upon the Power of a Synod in that Case. However the Archbishop, who cou'd not bear the least Opposition to his Power or Will, hasten'd thence to the King, and as usual, got him to command a Warrant to be issu'd for committing the Bishop of Gloucester to Prison. This Convocation tax'd the Clergy Four Shillings in the Pound for Six Years, towards his War against the Scots Presbyterians. And it was but fair, that as he did every Thing for them, so they shou'd do something for him. Whitlock tells us, this raising of Money added more Fuel to the Flames already burning, and was the Subject of great Debate and Censure. There is Witchery or Infatuation in

their Doings. All the Actions of these Men were so daring, so desperate, and tended so directly to Destruction, that the Danger, like Cimmerian Darkness, might have been felt, if they had no Eyes to see it.

His Majesty was very active in the Prosecution of the Scots War. He increas'd his Junto of Counsellors, that if Men and Money were wanting, there might be no want of good Council; and therefore Dr. Fuxon, Lord High-Treasurer, the Lord Cottington, and Secretary Windbank, are added to the Junto, as was also Sir Henry Vane, who however was no better than a Spy upon them, and at one of their Meetings took short Notes of their Debates; which coming afterwards to his Son's Hands, were made use of against the Earl of Strafford, as will appear at his Tryal. Whitlock, whose Memorials are our Guide here, proceeds; "And now the Parliament having yielded no Supplies to the King's Occasions, all the Wheels of the Prerogative are set on Motion to provide Money: Knighthood is reviv'd, all Knights and Gentlemen who hold Lands in Capite of the King, are summon'd to send Men, Horse and Arms, agreeable to their Tenures and Qualities. Ludlow writes, all imaginable ways were us'd to raise Supplies; Privy-Seals sent throughout the Nation for Loan-Money again. Ship-Money, Coat and Conduct Money were pressed to the Height: Commodities taken upon Credit, and sold for Ready-Money, a Practice among Bankrupts before they break." Warrants were also delivered out to press Men for Soldiers, in downright Contradiction to the PETITION OF RIGHT. Brass-Money, &c. The City of London refusing to pay some of the before-mention'd Taxes, divers of their chief Officers were imprison'd, and an Order issu'd to take away the Sword from the Lord-Mayor, Sir Edmund Wright.

Illegal Projects for Money.

More Tyrannical Proceedings.

Before we proceed further in the Second BISHOPS WAR, we must remember that the Earl of Strafford had held a Parliament in Ireland, where he got Supplies for an Army of 8000 Horse and Foot, rais'd and maintain'd by several Subsidies of 4000 Pounds each; so intolerable a Burthen, that in about a Years Time, the King gave way to the Parliament in Ireland to abate them to 12000 Pounds each. Orleans the Jesuit says, the Earl of Strafford did the Roman Catholics the Honour to account them better affected to the King than Protestants; of whom, two Years after, they butcher'd 200000 Men, Women and Children, in cold Blood. It is of this Irish Popish Army that Strafford spoke in the Debate about raising Money at the Junto Table, which he would have brought into England for that Purpose. He caus'd a Proclamation to be issu'd in Ireland, denouncing the Scots Rebels and Traytors; and being call'd home to England, when he deliver'd the Sword at Parting to Mr. Wandesford, Master of the Rolls, his Deputy, and the Council, he utter'd these Words, If ever I return to this honourable Sword, I will not leave of the Scots in Ireland Root or Branch. Neither did he spare any Pains in the Junto to press on the War vigorously against Scotland; and after the Dissolution of the last Parliament to break all Counsels tending to the calling another, for which the Reverend Historian styles him the Delphian Oracle. One may see what Thoughts the People had of the near Relation between Archbishop Laud and Popery, by their attacking a Popish Agent, Count Rosetti, then at London, the 11th of May, at the same Time that they beset Lambeth House, and demolish'd some Windows. The Lord Wicquefort, in his admirable Treatise of the Ambassador and his Functions, lets us into the Secret of Rosetti's Negotiations in England, for which he was afterwards made a Cardinal: "He was not contented, says that great Statesman, to use his Endeavours to obtain Liberty of Conscience, and the Exer-

Strafford in Ireland.

His Tyranny.

Laud and Rosetti. Larr. P. 46;

P. 12.

A.D. 1640. " cise of their Religion for the Roman Catholics, but attempted also to change the predominant Religion in the Person of the King. He who writ the History of those Times upon very good Memoirs, reports, that the Archbishop of Canterbury himself was much inclin'd thereto, and resolv'd to follow *Rosetti* to Rome, if Cardinal *Barberino* would have insur'd him a Pension of eight and forty thousand *Livres*. The People of London coming to understand *Rosetti's* Intrigues, attack'd him in his House, from whence he sav'd himself at the Queen Mother's, *Mary de Medicis*, who was then in England. The Parliament caus'd him to be sought for, *this was the next Parliament*, and oblig'd him to leave England, and retire to Flanders. He was no publick Minister, since he had no Character from the Pope; so that he was at most but the Agent of a Cardinal, for which Reason he could not enjoy the Protection of the Law of Nations. But neither the Parliament nor the Londoners violat'd that Law in the Person of a Man, who having no Character, nor being acknowledg'd as a publick Minister, disturb'd the Tranquillity of the State by endeavouring to introduce a new Religion contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom." *Larrey* tells us King *Charles* protect'd this *Romish* Agent as much as if he had been Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. He sent his Guards to disperse the Rabble, and committed some of them to Prison; but their Fellows broke open the Prison-Doors and releas'd them.

Tho' the City of London was disgusted for the Loss of their Plantation, Londonderry in Ireland, which was taken from them by an unjust Sentence of the Star-Chamber; and tho' many Citizens had been imprison'd for refusing to pay the illegal Impositions, yet others of them were so infatuated by the *Laudean* Clergy, that they parted with their Money for so good a Cause as the Extirpation of *Presbyterians*; by which, with the Money the Convocation had given, the large Contributions of the Papists, the Subscriptions of the Courtiers, and others who were drawn in to subscribe, no less than 300000*l.* was scrap'd together, and his Majesty rais'd an Army of above 20000 Men in Defence of Prelacy, or rather of certain Prelates, *Laud*, *Neile*, *Wren*, &c. He made the Earl of *Northumberland* General, the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant-General, this Vein of *Wisdom* runs thro' the whole Mine of their Politicks, the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse. I do not object against the Promotion of these Staff-Officers, tho' the Archdeacon does, and would have had the Command given to the Earls of *Holland* and *Essex*; for there being no likelihood of fighting, I think 'tis no great matter to whom the *Battons* are given. *Nothing*, says *Whitlock*, could alter the Opinion and Humour of divers of the Officers and private Soldiers of the Army, who in their March to the Rendezvous spared not to declare their Judgments against this WAR, and that they would not fight to maintain the Pride and Power of the Bishops. This their Resolution seem'd not to be feign'd by the ill Success afterwards.

Army against the Bishops War.

Birth of Duke of Gloucester

Some Weeks before the King began his March Northward, the Queen was brought to-bed on the 8th of July of another Son, *Henry Duke of Gloucester*, who of all the King and Queen's Children liv'd most in the Love of the People from his Birth to his untimely Death 20 Years after.

The Army marches.

The Royal Army began their March in the Beginning of August, and his Majesty follow'd them the 20th. On the 22d, a Proclamation was publish'd, declaring all the Scots that shou'd invade England, REBELS and Traytors. A Prayer was also publish'd in all Churches against the Rebels of Scotland. I have not in any History met with the like Rashness and Obstinacy as in this Northern Expedition. The King and his Ministers knew

that almost every Heart in the Kingdom bled for the Perils it was in from Popery and Slavery, under the Names of the Church and Prerogative. They could not but know that the Scots would sooner have run into the *Fritb*, than have march'd into England, if they had not been encourag'd from thence. They were sensible that the Army which the King was leading against them, were almost as willing to fight with one another as with the Scots. And yet nothing could serve the Turn of Archbishop *Laud* and the Earl of *Strafford* but a War with the Scots Rebels, whom the Generality of the English Nation still'd their Brethren of Scotland. The Scots in their Declaration charg'd these two evil Counsellors by Name, as the Authors of their Grievances, and the WAR which was rais'd to hinder the Redress of them. They declar'd to the English, That their Coming was not in Enmity, but to petition the King to call a Parliament, and bring *Laud* and *Strafford* to Punishment. Our wise Historian adds, That the English might see whom they chiefly aim'd at, a Book was publish'd by the Name of *The Canterburian's* Self-conviction. As if they had not before sufficiently shewn it, by naming him in their Declaration as the great Incendiary. He proceeds: In which the Author by a strange Inversion would prove out of the Works of the Archbishop himself, that there was a peculiar Design on Foot for introducing Popery. A very strange thing truly! What were his Popish Alterations, his introducing Altars, Transubstantiation, Sacrifice of the Mass, Prayers to Saints, and other Popish Rites, written with his own Hand, and taken out of the Roman Missal and Pontifical, to be inserted in the Scotch Service-Book?

Hidden Works, P. 156 to 164.

Two Days after the King left London the Scots enter'd England, commanded by General *Lesley*, the Earl of *Montross*, and other Scots Noblemen. The Earl of *Montross* led the Van, for his Understanding and Conscience had not yet been illuminated by any Court Reasons. When he arriv'd at the River *Tweed*, he alighted off his Horse, and forded the River a-foot. The Scots Army advanc'd to *Newcastle* before any Enemy appear'd. But as they approach'd the *Tyne*, they were fac'd by the Royal Army, a Body of which consisting of 3000 Foot and 1500 Horse was advantageously posted at *Newburne* under the Command of the Lord *Conway*. The Scots on the 28th of August, as their Historian tells us, resolving to put it to the Issue of a Battel, pass'd the River at *Newburne* in of Scot. the Face of a strong Body of the English Army, 191. beat them fairly by plain fighting from their Post, and kill'd 300 of their Men; which Action so King's Forces frightened the King and his whole Army, that they would not strike a Stroke more, but shamefully retreated to *York*, leaving *Newcastle* and *Durham* in Possession of the Scots. *Whitlock* owns there were 800 English kill'd and taken; among the latter were *Digby*, *Wilmot*, and *Oneale*, chief Commanders. But the Earl of *Clarendon* affirms there were eleven or twelve only kill'd and taken, his Lordship being never willing to let the *Presbyterians* have the better of it in any Dispute, whether Argument or Action, wherein his Zeal is more laudable than his Sincerity. *Ludlow's* Observation is very just: The English, contrary to their wonted Custom, retir'd in Disorder, not without Shame and some Loss. Of such Force and Consequence is a Belief and full Persuasion of the Justice of an Undertaking, tho' manag'd by an Enemy in other Respects not considerable. In the mean while the King's Garrison at *Berwick* made an Incurfion into Scotland, intending to surprize the Scots Magazine at *Duns*; but the Earl of *Haddington*, who was left with a Party to guard it, oblig'd them to retire. That Lord with his two Brothers having his Quarters at *Douglas Castle* was kill'd by the firing of Powder in a Vault, either thro' the Neglect or Treache-

Scots Army. Montross heads the Covenanters.

Mem. Ch. Issue of a Battel, pass'd the River at Newburne in of Scot. the Face of a strong Body of the English Army, 191. King's Forces beaten by them. Vol. I. P. 145-Clar-wrong.

A.D. 1640. Treachery of a Page. *Whitlock* adds, there were about 20 more Knights and Gentlemen kill'd at the same time by the Stones which flew from the Vault. *Echard*, to increase the Judgment upon these *Presbyterians*, affirms there were 60 Gentlemen more suddenly blown up, and in a moment bury'd, so that they were never seen more; which tragical Event being reported at Court, the Royalists were not so moderate in their Censures as the King himself, who only said, *Tho' he has been very ungrateful to me, yet I am sorry he had not some time to repent.* Of what? Of profaning the Sabbath, taking away Mens Money and Goods by Violence, of worshipping Images, of Oppression and Superstition. What is the Earl of *Haddington* to repent of? Swearing, Cursing, Wantonness, Riot, or any of the Vices of King *James's* Court. Or is he to repent of the Reform'd Religion, Liberty and Property, and of taking Arms to defend them?

Tho' there is very little Business done Civil or Military, the two Armies remaining very quiet, the Scots expecting the Effects of Lord *Saville's* pretended Invitation, and the English being discourag'd as well by the Cause as the Disgrace at *Newburne*; yet the Archdeacon will have the Earl of *Strafford* to be the great Spring which moves this very little Machine. He arriv'd at *Durham* labouring under the Dregs of Sickness, and inflam'd and exasperated at the late Dishonour. My Lord *Conway* was highly blam'd by him, and the Soldiers having been rude to the Churches, he retir'd to the Skirts of *Yorkshire*. Which in common Language is, he had heard of the Rout at *Newburne*, that the Scots were coming to *Durham*, and he got into *Yorkshire* as fast as he cou'd, carrying with him the great Spring that mov'd the military and civil Machine.

Scots in England.

The Scots lik'd their new Quarters at *Newcastle* and *Durham* extremely well. They had good Fires, Store of Provisions, and good Lodging; for which the County of *Northumberland* and Bishoprick of *Durham* were cess'd 850 l. a Day. From *Newcastle* they sent a Petition to the King, in the Name of the Lords of the last Parliament, and others his Majesty's loyal Subjects of *Scotland*, complaining of their Grievances in general; for Relief whereof they were constrain'd to come without Prejudice to the People of *England*, till they were by Arms oppos'd Passage at *Newburne*; and now present themselves to his Majesty's Goodness for Satisfaction of their full Demands, and Repair of their Losses and Wrongs with the Advice of the Parliament to be conven'd". The King by the Earl of *Lanerick* his Secretary return'd Answer, that he expected their particular Demands, and commanded them to advance no farther. The old Air again: They were likely to obey his Command, when they wou'd not obey his Army. *Whitlock*, who was too wise to have mention'd such a Command had there really been any such given, tells us, he answer'd, he had summon'd the Peers of *England* to meet at *York*, where their Demands shou'd be taken into Consideration. Three Days after the Scots sent their particular Demands. 1. The publishing their late Acts of Parliament. 2. The repairing *Edinburgh Castle* and Forts of *Scotland* for their Defence. 3. The Scots to be no where press'd with Oaths contrary to the Covenant. 4. Incendiaries to be punish'd. 5. Ships and Goods to be restor'd, and Damages made good. 6. Wrongs, Losses and Charges repair'd. 7. Proclamations as Traytors to be recall'd. 8. Garrisons to be remov'd from the Borders. 9. The Parliament of *England* to meet as soon as possible. The Court Politicians must not be very politick, if they did not see plainly that the Scots insisting on the convening a Parliament in *England* was the Effect of some Agreement with their English Friends; and indeed the latter shew'd something like it by a Petition which was

deliver'd to the King about the same time, complaining, 1. "Of the wasting of the Revenue and illegal Taxes. 2. Innovations in Religion. 3. Increase of Popery. 4. The Design to bring in Irish Forces. 5. Prosecutions about Ship-Money. 6. Monopolies. 7. The great Grief of the Subjects by long Intermiissions of Parliament, and the late and former Dissolutions. To remedy which, they pray that a Parliament may be summon'd, and the War compos'd without Blood." This Petition was sign'd by the Earls of *Bedford*, *Essex*, *Mulgrave*, *Hertford*, *Warwick*, *Bolingbroke*, *Bristol*, the Lords *Say* and *Sele*, *Howard*, *Mandeville*, *Brooke*, *Paget*. The King's Answer was, he had summon'd a Meeting of the Peers at *York* the 24th of *September*, where they with the rest might offer any thing. Two of these Petitioners, the Earls of *Essex* and *Hertford*, being about to take their Journey to *York*, waited on her Majesty, and took occasion to represent to her the sad Condition to which the King and Kingdom were reduc'd, and that they saw no possible Means other than a Parliament whereby to repair the State. On their Expostulations they prevail'd with her to write to the King, and move him to summon a Parliament. They carry'd this Letter with them to *York*, and presenting it to his Majesty privately, it is suppos'd to have had more Influence upon him than the Advice of the Peers who met by his Summons. The Citizens of *London* sent him a Petition much to the same Effect as the Lords Petition before-mention'd, and it had much the same Answer.

A.D. 1640: Keybold.

Queen writes to the King for a Parliament.

The Scots in the mean time made their Quarters good, and were justly complain'd of for overdoing it, contrary to the wise Counsel in Lord *Saville's* Letter. They seiz'd four great Ships loaden with Corn, and levy'd the Asseltment on Pain of plundering. The War, says *Whitlock*, being begun with the Scots, it put many Men to think on a Posture of Defence for themselves, and to a Provision of Arms. The Discourses of the Scottish War were very various. Those who favour'd the Popish and Prelatical Ways did sufficiently inveigh against the Covenanters, but generally the rest of the People favour'd and approv'd their Proceedings, &c. *Echard* learnt of the Lord *Clarendon* to represent the Scots as Enemies to *England*; whereas in truth they were only Enemies to *Land*, *Strafford*, and the Instruments of their Tyranny; and whatever the Court and Priesthood said to the contrary, the Generality of the Kingdom were Well-wishers to them and their Cause.

Scots favour'd by the English.

The Earl of *Clarendon* wonders that the Courtiers shou'd pretend Necessity for levying Ship-Money without Consent of Parliament when there was no War; and now when their Enemy had invaded them, and the Necessity was apparent, they shou'd proceed in the dilatory way of raising Money by Parliament. This Argument has no more Weight in it than most of the rest in the History of the Rebellion. See what a learned Lawyer says upon Ach. 411: it, "This Argument of the noble Historian had been very reasonable, if the Premises on which 'tis built had been probable. For if the Scots had as Enemies invaded *England*, and had come to destroy and enslave this Nation, the People wou'd have chas'd them home as Invaders. But the REVERSE was the Case. I have frequently observ'd, that the History of the Rebellion and the Archdeacon's History are the REVERSE of the Case. "The Scots came as Friends to save and rescue *England*, as well as *Scotland*, from under the bitter Pressures and Sufferings which griev'd both, by the means only of a free Parliament; and therefore they knew that *England* wou'd by its Parliament do the Business of the Scots, and of those who had corresponded with them for that Purpose; wherefore 'tis probable, that

A.D. 1640 " that if the King had declar'd he would have no Parliament till the Scots were retir'd, a general REVOLT had ensu'd." This is to write and think soberly. But let the Reader judge what sober thinking and writing there are in the *History of the Rebellion*, and its excellent Copy. If the King had march'd directly against the Scots, after some exemplary Justice and Disgrace on the chief Officers, to raise more Discontent among the Soldiers, he would speedily have dispossest them of their new Conquests, and forc'd them to run back distract-ed into their own Country. Can any thing be more puerile? They would not only have run away, they would also have run mad. The Truth is, those evil Counsellors, who had been the Authors of all the Evils complain'd of, and cou'd expect nothing but condign Punishment from the Parliament, were in the right to chuse rather to fall by the Hands of the Scots, than by the Hands of the Hangman. *Echard* informs us, " *Strafford* was the only Man whose Advice was of any Credit with the King, and thought there was but one Way, and that not proper to be heard in Council, which was to drive the Scots out of the Kingdom by the English Army." And then comes the only heroick Action which we read of this Hero: He sent Major Smith with a Party of Horse, who defeated two or three Troops of Scots Horse in the Bishoprick, and made it appear that the Kingdom might be freed from the rest, if it were vigorously pursu'd. The Treaty was then a-foot at Rippon, and General *Lesley* complain'd he had forbore any such Attempt out of respect to it. Major Smith was a Papist, and glad enough to fall on the Scots, when, as they thought, their Hands were ty'd by the Treaty; however the King cou'd not decently approve of this Breach of it, and therefore was prevail'd with, says the Archdeacon, to restrain his General from giving any more such Orders. These Men have the pleasantest Way of writing that can be imagin'd. One would think the Earl of *Strafford* and Major Smith would have driven the Scots Army over the *Grampian* Mountains, if the King would but have said the Word; whereas it is the quite contrary in true Histories: " The King and his *Laudian* Army being retreated after the Action of *Newburn*, it is impossible to express the Consternation they were in. The Scots Army being advanced to *Durham*, were now entire Masters of England: If they had pleas'd to advance, nothing cou'd have stood before them. They were entirely possess'd of all the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Durham*, and began to extend themselves towards the West; and as they receiv'd daily Supplies of Men from *Scotland*, they would in six Days more have been possess'd of *Westmorland* and *Lancashire*, there being no Forces to oppose them but at *York*, and these under the terrible Apprehension of being attack'd by our whole Army, which God and a just Quarrel being on the Scots Side, they were in no Condition to oppose." This Author understands the State of England to be then divided and broken, and the much greater Part of the People to be ready to receive the Scots with open Arms; or he would talk wildly in saying they were Masters of England.

We have been told of the King's hearkening to the Earl of *Strafford* more than to any other Counsellor; and of the Earl's Counsel to drive the Scots out of England Sword in hand; we have hinted that his Courage was probably animated by his Hatred and Fear of that Nation: For, as *Larrey* writes, " He had been six Years preparing to reduce Scotland under the arbitrary Power of the King and the Archbishop; at least his Enemies had that Opinion of him; and these were a great Part of England, and all Scotland entire. He had rais'd the Jealousy of some, the Fear of others, and the Hatred of all except Dr. *Laud*." At the same

Time they accus'd him of being the Incendiary, &c. A.D. 1640

On the 24th of September the Peers assembled at *York*, and his Majesty made a Speech to them, in which he ask'd their Advice how he might chastise the Scots; the high Tone still, how he shou'd answer the Petition of the REBELS; and which was the chief Thing of all, how he might maintain the Army till the Parliament, which he had summon'd to meet the 3d of November, cou'd assemble. The Duke of *Buckingham* had the Credit of calling one Parliament, the Earl of *Strafford* of calling another; and now his Majesty tells them the Queen had advis'd him to call this. Tho' such Politicks are not deep, yet they are well-design'd to take off the Odium of the People from the Person that is intended by it. The Lord *Lowdon* attended at *York* to support the Petition of the Scots with his Arguments and Interest, and perhaps also to confer with the Lords whose Names were to the forg'd Letter, and who were all there. The Earl of *Traquair* said, the Scots petition'd for Things which subverted the King's Prerogative and Dignity, and were detrimental to his Profit. *Whitlock* tells us that " after several Meetings and Debates, a Messenger was sent from the King and Lords to the Scots Army, to give Notice to them that on Tuesday next sixteen of the English Lords shou'd meet as many Scotch Lords at *York* to treat of the Differences." The Scots refus'd to treat at *York* so long as the Earl of *Strafford* commanded there, as a Place where their Commissioners would not be safe, *Strafford* having threaten'd to destroy them; and they having high Matters of Complaint against him; which shew'd plainly enough that *Wentworth* had every Thing to fear from the Resentment of that injur'd Nation: Yet he knew so well the Obstinacy of his Master in protecting his Minions, that he did not fly for it, which he might easily have done and have escap'd. Commissioners for the Treaty were appointed on both Sides, and the Town of *Rippon* to be the Place, the Day the first of October. The English Commissioners were, the Earl of *Hertford*, Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Bristol*, Earl of *Berkshire*, Lord *Viscount Mandeville*, Lord *Dunsmore*, Lord *Whar-ton*, Lord *Paget*, Lord *Brook*, Lord *Saville*, Lord *Porwlet*, Lord *Howard* of *Escrick*. The Scots Commissioners were, *Charles* Earl of *Dumferlin*, *John* Lord *Lowdon*, *Sir Patrick Hepburn*, *Sir William Douglas*, *Mr. Smith* Bailiff of *Edinburgh*, *Mr. Wedderburn*, *Mr. Henderson* and *Mr. Johnston*, Ministers. To these were added afterwards *John* Earl of *Rothes*, *Hugh Kennedy* Burgefs of *Aird*, *William Drummond* of *Riccarton*.

The reverend Historian intimates, that the Scots Commissioners were of inferior Quality to the English; and *Larrey* gives the Scots some other Advantage in the room of it: They were Persons of greater Capacity and Eloquence. They knew how to speak with that Energy, that they made themselves Masters of the Heart; and when they had done that, they soon became Masters of the Mind. During the Treaty a great Complaint was made to the English Commissioners, that *Meldrum*, General *Lesley's* Secretary, had said that the Scots were invited into England by the great English Lords. We have shewn what Sort of an Invitation it was; but the Scots Noblemen had all the Reason in the world to think it genuine. *Meldrum* however found he had babbled to much, and deny'd the Words which two Witnesses offer'd to swear he said. But his Denial was taken for Satisfaction, and the Matter hush'd up. Almost all the Lords Commissioners on the English Side were either those whose Names were to the forg'd Letter, or those who had otherwise encourag'd the Scots to undertake this Expedition; and those of them whose Names were to the Letter coming to no *Eclaircissement* with the Lord *Lowdon* upon the Subject of it, nor taking

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A.D. 1640. taking the least Notice of it; but on the contrary arguing very much for ending this great Affair by Treaty, not by Arms, which was contrary to what was written in that Letter; and the Earl of *Rothes* and the Lord *Lowdon* taking an Opportunity to put them in mind of it, and the Disagreement between their Writing and their Discourse, the *English* Lords were surpriz'd to hear them talk of Writing; and expressing their Surprize to the *Scots*, the latter told them of the Letter they had received from them, which the *English* assur'd them they had never sign'd; and the Lord *Lowdon* afterwards producing it, the Lords whose Names and Hands were counterfeited, discover'd the Imposture, not by the Dissimilitude of Hand-writing, for every one of those Lords, as we have observ'd, acknowledg'd they cou'd not swear that they had not written those Names, tho' they cou'd swear they never sign'd such a Letter, to the Contents of which they own'd they had agreed in Conference; and since the Consequence of the *Scots* Entrance into *England* was like to prove so advantageous to both Nations, they wou'd not then enquire into the Forgery, which was own'd afterwards by the Lord *Saville*, who glory'd in it as a publick Service to both, at the same Time that he discover'd the whole Correspondence between the *English* and *Scottish* Lords to the King, inform'd him of this very Letter as genuine, gave him a Copy of it, and, as is before hinted, advis'd his Majesty to prosecute the pretended inviting Lords and Gentlemen for High-Treason; which was one of the main Instigations that put the King on that fatal Step of entering the Parliament-House with an arm'd Force, and demanding the five Members, who as well as the Lords were accus'd of holding Intelligence with the *Scots*, and were not accus'd wrongfully. The Lord *Wariston* some time after, at the Request of the Lords whose Names was to the forg'd Letter, cut them out all, and gave them each to the Lord to whom it belong'd. Thus they are now wanting to the original Letter, but some Words of it that were forc'd to be cut out with the Names, were first carefully preserv'd.

The Earl of *Strafford* did what he cou'd to have the Treaty at *Rippon* broken off; but how he wou'd have carry'd on the War, does not any where appear, nor can one conceive what shou'd inspire him with such Counsel but Despair. The *English* Commissioners were the first who propos'd a Cessation of Arms, to which the *Scots* reply'd, *As they wou'd obey the King's Command not to advance, so they cou'd not return till they had effected their Business.* At length the Commissioners on both Sides agreed to that Cessation, to the Contribution of 850l. a-day, the River *Tees* to be the Bounds of both Armies, private Insolencies to be no Breach of Treaty; and the rest of their Demands to be debated at *London* when the Parliament sat, which was now to be in two or three Weeks. The Earl of *Pembroke* was sent to *London* to borrow 20000 Pounds of the City, and the Citizens were so well pleas'd with this Accommodation, that they readily lent it, to be repaid out of the first Money given by Parliament. The Earl of *Rothes* and two or three more were added to the *Scots* Commissioners, who were to reside at *London*, where, says Mr. *Echard*, they were feasted, presented, and even idoliz'd by all Sorts of People, who were sensible that the approaching Parliament was owing to their Demand of it. "Many wonder'd, and some inveigh'd against this Treaty, wishing the King wou'd have put it rather to the Issue of a Battel, than to have given such Terms to his Subjects in Rebellion; and of this Judgment was *Strafford* and the Episcopal Party. But the other Party cry'd up this Treaty as just, honourable, and pious, to prevent Effusion of Blood, and to settle Peace. The King saw plainly that both divers Officers of the Army, and even the private Sol-

"diers generally, which was a remarkable Inclination, had no mind to fight with the *Scots.*" *Acherley* goes farther, *It was found that the Army and Country were more incens'd against the Lord *Strafford* than against the *Scots*, therefore the Lord *Saville* concluded *Strafford* cou'd not last long. Upon this he heartily deserted his Party, and discover'd to the King the grand Invitation, as he represented it, producing a Copy of the Engagement; it thoud be the Letter; but this Copy being written in *Saville's* own Hand, cou'd be no Evidence. The King seem'd greatly oblig'd, and privately committed to the Lord *Strafford* the CARE of improving the Intelligence in order to impeach the INVITERS. His Majesty for this Service promis'd to make *Saville* President of the North in case *Strafford* was remov'd; and he did afterwards make him Earl of *Suffex*, tho' had it not been for his Quality, the Forgery he was guilty of, wou'd have deserv'd another sort of Advancement.*

It was about this Time that the Earl of *Montross*, being grown weary of the Covenanters, or they weary of him, wrote privately to the King to offer his Service. *Whitlocke* says, *Hamilton* found Means to have this Letter stolen out of the King's Pocket, a Copy of which was sent to the covenanting Lords, who made the proper Use of it. Thus we see *Saville* makes his Court by a double Treachery, by deceiving first the *Scots*, and then the King; and *Montross* makes his by Perjury, by renouncing the Covenant he had most solemnly sworn. It cannot be said the latter proceeded from Conviction of the Justice of the Prelatical Cause; for the Spirit of the *Laudean* Prelates are still the same, and the Government has not taken one Measure to shew it will be better for the future. We have now a very doleful Account of the Consequence of removing the Treaty to *London*; The *Scots* Commissioners went to Meeting-Houses, and the Presbyterian Ministers flock'd from all Quarters of the Kingdom unto the City, as if they were to convert an unsanctify'd Heathen Nation. The Commissioners Lodgings were visited as Repositories of Divine Truths, and they were look'd upon as Angels of Light. Tho' this tasteless insipid Raillery is too good to be the Author's own, and is stolen from *Heylin*, *Warwick*, or some such witty Historian, yet it has too much Buffoonry in it to become the Gravity of History. When one has to do with Folly and Knavery, Simplicity and Impudence, 'tis impossible to avoid being merry or angry; and I confess I have sometimes prefer'd Mirth to Indignation, which I doubt will incur Censure, tho' one wou'd think the Reader shou'd be as willing to be kept in good Humour as the Writer. But I hope I shall be allow'd to be as merry with Knavery and Folly, as these Historians are with *Angels of Light*, *Divine Truths*, the Conversion of Heathens and Men of unsanctify'd Lives. For these are the Jests with which they divert themselves and those Readers who are capable of being diverted with Dulness and Grimace. Then he tells us what these *Angels of Light* said, *Episcopacy was run down as tyrannical, the Rules of the Church as Superstition, and bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, had a Book written against it, with no less a Title than *Jesus-Worship confuted.** 'Tis a very common Thing with these Gentlemen when they are wittily dispos'd, to make foolish Titles for Books, and father them on those they wou'd blacken, but they always over-do it; and the Folly is so extravagant, that it appears presently to be their own, We wou'd have done with Archbishop *Laud* if Mr. *Echard* wou'd let us, but he is so often flourishing with him, that we are tempted to follow his Example: He was the most vigorous Supporter of the Protestant Religion, and the Papists were in a Plot against both the King and him; upon which it will not be expected we shou'd make any Remarks.

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Montross
apostatizés

Ech. 483.

Whit.

Whit. 35.

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Parliament was the only Remedy for the Evils the People groan'd under, but the same reverend Author affirms, That the meeting of the Parliament was the Occasion of all the Calamities which made the Times dark and dismal; that they were chosen by the Management of Mr. Pym and five or six other Gentlemen; that Mr. Hampden went once a Year to Scotland to confirm the Brethren there; and that Mr. Pym rode up and down in England to promote the good Cause; that the Conspirators met at the Houses of the Lord Say in Oxfordshire, Mr. Knightley in Northamptonshire, and other Gentlemens Houses, where they form'd a Scheme, the Foundation of which was, that *all Empire is founded in Property*. All which, and a great deal more, relating as much to the History of the Moon as to that of England, is to be put among other Dreams of that Historian and his admirable Originals. Our learned Lawyer opens the Scene otherwise; "And now the memorable Parliament, whose Acts and Proceedings in restoring the Nation to its Rights and Liberties, and hereditary Privileges, that was the only Scheme those worthy Patriots form'd, will appear surprizing as long as the Monuments of History remain." He does not mean the Earl of Clarendon's or Mr. Echard's Monuments: "For this Parliament did in some Sort resemble the Proceedings of that Parliament which one hundred Years before had by dissolving the Monasteries, restor'd to the Nation its antient Freedom, Riches, and Power." The next good Thing the reverend Historian tells us, is how this Parliament was chosen, and what Character the Members of it had. By which it is hoped we may be excus'd taking Notice of any other Characters of his, tho' slavish Copies of the Earl of Clarendon's, whose Pictures are all as much Originals as any Pictures can be when the Persons never sate for them. The Party exclaim'd against the Nomination of any belonging to his Majesty's Service. A very hard Case indeed, that those who were to be punish'd for their High-Crimes and Misdemeanours, were not nominated for Members of that Parliament whose chief Business was to punish them: They gave Votes for Men of the new Religion. The Lord Wicquesfort, to whom they have no Name nor Character to oppose, has told us, that Rosetti's and Laud's was the new Religion which they were then about to introduce: But the Archdeacon means the Reform'd Religion. Notorious Opposers of the King or the Clergy were elected; he means arbitrary Power and the High-Commission-Court. Thus divers Citizens and Lawyers were chosen Members for those Corporations that never so much as heard of them. He probably means Mr. Rolle a Merchant of London, who was chosen for Kellington in Cornwall, where his Family was in the first Distinction; and shou'd have meant Mr. Edward Hyde of the Middle-Temple, who was chosen for Saltash in the same County, where he had not a Foot of Land nor a Penny Property. These and many other uncommon Practices were us'd to defeat the King's Friends, who for twelve Years had been industriously employ'd in destroying those Rights and Liberties which the Parliament was to vindicate, recover, and re-establish. It is common with the Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Echard, to charge those whom they write against, with the very Crimes and Offences which those they write for were only guilty of. We have seen what they say of those great and excellent Men Mr. Pym and Mr. Hampden's riding about at this Time; and the real Truth is, what we are told by others, the Courtiers got the King and Queen's Letters to Counties, and Earls, Lords, and Gentlemen to ride up and down to all Parts of the Kingdom to make Parties for them, but to no Purpose. Mr. Echard again; "The Puritans for Number cou'd not make above a third Part of the House

Ach. 410.

of Commons." If I had not had the List before me, which proves this to be an egregious Fal-
 sity, what Whitlocke writes wou'd be more than sufficient to do it, and confirm what is above cited. "The Court labour'd to bring in their Friends; but those who were most favour'd at Court, had least Respect in the Country; and it was not a little strange to see what a Spirit of Opposition to Court-Proceedings was in the Hearts and Actions of most People; so that very few of that Party had the Favour to be chosen Members of Parliament." Mr. Archdeacon assures us they were above two Thirds. 'Tis great Pity so large and so florid a History as that of Clarendon, shou'd be of no more Use to an Historian, who can scarce look upon it with Safety. The Misrepresentation and Glosses are sometimes so handsomely set out, that they are apt to mislead Readers, as Travellers are misled by wand'ring Lights and glittering Vapours. The Author of the History of the Rebellion complains there were not many Lawyers fit to be Speakers; tho' we find Serjeant Glanville, Serjeant Creswell, Serjeant Fountain, Serjeant Maynard, Serjeant Wild afterwards Lord Chief Baron, John Vaughan Esq; aftward Lord Chief-Justice of England, Bulstrode Whitlocke Esq; afterwards Lord-Commissioner of the Great-Seal, Sir Robert Holburn, John Selden Esq; John Glyn Esq; Edmund Prideaux Esq; Oliver St. John Esq; Edward Bagshaw Esq; John White Esq; Sir Thomas Widdrington afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons, Francis Rouse Esq; afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons, and several others, Men of the greatest Eminence in the Law: But the Way of Lord Clarendon is to render those whom he opposes Objects of Contempt, and then by the Comparison he heightens the Characters of those whom he extols. The Gentlemen who are not in his good Graces, continu'd their Artifices after the House met, but most at the Committee of Elections, to turn out Laud's and Strafford's Friends, and bring in more sanctify'd Members: Their Wit is never to be exhausted. It overflows again, and so it will do as often as true Religion comes in their Way.

The Parliament which dissolv'd the Monasteries, having met on the 3d of November an hundred Years before, the Archbishop was advis'd to put off the meeting of this Parliament to another Day lest it shou'd be ominous; and after the Example of those who were so wicked as to unsock the Friars, this Assembly shou'd unsurplice the Vicars and Curates. I wonder it was not done, for a very little Thing turns their Heads; but the Archbishop was too well assur'd of his Majesty's Zeal to fear any Omen: And besides it does not appear in his Diary, that among so many Dreams he dream'd once against the third of November; so the Lords and Commons then met, and the King made a Speech to them, which the reverend Historian does not approve of, because it had not that Spirit in it which was in his former Speeches; by which we see how much this meek Divine was enamour'd with that imperious Manner so disagreeable to the Condition of Freemen. Mr. Acherley speaks of it reasonably, His Majesty, as if he had been the only Stranger to the general Sense of the Nation, arraign'd the Scots as REBELS, and with Warmth represented to the Lords and Commons, that their primary and principal Consideration ought to be to raise Money and Force to chase these REBELS out of England. I am really in the greatest Astonishment, when I consider that at a Juncture when there were as many wise and able Men in the Nation as ever were call'd to Council, such Heads as were about the King cou'd be cull'd out to have the Administration: There is not only an uncommon Deficiency of Understanding, but of Modesty: For these Counsellors knew that the Generality of the People

Long Parliament.

III Counsels.

A.D. 1640. ple were so far from looking on the Scots as Traitors; that they thought them their Deliverers, and lov'd them as their Brethren, and so stil'd them in their most solemn Discourses; yet did they suffer the King to call them *Rebels*, and to demand them to drive them away before their Deliverance was accomplish'd. If the Courtiers knew any Thing, they cou'd not but know this Parliament had never met if the Scots had never enter'd *England*; and the Parliament knew as well that they shou'd be sent home again as soon as the Scots left the Kingdom; yet nothing less wou'd content the Rage of *Laud* and his Accomplices, than the Term *REBELS*, so madly they drove to Destruction; which is observ'd by Mr. *Acherley* and other grave Writers. "This Speech alarm'd the Lords and Commons, who had given Encouragement to the Scots; for they very well understood that that Invasion was the very Cause of their being now assembled, and the Continuance of the Scots Army in *England*, was the only Means to secure and continue them sitting, that they might without abrupt Dissolution, have Time to redress their Grievances, and punish the State Malefactors. I think Mr. *Acherley* gives them their right Name, and that they deserve it much more than those who have their Punishment at Tyburn. They were sensible enough that if they shou'd chase out the Scots, they shou'd themselves soon after be chas'd out of Doors, and sent home to grieve and suffer as they had done many Years; and therefore did the People mourn at the King's calling the Scots *REBELS*: Yet his Majesty disdaining to mitigate or recede, went two or three Days after to the House of Peers, and in a Speech to them, avow'd the calling the Scots *REBELS*, and repeated and press'd his former Commands to chase them as such out of *England*, tho' this Speech was a direct Breach of the Treaty of *Rippon*, now adjourn'd to *London*." The Lord-Keeper *Finch*'s Harangue after the King's Speech, is the grossest Piece of Flattery which ever Monarch stood the hearing of in Presence of a whole Nation. Mr. *Echard* avers, He gave a full and satisfactory Account of the Scots Invasion, with all the threatening Dangers that attended so formidable an Appearance. 'Tis evident enough that these impartial Historians do not know what they are about. The People of *England* in general had not the least Apprehension of Danger from the Encampment of the Scots in *Northumberland*; nor was that Army formidable to any one Englishman but to *Finch* himself, *Laud*, *Strafford*, and the other Malefactors spoken of by Mr. *Acherley*.

Malifactors.

The Commons chose *William Lenthall* Esq; a Bencher and Reader of *Lincoln's Inn*, to be their Speaker; the King had intended *Sir Thomas Gardner* Recorder of *London* for that Post, but he cou'd get no Place to chuse him a Member of Parliament. The Lord *Clarendon* intimates that he stood for *London* and lost it. I can hardly think he did stand, for there was not the least likelihood that a Court Lawyer, who had been a Favourer of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, &c. shou'd be chosen at the same Time that Mr. *Samuel Vassal* was elected for *London*, who had been cruelly persecuted and plunder'd for refusing to pay that Tax till the King had any Right to demand it, which he had not till it was given him by Parliament.

In two Days time the House of Commons settled their Committees of all Kinds, and spent the following two or three Days in receiving Petitions from all the Counties of *England*, and from particular Persons who had been oppress'd at the Council-Board, in the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commission* Court, or otherwise. *Arthur Capel* Esq; presented the Petition for *Hertfordshire*, *Sir John Packington* that for *Worcestershire*, *Sir John Colepepyr* that for *Kent*, *Sir Philip Musgrave* that for *Westmorland*; that for *Wilts* was presented by *Sir Francis Seymour*.

Knights of Shires presented Petitions.

whom I mention on Account of their deserting this Cause afterwards, as it had been deserted before by *Saville*, *Wentworth*, and most of these did it for the same Reason as *Capel*, *Colepepyr*, *Seymour*, tho' Mr. *Capel* was forc'd to give Money too into the Bargain. *Turner*, one of the Farmers of the Customs, having for some secret Service obtain'd the Nomination of a Baron, he dispos'd of it to Mr. *Capel* for 10000 Pounds, for which he was created Lord *Capel of Hadham*; but when the Money came to be paid, the King took it himself, and gave it to the Queen-Mother *Mary de Medicis*, to pay for her Transportation when the Parliament began to murmur at her Stay in *England*. The Lord *Fairfax* presented the *Yorkshire* Petition, *Sir John Wray* that of *Lincolnshire*, *Sir Thomas Barrington* that for *Essex*, *Sir Edmund Montfort* that for *Norfolk*, *William Pierrepont* Esq; that for *Shropshire*, *Sir Hugh Cholmley*, *Sir Anthony Irby*, and divers other Knights and Burgessees did the like for other Shires and Boroughs. But those Gentlemen were constant to their Principles, and almost all of them assented to the last the Rights and Liberties of the People. *Sir John Clotworthy* a Member of Parliament in *Ireland*, was chosen for this in *England*, and in a long Speech set forth the Grievances which the *Irish* Protestants complain'd of under the Administration of the Earl of *Stratford*, who carry'd Tyranny with him wherever he went; for we are not in the least to heed what is said of his mild Government in *Clarendon* and *Echard*. *Sir John Temple* Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, a wise and virtuous Man, complains of the sharp Humours rais'd by *Wentworth*'s rigid Government, and of the Exorbitancies, so bitterly decry'd in Parliament, at the Council-Table there when he was Deputy; accordingly several Petitions were now deliver'd in against him preparatory to his Punishment.

Reyhold.

Strafford's Tyranny.

On the 14th of November Petitions were presented in behalf of *Dr. Leighton*, *William Prymme* Esq; *Dr. Bastwick*, *Mr. Burton*, and *Mr. Lilburne*; and the House order'd *Mr. Prymme*, *Dr. Bastwick*, and *Mr. Burton*, to be sent for from their Goals in *Guernsey* and *Jersey*. They conceiv'd so great Horror at the Barbarities *Dr. Leighton* had suffer'd by *Laud*'s Procurement, that as has been observ'd, their Clerk was bid to stop before the Petition was read thro'; that Christian and Protestant Assembly cou'd not bear the Sentence repeated which Archbishop *Laud* pronounced. The Complaints and Petitions touching Grievances, were so numerous, that the whole House was divided and subdivided into above forty Committees, to hear and examine them; but the main were reducible to these four general Heads.

1. "Committees concerning Religion, Innovations in the Church, and Grievances by Ecclesiastical Courts.
2. "Committees concerning Publick Affairs in general, and particularly concerning *Ireland* and *Scotland*.
3. "Other Committees were relating to *Shipp*, *Money*, *Judges*, and Courts of Justice.
4. "Committees concerning *Popery*, the *Papish* Hierarchy, the *Pope's Nuncio*, &c.

These Committees were pursuant to the Speeches and Motions of *Mr. Pym*, *Sir Benjamin Rudyard*, *Mr. Bagshaw*, *Sir John Holland*, all on the 7th of November. *Sir Benjamin Rudyard* enlarg'd upon *Laud*'s superstitious Innovations, *Mr. Pym* upon the illegal and violent Ways of extorting Money from the People, on the Breach of parliamentary Privileges, the abrupt Dissolutions and Interruption of Parliaments, the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commission* Court, and the ambitious and corrupt Clergy preaching divine Authority and absolute Power in Kings. *Mr. Bagshaw*, the same Gentleman whom *Laud* got to be silenc'd when he was Reader of the *Temple*, said, My Soul has bled for the wrong Presures

Sir Benj. Rudyard. Mr. Pym.

Mr. Bagshaw.

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A.D. 1640. *ures I have observ'd in the High-Commission, and other Ecclesiastical Courts, especially for the monstrous Abuse of the Oath Ex Officio, which as it is now used, I can call no other than Carnificina Conscientiæ. He instanc'd in a Knight of a Shire, who was prosecuted five Years in a Spiritual Court, for putting on his Hat in Sermon-Time. Do such Things want Aggravation?*

Spiritual Courts.

That there are a sort of Priesthood who still wou'd set these infamous Courts at work to vex oppress and ruin their honest conscientious Neighbours, one may conclude by a late Instance of a certain Curate, who having taken Offence against a Member of a Corporation for his Loyalty to his late Majesty, lodg'd a Prosecution against him in one of those vile Courts, in the Name of the Church-Wardens of the Parish, who knew nothing of the Matter. The Offender's Crime was laying down an aking Head on his Arm, in Time of a very dull Sermon. But what was still worse than the Malice of this Prosecution, he made the two Church-wardens afterwards swear to the Fact, and that they put in the Information to which their Names had been put; one of them, an ignorant Fellow, did it very readily, and has yet no Sense of his Sin, but the other has a deep Impression of it in an honest Mind, the Peace of which is like to be disturb'd by it as long as he lives.

Sir John Holland.

This Digression cannot be unseasonable on a Subject which was so well handled in this Parliament; and it is in order to have it remember'd, if ever it shou'd be handled there again.

Sir John Holland spoke for removing the Scottish Army with a soft and gentle Hand of Mediation and Reconciliation. The only way to reconcile them to the Government, was to restore their Religion, and Rights; and if they wou'd not have remov'd then, they wou'd soon have been chas'd away, as his Majesty so earnestly desir'd: But there was no fear of that.

Lord Digby.

The Lord Digby, who had not yet made a Bargain with the Court, strenuously vindicated those Liberties for which he traffick'd with them afterwards. He said warmly and eloquently, "It is true, Mr. Speaker, the County of Dorset has not digested its Complaints into the formal way of Petition, which others I see have done, but have entrusted them to my Partners and my Delivery of them by word of Mouth. There was given in to us in the County-Court, the Day of our Election, a short Memorial of the Heads of them, which we read in the Hearing of the Freeholders present, who all unanimously with one Voice, signify'd upon each Particular, that it was their Desire we should represent them to the Parliament, which with your Leave I shall do; and these are, 1. The great and intolerable Burthen of Ship-Money: 2. The many Abuses in pressing of Soldiers, and raising Monies: 3. The multitude of Monopolies: 4. The new Canons and Oath: 5. The Oath requir'd to be taken by Church Officers, &c. And to shew that the pious Orthodox Clergy were not much better us'd by Laud, than those he call'd Schismatical, the Lord Digby told the Parliament, he had a Note deliver'd him by the Clergy of that Diocese, complaining of the Imposition of a new Oath, which they conceive to be illegal, and of a pretended Benevolence, but in Effect a Subsidy to be paid by them, under Penalty of Suspension, Excommunication, and Deprivation: He said farther, *The Oath is a Covenant against the King, for Bishops and the Hierarchy, and so much the worse than the Scottish Covenant, as they admit not of the Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and we are sworn to it.* I cannot omit a handsome Turn of his upon the Lord Keeper's Rhetorical Harangue, "It hath been a Metaphor frequent in Parliament, and if my Memory fail me not, was made use of in the Lord Keeper's Speech, *That what*

Against Laud's Clergy.

Monies Kings rais'd from their Subjects, they were A.D. 1640: but as Vapours drawn from the Earth by the Sun, to be distill'd upon it again in fructifying Showers: The Comparison, Mr. Speaker, hath held of late Years in this Kingdom too unluckily, what hath been rais'd from the Subject by those violent Attractions, hath been formed, it is true, into Clouds: But how? To darken the Sun's own Lustre, and hath fallen again upon the Land only in Hailstones and Mildews, to batter and prostrate still more and more our Liberties, to blast and wither our Affections." He clos'd with a Motion for a Remonstrance against the late pernicious Counsels, and the Authors of them, that it shou'd be speedily drawn, and carry'd to the Lords for their Concurrence.

Remonstrance mov'd by Lord Digby.

Sir John Colepepyr compar'd the Monopolizers to Sir John Colepepyr. Mr. Harbottle Grimston had this Expression, "They begin to fay in Town, the Judges have overthrown the Laws, and the Bishops the Gospel."

Sir Edward Deering spoke much against the Archbishop of Canterbury, concluding thus, *I hope before the Year run round, his Grace will either have more Grace, or no Grace at all; for our manifold Grievs do fill a mighty and vast Circumference; yet so, that from every Part our Lines of Sorrow do lead to him, and point to him the Center, from whence our Miseries in this Church, and many of them in the Common-Wealth do flow.*

Sir Edward Deering. Laud the Center of all Evils.

Sir John Wray said, "No Man truly says, I am in Will and Heart resolv'd, unless according to his Ability, he endeavours to perform his Resolution; which to speak the Hearts of us all in this renown'd Senate, I am confident is fully fix'd for the true Reformation of all Disorders in Church or Religion, and upon the well uniting and close rejoining of the now dislocated Great Britain. The Lords and Commons petition'd for a general Fast, the Archbishop of Canterbury being one of the Lords who were order'd by the House of Peers to signify to his Majesty the Request of both Houses. A Committee was appointed to draw up the Remonstrance which the Lord Digby had mov'd, himself was Chairman; Sir John Strangeway, Sir John Colepepyr, Mr. Capel, Sir Francis Seymour, were of this Committee, as well as Mr. Selden, Mr. St. John, Sir Robert Harley, Sir John Clotworthy, &c. Thus we see that at the beginning of this Parliament, the most zealous Royalists were as loud against Grievances, as the most zealous Parliamentarians; and it is strange beyond Conception, that their Judgment should be convinc'd by a Civil War, in which they engag'd as soon as they left their first Party, to vindicate the Authors of those very Grievances. Sir William Widdrington, Knight of the Shire for Northumberland, speaking of the Scots, call'd them invading Rebels: The House taking Distaste at it, Captain Charles Price mov'd, that they wou'd give the Lovers Leave to speak, for Sir William's whole Estate was under the Scots Power; and the Knight, to explain himself, saying, he knew the Scots to be the King's Subjects, and wou'd no more call them Rebels, the House was satisfy'd.

Another wife Act of his Majesty's Counsellors, was the making one of them, the Lord Cottingham, Governor of the Tower, just when the Ears of the Parliament were dinn'd with Complaints of the Encouragement given to Papists: If that Lord was not then a profess'd Papist himself, he was a profess'd favourer of Popery. But King Charles's Court was ever full of the worst sort of Occasional Conformists, such as went to Church not so much for Places, as to make her a Sacrifice to Rome, as Weston, Windebank, Cornway, Digby, Cottingham, &c. Cottingham presently added 400 Men to the Garrison in the Tower, which giving Umbrage to the Parliament as well as City, his Majesty took off the

A.D. 1640. the Garison, and displac'd the Governour. The House of Commons expell'd all their Members who had been concern'd in Monopolies, and other unlawful Projects for raising Money, for which *Echard* reproaches them, as having no Precedent for such Expulsions: We are assur'd, *his own Words*, "they had no Power to exclude any Members from their Places, upon the account of false Elections, or any other Pretence whatsoever. Who could assure him this, which is so contrary to all Journals of Parliament before the present? It were to be wish'd he had not been so often misled by the like Information and Authority. Sir *William Beecher*, one of the Clerks of the Council, who had been very busy in searching the Studies and Pockets of the Earl of *Warwick*, Lord *Brook*, and other Lords and Commoners, was summon'd before the House of Peers, and by them committed to the *Fleet*, though, says *Echard*, he had a Warrant from Secretary *Windebank*, who is about to fly the Kingdom for that and other illegal Practices.

Strafford
impeach'd. Upon the 12th of *November*, a sudden Motion was made by Mr. *Pym*, for Leave to acquaint the House with something of the greatest Importance; wherefore he desir'd the Doors may be lock'd up; which being done, he told them several Persons had given Information, which gave Ground for the accusing *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* of High-Treason. The House appointed a Committee, the Lord *Digby*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Stroud*, Mr. *St. John*, to consider the Information, who reported that they found just Cause for it. While they were examining this Matter, Sir *John Brampton*, Lord Chief-Justice, and Judge *Forster*, brought a Message from the Lords concerning the *Scots* Treaty; which being understood to be done with Design to stop the other Business, the Commons answer'd, that the Affair of the Treaty must be deferr'd, while the weighty and important Business then in Agitation, was under Consideration. The Earl of *Strafford* was but just arriv'd from the Army when the Information against him was brought into the House. Some thought it strange that he ventur'd to come to Parliament, knowing that the *Scots* were resolv'd to accuse him as an *Incendiary*, and that the most leading Members of both Houses were ready to join with them. But we are told the King was positive for his coming, being in want of so able a Head, which the Earl cou'd not long keep upon his Shoulders. He had prepar'd Matters for an Impeachment against those Lords and Gentlemen who had encourag'd the *Scots* to march into *England*; but Mr. *Pym* was before-hand with him, and not many Hours after he arriv'd in *Town*, carry'd up to the House of Lords an Accusation of High-Treason against *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, and desir'd in the Name of the Commons of *England*, that he be immediately put in safe Custody; which, according to the Archdeacon, the Lords agreed to with Clamour, and committed him to the Custody of Mr. *Maxwell*, Usher of the Black-Rod. He tells us further, that the Commons resolv'd to make Sir *George Ratcliff*, his Friend and Confident, a Party in the Treason, to disable him to be a Witness for the Earl. He also accuses them of a breach of Privilege, in sending for Sir *George* out of *Ireland*, where he was a Member of Parliament; but he does not tell us he was impeach'd there of High-Treason, which *Audley Mervin*, Esq; said, in his Speech to the House of Lords there, transcended all former Treasons so much, as that the rest seem'd to be but petty Larcenies, in respect of *Ratcliff's*, the Lord *Strafford's* Friend and Confident. Mr. *Echard* adds, upon the Earl's being sent to the *Tower*, The Parliament hunted and pursid him with all the Marks of an insatiable Desire of his Blood; which is in Truth of Sentiment and Expression, they prosecu-

ted him strenuously, with a resolute Design to have Justice.

The House of Lords having had a Conference with the House of Commons about the Treaty of *Rippon*, the Commissioners for that Treaty now adjourn'd to *London*, were approv'd of by both Houses. Money being wanted to pay the King's Army, and relieve the Northern Counties, 100000 Pounds was voted to be borrow'd on the Security of some Members, who offer'd it; of which Mr. *Harrison*, a young Gentleman, a Member of the House, Son to Sir *John Harrison* of the *Custom-House*, voluntarily offer'd to advance 50000 Pounds upon that Security; which 50000 Pounds was sent to the *Scots* Army, who lay very heavy on *Northumberland*, and the *Bishoprick*. The Archdeacon copying after Bishop *Gutbry*, his Originals are incomparable, calls it a Present, and adds, 'twas to be altogether without Prejudice to the 850 Pounds a Day formerly appointed them; whereas the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Durham*, which paid that Contribution, were voted to be exempt from their Proportion of the 100000 Pounds when the Tax was levy'd.

Kilvert the Informer, who prosecuted the Bishop of *Lincoln* at the Instigation of *Laud*, was question'd in Parliament, as the main Manager of the wicked Wine Project, and a Bill was brought into the House, to make that vile Wretch a remarkable Example to all Projectors and Monopolists.

The Bishop of *Lincoln* was releas'd out of the *Tower*, at the Request of the House of Lords, and being restor'd to his Seat there, had not been many Hours in it, according to *Echard*, before he found out the dangerous Designs of the Country Party, and abandon'd them: He might have told us, that the House of Commons having sent to him, as Dean of *Westminster*, that the Communion-Table in *Westminster* Abbey, where the Members were wont to receive the Holy Sacrament, might be plac'd in the middle of the Church, he reply'd, *He wou'd do it, and wou'd do the like for any Parishioner in his Diocese.*

About this Time one *James*, a Papist, Son of *James* and *Henry James* of *Fewersham*, made a bold Attempt on Mr. *Haywood*, a Justice of Peace in *Westminster*, who had carefully prepar'd a List of Recufants to be presented to the Committee: *James* was so provok'd at this Protestant Justice's Zeal, that meeting him in *Westminster-Hall*, he publicly stabb'd him: The Wound was thought Mortal at first, and the imagin'd Murther caus'd more Clamour against Papists, who were grown so insolent, that one of them assaulted a Magistrate in the supreme Court of Justice. The King was so sensible of the dangerous Consequence of such Insolence, that he sent a Message to the House of Commons to enquire into so foul and horrible a Fact. The Citizens of *London* presented a Petition against Recufants, in which they took Notice of *James's* Assault upon *Haywood*, and offer'd to guard the Parliament. *Religion*, says our modest Historian, began now to be more and more the Outcry of the House of Commons: They bellow'd when they spoke against Papists and Popery, against *Laud's* Superstition and Tyranny. He then gives us the Beginning and End of Sir *Edward Deering's* Speech on that Subject; to which I will add something between his two Paragraphs; "With the "Papists there is a severe Inquisition, and with us "there is a bitter High-Commission: Both these are "Judges in their own Cafes; yet herein their Inqui- "sitors are better than our High-Commissioners; "they do not punish for Delinquents such as pro- "fess the establish'd Religion; but with us, how "many scores of poor distressed Ministers have in "a few Years been suspended, degraded, depriv'd, "excommunicated, not guilty of the Breach of any "of our establish'd Laws?" He then mentions the

A.D. 1640. audacious libelling Pamphlets, written by Heylin, Cofins, Sparrow, Pocklington, Dow, Swan, Reeves, Tyranny of Yates, Hausted, Studly, Browne, Shelsford, and many more; I name no Bishops, but I add, &c. the Parliament order'd a Committee to find out the Numbers of oppress'd Ministers under the Tyranny of the Bishops for these ten Years last past.

Wicked Judges.

A Debate arose concerning the Judges, for refusing Bail to Mr. Selden, and his Fellow-Prisoners, upon their Writs of Habeas Corpus. A Motion was made, that they might have Reparation out of the Estates of the Judges; of whom Judge Croke was excus'd, as differing in Opinion from the rest; and Judge Whitlocke was clear'd by the Defence his Son, Bullstrode Whitlocke, Esq; and Mr. Hampden made for him: When Ship-Money comes into Debate, we shall hear more of these, Sir Philip Warwick's, learned and upright Judges.

Lord Falkland. Ship-Money.

The Lord Falkland, speaking of that illegal Tax, inveigh'd against them, *Who as Wolves worry'd those Sheep, whom as Dogs they shou'd have defended.* He upbraided them with giving the King bad Counsel, telling him, *he might do what he pleas'd by Policy:* He mark'd out the Lord Keeper Finch, as the principal Adviser and Abettor in this Matter. Among all the false Representations against the Parliament of England, I think there is none more notorious than where Echard affirms, *That the Commons voted Ship-Money to be against the Laws of the Realm, the Right of Property, the Liberty of the Subject, contrary to former Resolutions of Parliament, and to the Petition of Right, without Examination of the Reasons of the Judges;* which had been more fully examin'd than such wretched Reasons deserv'd, as we see in the same Speech of the Lord Falkland's. "These Judges, Mr. Speaker, have deliver'd an Opinion and Judgment in an extrajudicial Manner; that is, such as came not within their Cognisance, they being Judges, and neither Philosophers nor Politicians; in which, when that which they wou'd have so evident and absolute taketh Place, the Law of the Land ceases, and that of general Reason and Equity, by which particular Laws at first were fram'd, returns to his Throne and Government. They have contradicted apparent Evidences, supposing mighty and evident Dangers in the most serene, quiet, and halcion Days that could possibly be imagin'd, a few contemptible Pyrates being our most formidable Enemies; they contradict the Writ it self, by supposing that supposed Danger to be so sudden, that it wou'd not stay for a Parliament: It seem'd generally strange, that they saw not the Law, which all Men else saw but themselves." Pray remember, Mr. Echard, copying after the most ingenious Warwick, told us, *Nothing could have led them into that Opinion but their Books.* Lord Falkland again; "The first of all the Reasons for this Judgment was such, that there needed not any from the adverse Party to help them to convert those few who before had not the least Suspicion of the Legality of that most illegal Tax; there being fewer that approv'd of the Judgment than there were that judg'd it legal, for I am confident they did not *that* themselves." The Lord Falkland speaks of the Indignation which the Opinion of the Judges against their Books and their Consciences rais'd in Peoples Minds; yet Echard vilifies the Parliament for questioning them about it; and yet it is expected I should treat him with Decency, who has so unworthily and scandalously treated the whole Nation in their Representatives. We must not forget, that in this Speech Lord Falkland charg'd Heylin with representing the People of England as Slaves; and Mr. Philips charges him for abusing the Bishop of Lincoln; and I cou'd charge him with a Book full of insolent Sophistry and Falshood, if the Digression wou'd not disgrace the History: He abus'd Bishop Williams to please

Rushw. 87, 211.

Heylin a Libeller.

Archbishop Laud, and he abus'd the whole English Nation to please those who unhappily had then the Government of it. A.D. 1640.

About the latter end of November, William Prynne, Esq; Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton the Minister, return'd from their several remote Prisons by order of Parliament, to whom they severally presented their Petitions: Mr. Prynne and Mr. Burton landed first at Southampton from Guernsey and Jersey, and Dr. Bastwick afterwards at Dover from Scilly; all three continued their Journey by Land; and all three, as they travelled the Country, were receiv'd with the Acclamations of the People. Larrey writes, "It was a continual Procession all along the Road, and People beholding their Scars with Veneration, stil'd them Martyrs, and their Judges Hangmen, too tender a Name for them." All Places where they pass'd were strew'd with Flowers, and Joy echo'd from every Part for their Deliverance; a hundred Coaches accompany'd the Coaches they rode in, and they made their Entry into London in a triumphant Manner, the Acclamation being as hearty as it was loud and general. If it was heard at Lambeth, it must be as doleful as a Knell; and now must the Archbishop be in the bitterness of Terror and of Woe, while those whom he had so barbarously profecuted and mutilated, were in Exultation with an innumerable Multitude of Friends through the whole City; which for this Reason, and a steady Adherence to the reform'd Religion and Liberty, is by Echard call'd, *the Sink of all the ill Humours in the Kingdom.* If I shou'd call the Earl of Clarendon's History, and his own, the Sink of all the Tyranny and Superstition of the Reign I write of, how wou'd it be taken? This joyful Multitude did not fail to express their Resentment against Laud and his Brother Persecutors in very intelligible Terms, such as doubtless made their Hearts ache, though Mr. Echard, with his wonted Wit, rallies the Rabble for being angry with those Prelates for persecuting such godly Men. These Sufferers a few Days afterwards had some Compensation for their Sufferings, as also had Dr. Leighton, and Mr. Lilburne, in Defiance, says Echard, with equal Modesty and Judgment, *of that Court of Justice that had censur'd them,* the abominable Star-Chamber. In all the Resolutions to which the Parliament came in reference to these much injur'd Gentlemen, they voted their Prosecutions and Sentences to be illegal, and that their Judges shou'd make them Reparation, naming Archbishop Laud, Bishop Juxon Lord High-Treasurer, the Lord Keeper Coventry, the Lord Newburgh, Sir Thomas Feryn, Duke of Lenox, Lord Cottingham, Marquess of Hamilton, Earl of Arundel, Secretary Windbank, who are now coming to a Reckoning for their Cruelties and Extortions in that execrable Court. The House order'd a Charge to be drawn up against Heylin, for promoting the Suit there against Mr. Prynne. The Earl of Rothes, the Lord Lowdon, and the other Scotch Commissioners, remain'd at London about the Affairs of that Nation and their Army. The Archdeacon informs us, they heard their Chaplains preach in St. Antholin's Church, which was crowded every Day with Auditors, out of Zeal, Fashion, or Curiosity. The Earl of Clarendon supports him in this Drollery, by saying their Sermons were flat and insipid: Qualities which will better admit of Sentiments of Piety and Devotion, than the Flattery and Fustian Rage and Nonsense of Sibthorp, Pocklington, and the Preachers mention'd by Sir Edward Deering. The Reverend Historian goes on, "The Interest and Influence of the Scots Commissioners increas'd the Boldness and Hatred of the inferior Sort against the establish'd Church; another false Representation, for neither the higher nor lower Order of People hated the Protestant Church of England, as establish'd in King Edward the VIth's Reign, and

Scots Commissioners.

A.D. 1640. and as understood by Bishop Moreton, Bishop Davenant, Bishop Hall, Bishop Brownrig, Archbishop Usher, and other pious and learned Fathers of our Church: But they did hate heartily the prophane and superstitious Innovations establish'd by Laud; and to remove them, Alderman Pennington, one of the Members for the City of London, presented a Petition to the House of Commons the 11th of December, sign'd by 15000 Hands, which Mr. Archdeacon calls the *Refuse of the People*, as if they had been all such Wretches as ran about after *Sacheverel*, the condemn'd Doctor, in our Days, and pull'd down Houses to shew their Zeal for the Church. He tells a Story upon it, which appears *prima facie*, to be false, tho' probably, his Invention was not fruitful enough to produce it: "The Petitioners usually prepar'd a Petition very modest and dutiful for the Form, and not very unreasonable in the Substance, which they carefully communicated at some publick Meetings to get it receiv'd with Approbation. The Subscriptions of a few Hands fill'd the Paper itself, which contain'd the Petition, and therefore more Sheets were annex'd for the Reception of the Number which was to countenance the Undertaking. When many Hands were procur'd, the Petition itself was cut off, and a new one answerable to the Design on foot annex'd to the List of Names. Of this sort was Pennington's Petition which struck at *Episcopacy*." I am not afraid of repeating the most malignant Parcels of their Histories, which are so many *Felo de se's*, and murder themselves. This is silly to a degree; for what Need of so much Art to procure 15000 Hands, when the nine in ten of the Inhabitants of London were then in the Puritan Interest? And Mr. *Echard* had just call'd it not only the Sink of its own Ill-Humours, but the Sink of all the Ill-Humours in the Nation. Alderman Pennington's Petition being read in the House, it was resolv'd upon the Question, *That there shall be a Day certain set for the debating of it; that the Roll of Names brought in with this Petition, shall be seal'd with Mr. Speaker's Seal till the House shall farther order it.* But there happen'd a Debate three or four Days after, which of Course introduc'd the Substance of this Petition, and that was about the *extravagant Proceedings of the Bishops and Convocation. The Canons, new Oath, the Benevolence, the irregular and tyrannical Government of Laud* and other Prelates, was explain'd and exclaim'd against, as well as the Canons and Convocation Acts. Sir *Edward Deering* in his Speech, call'd this *Laudian Synod, A Monster to our Law, a Cerberus to our Religion; they have charg'd their Canons at us to the full, and never fearing that ever they wou'd recoil back into a Parliament, they have rammd a prodigious ungodly Oath into them.* Mr. *Fiennes* the Lord Say's Son, said, *I conceive these Canons do contain sundry Matters, which are not only contrary to the Laws of the Land, but also destructive of the very principal and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.* He then enumerated the various Arricles which were of such ill Tendency. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* spoke thus, "A Man may easily see to what tend all these Innovations and Alterations in Doctrine and Discipline, and without a Perspective, discover afar off the Toilsomeness of these spiritual Engineers to undermine the old and true Foundations of Religion, and to establish their tottering Hierarchy in the room thereof." The Lord *Digby*, uncorrupted as yet, call'd it a *new Synod* patch'd out of an *old Convocation.* At last it was resolv'd, *nemine contradicente*, That the Clergy of England conven'd in Convocation, have no Power to make any Constitution, Canons, or Act whatsoever, in Matters of Doctrine, Discipline, or otherwise, to bind the Clergy or Laity of the Land, without Consent of Parliament; that the Canons pass'd by the late Synod, contain Matters contrary to the fundamental Laws and Statutes

of the Kingdom, to the Rights of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subjects, and Matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Consequence. Resolv'd, *nemine Contradicente*, "That the Benevolence granted by the Convocation is contrary to the Laws, and ought not to bind the Clergy." All which Resolutions Mr. *Archdeacon* declares, on his undoubted Authority, to be entirely wrong; and that the Convocation knowing their Business better than the Parliament, only exerted their ancient Rights. A Committee was order'd to consider and examine who were the Promoters of the *new Canons*, and who the principal Actors; and to consider how far in particular the Archbishop of *Canterbury* hath been an Actor in the great Design of the Subversion of the Laws of the Realm and of the Religion, and to prepare and draw up a Charge against him: Which Committee was compos'd of the following Gentlemen, who were to meet in the *Star-Chamber*, where most of the Tragedies he was now to be accountable for, had been acted.

Sir *John Strangeways*, Sir *Robert Howard*, Sir *Francis Seymour*, Sir *Oliver Luke*, Sir *Henry Anderson*, Sir *Guy Palmes*, Sir *Miles Fleetwood*, Sir *Robert Harley*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *William Litton*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Sir *Hugh Chomley*, Sir *John Hotbam*, Sir *Edward Deering*, Sir *Thomas Barrington*, Mr. *Strangeways*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Bagshaw*, Mr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Grimston*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Fiennes*, Mr. *Young*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Peard*, Mr. *Coke*, Mr. *White*, Mr. *Rigby*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Weston*, Mr. *Maynard*, Mr. *Whistler*, Mr. *Felham*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Whitlocke.*

They were most of them as great Men as any of that or any other Age, and most of them not prejudic'd against *Episcopacy*; I do not mean Archbishop *Laud's* but Archbishop *Usher's.* The *Scots Commissioners* deliver'd a long Charge in Writing against the former, wherein he is charg'd with all the Innovations and Alterations made in the Church and State of *Scotland*, and that consequently he is the Author of the present Troubles, which is what I was endeavouring to prove before I read this Paper. The Lord *Paget* read it in the House of Lords, and it was then sent to the House of Commons, who after the reading of it, voted him guilty of *High-Treason* the 18th of *December*, and Mr. *Hollis* was sent to the Lords to impeach him, and desire he might be sequestred from the House, and committed to safe Custody, which was so order'd, and the Archbishop call'd to the Bar as a Delinquent, where he desir'd Leave to fetch some Papers from *Lambeth* for his Defence, and it was granted, provided Mr. *Maxwell Usher* of the *Black-Rod* attended him, and had him still in Custody. Their Lordships order'd that no Member of their House shou'd visit him. The next Day Mr. *Hampden* was sent to the House of Peers, to let them know that the Commons had Informations of a high Nature against *Matthew Wren* Lord Bishop of *Ely*, for setting up Idolatry and Superstition, and being himself an Idolater; that the Commons heard he was running away, and therefore they desir'd he might be secur'd; upon which he was oblig'd to give 10000 Pounds Bail for his forth coming. Notwithstanding the long Bill of Articles against *Laud*, which the Lord *Paget* read in the House, Mr. *Echard* asserts there was nothing in Form particularly produc'd against him till ten Weeks after; whereas the very formal and ample Charge against him was read by the Lord *Paget* in the House of Lords before it was reported in the Commons-House. He adds, the great Mens Hatred against him, was for his punishing Sir *Robert Howard* and the Lady *Purbeck* with Penance for their Amours. What a Trifle is this to his endeavouring to destroy the Reform'd Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of the People of *England*? The Lords order'd Sir *Robert Howard* 500*l.* Damages

Pennington's Petition.

Convocat.

Sir Edw. Deering.

Mr. Fiennes.

Sir Benj. Rudyard.

Ld Digby.

Convocati-on censur'd

A.D. 1640.

Laud's Design to subvert the Constitution.

Laud's Committee.

He is impeach'd.

Laud a Delinquent.

Wren Bishop of Ely question'd.

Rushw. 123.

Rushw. 113.

Laud.

Damages

A.D. 1640. mages against the Archbishop; which according to *Echard* he paid with great Difficulty; so I believe, if by that he understands Reluctance; tho' a few Months before he cou'd lend the King 10000 *l.* to raise an Army against the Protestants in *Scotland*.

Princess Anne's Death. About this time dy'd the Princess *Anne*, his Majesty's third Daughter, four Years old, very much lamented on Account of the Hopes he gave by the Pregnancy of her Parts.

Windebank flies. Secretary *Windebank* Archbishop *Laud's* old Friend, having releas'd several *Popish* Priests, and countermanded Writs for seizing the Lands and Goods of Recusants convict, and order'd Magistrates to forbear prosecuting them, was summon'd to answer for those and several other Offences before the House of Commons, of which he was a Member, tho' an unworthy one; but instead of appearing, his Guilt gave Speed to his Flight, and he got into *France* to be out of their reach.

Ld-Keeper Finch flies. The next Minister who ran away from Punishment, was *Finch* the Lord-Keeper, who before he fled, desir'd to be heard by the House of Commons, hoping they wou'd not be able to withstand his Eloquence. It was granted, and a Chair set for him near the Bar. He came into the House the 12th of *December*, carrying the Purse himself; and when the Speaker told him his Lordship might sit, he made a low Obedience, and laying down the Seal and his Hat in the Chair, lean'd on the Back of it, in which Posture he made a long rhetorical Speech, which very little extenuated his Crime. He began thus, "I give you Thanks for granting me Admittance to your Presence; I came not to preserve myself and Fortunes, but to preserve your good Opinion of me; for I profess I had rather beg my Bread from Door to Door with *Date Obolum Belisario* with your Favour, than be ever so high and honour'd with your Displeasure." His Conclusion was, *If I may not live to serve you, I desire I may die in your good Opinion.* This Speech was deliver'd so gracefully, and was in itself so moving, that the Minds of many Members of the House of Commons received Impressions by it: But *Echard* is too credulous and too positive in saying, "The Lord *Clarendon* makes it visible, that this great Man was still so much in Favour of the House, that they wou'd gladly have preserv'd him in his Place;" there being not the least Visibility of any such Disposition in them; and it is partially and unjustly said only to represent the Parliament as unjust and partial. Mr. *Rigby* presently answer'd the Lord Keeper thus, *Had not this Syren so sweet a Tongue, surely he cou'd never have effected so much Mischief to this Kingdom. You know, Sir, Optimorum Puffectio pessima, the best Things putrify'd become the worst, and as it is in the natural so in the Body politick. And what's to be done then? Ense recidendum est, the Sword of Justice must strike; Ne pars sincera trahatur, lest the sound Part suffer.* And so very desirous was they to keep him in his high Office, that the very same Day they voted him a *Traitor*; 1. For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord *Weston*. 2. For soliciting, persuading, and threatening the Judges to deliver their Opinion for *Ship-Money*. 3. For several illegal Acts in *Forest Matters*. 4. For ill Offices done in making the King dissolve the last Parliament. The next Day he was accus'd before the House of Peers, but he got up earlier than ordinary, gave them the Slip, and escap'd to *Holland*. He was succeeded as Keeper by Sir *Edward Littleton* Lord-Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas.

Judges. On the 20th of *December* the famous Mr. *Waller* was sent to the Lords with a Message from the Commons, that they had receiv'd divers Informations of Crimes of a very high Nature against Sir *John Bramstone* Lord-Justice of the King's-Bench, Sir *Humphry Davenport*, Justice *Berkley*, and Ju-

stice Crawley, and desir'd they might put in Bail *A.D. 1640.* to abide the Censure of Parliament. The Judges submitted themselves to the Pleasure of the House of Peers, who order'd them to give Security for their Appearance.

Dr. *Cofins* afterwards Bishop of *Durham*, was Dr. *Cofins* sent for as a Delinquent, and voted guilty of *Superstitious Innovations tending to Idolatry, of speaking scandalous and malicious Words against his Majesty's Supremacy, and the Religion establish'd.* This lets us into a Secret which *Clarendon*, *Echard*, and all that sort of Writers have endeavour'd to keep from us, which is, that the Parliament of *England* do not look upon *Laud*, *Neile*, *Wren*, *Harsnet*, *Montague*, *Manwaring*, *Pierce*, *Skinner*, &c. Prelates, nor upon *Sibthorp*, *Pocklington*, *Cofins*, and such inferior Clergy, to be of the *establish'd Church*, which however they have always in their Mouths; but of an idolatrous superstitious Church which they were about establishing. Notwithstanding this Vote, the reverend Historian informs us *Cofins* was a strict Churchman, very loyal; and when he fled to *France*, converted there many Papists to the Protestant Religion.

Dr. *Chaffin* a West-Country Parson, was also sent for as a Delinquent, for a Sermon preach'd by him in the Cathedral-Church of *Salisbury*; as was also one *Jones* Parson of *Oswfield* in *Devonshire*, for scandalous Words against the Parliament in a Sermon preach'd at *Tiverton*. *Chaffin* was reprimanded by the Speaker, and order'd to make a Recantation in the Cathedral at *Sarum*. *Dr. Cassin*

Sir *John Lamb* was brought upon his Knees for levying Money to set up Organs. But there wou'd be no end of it, if one shou'd pretend to particularize the Instances of every Priest who turn'd the Artillery of the Pulpit against the Religion, Rights, and Liberties of their Country, for which Reason the Author or Authors of the History of the Rebellion, labour so much to charge the Puritans with beating the Ecclesiastical Drum.

One of the last Things that were done this Year in Parliament, was the bringing Archdeacon *Pierce* Son to the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, upon his Knees at the Bar of the House of Commons, for saying to one Mr. *Coleman*, who seem'd to be concern'd at the Dissolution of the last Parliament, *A Pox of God take them all.* You see what the Archdeacons of the *Laudæan* Stamp were: They were puritanical factious Fellows; the King will never be quiet till some of their Heads are off; he may have two Millions of Money of a Spanish Don if he will. He was excellently well taught both as to Piety and Politicks by his Father Bishop *Pierce*, who, as we have related, never distinguish'd himself so much by any thing, as by his Zeal for Revels and Sabbath-breaking. The swearing Archdeacon was order'd into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms; and I think if he had had his due, another Keeper wou'd have had him in keeping, the Words being prov'd by three Witnesses.

In the beginning of the next Year, a Petition from *Kent*, and some time after another from *Gloucester*, were presented to the House concerning the Evils suffer'd by Reason of the Government of Bishops; both which were refer'd to the Committee for *Pennington's* Petition: And on the 14th of *January* Mr. *Edward Hyde* afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, had the Thanks of the House of Commons for his great Service in vindicating the Liberty and Property of the Subject with respect to the Business of *Ship-Money*, and the Impeachment of the Lord-Keeper *Finch* for High-Treason, in which there are some Things remarkable, for that this same Mr. *Hyde* does in *Clarendon's* History declare, *Many believ'd the real Necessity of Ship-Money, and thought the Burden reasonable; it did not seem of apparent ill Consequence, that the regal Power shou'd supply the Impotency of the Law.* And tho' this Mr. *Hyde* was order'd to assist the Lord *Falkland* when

A.D. 1641. when he carry'd up the Articles of Impeachment against *Finch*; wherein the Parliament say, by the Lord *Falkland*, "Here are many and mighty Crimes, Crimes of Supererogation. So that High-Treason is but a Part of his Charge, pursuing him fervently in every several Condition; a silent Speaker, an unjust Judge, an unconscionable Keeper, his Life appears a perpetual Warfare, with Mines, Battery, Battel and Stratagem, against our fundamental Laws; yet the Parliament, according to the Lord *Clarendon*, would fain have kept him in Keeper.

Monopolists.

On the 21st of *January* the Parliament proceeded against *Monopolists*, and finding some of their own Members among them, they were expell'd; as Sir *Nicholas Crisp* Baron for *Winchelsea* a Cinque-Port, *William Sandys* Esq; Burgess for *Evesham* in *Worcestershire*, Sir *John Jacob* Baron for *Rye* a Cinque Port, *Thomas Webb* Esq; Burgess for — *Edmund Windham* Esq; Burgess for *Bridgwater* in *Somersetshire*, a small Dealer, his Monopoly being the marking of Butter-Firkins; he was afterwards Governor, for the King, of the Town he represented, and was expell'd there too by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and *Oliver Cromwell*.

Popular Counsels.

There being no stemming of the Tide for Redress of Grievances, and no breaking up of the Parliament while the *Scots* Army was in *England*, the Court was advis'd to swim with the Stream, and for once to try the Effect of popular Counsels, which, says *Echard*, was an infirm Piece of Policy; so politick is he himself, as to think the Love of the People a weakening of the Prince: There was no surer Way to make him belov'd, than to employ those whom the People lov'd. The Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Effex*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Say*, were sworn of the Privy-Council; and according to the reverend Historian, they soon shew'd how unfit they were to have Seats at that Board, by telling the King, *They ought not to give him any Advice which was disagreeable to the Sense of the Parliament his great Council*. How weak were these new Counsellors? The Historian with his usual Simplicity reflects upon them again for counselling the King to be only advis'd by the *Two Houses*. If the King had any Interest separate from that of the People, which I verily believe that Author thinks he might have, he is in the right to upbraid those Lords of the Privy-Council for giving him such Advice: But if the King's Interest and his People's are inseparable, as common Sense teaches one, then the Advice of his Parliament cou'd be the only sure Foundation for his Majesty to build upon. The Earl of *Bedford* was to be Lord-Treasurer; in order to which, Dr. *Juxon* had already begg'd Leave of the King to resign his White-Staff, which indeed had encroach'd too much upon the Pastoral one. He resolv'd, says the Archdeacon, to withdraw from the impending Storm, with no less Honour than Security. He cou'd not keep it any longer. His Bishoprick was in Danger, and much more his Treasurership. How ridiculous is this Air which is maintain'd thro' the History. *Juxon* was one of the principal Actors in the Convocation, in the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commission* Courts. As great as his Security was, he was fin'd 10000*l*. by the Parliament for acting in that Synod; he was order'd to make Reparation to Mr. *Burton* the Minister for the barbarous Sentence he pass'd upon him in the *Star-Chamber*, and to Mr. *Prynne* for his cruel unheard of Punishment, and to others who had suffer'd the like bloody Sentences: Yet, if you can believe Mr. *Echard* for once, he was in no Danger of losing his Post of Lord-High-Treasurer of *England*, but voluntarily petition'd to part with it, that he might apply himself to his Episcopal Function, so consistent with the pecuniary Employments he had been so long in possession of. The Archdeacon again; "The Lord *Say* was to be made Master of the *Wards* in the

A.D. 1641. "room of the Lord *Cottington*, who was promised to be indemnify'd for the future." He has the Lord *Clarendon's* Word for it. But was Mr. *Hyde* so much in Mr. *Pym's* Confidence, that he reveal'd all his Secrets to him? *Pym* on the same Account was to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. *Cottington* was so far from being indemnify'd, that he was order'd to make Satisfaction to Mr. *Prynne* and the other Sufferers, for the Sentences he pass'd against them in the *Star-Chamber*.

Tho' there is not the least Appearance of Wit in all the Archdeacons Folio Histories, but when the Terms *godly, seeking God, Purity* or Reformation lye in his Way, yet he nibbles at it here, where he says, Mr. *Pym's* overflowing Zeal might have been diverted by a Place; which was not very likely, when Mr. *St. John*, who was made Solicitor-General, whose Zeal overflow'd as much as Mr. *Pym's*, gave an exemplary Instance, that when a Person is truly animated with a publick Spirit, he grows above all Temptation, and sacrifices all other Interests to that of the Publick. The Earl of *Effex* was made Lord-Chamberlain; but his Zeal continu'd to overflow, when the Service of his Country requir'd it. This Constancy to the Common-Weal, the reverend Historian terms a long and rooted Malignity to the Government. And it is observable in his and the Earl of *Clarendon's* Histories, that they do their Business by Words, without having any Regard to the Fact or to the Argument. There's more secret History still to come; "*Bedford* and *Pym* promis'd to obtain a liberal Provision and Settlement for the King's Revenues;" insinuating that if the Earl of *Bedford* had been made Lord-Treasurer, and Mr. *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer, they wou'd have sacrific'd the Rights and Liberties of the People to the King's Will and Pleasure, which is what he means by Government. For if by Government he understood a steady Adherence to the Constitution, the limited Prerogative of the Crown, and the ancient Privileges of Parliament, he wou'd have known that there had been no such Government in this Reign; and that what he calls a rooted Malignity to it, was a strenuous asserting of the Liberty of *Englishmen* both in Spirituall and Temporals.

A Bill being brought into the House by *Edmund Triennial Prideaux* Esq; for Triennial Parliaments, the Lord *Digby* spoke to it forcibly and eloquently the 19th of *January*, I will be bold to say, Mr. Speaker, that an Accumulation of all the publick Grievances since Magna Charta, one upon another, unto that Hour in which the Petition of Right pass'd into an Act of Parliament, wou'd not amount to so oppressive, I am sure not so destructive a Height of Magnitude to the Rights and Properties of the Subject, as one Branch of our enslaving since the Petition of Right. His Lordship says no more nor no less, than that one Act of Misgovernment since *Laud* and *Wentworth* were at the Head of it, was more oppressive and destructive, than all the illegal Acts in the Administration for four hundred Years past, under the *Gavastons*, the *Spencers*, the *Empsons*, the *Dudleys*, the *Wolseys*, the *Cars*, the *Villiers*, &c. And yet there must be no Tyranny spoken of in this Reign. This Triennial Bill going forward, and Petitions being daily presented to the House of Commons against the Hierarchy and Dissolutions of Parliaments, the King sent for both Houses to the Banqueting-House the 25th of *January*, where making a Speech to them, he put them in mind of the two King's Armies, and the Charge of maintaining them. As healing to Bishops, he said, he wou'd not say but they may have overstretch'd their Power and encroach'd upon the Temporal. If they will reform the Abuse he is with them, but he will not consent to take away their Vote in Parliament. This was truly healing, as the Archdeacon terms it, and 'tis great Pity that the Fervour of some leading Men had not cool'd a little.

A.D. 1641. a little. Here was a happy Opportunity to have thrown out all Superstition, and to have broken the spiritual Courts to Pieces, to have hinder'd Innovation and Persecution for ever; and I know not what any good *Englisbman* and good Protestant ought to hope for more as to Spirituals. Here we must own that the Zeal of those leading Members overflow'd; but what human Counsels are at all Times free from Error?

The King had repriev'd one *Goodman* a Priest, who had been condemn'd at the *Old-Baily*, of which the Commons having receiv'd Information; they sent Sir *John Colepepyr* to the Lords, to desire a Conference, which being agreed to, Mr. *Hyde* and other Members were appointed to manage it; Mr. *Hyde* returning from the Conference, brought a Message from the King, "That *Goodman* had not perverted the King's Subjects, that he was merciful like Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, that he was willing *Goodman* shou'd be imprison'd or banish'd, and did not intend by this particular Mercy to lessen the Force of the Law." It is worth remarking, that since the new Privy-Counsellors had Seats at the Board, the Stile of the Speeches and Messages are soft and obliging; whereas while *Laud* had Influence there, and after the new Counsellors were no more advis'd with, the Stile is study'd to displease, and sometimes to exasperate. The two Houses agreed upon a Remonstrance concerning the Reprieve of *Goodman*, and the Favour shewn to the Papists, which was deliver'd by the Lord-Keeper to the King. In this Remonstrance it is said, the Favour shewn to Papists, and particularly to *Goodman*, had so offended the Citizens of *London*, that they absolutely deny'd to lend Money for the publick Occasions till they were satisfy'd in those Points. His Majesty most graciously comply'd with the humble Request of his Two Houses of Parliament, and left *Goodman* to the Law; and the Priest shew'd himself worthy of national Mercy as well as national Justice, by petitioning the King to be executed rather than be the Cause of a Misunderstanding between his Majesty and the Parliament.

All this while Preparations were making for the Tryal of the Earl of *Strafford*, which *Echard* represents as a Conspiracy of the Parliament to destroy him. They proceeded by private Steps, as these Steps in Parliament, Order'd, "That his Majesty be mov'd that the Committee for preparing the Charge against the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, may have the Lord *Mount Norris's* Papers. Again;

Order'd, "That the Committee have Power to send for Records, Parties, and Witnesses, or any other thing which they shall think may conduce to the perfecting of that Charge.

It is observable that before the Articles against him were perfected, the House of Commons debated the Matter of Attainders, and a Committee was appointed to search after Records of former Attainders, the Commons having then in their Prospect Proceedings against the Earl of *Strafford*. How private this Step was. We see here that the Design to attain him, was form'd even before he was try'd, tho' the Attainder is represented as a sudden Change of Process, upon their apprehending that the Tryal might not serve their End. I cou'd give many other Instances of such private Steps taken openly in the House of Commons, if these were not sufficient to shew how unreasonable it is to expect Sincerity or Impartiality from that Historian.

The Bill for *Triennial* Parliaments having pass'd the House of Commons, was sent to the House of Peers by the Lord *Digby*, a Nobleman of fine Qualities, which were all blasted at once by his Apostacy, and giving up that excellent Reason of which he was Master, to his two ungovernable

Passions Revenge and Ambition. The King pass'd that Bill the 15th of *February*, and made another healing Speech, for with the *Triennial* Bill there pass'd another for granting his Majesty four entire Subsidies.

On the 26th of *February* Mr. *Pym* carry'd up to the Lords the Articles against Archbishop *Laud*, an Abridgment of which is as follow.

1. "That he had traiterously endeavour'd to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom, to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical Power; and to that End had wickedly and traiterously advis'd his Majesty that he might raise Money at his own Will and Pleasure without Consent of Parliament, which he affirm'd was warrantable by the Law of God.
2. "That for the better Accomplishment of his traiterous Designs, he had procur'd Sermons to be preach'd, printed, and publish'd against the Authority of Parliament and the Laws of the Land.
3. "He hath by Letters, Messages, Threats and Promises to the Judges, perverted the Course of Justice, whereby several of his Majesty's Subjects have been depriv'd of their lawful Rights, and subjected to his tyrannical Will, to their Ruin and Destruction.
4. "He hath traiterously and corruptly sold Justice in the *Higb-Commission* Court, hath taken unlawful Gifts and Bribes, and endeavour'd to corrupt other Courts of Justice, by advising the King to sell Places of Judicature contrary to Law.
5. "He hath traiterously caus'd a Book of Canons to be compos'd and publish'd contrary to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes, to the Right of Parliament, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, tending to Sedition and to the Establishment of a vast, unlawful, presumptuous Power in himself and his Successors. To which is added a wicked and ungodly Oath to be taken by all Clergymen and some Laymen.
6. "That he hath traiterously assum'd a Papal tyrannical Power in Ecclesiastical and Temporal Matters, and deny'd the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be deriv'd from the Crown, which he has exercis'd to the Destruction of divers of the King's liege People.
7. "That he hath traiterously endeavour'd to alter and subvert God's true Religion by *Law establish'd*, and instead thereof to set up *Papish* Superstition and Idolatry; hath maintain'd divers *Papish* Doctrines and Opinions, enjoyn'd *Papish* superstitious Ceremonies, without any Warrant by Law, hath cruelly persecuted those who have oppos'd the same by corporal Punishments and Imprisonments, and unjustly vexed others who refus'd to conform thereunto, by Suspension, Deprivation, Degradation contrary to Law.
8. "That to advance his traiterous Purposes, he intruded on the Places of divers great Officers, and upon the Right of other his Majesty's Subjects, and preferr'd to great Promotions in the Church such as have been *Papishly* affected, or otherwise unfound and corrupt in Doctrine and Manners.
9. "For the same traiterous and wicked Intent, he hath employ'd such Men to be his domestick Chaplains, whom he knew to be notoriously disaffected to the Reform'd Religion, and to them hath committed the licensing of Books, by which means divers false and superstitious Books have been publish'd.
10. "He hath traiterously and wickedly endeavour'd to reconcile the Church of *England* with the Church of *Rome*, and for effecting it hath consorted and confederated with *Papish* Priests

A good Opportunity lost.

Goodman the Priest.

A generous Priest.

Earl of Strafford's Trial.

A.D. 1641.

Articles against Laud.

A.D. 1641. " and Jesuits, hath kept secret Intelligence with the Pope of Rome, and permitted a Popish Hierarchy to be establish'd in this Kingdom.

11. " That he in his own Person, and other Officers by his Command, have caus'd divers learned, pious, and orthodox Ministers to be silenc'd, suspended, depriv'd, degraded, excommunicated, without just Cause; hath hinder'd the preaching of God's Word, caus'd divers of his Majesty's loyal Subjects to forsake the Kingdom; and increas'd and cherish'd Ignorance and Prophaneness among the People, that he might effect his own wicked and traitorous Design of corrupting the true Religion here establish'd.

12. " He hath traiterously endeavour'd to cause Division and Discord between the Church of England and other Reform'd Churches, and to that End hath suppress'd the Dutch and French Churches in this Kingdom.

13. " That he hath maliciously and traiterously plotted and endeavour'd to stir up War and Enmity between his Majesty's two Kingdoms of England and Scotland; and to that Purpose hath labour'd to introduce into the Kingdom of Scotland, divers Innovations in Religion and Government, tending all to Popery and Superstition, to the great Discontent of that Nation; and for their refusing to submit to such Innovations, he did traiterously advise his Majesty to reduce them by Force of Arms: And when a Pacification was made, he so incens'd his Majesty against his said Subjects of Scotland, that he did thereupon, by the Advice of the Archbishop, enter into an offensive War against them.

14. " That to preserve himself from being question'd for these and other his traitorous Courses, he hath labour'd to subvert the antient Course of parliamentary Proceedings, and falsly and maliciously incens'd his Majesty against Parliaments.

The History has shewn most of these Articles to be true, and they were fully clear'd up and proved at his Tryal. Mr. Pym expatiated upon every Article in a Speech, which for Stile and Sentiment has a true Roman Spirit. I do not know a better in our Language; and as I refer the Reader to it at large in *Rushworths*, I doubt not but the Pleasure he will take in reading it, will more than pay for the Time it takes up. Whoever will compare it with the most eloquent of the Lord *Clarendon's*, will find the same Difference between them, as there is between Substance and Shew, Beauty and Affectation. The Archbishop continu'd the Use of the Episcopal Power while he was in Prison, of which the House having Information, a Motion was made to restrain it; but both Friends and Enemies agreeing it was better to bring him to a Tryal, that Motion dropp'd. What can one think or say of Historians, such as *Clarendon* and *Echard*, who shall solemnly declare that this great Criminal had the Meekness of a Dove, the Virtue of a Philosopher, the Piety of a Saint, the Constancy of a Martyr, the Charity of a primitive Christian, and the Perfection of an Angel? There is not half of what might to be said against *Laud*, if I would make use of Mr. Pym's most powerful and eloquent Oration and Argument, and the additional Articles which were exhibited against him afterwards, of which something must be said in the Sequel. While those high and capital Crimes are fresh in the Reader's Memory, it will be very proper to shew the most beautiful Picture of him painted by the Earl of *Clarendon*; the Features in the Parliament's Picture are all Deformity, in the Earl's all Beauty; and we may by that make a safe and sure Judgment of the rest of his Characters: He apply'd all the Remedies he cou'd to the Mischiefs which daily broke in to the Prejudice of Religion; his Virtues were very exemplary; he believ'd Innocence of Heart, and Integrity of Manners, to be a strong Guard, enough to secure any Man in his Voyage thro'

the World; he wanted Power to go thorough with the Reformation of the Church; he thought he shou'd have much to answer for, if he did not apply Remedies to the Diseases of the Church; he propos'd no End in all his Actions but what was just; and sure no Man had ever a Heart more entire to his Country than he; he thought Art and Industry wou'd make the Integrity of his pious Designs suspected, and therefore he never let them appear but in their own natural Beauty; he more advanc'd the Protestant Religion than it had been from the Reformation; he preach'd in Scotland with all the Marks of Approbation and Applause; and it is thought if the King had introduc'd the Liturgy while Bishop *Laud* was there, it wou'd have been submitted to without Opposition. The Trust his Majesty put in him, was infinitely to the Benefit and Honour of the Church; his Intentions were most sincere and worthy; no Man had ever so good a Conscience as he; he had no Support, but the Splendor of his pious Life, and his unparallel'd Integrity; singular were his Graces, and immense his Virtue; all Men were convinc'd of his Integrity, and absolv'd him from any Crime against Law; few ever attain'd to his Learning, Piety, and Virtue; and to crown all, the Earl or his Author says, I had always a great Affection and Reverence for him. I need not observe, that the Falsity in this Character is study'd. What little has been shewn of *Laud's* unparallel'd Qualities in this History, will shew that it is impossible for the Earl's Description of them to have any Truth in it. If Pride and Cruelty can be consistent with Piety and Charity, Reformation with Superstition, and Meekness with Tyranny, I have injur'd the Archbishop and the Earl, and am at the Reader's Mercy.

This Digression was necessary to justify my having said so much of Archbishop *Laud* in the Course of this History: But he was such a Busybody in Temporals as well as Spirituals, that there was no avoiding it.

Upon the reading of the before-mention'd Articles against him, the Lords order'd he shou'd be remov'd from Mr. *Maxwell's*, in whose Custody he had been ten Weeks, and sent to the Tower March the first. And that he and the Earl of *Stratford* shou'd not come together. Thus he continu'd a Prisoner without putting in his Answer, or petitioning for Tryal, for near two Years Space; then the Commons exhibited additional Articles against him, and proceeded to his Tryal.

On the 5th of March the Star-Chamber Court was brought upon the Stage, and the Lord *Andover* spoke thus of it in the House of Peers; " By the Statute of 3 Hen. 7. the Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy-Seal, two Judges, one Bishop and a Lord of Council, were authoriz'd to cite People to appear for Misdemeanors, which was the Infancy of the Star-Chamber. Cardinal *Wolsey* rais'd it to Man's Estate, from whence being now unlimited, it is grown a Monster.

On the 2d of March the House of Commons voted, That for Bishops or any other Clergymen whatsoever, to have Employments as Privy-Counsellors at the Council-Table, or as private Officers, is an Hindrance to the Discharge of their spiritual Function, and a Prejudice to the Common-Wealth. One wou'd have hop'd that Dr. *Laud* one of the Lords of the Treasury, and Dr. *Juxon* Lord High-Treasurer, might have understood this Matter as well as the Commons, but it was not so. Those two Bishops did not think their sitting at the Treasury and the Council-Table, was any Hindrance at all to their Function, or Prejudice to the Common-wealth, but of great Benefit to themselves.

About this Time the Dutch Ambassador made an Overture of Marriage between *William*, the young Prince of Orange, and the King's eldest Daughter, the Princess *Mary*, to which his Majesty was well inclin'd, but as his Condition then stood, he thought fit to acquaint the Parliament with it.

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Votes against Bishops in temporal Offices.

Princess Mary and Prince of Orange.

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A.D. 1641. We still observe the good Effects of the King's new Council; he made a Speech to the House of Lords, in which he acquainted them, *that he thought the Alliance with the Prince of Orange, and the United Provinces, would be of much Advantage to his Kingdom.* Then he gave his Reasons for it, and the Proposition was generally embrac'd by all People, and soon took Effect.

Plots. The Reverend Historian is merry with the Rumours of Plots, an invincible Army of 15000 in Lancashire, 8000 in Ireland, which was visibly rais'd by the Earl of Strafford now coming to Trial. The Earl of Worcester was nam'd as another General of a Popish Army, which prov'd true enough a Year or two after. *Whitlocke* says nothing came of these Rumours, and they are therefore hardly worth speaking of.

Judge Berkley. Sir Robert Berkley, one of the Ship-Money Judges, who had busy'd himself much in that wicked Work, was impeach'd of High Treason at the Bar of the House of Lords, by Sir John Colepeper, in the Name of the Commons of England: Upon which Maxwell, Usher of the Black Rod, was commanded by the Peers to take him into Custody; Maxwell came to the King's-Bench as the Judges were sitting, and took Judge Berkley off the Bench, and carry'd him away to Prison; which struck great Terror in the rest of his Brethren, then sitting in Westminster Hall.

Queen. The Queen being inform'd that the Parliament took Offence at her setting Agents to work, Sir Kenelm Digby, Mr. Walter Montague, and others, to get Contributions from the Papists to carry on the War against the Scots, and at the great Refort of Papists to her Chapel, sent a Message by the Comptroller of the Household, wherein she took to her self the "Honour of having persuaded the King to call this Parliament: She promis'd to send away the Pope's Nuncio, and not to exceed what was convenient for the Exercise of her Religion at her Chapel; as to the Money collected among the Papists, she did it out of meer Affection to the King: If any Thing be illegal, she was ignorant of the Law; and being desirous to employ her whole Power to unite the King and his People, she desires the Parliament to look forwards, and pass by such Errors and Mistakes of her Servants, as may have been formerly committed." This Message for some Time put a stop to the Clamour of those who thought her Majesty's Zeal for her Religion was too active and dangerous. There were great Debates for two Days together in the House of Commons concerning Episcopal Government, some were for Reformation of Bishops, others to have them quite taken away. *It was agreed by most, says Rushworth, to take from them their Lordly Prelacy, to tie them up from meddling with temporal Affairs, and so restrain their Jurisdictions.* The Lord Digby, who according to Mr. Echard, spoke severely against the Petitions for abolishing the Order, fell in with those who were of the last Opinion; *there is no Man within these Walls more sensible of the heavy Grievances of Church Government than my self, nor whose Affections are keener to the clipping of those Wings of the Prelates, to which the Archdeacon is for tacking more Pinions, whereby they have mounted to such Insolencies, nor whose Zeal is more ardent to the searing them, so as they may never spring again.* We may learn by this to what Insolence the Wings of Laud had mounted, when it provok'd the Champion of Prelacy to reflect on him with so much Severity. The Lord Digby was every whit as good a Churchman as the Earl of Clarendon, and yet how differently do these two Lords think on the same Subject. It is probable that the Intrigues of the Court had gain'd the Lord Digby about this Time: That was the Card they had now to play; and very busy they are with Mr. Capel, Sir John Colepeper, Sir Ralph

Hopton, Sir John Strangeways, Sir Francis Seymour, A.D. 1641. Lord Falkland, and others, who deserted the Country Interest, and became, some of 'em at least, as errant Courtiers as Villiers or Wentworth; convinc'd by the same solid Arguments which had prevail'd upon Wentworth, Noy, &c. Mr. Fienes justify'd Mr. Fienes the London Petition, which had been back'd by several Petitions from Counties, Cities and Boroughs, and fully answer'd the Charge against it, 175. & seq. that it was contemptible and irrational. This Speech is long, but well worth reading. Sir Benjamin Rudyard was for punishing Laud, Wren, and the present Bishops, and for reducing and preserving the Calling for better Men. The Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Echard affirm again and again, there never were better Men. Lord Falkland, the Hero of the History of the Rebellion, said some of the Bishops have so industriously labour'd to deduce themselves from Rome, that they have given great Suspicion that in Gratitude they desire to return thither. In that and what follows, his Lordship lays his Finger upon Laud: *Some have evidently labour'd to bring in an English, though not a Roman Popery; I mean not only the Outside and Dress of it, but equally absolute, a blind Dependance of the People upon the Clergy, and of the Clergy upon themselves.* And speaking of their Court Sermons for Arbitrary Power, he proceeds, *This alone were Occasion enough for us to accuse them as the Betrayers, though not the Destroyers of our Rights and Liberties; they whose Ancestors in the darkest Times, excommunicated the Breakers of Magna Charta, did now by themselves and their Adherents, both write, preach, plot and act against it, by encouraging Dr. Beale, by preferring Manwaring, by promoting Monopolies and Ship-Money, and blasting all that oppos'd them as Puritans.* See now what the true or pretended Lord Clarendon says, as directly opposite to this as Artick and Antartick, and then make a Judgment of the Truth of his Lordship's History; *If the Sermons of those Times preach'd at Court were collected together, and publish'd, the World would receive the best Bulk of Orthodox Divinity, convincing Reason, and admirable Devotion, that hath been communicated in any Age since the Apostles Time.* This surely is to say the Thing which is not, in a very extraordinary Manner. Besides the London Petition, there was a Remonstrance against the Bishops, sign'd by 700 Ministers, which the Lord Falkland mov'd to have committed, as being more for reforming than abolishing: And it is a Thing to be lamented, that there were not Members enough of his Lordships Judgment and Temper to have made a Majority. Mr. Bagshaw, afterwards corrupted by the Court, said, *He was for retaining Alderman Pennington's Petition, and for a thorough Reformation of all Abuses and Grievances of Episcopacy mention'd in the Ministers Remonstrance, and not for altering Church Government to Presbytery.* Mr. Pleydell spoke heartily for Episcopacy, Mr. Grimstone told the House, he wonder'd not at all at the Multitude of Petitioners, considering the sufferings of the People under the Tyranny of the Bishops. He did not think it strange they should cry out in their Petitions, *Crucify, crucify, or that they would have them up by the Roots:* This is the worthy Gentleman of whom Echard says, *He continu'd with the Parliament, but did not concur with them.* The Sense of the House at that Time was for the Reduction of Episcopacy, and not the Destruction; and we may well lament, that the Behaviour of the Bishops afterwards shou'd provoke the Parliament to proceed further against them than they now did; for the Vote was only to take away their Votes in Parliament and Star-Chamber, &c. as is before hinted.

After a great deal of Pains taken by the Committee for the Triennial Bill, they perfected it, and it pass'd the House of Commons, who sent it to the House of Lords, where it had a quick Passage;

A.D. 1641. sage; and as we read in *Whitlocke*, the King was with some Difficulty persuaded to give it the *Royal Assent*, at which Time he told both Houses, that it was a Mark of the Confidence he had in them, and in their future Proceedings, the Favour being greater than any King of England before him had ever granted to the People. I cannot understand this. Was it a Favour to have a Parliament once in three Years, when by the ancient Laws and Customs, there was to be a Parliament once a Year? Was it a Favour to have an Act for such Assemblies to meet for redressing of Grievances, which the King by his Coronation Oath was sworn to redress of himself? Where's the Favour of doing what one is by Law and Conscience oblig'd to do? The Parliament thank'd his Majesty for passing this Act, and gave Orders for Bonfires and Rejoycing in the City, that their Friends might partake of the Pleasure they took in it. The Subsidy Bill pass'd at the same Time; and it is observ'd, that most of the gracious Acts in this Reign were accompany'd with some Money Bill, and rather sold than granted.

Dr. Pack-
lington's
Crime;

About the same Time, one of the Clergy included in the Lord *Clarendon's* Panegyrics, *Dr. Packlington*, was accus'd as a great Introducer of *Superstitions, Innovations and Idolatry*; and particularly for writing a Book, intituled, *Sunday no Sabbath*, such was the Religion of the *Laudæan* Doctors: The Lords summon'd *Packlington* to appear at their Bar, where the Lord Keeper *Littleton* pronounced this Sentence against him, "That he should never come within the Verge of his Majesty's Court, be depriv'd of all his Ecclesiastical Livings and Preferments, be for ever disabled to hold any Place, and his Book to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman." He was Benefic'd in *Bedfordshire*, and for this rare Doctrine was made the King's Chaplain. *Mr. Harvey*, one of the Gentlemen of the County of *Bedford*, and his Parishioner, brought the Accusation against him.

And Cen-
sure.

An Act a-
gainst Su-
perstition.

The House of Commons order'd a Bill to be brought in, to abolish *Superstition and Idolatry*; a numerous Committee was appointed, among whom, besides *Sir Robert Harley*, *Sir Edward Deering*, *Mr. Rous*, *Mr. White*, &c. we find the Lord *Falkland*, *Sir John Colepeper*, *Sir Edmund Verney*, *Sir Nevil Pool*, *Sir William Bowyer*, *Sir Thomas Hutchinson*, *Sir Thomas Smith*, *Sir Richard Buller*, *Sir Roger North*, *Sir Guy Palmes*, *Lord Ruthyn*, *Sir Christopher Wray*, *Sir Richard Lewson*, *Sir Robert Pye*, &c. so universal was the Aversion of the People of all Ranks to *Laud's* Idolatry and Superstition, for none of their Historians pretend the Votes and Acts are not pointed directly against the Archbishop.

Lord Sey-
mour.

The first of the Patriots who was call'd off from the Pursuit of Grievances, was *Sir Francis Seymour*, created *Baron Trowbridge*, and he will be soon follow'd by *George Lord Digby*. In the mean Time, the House of Lords order'd the Records about *Ship-Money*, which were in the *Exchequer* Court, to be vacated. The Committee for the Charge against the Earl of *Strafford*, continu'd sitting all this while at their appointed Times, *Mr Whitlocke* Chairman; and when they agreed upon the Articles, they were reported to the House of Commons, who order'd *Mr. Pym* to carry them to the House of Lords, and their Lordships sent for the Earl to hear them read, containing 200 Sheets of Paper. The Lord *Strafford* desir'd three Months to make his Answer, but the Peers allow'd him twenty-five Days only, which expir'd the 24th of *February*; all which Time *Sir Richard Lane*, and others of his Counsel, were employ'd Night and Day in drawing it up with great Labour. The Answer consisted of 100 Sheets of Paper. Nothing can be more unfair, if not untrue, than what *Echard* says of this Prosecution, *The Commons em-*

Strafford's
Tryal.

ploy'd a Month about it, without performing any material Business. The *Triennial Act* is so far from being a material Business with him, that he gives us a wretched Pun upon it, taken out of a Woman's Letter, who probably cou'd not spell better, and said, they had pass'd the *Tyrannical Parliament*, instead of the *Triennial*; and adds he, *She was a Prophet* as much as himself is a *Wit*. This too was no material Business, *An Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Army, and the Northern Parts*, being a Grant of four entire Subsidies: There was much more material Business perform'd, while the Committee were preparing the Articles against the Earl of *Strafford*, as may be seen in *Rushworth*.

A.D. 1641.

The City by Alderman *Pennington*, offer'd to lend 100000 Pounds on the Security of the four Subsidies, and the House declar'd the same to be an acceptable Service. Thus we find *Pennington* had Influence over other Citizens besides the Rabble.

London-
ers.

The Tryal of the Earl of *Strafford* approaching, the Peers press'd hard to have it in their House, but the Commons insisted upon it, that they might come as a House, being the Impeachers of the Earl; and after some Debate, the Lords agreed that the Tryal should be in *Westminster-Hall*, to which his Majesty assented. On the 22d of *March*, the Lord *Strafford's* Tryal commenc'd, perhaps with as much Solemnity as ever was seen on the like Occasion at *Athens* or *Rome*. The Lords were in their Robes on several Seats in *Westminster-Hall*. The Earl of *Arundel*, Lord High-Steward, in a Chair of State. The Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord High-Constable, had the ordering of the Place: The Commons, as a Committee of the whole House, sat uncover'd on Scaffolds, with many Hundreds of Gentlemen: Behind the Peers was a Chair and Cloth of State for the King and Prince: On a Scaffold below the State, sat the Ladies of Quality, who, if we may believe *Echard*, took Notes, and wrote down all they could preserve of the Earl's charming Eloquence. At the lower End, on the Right Hand, even with the Lords, was a Place with Partitions for the Committee of Managers, and a Door backwards to a *Withdrawing-Room*, where they might consult, as Occasion offer'd. On the other Side was a Place for the Earl of *Strafford*, with a Seat and Room for the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to be next to him, and Places for the Earl's Secretaries and Council to be near him. *Whitlocke* informs us, the Bishops were excluded by the Canons of the Church to be assistant in Cases of *Blood and Death*, and therefore they absented themselves from this Tryal: And *Rushworth* adds, *They gave no Proxies, which indeed none of the Lords were allow'd to do in this Case*. *Echard*, who shews us that if he had been a Bishop, Blood shou'd not have kept him from his Seat, complains that the excluding Canon was old; as if a Law could be the worse for being old, when the Reason of it was still the same. The Lord *Clarendon* and the Reverend Historian affirm, that the Bishop of *Lincoln* betray'd the Fundamental Right of his Order, to the Ruin of the Earl; directly contrary to what Bishop *Hacket*, in the Life of that Prelate, asserts that the Lord of *Lincoln* made a learned Speech to prove the Original and present Right of Bishops to sit in Judgment in Cases of Blood. This wou'd be very surprizing, if it was meant of *Timothy*, *Titus*, and the Apostolical Bishops. *Ambrose Philips*, in Bishop *Williams's* Life, tells us, he pleaded strongly in Behalf of the Earl, who was a most incomparable Person; the Parliament turbulent, mutinous and clamorous, thirsting after his Blood so much, that they resolv'd to have him murder'd, if the King had not pass'd the Bill of Attainder. One may perceive by this fine Stroke of History, that it was written in a College.

I shall not enlarge upon the Particulars of the

A.D. 1641. Earl's Tryal, referring the Reader to *Rushworth*. The Managers of the Tryal were the most eminent Members of Parliament, Mr. Pym, Mr. Glyn, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Whitlocke, Mr. St. John, Mr. Palmer, Lord Digby, Sir Walter Earl, Mr. Hampden, &c. with whom the Earl, according to Mr. Archdeacon, soon shew'd he had Ability enough to wrestle. That is, he had as much Reason and Sense as Mr. Pym and Mr. Hampden, as much Law as Glyn, Maynard, St. John, Whitlocke, Palmer. He cannot help overdoing it, when he speaks of Archbishop Laud or his Friends. Mr. Pym with his usual Eloquence and Spirit open'd the Charge, which consisted of twenty-eight Articles, containing in Substance;

Articles
against
Strafford.

*That he had said at York, when he was President of the North, The King's little Finger should be heavier than the Loins of the Law, prov'd by Sir David Fowles: That he said, Ireland was a conquer'd Nation, and the King might do with them what he pleas'd, prov'd by the Earl of Corke, who prov'd also his saying, he would have neither Law nor Lawyers, and any of his Acts should be as binding as an Act of Parliament: That he procur'd a Sentence of Death against the Lord Mountnorris, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, Principal Secretary of State, and Keeper of the Signet, without any Warrant or Authority of the Law: That without any legal Proceeding, he took away the Lands and Tenements of Thomas Lord Dillon: That he imprison'd several of his Majesty's Subjects in an Arbitrary Manner: That he procur'd the Customs to be Farm'd to his own Use: That he rais'd Money by Soldiers, prov'd by Serjeant Saville: That he shut up the Ports by Proclamation, to prevent bringing Complaints against him, prov'd by the Earl of Desmond: That he had levy'd Money in the County of York by Force, to maintain the Militia. The Earl in his Answer to this said, the great Council of the North join'd with him in it: But that Council disclaim'd the doing it, and affirm'd the same to be unjustly charg'd upon them. He was also accus'd of contriving an Oath in Ireland to support Arbitrary Power: That he incited the King to the Scots War, and proclaim'd the Scots Rebels, and said he wou'd destroy them Root and Branch: That upon the Citizens refusing the Loan, he said, it wou'd never be well till they were laid by the Heels, and some of the Aldermen hang'd, prov'd by Alderman Garraway, &c. The main Part of the Earl's Defence lay in his having the King's Commission, and acting only in Conjunction with other Counsellors. He said Sir David Fowles was his Enemy; that it was hard to lose his Honour and Life for hasty Words: He insisted upon it, that the Lord Mountnorris deserv'd to die, but he got him a Pardon, and make the worst of the Sentence, it was but Felony: And the imprisoning Persons for disobeying his Orders, was but a Misdemeanor. True it is, his Answer was well drawn, and evaded the Charge as much as the Dexterity of the most dextrous Lawyers cou'd pretend to do: But through all the Branches of his Ministry he behav'd imperiously and tyrannically, as well in the Court of the North, as in Ireland, which however did not amount to Treason, and no Accumulation cou'd make it so, if there had not been something behind, which was in the highest Degree treasonable. In the Course of his Tryal, a seal'd Paper was produc'd, which being open'd and read, appear'd to be sent from the Parliament of Ireland, whose Approbation he had just spoken of. The Contents were, that they had voted the Earl of Strafford guilty of High-Treason. The Earl was startled at it, coming in so seasonably to discredit what he had been saying of his great Services in the Parliaments there, and cry'd out, *There is a Conspiracy against me to take away my Life:* upon which, if we have Faith in Mr. Echard, the grave and wife Mr. Pym gave a great Shout, and the Managers requir'd Justice from*

A.D. 1641. the Lords against the Earl, who standing impeach'd of High-Treason, accus'd the Parliaments of two Kingdoms of a Conspiracy against him. At this the Lord Strafford fell down upon his Knees, and humbly crav'd Pardon, *Protesting he did not intend the Parliament, but only some particular Persons.* As to his Oppression in Ireland, Echard calls it *Activty*, a Word he always makes use of, when any of his Heroes or Heroines are about doing what they should not do. When the Queen rais'd Money among the Papists, *he approves of her Activty;* When Laud's Zeal was at work in the Star-Chamber, and High-Commission Courts, he adores his *Activty*. I have not insert'd that part of the Charge against him concerning the Lord Loftus, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, whom he degraded and imprison'd for not obeying his Orders, because it is not in *Rushworth*. The Earl of Clarendon might insert it, for that as Mr. Archdeacon words it, the Crime proceeded from a noble Root, to oblige the Lord Chancellor to make a Settlement upon his Son, whose Lady, says the same Reverend Author, was so much in the Lord Strafford's good Graces, as to render his Justice the more suspected: He assures us, the Earl made all Things appear not only less than Treason, but no very great Misdemeanors; though when all the Crimes were heap'd together, it was the Opinion of the most learned Lawyers, that they amounted to *Accumulative Treason* without the twenty-third Article, which without much Learning in the Law, will appear to be as much Treason against the Constitution of England, as ever Traytor was guilty of. Larrey writes, *whatever the Earl could say in his Defence, either in Person, or by his Council, though both he and they spoke very forcibly, he could not prevail over the Prejudice of the People.* The Evidence to the twenty-third Article not being so full as was necessary, Sir Henry Vane, Junior, committed a Breach of Trust to strengthen it. His Father, Secretary Vane, being out of Town, sent a Letter to his Son, Sir Henry Vane, the younger, with the Key of his Cabinet for some Papers there; among which, the Son lighted upon certain Notes taken by the Father at a Meeting of the *Junto* on the 5th of May, 1640, the very Day the last Parliament was dissolv'd. These Notes being of great Concernment to the Publick, and declaring so much against the Earl of Strafford, he held himself bound in Duty and Conscience to discover them; accordingly he shew'd them to Mr. Pym, the chief Manager, who urg'd him, and prevail'd with him, that they might be made use of in Evidence against the Earl, as being most material, and of great Consequence, in Relation to that Article. I take all this to be Theatrical, and doubt not the Notes were taken to do Strafford a good Turn one Time or other, and the Key was sent on purpose to have this Paper found among others. Be that as it will, Mr. Pym produced those Notes in the House of Commons, and the same Day in the Conference with the Lords. When the Earl was brought next to his Tryal, the Contents were openly read, thus headed, *No danger of a War with Scotland, if Offensive, not Defensive:* Then follow'd the Questions and Answers upon it.

King Charles. *How can we undertake an Offensive War, if we have no more Money?* King Charles.

Lord Lieut. Ireland. *Borrow of the City 100000 Pounds; go on vigorously to levy Ship-Money, your Majesty having try'd the Affections of your People; you are absolv'd and loose from all Rule of Government, and to do what Power will admit. Infinite Treason! If what follows was not more Reasonable; Your Majesty having try'd all ways, and being refus'd, shall be acquitted before God and Man. And you have an Army in Ireland, that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience, for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five Months. Needed there any more Articles? Prove this upon him, and* Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

A.D. 1641. and had he as many Heads as he had Hairs, he wou'd have forfeited them all.

Archbishop of Canterbury. *You have try'd all Ways, and have always been deny'd, it is now lawful to take it by Force.* What Love he had for his Country, as we have seen in *Clarendon*?

Lord Cottington. *Leagues abroad there may be made for the Defence of the Kingdom.* Here are Counsellors! What Leagues cou'd be made with any Protestant State for the Defence of Tyranny and Superstition? Leagues with *France* or *Spain* cou'd be of no Service to the Religion, Rights, and Liberties of a Protestant free People. *Cottington* again; *The lower House are weary of the Church, all Ways shall be just to raise Money by in this inevitable Necessity.* Observe the Cant! *All Ways are to be us'd, being lawful.*

The Archbishop is afraid the *Scots* Presbyterians wou'd not be destroy'd soon enough, and therefore he advis'd,

All are lawful for an offensive, not a defensive War.

Lord Lieut. Ireland. *The Town is full of Lords, put the Commission of Array on foot, and if any of them stir, we will make them smart.*

This traitorous Counsel needs no Aggravation nor Remark. I know very well great Endeavours have been us'd to invalidate this Evidence, on account of the Enmity between *Vane* and *Wentworth*, tho' that rather confirms than destroys it: For one cannot doubt but that *Vane* finding what a Disposition *Wentworth* had to erect a Tyranny on the Ruins of the Constitution, might be the more vigilant to catch what he said to that Purpose, and take Notes of it, which might be produc'd against him upon Occasion. As to the Intelligence between the Father and the Son, I do not regard it; the Notes are forth coming, and it is no Matter how we came by them. As to the Evidence of their being genuine, they bear all the visible Marks of it from their Date, the Day of the Dissolution of the Parliament, from the Situation of Affairs, and the Characters of the Persons introduc'd. These Notes made a stronger Impression on the Lords and the Auditory, than whatever had been said before; and the Earl being requir'd by the Lord High-Steward to proceed, he had any Thing farther to say, the noble Prisoner made a most moving Speech, which he deliver'd with inimitable Grace, and at a proper Pause, shew'd his weeping Children who stood by him, to the Lords, saying, *My Lords, I wou'd not have troubled you so long, were it not for the Interest of these dear Pledges, which a Saint in Heaven has left me.* At this he for a short Space melted into Tears; and here notwithstanding I shou'd have given my Vote with Mr. *Pym*, I cou'd not have forbore to have kept him Company.

The fatal Notes before-mention'd being left with the Committee of Managers, they were stolen, and every one of the Managers clear'd themselves of the Guilt by a solemn Protestation of Innocence. The Lord *Digby* protested it with more Earnestness and deeper Imprecations than any of the rest; yet afterwards at the Battel of *Naseby*, a Copy of these Notes was found in the King's Cabinet under *Digby's* Hand, by which the Conveyor of the Paper to the King was fully discover'd. And thus he began his Conversion to the Court, for which he is applauded by the Archdeacon, with Treachery and Perjury. It is evident by the Charge against the Earl of *Strafford*, that the Lord *Clarendon* does not wrong him, where he says, *He indulged his own Appetite and Passion in his Government of Ireland, was of too high and severe a Deportment.* A Man ought not to lose his Head for being proud, but if he adds Oppression and Cruelty to his Pride, and Treason to both, I do not see how a Divine, such a one as the Archdeacon is, cou'd say seriously, *That never so white a Soul return'd to its Maker.*

Ld Digby quits his Party.

A.D. 1641. The Affair being likely to be spun out to a great Length by the Opposition it met with in the House of Lords, the Commons resolv'd to return to their Bill of Attainder, which was brought in by Sir *Arthur Haslerrig*. *Echard's* Reason for it is wonderful; finding a great Defection in their Party, about four to one, 204 to 59, as by the last Division. The Lords going on in their own Way, heard the Earl's Council *Lane, Gardiner*, and *Lightfoot*; but the Commons wou'd not reply, because of their Bill to attain him, which was read the twenty-third of *April*, when the Lord *Digby* first appear'd as grand an Apostate as formerly he had charg'd *Strafford* to have been. He did not deny Sir *Henry Vane's* Notes to be genuine, he only call'd them *disjointed Fragments*, without Result or Conclusion, a Remark very unworthy that Lord's admirable Talent. Such Counsels as those are not wont to be taken in Form, or be preserv'd in Registers; and it was as much as *Vane* cou'd do to minute the most important Heads of such dangerous Discourses. Neither is his Argument much stronger, tho' mightily insisted upon in the Injustice of a Law made a *Posteriori*, as if in all Governments there was not an absolute unlimited Power to act with or without Law for the Preservation of the State. This Power in *France* and *Fex* is in the King, in *England* it is in the King, Lords, and Commons, and there is no Danger of its ever being exerted unreasonably or unnecessarily. The Lord *Digby* was oblig'd to explain some Parts of his Speech; and being now to shew the Court that he wou'd stick at nothing to please them, he did it so insolently, that the Country Party disown'd him, and order'd his Speech, which he printed, to be burnt by the Hangman; so the Court found it necessary to remove him to the House of Lords, which began to fester the Sore, which was before in a fair way of healing.

We have now both in the Lord *Clarendon's* History, and its Copy the Archdeacon's, an Account of a Conference between the Author, Mr. *Hyde*, and the Earls of *Bedford* and *Essex*, which has not one probable Cast in it, but a very improbable one at the End of it, where we are told the Earl of *Essex* shou'd say, with respect to the King's being urg'd to pass the Bill of Attainder against his Conscience, *The King in Conscience is oblig'd to conform himself and his Opinion to the Opinion and Conscience of his Parliament.* This was an unknown Doctrine maintain'd by their Divines. Where does that appear? Where was it preach'd? Who was the Preacher? The Doctrine then preach'd, was doubtless that the Earl by his traitorous Counsel given the King, had incur'd the Punishment due to Traytors; and on a Supposition that *Vane's* Notes were true, no Traytor cou'd have said more to have brought Destruction on his Country. 'Tis the worst Sort of Enthusiasm, to put Conscience in Opposition to Fact. The King did not deny that there was any such Advice at all given by *Strafford*, tho' he objected to the Notes. *Warwick*, one of the fiercest Advocates the Cause ever had, says the Notes ought not to have been taken Notice of, because the Paper was blotted, which every one knows Minutes taken in haste are wont to be. He has the vulgar Objection to the Construction of the Earl's Words, *this Kingdom*, did not mean *England*, but *that Kingdom* Scotland. The Way of construing doubtful Expressions is by the Context: *Borrow Money of London*, raise the Money vigorously all over *England*: If they won't pay, you are acquitted before God and Man, and have an Army in *Ireland* to make them do it, which is the natural Sense; but put to reduce *Scotland* in the Place of it, and it is Nonsense.

I never find these Men pretend to Conscience in the Breach of Laws and Privileges, and the Invasion of the Rights, Properties, and Liberties of

A.D. 1641. of the Subject, and cannot think this was the Question. The King had all along assur'd his ill Ministers, that he wou'd protect them: They had all along flatter'd him with an unlimited Prerogative, and if he gave this Man up to Justice, who after that wou'd dare to be the Minister of his arbitrary absolute Power? How cou'd he answer it to a Number of Delinquents to whom he had given the like Assurances. Here it sticks, and a better Face cou'd not be put upon it than Conscience.

London
Petition.

Rushw.

A Petition from London is just mention'd by the reverend Historian, as an Artifice to give the Bill of Attainder a *fresh Push*. Thus does he insult the Legislature, and treats the Petitioners as so many Villains, tho' never did Petition deserve more Respect, being sign'd by 20000 Persons of good Quality and Rank, whom he insolently taxes with a Design to murder the Earl of *Strafford* by hastening his Execution. Among many other deplorable Complaints, the Petitioners represent the *Loss of Trade from the unsettled Condition of the Kingdom, the stopping Money in the Mint, the vast Sums of Money unduly taken by his Majesty's Officers, the strong and secret Opposition to the Punishment of Incendiaries, the distracted State of the Church, Papists still armed, the Laws against them not executed, some of the most active of them still at Court, Priests and Jesuits not yet banish'd, the Irish Popish Army not yet disbanded, Courts of Justice not yet reform'd.* Oh the felicitous Times! *And the Earl of Strafford, who as now appears, hath counselled the plundering of the City, not yet brought to Justice, which they humbly pray may be executed upon him, &c.* The Commons sent the Lord *Ruffel* to the Lords, to desire a Conference on the Substance of this Petition. Mr. *Glyn* and Mr. *Hill* were order'd to manage the Conference, with Instructions to desire the Lords to expedite the Bill of Attainder, and to petition with them for disbanding the *Irish Army*, and removing *Papists* from Court.

Mr. St.
John's Ar-
gument.

Mr. Solicitor General *St. John*, was also order'd to maintain the Point of Law concerning the Attainder; and for obeying the Command of the House, *Echard*, with his accusom'd Modesty, calls him that *implacable Man*, and turns one of the best Law Arguments which ever was made by Lawyer, into his own wretched Buffoonry, *We give Lawes to Hares, we knock Wolves on the Head.* Mr. *St. John* prov'd the Treason to be within the Statute of 25 *Edw. 3.* He took notice of what the Earl of *Strafford* had said in his last Speech about the Lords being more *skilful in the Art of killing than their Ancestors.* *This Appeal of his from yourselves to your Ancestors, we admit of, said Mr. Solicitor, your Lordships will be pleas'd to hear what Judgment they have already given in the Case.* He then quotes many Precedents of Attainders in Parliament for Treason not within the before-mentioned Statute, and talks with good Law and good Sense: *Though your Lordships Ancestors were willing to make the Statute of 25 Edw. 3. the Rule of the inferior Courts, yet they left the Attainders, Parliament Precedents, to themselves untouch'd, wherein the Legislative Power had been exercis'd. There's nothing in them whence it can be gather'd, but that they intended to leave them as free for the future.* There is more Law in that Argument of Mr. *St. John's*, than in all Mr. *Hyde's* Arguments which have yet appear'd in Print. Yet the Archdeacon, who is as ignorant even as myself in these Matters, takes upon him to condemn Mr. *St. John's* Argument both as to Law and Eloquence, of both which indeed he is equally a Judge. He calls it *fallacious and barbarous*; he might as well have call'd it *schismatical and barbarous*, there being no more Barbarity in it, than in all Pleadings which are powerful enough to bring Criminals to Punishment. *Clarendon, Warwick, Echard*, and all of them, cry up Mr. *Lane's* Answer to *St. John's* Argument, that by Statute 1 *Hen. 4.* nothing was to be adjudg'd

Treason but what was ordain'd by the Statute 25 *A.D. 1641* *Edw. 3.* and I did not think they had all impos'd on us, *Lane* and all his Panegyrist, till I read what the learned Lawyer *Acherley* says, *The Commons were well furnish'd with Matter to have reply'd to this Argument, if they had so pleas'd*; and then he knocks all *Lane's* Argument on the Head by Authorities and Reasons. See *Brit. Const.* p. 429. & seq.

In the mean time Mr. *Hyde*, who was not yet plung'd over Head and Ears in Court-Waters, was sent to the Lords with a Message, *That the Commons had receiv'd Information which hath mov'd in them some Fear that the Earl of Strafford may have a Design to make his Escape, they therefore desire that his Guards may be strengthen'd.* To which the Lords consented. His Majesty gave the two Houses Audience the 28th of *April*, and told them concerning *Papists residing at Court, he wou'd give no just Cause of Scandal.* It is observable that this King in his Speeches has generally some Epithee to a Word which keeps the Interpretation in himself still. If he had said he *wou'd give no Cause of Scandal*, it wou'd have been some sort of Answer, but with that good Epithee *just*, it is no Answer at all; or rather a Denial; for his Majesty thought those *Papists* his best Friends. He lov'd them, and they lov'd him, and cou'd any body therefore be justly scandaliz'd at their living well together? *As to the Irish Army, he found many Difficulties in disbanding it, but he wish'd all Armies might be disbanded.*

The Bill of Attainder going forward, the King came to the House of Peers three Days after, and sending for the Commons, spoke in Favour of the Earl, denying not the Notes themselves, but the Substance of the Notes, and declar'd he cou'd not in Conscience condemn him of Treason; but he was clear as to *Misdemeanor*, and thought him not worthy of any Place for the future; no not that of a Constable. 'Tis a very pitiful Case to see *Echard* and *Warwick's Delphian Oracle* reduc'd by King *Charles* himself to the Capacity of a *Tything-Man*. The Earl, as *Heylin* owns, took that Expression worse than Death, and wish'd it had been spar'd, in a Letter he wrote to the King. *Strafford* and his Friends did not thank the King for interfering, and believ'd his Earnestness to save him hasten'd his Destruction. The Commons were a little displeas'd at the King's interfering in the passing of a Bill before it came regularly to him, and it was generally look'd upon as a new Breach of their Privileges. 'Tis pretended the Lord *Say* gave the King this traiterous Counsel; but rather, I believe, to accuse that Lord of Treachery, than the King of Weakness. What *Echard* says here of the House of Commons being in a Confederacy with the Watermen, Porters, Shoemakers and Taylors of London, to destroy the Earl of *Strafford* and the Church, is too incredible and too impudent to bear Remark. A Doctor of Divinity, and his *Band-Dogs*, are his chief Actors in this Confederacy. Thus he stiles the Citizens of London, who came to *Westminster* waiting with Impatience to hear the Bill of Attainder was pass'd. These Citizens presented an humble Petition to the Lords, complaining of a Conspiracy for the Earl's Escape, in order to which the Garrison of the Tower was to be reforc'd with 100 Soldiers under Captain *Billingstey*. This was certain, Sir *William Balfour* Governor of the Tower, declar'd to the six Lords who were sent to examine him, that he had receiv'd Orders to admit *Billingstey* and his Reinforcement; that the Earl of *Strafford* offer'd him 20000 *l.* and to marry his Daughter to his Son; that it shou'd be done under Pretence of removing him to some other Prison, and the Earl wou'd take his Opportunity to escape; that he shou'd have the King's Warrant to indemnify him; for in those Days that Warrant was thought an Indemnification for the Breach of all the Laws in our Law-Books and Statutes.

Mr. Hyde's
Message.

King's
Speech.

Strafford.

His Con-
trivance
to escape.

A.D. 1641. Statutes. Captain *Billingsley* confess'd upon Oath, that he was employ'd to get an hundred stout Fellows for a secret Service by Sir *John Suckling* one of the Army Conspirators. But *Echard* invalidates Sir *William Balfour's* Evidence because he was a *Scotsman*, for which that brave Nation is much indebted to him. Sir *William* refus'd to admit *Billingsley* and his Soldiers, or any other but the *Hamlet Men*.

It is common with the History Writers, such as *Heylin*, *Sanderfon*, *Echard*, &c. to say as *Warwick* does, that the Parliament declin'd the Prosecution by Tryal, and brought in the Bill of Attainder because they had not Proof; and Sir *Henry Vane's* swearing to his Notes, signify'd no more than if one of themselves had sworn to them; and this their Great Vulgar and their Small run away with; whereas the Lords voted the Earl guilty of *High-Treason*, not upon the Notes, of which so much has been said, but upon the *fifteenth Article*, for levying Money in *Ireland* by Force; and upon the *nineteenth Article*, for imposing an Oath upon the Subjects: Which Vote would have condemn'd the Earl without the Bill of Attainder; but it was manifest the Commons were resolv'd to make the King a Party in it; and tho' the common Way of Process would have convicted him capitally, as appears by the Lords Vote, yet then the King would have been passive only in his Punishment, and they resolv'd he should be active in Terror to all future Evil Counsellors; which his Majesty perceiving, it no doubt contributed something to the Tenderness of his Conscience.

When we have read *Whitlocke's* Account of the Vote of the Peers upon two other Articles of High-Treason, how flat do all the Arguments in the History of the Rebellion against the Notes appear, which are not once mention'd in the Vote of *High-Treason*?

Whitl. 43. But the merriest Part of that Historian's Falsification is this, *The Bill pass'd the House of Commons with only fifty-nine negative Voices, when there was near two hundred in the House*; whereas there were above two hundred affirmative Voices only; and such is the Way of Tale throughout all that History.

Rushw. 204 Year, 59 Noes. Prince of Orange, Prince's Mary. On the 2d of *May* the Marriage between the young Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary* then twelve Years old, was solemniz'd at *Whitehall*. His Highness had been in *England* scarce a Fortnight, and never was Joy more just nor more general than on this happy Occasion, to which we do in some Measure owe the real Felicities of all the glorious Reigns since the Revolution.

Mr. Pym about the Army Plot. Sir John Wray for the Protestation. The next Day Mr. *Pym* acquainted the House that there were divers Informations of desperate Designs both at home and abroad, of Endeavours to disaffect the Army, and bring them up against the Parliament; that several Persons about the Queen are deeply engag'd in these Plots, and there was Cause to fear an Intent upon *Portsmouth*, &c. Then Sir *John Wray* spoke, *If we intend to perfect the Work, let us take the right Way, let us become holy Pilgrims (not Popish) and endeavour to be loyal Covenanters with God and the King, first binding ourselves by a parliamentary and national Oath (not a Straffordian nor a Prelatical one) to preserve our Religion entire and pure, without the least Compound of Superstition or Idolatry, &c. This doing we shall be a blessed Nation: But if we shall let go our Christian Hold, and lose our Parliament-Proof, and old English well-temper'd Mettle, let us take Care that our Buckler break not, our Parliaments melt not, and our Golden Candlestick be not remov'd; which never let me live to see, nor England to feel the Want of.* After the Reader has this short, hearty, truly *English* Speech in his Memory, let him turn to the long Sentences; the Sophistry, and Affectation in the Lord *Clarendon's* florid Discourses, and see how they will relish on his Palate. How piquant and pleasing is the blunt Honesty of this *Lincolnshire* Knight? How flat and fulsome the

A.D. 1641. eternal Flattery and Prevarication in the History of the Rebellion? The House taking that honest Speech into Consideration, RESOLV'D, That a Protestation should be taken by all the Members, *To defend the Reform'd Religion express'd in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations; they mean Laud's: The whole Body, Lords and Commons, and even Bishops, mean his Innovations so much cry'd up by Clarendon and Echard. To defend his Majesty's royal Person, Honour, and Estate, the Power and Privileges of Parliaments, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subjects; to oppose and bring to condign Punishment all such as shall by Force, Practice, Counsels, Plots, Conspiracies, or otherwise do any Thing contrary to this Protestation.* How excellent is the Archdeacon's Observation, that the Clause to defend the true reform'd Protestant Religion, was intended against making Alterations in the Hierarchy; and more excellent still is his other Observation, that the Plot which occasion'd the Protestation was imperfect; so in his Way of thinking was the *Gunpowder-Treason*, for that the Parliament was not blown up, nor was this over-aw'd by the Army. He introduces more *Gunpowder* into his Farce, and with wretched Raillery insults the House of Commons upon the Fright the Report of it puts them into: His Actors in it are Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *Middleton*, Mr. *Moyle*, and Sir *John Wray*, whose Motion for the Protestation he never will forgive, tho' he was Knight of his own Shire. What he observes about a Church, is as false as it is foolish. The Lord *Clarendon* informs us, the Parliament was so careful not to have it understood in *Echard's* Sense, that they made this Explanation of it: *By these Words was and is meant only the publick Doctrine profess'd in the said Church, so far as it is opposite to Popery and Popish Innovations; and that the said Words are not to be extended to the maintaining of any Form of Worship, Discipline, or Government, nor of any Rites and Ceremonies of the said Church of England.* This Protestation was carry'd up to the Lords the 3d of *May* by Mr. *Denzil Hollis* and Mr. *Maynard*; the latter read it, and the former made a learned elegant Speech upon it: *The Parliament find Jesuits and Priests conspiring with ill Ministers of State, Laud's old Friend Windbank, Cottington, &c. to destroy our Religion. They find ill Ministers conjoin'd together to subvert our Laws and Liberties; Wentworth, and too many more to be nam'd. They find Justice obstructed, Property invaded, and this very Parliament which hath sate so long, hath all this while but beaten the Air, and striven against the Stream; for I may truly say, Wind and Tide have still been against us. The same ill Counsels which first rais'd the Storm which almost shipwreck'd the Commonwealth, do still continue, they blow strong like the East Wind that brought the Locusts over the Land, &c.* This Protestation was taken by the Commons immediately, no Member being suffer'd to go out of the House till he took it, which the others did as they came in. Thus in two Days time 'twas taken by 71 temporal Lords, 17 Bishops, 428 Commoners, 9 Judges, and afterwards generally. *Heylin*, whose Example is excellently well follow'd by Mr. *Archdeacon*, positively asserts that the Lord *Digby* and his Unkle refus'd the Protestation, which is a positive Falsty. The Lord *Digby* and his Unkle took it one just after the other, and there was but one Man, Mr. *Herbert*, between the two *Digbys*, and Mr. *Pym* and Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, who were two of the first Takers. The Earl of *Southampton* and the Lord *Roberts* two Noblemen who afterwards fell in heartily with the *English* Interest, would not take it; as being too nearly related to the *Scots* Covenant. But the Earl of *Lindsey*, Earl of *Northampton*, Earl of *Carnarvon*, and several others, who sacrific'd their Lives for the King, did take it.

Mr. Hollis's Speech upon it.

A.D. 1641.

Straffordians.

The Citizens of London continuing impatient at the Delays the Bill of Attainder met with, drew up a List of all the Members of the House of Commons who were against that Bill while it was passing that House, and affix'd it to the Wall of Sir William Brouncker's House in Palace-Yard, to mark those Gentlemen as Persons set apart to feel the Weight of the People's Resentments. They wrote upon it *Betrayers of the Country*, and *Straffordians*, the Title downwards, as if they would hang them up by the Heels. Their Names were, Lord Digby, Lord Compton, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Hatton, Sir Edward Alford, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Sir Thomas Danby, Sir George Wentworth, Sir Peter Wentworth, Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Sir William Carnaby, Sir Richard Win, Sir Gerwase Clifton, Sir William Widdrington, Sir William Pennyman, Sir Patrick Curwen, Sir Richard Lee, Sir Thomas Fanshawe, Sir John Strangeways, Sir Henry Slingsby, Sir William Portman, Mr. Selden, Mr. Gerwase Hollis, Mr. Sidney Godolphin, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Coventry, Mr. Benjamin Weston, Mr. Alford, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Herbert, Captain Digby, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Griffith, Mr. Scarven, Mr. Bridgman, Serjeant Hyde, Mr. Fettiplace, Dr. Turner, Captain Charles Price, Dr. Parry, Mr. Arundel, Mr. Newport, Mr. Holborn, Mr. Noel, Mr. Kirton, Mr. Pollard, Mr. Price, Mr. Trevanion, Mr. Jane, Mr. Edgcomb, Mr. Chicheley, Mr. Mallory, Mr. Porter, Mr. White, Mr. Warwick, fifty-six in all. Mr. Warwick the Memoir Writer, distinguishes himself by a Place in this List, and by nothing else that I have yet met with concerning him. Of the three other negative Voices, Mr. Edward Hyde may be suppos'd to be one, by his declaiming so much against the Parliaments bloody Doings in this Bill of Attainder. This List so affrighted some of the Lords as well as Commons, that they left their House, as the Earl of Holland, Earl of Hertford, Earl of Bristol, Duke of Lenox; and the Lord Saville, who had been *Strafford's* profess'd Enemy, stuck close to him.

Earl of Bedford's Death.

The Death of the Earl of Bedford, which happen'd at this Time, is said by the Lord Clarendon to have forwarded the Earl of *Strafford's*, which is what the Criticks call *subtilizing* in History, or making Judgment by Guesses, where there is no Foundation for it in Fact. If the Earl of Bedford promis'd to save his Life, no doubt he had thought of some Way of doing it; but the Doubt is whether he made such a Promise, it being inconsistent with that Lord's known Sincerity and Zeal for the Commonwealth. The Historian owns he had been the Earl of *Strafford's* mortal Opposer; and it is not very likely that the Assurance of the Treasurer's Staff, which Dr. *Fuxon* thought it high time to resign, shou'd have such Influence on so noble a Peer, as to make him all at once become the Earl of *Strafford's* Protector. Such unnatural Changes may happen with your *Wentworth's*, your *Noy's*, *Saville's*, *Digby's*, &c. but not with Gentlemen of solid Principles and Virtue.

The Judges, as bad as they had been, being now to give their Advice to the Lords about the Bill of Attainder, thought the Treasons so plainly prov'd before their Lordships, according to their own Votes, That the Earl of *Strafford* doth deserve to undergo the Pain and Forfeitures of High-Treason; upon which the Bill pass'd the House of Peers the 8th of May; and Judge *Heath* was sent to the Commons with the Message, that their Lordships had pass'd it without any Alteration. It now stopp'd with the King, who, by Advice of the Lords, consulted Dr. *Usher* Archbishop of *Armagh*, Dr. *Moreton* Bishop of *Durham*, Dr. *Potter* Bishop of *Carlisle*, great Divines and Casuists; also Dr. *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and the late Lord High-Treasurer, Dr. *Fuxon* Bishop of *London*, of whom *Sanderfon*, his very good Friend, says after one who heard the King speak it, He acted cunningly, and said nothing at all. But *Echard*, his very good Friend

also, vouches for him that he acted heroically, and told the King, He ought to do nothing against his Conscience upon any Consideration in the World. The Archbishop of *Armagh*, in a Writing of his on this Subject, informs us, The Bishop of London spake nothing at all, and the Bishop of Lincoln not only spoke, but deliver'd the King a Paper, containing a Promise of Pardon which the King had given the Earl under his Hand, and cou'd not be prevail'd with to pass the Bill till that Paper was restor'd. *Sanderfon* assures us the Bishop of Lincoln, in Concert with Sir William *Balfour* Governor of the Tower, found Means to get it from the Earl under Pretence of doing him Service; and it was with a View of Pardon upon sight of that Promise, that he wrote the Letter to the King so much talk'd of by his Adorers, wherein he gave his Consent to his Majesty's passing the Bill. We read in *Sanderfon*, if any of the Bishops depended on the Judgment of the others, it was the Bishop of London, who at the last Meeting, when all the other Bishops gave their Opinion in the Affirmative with Archbishop *Usher*, and that upon the whole Matter Treason might be justly charg'd upon *Strafford*; spake not a Syllable. *Echard* writes, He gain'd a Reputation by what he said, that ought to render him immortal in History; and as a Proof of it, he has put him into his own, where he is sure of as much Immortality as the Merit of saying nothing amounts to. Mr. *Philips* intimates that *Sanderfon* has wrong'd Bishop *Williams* in the Matter of the Paper, which I cannot entirely fall in with, because Archbishop *Usher*, in the above-mention'd Writing, owns he put a Paper into the King's Hand, wherein what was contain'd his Brethren knew not; but I do entirely agree with him in what he says of *Sanderfon*; He relates Things false as often as true, and it is pity his History fell into Mr. *Echard's* Way. The Form of consulting Casuists being over, his Majesty sign'd a Commission in Council on Sunday the 9th, to the Earl of *Arundel* and two other Lords, the Lord Privy-Seal, and the Lord-Chamberlain, to pass the Bill of Attainder, and the Bill for Continuance of the present Parliament.

Sanderfon 414.

Sanderfon. K. Charles passes the Attainder, and for Continuance of the Parliament.

There is a general Error in the Histories not only of disaffected Authors, but of others; and it is thence become a general but a false Opinion, that the Commons were so fearful of the ill Consequences of this Bill of Attainder, that there was a Clause in it, that it shou'd never be drawn into Precedent. *Heylin* is the first in this Folly and Falshood; A Clause was added that it shou'd not be drawn into Example for Time to come. *Warwick* out-does him, and indeed every one else in such sort of Nonsense, they stigmatiz'd their own Bill with a Proviso, this Judgment shou'd not for the future be drawn any more into Example. 'Twas impossible for *Echard* not to copy this weak Passage, with which he cou'd not but be enamour'd, because he fancy'd it reflected on the Justice of the Lords and Commons of England: There was a special Proviso that this Act shou'd not be a Precedent. Of which special Proviso there is not one Word in the Bill. *Rushworth* speaking of the true Proviso in the Bill, which relates only to Judges and Justices in inferior Courts, says, This Proviso hath occasion'd the common Discourse and Opinion, that this Judgment against the Earl was enacted never to be drawn into Precedent in Parliament, whereas it expressly respects only Judges in inferior Courts. Dr. *Welwood* has the same Observation, I cannot help taking notice of a silly Mistake which has gain'd some Credit in the World, as if the Bill of Attainder was of so extraordinary a Nature, and so much out of all the known Methods of Justice, that the Legislators themselves were oblig'd to insert a Clause into the Body of it, that it shou'd never be drawn into Precedent; whereas that Clause doth expressly relate to Judges in inferior Courts. I am sensible that Decency and Delicacy of History admit

The Proviso so confuted.

A.D. 1641.

admit not of such unhandfome Epithets, as foolish, filly, and the like, nor such rude ones, as *villainous, infamous, &c.* But it is our Misfortune that we have hardly any Persons to deal with on one side of the Question, but what are the Substantives of these Adjectives, and one cannot help talking in proper Phrase; which Dr. *Welwood* had the Experience of as well as my self.

The King sent the Secretary of State, Sir *Dudley Carlton*, to acquaint the Lord *Strafford* with what was done, and the Motives to it; He receiv'd the Message of Death with great Sweetness, to use *Echard's* own Words, because they are Antipodes to the Truth. *Sanderson* relates it thus, "The Earl amaz'd, seriously ask'd the Secretary, *Whether his Majesty had pass'd the Bill?* As not believing, without some Astonishment, that the King wou'd have done it; and being assur'd that it was past, he arose from his Chair, and standing up, lift up his Eyes to Heaven, clap'd his Hand upon his Heart, and cry'd, *Put not your Trust in Princes, nor in the Sons of Men, for in them there is no Salvation.*" I mention this Historian, because he is in the same Degree of Credit for good *stanch* Principles, with the Author of the *History of the Rebellion*. *Whitlocke* speaks of Sir *Dudley Carleton's* Message in the like manner; and the Earl of *Strafford's* Behaviour did doubtless occasion great Remorse in his Majesty, who sent a Letter by the Prince of *Wales* to the Lords, wherein he desir'd them to confer with the Commons to spare the Earls Life; which had no Effect, and the King was much blamed by *Heylin* and his Brethren; for stooping so low to the House of Peers, as to subscribe his Letter your Friend: Missives bearing always Sovereigns Names a-top, and without any Adjunct.

After the Archdeacon has told us the Earl of *Strafford* understood Divinity better than any Layman, he tells us, he might have sav'd his Life if he wou'd have persuaded the King to take away Episcopacy; but he bravely rejected the Offer made by his Brother-in-Law, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*. Mr. *Hollis* was justly esteem'd one of the wisest Men of those Times, and there never were Times in which there were wiser; and unless he had been authoriz'd by the two Houses of Parliament to make that Proposition, nothing could be more rash and extravagant, which the Earl must know too well to trust to. When the Earl was going to Execution, the 12th of *May*, he made a low Bow to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was at a Window, and beg'd his Blessing, which the Archdeacon informs us the Archbishop gave him, and fell into a Swoon; As if his Soul wou'd have forc'd its way to have join'd the Earls in its Passage to Eternity; he plays with Eternity as Flies do with the Flame. Is it nothing to appear before the tremendous Bar of Judgment, with the Guilt of Idolatry, Superstition, Profanation of the Sabbath, Persecution, Cruelty, Tyranny, Blood, and the huge Mass of Crimes prov'd upon these two Criminals? The Earl bow'd again, and pray'd God to protect the Archbishop's Innocence: We have seen, and shall still see, what that Innocence was which he prays to God with his dying Breath to protect: After which he march'd to a Scaffold, like a General to a Triumph; Mr. *Echard's* Similies are extremely Natural. Nothing in the World is so like a Triumph, as to have one's Head cut off. He had triumph'd over the Laws, Rights, Properties and Liberties of the People so much, that his Majesty was pleas'd to say, he was not fit to be a Constable. His Behaviour on the Scaffold, was like that of a Man who had long expected to die upon one, and was prepar'd for it: 'Twas brave and decent; yet when he was Beheaded there was so great Acclamation, that *Echard* informs us, his Enemies too rode back in Triumph, waving their Hats, and crying, *His Head is off, his Head is off.*

King writes to the Lords in Behalf of the Earl.

Strafford Executed.

The Reflections the Reverend Historian make on the Act for the Continuance of the Parliament, have the usual Solidity; It was a new Constitution though they had not one Privilege more granted them by it, except the single one of Sitting.

The Earl of *Leicester* was now made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*: He was Heir to Sir *Philip Sidney*, his Uncle, as well as to Sir *Henry Sidney*, his Grandfather, who had with great Honour, and much Integrity, long continued Chief Governor of *Ireland* in the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*. The Earl of *Hertford* was made Marquis, and the Prince's Governor, &c we hear of him no more among the Country Party. The Earl of *Essex* was made Lord Chamberlain; the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, Lord *Newburgh*, and Sir *Henry Vane*, Secretary of State, were appointed Commissioners of the Treasury.

The House of Commons being in Debate about Deans and Chapters, Dr. *Hacket*, afterwards Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, was admitted to speak in their Behalf, and did it with more Applause than Success. Then was deliver'd a Petition from the University of *Oxon*, and the most remarkable Thing in it, is the Date of it, *Dat. Anno Dom. Millesimo Sex. Cent. Quod primo è domo Convocationis in celebri conventu Doctorum, & Magistrorum omnibus & singulis Assentientibus*; but they forgot the Month, and Day of the Month. They assure the Parliament, that in some Western Churches, as well as Eastern, there has been a continual Succession of Bishops down from the very Apostles to this present Time, the like whereof cannot be affirm'd of any other Form of Government; upon which Consideration, they earnestly desire the ancient Apostolical Order may be protected from Ruin and Diminution: You find them all in the same Tone. Thus *Titus* and *Becket*, *Timothy* and *Wolfey*, were the very same sort of Bishops. or the Function must have receiv'd very great Alterations during so long a Succession, and consequently either be or not be the ancient Apostolical ones. If *Becket's* Episcopacy was the same as *Titus's*, 'twas Apostolical and Ancient, whether the Chain was broken or not; if it was not the same, the Succession is of no Signification; it being the Function, and not the Person, that was in Debate. And not the Function, as it was Primitive and Pure, but as it had suffer'd various Changes and Augmentations, during the Court of fifteen Centuries. There had been no Difference about the Name and Function, if that wou'd have serv'd the Universities Turn: However, when any Professor of History shall prove that there has been a continu'd unbroken Succession of Bishops in any two Western Churches, I know what they pretend about the Pope, *Erit mihi Magnus Apollo*. The Substance of the Cambridge Petition is as modest as the Date. *Data frequenti Conventu Nostro Cantab. tertio Idus Aprilis*, they pray that honourable Court, the House of Commons, to reform Innovations and Abuses that have crept in by some Mens Miscarriages; and that Foundations establish'd for the Advancement of Learning, might be preserv'd; all which was just and reasonable. A Complaint was brought into Parliament against Dr. *Stern*, Master of *Jesus College* in that University, for encouraging Superstition, and maintaining Arbitrary Power; but we shall find him, and Dr. *Cosens*, Head of *Peter-House*, lately charg'd with the same Crime in the best Episcopal Sees in *England*, before we have done with this History, to encourage others to follow their Example.

The Tyranny of the Earl of *Strafford*, as President of the Council of the North, was set forth at large by Mr. *Edward Hyde*, in a Speech at a Conference between both Houses of Parliament, about a Fortnight before the Earl was beheaded, wherein he said, *This Court, by the Spirit and Ambition of the Ministers trusted there, hath so prodigiously*

A.D. 1641. All for continuing the Parliament. Earl of Leicester.

Deans and Chapters. Oxford Petition.

Cambridge Petition.

A.D. 1641. *giously broken down the Banks of the first Channels in which it ran, that it hath almost overwhelm'd that Country under the Sea of Arbitrary Power, and involv'd the People in a Labyrinth of Distemper, Oppression and Poverty. To overwhelm with a Sea, and involve in a Labyrinth at one and the same Time, is extremely regular in Metaphor; and this is the Eloquence which is so much boasted of in the History of the Rebellion. Is it not strange that the Earl of Clarendon's great Skill in Divinity shou'd not have taught him better; and that so white a Soul should be guilty of oppressing and begging the People, and of drowning them in a Sea of Arbitrary Power? Mr. Hyde speaks further of the Tyranny of that Court, of which Strafford was Lord President, or chief Tyrant; and the Issue was, that this favourite Court of his was demolish'd with Ignominy, about the same Time that the President was executed.*

Farmers of the Customs. The Farmers of the Customs, Sir Paul Pindar, Sir Abraham Dawes, Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir John Jacob, being question'd for levying Tonnage and Poundage, without Consent of Parliament, offer'd and paid 150000 Pounds Composition; which shews they must have unmercifully speculated, or they cou'd have made no such Payment: Some think that their Crime deserv'd Corporal Punishment much more than Mr. Prynne's Book against *Vagabonds* and *Strumpets*.

Mr. Taylor Member. Mr. Taylor, Member of Parliament for *Windsor*, was brought upon his Knees in the House of Commons, for saying *they had committed Murder with the Sword of Justice, and he would not for a World have so much Blood lying on his Conscience, as did on theirs for the Sentence.* The Words were prov'd against him by the Mayor of *Windsor*, so he was expell'd the House the 27th of *May*, and voted incapable of ever being chosen a Member of Parliament, order'd to be carry'd down to *Windsor* to recant these Words, and then to be committed to the *Tower* during Pleasure.

Army Plot. The Plot between some Courtiers, the Jesuit *Orleans* says the King himself, and some Officers of the Army to over-awe the Parliament, is call'd a pretended one by Mr. Archdeacon, and a real one by both the House of Lords and House of Commons. 'Tis fairly related in *Whitlocke*, and we may by this Event be confirm'd in our Judgment of the Archdeacon's and the Lord *Clarendon's* Sincerity. *Echard* will have it, that there was no Plot at all; and the Earl of *Clarendon*, who cannot deny but that there was some Plotting, assures us, 'twas because the Parliament did sometimes give the Scots the Money which was intended for the *English*. That sometimes was once, upon the pressing Instances of the Scots for a present Supply; 10000 Pounds was order'd them out of 50000 Pounds which had been design'd for the *English* Army. The Reverend Historian affirms, they took 10000 out of 15000 Pounds. Commissary *Wilmot*, a Member of the House, resenting that the Scots Request was comply'd with, said, *If such Papers from the Scots cou'd procure Money, he doubted not but the Officers of the English Army cou'd soon do the like.* It was perceiv'd some of the King's Servants had very weakly as well as rashly, been tampering with the Army to march directly to *London*: what Business they were to do there, is not hard to be conjectur'd. The two chief Plotters in this Politick Plot were two Poets, Sir *John Suckling*, and Sir *William Davenant*; and the chief Officers were Commissary *Wilmot*, Colonel *Goring*, Mr. *Fermyn*, Captain *Leg*, Mr. *Pollard*, Colonel *Arbburnham*, Sir *John Coniers*, *Oneal*, Brother to the *Irish* Rebel, and Mr. *Piercy*, whom *Orleans* stiles *Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, for the Credit of the Plot. The Archdeacon admires that *French* Jesuit as an Historian. To pacify the Army, the Speaker was order'd to write a Letter to Sir *Jacob Ashley*, who command-

A.D. 1641. ed it in the Absence of the other Generals, where- in they were promis'd Money, Cloaths, and what else they demanded. This Letter was sent by Mr. *Rusworth*, who writes of this Plot quite contrary to Mr. Archdeacon, and had a good Effect upon the Soldiers, who were not so ready to draw their Swords against the Parliament, as the Conspirators wou'd have had them. Colonel *Goring* being examin'd concerning this Conspiracy, gave Information that Sir *John Suckling* made the first Overture to him about marching the Army to *London*; that he afterwards met Mr. *Piercy*, Colonel *Arbburnham*, Sir *John Berkley*, Mr. *Pollard*, Mr. *Fermyn*, and *Oneal* the *Irishman*, who all took a solemn Oath of Secrecy, not to reveal the Subject of their treasonable Conferences. That 'twas propos'd to send a Declaration to the Parliament before the Army began their March, which was first mov'd by *Fermin*, and oppos'd by *Goring*, *Wilmot*, *Arbburnham*, and *Pollard*. That both the King and the Queen knew of the Conspiracy, which his Majesty call'd *the setting the Army in a good Posture.* The Officers agreed upon a Petition to the King and Parliament for Money, not to Disband before the Scots; to preserve Bishops, to settle the King's Revenue; which if not comply'd with, they were to perform Wonders. His Majesty saw this Petition, and shew his Approbation of it, sign'd it C. R. with a Direction to the Bearer, who carry'd it down to the Army, that none shou'd see it as yet but Sir *Jacob Ashley*. In this Petition they made the Army offer to wait upon his Majesty, hoping to appear as considerable in his Defence, as what Number soever should appear to the contrary: Several Officers sign'd it in the Army, but upon the Discovery of the Treason the Traytors fled, and a Proclamation was publish'd the 8th of *May*, commanding *Henry Piercy*, Esq; *Henry Fermin*, Esq; Sir *John Suckling*, *William Davenant*, and Captain *Billingstey*, whom we find very ready for any Mischief, to surrender themselves. *Davenant* was taken as he was making his Escape. *Piercy* and *Fermyn* got into *France*. The King sent a Warrant to Colonel *Goring*, Governor of *Portsmouth*, to provide a Ship with all Speed, to carry *Piercy* to *Diep* or *Calais*. The Parliament voted, *That there was a Design not only to poison the Affections of the Army towards the Parliament, by making them believe they were neglected, and the Scots prefer'd to them; but to bring up that Army to London to awe and force both Houses, &c.* This *Echard* terms averring confidently there was a Plot, though the Lord *Digby* had invalidated *Goring's* Evidence, for which he was publicly expell'd the House of Commons, says he very ingeniously; as if it was possible to expel a Man privately, when there were three or four Hundred in Company. The Lord *Digby* was the same Day call'd up by Writ to the House of Peers, notwithstanding the Parliament petition'd his Majesty not to confer any Honour or Employment upon him; but the perverse Measures, and obstinate way of pursuing them, are reviving, and doubtless are owing much to the Malignity and Vehemence of *Digby's* Temper, who is now the favourite Counsellor to both King and Queen, and their Matters are like to thrive accordingly. Modest Mr. *Echard* proceeds; *After the Parliament had play'd this Plot, Mr. Pym privately got Piercy to write a certain Letter to his Brother, the Earl of Northumberland, which shou'd blow up all his Companions, yet there was a very little Show of Proof of a real Design, tho' the Letter agreed with Goring's Evidence.* What can one make of such Anecdotes? Who told him Mr. *Pym* did it privately? He can have Acquaintance with none whom Mr. *Pym* wou'd be acquainted with, or have so much Confidence in, as to impart such a Secret to them. In this certain Letter there was the following great Show of a real Design. *The 10000 Pounds to the Scots, was the Cause of many Discourses of Dislike*

A.D. 1641. like amongst us of the Army, and came to this Purpose, that we were disobliz'd by the Parliament, and not by the King: This being said often to one another, we did resolve, Wilmot, Ashburnham, Pollard, Oneal, and my self, to tell his Majesty of it, and represent it as a great Service done him, when his Affairs were in so ill a Condition. After this we agreed upon the Petition for Bishops, and I spoke to the King, who I found had been spoken with before, in a way more sharp and high, not having Limit either of Honour or Law. The Petition of the Soldiers were soon quash'd, says the Reverend Historian, but he owns the King had sign'd it, and there cou'd not be a greater Breach of Parliamentary Privilege, than to excite an arm'd Power to oppose the Sense of the Nation, declar'd by their Representatives concerning Bishops. The King own'd he had set his Name to it, but had no Intention to do what was therein intended: I will here repeat after the Lord Clarendon, what his Majesty is made to say in his Declaration from York, the next Year, I cannot without Indignation suffer my self to be reproach'd, to have intended the least Force or Threatning to my Parliament, as to be privy to the bringing up of the Army, would imply. He was privy to the Consultations which were held to that Purpose. He approv'd of them in the most solemn Manner, by setting his Hand to the Paper which the Conspirators drew up. Goring and Piercy prov'd this, and his Majesty acknowledg'd in the same Declaration he had written C. R. upon it; yet how unconscionably do the evil Counsellors deal by their Master in making him call God to Witncfs, He had never any such Thought, nor knew of any such Resolution. The Parliament

Clar. 545, 555, 587. in their Answer argu'd, That his Majesty's Admission of reading and signing the Petition, and yet insisting that he did not think of, or intend any Force towards the Parliament, was Protestatio contra Factum, a Protestation against the Fact; and therefore in Regard of the Conspiracy, was as injurious to the Constitution, as the Fact was evident and undeniable: The Parliament never ceas'd to pass it as a Reproach upon the King throughout the whole Controversy. A little Shame, without much Conscience, was sufficient to have hindred those evil Counsellors from putting a Denial and a Confession of the same Thing into the same Declaration. General Ludlow, who knew these Things as well as Chancellor Hyde, is positive; " There was a treacherous Design set on Foot, not without the Participation of the King, as appear'd under his own Hand, to bring up the English Army, and by Force to dissolve the Parliament: The Plunder of London being promis'd to the Officers, as a Reward for that Service: This was confess'd by the Lord Goring, Mr. Piercy, and others. The Scots Army was also tried, and the four Northern Counties offer'd to be given to them, in case they would undertake the same Design.

Madam de Motteville, who tells us she had her Memoirs from Queen Henrietta Maria, affirms, that Goring and Wilnot engag'd the Army in the King's Service, and to carry over those Troops to him, that were entirely devoted to his Service. Goring desir'd the Queen to speak to the King about it, which she did, but Goring afterwards discovering the Plot, 'twas all spoilt. Motteville adds, the Queen did all she could to save Strafford: Not a Day pass'd over her Head, but she closetted the most violent of the Faction, whom she sent for privately by the Back-Stairs into an Apartment near her own, which belong'd to a Lady that was in the Country, where with a Flambeaux in her Hand, without trusting any body with the Secret, she went all alone to meet them in the Night, and offer'd them every Thing she cou'd think of, but all was in vain. A rare Minister must this Strafford be, who had so far gain'd the Affection of a Popish bigotted Queen, as to tempt her to lay by her Royalty to serve him.

The Queen, her Mother, had been here about three Years, and given so much Encouragement to Rosetti, the Pope's Agent, that the Parliament took Notice of it: The Multitude also threatned her House while the Agent was shelter'd there. The King, who had other Occasions enough for Ship-Money, allow'd her near 40000 Pounds a Year, when France would not allow her a Livre. However, the Archdeacon is very well pleas'd with the Company of this illustrious Lady, but the House of Commons pray'd the Lords humbly to beseech the King that he might depart the Kingdom. There seem'd to be a strange Infatuation in the Conduct of this Court, who suffer'd that Lady to stay till the People had her be gone. The Reasons they gave for it were, Ill Instruments about her: The flowing of Priests and Papists to her House: The Use and Practice of the Idolatry of the Mass. To quicken her Journey, the Parliament not only order'd 10000 Pounds for it, but gave Intimation that it should be follow'd by more, when she was out of England. I have touch'd on this Queen's Residence here elsewhere, and the 10000 Pounds she had of Mr. Capell's Money for his being made a Lord. Cardinal Richlieu's Hatred to this Princess, pursu'd her implacably wherever she went: He envy'd her the Air she breath'd, and the Food she eat; and her Royal Entertainment in England, made him an Enemy to the Court that entertain'd her. He was not ignorant of the King and Queen's good Intentions to assist her against him, when it was in their Power, and he let no Opportunity slip of giving them Trouble. King Charles, in his Letter to the Queen of the 13th of March, 1643, writes, If this Rebellion had not begun to oppress me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious than she did not many Months after at Cologne, where she had hardly any Thing to subsist her but what was given her by the Parliament.

On the 13th of May the King came to the House of Lords, and gave the Royal Assent to the Act for the Remainder of the six Subsidies, for which Commissioners both Lords and Commons had been appointed in the Bill; and the Earl of Bristol being one of them, the Parliament were so sensible of his deserting their Cause, and of his approving the Treachery of his Son, the Lord Digby, that they order'd his Name to be struck out, and put the Earl of Stamford in its Place. When there are so many Affairs transacting at once, it is impossible to observe the Order of Time exactly, and not break the Thread of the History.

There was all this while a Bill moving in the House of Commons, for taking away Bishops Votes in Parliament. The Reasons in the Archdeacon's Account of it are mutilated, and misrepresented. He asserts that the main Reason was to get rid of the Scots, who declar'd they would not stir till that Bill pass'd: The Lords scrupling to pass the Bill as the Commons had drawn it, there was a Conference between the two Houses; and the Commons Reasons were, 1. Because it is a great Hindrance to their Ministerial Function. 2. Because they do vow and undertake at their Ordination, when they enter into holy Orders, that they will give themselves wholly to that Vocation. 3. Because Councils and Canons in several Ages do forbid them to meddle with secular Affairs. 4. Because the twenty-four Bishops have Dependance on the two Archbishops, and take their Oath of Canonical Obedience unto them. 5. Because they are but for their Lives, and therefore are not fit to have Legislative Power over the Honours, Inheritances, Persons and Liberties of others. 6. Because of Bishops Dependancy and Expectancy of Translation to Places of greater Profit. 7. Because several Bishops have of late much encroach'd upon the Consciences and Liberties of the Subjects, and they and their Successors will be much

A.D. 1641.
Queen Mother.

Subsidies;

Bishops;

Commons
Reasons against
them.

*A.D. 1641. encourag'd still to encroach. After the Bishops then in being, came Sheldon, Morley, Cosins, Stern, Henchman, Gunning, Hyde, Ward, Sparrow, Mew, Blandford, Glemham, Parker, Lake, Ken, &c. 8. Because the whole Number of them are interested to maintain the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, which hath been found so grievous to the three Kingdoms, that Scotland hath utterly abolish'd it. 9. Because Bishops being Lords of Parliament, it settles too great a Distance between them and the rest of their Brethren in the Ministry, which occasions Pride in them, Discontent in others, and Disquiet in the Church: And as to their having had Votes a long Time, the Answer is, If it be inconvenient, Times and Usages are not to be consider'd with Law-Makers; some Abbots voted as anciently in Parliament as Bishops. Dr. Williams, now made Archbishop of York, attempted to answer these Reasons in a Pamphlet, intitled, *The Abstract*: To which presently came forth a *Reply*. And it were to be wish'd Mr. Archdeacon had answer'd them in his History, instead of telling us the Lords declaim'd against the House of Commons for meddling with an Affair that concern'd themselves; and made use of this most convincing Argument, *If they bring up this Bill one Day to take away the BISHOPS, they may bring another the next Day to take away the DUKES*; because the Dukes and the Bishops have the same holy Vocation: And all the Reasons given by the Parliament make against the Dukes, as much as against the Bishops. This is some of the strongest Arguments in their Histories. Sir Simon d'Erwes, the famous Antiquary, inform'd the House, that in the ancient Manuscript Copy of the Greek Bible, in St. James's Library, the Epistles run thus, *The first to Timothy, written from Laodicea; to Titus, written from Nicopolis*; whence he infer'd, that the stiling of Timothy to be the first Bishop of Ephesus, and Titus the first Bishop of Crete, were the spurious Additions of some Eastern Bishops or Monks, at least 500 Years after Christ. Mr. Edward Hyde was Chairman of the Bill concerning Bishops, and according to his own impartial History, he behav'd so dexterously, that he puzzled all their Enemies. The Reverend Historian vouches for the Truth of it; but there is not the least Appearance of it in *Whitlock*, or *Rusworth*, or indeed in Fact or Probability. *Whitlocke* writes, *there were not many very eager for the Bishops: Deans and Chapters, were brought into the Bill afterwards, and Mr. Thomas made an elegant Speech against that Institution; as did also Mr. Pury, Citizen of Gloucester, in which he said, Seeing therefore the said Deans and Chapters are but Trustees, and the Profits of the Lands so ill employ'd by them, contrary to the Trust in them repos'd, I am clearly of Opinion, that by a Legislative Power in Parliament, it is fit to take them away, and to put them into the Hands of Feoffees, to be dispos'd of to such pious Uses as they were first intended for.* The next Speech upon this Bill was Sir Edward Deering's, and the whole Story of it in *Echard* is an incredible Piece of Secret History, with some other Infirmities. The Addition he offer'd to the Bill, was the very same Proposition which Mr. Pury had made for putting Church Lands into the Hands of Commissioners. Sir Edward Deering, among many other Things, said, *I am for abolishing our present Episcopacy, both Dioceses and Diocesans, as they now are: But I am wishal at the same Time for Restoration of the pure primitive Episcopal Presidency. Cut off the usurp'd Adjuncts of our present Episcopacy, reduce the ancient Episcopacy, such as it was in puris Spiritualibus.* And because he does not allow the Prelacy of *Laud* to be pure primitive Episcopacy, which the Archdeacon positively avers, therefore is Sir Edward a Madman and an Idiot. Indeed Archbishop *Usber* was not of his Opinion, as to the *Laudian* Hierarchy, *Whitlocke**

A.D. 1641. informs us, "that he offer'd an Expedient for Conjunction in Point of Discipline, that Episcopal and Presbyterian Government might not be at a far Distance, but reducing Episcopacy to the Form of Synodical Government in the ancient Church." So that according to the most Reverend Father, Archbishop *Usber*, *Laud's* Church was not the ancient Church, which is what I have all along been contending for, and no more. Ever since I was capable of knowing what was the Meaning of the Words *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, the Church of *England* has been bless'd with so many holy, wise, and learned Fathers, that all the Arguments made use of in these Times against *Bishops*, have no manner of Relation to them. If our Church had always been so bless'd, the sacred Function wou'd have always met with the Reverence that is due to it: But the *Laudian* Prelates setting their Hearts entirely on the Things of this World, on Power, Wealth and Dignity, gave general Offence to all sincere Christians, and the holy Order it self was affected by the Pride and Weakness of the Men.

The Act for Tonnage and Poundage has been sufficiently spoken of already; and there is hardly a Man of common Sense in the Kingdom, who does not know that any Revenue which the Crown holds by the Gift of the People, cannot be legally levy'd, till it is given; Yet now the Parliament past an Act for levying it, the Reverend Historian is very angry, that in the Preamble of that Act, the King is made to grant what no King ever deny'd, that the Crown had no Right to take a Gift before it was given. By which, says this judicious Writer, *He was strip'd of all he had left.* This Act was to be in Force two Months only, while a new Book of Rates was making; and then another Act was to be pass'd for levying it, during the Life of the King, as usual, if no ill Measures interven'd to obstruct it.

When those two monstrous Courts, the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commission* was abolish'd by Parliament, the excellent Historian last mention'd, laments the Loss of them, as the Bulwarks of the Peoples Liberties, Spiritual and Temporal. He says in so many Words, the *Star-Chamber* was a Bulwark for the Liberties of the Subject, that it was hastily destroy'd, and after an unprecedented Manner, an Act of Parliament. We have shewn in the preceding Pages, what a rare Defence this was of the Peoples Rights and Liberties; and it is farther explain'd by a Speech of the Lord *Andover* in the House of Peers before-mention'd, *The very Words of the Statute for it shew, that it was a needless Institution; they who are to judge, can proceed with no Delinquent otherwise, than as if he were convicted of the same Crime by due Process of Law: And do your Lordships hold this a rational Court, that sends us to the Law, and calls us to the Law, and calls us back from it again? such a Confusion as cou'd not but be pleasing to so clear a Head as that of the Historian. It is unnecessary to add more of the Lord *Andover's* Arguments, when the plain Fact prov'd the Court to have deserv'd eternal Infamy for its Tyranny and Cruelty. The *High-Commission* Court never had a Word said for it, by Men of Capacity and Conscience. Mr. Archdeacon begins this Matter with a flagrant piece of Sophistry; He says, *Queen Elizabeth establish'd it against Popery and Schism*, but he sinks there being no temporal Penalties in the Statute. Dr. *Fuller* informs us, *It was against Magna Charta, no Man being to be condemn'd to the loss of Liberty or Property, but by the lawful Judgment of his Peers. This Court tender'd an Oath to such as they suspected, obliging the Party to discover what might be Penal to himself, which was conceiv'd to be unjust; and so detestably unjust, that it is astonishing to see Ministers of the Gospel concerning themselves in such wicked Work; and most of the Judges were of that**

Sir Simon
d'Erwes.

Mr. Tho-
mas.

Mr. Pury.

Sir Edw.
Deering.

A.D. 1641. that Function in the highest Order. I need not repeat more of Dr. Fuller's Arguments against this Commission, nor any of the pretended Answers, except the chief of them, which is in *Echard*: That these Judges punish'd Fornication and Profaneness; whereas the quite contrary is so very true, that they punish'd those who would not be profane, if *Sabbath-breaking* may be reckon'd Profanation: He declaims again, *these two Courts might have been of excellent Use to the Church and the State*: So excellent the Use of them, that the Grievances occasion'd by them were some of those that contributed principally to the Destruction of both. Before the King pass'd these two Acts, he gave the Royal Assent to the Poll-Tax; *A Gift*, says the Speaker, *of so vast Extent, that Time cannot parallel it by any Example*; however, his Majesty would not pass the two other Bills at the same Time; they being all three offer'd together; which gave so great Disgust to the Parliament, that the King came four Days after and pass'd them; but this ungenerous manner of doing Things, took off much of the Merit of it.

The Infolence of the *Popish* Priests was grown to such a Height, that one of them, *Father Philips*, belonging to the Queen, having been found guilty of holding treasonable Correspondence with his Brethren abroad for advancing the *Popish* Cause, the House of Commons sent for him, and he told the Messenger, *The Queen had order'd him not to go till he had spoken with the King, and he would obey her Commands before those of the Parliament*; upon which they sent a Warrant to apprehend him as a Delinquent, and another to seize Count *Rosetti*. The latter made his Escape, but *Philips* at last appear'd at the Bar of the House, and after Examination was impeach'd, *For the damnable Doctrine which he and other Jesuits bath taught, which hath been the Cause of the Civil Wars like to befall these Kingdoms, if God in his Mercy does not prevent*, according to the third Article of the Impeachment. His Majesty in the Close of his Speech on passing the two last Bills, said, *I have one Word more to speak unto you; it is concerning my Nephew the Prince Elector Palatine, who having desir'd me and the King of Denmark, to give Consent to a Writing concerning the Diet at Ratisbon with the Emperor, I cou'd not but send my Ambassador to assist him, though I am afraid I shall not have so good an Answer as I expect; which my Nephew foreseeing, hath desired me for the better Countenance of the same, to make a Manifesto in my Name, about which I desire your Advice*; and the House gave it very cheerfully, and voted to give his Majesty the necessary Assistance if the Manifesto did not succeed, in which the House of Lords also concurr'd; another Proof how much all good *Englishmen* and good Protestants had at Heart the Interests of the *Palatine* House. The Speeches as well as the Prayers for them came from the *Puritans*; we find them never mention'd by the *Laudæans*, unless with Marks of Hatred or Neglect. *Mr. Hollis* in his Speech to the Lords, said, *The House of Commons look on those distress'd Princes with an Eye of Tenderness, wishing that every Drop of that Princely Blood, may ever be illustrated with Honour and Happiness*. *Laud*, on the contrary, struck them out of the Prayers of the Church.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard said, the good Effect of the *German Match* was lost by ill Counsels, *Villiers*, *Weston's*, *Laud's*, &c. And speaking of the belov'd Queen of *Bohemia*, his Majesty's Royal Great-Grandmother, he added, *By assisting the Prince Elector, we shall refresh and comfort the needful Heart of that most noble, virtuous, and magnanimously suffering Queen of Bohemia, who is ever to be highly and tenderly regarded by this House, by this Kingdom*. *Sir Simon d'Ewes*, *It concerns us now at length to provide that the Prince Elector himself, and the other princely Branches, shou'd not be dispos'd of*

his Inheritance, he being the second if not the first and most antient of the Empire; and this first and most antient of the Imperial Families in *Germany*, is now happily and gloriously united in the Royal House of *Great-Britain*. With what Pleasure must every good *Englishman* observe, that the Hearts of their Ancestors were bound up in Interests of the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Posterity; and with what Indignation read that there was at any Time a Set of Men so wicked as to refuse them their Prayers?

The Judges had hitherto lain under parliamentary Censures only, but now six of them, *Brampton*, *Berkley*, *Crawley*, *Davenport*, *Trevor*, and *Weston*, were impeach'd at the Lord's Bar: *Berkley* by *William Pierpoint* Esq; second Son to the Earl of *Kingston*, *Crawley* by *Mr. Waller*, *Davenport* by *Mr. Hyde*. *Mr. Hollis* made a Speech in Praise of *Sir Randal Crew*, who was remov'd from the Chief-Justiceship of the *King's-Bench*, for refusing to join in the odious and illegal Imposition of *Ship-Money*.

There being still many Remains of *Romish* Idolatry in Churches and publick Places, the House of Commons order'd, all scandalous Pictures, Crosses, and Figures to be remov'd; to please the *Presbyterians*, says *Echard*, very unfairly; because a very great Majority of the Reform'd Church of *Englana* were as much pleas'd with it as the *Presbyterians*. *Sir Robert Harley* Ancestor to another *Presbyterian* of that Name in our Time, was appointed for this Work, *Whitlocke* tells us he perform'd it zealously; and his Successor and Namesake sided afterwards with those who were for setting them up again.

The *Pacification* with the *Scots*, which had continu'd all this while in Treaty, being now in great Forwardness, and Money given for disbanding the two Armies, the King nam'd the Earl of *Holland* General of the *English*, and he went to the Army to do that Service. Then his Majesty sent a Message to the Parliament to notify his intended Journey to *Scotland* in fourteen Days from the 28th of *July*, which was not well lik'd; and in the Interim they receiv'd Information from the Earl of *Holland*, that he found the Army had been tamper'd with, from what *Sir Jacob Ashley* own'd to him. The Parliament, as they had Reason, suspecting this Journey, was the more jealous of the King's frequent pressing to have the *Scots* Army disbanded before he began it, and his own Army paid. The House took the former, into Consideration, till *Mr. Strode* rose up and said, *Mr. Speaker, We ought not in such Haste to part with the Scotch Army, lest the Sons of Zerviah in their Absence be too hard for us*; upon which it was resolv'd, not to disband the one without the other.

The Commons being inform'd that the Queen intended to go to the *Spaw* for Recovery of her Health, much impair'd by some Discontents of Mind, and false Rumours spread against her; they had a Conference with the Lords about it, and Reasons were then agreed upon to be presented to his Majesty for Stay of the Queen's Journey; in which they offer'd to do any thing which cou'd be reasonably desir'd for the Ease of her Majesty's Mind; and the Queen putting off her Journey, they gave her Majesty Thanks for it in very respectful Terms.

The Impeachment against *Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, was carry'd up to the Lords by *Sir Thomas Widdrington*. The Preamble of which shews us the true Spirit of the *Laudæan* Prelates and Clergy, the Source of the Mischiefs of these perilous Times: "The said *Matthew Wren* being popishly and superstitiously affected, did at his first coming to be Bishop of *Norwich*, endeavour by sundry Ways and Means to suppress the powerful and painful preaching of the Word of God, did introduce divers Orders and Injunctions tending to Superstition and Idolatry, did disturb and disquiet

A.D. 1641.
Father Philips and Rosetti.
King's Speech about the Elector Palatine.
His House below'd.
Mr. Hollis's Speech for them.
Sir Benj. Rudyard.

A.D. 1641.
Judges impeach'd.
Images.
Sir Robert Harley.
King's Journey to Scotland.
Queen's Journey to the Spaw.
Put off.
Bishop Wren impeach'd.

A.D. 1641. " quiet the orderly and settled State of the Ministers, People, and Churches of that Diocese, to the great Prejudice of his Majesty, the great Grief, Disquiet, and Hazard of the Estates, Consciences, and Lives of many of his Majesty's loyal Subjects there, to the manifest bringing in and increasing of Prophaneness, Ignorance, and Disobedience." Then follow particular Instances of his tyrannical idolatrous Practices; he punish'd one Mr. *Daniel Whayman* for coming within the Rail of a Communion-Table; he excommunicated Mr. *John Shywing*, Mr. *Samuel Duucker*, Mr. *Edmund Day*, Mr. *John Frowar*, and others, for not kneeling at the Sacrament; he suspended Mr. *William Leigh*, Mr. *Richard Proude*, Mr. *Matthew Brownrigg*, Mr. *Mott*, and several others, for not reading the wicked *Book of Sports* on the Lord's-Day. Mr. *Powell*, Mr. *Richard Raymond*, Mr. *Jeremy Burroughs*, he forbade preaching Preparation-Sermons; he excommunicated and suspended Mr. *John Carter*, Mr. *Robert Peck*, Mr. *Thomas Scot*, Mr. *William Green*, Mr. *Greenhill*, Mr. *Nicholas Beard*, Mr. *Robert West*, Mr. *Thomas Allen*, and above fifty more Divines for the like Pretences: He drove Mr. *Edmund Calamy* and Mr. *Broom* out of his Diocese. In a word, he ruin'd the Manufacturers and Manufactures at *Norwich* and other trading Towns, by forcing the Ministers to quit their Habitations, and their Flocks soon follow'd them.

The House of Commons desir'd a Conference with the Lords about the King's Journey to *Scotland*, and it was resolv'd to petition his Majesty to appoint a *Custos Regni* in his Absence, with Power to pass Bills; but, says *Echard*, if he had left any such Power, it had been illegal; which is so contrary to Fact, that the granting Power by Commission to Lords to pass Bills, was of no longer Date than the Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*; and the King did now actually sign a Commission for passing Bills in his Absence; the Commissioners being the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Bath*, the Earl of *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Essex*, who was also made General of all the Forces on this Side *Trent*, with Power to raise Soldiers. His Lordship was about the same Time sworn Lord-Chamberlain, and Sir *Peter Walsh* Comptroller of the Household, in the room of Sir *Thomas Fermyn*.

The Act of *Pacification* with the *Scots*, being ready for the royal Assent, the King came to the House, and pass'd it the 10th of *August*, as also the Act about *Knighthood*, that for regulating the Clerks of the Markets, that against monopolizing Salt Petre and Gunpowder, against the Oppressions in the *Stannery Court*, and an Act declaring Ship-Money unlawful. Then his Majesty made a short Speech, desiring the Care of the Parliament in his Absence to preserve the Kingdom's Peace, and took his leave of them. He began his Journey two or three Hours after, having in his Coach with him the Elector *Palatine*, the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*. The two Houses appointed Commissioners to attend the King in *Scotland*, *William Earl of Bedford*, *Edward Lord Howard*, *Nathaniel Fiennes Esq;* Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and *John Hampden Esq;* The Parliament sent a Draught of their Commission to the King to sign; it empower'd them to treat with *Scots* Commissioners according to the Instructions they receiv'd from the Two Houses with the King's Consent, but his Majesty wou'd not sign it; and indeed he look'd on those Commissioners as no better than Spies upon his Actions; which the Parliament thought convenient, considering he took that Journey contrary to their Advice, and therefore they were jealous that it might be contrary to their Interest. The King's Earnestness to go to *Scotland*, where those whom he look'd upon as

his Enemies, and whom he lately had proclaim'd *A.D.* 1641. Rebels were Masters, was really very unaccountable, unless he was upon a hot Scent of the Intelligence between the Heads of the *Puritan* Party and the *Scots*, which is very probable. *Wentworth* had got Intimation of it in general while he was at the Army, and thought he had learn'd Matter enough against Mr. *Pym* and some others to form an Impeachment, which the King and he were very intent upon; but *Pym* was before-hand with him, as has been related. His Majesty cou'd not forgive Mr. *Pym* the Prosecution of *Strafford*, which had oblig'd him to consent to the Death of a Man contrary to his Promise; the reverend Historian wou'd have said contrary to his Conscience, as every thing ought to be that is contrary to one's Word and Honour. We have Reason to believe that the King was in Hopes of being fully inform'd of that Intelligence by some false Brethren among the *Scots*, such as *Montross*, and Lord *Saville*, doubtless gave him the necessary Informations of Persons and Things for that Purpose. The Effect of it was, that at his Return he had Articles of High-Treason ready against the Lord *Kimbolton* and five Members of the House of Commons, and was resolv'd to have them prosecuted to Death, as will be seen hereafter. Thus there seem'd to be a Fatality in this *Scottish* Journey, as well as in almost all the ill Steps taken by this ill-advis'd and unhappy Prince.

We have said little of the Act of *Pacification* with the *Scots*, because we intended to speak of it by itself, that the Thread of the Treaty might not be broken. On the 23d of *November* the King granted a Commission to the Lords already mention'd, to treat and conclude a *Pacification* with the *Scots* Commissioners, to whom the Committees of that Kingdom had given the like Power by their Commission, dated the 31st of *October*, and 4th of *November*, and sign'd *Rothes*, *Montross*, *Cassell*, *Lothian*, *Lindesay*, *Balmerino*, *Naper*, *Burghly*, *Es. Couper*, *Thomas Hop*, *William Riccarton*, *Home*, *W. Caprinton*, *J. Gartgrith*, *Dundas*, *Edward Edgar*, *Richard Maxwell*, *James Scot*, *Southerfield*, *William Hamilton*, *Master W. Moir*, *Ja. Sword*, *Hew Kennedy*, *Rutherford*.

The first Article of the Treaty was, that the Acts of the *Scots* Parliament which the High-Commissioner had not pass'd, shou'd be confirm'd, leaving out some Words in the Preamble and Conclusion which reflected on his Majesty's Authority, and related not to the Substance of the Acts.

2. The Castle of *Edinburgh*, and other Strengths of the Kingdom, to be furnish'd for the Defence of the same.

3. The *Scots* in *Scotland* not to be censur'd for subscribing the *Covenant*, nor press'd with Oaths and Subscriptions contrary to it.

4. The Authors and Causes of the late Troubles to be censur'd and sentenc'd by Parliament.

5. All Ships and Goods to be restor'd, and Damages made good on both Sides.

6. The great Expence of the *Scots* to be paid, and their Losses satisfy'd,

For which the Parliament gave 300000 Pounds, and appointed the following Commissioners to receive it and pay them: Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Stafford*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Mandeville*, Lord *Brook*, Mr. *Capell*, Mr. *Martin*, Sir *Thomas Barrington*, Sir *Arthur Ingram*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Robert Pye*, Mr. *Henry Bellasis*, Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *William Litton*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *Thomas Cheek*, Sir *John Strangeways*, Mr. *Arthur Goodwin*, Mr. *Hampden*, Alderman *Soam*, Alderman *Pennington*. These Commissioners for paying the *Scots* were nam'd about the beginning of *February*, so that Mr. *Capell* and Sir *John Strangeways* had till then kept their Integrity, and call'd the *Scots* their Brethren.

A.D. 1647. Brethren, as they were term'd in this Act; the Benefit of which was not to extend to *John Earl of Traquair*, *Sir Robert Spotswood*, *Sir John Hay*, and *Maister Walter Balcanquell*, cited and pursu'd as Incendiaries. The Scots were to have Liberty to sue for Reparation of Losses.

The constant and friendly Conjunction of the two Kingdom to be firmly observ'd and continu'd to all Posterity; *England* nor *Ireland* not to make War on *Scotland* without the Consent of the Parliament of *England*, and so *vice versa*; all who do so to be deem'd Traytors. Commissioners of both Kingdoms to be appointed in the Interim between the sitting of Parliaments to keep the Peace now happily concluded; both Armies to be disbanded when the Act is past; the Garrisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle* to be remov'd, &c. The ratifying Clause comes last, *His Majesty for himself and Successors doth promise in Verbo Principis, never to come in the contrary of this Statute and Sanction, &c.* Like as the Parliaments of both Kingdoms give full Assurance to the Observance of the whole Articles inviolably, hinc inde, in all Times to come. These Articles and the ratifying Act, were by the King's Command printed at *Oxford*, upon Advice that the Scots were raising an Army to assist their Brethren in *England* two Years after, pursuant to this Treaty. What good Effect the printing of it then cou'd produce for the King, is not to be comprehended, it only putting the Scots in mind of doing what by this Treaty they were oblig'd to do against all who took Arms against the Parliament. But I observe King *Charles* very often printed and publish'd Papers with Intent they shou'd make for him when they made against him.

Parliament.

Mr. Echar'd tells us that the Members of Parliament after the King went for *Scotland*, grew weary of sitting, or being afraid of Infection, for this Reign was much visited with the Plague, left the Town, and there remain'd but twenty Lords and an hundred Commoners, which is false as to the Number of Commoners, who taking Advantage of thin Houses, laid the Liturgy aside, which was then much reverenc'd throughout the Kingdom, just as much as his Histories are at present. The much greater Part of the Nation were Puritans, who groan'd under it, and desir'd to have it abolish'd, which is evident from the general Clamour for abolishing Episcopacy. This pack'd Assembly, according to him, voted the taking away the Rails and removing the Communion-Table to the Middle of the Church. What follows proves still farther how he abounded with good Judgment and good Manners: The Lords for the major Part being sensibly offended that the Commons shou'd presume to disturb the Peace of the Church by such unprecedented Insolence. This Falsity is so barefac'd, that the House of Commons complain'd that this major Part of the House of Lords were but eleven to nine. A Majority 'tis true, but one of the eleven had made it none; yet as small as it is, he has not Modesty enough to restrain him from calling the Representative of the People of *England* Insolent, a worse Name than I durst venture to give him, if there is not Falshood with the Insolence. We have the true History in *Larrey*; "The Parliament who had now struck all the great Strokes they design'd, were apprehensive of nothing during the King's Absence, and thought of giving themselves some Respite after their long and painful Session; and most of the Peers and Commons were glad to return to their Counties to receive there the Applause of the People for the vigorous Opposition they had made to Episcopacy and arbitrary Power." So very wide from the Truth is what the Author of the HISTORY OF THE REBELLION pretends, and what *Echar'd* has slavishly and blindly follow'd, that those Members who remain'd sitting were the only vigorous Opposers of Episcopacy; for those who went into the Country, did it to receive the

Applause of the People for that vigorous Opposition against Episcopacy; and there was not one Opposer of Bishops who much reverenc'd the Liturgy. The Fact is really the very Reverse of their Histories: It was the Absence of a good Number of Lords, which gave the Friends to the Common-Prayer Book an Opportunity of continuing it by a Majority of eleven to nine; the Commons saying in their Declaration publish'd with the Consent of the Lords upon it, "The last Order of the House of Lords was made with the Consent only of eleven Lords, and that nine other Lords who were present did dissent from it; so that it may be well hop'd when both Houses shall meet again, the good Propositions and Preparations in the House of Commons for preventing the Grievances, and reforming the Disorders and Abuses in Matters of Religion may be brought to Perfection." The Lords who dissented were the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, Earl of *Manchester* Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Clare*, Lord *Mandeville*, Lord *Newport*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Hunsdon*, who declar'd, *They held it fit to have the Consent of the House of Commons in those Things which so nearly concerns the quiet and Government of the Church.* The Lords in the very Order for continuing the Service, direct that no Parsons, Vicars, or Curates, presume to introduce any Rites and Ceremonies which may give Offence. Such were all the Innovations introduc'd by *Laud* and his Followers, the Rails, the Cringes, the Bowings, which the Commons had voted against, and for which *Mr. Archdeacon* calls the Parliament Insolent.

There was a Debate about disbanding the Armies, whether the *English* or *Scottish* Armies shou'd be first disbanded; at last it was agreed that it shou'd be done at one and the same Time, which did not need much debating. Accordingly it was done the 6th of *August*, the Scots having receiv'd their first Payments, upon which they were to begin their March. After this the Parliament adjourn'd to the 20th of *October*, having appointed a Committee of fifty to sit during the Recess with ample Powers, but not with so much Power as their Principals the Parliament itself had, which the reverend Historian avers as positively as if it had been true. All the Power they had, was, 1. To meet when they thought fit. 2. To receive and answer Letters from their Committee in *Scotland*. 3. To take Care of the disbanding of the Army, and of paying them. 4. To recall the Scots Committee if they see Cause. 5. To prepare Matters against Delinquents; and three or four other Particulars of less Consequence. The Committee of the House of Commons, were *Sir John Colepepyr*, *Sir John Franklyn*, Lord *Falkland*, *Mr. Lawrence Whitaker*, *Sir Thomas Bowyer*, *Mr. Wheeler*, *Sir William Drake*, of Commons *Sir Richard Cave*, *Sir Gilbert Gerrard*, *Sir Simon D'Erwes*, *Sir Robert Pye*, *Sir Edward Hales*, *Sir Thomas Dacres*, *Sir William Litton*, *Sir Henry Mildmay*, *Sir Thomas Barrington*, *Sir John Clotworthy*, *Sir Peter Wentworth*, *Sir Gilbert Pickering*, *Sir Samuel Luke*; *Sir Henry Vane*, *Serjeant Wilde*, *Mr. Fym*, *Mr. Bridgman*, *Mr. Goodwin*, *Mr. Wingate*, *Alderman Soame*, *Alderman Pennington*, *Captain Venn*, *Mr. Vassal*, *Captain Rainsborough*, *Mr. Bence*, *Mr. Holland*, *Mr. Winwood*, *Mr. Scawen*, *Mr. J. Goodwin*, *Mr. Morley*, *Mr. Martin*, *Mr. A. Goodwin*, *Mr. White*, *Mr. Glyn*, *Mr. Bedingfield*, *Mr. Blakeston*, *Mr. Waller*, *Mr. Solicitor St. John*, *Mr. Strode*, *Mr. Spurstow*.

The House of Lords also appointed a Committee of Lords, during the Recess, who were Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, Earl of *Manchester* Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of *Essex* Lord-Chamberlain, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Clare*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Cleveland*, whose Powers were limited to the three or four first Articles of those of the Committee of Commons.

About the time of the King's Journey to *Scotland*, there was a Day of Thanksgiving for the Pacification

A.D. 1641. cification with the Scots, appointed by Parliament. Bishop Williams had prepar'd a Form of Prayer to be us'd at St. Margaret's Westminster, where the House of Commons us'd to go on such Occasions; but to avoid that Form, they went to Lincoln's-Inn Chapel.

The Archdeacon gives a Summary of the King's great Concessions in passing several Bills before he went to Scotland. He and his fellow Writers always represent the redressing of Grievances as a Concession from the Crown; as if the sovereign Power was given to do Hurt, and it was the King's super-abounding Goodness only when it did Good. He affirms his Majesty had now done all his Subjects could desire for their Security and Welfare: *Therefore from this Period of Time, says he, impartial Posterity may best judge which Side was most blameable in the succeeding Transactions.* The very next Transaction of the King's, was his breaking into the House of Commons with an arm'd Power, and invading their Rights in such an enormous Manner, that it caus'd a general Uproar and Mutiny in the City of London: And why may not impartial Posterity begin their Judgment from that the very next Period, which Side was most blameable?

The King's Design by his Journey.

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I have hinted already that the Journey to Scotland, a Kingdom hated by the King, could not be undertaken so hastily out of a Desire to see the People. The English Parliament oppos'd it for several Reasons urg'd to the Lords by Mr. Hollis; and his Majesty's being deaf to those Reasons, must proceed from some secret Design, which Mr. Acherley hit on, with this Mistake only, that he calls the *Intelligence an Invitation*, whereas the latter was an Imposition, and the English Puritans went no farther than Encouragement. "All Things being now quieted, says the learned Lawyer, the King in Execution of Part of the Design, resolv'd in July 1641, to make a Tour into Scotland to settle, as was given out, Affairs in that Kingdom, but in Reality to accomplish some Undertakings that were not publickly own'd; which Resolution alarm'd the leading Inviters at Westminster, who could not imagine what shou'd be the Meaning of that Journey by the King, who had so lately within nine Months arraign'd and pronounc'd the Scots to be notorious Rebels, and had with Vehemence press'd the chasing them as such out of England. The Inviters therefore suspecting the Design, spar'd no Endeavours, nor Insinuations, nor even parliamentary Addressses, but in vain, to prevent the Journey. However, they procur'd a Committee of Parliament to be sent to take Care that Lord Wariston shou'd keep stable, and never part with the Original Invitation. Mr. Acherly means the Letters before inserted. The King and his Ministers being at Edinburgh, discover'd that many who were now the leading Men in both Houses of the English Parliament, solicited the Scots to invade England, and found ample Evidence to prove the Facts. The King could prevail no farther with Waristoun than to make some faint Promises to bring the original Engagement into England." The Lord Waristoun knew by this Time the whole Secret of the Letters, and was so deep in the Correspondence with those leading Men, that he could not have brought them on the Stage without bringing himself: For notwithstanding the Act of Oblivion, the Court would have found Means to have made away with him under Colour of Justice, as they did afterwards. The Names of the seven Lords to the forg'd Letter were, as I have hinted already, cut out, and each Name deliver'd to the Lord to whom it belong'd: But Saville pretended to the King that their Names were genuine, and would have excited him to try them upon it for High-Treason, if that counterfeit Origin-

nal had been produc'd. Acherley proceeds; *A.D. 1641.* "Those Measures were for a long time kept in Obscurity, and the obstinate Prosecution of the Invitation, may be accounted the very true tho' hidden Spring and Ground of all the Wars and Troubles that ensu'd, He says elsewhere, The Queen, whose Power with the King was absolute, incens'd him at his own Concessions;" and the Cabinet-Council resolv'd, as Father Orleans confesses, *That since his Majesty could not be beloved, he shou'd put himself into a Condition to be fear'd.* A Prince in such Circumstances is in the worst Condition in the World, and has no great Reason to desire to live in it longer. The Queen and these evil Cabinet-Counsellors, incessantly solicited the King to prosecute those Members of both Houses who had corresponded with the Scots to draw them into England; and as soon as he return'd from Scotland, they put him upon that irrecoverable Step the violent Entry into the House of Commons. The Scots were not only forgiven the Invasion they made upon England, but the Invaders were rewarded with Posts and Honours: Of Course there remain'd no Guilt in that Invasion, those that acted having been more criminal than those that counsell'd; common Policy therefore would have pardon'd the less criminal as well as the greater, and not have push'd his Majesty's Repentments against them so far, as in the Pursuit of them, according to Acherley, to cover the three Nations with Calamities dreadful and amazing. And now let impartial Posterity judge again on whose Side the Blame lies.

While his Majesty was at Edinburgh caressing the Scots, he sifted them to see whether he could not prevail with them to invade England on his Account, and assist him to subject the Parliament to his Will. He offer'd them the three Northern Counties as a Reward for that Service; he cajol'd them in the highest Degree; but all his good Words and fair Promises succeeded not, the Scots being sensible that after the English had lost their Liberty, they shou'd not be long in Possession of theirs.

The King had not been many Weeks in Scotland, before News came to London of a Conspiracy at Edinburgh to murder the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Argyle. Lord Clarendon confesses it was a true Plot, but Echard says of it as he said of Goring's Conspiracy, it was only a pretended one. The Truth is, Montross himself offer'd to get those two Lords assassinated; and as Acherley adds, *no doubt Wariston was to have kept them Company. This every one concluded Montross dar'd not do, if he had not known that the Mind of the Government labour'd with Revenge. This Rumour sufficiently alarm'd the Inviters at Westminster, who had good Reason to take the Alarm, if they believ'd that bloody Proposal to cut the Throats of those two great Lords could be received, and the Proposer come off with Impunity.* Mr. Pym Chairman of the Grand Committee during the Recess, having Information of it, wrote to the Lord-Mayor to place convenient Guards in several Parts of the City, and propos'd to the Committee that a strong Guard might be kept in the Cities of London and Westminster; which was agreed to by the Committees of both Houses, and Letters written to their Committees in Scotland to inform his Majesty of it. The Train'd-Bands of Westminster attended in Arms in the Palace-Yard, and the Lord-General the Earl of Essex appointed an hundred of them to do Duty by Day and by Night; tho', says Echard, *the Plot was only a Matter of Ridicule.* It must not be in his History, where when the Author renders himself ridiculous, his Matter is extremely melancholy. If the Sham had not taken, Mr. Pym and his Committee would have been called to an Account by the Parliament for what they had done against the Common-Prayer-Book, the Communion-Table, and the Rails about it, the bowing to the Altar, &c. In

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Plot in Scotland.

A.D. 1641. In Scotland King Charles pass'd an Act which condemn'd Bishops as contrary to the Word of God. He also gave away the Church-Lands to some of the Covenanters. He dignify'd with new Titles the Marquis of Hamilton, who was made a Duke, the Earl of Argyle a Marquis, General Lesley Earl of Leven, Lord Lowdon Earl of Lowdon, &c. for which General Lesley cry'd out, according to the same sincere Historian, *May my Hands rot off if ever I act more against so gude a King*; which being so agreeable to the Manners of the Scots Presbyterians, cannot but gain due Credit with the Reader. The Scots Parliament prosecuted the Earl of Traquair, the Bishop of Ross, and the Earl of Montross, for dangerous Practices against the Kirk, and gave the King to understand that their Lives were spar'd purely in Consideration of the Concessions he had made them.

Irish Massacre. While the King was at Edinburgh, he receiv'd News of the damnable Rebellion and Massacre in Ireland, where the Papiests rose upon the Protestants on the 23d of October, a Day dedicated to St. Ignatius Loyala, Patron of the Sanguinary Order of Jesuits: Never was such a dreadful Butchery seen or heard of, either as to the Number of those who were Butcher'd, or the Variety of Cruelties inflicted: But though the Execution of this Barbarity is prodigious, yet it is less surprizing than the miraculous Manner by which Dublin, the Capital City of the Kingdom, was sav'd; and which afterwards gave the English an Opportunity to repair this great Loss; and to chastise the diabolical Murderers, and re-establish their Dominion and Religion. Echard calls this infernal Massacre a *Concussion* only; and tells us from an Author, whom he calls *ingenuous*, and who indeed seems to be as ingenuous as himself, that those who cut off the Earl of Strafford's Head, were the true Cause of the Insurrection of the Irish; the Stupidity and Insolence of which are equally inconceivable: For if they have any Meaning at all, it must be, that if the Earl of Strafford had been alive, he wou'd by his good Government, have kept the Irish Quiet: As false a Suggestion as one can meet with in any History but his own. For in Truth there was then a Committee of both Houses of the Irish Parliament sent over on purpose to represent the heavy Pressures the Kingdom of Ireland had for some Time suffer'd, under the Government of the Earl of Strafford; though the Archdeacon avers with a surprizing Confidence, that the taking off Strafford's Head did not a little contribute to the Tragedy. An Italian Papiest, Gregorio Leti, speaking of this Massacre, says, as in the French Translation of Cromwell's Life, *On n'a jamais bien scu, Si le Comte de Strafford, avoit eu part ala Resolution des Irlandois, mais il y en eut toutes les apparences*; "It is not very well known whether the Earl of Strafford was concern'd with the Irish in this Conspiracy, but it is very likely that he was." I have as little Faith in Leti, as I have in Echard, but the former, in my Opinion, is more credible than the latter; who relates the Causes the Irish pretended for their Rebellion, which Causes are all groundless; but he must say something to extenuate their Crime; he says, *they were seldom treated as freeborn Subjects*. Sir John Temple, a Privy-Counsellor in Ireland, assures us, *The Lords Justices did gently unbend themselves into a happy and just Compliance with the reasonable Desires of the People*. Echard again, They were provok'd by a Saying of one of the Leaders of the House of Commons, that they should be converted with the Sword. Sir John Temple, Their religious Rites and Ceremonies were freely enjoy'd without any manner of Disturbance. And to load the Presbyterians with the Guilt of so much Protestant innocent Blood, the Reverend Author insinuates, the Earl of Argyle, and the Scots Covenanters, were privy to the Conspiracy, which was general, and had been con-

certed with so much Secrecy, that it was not discover'd till the very Time that the Conspirators were going to put it in Execution. The Discovery was made by one Owen O-Conelly, a Servant to Sir John Clotworthy, a Native Irishman, yet a Protestant. Mac Mahon, a Grandson of that obstinate Rebel the Earl of Tyrone, was one of the chief Conspirators, and it was he who reveal'd the Conspiracy to Owen O-Conelly, over a Bottle of Wine, at a Tavern in Dublin, the Night before the Castle of Dublin was to have been seiz'd, the Lords Justices murder'd, and the Massacre to have commenc'd in the Capital City, where a great Number of the Conspirators were already arriv'd, to enter upon the intended Tragedy the next Day. Owen O-Conelly seem'd to approve of the hellish Design, and drank Mac Mahon to a Pitch, to find out the bottom of it, in doing which, he got fuddled himself; and when he came to give Information of it to Sir William Parsons, one of the Lords Justices, he did it with the Distraction that accompanies Drunkenness, which gave him the less Credit with the Lord Justice Parsons, who however dismiss'd him, with Orders to return to Mac Mahon, and get as much more out of him as he cou'd. The Lord Justice immediately took Care for the Safety of the Castle, where were Arms for eight or ten Thousand Men, which was the chief Booty the Conspirators aim'd at. He also order'd the Lord-Mayor of Dublin to double the City Watch, and to seize all Strangers, expecting the Return of Owen O-Conelly, who was seiz'd by the Watch, and was carrying to Prison, but rescu'd by one of the Lord Parsons's Servants, who accidentally came by. Parsons was gone to Sir John Borlace's House, the other Lord Justice, where they were attended by Sir Thomas Rotheram, and Sir Robert Meredith, two of the Privy-Council, who took Owen O-Conelly's Examination, containing in Substance, that the Lord Macgwire, Colonel Mac Mahon, and a great Number of Papiests, were then in Dublin, resolving to take the Castle, possess themselves of the Magazine there, then to fire the City, and murder all the Protestants: That the Irish were to rise at the same Time in other Parts of the Kingdom, which nothing cou'd prevent: Mac Mahon suspecting that Owen O-Conelly wou'd make a Discovery, resolv'd to keep him till the Blow was struck, and he was forc'd to leap over a Wall to make his Escape. On so many Accidents depended the Fate of Ireland; for had Dublin Castle and City been taken, it wou'd have been impossible to have recover'd that Kingdom without an immense Expence of Blood and Treasure, more than the People of Great Britain could at that Time spare. Other Lords of the Council attending the Lords Justices, they sat up all Night in Consultation. They caus'd Mac Mahon to be seiz'd in his Lodgings, as was the Lord Macgwire soon after: Hugh Birne, Roger Moore, Colonel Plunket, Captain Fox, and other chief Conspirators, made their Escape; and the next Morning the Lords Justices publish'd a Proclamation concerning the Discovery of the Conspiracy, and requiring the People to betake themselves to their Defence. The same Night the Lord Blaney arriv'd with the News of the Surprizal of his House, his Wife and Children, by the Rebels of the County of Monaghan. Next Day Sir Arthur Tyringham sent Advice of the taking of the Newry, which was follow'd with a terrible Account of Burnings, Spoilings, Murders of Men, Women, and Children, in the Province of Ulster, where the Irish first rose. Persons were continually arriving with fresh Information of Slaughters, Rapes, Robberies, the Detail of which wou'd be too long and too shocking. I shall content my self with a few Particulars; cutting of Throats, and stabbing, were the mildest Treatment the Protestants met with; some had their Eyes pluck'd out, and were

A.D. 1641.

A.D. 1641. several Days dying in the most exquisite Torments; some were drown'd, some burnt, the Murderers forcing the poor harmless Creatures to fetch the Straw that was to burn them: some perish'd by Cold, others by Hunger, others by Thirst, and some were bury'd alive; Mothers were hang'd on the Gallows, and their Children about their Necks: There was no Regard to Women great with Child, nor to Children at the Breast: And by an Excess even of Popish Cruelty, at which Nature shrinks, one of these miserable Wretches being deliver'd while she was under the Hands of the Tormentor, the Rebels flung the Child to be eaten by a Dog and a Hog, which they brought thither to satiate their hellish Appetite of Blood, and feed their Eyes with the grateful Sight of seeing the Newborn Infant thus devour'd. Nay these infernal Monsters carry'd their Inhumanity yet further, and oblig'd Fathers and Mothers to murder their own Children, Children their Parents, Husbands their Wives, and Wives their Husbands: Matrons and Maidens were first deslour'd, and then butcher'd. When their devilish Lust and Cruelty were thus glutted, they left the naked Carcasses in the most obscene Postures with the dead Men they had slaughter'd, to make Sport, which the Devil himself must abhor: These were the fine Subjects, with whom a Cessation of Arms was made by Command of the King two or three Years after, and some of them sent to *England*, to act as far as they cou'd the like Tragedies there. In this Massacre, which reach'd from one end of *Ireland* to the other, two hundred Thousand Protestants perish'd. *Echard*, who speaks with singular Tenderness of these barbarous Butchers, reduces the Number to 50000; but those who diminish the Number most, make it amount to 154000.

Letter to
Mr. F.
Dr. of the
Sorbone.

Irish Regi-
ster.

Two Days after the Discovery, the Lords Justices dispatch'd *Owen O-Conelly*, the Discoverer, with a Letter to the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who in Person communicated it to the House of Commons, accompany'd with thirteen Lords of the Privy-Council. It is impossible to express the Grief, Terror and Indignation, with which both Lords and Commons receiv'd this dreadful News. The first and most natural Reflection was, that the continu'd Favour to *Papists* during all this Reign, had embolden'd them to take Arms in this dreadful Manner, to establish their idolatrous Religion by the Destruction of the Protestants.

When the Earl of *Leicester* had read the Lords Justices Letter, and *Owen O-Conelly's* Examination, his Lordship, and the Lords of the Council withdrew, and the House took the Information they had receiv'd into Debate: Instead of imputing this bloody Massacre to the *Death of the Earl of Strafford*, to the *Scots Invasion*, or the Earl of *Argyle's* Contrivances, as the ingenious *Echard* does with equal Judgment and Probity, let us see what the Parliament thought of it. "As soon as the Earl of *Leicester* withdrew, says *Larrey*, the Members began to explain themselves, and spake of the *Irish* Massacre as a Conspiracy of the *Papists*, not only of that Kingdom, but of *England*, excited by the Pope's *Nuntio*, supported by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, during the Life of the one, and the Liberty of the other, and by their Party since the Earl's Death, and the Archbishop's Imprisonment. They added, that all these Enemies of the Protestant Religion were supported and encourag'd by the Queen, who openly protected them, and indirectly by the King, who had too much Complaisance for the Queen on that Point, which was but too apparent in my Lord *Strafford's* Government of *Ireland*, during which Time it could not be doubted the Plot was concerted: The modest Mr. *Echard* assures us, if he had been alive, there had been no Plot

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at all. "Their Suspicions went farther, and they were apprehensive the Conspiracy was form'd against the three Kingdoms, and that from *Ireland* they design'd to have proceeded to *Scotland* and to *England*. It was to that End, said they, the Earl of *Strafford's* Levies were design'd, as also the Provisions and Ammunition that were found in the Castle of *Dublin*: So fairly does this Foreigner represent it, and so wildly does it stand in the *History* of the *Rebellion*, and the *Arch-deacon's* History.

What he says of the Queen's protecting the *Irish* *Papists*, is confirm'd by Bishop *Burnet*. The Earl of *Essex* told the Bishop, that he had discover'd when he was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, that the Queen hearken'd to the Propositions made by the *Irish*, to take the Government of *Ireland* into their Hands, which they thought they cou'd easily perform, and then they said, they wou'd assist the King to subdue the hot Spirits at *Westminster*; with this the Plot of the Insurrection began, and all the *Irish* believ'd the Queen encourag'd it; but in the first Design there was no thought of a Massacre; that came in Head as they were laying the Methods of executing it: The Priests were the chief Men that set on the *Irish* to all the Blood and Cruelty.

As to the King's being indirectly concern'd in the *Irish* *Rebellion*, it is not only said by *Larrey*, but by *Gregorio Leti*, as thus translated out of the *Italian*, *Il est certain que le Roy fut coupable indirectement dans cette occasion car si il n'eut pas donne aux Catholiques un pouvoir si ample de s'assembler a Kilkenny, comme ils firent, ce Massacre ne seroit pas arrive, &c.* "'Tis certain the King was indirectly guilty on this Occasion; for if he had not given the *Catholicks* full Power to assemble at *Kilkenny*, as they did, the Massacre had never happen'd." He turns it thus, that the *Papists* in *Ireland* being alarm'd at the Zeal and Proceedings of the Parliament of *England*, sent eight Deputies to the King, for Liberty to meet and consult how to defend themselves, in case the *English* Parliament, whom they call'd *audacious* and *insolent*, shou'd give them Disturbance. The King not penetrating into their Design, authoriz'd them to meet at *Kilkenny*, where they consulted how to establish their Religion, and to throw off the *English* Yoke. In this Assembly, one *Peeton*, an *Irish* Lawyer, made a Speech, wherein he insinuated, *That the Sicilians had no way to deliver themselves from the French Servitude, but by massacring them, as they did in the famous Sicilian Vespers; and if they wou'd deliver themselves from the English who were in Ireland, it must be the same Way:* Upon which they enter'd into a Combination, and mutual Engagement by Oath, and as the *Italian* *Papist* says, *were guilty of one of the most horrible Massacres that was ever heard of among Christians.* *Warwick* assures us, the Parliament was not displeas'd when they heard of the *Irish* *Rebellion*: *General Ludlow*, *The News of this Rebellion was not displeasing to the King, as I have heard from Persons of undoubted Credit, though it was attended with the Massacre of many thousand Protestants.*

I don't think the King gave the *Irish* a formal Commission to fall upon his Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*; but as much as I have said of it, I do believe; and that the Queen's protecting, and his indulging them, gave them that Spirit, of which they made this damnable Use. Certain it is, the *Irish* gave out they had his Commission. Having before me Manuscript Memoirs of the Life of the Lord *Brogkil*, written from his Lordship's own Information by his Chaplain, Mr. *Thomas Morris*, Vicar of *Harpford* in *Devon*, I shall transcribe what relates to this Rebellion.

"His Lordship arriv'd in *Ireland* the very Day the *Rebellion* broke out; but it was not known then in *Munster* that the *Irish* were in Arms. He

"landed

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 landed safely with his Lady, and came to *Lysmore*, his Father the Earl of *Corke's* chief Seat. Two or three Days after, the Earl of *Corke* and the Lord *Brogbil*, went to dine with the Earl of *Barrymore* at *Castle-Lyons*, where when they came, they met with the Lord *Muskerry*, and other *Irish* Papists, with whom they were very free and familiar; but it happen'd that while they were at Dinner, a Gentleman brought Letters to the Earl of *Corke*, and a Message, the Horror of which appear'd in his Looks, containing part of the Story of the *Irish* Massacre, as is before related; adding, that the *Irish* were Masters of almost all *Leinster*, insomuch that he was forc'd to take the most private ways to come to him, which had made him so long on his Journey. In the Packet of Letters was the Lords Justices Proclamation, which having read, the Earl of *Corke* call'd the Lord *Muskerry* to him, and told him what he had heard and read; *Muskerry* laugh'd at it, and said, 'twas only some few Malecontents in the *North* who were risen, and he cou'd not believe the *Irish* wou'd generally rise. The Lord *Corke* seeing the other make so light of it, acquainted all the Company with the Information he had receiv'd, and call'd the Gentleman who brought the News to confirm it: This Gentleman addressing himself to the Lord *Muskerry*, said, *You are suspected to know it well enough*; *Muskerry* positively deny'd it, and laugh'd again: But the *English* Gentlemen made haste home to stand on their Defence. The Earl of *Corke* sent immediately to Sir *William St. Leger*, President of *Munster*, to give him the same Information he had receiv'd. *Muskerry* told every one he met that there was nothing in it, and a few Days after appear'd himself in Arms at the Head of four or 5000 *Irish* Papists, who committed the like Acts of Cruelty and Rapine. The Earl of *Corke* summon'd in all his Tenants, who with some Volunteers form'd several Companies of Foot, and a Body of Horse, commanded by the Lord *Brogbil*, his Son, who join'd the Lord President *St. Leger*, and march'd against the Rebel *Muskerry*, who had then about 3000 Men with him marching towards *Limerick*. *St. Leger's* Troops were not above 1500, and those in no very good Plight. *Muskerry* halted to let him come up, and both Parties drew up in *Battalia*. While the Lord President *St. Leger* was preparing for a Battel, a Trumpet arriv'd from *Muskerry*, with one *Walsh* an *Irish* Lawyer. The Lord President, who had then with him the Lord *Kinelmealy*, and the Lord *Brogbil*, sent two or three of his Attendants to demand what Errand they came upon; *Walsh* said, about Business of the greatest Consequence, and he desir'd to speak with the President; which being permitted, *Walsh* and the Trumpet advanced, and coming near enough to be heard by Sir *William St. Leger*, and the Officers who stood at the Head of their Men, drawn up in *Battalia*; *Walsh* told the Lord President he must speak with him alone, some few Paces off from his Men; Sir *William St. Leger*, and the Gentlemen who were with him, seeing and knowing *Walsh*, upbraided him with his Disloyalty and Rebellion; and expressing great Wonder that a Person of his Parts and Education should be guilty of so much Wickedness and Madnes, as to join with the Rebels; *Walsh* reply'd, *We are no Rebels, as I will soon convince you, if I may speak with the Lord President in private.* Sir *William St. Leger*, a very brave Gentleman, was presently for speaking with him privately; but the Lords who were with him demurr'd upon it, not thinking it safe that their General should be trusted alone with an Enemy; therefore they told *Walsh*, they would not suffer any such Conference with him, but if he wou'd

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 speak to the Lord President, it should be in their Presence; upon which *Walsh* threaten'd to be gone, without delivering his Message, which Sir *William St. Leger* wou'd by no Means suffer; and it was at last agreed, that *Walsh* should have Liberty to talk privately with the Lord President, provided a Party was plac'd on either Side of them, while they were at their private Parley, to revenge any Violence *Walsh* should offer to the Lord President: *Walsh* rising up towards him, was met by *St. Leger*, the Guards not being within Hearing: Then said *Walsh* in few Words, *You must take Care what you do in fighting against us, for the Lord Muskerry has a Commission from the King for what he does; and by virtue of that Commission he has rais'd Men, to assist his Majesty in all Extremities; and if I may have a free and safe Conduct, I will bring the Commission to you under the Great Seal, and shew it you at your own House to morrow Morning.* The Lord President was mightily surpriz'd at this Message, and having assur'd *Walsh* he should have safe Conduct, if he came the next Day with the Commission, *Walsh* departed; and Sir *William St. Leger* returning to his Company, told the chief of them what *Walsh* had told him, at which they were all astonish'd, and the Lord *Brogbil* question'd the Truth of the *Irish* Lawyer's Message, saying, *The King wou'd never grant out Commissions to those whom in his Proclamation he calls Rebels.* He therefore desir'd the Lord President diligently to peruse the Commission, if *Walsh* brought any, which he doubted; and that it was only a Trick of the Lord *Muskerry's*, to amuse them while he pass'd by: However, 'twas agreed to wait the Lawyer's Return, Sir *William St. Leger's* House being within a few Miles of the Place; so he encamp'd his Men, and *Muskerry* drew off his. The next Morning *Walsh* and the Trumpet came again to the Lord President's Quarters; they were immediately receiv'd, and conducted to his Lordship's House, where the Lawyer, as before, desir'd to be in private with him, and the Lords, as before, would not let him; but consented that he should be admitted into a Room with the President, one Man standing at the Door with a drawn Sword, and a Pistol charg'd; which being done, *Walsh* produc'd a large Parchment, wherein there was a very formal Commission drawn up for the Lord *Muskerry* to raise 4000 Men, and the Broad Seal was affix'd to it: *St. Leger* having read it over, dismiss'd *Walsh*; and return'd to the Lords, telling them *Muskerry has really a Commission for what he does; I will disband my Men, and stir no more in this Business, for I will die before I will be a Rebel.* Upon which the Lords and Gentlemen who were with him, withdrew to their several Homes; and *St. Leger* took it so much to Heart, that he never held up his Head afterwards, but dy'd in a short Time, and the Earl of *Inchiquine* was made Lord President of *Munster* in his Room. The *Devonshire* Parson who wrote this Account, was one whom a Reverend Divine recommended to me thus; *I can depend upon his Veracity, having been well acquainted with him, and his good Character was indeed universal: I shall often make use of this Manuscript, and it was therefore necessary to acquaint the Reader with its Authority.* The Author informs us that the Lord *Brogbil* believ'd the Commission to be a Cheat, and found it out at last, but does not tell us how, and flurs it over in such a Manner, as makes but a weak Impression on our Mind after his History, so circumstantiated; had made so strong a one.

The House of Commons in England, who had met the 20th of October, pursuant to their Adjournment, receiv'd the terrifying News of this Massacre a Week after it was begun to be perpetrated in

Parliament.

A.D. 1641 Ireland, and voted 50000 Pounds to be forthwith provided for the Service of that Kingdom. That *Owen O-Conelly* have 500 Pounds paid down, and 200 Pounds a Year Pension, till Provision be made for an Inheritance of greater Value; and that the Lords be desir'd to appoint a select Committee of the Commons, and take Cognizance of the Affairs of *Ireland*. Three or four Days after, they RESOLV'D, that 200000 Pounds be forthwith supply'd for the Occasions of *Ireland*; that a convenient Number of Ships be provided for guarding the Sea Coasts of that Kingdom; that 6000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, be rais'd for the present Expedition into *Ireland*; that the *Magazines* of Provisions and Stores of War in that Kingdom be supply'd, and all other Methods taken for the speedy Relief of the distress'd Protestants in that Kingdom. The Lords Justices, *Sir William Parsons*, and *Sir John Borlace*, were so sensible of the great Care and Sollicitude of the Parliament to assist them, that they return'd them Thanks by their Letter of the 27th of *November*; yet *Echard* charges them with Supineness and Negligence in the *Irish* Affairs; their whole Business being Designs against his Majesty's Prerogative; whereas in Truth, his Majesty's stretching that Prerogative so much as he did, immediately after his Return from *Scotland*, oblig'd the Parliament to consider their own Safety in *England*, as well as that of their Brethren in *Ireland*. For no sooner was the King come from *Scotland*, than he dismiss'd the Guard of Train'd-Bands, which had done Duty near the Parliament-House, and order'd others in their Places, which the House of Commons discharg'd, and their Petition for a Guard in which they could confide, was absolutely deny'd. It was contriv'd that his Majesty, when he return'd to *London*, should be receiv'd with uncommon Magnificence, to shew how much he had the Affection of the City, and mortify the Parliament, who pretended to be possess'd of them: This was manag'd by the Queen, who gain'd the Lord-Mayor in the King's Absence. On the 25th of *November*, the King and Queen set out from *Theobalds* with the Prince, Duke of *York*, Prince of *Orange*, Elector *Palatine*, Duke of *Richmond*, Duke of *Hamilton*, Master of the Horse, Earl of *Effex*, Lord Chamberlain, and other Lords; at *Stamford-Hill* he was met by the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, *George Garret*, and *George Clarke*, with 72 Men in Scarlet Cloaks. There was a Passage made from *Kingsland* to *Moorfields*, for this Royal Cavalcade: In the first Field, *Mr. Richard Gourney*, Lord-Mayor, had pitch'd a sumptuous Tent, at the Entrance of which his Majesty's Coach stopp'd, and the Nobility and Gentry who waited there to congratulate his Return, had the Honour to kiss his and the Queen's Hand; there the Recorder, *Mr. Thomas Gardiner*, made a Speech, blessing himself and the Nation, in the hopeful Succession of King *Charles* the Second, and King *James* the Second: He assur'd their Majesties, that no King nor Queen was ever so well belov'd by the *Londoners* as they were; he then made a Present to them of their Hearts as a *New-Year's-Gift*, a Month before *Christmas*; and pray'd his Majesty to uphold the Authority of the Mayor, and the Reverence due to the Aldermen. The King made a long Speech in Answer to *Mr. Recorder's*, wherein he expresses his Comfort that all the Misreports of him in his Absence, had not the least Power to do him any Prejudice in their Affections; and assures them he will protect the true Protestant Religion, as it was establish'd by his Famous Predecessor, his Father; after which his Majesty was pleas'd to Knight the Lord-Mayor and the Recorder with the City-Sword; and then the Court proceeded in a very solemn manner through the City to *White-Hall*; there was great Affectation of Love and Loyalty, of Favour and Affection on both Sides. The King

was very well pleas'd with the Conduct of the Lord-Mayor and Citizens, and they were transported with the King's gracious Speech; but we shall in a few Days find that it was all Outside, and the Joy no better founded than on the Show and Glitter of the Court: 'Twas observ'd that the King was continually pulling off his Hat, which was a rare Thing with both his Father and himself.

The only popular Thing which was attempted at that Time, was the promoting some Divines who were frequent Preachers, to Episcopal Sees, though they were not likely to be a Penny the richer for their Bishopricks; as *Dr. Thomas Winniffe* to be Bishop of *Lincoln*, vacant by the Promotion of *Dr. Williams* to the Archbishoprick of *York*, *Dr. Henry King* to the See of *Chichester*, *Dr. Ralph Brownrig* to that of *Exeter*, *Dr. Thomas Westfield* to that of *Bristol*, and the Bishoprick of *Carlisle* was given in Commendam to Archbishop *Usher*. As grateful as these Divines were to the People, their Promotion at this Time was very ungrateful, not on Account of their Persons, but their Function; and it was done with a Design to put a stop to the Bill for taking away Bishops Votes in Parliament; which no body could think his Majesty wou'd consent to, when he had so lately added so many to their Number; but then he had almost as lately entirely abolish'd the very Order in the Kingdom in which he was born.

His Majesty in his first Speech to the Parliament, after his Return from *Scotland*, tells them he had left that Kingdom quiet and contented, but finds this distracted with Jealousies and Alarms: He took Notice of the joyful Reception he had met with from the City of *London*, and recommends to them the State of *Ireland*: He told them also he did not repent of the kind Things he had done for them, and would be ready to do more upon Occasion; which Speech was the more extraordinary, for that the Parliament had the Night before, *December* the first, presented him with the grand Remonstrance drawn up by them since their Meeting after the Recess. They sent the Remonstrance by a Committee, who were *Sir Ralph Hopton*, who had not even yet deserted the Country Party, *Mr. Pym*, *Sir Simon d'Ewes*, *Sir Arthur Haselrigg*, *Sir Arthur Ingram*, *Sir James Thynne*, *Sir Henry Bellasis*, *Lord Grey*, *Sir Christopher Wray*, *Lord Fairfax*, *Sir Richard Wynne*, *Sir John Corbet*, *Sir Edward Deering*. The Report of the Delivery of it was made by *Sir Ralph Hopton*, who told the House, the first Thing his Majesty spoke to, was that Part where they charge him with having a malignant Party about him, who design'd to change Religion; upon which the King said, *The Devil take him, whoever he be, that designs to change Religion*: And as to appropriating the Rebels Lands in *Ireland* towards the Expence of the War, he was pleas'd to say, *we must not dispose of the Bears Skin till the Bear be dead*. The Remonstrance was rough enough in the wording of it, but it was not the less true. It contain'd all the Mistakes, Misfortunes, Illegalities and Defaults in Government, since the King's coming to the Crown, the Evil Counsels and Counsellors, &c. It did not pass by a great Majority, and *Mr. Palmer* and *Mr. Hyde* two Lawyers protested against it after a most disorderly and unprecedented Manner, for which *Palmer* was sent to the Tower, and *Hyde* escap'd very narrowly. This Remonstrance was the first Stroke of the Paper War, which gradually drew on the Civil. The other Remonstrances and Petitions of Parliament are express'd as forcibly, and the King's Answers to all of them are as evasive as his Answer to this, which upbraided the House with printing their Remonstrance contrary to his Desire. He justify'd the Votes of Bishops, as grounded on the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; so were once the Lord Abbots and Lord Priors. The fundamental Laws are always urg'd on this Occasion, as if they had never been

King's Return from Scotland.

Recorder's Speech to him.

A.D. 1641

Bishops made.

Grand Remonstrance.

Sir Ralph Hopton.

Paper War.

A.D. 1641. been broken on many other Occasions in this Reign, and as if the Legislative Power had not now as much Right to take away those Votes, as ever it had to establish them. He desir'd the Parliament to name the Evil Counsellors; and might they not have named the Lord Digby, and a much greater one who lay in his Royal Bosom? His Answer was follow'd by a Declaration, wherein among other Things it was said, *He had preferr'd no Persons this Session but what were in particular Estimation with the People.* The Lord Digby, the Lord Falkland, and Sir John Colepepyr, are meant here. The Lord Falkland was made Secretary of State, Digby and Colepepyr reconcil'd and preferr'd. Sir Ralph Hopton, who deliver'd the Remonstrance, made his Bargain soon after them. These Gentlemen were justly in the Estimation of the People while they were in their Interests, from which when they apostatiz'd, the People no longer held them in Esteem. It will not be expected that we would shew how fallacious many of these Papers are on both Sides, neither shall we insert them entire. The Lord Clarendon does not lose a Word of the King's Declarations, Messages, or Answers, tho' they are long to Excess. He doubtless was enamour'd with them for the Sake of the Drawer, who probably was himself, there being such a Redundancy of Words, as Warwick observes of his Writings, and no where is he more redundant than in his History and Characters. The Parliaments Petitions and Remonstrances are written with more Spirit and more Regard to Truth, than his tedious Declarations.

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An Act for pressing.

Sir Will. Balfour and Lunsford.

'Tis surprizing that Foreigners and Papiests shou'd think more justly of these Things than the English Protestants and even Lawyers. "Persons of Condition, says Salmonnet, thought that the King shou'd have made Advantage of this Remonstrance; and having not been hitherto fully inform'd of the Conduct of his Ministers in abusing his Authority and Confidence, he might have manag'd better for the future, and prevented the Peoples laying the Faults of the Ministers at the Door of the Prince."

There being an absolute Necessity to raise an Army for the Relief of Ireland, a Bill was brought into the House for pressing Soldiers; in the Preamble of which it was declar'd, *That the King cou'd in no Case but upon an Invasion from a foreign Power, press a free-born Subject;* which as agreeable as it is to common Justice and common Sense, was a Doctrine unknown to the Lords, according to Echard, who inclin'd to hear the Attorney-General argue the Case before them; but the Commons resolv'd their Committee for Ireland should not sit till the Bill for raising Men was pass'd; and the King coming to the House, offer'd to pass it with a *Salvo Jure* to his Prerogative; a Word which is ever in the Mouth of an ill King, and has hardly been once mention'd from the Throne since the Revolution: For their Majesties King William, Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George, have made so good use of their Royal Prerogative, that the People have frequently rather thought it too little than too much: But in this and the former Reign it was never mention'd but to be abus'd. Both Lords and Commons join'd in a Petition to the King, *to declare the Name of such Person by whose Information he was induc'd to that Violation of their Privileges, by taking Notice of the Contents of a Bill before it came to him in due Course.*

In the mean time Sir William Balfour Lieutenant of the Tower, was remember'd for refusing to take a Bribe and let the Earl of Strafford escape. The House of Commons having Notice that there was a Design to remove him, order'd his Attendance, and examin'd him about it, who explaining the Cause of his Removal, they debated a Petition to the King for his Continuance; but before they came to a Resolution, Sir William Balfour resign'd

A.D. 1641. the Keys of the Tower to his Majesty, and Colonel Lunsford a Ruffian was put in his Place. We shall see how he was qualify'd for such a Post by the Character which the Parliament gave him, *A Man of a decay'd and desperate Fortune, and so may be tempted to undertake any ill Design.* He had been condemn'd in the Star-Chamber for an Attempt to murder Sir Thomas Pelham in his Coach as he was coming from Church. Echard takes no Notice of this Man's Infamy, but imputes the Care of the Commons for the Safety of the Tower to a *seditionous Clamour.* The Lords wou'd not join with the Commons in a Petition to the King to turn out Lunsford, tho' the Citizens were afraid to bring their Bullion to the Mint, while so profligate a Person had the Command of it. Several great Lords, as the Earl of Northumberland, Earl of Bedford, Earl of Warwick, Earl of Essex, Earl of Suffolk, Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Holland, Earl of Clare, Earl of Stamford, Earl of Newport, Earl of Bolingbroke, Earl of Pembroke, and about a Dozen more Lords, were for agreeing with the Commons: But the Courtiers were as tender of the Prerogative as if no ill Use had been made of it. However the Commons order'd Sir Thomas Barrington and Mr. Martin to repair to the Earl of Newport Constable of the Tower, and desire him to reside there and take the Custody and Guard of that Place, while Lunsford was continu'd Lieutenant to the extream Terror of the City. The Court was always complaining of the Fears and Jealousies of the People, and yet always doing Things to make them more jealous and fearful. The Citizens were in continual Alarms till that Assassin Lunsford was remov'd from the Government of the Tower; even the very loyal Lord-Mayor Gourney represented to the King the great Danger of an Insurrection, if Lunsford was not turn'd out immediately; which was done, and the Keys given to Sir John Byron. The Office of Constable was taken from the Earl of Newport as soon as it was known that the Parliament had so great Confidence in him. We often read in Clarendon and Echard, that there were false Rumours rais'd by the Artifices of Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and the greatest Names in Parliament; but we now meet with one so extravagant, that it cou'd never gain the least Belief with reasonable Men, which is the Report of a Plot to seize the Queen and her Children while the King was in Scotland. His Majesty was inform'd of it, and hearken'd to the Information, that the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Newport, the Lord Say, the Lord Mandeville, the Lord Wharton, the Lord Dungarvon, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir John Clotworthy, and Mr. John Pym, had a Consultation for that Purpose at Kensington. The Earl of Newport hearing of this vile Rumour, waited upon the Queen with some other Lords, and with many Affeverations, assur'd her of the Falstity of it. Her Majesty seem'd satisfy'd; but when the King return'd, the false Report was reviv'd, and his Majesty demanded of the Earl of Newport whether he himself had not said at the pretended Consultation, *If there's a Plot in Scotland, here are his Wife and Children.* His Lordship deny'd there were any such Words said, the King reply'd, *I am sorry for your Memory.* The Earl gave Information of it to the House of Peers, who finding some Commoners concern'd in it, desir'd a Conference concerning these scandalous Rumours, that those who spread them might be punish'd. Both Houses agreed upon a Petition to the King to that Effect; and his Majesty answer'd, *I do not believe the Report; I have ask'd Newport some Questions about the Business, but far from that Way of expressing a Belief of the Thing which Newport hath had the Boldness and Confidence to affirm, which I cou'd easily make appear, but I think it beneath me to contest with any particular Person.* His Majesty refus'd to tell who it was that inform'd him of the pretended Plot.

A Plot by the Parliament.

The

A.D. 1641. The Removal of *Lunsford* not being known, the Citizens who had petition'd against him, Common-Council Men, and Men of like Repute, attended at *Westminster*, whither came also several Apprentices with a Petition against *Papists and Popish Innovators, such as Archbishops, Bishops, and their Dependants; the Extirpation of which Government Root and Branch, had been humbly desir'd by several Petitions from this City*, and was now more vigorously insisted upon than ever. It was very natural for these Citizens to cry out, *No Bishops*, it being what they came about. One *Hyde* an Officer in the Army under the Earl of *Strafford*, fell foul on these Citizens, saying, he would cut the Throat of those *round-headed cropp'd-ear'd Dogs*; whence the Term *Roundhead* was given to the Friends to the Parliament. *Hyde* stoutly drew his Sword upon the unarm'd People, and desir'd some Gentlemen to second him, which they refusing, he was apprehended, brought before the House of Commons and sent to Prison; he was afterwards cashier'd. The same Day, *December 27. Lunsford* coming thro' *Westminster-Hall* with thirty or forty such Gentry as himself, met with the *Londoners* who brought the last mention'd Petition: *Lunsford* presently drew his Sword, which began a Fray, and some were hurt. This was enough to give a just Alarm to the whole City, who had an Abhorrence for that *Bravo*, and many hundreds of the younger fort came to assist their Fellows at *Westminster*, which caus'd a great Uproar; and tho' *Lunsford* and his Crew shuffled away as fast as they cou'd, yet the Storm being rais'd, 'twas some time before the troubled Waters cou'd subside. *Echard* misrepresents this Matter in every Particular; he tells us that *Lunsford's* Followers were the King's Household Officers, and the Citizens a contemptible Rabble, tho' only two of the *Londoners* who petition'd against that Bully, *Mr. Randal Manwaring*, and *Mr. Maximilian Beard*, cou'd have bought *Lunsford* and all his Household Officers, if they had all been no richer than himself. An Historian of those Times sets it in a truer Light; *The best affected Citizens, Men of the best Note and Quality of the whole City both for Piety and Ability, went with this Petition to the Parliament House in most grave and substantial Equipage in fifty or sixty Coaches, and were most graciously receiv'd by the Lords and Commons.* No doubt there were Infantry as well as Cavalry, some afoot as well as in Coaches, as is unavoidable on these Occasions. *Echard, Some brisk Gentlemen of the Inns of Court did also offer their Service to guard his Majesty, who in Truth was very well guarded by the Militia of Westminster and Middlesex. General Ludlow, who was a Witness of this Tumult, writes thus, "The King finding that nothing less would satisfy the Parliament than a thorough Correction of what was amiss, and full Security of their Rights for the future from any Violation, consider'd how to put a Stop to their Proceedings, and to that End encourag'd a great Number of loose debauch'd Fellows about the Town to repair to Whitehall, where a constant Table was provided for them, These are Echard's Household Officers. Many Gentlemen of the Inns of Court were tamper'd with to assist him. These are the Inns of Court Gentlemen who, he says, offer'd their Service. Things were brought to such a pass, that one of those Courtiers said publicly in my Hearing, What shall we suffer those Fellows at Westminster to domineer thus? Let us go into the Country and bring up our Tenants to pull them out; which Words not being able to bear, I question'd him for them, and he either out of Fear of Publick Justice, or of my Resentment, came to me the next Morning, and ask'd Pardon, which by Reason of his Youth, and want of Experience, I pass'd by."* The reverend Historian affirms that General *Ludlow* made this Story. *This is all Invention.* He'll say he nam'd

not the General, but he names the Thing. Some of the *Londoners* being got into the Abby, *Dr. Williams* Archbishop of *York* shut the Doors upon them, and detain'd them; which others of their hearing, they flock'd thither, and endeavour'd to break down the Doors; but the Archbishop's Men flung Stones upon them from the Leads, his Grace not at all approving of the Petition against Archbishopsricks. Several Citizens were hurt, and, says *Rusworth*, among the rest *Sir Richard Wiseman* one of the Archdeacon's Foot-Rabble, who dy'd soon after of the Hurt he receiv'd.

The next Day the House of Commons fell into Debate concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*, and the Obstructions which the Relief of it met with. One was the Want of a Proclamation under the Great-Seal, declaring the *Irish* *Papists* in Arms and their Adherents to be *REBELS* and *TRAYTORS*; which was very inconsistent with the Declaration publish'd in *Ireland* by *Sir Pkelim Oneal* Head of those *Traytors* and *Rebels*, wherein it is said, *Be it known to all our Friends and Countrymen, that the King's most excellent Majesty, for many great and urgent Causes him thereunto moving, and reposing Trust and Confidence in our Fidelity, hath signified to us by his Commission under the Great-Seal of Scotland bearing Date the First of this Instant October; then follows the Commission itself, to arrest and seize the Goods, Estates, and Persons of all the English Protestants.* The Lords and Commons in their Address to the King at *Theobalds* two Months after, said, "That the Design of destroying the Protestant Religion, was laid by those who were most in the King's Favour; that the Queen and the Pope's Agents who resided about her, were the principal Chiefs; that the Troubles of *Scotland* proceeded from the same Source, and the *Irish* Massacrers boasted they had the King's Ap probation, and that they had only taken up Arms to restore his Authority which was depress'd by the *Puritans*, according to an intercepted Letter from one of the Chiefs to his Brother in *England*; to which they added an Order sign'd C. R. that is, *Charles Rex*, to Captain *Legg*, to receive on board his Ship such of the Conspirators as shou'd demand it, and to transport them wherever they desir'd. *Mr. Jephson* a Member of Parliament affirm'd it at a Conference between the two Houses, that *Dillon*, whilst he resided at Court, wrote to two of the Leaders of the *Rebels, Muskerry* and *Taaf*, of the King's Approbation; that Reasons of State oblig'd him to dissemble at present, but that he would support them in a proper Season." If the *Traytor Oneal's* Commission is forg'd, and if *Ludlow* goes too far in saying the King was not displeas'd with the Massacre, most certain it is, the Parliament of *England* were so jealous of his Majesty's Disposition, that they would not trust him with the Management of the War; and it is as certain their Jealousy was not unreasonable, as appear'd by the Peace he made with those *Irish* *Rebels* not long after, contrary to his positive Engagement with them; and sent for a great Body of those *Cut-throats* to act against them and their Friends.

One of the Reasons for a Proclamation to declare the *Irish* *REBELS*, was because they had given out as if they had some Authority for what they did. *Sir John Colepepyr* and others were appointed to draw up a Declaration concerning the Obstructions of the Relief of *Ireland*; and on the First of *January* a Proclamation was publish'd, declaring the *Irish* *Papists* who were in Arms, and their Adherents, *REBELS* and *TRAYTORS*; but the Secretary of State *Sir Edward Nicholas*, in his Warrant to the Printer said, *It is his Majesty's Pleasure that forty Copies only should be printed, and those not to be publish'd till his Majesty's further Pleasure was signify'd; upon which Mr. May observes, All Men extremely wonder'd, comparing it with*

Whence the Term Round-head.

Tumult.

Part.

Chron. 56.

Vol. I. 21.

Ireland.

Vol. II. Larrey, 118.

P. 117.

A.D. 1642

Brev. 38. with

A.D. 1642. with the late Proceedings against the Scots, who were in a very quick and sharp Manner proclaim'd Rebels, and those Proclamations forthwith dispers'd with as much Diligence as might be thro' all the Kingdom.

Bishops ill advis'd. About the beginning of the Year, the Bishops took a Step which one wou'd think they were put upon by the Courtiers to facilitate their Ruin, which cou'd not have been so suddenly effected without it; and there wou'd be the better Pretence to drop them when they had brought the Destruction upon themselves. They drew up a Protestation, and deliver'd it to the King, wherein they declar'd against all *Laws, Orders, and Votes which have pass'd or shall pass, since they absented themselves from the House of Lords.* If this Indiscretion had been the Effect of their great Application to the Divine Duties of their Function, which estrang'd them to the Wisdom of this World, it wou'd rather have been laudable than blameable. But it cou'd not be thought that *Wright Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, Goodman of Gloucester, Pierce of Bath and Wells, Owen of St. Asaph, Skinner of Oxon, Towers of Peterborough, Owen of Landaff, Wren of Ely, and Cooke of Hereford,* cou'd have become Strangers to human Policy, by devoting themselves entirely to the Cure of Souls and the Study of Divinity. The three other Bishops, *Dr. Williams Archbishop of York, Dr. Moreton Bishop of Durham, and Dr. Hall Bishop of Norwich,* were not in ill Terms with the Parliament on their own Account, but for the Company they kept. The former was skilful enough in Politicks, but as it often happens, he lost himself in this Protestation. *Bishop Morton and Bishop Hall* were primitive apostolical Fathers of the Church, and deserv'd to have been distinguish'd on this Occasion, tho' they were drawn in by the others to protest with them. His Majesty immediately sent the Protestation to the Lord-Keeper to have it register'd. What need was there of taking that Burden upon himself? It was no sooner read in the House of Peers, than their Lordships sent a Message to the House of Commons by *Sir John Banks and Judge Reeves,* to desire a present Conference; at which the Lord-Keeper *Littleton* deliver'd the Protestation, and spoke as follows, *The Petition and Protestation of the twelve Bishops contain Matters of high and dangerous Consequence, and such as my Lords are very sensible of, and such as require a speedy and sudden Resolution, it extending to the deep entrenching upon the fundamental Privileges and Beings of Parliaments; therefore the Lords have thought fit, that this Matter concerning the whole Nation may be communicated to the House of Commons, it being a Thing of so great and so general a Concernment.* After this Communication, the House RESOLV'D to accuse these twelve Bishops of *High-Treason for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws and Beings of Parliament;* which was done at the Bar of the House of Lords by *Mr. Glyn,* who was order'd also to thank the Lords for communicating the Bishops Protestation to them with so much Affection and Speed, and for expressing their Sense thereof, so great was the Harmony in this august Senate on this Occasion, which *Mr. Archdeacon* represents as the Effect of *Artifice and Sedition.* Immediately Warrants were issu'd out by the House of Peers for their Seizure and Commitment, directed to the Usher of the Black-Rod, who soon apprehended them all, and brought them to the Bar of that most honourable House, by whom they were all sent to the Tower, except the pious and reverend *Dr. Moreton Bishop of Durham,* in Regard, says *Rushworth,* of his worthy Parts, and *Dr. Wright Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield,* in regard of his Age and Indisposition, who remain'd with the Black-Rod. The People rang the Bells, and made Bonfires, as if at last they had obtain'd their long-wish'd for Tri-

Lord Keeper's Speech concerning them.

umph over Episcopacy. *Mr. Archdeacon* pretends, *A.D. 1642.* that this very much lessen'd the Respect and Veneration that had formerly been entertain'd for Parliaments. But the Disciples of *Laud* had before so far lost all Veneration and Respect for Parliaments, that there was nothing left to be lessen'd. As for the rest of the Nation, it no where appears that this Proceeding had the least Effect on the People's Good-will to the Parliament. To this is added another Falsity, *the absent Members of both Houses were three Parts in four;* whereas the Numbers of the sitting Members much exceeded that Proportion before the Recces. These Falsities are still aggravated by a third, *The King's Servants were of the best Fortunes and Reputations in their severall Counties;* that is, *Mr. Hyde* had a better Estate than *Mr. Hollis,* *Mr. Warwick* a better Estate than *Mr. Hampden,* and the *Lord Cottington* than the *Earl of Bedford.* This Comparison wou'd run thro' both Houses, and agrees exactly with *Echard's three Parts in four absent.* For three or four Months after this, when many of the Members of the House of Commons had deserted the Service of their Country, there were in that House three hundred Members, fifty more were employ'd by the Parliament in the Country, fifty had express'd Leave to be absent, and fifty-one had been expell'd for absenting themselves without Leave. And six Years after this, when the Members were secluded by the Army, you will find in *Pag. 353* of this very History, that the House consisted of above four hundred Members; tho' the *Earl of Clarendon,* or whoever wrote the *History of the Rebellion,* taught *Echard* so falsely to misrepresent their Number.

Parl. Chron. 106.

Number of the House of Commons.

The King sent a Message to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, which the Secretary of State *Sir Edward Nicholas* notify'd to the Recorder, and that it wou'd be brought by the *Lord Newburgh* Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster,* who deliver'd them a Paper concerning the Tumults, in which his Majesty told them *it was out of Idleness* that the Citizens came flocking to *Westminster.* Indeed most of the Petitions at that Time complain'd of the great Decay of Trade occasion'd by the Favour shewn to Papiſts, and the Tyranny of the Prelates, as is express'd in very strong Terms in the Petition of the Apprentices. I cannot find that the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, took any more Notice of the *Lord Newburgh's* Message to prevent tumultuary Assemblies, and not believe the Reports of ill-affected Persons, than to agree among themselves to spread it abroad and make the Message known, and that the Lord-Mayor shou'd issue out his Precepts for Watch and Ward.

A Message to the City about Tumults.

The House of Commons order'd *Mr. Hollis* to carry a verbal Message to the King, that a Guard might be assign'd them under the Command of the *Earl of Essex* Lord-Chamberlain. They complain'd that there had been several Attempts to bring Parliament Destruction upon their whole Body at once, and ment Ad-Threats and Menaces against particular Persons; that there was a malignant Party bitterly envenom'd against them, daily gathering Strength and Confidence, and now come to such a Height, as to have given Boldness to some to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of his Majesty's Subjects in the Face and at the Doors of the Parliament. The Threats against particular Persons, refers to a Plague-Plaster sent *Mr. Pym* to infect and murder him. The reverend Author makes a Jest of it, tho' the murderous Design has certainly nothing ludicrous in it in the Conception of Persons of Sobriety and Virtue. The Plaster is too filthy to be much spoken of; the Letter which contain'd it was sent to *Mr. Pym* in the Parliament House with these Cavalier Expressions, *Mr. Pym, Do not think that a Guard of Men can protect you, if you persist in your traiterous Courses and Designs. I have sent a Paper Message to you, and if this do*

A.D. 1642. *not touch your Heart, a Dagger shall, so soon as I am recover'd of my Plague-Sore. Unheard-of Affair, to contrive this Murder with the Mark of Death upon him! In the mean Time you may be forborn, because no better Man may be endanger'd for you. REPENT TRAYTOR.* These Menaces and the Rage of *Lunsford* and the House Officers, produc'd this Address: In answer to which the King blam'd them for *their groundless Jealousies, Distrusts, and Fears,* and protested *if he had Knowledge of any such Design,* he wou'd pursue the Authors to condign Punishment. He told them *he wou'd appoint them such a Guard as he wou'd be responsible for to God Almighty.* The Commons in the mean time order'd Halberts to be provided and brought into their House for their better Security, and they remain'd there a considerable Time afterwards; by which we may see they had good Information of what was contriving against them; and the Court might have seen that their Contrivances wou'd end in their Confusion.

It shou'd have been mention'd, that during the Parliament's Adjournment in the *Christmas* Holydays, a grand Committee was order'd to meet at *Guildhall*, and a less Committee at *Westminster*, till the two Houses met on the 3d of *January*; when the Lord-Keeper acquainted the Lords that his Majesty had given Order to *Sir Edward Herbert* Attorney-General, to acquaint their Lordships with some Particulars from him; which Particulars were a Charge of *High-Treason* against the Lord *Kimbolton*, *Denzil Hollis Esq;* *John Hampden Esq;* *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, *John Pym Esq;* *William Strode Esq;* The Lord *Kimbolton* after the Charge was read, stood up and offer'd to obey whatever the House shou'd order. The Lords sent a Message to the House of Commons, that some of their Members were accus'd of *High-Treason*; and at the same time Information was brought that several Persons were sealing up the Trunks, Doors, and Papers belonging to the accus'd Members; upon which the House order'd that their Serjeant shou'd have Power to break open the Doors and Seals upon the Trunks, &c. 'Twas also resolv'd upon the Question, that if any Person came to seize their Persons, those Members shou'd stand upon their Guard. While they were debating these Things, Serjeant *Francis* came from his Majesty to arrest the *Five Members*, but the House wou'd not let them go, and order'd *Sir John Colepeper*, the Lord *Falkland*, *Sir John Hotham*, and *Sir Philip Stapleton*, to attend his Majesty, and acquaint him that the Matter concern'd the *Privilege of Parliament*, and therein the *Privilege of all the Commons of England*; that they wou'd take it into Consideration, and return an Answer in all Humility and Duty, with as much Speed as the Greatness of the Business wou'd permit; and in the mean Time the said Members shall be ready to answer any legal Charge made against them; accordingly the Speaker, by Command of the House, enjoin'd the five Members to constant Attendance. Here was a Crisis! Had there been so much Wisdom and Temper in the King's Counsels, as to have been satisfy'd with this prudent Message of the Parliament, there had been no Civil War; for from his Conduct at this Time, 'twas easy to observe that there was no Probability of preventing it. The Lords made a like Order about the Doors and Trunks, and resolv'd to join with the Commons in a Petition for a Guard. The latter commanded their Speaker to issue out Warrants for apprehending *Sir William Fleming* and *Sir William Killebrew*, who had presum'd to seal up those Trunks and Doors. They also order'd a Conference to be desir'd with the Lords, to acquaint them that there is a *scandalous Paper* publish'd, containing Articles of *High-Treason* against the Lord *Kimbolton*, &c. And forasmuch as it is against the Members of both Houses, they desire the Lords that Right may be done a-

gainst the Publishers of the said *scandalous Paper*. A.D. 1642. and an Enquiry made who were the Authors and Publishers thereof, that they may be punish'd, and the Commonwealth be secur'd against such dangerous Persons. Thus it is plain that the Parliament resolv'd to defend the accus'd Members against a Charge, which, says a learned Lawyer, was smil'd at as chimerical, and as having in Truth no Foundation, which he fully proves. And it is amazing, that when the Court saw the vigorous Opposition that was made to those treasonable Chimeras, they shou'd add Violence to Violence, and pursue their desperate Measures to an open Rupture between the King and his Subjects: For the next Day, *January* the 4th, the House of Commons was inform'd by one Captain *Langrisb* lately an Officer in *France*, that he came from among the Officers and Soldiers at *Whitehall*, and understanding by them that his Majesty was coming with a Guard of military Men Commanders and Soldiers to the House of Commons, he pass'd by them with some Difficulty to get to the House before them, to send in word how near they were. A certain Member, suppos'd to be *Mr. Pym*, had had private Intimations from the famous Countess of *Carlisle* Sister to the Earl of *Northumberland*, that Endeavours wou'd be us'd that very Day to apprehend the five Members, the Countess of *Carlisle* happening to be in the Room when the Queen talk'd of it to the King, and urg'd him to it with an indecent Eagerness. She who understood *French* perfectly well, knowing the Design, went out of the Room immediately, and so down the Back-Stairs, that she might not be observ'd, and going directly to her Brother *Northumberland*, told him all she knew; of which he immediately inform'd *Mr. Pym*. The House upon Captain *Langrisb's* Information, requir'd the five Members who were there attending according to Order, to depart forthwith, lest Mischiefs shou'd follow, if the Soldiers attempted to pull them out by Force, the Commons being resolv'd in such Case to defend them with their Halberts, which, says *Welwood*, might have endanger'd the King's Person. Four of the five Members left the House, but *Mr. Strode* wou'd not stir; *Sir Walter Earle* his old Friend, strove to push him out, the King being by this Time in the Court of Requests. At last a Member told him *Mr. Hampden* wanted to speak with him below, and then *Strode* follow'd the rest just as his Majesty was entering with his Officers, Reformades, and Soldiers.

When he came to the Door, his Majesty gave a loud Knock, and it was thrown open. He enter'd, and as he pass'd towards the Chair, cast his Eye on the right-hand where *Mr. Pym* us'd to sit, but not seeing him, he went forward and said, *By your Leave, Mr. Speaker, I must borrow your Chair a little*; which the Speaker quitting, the King stepped up into it, and after he had stood there a while, cast his Eye around upon the Members, but cou'd not see those for whom he came. He then made a Speech, wherein he said, *He came to apprehend some that were by his Command accus'd of High-Treason; in which Case no Person hath Privilege, and as long as those Persons are here, he cou'd not expect this House wou'd be in the right Way, and he must have them wheresoever he found them.* He assur'd them *he never intended any Force*; which the Reformades and Soldiers were a plain Proof of. The Speaker standing below by the Chair, his Majesty ask'd him whether he saw any of those Persons in the House. The Speaker falling on his Knees, reply'd, *I have neither Eyes to see, nor Tongue to speak, but as the House pleases to direct me, whose Servant I am here; and humbly beg your Majesty's Pardon, that I cannot give any other Answer than this to what your Majesty is pleas'd to demand of me.* How different is *Mr. Speaker Lentball's* Behaviour from *Mr. Speaker Finch's*. The former while the King

Ach. 448: & seq.

Five Members.

MS.

King enters the House.

A.D. 1642. King was present in the House professes his Obedience to the Parliament; the latter when the King was at *Whitehall*, refus'd to obey them, having receiv'd his Majesty's Command to the contrary. The King told the Speaker he thought he was in the right, and then left the House, which was in the greatest Disorder, many Members crying out aloud, so as he might hear them, *Privilege, Privilege*, and immediately adjourn'd to the next Day. I have refer'd the Reader to *Acherley* for the Articles of Impeachment against the *five Members*, and his judicious Remarks upon them. It gives one Pity to see how the Earl of *Clarendon*, and Archdeacon *Echard*, labour to explain away an outrageous Act against the Peoples Rights and Privileges, which is attended with so many aggravating Circumstances. Mr. Archdeacon informs us, it was follow'd with a Proclamation, to prevent the Persons accus'd from flying out of the Kingdom, and to forbid all Persons to entertain them; which methinks should not have been mention'd, since their *Accusers* were preparing to fly the Kingdom, and that the Citizens of *London* not only entertain'd them, but offer'd to defend them at the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes. The House of Commons full of just Resentment, which the Reverend Historian calls Rage, Voted the King's entering their House to be done in a warlike Manner, and therefore they in great Fear, Trouble and Confusion, adjourn'd for seven Days, 'till Tuesday the 11th of *January*, but appointed a Committee to sit in the mean Time at *Guild-Hall*, which had been done before in this Session. This Committee were, Lord *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, Sir *Robert Coke*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *Thomas Walsingham*, Sir *John Hippestley*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Hotham*, Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *John Wray*, Sir *Thomas Barrington*, Sir *Christopber Wray*, Sir *Samuel Rolle*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *William Litton*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, Sir *Richard Cave*, Mr. *Whitlocke*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *N. Fiennes*, Mr. *W. Long*, Mr. *Herbert Price*, Mr. *Wheeler*, Mr. *Glynne*, Mr. *Grimston*, Mr. *Wylde*.

Committee of Parliament in the City.

The same Day the King came to the City with his usual Attendance; and the People, as he went along, cry'd out aloud, *Privilege of Parliament, Privilege of Parliament*; Mr. *Walker*, an Ironmonger and Pamphleteer, threw a Paper into his Coach, as the compleat Historian tells us, wherein was written, *To your Tents, O Israel*; for which he was committed, and afterwards proceeded against at the Sessions. This Paper was a Sermon on that Text. His Majesty was nobly entertain'd at Dinner by one of the Sheriffs, and after Dinner return'd to *Whitehall*, without interruption of Tumults. The Committee of the House of Commons at *Guildball* employ'd themselves in drawing up a Declaration touching his Majesty's late coming to their House. They were upon it five Days, examining Persons to prove the Words, Actions, and Gestures of those that follow'd the King, and stood ready at the Door of the House of Commons.

Lord-Mayor, &c. Petition.

In the mean Time the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council petition'd the King, "Complaining of the great Success of the bloody Irish Rebels, the want of Aid to suppress them, of Designs to destroy the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of his Majesty's Subjects, by putting out Persons of Trust from being Constable and Lieutenant of the Tower, of fortifying *Whitehall* with Men and Ammunition, of wounding Citizens in their passing to *Westminster*, of tampering with *Inns of Court*, of the Misunderstanding between his Majesty and the Parliament, by Reason of Misinformation, of his going to the House of Commons with a great Multitude of armed Men besides his ordinary Guards, in Breach of the Privileges of Parliament; All which tends not only to the O-

vertbrow of Trade, which we already feel in a *A.D. 1642.* deep Measure, but also threatens the utter Ruin of the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of all his Majesty's Subjects. Their Prayer was, that Ireland may be speedily reliev'd by the Advice of Parliament; the Tower put into the Hands of Persons of Trust, suspected and unknown Persons to be remov'd from *Whitehall*; a known and approv'd Guard to be appointed for the Parliament; and that the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the *Five Members*, may not be restrain'd of Liberty, or proceeded against, other than according to Privilege of Parliament." To which *Echard* tells us the King return'd an Answer, uncommonly obliging and condescending, as in the following Instance, *There has been nothing left undone on the King's Part, as to Ireland, and his Zeal for its Relief will appear, in a DECLARATION which will be speedily publish'd; that his Majesty wonders they should entertain any Fears about the Tower, after he had remov'd a Servant of good Trust and Reputation, Lunsford, and put in another, whose Ability and Reputation were unquestionable; that as to the fortifying Whitehall, his Majesty did not doubt but they had themselves observ'd how he was provok'd to it by seditious Language, utter'd under his own Windows; and if any Citizens were wounded, he is confidently assur'd they deserv'd it: How wonderfully obliging!* He disown'd the Knowledge of *Fireworks* in the Hands of Papists, mention'd in the Petition, and alledg'd, that no Privilege cou'd extend to *Treason* or Breach of Peace, and that his Attendants, when he went to the House, had only Swords.

The Committee remov'd from *Guildball* to *Grocers-Hall*, to give the Common-Council Room to assemble in the former about this Petition, and appointed a Sub-Committee to draw up Heads for their safe coming to *Westminster*, with the *five Members* in their Company, on the 11th of *January*. It was resolv'd that the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex* shou'd then raise the *Posse Comitatus* to guard the King and Parliament that Day. The Masters of Ships and Mariners came to the Committee with a Petition sign'd by 1000 Hands, offering their Service to guard them by Water to *Westminster*, which was accepted of. After these came the Prentices with their Offer, but Serjeant *Wylde* gave them Thanks in the Name of the Committee, telling them there wou'd be no need of it, the Seamen being to attend them by Water, and the Train'd-Bands wou'd do the same by Land. The accus'd Members assist'd at the Committee who drew up the Declaration about the King's entering the House, all Members that came being to have Votes. The Reader will observe, that of this Committee were Lord *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and some of the most eminent Members of that illustrious Assembly, who declare, "That his Majesty came to the House, attended with a Multitude of arm'd Men in a hostile Manner; that several Soldiers, Papists, and others, about 500 in Number, came with him, some of them with their Pistols cock'd near the Door, said, *I am a good Marksman, I can hit right: Pox take the House of Commons, a Pox of God confound them, &c.* true Cavalier Language. The publishing of this Declaration was much to the Parliament's Dishonour, according to *Echard*; and then he contradicts himself, by saying, *It was more detrimental to the King's Affairs: He adds, the Shops of the City were generally shut up*, to insinuate that the Citizens took this Declaration so ill, that they wou'd not Trade upon it. The Truth is, the Shops were shut while the Citizens attended the Committee and the accus'd Members, to the two Houses of Parliament, which they did in a triumphant Manner: The Committee and the *five Members* took Boat at the *Three Cranes*, attended with thirty or forty Bar-

A.D. 1642. Barges, with Guns and Streamers, and a great Number of Citizens in Boats; thus they row'd to *Westminster*, with Sound of Variety of Musical Instruments, interrupted only with the loud Acclamations of the People, while the Train'd-Bands march'd thither by Land, to secure the Passages that way. The whole was to be perform'd with so much real Pomp and Splendor, that the Court to avoid so magnificent, but to them so hateful a Sight, left the Town, and the King never saw it afterwards, 'till he was brought thither to his Tryal. *Echard* tells us, this Return of the Committee, and the five Members to their Seats in Parliament, was interpreted at *Whitehall* as the beginning of the War, and so interpreted no where else. The beginning of the War was before this, and well explain'd by the judicious Lawyer. It appear'd also, that if the five Members attempted to sit again, the King, or his Men at Arms, would be at Hand to come and seize them; and that therefore without Guards, they, or the House, would never more sit safely; and if so, the Inference is incontestable, that this STORM on the House, was the FIRST STROKE that was given in the WAR. He proceeds, "The King not being able to see the five Members so generally espous'd; for what is said in the *History of the Rebellion*, and the *Archdeacon's History*, of a pack'd Mob, is all directly contrary to known Truth; and himself and his Prosecution so disappointed, did on the Day before, Monday the 10th of *January*, retire from *Whitehall* to *Hampton-Court*, after that to *Windsor*, and from thence to *Tork*, and absented and would never after return to his Parliament.

Ach.
King begins the War.

King begins the War.
P. 54.

Five Members.
P. 58.

King's Party hate the Londoners.

See what the Conjurer *Lilly* says on this Subject. "The King disliked these too frequent Addresses unto both Houses in so unwarrantable a Manner, whereupon fearing the worst, as himself pretended, he had a Court of Guard before *Whitehall* of the Train'd-Bands: He had also many dissolute Gentlemen that kept within *White-Hall*, with their Swords by their Sides, to be ready upon any sudden Occasion: Verily Mens Fears now began to be great, and it was by many perceiv'd, the King began to swell with Anger against the Proceedings of Parliament, and to intend a War against them. Some Speeches dropp'd from him to that Purpose. Of his breaking into the House of Commons for the five Members, *Lilly* writes, "All this Time he had a Guard with him, consisting of many Gentlemen with Halberets and Swords. This rash Action of his cost him his Crown; for as he was the first of Kings that ever, or so imprudently broke the Privileges, by his entering into the House of Commons assembled in Parliament; so by that unparalleled Demand of his, he utterly lost himself, and left scarce any Possibility of Reconciliation: He not willing to trust them; nor they him, who had so often fail'd them. It was my Fortune that very Day to dine in *Whitehall*, and in that Room where the Halberets newly brought from the Tower were lodg'd, for the Use of such as attended the King to the House of Commons. Sir *Peter Wich*, e're we had fully din'd, came into the Room I was in, and broke open the Chests wherein the Arms were, which frighted us all that were there: However, one of our Company got out of Doors, and presently inform'd some Members, that the King was preparing to come into the House, else I believe all, or some of these Members had been taken. *Echard*, the Author of the *History of the Rebellion*, and all the Authors of that precious Kidney, do every where treat the City of *London* as a Nest of Rebels, the Sink of Sedition and Schism; for the Zeal of the Citizens in Defence of *English Liberty*, and for promoting a thorough Reformation. They learnt this of *Laud*; and King *Charles*, in

Pursuance of the same Lesson treated them accordingly, which naturally dispos'd them to make all Opposition to his arbitrary Government, and on all Occasions to appear for the Parliament, the Bulwark of their Rights and Privileges. He highly provok'd them a little before the breaking out of the *Scots Troubles*, by countenancing one Sir *Philips*, a beggarly Knight, as my Author calls him, from whom I take the following Account; " *Philips* exhibited his Bill against the Citizens of *London*, for certain Misdemeanours pretended to be committed by some of their Officers in *Ireland*, about the Parts of *London-derry*. True it is, the Citizens of *London* very gallantly, about the coming in of King *James*, sent Colonies of their own in great Numbers, and at their own extream great Charges, to settle Plantations in the North of *Ireland*. They had a large Patent from King *James*, and many Privileges granted them for their so doing, and Planting: Above 30 Years they had quietly possess'd their own Lands there, had built many beautiful Market-Towns, one or more City or Cities, many Churches in the Territories assign'd them; but about the Year 1639, this Sir *Philips* demanding some unreasonable Things of the Citizens, and being denied them, he in Malice exhibits his Bill for Misdemeanours of their Officers against the *Londoners* in the STAR-CHAMBER, and brought the Cause unto a Hearing. The Court of *Star-Chamber* find the *Londoners* deeply, adjudg'd their Plantations forfeited to the King, who as eagerly and greedily swallow'd them for his own. This very Act, in or near this Exigence of Time, so bitter'd the Spirits of the Citizens, that though they were singularly invited for Loan of Monies, and had as great Plenty in their Possessions as ever, yet they would not contribute any Assistance for Money against the *Scots*." *Echard* and *Clarendon* cannot find Words good enough for this *Star-Chamber*, and this King's Justice and Piety.

A.D. 1642.
L. P. 45.

The Sense of the Nation, with respect to the *Somersetshire* Danger that threaten'd them from the King's unparallel'd Breach of Parliamentary Privileges, and preparing Forces to support it, appears by a Petition to the Parliament, from the *Knights, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and other principal Inhabitants of the County of Somerset, in Behalf of themselves, and many Thousands of the County, shewing,*

"That whereas instead of settled Peace and Safety, (the long expected Fruit of your faithful Endeavours, and our chearful Contributions) great Distractions and Dangers are daily multiplied and increas'd, threatening the utter Disappointment of our Hopes, and the Overthrow of the very Foundation of our *Weal and Liberty*; especially for the late Breach of the Privileges of Parliament, in an unparallel'd Manner, by the wicked Devices of a malignant Party, as we conceive of Popish Lords and Bishops, and others; we being stricken with the Sense and Horror of so desperate a Mischief, do hold it high Time to declare the sincere and ardent Affection of our Hearts, which we are ready to seal with our purest Blood, in Defence of our Religion, his Sacred Majesty, our dear Country, and that which is the Life of our Liberty, the Rights and Privileges of Parliament.

"May it therefore please this honourable Assembly to assist the earnest Desires of your Petitioners, that all Privileges of Parliament, the Inheritance and Safety of the Subject, may be made firm. That *Popish* Lords and *Bishops* be forthwith remov'd from voting in the House of Peers; that all Evil Counsellors, and other Delinquents, may receive condign Punishment; that a sufficient Remedy be provided against the scandalous Ministers; that to secure us from all home-

bred

A.D. 1642. "bred and foreign Practices, this Kingdom be spee-
 " dily put into a Posture of Defence; and that the
 Sir Tho. " Relief and Safety of our distressed Brethren in
 Wroth's " Ireland be effectually prosecuted, &c." This
 Speech at " Petition was presented by Sir Thomas Wroth, Bur-
 deliver- " gesses for Bridgewater in Somersetshire, and the rest of
 ing it. " the Representatives of that County, the Knight
 " introducing it with a Speech, which began thus:
 " Mr. Speaker, The High and Glorious Assembly of
 " the three Estates in Parliament, hath a near Re-
 " semblance to the Day of Judgment; for in Parlia-
 " ment we are call'd to Account for our Actions, both
 " Good and Evil; here we hear the Voice of Ite and Ve-
 " nite: From this Venite, the Knights, Gentlemen,
 " and Freeholders of the County of Somerset, have
 " been encourag'd to intrust us humbly to present their
 " Petition: He then excuses its coming late, and
 " not attended with a multitudinous Troop, on Ac-
 " count of the Distance of the Petitioners from Lon-
 " don; but he said, We have Hearts and Hands as
 " zealous and ready to maintain the Contents of our
 " Petition, as any of the preceding Counties. We see
 " then, that these Addressees were the Vox Populi, and
 " not the Effect of Artifice and Imposture, as Mr.
 " Archdeacon represents them; and that in Particu-
 " lar, the Knights, Gentlemen, and principal Inha-
 " bitants of this Rich and Spacious County, in the
 " Behalf of many Thousands, address'd the Parlia-
 " ment to prepare for their Defence, though the
 " Lord Clarendon affirms, they were there One and
 " All for the King. Echard mentions this noble
 " Knight in his noble History, not at all to his Ho-
 " nour, as will be seen in the Sequel.

Arms, &c. " Before we proceed further, we must reflect a
 sent to " little on Mr. Archdeacon's Representation of the
 Whitehall. " King's low Condition at this Time. He had late-
 " ly been supply'd with Arms out of the Tower.
 " Rusworth informs us, that the very Day he en-
 " ter'd the House, there were privately brought to
 " Whitehall 100 Arms, 200 Barrels of Powder,
 " Match and Shot proportionable; which was a suf-
 " ficient Magazine for a King who intended to live
 " in Peace with his Subjects. Echard means, he
 " had not furnish'd himself with warlike Stores for
 " Sieges and Battels, which no body then thought of,
 " if they did not think of it at Whitehall. His
 " Words are, He had neither Arms, Money, nor
 " Credit, therefore nothing but a Sense of Honour, Loy-
 " alty or Gratitude, could have brought so many to join
 " him in the ensuing War. After this vain and ground-
 " less Reflection, see what General Ludlow says, who,
 " as an Historian, is as much superior to him, as the
 " Cause of Liberty is above that of Slavery. He is
 " opening the Civil War as well as the Archdeacon;
 " " I thought the Justice of the Cause I had engag'd
 " " in to be so evident, that I could not imagine it
 " " to be attended with much Difficulty: For tho'
 " " I suppos'd that many of the Clergy, who had
 " " been the principal Authors of the Miseries,
 " " together with some of the Courtiers, and such
 " " as absolutely depended upon the King for their
 " " Subsistence, as also some Foreigners would ad-
 " " here to him; yet I could not think that many
 " " of the People who had long been oppress'd with
 " " heavy Burthens, and now with great Difficulty
 " " obtain'd a Parliament compos'd of such Persons
 " " as were willing to run Hazards to procure a last-
 " " ing Settlement for the Nation, would have been
 " " either such Enemies to themselves, or so un-
 " " grateful to those who had trusted them, as not
 " " to stand by them to the utmost of their Power.
 " " At least, though some might not have so much
 " " Resolution and Courage, as to venture all with
 " " them, yet that they would not be so treacherous
 " " and unworthy to strengthen the Hands of the
 " " Enemy against those who had the Laws of God,
 " " Nature and Reason, as well as those of the Land,
 " " on their Side." Every Word in Clarendon and
 " Echard, is the Reverse of this. General Ludlow
 " then gives the Reason why the Lord Falkland, Sir
 " John Colepepyr, Sir Ralph Hopton, the Lord Capel,

A.D. 1642. " Sir John Strangeways, and a good Number of wor-
 " thy Gentlemen of the House of Commons, and a great
 " Number of Country Gentlemen deserted the Country
 " Interest, and fought for the Court in the Civil War.
 " Finding by Experience the strong Combination
 " of Interests at Home and Abroad against the
 " Parliament; the close Conjunction of the Popish
 " and Prelatical Parties in Opposition to them;
 " what vast Numbers depended on the King for
 " Preferments or Subsistence; how many of the
 " Nobility and Gentry were contented to serve
 " his arbitrary Designs, if they might have Leave
 " to insult over such as were of a lower Order;
 " a Remark worth a Hundred in Clarendon and
 " Echard; and adding to all this the Corruption
 " of the Nation, I became convinc'd of my for-
 " mer Error, and began now more to wonder how
 " they found so many Friends to assist them in
 " their just and lawful Undertaking, than I had
 " done before at the Opposition they met with.

The Earl of Clarendon values his Cause very
 much on the Offer of some brisk Gentlemen, but
 nameless, of the Inns of Court, to be a Guard to
 the King. He did not know, or would not tell
 us, that some other as brisk Gentlemen of the same
 Inns, offer'd to be a Guard to the Parliament; as
 Mr. Rich Fiennes, Son to the Lord Viscount Say,
 Mr. Charles Fleetwood, whom the Earl calls a Troo-
 per, Son to Sir Miles Fleetwood, Mr. Edmund Lud-
 low, Son to Sir Henry Ludlow, all of the Inns of
 Court, and many young Gentlemen more of those
 Inns, who procur'd an experienc'd Officer to in-
 struct them in the use of Arms, and prepare them
 for the Parliament's Service.

General Ludlow omits one strong Reason why
 so many Gentlemen of Worth deserted the Service
 of their Country, besides the Digbies, the Hydcs,
 and others, from whom no better could be ex-
 pected, and espous'd a Quarrel they had till then
 abhorrd, Arbitrary Power, and Priestcraft; and
 that was the Jealousy they had conceiv'd one of
 another. Mr. Pym, Mr. Hollis, Mr Hampden, and
 a few more leading Members, had apparently the
 Authority and Management in the House of Com-
 mons, where the others were like to act under-
 Parts only; but if they betray'd their Party, and
 revolted to the King, they might be Chancellors
 and Secretaries, and Comptrollers, and Barons, and
 Earls, and what not. Poor Considerations! and
 such as large and generous Minds despise, if not to
 be acquir'd without sacrificing the Publick to pri-
 vate Interest.

Upon the King's absenting himself from his Par-
 liament, Mr. Acherley observes, The House of Com-
 mons were ever after oblig'd to stand upon their own
 Defence, and to provide themselves with Guards, to
 prevent the like Surprise. Thus do reasonable Men
 argue on the Necessity the Lords and Commons
 found themselves in, to prepare to defend their Ses-
 sion against future Insults, and to be arm'd if War
 was made upon them, for which they knew Pre-
 parations were making. " In this Posture of Af-
 " fairs, says the learned Lawyer last mention'd,
 " the Ministers held secret Councils with the
 " Queen at Windsor, which were guided by her
 " Popish Cabal; for the Nuntio and the Priests
 " satisfy'd the Queen, and she the King, as Father
 " Orleans tells us, That the Treason of calling in the
 " Scots, should be prosecuted with War, and Force
 " of Arms." The French Jesuit, who consulted
 our abdicated King in his History, confesses that
 King Charles had resolv'd upon an Offensive War
 before the Parliament had taken any Step towards
 a defensive one: For that End, it was concluded
 that the Queen, under the Umbrage of conduct-
 ing her Daughter, the Princess Mary, lately mar-
 ry'd to the Prince of Orange, to her Husband, should
 take that Opportunity to transport her self to Holland,
 and at the same Time to negotiate the Supplies of Men
 and Money: That the King shou'd retire to York,
 there-

A.D. 1642. there to make his first Levies, and seize the Magazine at Hull, but proceed slowly, which occasion'd the many dilatory Messages, and evasive Answers the Parliament receiv'd from him. Here I think the French Jesuit has determin'd the Beginning of the War, and that the King had resolv'd to reduce the Parliament by Force of Arms, before ever they had come to any formal Resolution to defend themselves. The two Houses order'd Thanks to the City of London, for their friendly Behaviour towards the Committee, and the accus'd Members; as also to the Masters of Ships, and Mariners, for their Kindness. Colonel Skippon was appointed to attend with such a Guard of the Train'd-Bands as he thought sufficient, which was two Companies, every Day at Westminster: The King propos'd 200 of them under the Command of the Earl of Lindsey, but they excus'd it, and took Skippon for their Captain.

Buckinghamshire
Petition.

The next Day, several Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, to the Number of 5000, chiefly from Buckinghamshire, came to London, riding every one with a printed Protestation in his Hat, and presented a Petition to the House of Commons, complaining of the King's late Breach of the Privileges of Parliament, and offering to live and dye in their Defence; for which they receiv'd the Thanks of that House, and afterwards of the House of Lords, for the like Address to them. They then sent eight of the Petitioners to Windsor with a Petition to the King, in which they declare their Astonishment at a Charge of High-Treason against their Representative Mr. Hampden, which was to wound them thro' his Sides. They desir'd that the Privileges of Parliament might be secur'd, and Delinquents brought to Punishment. The King told them he had wav'd the Accusation of the five Members, and did not conceive that their Crimes cou'd in any Sort reflect upon those his Subjects. But the Parliament was not satisfi'd with waving the Accusation for the present only, since he said in his Message he wou'd still proceed against them. There is not a Step taken but there seems to be Fatality in it; they therefore resolv'd to begin first, and fell upon Sir Edward Herbert Attorney-General, whom they impeach'd of High-Crimes and Misdemeanors, for drawing up a false and scandalous Charge against the Lord Kimbolton and the five Members. Both Lords and Commons join'd in a Petition to the King, which was sent by the Earl of Newport and the Lord Seymour, to be inform'd of the Proof against those Members, and to know the Names of their Accusers. To which his Majesty reply'd, that he having found Cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the accus'd Members, he had commanded the Attorney-General to proceed no farther. However, the two Houses proceeded farther against the Attorney-General; and the Lords having consider'd the Impeachment of the Commons, voted, That he shou'd be incapable of being a Member, Assistant, or Reader in either House of Parliament, and of all Offices saving that of Attorney-General, and be committed Prisoner to the Fleet during their Pleasure.

Herbert
Attorney-
General.

Digby in
Arms at
Kingston.

Rushworth says, "Information was given to the House that the Lord Digby with Colonel Lunsford and other disbanded Officers and Reformers, have with Troops of Horse appear'd in an hostile Manner at Kingston in Surrey, where the Magazine of Arms for that Part of the County lies; and a Committee being appointed to examine into the Matter, they reported, That there were about two hundred Men at Kingston, most of them Officers; that the Town was full of Horse; that they have Pistols, and carry themselves in a disorderly Manner to the Terror of the People; that the Lord Digby was there on Horseback with Pistols; that Colonel Lunsford and two others of that Name were there also; and that there were two Cart-loads of Ammunition. The

Action was so near London, that if there had not been two hundred arm'd Men at Kingston; if the Town had not been full of Horse; if Digby and those Ruffians the Lunsfords had not behav'd to the Terror of the People, this Report of the Committee of Parliament must have been a Jest, and such a Discredit to all their Reports, as wou'd have render'd them incredible and contemptible. The Earl of Clarendon, as usual, is the Reverse of all this too: He affirms the Lord Digby was not there on Horseback, that he came in a Coach with six Horses only to visit Colonel Lunsford. He is mightily improv'd in his Company as well as Politicks. Echar'd backs this righteous Evidence with a positive Number; the six Coach-Horses were all the Horses that appear'd there. We are like to have hopeful History from them in the Course of the Civil War, which they begin so cleverly. General Ludlow assures us, those that the King had formerly entertain'd at Whitehall, appear'd at Kingston in a military Posture with the Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford at the Head of them. The two Houses having Notice thereof, desir'd the King to disperse the said Troops, and to return to the Parliament. Lunsford was taken and sent to the Tower, and the Lord Digby accus'd of High-Treason, but he avoided the Punishment by flying the Kingdom. The Parliament order'd the Train'd-Bands of Sussex and Hampshire to suppress those Forces, as Rushworth terms them, and prevent the carrying of Arms and Ammunition to Portsmouth; the Governor of which Fortness Colonel Goring, was requir'd not to deliver it up, nor receive any Forces into it without their Consent.

Portsmouth.

The Debate about securing Portsmouth, gave Hull Occasion to another about Hull; and at the Conclusion of it, Sir Philip Stapleton was sent to the Lords to concur with the Commons in an Order, "That some of the Militia of Yorkshire near the Town of Hull, shou'd be put into the said Town under the Command of Sir John Horbam, for securing the King's Magazine there; and that he, or whoever he shou'd appoint under him, shou'd not deliver it up without Consent of both Houses, to which their Lordships agreed." The Care of the Parliament to secure that Magazine, was on certain Intelligence that the Earl of Newcastle was secretly withdrawn from London with the same Commission from the King, who had also given a like Commission to Colonel Legg to possess himself of Newcastle, before the two Houses came to any Resolution about Hull. The Earl of Newport Master of the Ordnance, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, were requir'd not to let any of the Stores there be remov'd, and Colonel Skippon was order'd to appoint a sufficient Guard both by Land and by Water about the Tower, to prevent the carrying off any Ordnance or Ammunition. A Parcel of great Saddles were discover'd at Kingston for the use of Echar'd's Coach and Six Horses. What Patience shou'd one be endow'd with to deal with such History! The House was inform'd by Mr. Bagshaw of Windsor, where the Court then was, that he saw divers Troops of Horse hovering about that Place, and that a Waggon loaden with Ammunition was arriv'd there, where were about four hundred Horse and forty Officers, to shew how far the Court were from making any military Preparations. Upon this an Order was made for ten Horsemen to patroll always, and give Intelligence if any Forces approach'd near the City, and for the like Service Boats and small Vessels were order'd to ply up and down in the Thames. A Committee was appointed the 14th of January, three Days after the King left London, to consider of some Heads for putting the Kingdom into a Posture of Defence; Sir Richard Cave, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Henry Vane, Sir John Colepeper, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, Mr. St. John, Mr. Glyn.

Horse and
Arms at
Windsor.

Committee
for the
Defence of
the King-
dom.

Mr. Archdeacon uses all his Art, which is not considerable,

A.D. 1642. siderable, to turn the just Fears of the Parliament and People into Ridicule; and among other such Witticisms, tells us *there was a Plot to blow up the Thames with Gunpowder*, which threw the whole City into inexpressible Consternation. He makes the like Sport with the Petitions the House of Commons receiv'd from the several Counties and Cities which we have already mention'd. He represents them as Trick. The Counties of *Essex, Hertford, Berks, Surrey*, and most of the Counties and Cities of *England*, sent up Petitions one after another to the same Purpose as that from the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*; who being desir'd to lend 100000 Pounds for the Relief of *Ireland*, gave these Reasons for the Obstructions the Loan met with.

1. "The refusing of the Offer of 10000 Scots to be sent to *Ireland*."

2. "The not passing the Bill for *pressing*."

3. "The slow issuing out Commissions to those who are willing to serve."

4. "The not disarming *Papists* in *England*, and not removing the Lieutenant of the *Tower*."

5. "The suffering Delinquents to make their Escapes in the King's Ships."

6. "The sheltering of many Thousands of unknown desperate Persons in *Covent-Garden* and thereabouts, to be ready for an Attempt against the Parliament and City."

7. "The not vindicating the Privileges of Parliament, the not punishing Delinquents, nor suffering the Laws to be put in Execution against Priests and Jesuits:" All which Premises occasion the Decay of Trade, and increase the Fears of the People, which discourage them in parting with their Money. The Petition of the *Knights, Gentlemen, Ministers, and Freeholders* of *Essex*, complain of *the great Stop of Reformation in Matters of Religion*; and pray that *Papists* may be disarm'd, *Ireland* speedily reliev'd, and *the Kingdom* put into a *Posture of Defence*; as also that *Bishops* and *Popish Lords* be excluded the *House of Peers*. The Petition of the *Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders* of *Hertfordshire*, "acknowledge the great Care of the Parliament for the Good of the Commonwealth in procuring the Execution of exemplary Justice, in putting down arbitrary Courts, Ship-Money, Monopolies, and other illegal Impositions." They add, *That the malignant Party of Prelates and Papists, and their Adherents, have by their manifold wicked Practices and Designs, endeavour'd to hinder all thorough Reformation in Church and Commonwealth, and stifle all good Bills in their Birth*. Of this Party most certainly was the Earl of *Clarendon*, which will not be deny'd; and how fairly he has represented those good *Englishmen* who promoted that thorough Reformation, may easily be imagin'd as well as seen. The Men of *Hertfordshire* pray that the Kingdom might be put into a *Posture of Defence*, the Privileges of Parliament repair'd and thoroughly vindicated; that the Votes of the *Popish Lords* and *Bishops* might be taken away, *speedy and strong Relief* sent to *Ireland*, and *Delinquents* brought to further Punishment. These Petitions were read in the House of Lords by Mr. *Pym*, who explain'd them in an eloquent Speech, which wou'd be an Ornament to History, but I have not Room for Speeches, Declarations, and Messages at length. The Earl of *Clarendon* does not lose a Word of them; but, as his good Friend *Warwick* observes, he was a great Dealer in Words himself, and took much Delight in it. Mr. *Pym* speaking of Evil Counsellors, of whom that Lord was always understood to be one, said, "Their Influence hath been the Cause of the Preparation for a War with *Scotland*, of the procuring a Rebellion in *Ireland*, of corrupting Religion, suppressing the Liberty of this Kingdom, and of many fearful and horrid Attempts, to the subverting the very Being of Parliaments, which was the only hopeful Means of opposing and preventing all the

rest; and this appears to be a most predominant Evil of the Time, whereat we need not wonder, when we consider how Counsellors have been prefer'd and prepar'd. I appeal to your Lordships own Consciences, whether the giving and the countenancing of Evil Counsels, hath not been almost the only Way to farther Advancement." This evil Counsel is in the Earl's History, the *Wisdom, Virtue, and Sobriety* of the Nation. Mr. *Pym* had the Thanks of the House for his Speech; and the King hearing of it, sent a Message to them concerning a Passage, that since the Ports had been stopp'd against all *Irish Papists* by both Houses, many Officers now in the Head of the REBELS had been suffer'd to pass by his Majesty's immediate Warrant, which he desir'd might be prov'd; and the Commons in their Answer prov'd it, naming Colonel *Butler* a *Papist*, Uncle to the Marquis of *Ormond*, Sir *George Hamilton* another *Papist*, the Lord *Nutterfield's* Son, and several others. To which his Majesty reply'd in general only, that those *Papists* who had had Passes, were not in the Rebellion, and that he expected there may be *Wariness* us'd before such publick Aspersions be laid upon him. In a Message of the 20th of *January*, he advis'd them to digest into one Body all the Grievances of the Kingdom, and to send them to him, promising his favourable Assent to those Means which shou'd be found most effectual for Redress, wherein he wou'd not only equal but exceed the most indulgent Princes. This is what *Father Orleans* call'd proceeding slowly, and it was by such flattering Messages as these, that he gradually gain'd over great Numbers of Lords, Gentlemen, and others, who, without seeing one Grievance effectually redress'd, after they drew their Swords for him, continu'd fighting in hopes of so weakening the Parliament, that the King might have it in his Power to break or keep the Laws according to his Will and Pleasure.

On the 28th of *January* the House of Commons sent an Answer to this most healing Message, That they return'd his Majesty most humble Thanks for his gracious Message, which they resolv'd to take into speedy and most serious Consideration; and to enable them with Security to discharge their Duties, they petition'd, "That the *Tower* and other principal Forts of the Kingdom may be put into the Hands of such Persons as his Parliament cou'd confide in, without which, in all human Reason, the great Distraction of the Nation must needs overwhelm it with Misery and Ruin. To which the King reply'd, "that he thought the *Militia* to be lawfully subject to no Command but his own, and therefore wou'd not let it out of his Hands." *Father Orleans* informs us, 'twas the Resolution of the *Queen's Junto* to deny all Particulars. "That he had prefer'd to the Lieutenantancy of the *Tower* a Person of known Honour, Fortune, and unquestionable Reputation, and that he wou'd prefer none but such to the Command of his Forts and Castles, yet wou'd not intrust the Power of conferring those Places and Dignities from himself, being deriv'd to him from his Ancestors by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom." This is all along the Cant of the History of the Rebellion. The sovereign Power when exercis'd according to Law, as it has been in all the glorious Reigns since the Revolution, and was never so exercis'd in any other Reign since *Queen Elizabeth's*, is doubtless one of the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and the best Security the Subjects have for their Rights, Liberties, and Properties; but in the Abuse of it, and when exerted against the Laws, which is the well-known Case of this Government, it becomes tyrannical, and Tyranny is a Contradiction to the Fundamentals of Government. According to Law, the *Laws of the Land*, and the like, are every where in *Clarendon's* History, as if Ministers were to be as well protected in the Breach of them as in the Execution. The

London
Petition.

Essex.

Hertford-
shire.

A.D. 1642. The King's Denial of this reasonable Request alarm'd the House of Peers, who till then had not meddled much with this Matter, but now they join'd with the House of Commons in a second Petition the 2d of February, for putting the Tower, Forts, Castles, and the whole Militia of England into the Hands of such Persons as they shou'd recommend to him. Echard now corroborates the Evidence of the Jesuit Orleans, and confesses the King dealt doubly with the two Houses in his Answer, and said *what he never was positive to consent to, Things not being yet ready.* He promis'd to put such Persons into those Places as both Houses should recommend to him, with a Proviso, *That he had no Exceptions against them;* which were easy to be made against any Man who had made Exceptions against his Government.

Tower. After a long Debate about the Lieutenantancy of the Tower, the House resolv'd to move the King, that Sir John Biron be put out, and Sir John Coniers be put in, which was granted. The Archdeacon's Comment upon this, is another shining Instance of his exquisite Judgment in the Choice of his Authors: *It was a plain Proof that at this Time he had no Thoughts of a War; which is agreeable to what the old Earl of Bristol said, "That nothing so much terrify'd his Conscience from taking Arms against the King, or more confirm'd him in his Duty of adhering to him, than the certain and infallible Knowledge he had of the King's unfeign'd Desires and Endeavours to have prevented the War; an Authority that will stand good against a thousand Opinions and Conjectures."* This at first sight is false, and yet with what Confidence he tells it. The Earl of Bristol cou'd not know it, and therefore did not know it; for there is not one sober Author but asserts the quite contrary. Whitlocke, the fairest of all Writers, says, *The Queen obtain'd Leave of the King, who also acquainted the Parliament, that his Daughter was to go to Holland to her Husband the Prince of Orange, and that her Mother desir'd to go with her; accordingly the Queen went over with her Daughter into Holland, and carry'd with her all her own and the King's Jewels, not leaving behind the Jewels of the Crown; that with them, and the Assistance of the Prince of Orange, a sufficient Party might be rais'd for the King.* Another Author writes, *"The Queen pass'd into Holland under Pretext of keeping her Daughter Company to her Husband, but she carry'd with her the Crown Jewels of England, and pawn'd them there, whereby she bought Arms for that War that ensu'd, and was it seems then design'd by the King against the Parliament."*

I have seen an Account of the Sums borrow'd in Holland to buy Arms and Ammunition for the War intended against the Parliament.

	Guilders.
Borrow'd in Rotterdam of the Burgomasters	400000
More of the Bank in Rotterdam	250000
In all from Rotterdam	425000
Borrow'd of the Bank at Amsterdam, by Mr. Sandys	84500
At the Hague of Fletcher	126000
More of him	40000
At the Hague of Van. Cyren. by Sir William Boswell	9000
Of Monsieur d'Esperson	230000
Of Webster by three Obligations together on the Pendant Pearls	100000
Of him more	43200
Of him more, and borrow'd by him since	70000
Of Monsieur Vicford	70000
Of Sir Charles Herbert	20000
Of Collmore of Antwerp	64000
In all	1281700

With Webster the six Rubies of the Chain left for	20000
To Webster	20000
To the Prince of Orange	300000

Here's above 100000 Pounds borrow'd to make Provisions for War, and all with a sincere Intention to keep the Peace. The Absurdity of this Pretence is ridiculous, and it is further prov'd by the sending Cockrain to Denmark to desire Assistance of that King before the War commenc'd. The Substance of his Instructions was, "To inform the King's Unkle of a dangerous Combination of his Majesty's Subjects against him, and to demand his Assistance against them, who intended to set up a Commonwealth and Prefbytery, whereas Episcopacy is the chief Column of the Crown: That his Majesty has been forc'd to forsake London, and send the Queen to Holland: That the States of Holland have agreed to give her Majesty the Queen a Convoy of the greatest Part of their Fleet: That the Parliament design to assist the Dutch to take away his Danish Majesty's Customs of the Sound; and in order to extirpate the Royal Blood of England, they are endeavouring to bastardize all the Royal Family, by proving the King of England's Mother, Sister to the King of Denmark, to be an Adulteress, and her Children illegitimate; and to enable him to punish them, he desires his Danish Majesty to lend him 100000 Pounds on Jewels, and to send him 6000 Muskets, 1500 Horse Arms, and 20 Pieces of Field Artillery with some Horsemen only: That there is in Holland a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearl, if he will lend more Money upon them, &c."

The King in a printed Declaraton from Newark, March 9. 1642, tells the Parliament, *Whatsoever you are advertiz'd from Paris, &c. of foreign Aids, we are confident no sober honest Men in our Kingdom can believe that we are so desperate or so senseless to entertain such Designs as wou'd not only bury this our Kingdom in certain Destruction and Ruin, but our Name and Posterity in perpetual Scorn and Infamy.* This Negotiation of Cockrain's is not deny'd. You have the King's own Reflections on such Negotiations; and after this, What can one say too coarsely of the Lord Clarendon's and Archdeacon Echard's Histories, which are the Reverse of it? Leti agrees with Orleans; and being both Papiests, Mr. Archdeacon himself will not expect better Authority. *The King staid till he had sent away the Queen to Holland, after which he declar'd he wou'd not do what the Parliament desir'd, and qu'il ne leur avoit rien accorde que par contrainte, and that he had granted them nothing but what was forc'd from him.* Ludlow, "Both King and Queen design'd not only to withdraw, but also to make what Preparations they cou'd for the raising an Army against the Parliament; in order to which the Queen carry'd with her the Jewels of the Crown, and pawn'd them in Holland for Arms and Money." The Genius, Learning, Knowledge, Quality, and Fortune of this Historian, is superior to any Comparison with the Author of the *History of the Rebellion;* and there is nothing to be objected against his Authority, but that he was a *Commonwealth's Man;* which in the Earl of Clarendon and the Archdeacon's Sense, is worse than a *Laplander* or *Canibal.* Larrey represents the Matter thus; "According to the King's own Historian the Lord Clarendon, the Appearance of his designing a War was strong against him, from his Design to seize on Portsmouth and Hull. The Parliament knew very well that it was resolv'd on to send the Queen to Portsmouth, the Governor of which Town was in her Interests, and the King himself was to seize on Hull. The Discovery of the Plot, tho' by whom is not certainly

A.D. 1642. "certainly known, was the Occasion of its not succeeding; and the Queen being afraid of a Prosecution, avoided it by going out of the Kingdom; and avoided too the Indignity of a Flight, by the Pretence of going with her Daughter into Holland." Letters were intercepted from the Lord Digby to the Queen and Secretary Nicholas, dated at Middleburgh in Zealand, advising the King to betake himself to some Place of Strength, where he and others might safely resort to him, and he doubted not but that he shou'd do him acceptable Service. The Son knew the King was about entering upon the War, but the Father the Earl of Bristol, knew certainly and infallibly that it was his unfeign'd Desire to prevent it. We will not believe Digby's offer of acceptable Service, was of the same Kind as his Offer concerning the Five Members, whom he wou'd have murder'd if they wou'd not have yielded to him. *Echard* indeed says only, He offer'd to fetch them alive or dead. These Letters were intercepted a few Days before the Departure of the Queen. The Parliament sent to the King to desire he wou'd not correspond with Digby nor any other whom his great Council had proclaim'd Traytors.

Militia. The House of Commons were busy in Debates touching the ordering the Militia of the several Counties; in which some declar'd their Opinions, that the Power of the Militia was solely in the King, and ought to be left to him; and that the Parliament never did or ought to meddle with the same. Others were of Opinion that the King had not this Power in him, but that it was solely in the Parliament; and that if the King refus'd to order the same according to the Advice of the Parliament, that then by Law they might do it without him; which was moved to be now done by the Parliament, the King having deny'd all their Petitions for settling the Militia as they desir'd; the Motion being seconded and well supported, the House of Commons pass'd an Ordinance the 2d of March, to which the Lords consented, for ordering of the Militia of the Kingdom of England and the Dominion of Wales. By which they appointed Lieutenants for the several Counties and Towns as follows;

Lord Lieutenants appointed by Parliament.

Berkshire, Earl of Holland.
 Bedfordshire, Earl of Bolingbroke.
 Buckinghamshire, Lord Paget.
 Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely, Lord North.
 Cheshire and City of Chester, Lord Strange.
 Cornwall, Lord Roberts.
 Cumberland, Lord Grey of Werke.
 Derbyshire, Earl of Rutland.
 Devonshire and City of Exeter, Earl of Bedford.
 Dorsetshire and Town of Pool, Earl of Salisbury.
 Isle of Purbeck, Sir John Banks.
 Durham, Sir Henry Vane Sen.
 Essex, Earl of Warwick.
 Gloucestershire and City of Gloucester, Lord Chandos.
 Hampshire and Town of Southampton, Earl of Pembroke.
 Isle of Wight, Earl of Pembroke.
 Hertfordshire, Earl of Salisbury.
 Herefordshire, Lord Dacres.
 Huntingdonshire, Lord Kimbolton.
 Kent and City of Canterbury, Earl of Leicester.
 County of Lancaster, Lord Wharton.
 Leicestershire, Earl of Stamford.
 Lincolnshire and City of Lincoln, Earl of Lincoln.
 Middlesex, Earl of Holland.
 Northamptonshire, Lord Spencer.
 County and Town of Nottingham, Earl of Clare.
 Northumberland and Town of Newcastle, Earl of Northumberland.
 Norfolk and City of Norwich, Earl of Warwick.
 Oxfordshire, Lord Viscount Say and Seal.
 Rutlandshire, Earl of Exeter.
 Salop, Lord-Keeper Littleton.
 Somersetshire, Marquis of Hertford.

Staffordshire and City of Litchfield, Earl of Essex. A.D. 1642.
 Suffolk, Earl of Suffolk.
 Sussex, Earl of Northumberland.
 Warwickshire and City of Coventry, Lord Brooke.
 Westmorland, Earl of Cumberland.
 Wiltshire, Earl of Pembroke.
 Worcestershire and City of Worcester, Lord Howard of Esrick.
 County and City of York and Town of Hull, Earl of Essex.
 Lindsey in Lincolnshire, Lord Willoughby of Parham.
 Monmouth, Lord Philip Herbert.
 Isle of Anglesey, Earl of Northumberland.
 Brecknockshire, Lord Philip Herbert.
 Cardiganshire, Earl of Carberry.
 County and Town of Caermarthen, Earl of Carberry.
 Carnarvon, Earl of Pembroke.
 Denbigh, Lord Fielding.
 Flintshire, Lord Fielding.
 Glamorganshire, Lord Philip Herbert.
 Montgomeryshire, Earl of Essex.
 Merionethshire, Earl of Pembroke.
 Town of Haverfordwest, Earl of Northumberland.
 Radnorshire, Lord-Keeper Littleton.

LONDON.

Sir John Gayer, Sir Jacob Garrct, Thomas Atkin Esq; Sir John Wollaston, John Warner Esq; John Towse Esq; Serjeant-Major General Skippon, Randall Marwaring Esq; Mr. William Gibbs, Mr. John Fowke, Mr. James Bence, Mr. Francis Peck, Mr. Samuel Warren, Mr. James Russel, Mr. Nathaniel Wright, Mr. William Barkley, Mr. Alexander Normanston, Mr. Stephen Estwick, Mr. Owen Roe.

This Ordinance, with a Petition to pass it, was sent to the King by the Earls of Carlisle and Monmouth, who gave for Answer, that the Queen being upon her Departure for Holland, he must respite a particular Reply till he return'd from accompanying her to Dover; which both Houses took as a sort of Denial, and petition'd him for a speedy Answer, which he return'd the 28th of February by the Earl of Portland, Sir Thomas Heal, and Sir William Saville, who brought him the Petition, containing in Substance, That the Ordinance was a Breach of his hereditary Right. He had before sent for the Earl of Essex Lord-Chamberlain, and the Earl of Holland Groom of the Stole, to attend him, but they excus'd themselves with the Necessity of performing their Duties in Parliament, for which they were both immediately turn'd out of their Places as they expected. His Majesty also sent for his two Sons from Hampton-Court, and the Parliament cou'd not but take it as an Indication of his intending an open Rupture. Their last Petition about the Militia Ordinance, intimated, That if he refus'd to pass that Bill, they shou'd be constrain'd to settle that necessary Business without him. Had he really had an unfeign'd Desire, and did seriously endeavour to have prevented the War, instead of cavilling evasive Answers, he wou'd have pass'd this Ordinance which was but temporary; and the Lords who were appointed Lieutenants were Persons whom he might as well have confided in as the Parliament, as appear'd by their future Conduct.

The House of Commons appointed a Committee to draw up a Declaration of the Causes of their Fears and Jealousies, which was deliver'd to the King at Newmarket March the 9th, by the Earls of Pembroke and Holland. In the mean time they receiv'd Advice of Negotiations with foreign Princes to assist the King against them; and both Houses commanded the Earl of Northumberland Lord High-Admiral, to fit out some Men of War for

A.D. 1642. the Defence of the Kingdom, Beacons were now made, Sea-Marks set up, and Expresses dispatch'd to the Lieutenants of the several Counties to have an Eye on the Enemies of the Constitution. The Declaration last mention'd was read to the King by the Earl of Holland. The first Article was, *His attempting to incense the late northern Army against the Parliament.* 2. *Jermyn's Treasons and Transportation by his Majesty's Warrant.* When that was read, the King cry'd, *'Tis false. The Petition deliver'd to Captain Legg with the King's own Hand, and sign'd C. R. That's a Lye,* said his Majesty; so unfeign'd was he in his Endeavours to prevent a War. When he was inform'd it related not to the Date, but to the Execution of the Warrant, he said, *It might have been better express'd then.* 3. *The Business of the Lord Kimbolton and the Five Members.* 4. *The suspicious Designs of a Guard about his Person.* 5. *The underhand promoting of the Irish Rebellion.* 6. *The ordering Sir John Pennington to land the Lord Digby in Zealand, from thence to alienate the King from his Parliament, and to procure for him foreign Assistance; which appears the more credible by his Removal with the Prince, and the many Advertisements from Rome, Venice, Paris, and other Parts, of Aid to be given to the King, in reference to some Design against Religion and the Parliament.* 7. *They desire his Majesty to put away his wicked Counsellors, and to put his Trust in his two Houses; which if he wou'd do, they wou'd sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for the Honour and Greatness of his Majesty and his Royal Posterity.* When the Declaration was read, the King said, *I could not have believ'd the Parliament wou'd have sent me such a one, if I had not seen it brought by such Persons of Honour. I am sorry for the Parliament, but glad I have it, for I doubt not to satisfy my People by it, tho' I am confident the greater Part is so already; and that the Parliament hath had worse Informations than I have had Counsels: What is it I have deny'd them?* The Earl of Pembroke reply'd, *the Militia,* and endeavour'd to persuade the King to return to *Whitehall,* which was the surest Way to have prevented a War. His Majesty answer'd, *I wish you had given me Cause, but I am sure this Declaration is not the Way to it, and in all Aristotle's Rhetorick there is no such Argument of Persuasion.* The Earl of Pembroke told him *the Parliament humbly besought him to come near them.* His Majesty reply'd in the Terms of the Declaration, *Words are not sufficient.* The Earl of Pembroke then mov'd him to express what he wou'd have. The King said, *I wou'd whip a Boy in Westminster-School that cou'd not tell by my Answer.* His Lordship then propos'd to settle the Militia as in the Ordinance for a Time: The King cry'd, *By God not for an Hour.* How unfeign'dly did he desire to prevent a War! His Majesty added, *You have ask'd that of me in this, which was never ask'd of any King, and with which I will not trust my Wife and Children.* As to the Business of Ireland, he said, *It will never be done in the Way you are in: Four hundred will never do the Work.* Echard affirms there were not many above one hundred in the House. *If I were trusted with it, I wou'd pawn my Head to end it; and tho' I am a Beggar myself, yet by God I can find Money for that Work.* This Swearing before a Company of Puritans was extremely decent and discreet, as is the whole Dialogue, if one had room to animadvert upon it.

Sir Ralph Hopton deserts.

Parl. Chron.

Sir Edw. Deering.

In the Debate of this Declaration, Sir Ralph Hopton deserted his old Friends, and spoke against it with so much Violence that he was committed to the Tower; which rough Treatment was such a Conviction to his Understanding and Conscience, that he abandon'd the Country Interest as long as he liv'd. Sir Edward Deering growing cool in the Debate about Bishops, wherein he had been at first so hot, and afterwards instigating the *Kentish-*

Men to petition against the Militia Bill, was expell'd the House and committed to the Tower. Echard says it was for publishing a Book of the Speeches he had made in Parliament; whereas it was rather for a Speech he printed which he had never made, and for which his Book was burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman. Echard misrepresents also the Punishment of Edward Sanderson a Laudian Taylor, which according to him was much more cruel than what was inflicted on Dr. Leighton, Mr. Lilburne, &c. for only calling the Earls of Essex and Warwick TRAYTORS, and wishing King Pym, and Sir John Hotbam hang'd; whereas it was for calling the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament Traytors; for which he was, 1st, *Fin'd 100 Marks,* Dr. Leighton was fin'd 10000 Pounds; 2d, *To stand in the Pillory,* Dr. Leighton to be twice pillory'd, and to have both his Ears cut off; 3d, *To be whipp'd at the Cart's-Tail,* Dr. Leighton to be twice whipp'd, to have his Nose slit, and his Face stigmatiz'd; yet the reverend Historian reflects upon it with his wonted Sincerity, that the Taylor's Sentence was more severe than had been ever pronounced in the Star-Chamber, where Dr. Leighton was sentenced. He takes no Notice of the Offence of one Browning an Essex Parson, who Sir Simon d'Ewes said, *was a notable Altar-Adorer,* in saying, *There were forty more Members of the House of Commons, besides the five accus'd Members, who were TRAYTORS; and that the King's entering the House was a just Act.* There wou'd be no End of it, if we shou'd mention all such Offences of such Parsons as Browning, who were in a perpetual Rage against the Parliament for asserting the Rights and Liberties of the People, and reforming the Abuses in Church and State. Dr. Calamy tells us that Multitudes of Petitions came from all Quarters against their Ministers, charging them with Insufficiency, False Doctrine, Illegal Innovations, or Scandal. John White Esq; of the Temple, Chairman of the Committee of Reformation, publish'd a *Century of scandalous Ministers, which was afterwards follow'd with a second Century; both were fill'd with most abominable Particularities, the concealing which had been a much greater Service to Religion than their Publication, which was but making Sport for Atheists, Papists, and Profane.* Now see Mr. Archdeacon's Sincerity, *They took Care to place such Preachers and Lecturers in the most populous Places, as were well known to abhor the Church of England; many of whom were impos'd upon the Parishes by the House of Commons; all canonical Clergymen were industriously discountenanced, imprison'd, or forc'd to a tedious Attendance upon the House under the unhappy Name of Scandalous Ministers, tho' they were so scandalous as to make their very Lives a Jest to Atheists and Papists.* What ado does he make with his Canonical Clergymen! He has almost provok'd me to name one in our Time, who liv'd so scandalously even in Goal where he was a Prisoner for Debt, that his fellow Prisoners petition'd to be rid of him. But I am sensible People's ill Nature is apt to throw on Generals what is meant of Particulars, so I shall say no more of it.

The King, in his Absence, granted a Commission for passing two Bills. The first, *To take away gainst the Votes of Bishops in Parliament, and all temporal Bishops Jurisdictions and Offices, as to be Privy-Counsellors, Votes past, Justices of the Peace, &c. from them, and all others in Holy Orders:* The second was, *for pressing of Soldiers for the Service of Ireland.* The Archdeacon speaks of the first Bill, as if all Nature had suffer'd Shipwreck, and the whole State was involv'd in the temporal Interests of the Clergy. How much better does a Layman, the Lord Wiquefort, understand his own Function than himself. "There are some Clergymen, who look upon their meddling with temporal Affairs, to be against God's Command, and contrary to the

Bad Clergy

Bill a-

Votes past.

the

A.D. 1642. " the Precepts of Christianity. God would not allow the Levites to have any Share with the other Tribes, that their Assiduity and constant Attendance on the Service of the Altar, might not be interrupted by the Care they were oblig'd to take to till their Lands, and preserve their Estates. It is for this Reason he also says, *He will be their Portion and their Inheritance*: Our Lord Jesus Christ says also, *His Kingdom is not of this World*: That those who follow him, must renounce all Things, and cast off all Sollicitude for temporal Things, that they may with less Incumbrance travel in the Path they are to follow, during the whole Course of their Lives. There is no serving of two Masters, nor dividing the Heart, which has been once given, and entirely devoted to God. At Venice the Clergy have no Share in the Management of State Affairs, &c." I do not wonder the Archdeacon's Head had no Room for such Reflections; but it is matter of Wonderment that Bishops, such as *Laud* and *Fuxon*, should, instead of renouncing all worldly Concerns, take upon them the Management of the *Excise* and *Treasury*. The King, says our Reverend Author, divested himself of the Regal Authority, by passing the Bill to take away Bishops Votes, by which Foundations were shaken; they had before been as much shaken, when twenty-seven Abbots and Priors were turn'd out of the House of Peers. It wounded his Majesty's Conscience, which receiv'd no Wound at all when he utterly abolish'd *Episcopacy* in *Scotland* about Six Months before. Were there ever such Arguers? And how do the poultry Interests of this miserable World, mislead the Judgment and Consciences of those who shou'd teach us to wean our selves from it? He will not tell us what an insolent *French* Jesuit said of the King's signing the Commission to pass this Bill at *Canterbury*, when he was accompanying the Queen to *Dover*, where she embark'd for *Holland*, God design'd to humble the English Bishops, in the Original Seat of their *Episcopacy*, which they had corrupted by their *Schism*, and so many several Errors. This Historical Dunce has the Impudence thus to abuse the purest Church in the World, I mean the Reform'd Church of *England*; and this is the Historian *Mr. Echard* formally recommends in the Title Page of the Translation, as if the Work was a whit the better for't. A whimsical Fellow, one *Griffith*, inform'd the House of a Plot to carry off the Prince into *France*; for which we are told *Mr. Hampden* took him up in his Arms, and said, *my Soul rejoices to see that God hath put it into your Heart to take the right Way*: A manner of Expression which agrees exactly with the Character of one of the finest Gentlemen in *England*, as *Mr. Hampden* was accounted; though not according to the modern Idea of a fine Gentleman.

Endeavours were us'd in *London*, to obstruct the executing the Parliament's Ordinance concerning the *Militia*; and the malignant Party got a Petition sign'd by three or four Hundred Hands against it. The chief Agents in it were *Mr. Gardiner*, and *Mr. Binion*, the latter a busy pragmatical Silkman, who were both committed to the *Tower*; and a Counter Petition was presented by the Citizens, desiring Justice against these seditious Persons, who had obstructed the Ordinance; accordingly the Parliament order'd the first Petition to be burnt by the common Hangman; but when *Binion* got out of the *Tower*, he was Knighted, as a Reward for the 3000 Pounds which the Parliament had laid upon him for Sedition and Insolence: A severe Fine, considering he was not much better than a Bankrupt, though he made a great Bustle.

The two Houses taking into Consideration the Relief of *Ireland*, Voted, that two Millions and half of Acres of the forfeited Estates should be granted to Adventurers, who wou'd lend Money for that

Service. For each Adventure of 200 Pounds, 1000 Acres in *Ulster*; 300 Pounds, 1000 Acres in *Cinnaught*; 450 Pounds, 1000 Acres in *Munster*; and 600 Pounds, 1000 Acres in *Leinster*; to which his Majesty consented; and by this Act, no Peace was to be made with the *Irish*, contrary to the Contents thereof.

Secretary *Nicholas* sent a merry Letter to the House of Commons, which he had lately receiv'd from a Person of Quality at *Venice*, giving him to understand, that the Pope was much incens'd at the Proceedings of the Parliament against *Romish Priests* and *Recusants*; and if they so proceeded, his Holiness wou'd cause an Army to be rais'd and sent into *Ireland*; and that the Pope took it ill that the Parliament will not discharge the Seven Priests whom his Majesty had repriev'd. Though this Secretary *Nicholas* makes but a very ordinary Figure in History, and such a ridiculous Business might have been expected from his Capacity, yet it is strange that all the Counsellors about the King should not have Wisdom enough to hinder the sending such a Letter to the Parliament; for which those who sent it wou'd certainly be either laugh'd to Scorn, or punish'd for countenancing Correspondence with the Pope. The House presently voted an Address to the King, that the seven Priests might be hang'd, and the *Capuckin* Fryars at *Somerset-House* be immediately seiz'd, and brought before them.

From *Huntington* the King sent a Message to both Houses, dated the 15th of *March*, that he intended to make his Residence at his City of *York*, and thought it necessary to publish, that he expected and requir'd Obedience from all his loving Subjects, to the Laws establish'd: By which was always understood in this Reign, a Power to raise Money without Consent of Parliament, to imprison and press Men at Pleasure, a Submission to the Oppression and Superstition of the *Laudean* Hierarchy, and the like. Again, and That they presume not, upon any Pretence or Ordinance, to which his Majesty is no Party, concerning the *Militia*, or any other Thing, to do or execute what is not warrantable by these Laws, his Majesty being resolv'd to keep the Laws himself, as has been plentifully evidenc'd to us in the whole Course of this History, and to require Obedience to them from all his Subjects. Upon the Receipt of this Message, the two Houses came to these Resolutions, 1. " To insist on their former Votes concerning the *Militia*. 2. That the King's Absence is not only an Obstruction, but may be a Destruction to the Affairs of *Ireland*. 3. That when the Lords and Commons, which is the supreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdom, shall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not only question'd, but contradict-ed, and a Command that it shou'd not be obey'd, is a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament. 4. That a Committee be appointed to enquire where this Message was fram'd. 5. That those who advis'd his Majesty to this Message, are Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and justly suspected to be favourers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. 6. That those who advis'd his Majesty to absent himself from the Parliament, are Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom. RESOLV'D, *Nem. Cont.* That the Ordinance about the *Militia*, is not any way against the Oath of Allegiance; that the Commission granted under the Great Seal, to the Lieutenants of the several Counties, are illegal and void; and whoever shall exercise any Power over the *Militia*, by Colour of such Commission, shall be accounted a Disturber of the Peace of the Kingdom; that in Case of extream Danger, and of his Majesty's Refusal, the Ordinance agreed on by both Houses doth oblige the People, and ought to be obey'd by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom." To these Votes agreed the Lord Keeper

The Pope and Secretary Nicholas.

Message from Huntington.

Answer.

A.D. 1642. of the Great Seal, whose Conscience went still with his Knowledge; but in a few Days he left both them and the Parliament, and made his Escape to *York*. The very learned and judicious *Whitlocke* says, "The House of Commons receiv'd great Encouragement and Confirmation in these Votes, from the Opinions of several of their Members, *Pym*, *Hampden*, *Hollis*, *Stapleton*; and of Lawyers, *Sir John Corbet*, *Lord L'Isle*, and several others, chiefly from the confident Opinion of the Lord Keeper *Littleton* concurring with them."

The King publish'd a Declaration in Answer to that which was read to him at *Newmarket*; which as has been observ'd, consisted of a positive Denial of the Matters laid to his Charge; and the Parliament justify'd their Declaration, in a Petition which was presented to him at *York*, *March* the 26th, wherein they say, "We have lately receiv'd Information from the Deputy-Governor of the Merchant Adventurers at *Rotterdam*, that an unknown Person appertaining to the Lord *Digby*, did lately solicit one *James Kenelly*, a Mariner, to go to *Ellinore*, and take Charge of a Ship in a Fleet of the King of *Denmark's*, there prepar'd, which he shou'd conduct to *Hull*, in which Fleet he said likewise, a great Army was to be transported; and although we are not apt to give Credit to Informations of this Nature, yet we cannot altogether think it fit to be neglected, but that it may justly add somewhat to the Weight of our Fears and Jealousies, considering with what Circumstances it is accompany'd, the Lord *Digby's* preceding Expressions in his Letter to her Majesty, and *Sir Lewis Dives*, and your Majesty's succeeding Course of withdrawing your self Northward from your Parliament, in a Manner very suitable and correspondent to that Evil Counsel, &c." This is sober Reasoning, and carries Conviction with it. *Digby* advis'd the King to possess himself of some Place of Security; and what Place would be more secure than *Hull*? *Father Orleans* confesses it was agreed the King should retire into the North, and there make his first Levies. *Echard*, though he is let into very few Secrets, declares it was Time now for the King to remove to *York*; which agrees with what *General Ludlow* says. The Declarations on both sides proving ineffectual, and the King's Designs, both at Home and Abroad, being grown ripe, he express'd his Dissatisfaction more openly, and withdrew to *York*. The Reverend Historian tells us, his Indignation was rais'd; and *Larrey*, It is certain he had a Design upon *Hull*, and it is then as certain he had a Design to make War upon his Protestant Subjects.

On the 8th of *April*, the King sent another Message to the Parliament, wherein he declar'd his Intention to go with all Speed to *Ireland*, to raise 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse, and arm them from the Magazine of *Hull*, which was to prepare the way for his seizing the whole. *Mr. Acherley* assures us, This very much alarm'd and discompos'd the two Houses, who doubted not but *Ireland* was the Place of Strength to which his Majesty was to retire, according to the secret Resolutions taken with the Queen. The Parliament return'd a respectful Answer, and propos'd to raise 6000 Men under the Lord *Wharton*, for that Service, but the King denied his Commission. There's a haughty Air, and a dry commanding Stile in this King's Messages and Answers, which were good for nothing but to sower Mens Minds, and is as unskilful in Politicks as it wou'd be in Physick, to apply Corrosives instead of Lenitives. To this must be added a Weakness, which is without Example. The King knew that the Parliament had discover'd the Contrivances of sending the Queen to *Holland*, of his own Journey Northward, of his Queen's Favourites with the *Irish*, and his own Tenderness to that

murderous Crew, and that the Parliament were *A.D.* 1642. not so much afraid of them, as of the Designs he was forming against the Protestants in *England*; yet he offers to go to *Ireland* with an Army: He cou'd not be at the Head of one any where, but they wou'd be taken by the Parliament to be their most mortal Enemies; and it was very unlikely they would consent to his transporting Forces to *Ireland*, where there were 40000 Enemies already in Arms against them and their Friends. The Parliament told him so in plain Terms, when he made the Offer for *Ireland*, "That it cou'd be of no Service, but prejudicial to the Protestants, by whom he was suspected, and advantageous to the Papists, who boasted of his Consent, and wou'd become more bold on his Arrival." *Orleans* owns his Correspondence with the Irish Catholics had some Appearance of Truth. The Truth is, the Distractions the King occasion'd by his abandoning the Parliament, were a fatal Obstruction to the Relief of *Ireland*. The two Houses knew not how soon they shou'd want all the Power they could raise for Self-Preservation, and that must perplex their Thoughts as to transporting Forces elsewhere. The King knew all the People of *England* had the Relief of their Brethren in *Ireland* at Heart: The Parliament minded him of it in all their Declarations; and this Offer to go himself, was to take off the Odium from him, but it did not succeed; 'twas visible that he obstructed all solid Measures prepar'd for relieving the distress'd *English* in *Ireland*, and that he never propos'd any Thing which was not either chimerical or dangerous. The Parliament were in Earnest, as they shew'd with a Vengeance, when they had secur'd themselves against their Enemies in *England*, and it was for that Security only, that they at any Time postpon'd the Succours, which with their whole Souls they wish'd in *Ireland*. This is the natural Light this Affair stands in, and we shall say the less hereafter for what is now said.

In the Act for the *Irish Adventurers* there was a Clause for leaving the Management of that War to the two Houses; and another Clause beforemention'd, by which the King oblig'd himself not to give any Terms to the REBELS, or to make Peace with them without the Parliaments Consent: Both which he did, at the same Time that in all his Speeches; Messages, Answers, &c. he has the Laws, and the Laws of the Land, almost in every Paragraph, in a Supposition that the People did not know how he had observ'd them, or that he had ever broken them: Upon this Act considerable Sums of Money were brought in; and says *Ludlow*, "The Parliament neglected no Opportunity to carry on so necessary a War. They procur'd some Forces to be sent from *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*; and they also dispatch'd several Regiments of *English* thither, who were bless'd with wonderful Success against the Rebels." That General afterwards commanded in Chief in that Kingdom, but it seems was not so well acquainted with Affairs there, as *Archdeacon Echard*, who says, "The War was carry'd on by such slow Steps, that the *Irish* Rebels daily increas'd in Strength, and by Rumours of the Parliament's Preparations, enlarg'd their Power. The Parliament were willing to drive them to Extremity, out of Revenge and Contempt, as a People easy to be crush'd." We shall find the King's best Officers among them in the Course of our History.

The King being settled at *York*, the reverend *The King* Historian tells us, "Most Persons of Quality of *at York*, that great County and Parts adjacent resorted to him, many Persons of Condition from *London*, some out of a Sense of Duty and Gratitude, and others out of Indignation against the Parliament; so that in a short time the Court appear'd with Lustre;" which is the more to be admir'd at, because he owns presently after, the most Illustrious were

A.D. 1642. were afraid, or ashamed of being seen, for why else were they oblig'd to be *Incognito*. General Ludlow writes, "Several Lords, and others, affected to his Interest, resorted to him with Plate, Money, Horses and Arms, amongst whom were many *Papists*, who, though to cover the King's Designs, they were forbidden to come to Court, were yet privately encourag'd, and daily list'd and arm'd; and as the Distance of *York* from the Parliament was one Reason, so its Nearness to *Hull* was another.

Hotham at Hull.

At the same Time that the House of Commons sent to Colonel *Goring*, Governor of *Portsmouth*, to secure that Town, they dispatch'd Sir *John Hotham* to secure *Hull*; both were faithful to them at first, and both at last basely betray'd them. Mr. *Hotham*, Sir *John's* Son, posted away thither before his Father, who had Orders to put a Garrison of the Train'd-Bands nearest the Place, into the Town, for the Security of the Magazine there. Mr. *Hotham*, who was also a Member of Parliament, stood up in the Gallery of the House before he went, and said, *Fall Back, fall Edge, I will go down and perform your Commands*. The House of Commons had certain Information of the Design form'd against that Magazine and Town, and it was the Place of Strength the Lord *Digby* would have had the King retire to, where he might receive Assistance from Abroad. They had Notice also, that the Earl of *Newcastle* was sent by the King to possess himself of it, and was prevented only by the Parliaments and *Hotham's* Diligence.

Having mention'd the last Petition of the two Houses to the King, which was presented by the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Dungarvon*, and Sir *Anthony Irby*, on the 26th of *March*, we must also say something of his Answer, though they are all so disagreeable, that one can't take much Delight in it: *We are resolv'd that no Streights or Necessities to which we may be reduc'd, shall ever compel us to do that which the Reason and Understanding that God hath given us, and our Honour and Interest with which God hath trusted us, for the Good of our Posterity and Kingdoms, shall render unpleasant and grievous to us*. It was generally suspected that the King, who heartily repented of the popular Acts he had past, intended to have them made null and void, on Account of a pretended Force upon him, when it was in his Power to do it. The Parliament speak of it in this Petition; and in his Answer he said, *I defy the Devil to prove there was any such Design*. The Reverend Historian joins the Parliament with the Devil, which is more than the King himself did; and being false as well as scandalous, would have brought the Author into Danger of *Sanderford's* Punishment, if the Long Parliament had had the handling of him. The two Houses nominated the Earl of *Warwick* to be Admiral of the Fleet in the Room of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was indispos'd, and on whose Indisposition and Recovery, *Waller* has a fine Copy of Verses, of which this is the last Distich; speaking of his Lordship, and his charming Sister, the Countess of *Carlisle*.

*With Courage guard, and Beauty warm our Age,
And Lovers fill with like poetick Rage.*

This is the Lady who *Warwick* says had two Gallants, the Earl of *Strafford*, and Mr. *Pym*; and this *Warwick* is the ingenious judicious Author, whom Mr. *Echard* has copy'd almost Word for Word.

The King appointed Sir *John Pennington* to be Admiral; the same who forc'd the *English* Ships to join the *French* Fleet against the Protestants in *Rochele*; more Fatality! He receiv'd a Petition from the two Houses, that they might remove the Magazine from *Hull* to the *Tower*, where the Stores had been pretty well drain'd by the Supplies for

Ireland: But the King, says *Larrey*, had no more Complaisance for the Parliaments Requests, than they had for his; and being jealous of each others Intentions, from their mutual Refusal, they now thought of nothing but War, which is a short and plain State of the Case, and would save hundreds of Pages in the Earl of *Clarendon's* History, where he guesses, conjectures and Subtilizes without knowing it, and is every where wretchedly copy'd by *Echard*. His Majesty finding there was no way of satisfying the two Houses and their Adherents, but by complying a little in the Business of the *Militia*, order'd the Attorney-General to draw up a Bill of the same Tenure with the Ordinance, only limiting the Time to a Year; which being offer'd to the Parliament, they took no Notice of it. *Larrey* proceeds, "But before they came to an open Rupture, the King, who could not deceive the Parliament, endeavour'd to surprize the Governor of *Hull*, and coming into the Neighbourhood of that Town, accompany'd by some Gentlemen of the Country, and 300 of his Horse-Guards, he drew nearer and nearer, and sent Sir *Lewis Dives* to tell the Governor, Sir *John Hotham*, he would dine with him, a Stratagem which had not the least Prospect of Success, if his Majesty had not before-hand made sure of Sir *John*, which he was so far from having done, that *Hotham* hearing of his Approach, sent three Messengers one after another, with an humble Petition to desist, and come no nearer to the Town, where were at that Time, the 23d of *April*, *St. George's* Feast, the Duke of *York*, the Prince Elector, the Earl of *Newport*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, and other Persons of Quality, whom the Mayor and Governor entertain'd with great Respect: Sir *John Hotham* having held a Consultation with Mr. *Pelham*, a Member of Parliament, and Alderman of *Hull*, what to do in that Emergency, it was resolv'd to draw up the Bridge, shut the Gates, and command the Soldiers to stand to their Arms round the Walls. His Majesty about Eleven a Clock, advancing to *Beverley* Gate, call'd for the Governor, and commanded it to be open'd; but though he reiterated his Command, he could get no other Answer from Sir *John Hotham*, than *I am intrusted by the Parliament to secure the Town for his Majesty's Honour, and the Kingdom's Use, which I intend by God's Help to do*. He desir'd the King not to misinterpret his Action, protesting his Loyalty, and proffering if his Majesty would be pleas'd to come in with the Prince, and twelve more, he should be very welcome, otherwise he could not, without betraying his Trust to the State, admit Entrance to so great a Guard. His Majesty refus'd to enter without his whole Train. About one a Clock, the Duke of *York*, the Prince Elector, and the Lords who accompany'd them, went forth to the King, who departed not from the Gates till four a Clock, and then return'd an Hour after, when he gave Sir *John Hotham* one Hour to consider what he did; who then giving the same Answer as he had done before, his Majesty commanded him to be proclaim'd *Traitor* by two *Heralds* at Arms, which frighten'd Sir *John Hotham* as much as if it had been done by twenty. The King retreated to *Beverley* in great Confusion, and the next Morning sent a *Herald*, and others, with Offers of Pardon to Sir *John*, if yet he would open the Gates; but as yet he was deaf to Threats, or Flattery, and remain'd true to the Trust his Country had depos'd in him: So the King return'd to *York*, and sent a Message to the Parliament, to demand Justice against *Hotham*, and that immediately the Magazine be deliver'd up to him; and till this be done, he will intend no other Business; to be in worse Condition than the meanest Subject, not to enjoy his own; which is as Sophistical as the rest. He was not in a worse Condition. If the meanest of his Subjects had Possession of the Weapons of another

King at Hull.

A.D. 1642. ther Man, who, as he had certain Intelligence, intended to use them against him; all Laws, Human and Divine, allow'd that Subject in the Detention of those Weapons, though the Property was in that other Man. Every one of the Declarations, Messages and Answers, are as easily confuted, but indeed they do not want Confutation. It is not doubted, if the King had possess'd himself of that Place of Arms, he would soon have rais'd Forces enough at Home, and have receiv'd them from Abroad, to have fallen upon the Parliament and their Friends, unprovided for War, and have destroy'd them, according to the Scheme in the Jesuit *Orleans's Revolutions*, "To secure some Place of Strength, meaning first Hull, says Acherley, which was the sole Motive of his Journey Northward, in order to get the Magazine of Arms; and that in Case of Disappointment, his Majesty should go into Ireland, and never come to any Accommodation with the Parliament." The French Jesuit goes farther, and allows, that the King never intended to let any of the popular Acts he had pass'd, continue as Laws: *All Mankind believ'd*, says he, *That the King did not grant so much, but in order to revoke all; and that he undertook was preparing for War, that the Sword might cut all those Knots he had made with his Pen.* 'Twas the certain Information of this Scheme, and the Prosecution of it, which made the Parliament insist so obstinately on the *Militia Bill*; and it was the certain Design to pursue it, which made the King refuse it with the like Obstinacy. His Majesty order'd the Express from the Parliament to Hull to be way-laid; an illegal Act, and justifiable only in Time of open War: The Parliament, as they had good Reason, voted it a breach of Privilege, and RESOLV'D to defend their Privileges with their Lives and Fortunes: They justify'd Sir *John Hotham*, and order'd the Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace to suppress all Forces that shall be rais'd, or gather'd together against Hull, or to disturb the Peace. *Echard*, who thinks as wildly as any one, outdoes himself in his Thought on this Occasion, the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire* would have taken the Town of Hull with *Yorkshire Men*; whereas in Truth, Sir *John Hotham*, by Virtue of his Warrants from the Parliament, summon'd the Train'd-Bands of that County to appear at Hull with their Arms; and when he had them there, he disarm'd them, and turn'd them home again, according to *Whitlocke*. There is no following the Reverend Historian in any Part of his History, where the Disputes between the King and Parliament are in Question; and here he takes particular Care to lay the whole Blame of the War on the two Houses; *War was too remote from the King's Thoughts; the King well saw the impending Storm. It is justly believ'd, that had the King, with the Forces of the Nobility and Gentry, boldly attack'd the Town, it had been surrender'd; and a few Lines after, Sir John Hotham was better able to take York, than the King to take Hull.* Such a Head as this, was most equal to the Work he undertook, and the Cause he espous'd, which is, to make the Parliament the Aggressors in Words and Deeds; when there is nothing more notorious in Chronicle, than that this King, from the beginning of his Reign to the meeting of this Parliament, had suffer'd his Ministers and the *Laudean Bishops* to commit all Acts of Tyranny, Oppression and Cruelty, under Colour of Courts of Justice, such as the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commission*; *Strafford's Northern-Court*, &c. and that he had no Regard to the Rights, Liberties and Properties of the Free People of *England*, as appears by his Imprisonment of Members of Parliament, great Merchants, and eminent Citizens, by his violating their most ancient Privileges, and extorting illegal Taxes; yet as has been observ'd, and must be again, he speaks of nothing more than the *Fundamental Laws*, the

Laws of the Land, which in the Interpretation he *A.D. 1642.* intends the *Sovereign Power*, as it was corrupted and abus'd in his Administration, and not that *Sovereign Power* under which the Three Kingdoms have been so safe, so happy, and so glorious, ever since the Abdication of King *James*, the last Male Monarch of the House of *Stuart*. The two Houses take Notice in one of their Papers, of that malignant Party, who by false Colours and Pretensions of maintaining your Majesty's Prerogative against the Parliament, wherein they fully agree with the REBELS in Ireland, have been the Causes of all our Distempers and Dangers; and if the Lord *Clarendon*, and Mr. *Echard*, have not also maintain'd the Prerogative against the Parliament, I have done them much Wrong.

The two Houses order'd a Committee; the Earl *Yorkshire of Sarnford*, the Lord *Willoughby of Parham*, Sir *Edward Ayscough*, Sir *Christopher Wray*, Sir *Samuel Owsfield*, Mr. *Hatcher*, to repair to the Counties of *York* and *Lincoln*, and Town of *Kingston upon Hull*, for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; and they requir'd all Lord Lieutenants, and all other Officers and Magistrates, to be aiding and assisting to them. The King wrote a Letter, dated the 5th of *May*, to the Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, a trusty one, Sir *Marmaduke Longdale*, to forbid the mustering of the *Militia* by Ordinance of Parliament; and if any did Muster, he requir'd him to raise the Power of the County and suppress them: He also publish'd a Proclamation, forbidding the Relief of *Hull*; another Military Act, practis'd in War Time only, and in Sieges and Blockades; and every one *King* knows, that to starve a Town is as much making *gins the War* against it, as to batter or storm it: The Parliament are as yet in Peace, and 'tis to argue with Madmen and Idiots, that this is not the beginning of the War.

About a Fortnight before his Majesty's March to *Hull*, the Gentry, Ministers, and Freeholders of *Yorkshire*, presented a Petition to him, wherein, after very strong Expressions of Duty and Loyalty, they pray him to declare such fit Means and Expedients, as may take away all Distances and Misunderstandings betwixt his Majesty and his great Council. The King, in his Answer, highly commended them for their Loyalty, in relying upon his Word for the Propagation of the Protestant Religion, and advis'd them to propose to the Parliament the settling the *Militia* as he would have it, which he said was the fittest Means and Expedient to take away all Distances and Misunderstandings; but that was too gross to take with them.

A Committee of the House of Commons; Lord *York* *Fairfax*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and some of the best Gentlemen of *Yorkshire*, was order'd to remain at *York*. They had deliver'd the Parliaments Answer to his Majesty's Message about *Hull*, which the King not liking, gave Orders they would return back; but they excus'd their Stay, because commanded so to do by those who employ'd them; and being Gentlemen of the best Remark in that County, they had surely as good Reason to reside in it, as the Gentry to whom the King made a Speech the 12th of *May*, wherein he admonish'd them to take Heed lest the Committee, their Countrymen, should corrupt them, and told them, he was resolv'd to have a Guard. It goes on gradually. To which these Gentry reply'd, *They willingly concurr'd in his Majesty's Preparations for a Guard, consisting of Persons unquestionable in their Religion.* The Reply was made for them, the King thank'd them particularly for excluding *Papists*. He must have a very mean Opinion of the People's Understandings, to think that wou'd pass upon them. We must know, however, that this same Guard was not so well approv'd of by the *Yorkshire* Gentlemen, as the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Echard* wou'd make us believe. Nor did they understand the raising

A.D. 1642. raising of it as the King understood it. They declar'd they wou'd not interpose in the Business of Hull, but wou'd serve him with their Lives and Fortunes as far as his Majesty shou'd be pleas'd legally to enable them. In another Address they said, the best Advice they cou'd offer him, was to hearken to the Counsels of his Parliament. In another they besought him to impart the Grounds of his Fears and Jealousies to his High Court of Parliament, of whose most loyal Care and Affection to his Majesty's Honour and Safety, and Prosperity of his Subjects and Dominions, they were most confident. They added in Behalf of those Members of Parliament lately employ'd to attend his Majesty from both Houses, being all of them Gentlemen of Quality and Estate in this County, and trusted to serve in that most honourable Assembly; they humbly crave his Majesty's Leave to express their Confidence in their untainted Loyalty and Affection to his Majesty to be such, as his Majesty may securely admit their Attendance; and for their Fidelity they do all engage themselves. Mr. Archdeacon affirms they continu'd at York in perfect Defiance of the King. The same Gentlemen told his Majesty he might depend on the general Fidelity of his Subjects in that County without an extraordinary Guard; and there were but few Gentlemen or Freeholders who approv'd of the Guard of Horse, knowing full well that 'twas only a Pretext to begin his Levies according to the Scheme of which they cou'd not all be entirely ignorant; so very false is what the Archdeacon tells us, that they generally and cheerfully agreed. The Committee of Parliament in a Letter to their Principals inform them, that several thousand Freeholders came to York and enter'd their Protest against concurring in a Guard; that the Committee of twelve Yorkshire Gentlemen, who were appointed to give Answer to his Majesty's Proposition about it, were divided; six were for the Answer as deliver'd to the King, and six were for the Answer wherein they told his Majesty he was safe without an extraordinary Guard; and this Answer the greater Part of the Gentlemen and Freeholders agree to. I will make no Excuse for treating Echar'd almost as rudely as he treats the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, till I find somebody that can clear him of this audacious and incredible Falshy, They generally and cheerfully agreed for a Guard. It consisted of a Troop of Horse, of which the Prince of Wales was Captain, and a Regiment of Foot of about six hundred Men, which was the first Levy of Troops in the Civil War, and was justly taken to be the beginning by those who did not allow the starving of Hull to be a warlike Act. Mr. Acherley speaks of it thus; Such a Body of Men might by an expeditious March, easily have enter'd the House of Commons, and dispers'd the UNARM'D Parliament, who look'd on that Proceeding as a clear Evidence of his Majesty's Intentions to make War upon them, in Pursuance of the before-mention'd Scheme form'd in the King's Cabinet-Council at Windsor just before the Queen's Departure for Holland, as we read in Orleans. "If this Scheme and Resolution be admitted to be true, says the judicious Acherley, then it is obvious that the Cause of the War was the Invitation of the Scots Invasions, and the End of it the Punishment of the Inviters;" which must have caus'd a Deluge of the best Blood in England, and the rescinding of the Acts of Reformation pass'd in this Parliament.

Upon News of the King's levying Forces in Yorkshire, the two Houses voted, "That he intend- ed to make War against the Parliament, contra- ry to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of his Government; and that whosoever shou'd serve or assist him in such Wars, shou'd be ac- counted TRAYTORS by the fundamental Laws of the Land; and that the same had been ad- judg'd by two Acts of Parliament, 2 Rich. 2.

" and 1 Hen. 4. and that they ought to suffer as Traytors.

The Ordnance for the Militia having had the Sanction of both Houses, the Lord-Lieutenants who were nam'd for the several Counties, were empower'd to act and appoint Deputy-Lieutenants; the Lord Paget Lord-Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, nam'd Mr. Hampden, Mr. Goodwyn, Mr. Greenville, Mr. Tyrrel, Mr. Winwood, and Mr. Whitlocke, to be his Deputy-Lieutenants; and by their Names only we may know that the Gentlemen of the best Characters espous'd the Cause of the Parliament: For tho' many Gentlemen of Distinction deserted that Cause out of a lawless Desire to lord it over their fellow Subjects, or out of a vain Ambition for Titles and Dignities, or out of base Envy and Jealousy of the leading Senators, whose illustrious Virtues gave their weak Eyes the Jaundice; yet the most sober, the most wise, and most religious, were steady in their good English Principles both as to Church and State. The Lord-Keeper Littleton was not only confident in his Opinion for the Legality of this Ordnance, but accepted of the Lieutenancy of two or three Counties, nam'd his Deputies, and often ask'd the Clerk of the House of Lords for his Deputations, commanding him to deliver them to one of his Servants, which accordingly was done. He also agreed to the several Forms of those Deputations, and never made the least Objection to the Ordnance as against Law and antient Usage. Of the same Opinion were those great Lawyers Serjeant Maynard, Serjeant Glyn, Mr. Grimston, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Selden, who all accepted of Deputations from the Lord Lieutenants, and continu'd in the Parliament Service.

The King resolving to adjourn Easter Term from London to York, the Parliament voted it to be illegal, and order'd the Lord-Keeper not to issue Writs or Proclamation for that Purpose. The Court at York shew'd in their Conduct that they matter'd not how prejudicial any of their Counsels were to the Publick, or how little beneficial to themselves, if the Parliament were anger'd or dis- oblig'd by them.

On the 19th of May the two Houses publish'd a large Declaration much to the same Effect as the former were, mentioning that the Rebellion was countenanc'd in Ireland by the evil Counsellors about the King; that the proclaiming the Irish Traytors, had been deferr'd from October to January, and then but forty Copies order'd to be printed, nor any of them to be publish'd without the King's Order; whereas the Proceedings against the Scots, and proclaiming them Traytors were very sharp. This was very barefac'd; and it is astonishing that Persons who pretended a Zeal for the Protestant Religion, shou'd take Arms for the Support of a Government which did so much to support that horrid Rebellion.

The King repeated what he had said before to evade this Charge, and wrote to the Council in Scotland to acquaint them with the State of his Affairs in England; to which he receiv'd a dutiful and affectionate Answer, with a Petition from several Noblemen and Gentlemen, full of Zeal and Loyalty to his Service; which the Parliament hearing of, took a Course to turn the Ballance, and within eight Days after the Scots Council declare their earnest Desires both to King and Parliament to join in a perfect Union, and humbly desire the King to hearken to his best and most unparallel'd Council. They dissuade him from a personal Journey to Ireland, and pray that a Mediation be at Home before the Breach be wider. In the Close they manifest their true and hearty Affection to the Parliament of England, protesting to do nothing contrary to them in their Privileges. A Multitude of People at Edinburgh hearing of his Majesty's Letter to the Council there, and of the Answer to it, petition'd

the

Rushw.

Rushw. 621.

King begins his Levies.

Militia.

Scotland.

200 The HISTORY of ENGLAND, during the Reigns

A.D. 1642. the Council not to meddle by any verbal or real Engagement for the King against the Parliament of England; which gave great Encouragement to their Friends in both Kingdoms.

Order about Arms and Soldiers going to York.

On the 28th of May the Parliament order'd that all Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, &c. within one hundred and fifty Miles of York, shou'd make Stay of all Arms and Ammunition carrying to York, and apprehend the Conveyers; and that all Sheriffs do suppress all Forces coming together by the King's Commission, and all Persons to aid them. The King in return forbids Obedience to any Ordinance of Parliament concerning the Militia, and summons the whole County of York to meet him at *Heworth-Moor* at a certain Day, which the Parliament declare to be against Law, and forbid Obedience. He told the *Yorkshire Men*, *we cannot but declare our self most heartily sorry to find such Separatists and Schismatics, who presume against the Law; against which no Protestant Prince ever presum'd so much as his Majesty to foment new Doctrines and Disciplines.* The King did not expect that a Puritan or Presbyterian wou'd draw a Sword for him; but considering the Bent of the Nation turn'd that Way, where was the Policy of speaking against them to the Men of *Yorkshire*, where they abounded as much as in any Part of England? Besides, as this is meant of the *Puritans*, there is not a Babe in Divinity but knows that the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, and the Discipline of the Apostolical Bishops, such as *Titus* and *Timothy*, which they only profess'd according to their primitive Purity, are many hundred Years older than the *Romish* Hierarchy and Idolatry, which, as *Echard* tells us, were rival'd by *Laud*. The King in a Declaration of his, descends to a Reflection which has still more Poverty in it, and that is the imputing the Madness and Rage of some German Enthusiasts, not only to those Dissenters in England who go under the Denomination of *Baptists*, who have that *Dutch* Enthusiasm in Abhorrence as much as *Laud's* Superstition, but also to the whole Parliament of England. *Can we with Safety commit the Militia into their Hands, who in all Probability would be no sooner possess'd of it, than they wou'd revive that Tragedy which Mr. Hooker relates of the Anabaptists in Germany, who talking of nothing but of Faith and of the true Fear of God, and that Riches and Honours were Vanity, at first upon the great Opinion of their Humility, Zeal, and Devotion, procur'd much Reverence and Estimation with the People; after finding how many Persons they had enflam'd with their Hypocrisy, they began to propose to themselves to reform both the Ecclesiastical and Civil Government.* By which is understood, that all the Votes and Declarations of the Parliament tending to the reforming of Abuses in Church and State, of which we shall see presently the King himself has confess'd enough to shew the Necessity of a Reformation, were nothing better than the Effects of the Hypocrisy and Fury of the Rabble at *Munster*. I do not repeat his Majesty's Answers and Declarations at large, for they will not bear it; they are so full of Evasions, Colourings, Concealings, Assertions, and Denials, positive and arbitrary, that one can learn little by them of the Merits of the Cause; and when *Mr. Hyde* comes to have the penning of them, they are so full of Words, or as *Warwick* says, *so redundant*, we are lost as in a Labyrinth. *Mr. Archdeacon* tells us with his usual Consistence, *The Leaders in the Parliament were confident there wou'd be no War, therefore prepar'd for it accordingly both with Men and Money.* This Preparation was the mustering the *Train'd-Bands* of *London* in *Finsbury-Fields* before the Members of both Houses of Parliament, who were there treated by the City. The King immediately sent for Major-General *Skippon*, who appear'd at the Head of the *Militia*; to attend him at *York*, but the Parliament voted that he shou'd attend their Service

Parliament in the City.

Major-General Skippon.

as Captain of the Guards which did Duty near the Two Houses; and if Guards were necessary, surely the Attendance of the Captain must be of equal Necessity; and the sending for him cou'd be done with no other Design than to increase the Jealousies of the Parliament, and turn all Hope into Despair. The reverend Historian highly resents the Parliament's Orders to seize one *Beckwith*, who was in a Plot to deliver *Hull* to the King, but he says that he was a *Papist*, and as my Author adds, a great Favourite at Court. The Town was to be fir'd in several Quarters upon a Sign made from *Beverley* Minster; and while the Townsmen were busy'd in putting out the Fire, two thousand of the King's Forces were to assault it in several Places, and the Parliament's Officer, with whom *Beckwith* corresponded, and who discover'd the Treason, was at the same time to open a Gate. *Mr. Archdeacon*, whose History is so well ornamented with the *Ridiculous*, assures us it was a very ridiculous Thing to take up *Beckwith*, and not to take up *Hotbam*; but *Beckwith* was protected by the Court at *York*, and the Serjeant who came for him and other Delinquents, was us'd worse than the Committee of the Parliament who resided there, and were hiss'd when they read any thing from the Lords and Commons; at which I do not wonder, for it must be such sort of Creatures who wou'd take Arms in the Defence of arbitrary Power, Superstition, Idolatry, and Profaneness. If afterwards Men of a better Character join'd with them, it was out of Caution, Ambition, Jealousy, or Vanity, and for want of making a right Use of their Understanding. Some of the Courtiers, the *Lunsfords* probably, said openly, *Let the Parliament Men look about them, some of 'em will soon be shorter by the Head.* One *Hurst* a Retainer to the Lord *Crofts*, insulted the Committee, and was rather encourag'd than punish'd.

Parl. Chron. 118.

Insolencies at York.

The Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, who had been a main Promoter of the Militia Bill, being requir'd to deliver up the Seal to one *Elliot* who was sent from *York* on purpose, comply'd with the Order, and the next Day follow'd *Elliot* himself to *York*. When he was upbraided with Abjection in surrendering his Office which the Parliament wou'd have supported him in, he excus'd himself on account of an Oath he had privately taken before the Seal was deliver'd to him, that he wou'd surrender it to the King at Demand; an odd sort of Oath, which shew'd some Foresight at least of the future Difference between the King and the two Houses. The Desertion of the Keeper, as *Echard* wou'd have us believe, threw the Parliament into Distraction; *This great Man left them for their Exorbitancies.* All which is of a Piece, and unworthy a Scholar at *Westminster*. He did not leave the Parliament for Exorbitancies, but for fear of being question'd after he had so tamely parted with the Seal; and he had himself been a principal Promoter of the *Militia* Business, which was the greatest Exorbitancy the Parliament was ever guilty of. *Whitlocke* says the King and Court did not regard him.

Ld-Keeper Littleton goes to York.

By the Desertion of several Lords and Commons at *Westminster*, the Court at *York* became numerous. *Ludlow* has told us what ungenerous Sentiments those Deserters were acted by; to which we have added the Envy of some Members to the Superiority of others in the Favour of the Two House; yet nothing can be falser than that there was not a fifth Part of the House of Commons, nor above twelve Peers; for at that Time, about the Middle of *June*, there were four hundred Members of the House of Commons attending the Service of the House in Parliament or in the Country, or absent with Leave; and in the Upper House above thirty Peers. The King himself who magnify'd his Interest in the Number of his Attendants, did not pretend they were greater in Tale; but

Parliament Deserters.

Parl. Chron. 106.

A.D. 1642. in Honour, Fortune, Wisdom, Reputation, and Weight. It might have been added, in Height, Breadth, Complexion, Shape, &c. The Comparison is too mean for History, and as much without Decency as Foundation. The Names of Northumberland, Bedford, Hampden, Hollis, &c. sufficiently shew the Vanity of it. I am sensible this is trifling, but I was led into it by a very great Trifler, and by Declarations, Messages, Histories, and Characters. The People, says Echard, were every Day recovering from their superstitious Reverence to the Two Houses, and grew every Day sensible of their Duty to the King. This Duty throughout all their Histories, is the same with that Allegiance which the Subjects owe to Sovereigns that make the Law the Measure of their Government; which how King Charles the First did, how his Father and his two Sons did, has and will be seen from one End of this History to the other, especially in the following nineteen Propositions sent to the King at York, as the surest Means to prevent a Breach of the Peace.

Nineteen Propositions.

1. "The King's Ministers and Counsellors to be approv'd by Parliament.
2. "Privy-Counsellors to sign the Opinion they give at the Council-Board.
3. "Great Officers of State to be approv'd by Parliament.
4. "As also the Government of the King's Children,
5. "And their Marriages.
6. "The Laws against Papists to be executed.
7. "No Popish Lord to vote in Parliament.
8. "A Reformation in the Church and Liturgy.
9. "The Militia Ordinance to be confirm'd.
10. "All Members of Parliament who have been displac'd during this Session, to be restor'd.
11. "All Privy-Counsellors and Judges to take an Oath to maintain the Petition of Right.
12. "All Officers plac'd by Parliament, to hold their Places *quam diu se bene gesserint*.
13. "Delinquents to be punish'd.
14. "A general Pardon with certain Exceptions.
15. "Forts and Castles to be dispos'd of by Parliament.
16. "The King's new Forces to be disbanded.
17. "His Majesty to enter into Alliance with all reform'd States for the Recovery of the Palatinate; a Clause the Parliament always had at Heart, and all their Enemies treated with Neglect and Contempt.
18. "The Lord Kimbolton and the Five Members to be clear'd.
19. "No Peer to sit hereafter in Parliament without their Consent.

The French Jesuit says these Proposals were very sawcy, but the following Expressions at the end of them have no Sawce at all in them: *These humble Requests being granted to us by your Majesty, we shall endeavour, as we ought, to regulate the Revenue of your Majesty, and to increase it more and more in such sort, that it shall support the Dignity Royal with Honour and Abundance, beyond whatever the Subjects of this Kingdom allow'd to the Kings your Majesty's Predecessors. We will also put the Town of Hull into such Hands as your Majesty shall please with the Approbation of Parliament, and will give a good Account of the Munitions of War, and of the Magazine. To conclude, we shall cheerfully do our Endeavours to give unto your Majesty Testimony of our Affection, Duty, and Faithfulness to preserve and maintain your Royal Honour, the Greatness and Safety of your Majesty and your Posterity.* This according to Echard was receiv'd with great Indignation, it being much more easy to disdain than to answer. However, the Indignation was not so great, but that his Majesty in the Reply he made to it, allow'd and admitted many of the legal Rights

which justly belong'd to every one of the three Estates, King, Lords, and Commons; and says the learned Lawyer, one wou'd have thought that Declaration which was so plain and honourable, might have been the Foundation for a good Agreement. It may be wonder'd why the Lord Clarendon took no notice of so bright a Part of the King's Answer, unless the Omission infer somebody's Insincerity, the King's or his own; and thus I am not the only Person who says the Book call'd Clarendon's History is not sincere. Mr. Archdeacon calls the Propositions unheard-of. But the same learned Author who condemns the Lord Clarendon for Insincerity, adds, *The Omission in Echard of that material Part, is not disagreeable to the rest of his Misrepresentation; for that Historian has spar'd no Pains to represent his Majesty's DEPARTING from the Rules of Law to an arbitrary Power to be in all Things RIGHT, and the Parliament's Proceedings to reduce that arbitrary Power, to be in all Things WRONG; whereas this Royal Declaration was a contradictory Judgment proceeding out of the King's own Mouth, whereby most of the Steps of his own Government before this Parliament, stand condemn'd as illegal; and yet Echard has rack'd his Invention to honour and even adore the one, and disparage the other with the most affecting Epithets, as far as his Capacity and Elocution extended; for his Praise is the most nauseous Flattery, and his Dispraise the most stupid Malice which ever dropp'd from so voluminous an Historian. Mr. Acherley, as sober and judicious a Writer as any in our Time, charges Echard with racking his Invention to abuse the Lords and Commons of England; which I think is the worst Sort of Falshood, and he speaks not much better of Clarendon, which I hope is some Excuse for the honest Liberty I have taken and shall take with both of them. Mr. Acherley has collected some of his Majesty's Confessions quite contrary to the Lord Clarendon's and Mr. Echard's Histories, which are thus prov'd to be false by King Charles the First's Account of himself: He admitted that before this Parliament he had departed from the known Laws to an arbitrary Power, and that great Mischiefs had grown from the Exercise of that arbitrary Power, and that the Pressures and Sufferings of his Subjects had proceed'd from the long Intermision of Parliaments; and therefore his Majesty had resolv'd, without putting any Gloss upon his former Commands, which the Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Echard put for him in almost every Paragraph of their Histories, or endeavouring to make any Excuse for his Ministers Buckingham, Strafford, Laud; and he promis'd that the Measure of his Justice and Favour by way of Reparation, shou'd far exceed the Oppressions and Sufferings his good Subjects had undergone. Yet in all his Messages, Answers, Declarations, Proclamations, there are no Expressions repeated with more Tautology than the Laws, the Laws of the Land, the fundamental Laws, tho' those Laws had been so much invaded and abus'd, as by the King's own Confessions; yet himself, or the Penman of those Papers, endeavour'd to impose upon the People that the King had kept to the Letter of them, and was now forc'd to take Arms in their Defence.*

While his Majesty was caressing the Yorkshire Gentry and Freeholders, and listing them in his Troops, the Parliament order'd all Deputy-Lieutenants to be present at Musters, pursuant to Warrants issu'd by the Lord-Lieutenants of the several Counties. They also made an Order for bringing in Horses and Arms, Money and Plate, for the Defence of the King and Parliament, and for preserving the publick Peace: This was after his Majesty had commanded Commissions of Array to be issu'd in most Parts of England, which is another beginning of the War on his Side. His Commission for Leicestershire was directed to the Earl of Huntington, the Earl of Devon, Henry Hastings Esq; Son to the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Henry Berkley,

A.D. 1642
 Ach. 497.
 Condemns Clarendon & Echard.

King's confesses his illegal Acts.

Militia.

Commission of Array.

A.D. 1642. Berkley, Sir George Villiers, Sir Thomas Burton, Sir Henry Skipwith, Sir John Skeffington, Sir Richard Holford, Sir Wolstan Dixie, Sir Richard Roberts, Sir John Bolle, Sir Thomas Hartop, Sir Erasmus de la Fountaine, Sir William Jones, Henry Hastings Esq; George Alby Esq; and John Hale Esq; some of whom would not accept of the Honour, as George Alby Esq; and Sir Thomas Hartop, whom I find among the Parliament's Commissioners, as will be seen next Year. The House of Commons upon the Question, voted *the Commission to be against Law, against the Liberty and Property of the Subject*. This did not hinder these *Array-men*, who understanding there was a Magazine of Arms and Ammunition laid up at *Leicester* by the Earl of *Stamford* Lord-Lieutenant of the County, order'd Mr. *Hastings* the Sheriff to seize it. Accordingly he came to *Leicester* with a good Troop of Horse under Pretence of guarding the Judges at the Assizes, which the Committee of Parliament in the North having Notice of, Information was given to the Two Houses, who order'd three Companies of Foot to be rais'd for the Defence of the Magazine. The Captains nominated for this Employment, were Major *Gray*, Dr. *Bastwick*, and Captain *Ludlow* the General's Brother, who repair'd to *Leicester* to raise their Companies, but before they had completed them, the King with all his Cavalry, consisting of about two thousand Horse, arriv'd at *Leicester*, against whom three Companies being no way sufficient to defend the Town, the three Officers resolv'd only to secure the Place where the Magazine lay; which not being large enough to receive above one Company, Major *Gray* remain'd there with his Men, and Dr. *Bastwick* and Captain *Ludlow* dispers'd theirs, and set forwards for *London*, but had not rode many Miles before they were seiz'd by the Sheriff's Troop, brought back to *Leicester*, and from thence sent to the common Goal at *York*; where, according to the Cavalier manner, they were cruelly treated. These were the first Prisoners, and the King's Men took them. Major *Gray* capitulated, and the Magazine was sent to the several Parts of the County for which it was provided.

Magazine at Leicester.

Ludlow, 29.

Crown Jewels.

The Parliament, who by no means wanted Intelligence, had early Intimation of the Queen's carrying off the Crown Jewels to pawn them in *Holland*, against which they pass'd a Vote, declaring all such as brought Money into *England* which was borrow'd upon them, or paid any Bill upon that Account, to be Promoters of the War intended by the King, and to be Enemies to the State.

Committee for Votes & Orders.

A Committee was appointed to take Care that all Votes and Orders of the House shou'd be divulg'd, dispers'd, and publish'd; which Committee were Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Sir *Samuel Rolle*, *Arthur Goodwyn* Esq; Mr. *Pury*, Mr. *Noble*;

Lords Deserters.

The House of Lords took into Consideration the Desertion of several Peers to the King at *York*, and voted an Order for their Appearance on Pain of Delinquency. A Summons was sent to them, and they return'd an Answer the 4th of *June*, subscribed by *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Dover*, *Monmouth*, *Rich*, *Andover*, *Grey of Ruthen*, *Coventry*, *Capel*; wherein they told the House of Lords, they hop'd no Character would be fix'd upon them but what became Men of Honour to bear. The House of Commons impeach'd them for deserting the Parliament, and refusing to return upon Summons, and the Lords pass'd Sentence against them not to sit or vote in that House during this Session of Parliament, not to enjoy parliamentary Privilege, and to stand committed to the *Tower* during the Pleasure of the House. The House of Commons laid a Mulct of an hundred Pounds upon every one of their own Members who absented themselves from the Service of the House; so desirous were they to have their Assembly full, and the

House of Commons.

Sense of the Nation to be as general as possible; and so far from using Artifices to lessen their Number, and pack a Company for private Ends, as the Archdeacon more than once intimates with equal Modesty and Truth.

The Commissioners of *Array* beginning their Work in the Country, and putting the People in Motion, the Parliament quicken'd the Execution of the Ordinance for the *Militia*, which in a great Measure frustrated the Designs of the *Array-Men*, who, if they had succeeded, would soon have got a Power together with the King at the Head of it, which would have distroy'd the Parliament, and consequently have utterly destroy'd the Constitution, as was the Queen's Design, which the King did not dislike. *Orleans* says, "The Queen was zealous for restoring the Catholick Religion, full of that Spirit which warms the Blood of absolute Monarchs. A limited Authority seem'd to the Queen no better than Servitude, which caus'd her to make the utmost Efforts to rescue the King her Husband from it. She always had a Nuntio with her; she openly corresponded with the Catholick Lords; she stood up with Heat for every Thing that regarded the Church. The King gave her full Liberty, and supported her, which made it suspected he was no thorough Protestant; and the Zeal with which he promoted the Archbishop's Design, gave his Enemies good Ground to accuse him of being a Catholick. What can be plainer? "The Queen is resolv'd to establish Power and arbitrary Power." The King supports her in it; the Archbishop has a Design too against the Protestant Religion, and the King promotes it; the *French* Jesuit who wrote his History in Concert with King *James*, tells us so; and if we had an hundred other Proofs of their Resolution and Design to alter Religion and Government, one might take Father *Orleans's* Words for it.

A.D. 1642.

The ill Design of the Queen's Court.

On the 19th of *June* the Two Houses resolv'd, that all those who are Actors in putting the Commission of *Array* in Execution, shall be deem'd Disturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom, and Betrayers of the Liberty of the Subject. We have mention'd the first Attempt to disturb the Peace and betray the Peoples Liberties, which was made by Mr. *Hastings* in *Leicestershire*. The same Commission was begun to be executed in *Cambridgeshire*, but the County suppress'd it, and petition'd the Parliament for Arms to stand on their Defence against that malignant Part.

Sir *Richard Gurny* Lord-Mayor of *London*, had been so much flatter'd by the Courtiers for his Loyalty, that he gave himself up entirely to them, and proclaim'd the Commission of *Array* notwithstanding he had been warn'd to the contrary by the House of Lords, who committed him to the *Tower* for his Contempt, and depriv'd him of his Mayoralty. The Ordinance for the *Militia* took Effect in the City under the Management of Sir *John Wallaston*, Alderman *Gibs*, Alderman *Towse*, Alderman *Warner*, and other Magistrates, the most wealthy and eminent Citizens. The King to obstruct them sent for Sir *John Wallaston* and Alderman *Gibs* to attend him at *York*, but the Parliament commanded their Attendance at *London*, and declar'd it was against the Laws of the Land, for which his Majesty declares himself a Champion; to command any of his Subjects to attend him, but only such as are bound by special Service; which I am sure is agreeable to common Sense, if not to common Law.

The Earl of *Northampton* was very officious with his Commission of *Array* in *Warwickshire*, but to as little Purpose as Sir *Richard Gurny* in *London*, for the *Militia* Ordinance being executed there by the Lord *Brook*, no less than eight hundred Horse and two thousand Foot appear'd to support it. Upon which the Earl of *Northampton* dropp'd his Commission,

Earl of Northampton.

Lord Brook.

A.D. 1642. mission, and made Haste back to the King at York.

Cheeshire. In *Cheeshire*, Earl Rivers, a Papist, who had lately been an Occasional Conformist, taking the Oath of Allegiance to qualify him to do Mischief, imprison'd several Persons for not obeying his Commission of *Array*; and the Papists were grown so presumptuous in those Parts, by the Countenance of the Lord Rivers, and Sir Thomas Aston, that they demanded the Re-delivery of their Arms, which had been taken from them according to Law; but the Ordnance of the *Militia* being put in Execution, above three Fourths of the County fell in with it. All these Attempts, the great Provision made for War by the Queen and Cavaliers in *Holland*, are with *Echard* only Evidences that the King never intended to break the Peace. *It was a Matter of Wonder*, says that wise Man, and still remains Matter of Censure, that the King never put himself into a Posture of Defence: He had indeed rais'd Horse and Foot in *Yorkshire*, and was preparing to besiege *Hull*: He had try'd what he cou'd do with Commissions of *Array*, to set the People every where in Arms; which not succeeding as it was hop'd, Mr. Archdeacon wonders that he did not do what he could not do better than he did. He is perfectly well vers'd in the Cant of the Court Declarations, the *Law*, the *Laws of the Land*, the *Fundamental Laws*; and not only the King, who confess'd that he had been breaking of them sixteen Years, but all the Lords and Gentlemen who made so glorious an Appearance at *York*, were such, who by regular Observance of the *Laws*, had render'd themselves unblameable to the People, by whose Representative a great Number of them lay under Impeachment for the breach of them. I am not at all surpriz'd at that prodigious Falsity, where he informs us, that the Parliament collected eleven Millions Sterling only out of *London*, *Middlesex* and *Essex*, by their Order for bringing in Money and Plate; the whole Sum collected by them since their Session, being but 1,267,326 Pounds: A Man that cou'd believe eleven Millions were rais'd in *London*, and two Counties, must be well acquainted with the Cash and Stock of the Nation, and very well deserve our Attention to what he reports. He confirms it by another Falsity, that the *Lecturing Preachers* accus'd all those that did not bring in their Plate and Money. This Order was made the 10th of *June*, and was introduc'd with the Cause of it, the levying Forces, and issuing Commissions of *Array* by the King, which oblig'd the two Houses to provide for their Safety, and the Preservation of the publick Peace. The Security of the Parliament, which was their own, and the Interest at eight per Cent, brought in Treasure enough in a few Days, to answer their present Occasions.

The sending for the Aldermen of *London*, was back'd with a Letter to forbid the Citizens lending Money: His Majesty's Counsellors cou'd not but know that all these Letters expos'd his Authority, which cou'd not have its due Weight, while 'twas exercis'd in Defiance of the Parliament.

Letters intercepted by the Parliament. In the mean Time Letters were intercepted coming from *Holland*, in which 'twas said, *There are Fourscore Gentlemen ready to transport themselves to York; that much Money had been got upon the Jewels, and all sorts of Arms of Proof were provided*, in order to preserve the Quiet of the Kingdom, and defend the Privileges of Parliament, as was the Cant at *York*; that *Prince Rupert* was shipping Horse, and one Lightfoot, a Merchant, had bought 15000 Pounds of Powder, and was buying Match; that one Jewel was pawn'd for 40000 Guilders; that in a Ketch belonging to one White of *Dover*, there were many Fats of Match, with Provision of War; that *Prince Rupert*, *Prince Maurice*, *Lord Denby*, *Lord Digby*, Oneal the Irish Traytor, *Sir Lewis Dives*, *Colonel Wilton*,

Colonel Cockram, and that brave Captain *Hyde*, were ready to imbarke, being very jocund, and had in their Cups made Dividends of the Parliament Mens Lands. A Letter from General *Wilmot* to Mr. *Crofts*, was also intercepted, wherein he wrote him the naked Truth, and spoke the Sentiments of his Heart; by which one may see, how the Cavaliers deluded one another with false Reports, and vain Hopes; the King is become the Favourite of the Kingdom: His Enemies are not able to raise an Army: Indeed here lies the Jest, for they will be follow'd just enough to forfeit their Estates, which I have heard you say often, were better bestow'd on some of us; and without doubt 'twas with this View, that the Appearance was so glorious at *York*; that so many Lords and Gentlemen deserted the Country Interest, and embark'd with the Court. Yesterday, continues *Wilmot*, the House sent for *Berkley*, *Ashburnham*, and myself, but the King gave the Messenger a short Answer, and an Officer or two gave him a short Cudgel, so he return'd to *London* with his Arm in a Scarf, like a fine Gentleman: It must be own'd the Cavaliers were very good at Cudgelling, when they had Liquor and Number on their Side. They are like to have their Bellyfuls of it in a little while.

The King being surrounded with such a shining Circle of Lords, we are told their Lordships were desir'd to sign a Paper, containing the Particulars of some Affronts they had receiv'd in the Tumults at *London*, as good Reasons for their Absence; but these Lords having the next Day thought better of it, desir'd the Paper might not be publish'd, and some of them declar'd if it was, they would disown it; which shews us how little Regard was had to strict Truth in those Papers: For if what the Court had prepar'd for their Lordships to sign, had been strictly true, they needed not to have disown'd it, nor to have been afraid of its being seen. *Echard*, without entering into any such scrupulous Considerations, tells us, the Paper wou'd have been of sovereign Use, if the Lords had not repented of their signing it, and would have suffer'd it to have been made Publick: But to make some Atonement, they enter'd into an Engagement the next Day, *To obey no Orders nor Commands, but what were warrant'd by the known Laws of the Land*. As for Instance, the Ordnance for the *Militia*, which was declar'd to be the Law of the Land, by the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, who was the first Peer who set his Hand to this contradictory Agreement; in which was added, *the Defence of his Majesty's Person, Crown and Dignity; the true Protestant Religion, establish'd by the Law of the Land, the Liberties of the Subject, the Privileges of Parliament*: The Subscribers were, Lord Keeper *Littleton*, Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis of *Hertford*, Earl of *Lindsey*, Earl of *Cumberland*, Earl of *Huntington*, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Earl of *Bristol*, Earl of *Westmorland*, Earl of *Berkshire*, Earl Rivers, Earl of *Newcastle*, Earl of *Dover*, Earl of *Carnarvon*, Earl of *Newport*, Lord *Mowbray* and *Matravers*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Lord *Howard* of *Charlton*, Lord *Newark*, Lord *Paget*, Lord *Chandos*, Lord *Falconbridge*, Lord *Powlet*, Lord *Lovelace*, Lord *Saville*, Lord *Dunsmore*, Lord *Seymour*, and the nine Lords expelled the House of Peers, for deserting their Duty in Parliament. They also sign'd a Paper, wherein they profess'd before God, *That the King had no Intention to make War upon the Parliament*; which we also have shewn already, and shall shew again and again, before the Year is out. The Earl of *Salisbury* was so ill satisfied with this Service, that he left *York* the next Day, and was readmitted to his Seat in Parliament.

His Majesty, to enable him to go through with The King the Design he had on Foot, offer'd the Security of his Majesty.

A.D. 1642. his Lands, Forests and Houses, to such as wou'd advance Money, which he said was a more real Security than that of the Parliament; but he found the People thought otherwise, and had former Loans too much in their Head, to crowd to York with their Treasure, though several Lords, Gentlemen and Clergymen, contributed according to their Abilities, both of Mind and Purse. Mr. Archdeacon has a very clear way of expressing himself; the King was so far from being in a Condition to make War, that *he had not one Post*, the Earl of Newcastle having, says he, just secur'd that Town upon the Tyne, for his Majesty's Use; and just then the Ship Providence arriv'd from Holland, with Powder, Arms, Artillery great and small, to let the World see the King had no Intention to make War; so immediately after these Stores were brought to York, he granted Commissions for raising Regiments of Horse and Foot, and made the Earl of Lindsey General of his Army, Sir Jacob Astley Major-General; all which was before the Parliament voted the raising an Army, or declared a General; and was a very plain Proof that the King was determin'd for War, and that the Parliament was not. They wanted not early Information of every Step that was taken at York, nor Wisdom to guard against it. To that End they order'd the Earl of Warwick to secure the Fleet, as is already hinted; the King wrote to the Earl, to deliver it up to Pennington, another such trusty Person as Lunsford, which was obey'd like the Letter to the Londoners; to lend no Money. His Lordship writing to Mr. Pym, said, "I resolv'd, however, not to defer taking on me the Charge committed to my Trust, wherein God hath made me hitherto so successful, but to continue it till it shall be revok'd by the Authority which entrusted me; which having declar'd to my Captains at a Council of War, all of them unanimously and cheerfully took the same Resolution, excepting five, who were the Rear-Admiral, Captain Fogg, Captain Barley, Captain Slingsby, and Captain Wake, who at first pretended to stand in their Defence against me, only Captain Barley came in and submitted. The next Morning I weigh'd Anchor, and caus'd the rest of my Ships to do so. All Things being in a Readiness to attack those who stood out, Sir John Mennes, the Rear-Admiral, and Captain Fogg, came in to me, but Slingsby and Wake refus'd still, whereby I let fly again over them, and sent them word I had turn'd up the Glass, and if in that Space they came not in, they must look for me aboard them: My own Boat, and most of the Boats in the Fleet, went with the Message, and their Answer was so peremptory, that my Master and Sailors grew impatient, and though they had no Arms at all, enter'd the Ships in a Moment, took hold of the Shrouds, seiz'd the Captains, struck their Yards and Top-masts, and brought them in to me." All this was doing, while the King was privately resolving to take the Fleet into his own Hands, which the Parliament had publickly resolv'd to take into theirs. Mr. Archdeacon gives us a tedious Account of the private Resolution, which being a Reckoning without one's Host, is equally vain and impertinent; Doubtless had Sir John Pennington been there, the greatest Part of the Fleet had been preserv'd for the King. The Truth is, he staid all the while at Dover, to see whether any of the Ships wou'd receive him as Admiral: But all the Commanders sign'd a Writing, *That they would readily obey the Earl of Warwick, and not desert the Parliament.* Which Writing his Lordship sent to the two Houses, and soon after took the Lyon, a Ship of 42 Guns, which had in her Company a little Ship, loaden with Gunpowder and Ammunition for his Majesty's Use. The King reclaim'd the two Ships, but the Earl refus'd to part with them.

Earl of Warwick and the Fleet.

A.D. 1642. His Majesty, to give further Proof of his peaceable Intentions, let out from Beverley on the 6th of July, with 3000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, to besiege Hull. Pray observe, as yet there was no Army voted to be rais'd, nor no General in Nomination for the Parliament. The Lord Willoughby of Eresby, and Sir Thomas Glenham, were detach'd from the King's Army with 200 Men, to cut off all Supplies from Barton upon Humber. Sir John Hotham, Governor of Hull, drown'd the Country about the Town, and sent the Parliament Information of the Siege with which he was threaten'd. The two Houses order'd two Men of War to Hull, the Captains of which were to obey Hotham, and publish'd a Declaration, that they would make good the Damage the Country receiv'd by Drowning it, and satisfy and protect all Persons that should convey Supplies to the Town. The Cavaliers burnt the Town Mills, but not without Loss of some Men from the Cannon on the Walls. However this is not to be deem'd a War, burning of Mills not being Bloodshed. The Earl of Newport was wounded in one of the Skirmishes between the Besiegers and the Besieged. Now it was that Beckwith's Plot, before-mention'd, was discover'd, which so enrag'd the Inhabitants, that they took Arms almost to a Man, for the Defence of the Place. About the latter end of July, Sir John Meldrum sall'y'd out with 500 Men, who being very well known to the Train'd-Bands in the King's Army, the latter refus'd to Fight, and the rest of the Forces that were with them took to their Heels, leaving 30 of their Company behind them Prisoners, but two only were kill'd. Sir John Meldrum made another Salley with 60 Horse, and 300 Foot, who drove away those of the Cavaliers who were nearest the Town, kill'd 21, and took 15; after which he advanc'd to Aulbie, about four Miles from Hull, where the King's Magazine was kept in a Barn; Sir John vigorously attack'd the Guard, who made small Resistance; and being mostly Train'd-Bands, threw away their Arms, and fled to their several Homes. This Loss oblig'd the King to give over all Thoughts of reducing Hull, and to remove the Seat of the War which he had begun, into the Heart of the Kingdom. To cover this Disgrace at Hull, the Lord Clarendon, and Echar'd after him, tell us a long Story of the Lord Digby's corresponding with Hotham to betray the Town. He came from Holland in a Bark, which was taken, and carry'd into Hull, where he made himself known to the Governor Sir John Hotham, and so debauch'd him by his Persuasions and Flatteries, that Hotham commenc'd that Treason, for which he afterwards suffer'd, though he cou'd not accomplish it, for the brave Sir John Meldrum, Lieutenant-Governor of the Town, could not be corrupted; and indeed it is astonishing, that so many gallant Men, in Appearance and Character, were so liable to Corruption, and cou'd be tempted by vain Titles, and imaginary Honours, to desert the best Cause in the World, that of Religion and Liberty, and espouse the worst, absolute Lawless Power, Superstition and Persecution. The Townsmen of Hull were zealously engag'd with Meldrum, and the Earl of Warwick appearing in Sight with the Fleet, the King no sooner saw the Admiral's Flag than he thought it was high Time for him to march off.

The Parliament being not to be persuad'd by all these peaceable Dispositions, that there was no War intended against them, RESOLV'D on the 12th of July, that an Army be forthwith rais'd for the Safety of the King's Person, Defence of both Houses of Parliament, and of those who have obey'd their Orders and Commands, and preserving of the true Religion, the Law, Liberty and Peace of the Kingdom: RESOLV'D, That the Earl of Essex shall be General: RESOLV'D, That in this Cause, for

A.D. 1642. The King before Hull.

Hull besieged by the King.

The Parliament raises an Army.

Earl of Essex made General.

A.D. 1642. *for the Safety of the King's Person, &c.* as before, *This House will live and die with the Earl of Essex, whom they have nominated General: RESOLV'D, That a Petition be fram'd to move his Majesty to a good Accord with his Parliament, to prevent a Civil War:* To which Resolution the Lords agreed, and the Earl of Holland, Sir John Holland, and Sir Philip Stapleton, were order'd to repair to Beverley, and present the Petition to his Majesty. The Earl of Bedford was voted General of the Horse, and a Declaration was made upon it, shewing in many Particulars that the King had begun the War.

Earl of Bedford General of the Horse. The King began the War.

1. " By Mr. Hastings opposing the Sheriff of Leicester in the Execution of his Office, to keep the Peace; with 200 Foot, and 100 Horse.
2. " By putting a Garrison of Soldiers into New-castle, under the Earl of that Name, who was order'd to seize Hull, and would have seiz'd it, had not the Parliament prevented it.
3. " By fortifying the Mouth of the River Tyne, to intercept the Coal Trade between Newcastle and London.
4. " By sending for, and receiving Artillery, Gunpowder and warlike Stores from Holland.
5. " By warlike Preparations in Yorkshire, issuing Commissions for raising Regiments, and naming Officers of the Army, in which are several Papists, and other Persons of desperate Fortune, ready to execute any Violence, Rapine and Oppression. Troops of Horse are sent into Lincolnshire, who have driven the well-affected People from their Dwellings. Horses are taken away from the Owners by Force, Acts of Hostility are committed, Provisions are restrain'd from coming to Hull, and an Army sent to besiege it. They conclude, The WAR being by his Majesty thus BEGUN, the Lords and Commons in Parliament held themselves bound in Conscience to raise Forces for the Defence of their Religion, Rights, Liberties and Properties, in which they desire the Concurrence of all well-dispos'd Persons." With whatever Confidence the Archdeacon tells his Readers that the Parliament began the War, it is notorious that all those Articles are true, and that the King actually began it with the Siege of Hull; he invested the Town with his Army, says Larrey, he laid Siege to it in Form, and open'd the Trenches. Again, This first Enterprize of the Royal Army, presag'd but indifferently for the King: Again, The King's Troops first took the Field.

Marston a malignant Clergy-man.

There was not at this Time wanting a great Number of Laudean Clergy, who though they durst not preach so openly against the Rights and Liberties of the People, as when Laud was at their Head, yet they could not forbear expressing their Rage against those who asserted and defended them. One Marston, a Parson in Canterbury, was brought to the Bar of the House of Lords, for speaking scandalously of the two Houses, saying, *He would stab the Hearts Blood of those who oppos'd the Kentish Petition against the Militia BILL, That the Parliament cozened and cheated the Country, and that there would be Bloodshed in England before Midsummer Day,* and there was within three Weeks of it; for which Sayings he was sentenc'd to be depriv'd of all his Ecclesiastical Livings and Dignities, to be incapable of any for the future, and to be imprison'd in the Gatehouse during their Lordships Pleasure.

Petition at Beverley.

The Earl of Holland, Sir John Holland, and Sir Philip Stapleton, deliver'd the Parliament's Petition to the King at Beverley, wherein they pray'd him to disband his Forces, recall his Commissions of Array, and return to his Parliament. But he refus'd it all, pursuant to the Scheme resolv'd on by the Queen's Cabinet Council at Windsor, to prosecute the accused Members with War, and Force of Arms; and while he prepar'd for it, to deny all Particulars that could possibly be deny'd, to the

Parliament, which is what the Reverend Historian calls his *firm Resolution*; and his Majesty in his Answer does not a little confirm the just Fears of the Parliament, that he intended to rescind all the good Acts to which he had given the *Royal Assent*, during their Session; for he said, *He had never consented to any Thing since the beginning of the Parliament, which had been prejudicial to him, but he had been promis'd he should receive no Damage from it, and yet he always found himself mistaken.* A very frank Confession that he thought himself injur'd by the popular Acts he had pass'd, and might right himself by Arms, *he would be no more swagger'd into Concessions,* says the Earl of Clarendon; which as Mr. Acherley observes, *implies as if his Majesty's Sentiments were, that the former Acts had been extorted; and the Opinion of the People was become almost general, that those Acts of his Majesty's Justice and Favour, without the secret Operation of the Scots Encampment in England, had never been obtain'd; and that therefore those arbitrary Powers, call'd his Majesty's Rights and Prerogatives, would, whenever the Force could be resum'd, be remov'd.* This Belief being so general, was there any other Safety under Heaven for the Parliament and People of England, but that of the Militia, in the Hands of those they could trust? For besides all the open Acts of Violence which have been just mention'd, and all the warlike Preparations in England and Holland, Mr. Acherley speaks of Negotiations with the Pope's Nuntio to procure 40000 Men from the Kings of France and Spain; of a Treaty with the King of Denmark, which was unquestionable, for 6000 Muskets, and 1500 Horse-Arms, 20 Pieces of Artillery, and as many Troopers as wou'd agree with the Danish Affairs. Directions were given for landing them at Newcastle, secur'd for that Purpose by the Earl of that Name, or Holy-Island; which last Place was describ'd as the fittest Harbour in England, having an excellent Road in and out, and a strong Fort, under the King's Command. After all these known Truths had been render'd unquestionable, with what Conscience could the Author of the *History of the Rebellion*, and Mr. Echard, endeavour to impose on their Readers a Belief that the Parliament drove on furiously to a War, and the King never thought of it, till he was almost surrounded by their Armies? Mr. Archdeacon tells us, the King had no Money. *Whitlocke, he was furnish'd with Money upon the pawn'd Jewels, and by Contributions from the Cavalier Lords and Gentlemen, and a Loan from Oxford University, who have never been behind-hand when any such good Work has been going forward.* The Masters and Fellows of all the Colleges in Cambridge, sent their Plate to the King at York; so anxious were those Reverend Gentlemen for the Preservation of the publick Peace; *Many wishing, says Fuller, that every Ounce was a Pound. The Parliament look'd on it as an Act unjust in it self, and dangerous in its Consequences; for the present Masters and Fellows were only Fiduciaries, not Proprietors of the Plate, to keep and use, but not to dispose of it:* The University took not this into Consideration. The Dominion of the Laudean Clergy was in Danger, and a Church Reformation threaten'd. Nothing but the King's absolute Power could prevent it, and the Maintenance of it warranted any Injustice. His Majesty did not enquire into the Title of the Masters and Fellows to that Plate, but the Parliament brought the University to a Reckoning for it afterwards; Dr. Beal, Dr. Martin, and Dr. Sterne, Masters of St. John's, Queens and Jesus College, were brought to London, and imprison'd in the Tower for their Activity in the Plate Business, as was Dr. Holdsworth, the Vicechancellor, for printing the King's Declaration, contrary to a Vote of the two Houses. A Consistory being held at Cambridge, they were requir'd to contribute to the Parliament, as they had done to the

A.D. 1642.

Oxford University.

And Cambridge.

Ach. 457.

A.D. 1642. King, but they refus'd it, and some of the Fellows were imprison'd in St. *John's* College. Dr. *Robert Pink* Warden of *New-College Oxon*, and Vice-chancellor of that University, was very busy there in forwarding the Commission of *Array*, which the honest Townsmen did not approve of, and for which he was afterwards apprehended and committed Prisoner to the *Gatehouse* at *Westminster*; so zealous were our two famous Universities for absolute Monarchy and Bishop *Laud's* Hierarchy, and so little Concern had they for the Preservation of the true Protestant Religion, and the Rights, Properties, and Liberties of their Fellow Subjects. Learning never flourish'd long but with Liberty, and their being insensible of so invaluable a Blessing, was a sure Prefage of the Dearth of it which succeeded.

From *Beverley* the King remov'd to *Leicester*, where he courted the Inhabitants, but proclaim'd the Earl of *Stamford* Traitor; he might as well have been proclaim'd an *Hermaphrodite*. Where was the Treason in obeying the Call of his Country, and preparing to defend it from Violence and Injustice? The two Houses vindicated him by a Declaration for removing the County Magazine, and setting Guards about it; and return'd an Answer to a Message from the King peremptorily requiring the Town of *Hull* to be immediately surrender'd to him, and the Parliament to remove their Session to some other Place where he might reside safely. The Two Houses justify'd their keeping *Hull* "for the Security of Religion, the Rights and Liberties of the People, all which they saw in imminent Danger, but no Reason why his Majesty shou'd require the adjourning of the Parliament, since the Loyalty and Fidelity of the City of *London*, and the honest Care of the Two Houses, render the usual Place as safe for his Royal Person as any." Thus, says *Echard*, they denounced *War*, which his Majesty had only whisper'd in *Yorkshire*, by raising an Army, laying Siege to *Hull*, &c. We have mention'd Sir *Richard Gurny*, whom he calls the BRAVE Lord-Mayor, and affirms he was put out of his Office contrary to the *Laws* of the Land, and Alderman *Pennington* chosen Mayor contrary to the Rules of Election, and by the Noise and Clamour of the RABBLE; which to say the worst we can of it, is as false as any Thing in his History: For the Rules of Election were exactly observ'd by *Pennington*, but Sir *John Cordel* whom the Cavalier Faction put up against him, had many Voters who had never before been seen at Elections, and were not on the Livery; these with clamorous Voices, to use my Author's Words, cry'd out a *Cordel*, others were for Alderman *Towse* a worthy grave Citizen; but the most numerous and hearty Votes were for Alderman *Pennington*, who had more Voices than *Towse*, and *Towse* more than *Cordel*. Yet the reverend Historian very modestly asserts he was chosen by the Clamour of the Multitude; and that Judge *Mallet* was another Object of the Parliament's Severity, who for refusing to read their Orders, was disgracefully taken off the Bench at *Kingston* Assizes. This was particularly charg'd against him; yet the Author's next Words are, he was kept Prisoner in the Tower two Years without any particular Charge against him. Another particular Charge was his promoting the Commission of *Array* in *Kent*. When he was seiz'd, he produc'd the King's Letter for his Protection, which was not likely to do him much Service when his Majesty had begun the War.

The two Parties King and Parliament have now appeal'd to the Sword; the natural Consequence of which was, that each of them wou'd give the Law where they had Power to do it, as far as was necessary for their Preservation. Yet the Earl of *Clarendon*, and after him *Echard*, are perpetually holding up their Hands in Astonishment, that the Two Houses shou'd dare to do or say any thing contrary to the Authority Royal, which is with both

of them the only Law of the Land. The Parliament *A.D. 1642.* have declar'd that Authority to be exercis'd in Breach of the Trust for which it was repos'd; and yet these two renown'd Historians are amaz'd at their Impudence in opposing it, after they had rais'd an Army to defend themselves against the Violence with which they were threaten'd by it; For the Clouds began now to rise in the South as well as the North; *Goring* whom they had sent to *Portsmouth* to secure that Town for them, prov'd a Traitor, deserted their Service, and declar'd for the King. The Parliament immediately order'd the Earl of *Warwick*, who was return'd from *Hull*, to place a Guard of Ships, and hinder all Supplies to *Portsmouth* by Sea, while the Train'd-Bands block'd it up by Land. *Goring's* Men found Means to make their Way thro' them by Night, and to plunder *Portsey-Island*. The Lord *Wentworth* sail'd out with sixty Horse, and took a Piece of Ordnance which the Parliament's Soldiers had left in that Island. In another Salley Colonel *Goring* and the Lord *Wentworth* advanc'd to the very Court of Guard in the Blockade; but being receiv'd very warmly, they retir'd with the Loss of three Men, one *Glover*, and a Servant to Mr. *Weston* Brother to the Earl of *Portland*, were two of the slain, *Winter* their Guide was taken. This was about ten Days before the King set up his Standard, and the Place held out against the Parliament's Forces near a Month. It was then surrender'd to Sir *William Waller* upon Articles. Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Thomas Jervaise*, Sir *William Lewis*, and Colonel *Hurrey* took Possession of it for the Parliament. The Governor Colonel *Goring*, the Lord *Wentworth*, Mr. *Lewkner*, Mr. *Weston*, and their Party, having Liberty to depart and to dispose of their Effects. *Goring* embark'd for *Holland*, but soon return'd to the same Service in *England*, and became one of the most famous and most hated of the King's Generals.

The Parliament having voted all the Commis-
sioners of *Array* Traitors, the King did the same
by the Earl of *Essex* and all the Colonels and Of-
ficers of his Army, which still remain'd quiet in
and about *London*. *Earl of Essex pro-claim'd TRAYTOR.*

On the 12th of *August* the King publish'd his Proclamation and Declaration very large, setting forth what he had done in Favour of the People, and for the Satisfaction of the Desires of the Parliament; then the evil Actions of the Parliament against him; and in all justifies his own, and condemns the Parliament's Proceedings. His own are thus represented by General *Ludlow* upon his rejecting the NINETEEN Propositions, "He was resolv'd to steer another Course, presuming he might obtain as good Terms as these if reduc'd to the last Extremity; and that if his Arms succeeded according to his Hopes, his Will might pass for a Law, pursuant to the Opinion of those who thought no way so likely to render his Authority absolute, as the making a War upon his People." The King at the same time requir'd all Men to repair to his ROYAL STANDARD at *Nottingham* on the 22d of *August*, which, he said, all good Subjects were oblig'd to attend. Let the King govern according to Law, or contrary to Law, let him do what he will, let his Subjects suffer what they can, they are not good Subjects unless they sacrifice their Lives for him. Excellent Logick!

The Two Houses finding there was no Safety for the Constitution but in a defensive War, proceeded in the forming of their Army; the Earl of *Pembroke* was made Lieutenant-General of the Foot, the Lord *Kimbolton* a Lieutenant-General, Sir *John Meyrick* and Sir *William Balfour* Major-Generals. *Parliament Generals and Colonels.*

The following were Colonels:
The Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *St. John*, the Lord *Rochford*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Willoughby*,
the

Alderman Pennington chosen Ld-Mayor.

Parl. Chron. 167.

Judge Mallet imprison'd.

Portsmouth.

Earl of Essex pro-claim'd TRAYTOR.

King.

Parliament Generals and Colonels.

A.D. 1642.

the Earl of Peterborough, the Earl of Stamford, the Lord Wharton, the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Brook, the Lord Fielding, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Hampden, Sir Henry Cholmley, Sir William Constable, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Sir Samuel Luke, Colonel Grantham, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Colonel Fienes, Colonel Goodwyn, And other Members of both Houses; whom the Reader may put into the Scale with those Gentlemen whom his Majesty valu'd himself upon for their Quality and Weight.

Before the Royal Standard was erected, the King in a Declaration recapitulated, says the reverend Historian, *the insolent and rebellious Acts* of the House of Lords and House of Commons, when there had not been the least Pretence of Rebellion in any Acts of the Two Houses, except to resist an unlawful Power be to rebel. A rare Doctrine for the People of England at this Day, a rare Complement to be address'd to his late sacred Majesty King George the First, a rare Piece of Service to the Constitution; for which, to the Shame of his Patrons, the Historian met with other Kinds of Rewards than he deserves. If I knew the Names of those who recommended him to his late Majesty, they shou'd live as long as this Work with the Scandal of it; and the Excuse they gave for it, that they did not know what was in his Book, and were sorry for what they had done, shou'd not preserve their Memory from the due Animadversion of History. *The Parliament*, says he, *were now proclaim'd REBELS, and we are now entering upon a dark Scene of Misery, a calamitous Season, usher'd in by Prodiges and strange portentous Sights seen in the Air, as Musketeers, harness'd Men, and Horsemen moving in the Clouds in Battel-Array, and attacking each other in several furious Postures.* A Man that's capable of writing such Stuff as this, must have an immense Capacity for sound Reason and Argument. He has pick'd up a fine Cause, and the Cause has pick'd up a fine Historian; which has the best of it, the Historian or the Cause, I can't say.

Fights in the Clouds out of Echard.

King's Standard set up.

P. 67.

Lilly erected a Figure upon the erecting of his Majesty's Standard, under an evil Constellation, which he describes thus in his *Observations on King Charles's Life and Death*; "The Heralds or at least those who were then with the King, were ignorant how and in what Manner to set up the Standard Royal; they therefore hung it out in one of the Turrets or Upper-Rooms of Nottingham-Castle within the Castle-Wall, where King Richard III. set up his Standard. His Majesty dislik'd his Standard as plac'd within the Castle; he said it was to be plac'd in an open Place, where all Men that wou'd might freely come unto it, and not in a Prison: They therefore carry'd it at his Command without the Castle, towards or into the Park there adjoining, into an open Place and easy of Access. When they came to fix it in the Ground, they perceiv'd it was a meer Rock-Stone; so that they with Daggers and Knives made a Hole for the Standard to be put in, but all wou'd not serve. Men were enforc'd for the present to support it with the Strength of their Arms and Bodies, which gave great Occasion to some Gentlemen there present, to give a very sad Judgment on the King's Side, and to divine long beforehand that he wou'd never do any Good by Arms. I have also heard that in eight or ten Days he had not thirty attended the Standard or list'd themselves."

P. 60.

We have spoken of the King's Aversion to the Londoners, whom he now charges with those Tumults which he said oblig'd him to leave Whitehall and the Parliament for ever. That this Charge is not fair, will appear by what follows; and that the Author of *Eikon Basiliæ*, is no fairer than other Authors on the same Side, read *William Lilly* upon

it; "Whereas the Writer of the King's Portraiture complains, *that the Insolency of the Tumults was such, that his Majesty's Person was in danger in the Streets*: This is a very great Untruth, for notwithstanding his Majesty dined in the City that Day he requir'd the Five Members of the Citizens, yet he had no Incivility in the least Measure offer'd unto his Person, only many cry'd out as he pass'd the Streets, *Sir, Let us have our just Liberties, we desire no more*; unto which he several Times answer'd *you shall*. An honest Citizen, as I remember, threw into his Coach a new Sermon, the Text whereof was, *To thy Tents O Israel*. Indeed the Citizens, unto their immortal Honour be it spoken, did with much Resolution protect the Five Members, and many thousands were willing to sacrifice their Lives in Defence of the Parliament." This *Clarendon* and *Echard* represent as the beginning of the Rebellion, and it is much the same in *Eikon Basiliæ*; of the Veracity of which, one may from thence have a just Conception. It was not the Londoners only whom the King was displeas'd with, the Seamen had shewn their Zeal for the Protestant Religion and English Liberties, in refusing to serve under Pennington against the Rochellers; they now also did the same in offering their Service to defend the Parliament, and particularly the Five Members; which his Majesty being told of, said, *I wonder how I lost the Affection of those Water-Rats*; and this Saying being reported among them, 'tis no wonder the Earl of Warwick soon after so easily got Possession of the Fleet, he being exceedingly belov'd by the Sailors.

A.D. 1642.

London not tumultuous.

After the Standard was set up at Nottingham, with a most thin Appearance of Soldiery, and Omens more ominous than all Mr. Archdeacon's impossible Visions in the Air, as its tumbling down again, and the gloomy Looks of the People, as if the Standard was going to be hang'd instead of being erected: The Royal Army march'd to Coventry, but, says *Echard*, the King found the Gates shut against him to his great Surprize; whereas every Man who knew any thing of the Matter, would have been surpriz'd if he had not found them so shut; for his Undertakings were not so very well lik'd as to make wise Men fond of his Company.

The Standard set up at Nottingham.

Coventry Gates shut against the King.

The Train'd-Bands of Nottingham refus'd to march out of their County, and the Townsmen of Nottingham wou'd not let any Part of their Magazine be taken from them. However, his Majesty sent to Coventry to let the Inhabitants know he intended to come and reside with them some time, requiring them to provide Billets for his Army. The Mayor, Aldermen, and chief Citizens return'd for Answer, That his Majesty shou'd be most welcome in Person, but they wou'd not permit his Soldiers to enter their City; for which my Author assures us he threaten'd to lay it in a Heap of Rubbish. What Surprize then cou'd he be in to find Entrance deny'd to his Army, who endeavour'd to force it, and fir'd several Pieces of Ordnance against the Town. One Shot beat down Part of the Lady Hales's House in the *Whitefryars*, killing the Lady herself and an old Gentlewoman who had five Years lain bed-ridden. The Townsmen assist'd by three hundred Men from Buckingham, fir'd on the Cavaliers, who in their Retreat had their Rear attack'd and so roughly dealt with, that they were forc'd to leave some of their Ordnance behind them. The Parliament had made timely Preparations for the Relief of Coventry, the Lord Brook, the Lord Say, the Lord Grey, Colonel Hampden, Colonel Hollis, Colonel Cholmley, with six thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, were on the March for that Purpose. The Archdeacon tells us they were but one thousand two hundred, and that the King's General *Wilmot* was blam'd for suffering them to advance without attacking them, which he might easily have done, and it wou'd have been

Parl. Chron. 139.

A.D. 1642. been a *seasonable Victory*. Of such Facts and Reflections, and sometimes even worse, is his History compos'd. The Lord *Brook* and the other Parliament Officers, took up their Quarters at *Southam*; and if the Royalists had attack'd them, they wou'd have had some Advantage by the Number of their Horse one thousand four hundred, whereas the Parliament Cavalry exceeded not three hundred; but the latter were superior in Foot, and the Lord *Brook* having march'd towards *Dunsmore* to meet the Enemy, and the Earl of *Northampton* coming in sight of them, the Parliamentarians prepar'd for Battel, *Hampden's* Regiment leading the Van. The Lord *Brook* had seven or eight Pieces of Ordnance, with which he cannonaded the Cavaliers with so good Effect, that the Earl of *Northampton's* Foot soon quitted the Field, and his Horse follow'd their Example. There were about twenty kill'd, and twelve taken Prisoners of the Royalists, among the latter were Captain *Legg* who commanded a Troop of Horse, and Captain *Clarke*. The Lord *Brook* took his Cannon also, but did not pursue him for want of Cavalry; or this Action, tho' little talk'd of, might have been decisive, the King having so small an Army with his Standard, it must have been ruin'd by the Loss of so considerable a Body of it. The Parson of *Southam*, a Man of *evil and dissolute Conversation*, in the Words of the Chronicle, had his House full of the King's Soldiers before the Lord *Brook* came, for which his Lordship order'd it to be search'd, and there was found Store of Ammunition, Saddles, Muskets, Powder, &c. which were all seiz'd together with the Priest: and we shall find many more of his Cloth and Character engag'd in this Quarrel, for which the Archbishop of *Cantierbury* was so well provided, that his Palace at *Lambeth* being search'd, there was discover'd a Magazine of Arms sufficient for five hundred Men. The Parliament had Information of an hundred and twenty Pieces of Cannon small and great, that lay near the Water-Side four Miles below *Gravesend*, and they order'd a Troop of Horse to secure them, as also to search *Cobham-Hall*, where they met with some Resistance; but having forc'd their Entrance, they found in it five Cartloads of Arms and Ammunition; fresh Instances that the Cavaliers never had the least Thought of War till they were forc'd to it by the *Roundheads*.

The Ordnance for the *Militia* was put in Execution in *Somerſetſhire* by Colonel *Popham*, Colonel *Pyne*, Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Sir *John Horner*, Mr. *Cole*, Mr. *Asb*, Mr. *Hippesley*, Mr. *Sandford*, Mr. *Harbyn*, Mr. *Strode*, and other principal Gentlemen, Deputy-Lieutenants of that rich and spacious County; to oppose whom the King sent the Marquis of *Hertford* Governor of the Prince, with Orders to execute the Commission of *Array*; in which he was vigorously assisted by the Lord *Powlet*, Sir *John Starwel*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Mr. *Smith*, and other Gentlemen, who procur'd a sort of Petition from some of the County to hinder the Execution of the *Militia* Ordnance. Accordingly Sir *Ralph Hopton* arrested Mr. *Strode* for High-Treason, and Mr. *Smith* behav'd with so much Insolence, that both he and Sir *Ralph* were expell'd the House of Commons, and sent for as Delinquents, as were also Sir *Francis Dodington*, a scandalous Minister, and five or six others, who took Care to keep out of the Way. The Marquis of *Hertford* proclaim'd the Commission of *Array* at *Wells*, and got together five hundred Horse, Sir *John Starwel* join'd him with a Regiment of Horse, and Sir *Ralph Hopton* and others brought in so many Men, that they form'd a little Army, on which the King built much of his Hopes. But the County at that Time Protestant and sober, was for the most part against them, excepting those Gentry and Peasantry who had oppos'd the putting down Revels and Riots. Colonel *Popham* and his Brother Captain *Edward Popham*, Sir *John Horner*, Mr. *Asb*, &c.

were desir'd to gather a Force, and drive the *Array-Men* out of *Somerſetſhire*, who had already begun to plunder the Houses of all those that were not of their Faction. Sir *John Horner*, most zealous in the Cause of the Reform'd Religion and Liberty, whose Merits and Memory do Honour to his Name, arm'd his Servants and Tenants, and his Neighbours took Arms to assist him. Being thus provided he march'd to *Chewton*, where he join'd Colonel *Alexander Popham* and his Brother Captain *Edward Popham* afterwards Admiral. Colonel *Popham* Grandson to the Lord-Chief-Justice, set a like Example to his Posterity, as did gallant Sir *John Horner* in a vigorous Opposition to an absolute Monarchy and a persecuting Hierarchy. He brought with him about a thousand Men besides his own Regiment of *Militia*, that of the *Eastern* Division of the County. To them came Mr. *Asb*, and soon after Sir *Edward Hungerford* and several Gentlemen from *Bristol*, with Reinforcements, who altogether made a Body of four thousand Men, and encamp'd on *Mendip* in sight of *Wells*, whither the *Array-Men* retir'd after they had plunder'd *Shepton*, and were very welcome to *Pierce* the Bishop, and his Cathedral Clergy. Colonel *Popham*, Sir *John Horner*, the rest of the Gentlemen who headed the *Militia*, and their whole Army, lay all Night on the Hill, resolving to fall on the Enemy the next Day; Sir *John Horner* had a Furze-Bush for his Bed, as they all had; and the brave old Knight, animated with a true *English* Spirit of Liberty, was wont to say, *His Furze-Bush was the best Bed he ever lay on*. The Marquis of *Hertford* and his Men of *Array* did not like the Neighbourhood of the *Militia*, whom they saw on the Hill, and sent to treat. Sir *John Horner's* Men were impatient to fall on them, and chastise them for their Rapine and Insolence at *Shepton-Mallet*, and wou'd allow the Marquis and his Followers but an Hour's time to consider of the Terms they sent; which the Lord *Hertford* employ'd in causing his Soldiers to march off as quietly as they cou'd, himself, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Starwel*, Sir *Francis Dodington*, and the rest of the Cavalier Gentry, making the best of their Way to *Shireburn*, a Manor which had been Sir *Walter Raleigh's*, and then *Car* Earl of *Somerſet's*, and was now in Possession of the Earl of *Bristol*. *Horner's* Men having waited beyond the Time appointed for an Answer, and receiving none, enter'd the City of *Wells* without Opposition, except from the ill Tongues and ill Conduct of the *Cathedral Company of the Minster*; for which, according to my Author, they met with some *Knocks* and *Loss*. At the other End of the County Sir *William Portman*, Mr. *Coles*, Mr. *Pyne*, and others, enter'd *Taunton* with a Body of Horse and Foot, where, in one House, Mr. *Brown's* a Papist, they found sixty Men's Armour. In Alderman *Skinner's* House twenty Arms, and in the House of one *Tucker* Steward to the Bishop of *Winchester*, who is Lord of that and several adjacent Manors, an hundred Mens Armour for Horse and Foot, twenty Barrels of Powder, fifty great Saddles, and Shot of all Sorts, which Bishop *Curle* had provided as a Proof that no body had ever thought of making War for Church and King, till the Earl of *Essex* was on the March.

At *Bridgewater* was found good Store of Arms and Ammunition, and the like at *Glastenbury*, *Ilchester*, and *Ilminster*. Mr. *Basset* and Mr. *Barret* search'd *Bath*, and in all were discover'd Arms for one thousand eight hundred Men, one hundred and fifty great Saddles, twenty-five Horses for Service, and ten thousand Pounds ready Money stor'd up in the Houses of Delinquents and suspected Persons, which were all lodg'd in the Castle of *Taunton*. *Ludlow* mentions an Action between the *Militia-Men* and the *Array-Men* at *Martial's Elm* on *Poldon Hill*, which is said to have been the first in this War, but we have seen otherwise in the Course

Southam
Rout.

Arms
discover'd.

Laud pro-
vided with
Arms.

Somerſet
Militia.

A.D. 1642.

Parl.
Chron.
133.

Ib. 134.

Ib. 135.

A.D. 1642. Course of the History. Thus was this populous trading County secur'd for the Parliament; but thro' the Corruption of the leading Men, and the Inconstancy of the People, so many deserted this Cause afterwards, as gave great Trouble to the well-affected in those Parts. Those Deserters were not the *Horners*, the *Pophams*, the *Harbysns*, the *Hippesleys*, the *Wrotbs*, who continu'd in the Interest and Service of their Country.

Message. His Majesty's Affairs promising so ill in the beginning of the War, his Followers prevail'd on him to send a Message to the Parliament by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, and Sir *William Udal*, with Proposals of a Treaty, but couch'd in such Terms as shew'd it to be the Effect of Fear, and not a Desire of Peace. The two Houses took it so, and return'd for Answer, *That in setting up of his Standard against them, he had put the Two Houses of Parliament, and in them the whole Kingdom, out of his Protection; therefore until he recall'd his Proclamations whereby the Earl of Essex, both Houses of Parliament, and all their Adherents, are declar'd TRAYTORS, and until he had taken down his Standard, he had put them into such a Condition, that by the fundamental Privileges of Parliament, the publick Trust repos'd in them, or with the general Good of this Kingdom, they cou'd not give him any other Answer.* This the reverend Historian calls *unheard-of Insolence*, and is in a Rage at their refusing to let the Deserters who brought the Message sit in either House of Parliament. The King said *that he never intended to declare the Parliament TRAYTORS, but if Proclamations of Traytors be recall'd by them, he will recall his and take down his Standard.* The two Houses voted *that the Arms of the Parliament for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, shall not be laid down till Delinquents be left to Justice, that their Estates may discharge the Debts of the Commonwealth;* than which nothing cou'd be more just and equal, that those who were the Cause of the Distemper might pay for the Cure. *Echard* makes this Vote to subject all the Estates in England to the Power and Pleasure of the Parliament, who wou'd declare whom they pleas'd to be *Delinquents*. A vile Suggestion! which the whole Tenor of the History disproves; for they had often declar'd who were the *Delinquents*, all those evil Counsellors who had counsel'd the King to govern as he had done against Law and Justice, during fifteen Years Intermission of Parliament, all those who had been active Judges in those cruel and unjust Courts, the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commission*; all those who had countenanc'd the Tyranny of the *Laudean* Hierarchy, Superstitions, Innovations, Profanation of the Sabbath, &c. all those who had executed the Commissions of *Array*, which put the Parliament under a Necessity to oppose Force with Force for their own Preservation, and the Preservation of the *Laws, Rights, and Liberties of the People*. Those and many more such Offenders about the King made a whole Host, and there cou'd be no Safety for the Innocent while the Guilty remain'd unpunish'd. The Parliament were so moderate, that in the Article of Exception, which was the fourth of their Directions to the Lord-General the Earl of *Essex*, there were but few nam'd to be excepted by him out of any Pardon he was empower'd to grant Delinquents. The Earl of *Bristol*, Earl of *Cumberland*, Earl of *Newcastle*, Earl of *Caernarvon*, Earl *Rivers*, Duke of *Richmond*, Secretary *Nicholas*, Lord Viscount *Falkland*, Lord Viscount *Newark*, Mr. *Endymion Porter*, Mr. *Edward Hyde*; the latter is said to be the Author of the *History of the Rebellion*; and having been excepted out of every Pardon, propos'd by the Lords and Commons of England, no doubt he wou'd be extremely impartial and candid in his History and Characters of them. It is

not to be suppos'd that the Parliament excepted *A.D. 1642.* Mr. *Edward Hyde*, and Mr. *Endymion Porter*, out of Greediness for their Estates, whatever they might have in View by the Viscount *Newark's* and Secretary *Nicholas's* Manors and Mansions.

The Parliament according to the reverend Author, wax'd so proud, that they seiz'd on all Persons of Quality whom they did not like; and if they were Abettors of Tyranny and Superstition, the Parliament never lik'd them. *They imprison'd them with all Circumstances of Cruelty and Inhumanity;* and then he names the Lord *Montague of Broughton*. But he does not tell us *he was a notable Malignant*, as another Historian stiles him; and that his Prison was only the House of his own Daughter the Countess of *Rutland*, as his own *Warwick* informs us. By *Delinquent* and *Malignant*, the Language of those Times, are to be understood Persons who endeavour'd to introduce arbitrary Power as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, and to sacrifice the Privileges of Parliament, and the Rights, Properties, and Liberties of the People to the King's Will and Pleasure, and under him to their own. In what Fury is Mr. *Archdeacon*, when he speaks of the Parliament's pious Design of reforming the Clergy; *the Wildfire was kindled by the Mouths of their Preachers, who had driven the most learned from the Pulpits;* and most of whom had really been so driven by *Laud* and his persecuting Brethren. *Many were much set against the Bishops, says Dr. Calamy, by observing Men of Parts and Piety silenc'd, while insufficient and vicious Men, the very same whom Echard means by the most learned, were encourag'd and preferr'd.* This is not the only false Representation in his and the Earl of *Clarendon's* Histories, concerning the *sober Ministry* who sided with the Parliament. Dr. *Calamy* again; *It hath indeed been asserted that it was the seditious Preachers who stirr'd up the People, and were the Cause of all the Commotions, which is a notorious FALSITY; many indeed there were who discover'd their Dislike of the Book of Sports and bowing to Altars, and diminishing Preaching, and silencing Ministers, and were glad that the Parliament attempted a REFORMATION; which was a Death Stroke to Echard's most learned Clergy, whom it drove out of the Pulpits; but very few even of these stirr'd up to War.* The Parliament who we are told had just rais'd Eleven Millions by voluntary Contributions, are now, as he tells us, in such Distress three or four Months after, *that they voted all who wou'd not contribute shou'd be disarm'd.* There was so little need of Compulsion, not on account of Mr. *Archdeacon's* Eleven Millions, but the People's Readiness to bring in their Wealth, that many voluntarily offer'd great Sums as a Gift and not a Loan, particularly the Lady *Rumzey* of *London* sent two thousand Pounds as a free Gift to *Guildhall*; and other Ladies and Gentlewomen did not stick to part with their Jewels and Plate for the Service of the Parliament; Women of inferior Rank bringing in their Rings and Bodkins as so many Mites to the Publick Treasury. A few Members of the House of Commons excus'd themselves, and wou'd not contribute, as Sir *Sidney Montagu*, and Mr. *Fontaine* the Lawyer, who for reflecting on the Contributions were both imprison'd; but *Fontaine* contributed afterwards, and enrich'd himself by his Practice on both Sides.

Before the King left *Nottingham*, his two Nephews Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* came to him, and had Commands given them in his Army. I do not repeat all the King's Messages nor the Parliament's Answers; both the one and the other have very thin Disguises, but the latter are more plausible and popular, and it cou'd not be otherwise. The King cou'd when he pleas'd have given the Parliament a reasonable Security for their Religion, Liberties, and Properties; the Parliament cou'd not give themselves up to his Will and Pleasure.

Message.

Answer.

King's Reply.

Votes.

Excepted Persons.

Contributions to the Parliament.

Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice.

A.D. 1642. sure, without not only betraying the Trust the People had repos'd in them, but utterly destroying the Constitution in Church and State: For as to the Law, the *Laws of the Land*, and the *fundamental Laws*, in almost every Paragraph of the King's Speeches, Messages, Declarations, and Answers, we have observ'd already it must provoke Mith or Indignation in all Men of Thought, who had seen and felt how shamefully they had been broken ever since this Royal House reign'd in *England*, if their Memories were of so long standing: And what a Jest must it be now to read the King's Messages, wherein he wou'd make the People believe while he was drawing into *Wales*, still farther off from the Parliament, he was extremely desirous to be with them. The Two Houses reply'd, that the *Oppressions, Rapines, and Murders, which had been committed upon his good Subjects, were but ill Tokens of a real Disposition to Peace; that they fought nothing but their Religion, Liberty, and the Tranquility of the Kingdom; that the Parliament might be secur'd from the open Violence and subtle Practices of a wicked Party who had long plotted their Destruction.* They complain'd that *Irish TRAYTORS and REBELS were admitted to his Presence, Grace, and Favour; which is not to be deny'd without Blushing; and if he wou'd return to his Parliament without his Forces, they wou'd secure his Royal Person, Crown, and Dignity, which is not to be question'd: The Contest not being now with the King's Person, but with his Government; not with the Monarchy, but with the Ministry; and the protecting Delinquents spiritual and temporal, was certainly the fatal Obstacle to Peace, and the Cause of all the ensuing Calamities both to King and People.*

King's Murch and Spech. From *Nottingham* the King remov'd to *Derby*, thence to *Stafford*, thence to *Wellington*, where he made a Speech to his Army, and thence to *Shrewsbury*. In his Speech he mention'd again his good Intentions to govern by the known *Laws of the Land, which gave Comfort and Satisfaction to the Welshmen on the Marches, and Life and Encouragement to the Soldiers, who by lifting under Lunsford, Goring, &c. shew'd they had a great Concern upon them about the Laws of the Land.* The Lord *Clarendon*, and my reverend Author after him, assure us these *Borderers* thought the King's Word a greater Security to them than an Act of Parliament. They liv'd so far off, that probably they had never heard of the Nature of that Security, and had so little to pay, that they knew not what was meant by *Loans, Benevolences, Ship-Money, and the like.* Mr. *Acherley* speaking of this ridiculous Business, says, *The noble Author's Story of it is so mean and inspid, as to be far from coming from the Pen of that exalted Genius, without fixing an Imputation upon Shrophire-Men, as if they were a People of much Zeal and little Knowledge; which is to put them in the same Predicament as they appear'd to be in after Sacheverel's Condemnation.* The reverend Historian adds, his Majesty convinc'd all the antient *Britons* that he was the *Father of his Country.* One is tempted to say it may as well be taken in a literal as a figurative Sense. Indeed we meet with Things so mean and inspid, as Mr. *Acherley* observes, in both *Clarendon* and *Echard*, that 'tis impossible to observe always the Gravity and Decency of History. The *Borders of Wales* are so far from *Whitehall*, that the *Borderers* might be easily convinc'd of a Thing which they knew nothing of. The *Petition from Cornwall*, sign'd among the rest by *Vicars and Curates; and that from Cumberland* speak in the same Tone: And Mr. *Acherley* gives us the Reason for it, so natural, so easy to be conceiv'd, that 'tis not possible it could have escap'd any Writer whose Conception was easy and natural. *Those on whom the Parliament's Representations prevail'd, were generally People of the Midland Counties, and the Traders in the*

Clarend. wrong.

P. 535.

Southern Parts of the Kingdom, who had smarted most by the arbitrary Acts of Power, such as Seizures of their Goods, Prosecutions for Ship-Money, Loans, Tonnage and Poundage, Fines and Punishments in the Star-Chamber and Forest Courts, at the Council-Table by Martial Law, illegal and irremedial Imprisonments. These People being the richest as well as the most numerous Part, we must remember his Majesty's *Weights and Scales were invigorated by that eternal and irreconcilable Enmity implanted in human Nature against Oppression, which makes Men rack their Inventions to free themselves from it whenever Time offers the Means.* Those on whom the King's Representations prevail'd, were generally his Subjects in the farthest Parts of the Nation, in *Wales, Cornwall, Cumberland, &c. who were the least sensible, and had been the least afflicted with the late Pressures and Sufferings under the King's Exercise of arbitrary Power after the departing from the known Laws; which his Majesty has said an hundred times he is forc'd on a War to defend.* The Counties nearest *London*, as *Middlesex, Essex, Kent, Surrey, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Suffolk, Norfolk,* never admitted of any of his Garisons, or never for any Time worth speaking of. They had long groan'd under the *Pressures and Sufferings* mention'd by the learned Lawyer, and cou'd not be convinc'd by Speeches, nor be persuad'd by Declarations, that the King who had govern'd for fifteen Years together contrary to the known *Laws*, was at the End of that Term making War in Defence of them. Tho' the King had other Persons about him besides *Machiavels*, yet they were cunning enough to see that the Inhabitants of the Counties nearest to *London* wou'd not do his Business, therefore they drew him first towards the *Northern Counties*, and then to the *Borders of Wales*, where the Ignorance and Poverty of the People had defended them against the *Oppressions by Taxes, and the Prosecutions in the Spiritual Courts.*

The Earl of *Essex* rendezvous'd his Army at *St. Albans*, where he muster'd about 16000 Horse and Foot. He was attended by several Members of both Houses of Parliament, and a Multitude of People crowd'd the Way as he march'd to wish him Victory. A Committee accompany'd him to take Subscriptions for Loans, to order Matters concerning Delinquents and Malignants, and consider of the Good of the Army. The Parliament's Directions to their General before-mention'd, were, 1. To restrain all *Prophaneness in the Army.* 2. To His Instructions. *fight the Army with the King, and rescue his Person, the Prince, and Duke of York, from those about him.* 3. To present their *Petition to his Majesty, and if he shall please to withdraw himself from the Army, then to cause those Forces to disband and to guard the King in his Return.* 4. To declare *Pardon for those who lay down their Arms taken up against the Parliament, except those I have elsewhere named, particularly Mr. Hyde, who in his History, if it was his, boasts of the Malignancy of his Family; and indeed he was one of the first who was set a-part for Justice.*

The Cavalier Spirit breaks out often in the Course of this Contest, to the Terror of all such as had any Sentiments of Pity or Humanity. *Dr. Bastwick, Captain Ludlow, and Captain Ludlow, who had been taken at low Leicester, were order'd to be try'd for their Lives; but the two Houses sending a Message to Judge Heath, that they would cause two for one to be hang'd, if those Gentlemen were executed, a stop was put to that bloody Design.*

Among the many brave young Gentlemen who offer'd their Service to the Parliament, were Mr. *Fiennes, Mr. Fleetwood, Mr. Ludlow, whom we have elsewhere spoken of, Mr. Rich, Mr. Roswel, Guard, &c. who with Major-General Harrison, Colonel Thomlinson, Colonel Twisleton, Major Whitby, and others, to the Number of 100, form'd a Troop of Life-Guard for the Lord General, under the*

A.D. 1642. Command of Sir Philip Stapleton. The Earl of *Essex* detach'd Colonel *Essex* to possess himself of *Worcester*, where the Cavaliers had a Garrison, which had been admitted by the Mayor, without Consent of the Citizens. These were reinforc'd by Prince *Rupert*, who engag'd the Parliament Forces in that Neighbourhood, before the General cou'd advance so far. This Engagement, call'd the *Fight*, at *Powick*, was on the 22d of *September*, and is reckon'd the first Fight in the Civil War. *Echard* describes it as a most glorious Action on the King's Side; but General *Ludlow*, who was present, relates it otherwise. There are but two or three *Falsities* in the Reverend Historian's Relation of this Fact; as that of Prince *Rupert's* Handful of Men, when he was superior in Number; that this Party was the Parliament's best Men, when *Ludlow* assures us, they knew not the Difference between *Wheeling* and *Running*; and the two Houses of Parliament order'd a *Day of Thanksgiving* for this Victory at *Powick*. In the Account of Battels and Skirmishes, I shall almost always quote my Author; and at the End of it shew how *Echard* falsifies it; for there is not one Action during the whole Course of the War, which the Earl of *Clarendon* and he have not represented otherwise than the Fact was, according to the Report of the fairest Writers.

Powick Fight.

The King increas'd his Army to 22000 Men at *Shrewsbury*: The Gentry of *Wales*, and the *Marches*, being much better able to supply him with Men than with Money, which was brought him from *Oxford*; some collected at *London*, and sent thither; and some rais'd by the Contributions of the Colleges and Halls, contrary to the Universities solemn Promise to *Whitlocke*, who with the Lord *Say*, and a Body of *Militia*, had visited it; and had *Whitlocke's* Advice been taken, it had been Garrison'd for the Parliament, before any of the King's Forces shew'd themselves in those Parts.

The King refuses the Petition from Essex.

Prince *Rupert* staid at *Worcester*, only while he cou'd draw off his Troops and Baggage; and he had not been gone many Hours, before the Earl of *Essex* enter'd the City with the main Body of the Army; from thence he sent to *Shrewsbury* for a safe Conduct, and free Access to his Majesty, he having a Petition from the Parliament to deliver to him: His Lordship address'd to the Earl of *Dorset*, who wrote back that the King's Answer was, *He wou'd receive any Petition that should be presented to him from his Parliament, and give free Access to those that should bring the same; but he would not receive any Petition out of the Hands of any TRAYTOR.* After which way of Thinking, he cou'd receive no Petition at all; for he had declar'd the Earl of *Essex*, and all his Adherents, *Traytors*; which included the Parliament of *England*, who had voted to live and die with the Earl, and all the People who adher'd to them.

Parliament send Envoys Abroad.

The two Houses now despairing of an Accommodation without War, sent Agents to Foreign Parts, to inform Princes and States of the Necessity they were under to take Arms for their Preservation, and to remove the Prejudices which his Majesty's Ambassadors had rais'd against them. To *Holland* they sent Mr. *Strickland*, an obscure Gentleman, says *Echard*; whereas he was as conspicuous, as being a Member of Parliament, and of one of the best Families in *England* could make him. Mr. *Strickland* inform'd the *States-General*, that the Parliament contended for nothing but to enjoy the Benefit of the ancient and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, which had been all violated by his Majesty's assuming a Power to govern contrary to them, by his arbitrary Will and Pleasure, and by his endeavouring to make himself an absolute Lord, and his Subjects slavish Vassals; that they acted purely on the defensive Part, and had continually invited the King to return to his Parliament, offering to

ach. 531.

be obedient according to the Law of the Land, but *A.D. 1642.* his Majesty obstinately stood out against Treaty and Peace. The learned Lawyer proceeds, "The Parliament produc'd, and shew'd to the foreign Potentates, the Preambles of several Acts of Parliament, to which the King had lately given the Royal Assent: By which it did appear, that the several Instances of his Misgovernment did thereby stand not only acknowledg'd, but by himself condemn'd." Yet the whole Drift of the History, which goes by the Earl of *Clarendon's* Name, is to prove that those very Things were just and laudable which the King himself condemn'd. "This Evidence so far prevail'd on them, especially the King of *Denmark*, that his Majesty was forc'd to order *Cockrain*, his Resident at *Copenhagen*, to present a Memorial to that King, in which he apologiz'd for making the Concessions the Parliament had insisted upon. In short, all the foreign Potentates either deny'd, or fail'd to send the King Assistance; objecting that his Majesty needed none, for he had in his own Hands Means to relieve himself; which was to return to his Parliament, and conform his Government to the Laws of his Kingdom; in Defence of which, his Majesty proclaims every-where he has taken Arms: And the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* every where proclaim, he had never broken them.

The Earl of *Essex* staid at *Worcester* several Days, King's in Expectation of a softer Answer; all which Time the King improv'd, by increasing his Army, and gathering Contributions. From *Shrewsbury* he march'd to *Bridgnorth*, having, says *Echard*, not one Papist a Field-Officer in his Army, but Sir *Papists in Arthur Aston*, which is as true as his Truths generally are. Had he never heard of Major-General *Webb*, Sir *William Vavasor*, Major-General, Sir *Edward Widdrington*, Sir *Henry Gage*, Sir *Thomas Tildesley*? but what need I name more, I have before me a List of some Hundreds of Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors and Captains, all Papists, and Sufferers in their Persons and Purses, for his Service. The Papists themselves publish'd it in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, as an Argument for Favour to them and their Religion, on the Score of this Merit.

At *Killingworth* Castle, as the King was pointing out to this Center, Judge *Heath* fate upon a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, to attain the Earl of *Essex* of Rebellion and Treason; an useless Provocation, which render'd those contemptible who affected to make themselves terrible by it. Mr. *Echard* assures us, the King had but 6000 Foot, 2000 Horse, and 1000 Dragoons, when he came to *Bridgnorth*, and that afterwards his Army was much inferior in Number to the Parliaments; whereas we read in a Letter sign'd by Colonel *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Colonel *Ballard*, Sir *William Balfour*, Sir *John Meldrum*, and Mr. *Charles Pym*, and address'd to the Speaker of the House of Commons, that their Number was 18000 Foot, 3600 Horse, and 4000 Horse and Dragoons, when the two Armies engag'd in the *Vale of Redhorse*, under *Edgehill*, near *Keinton* in *Warwickshire*, October the 23d.

General *Ludlow* having been in this Battel also, *Edgehill* let us follow his Relation of it. *Sunday Morning Fight.* about nine a Clock, some of the Enemies Troops were discover'd upon *Edgehill*. Our Forces had been order'd that Morning to Quarters of Refreshment, having had but little Rest for 48 Hours. This Order was immediately countermanded. The Enemy drew down the Hill, and we into the Field. The best of our Field-Pieces were planted on our Right Wing, guarded by two Regiments of Foot, and some Horse: Our General commanding to Fire upon the Enemy, it was done twice, on the Part of the Army where it was reported

A.D. 1642. ported the King was. The great Shot was exchanged on both Sides for the Space of an Hour, by which Time the Foot began to engage; and a Party of the Enemy being sent to line some Hedges on our Right Wing, thereby to beat us from our Ground; they were repuls'd by our Dragoons, without any Loss on our Side. The Enemies Body of Foot, wherein the King's Standard was, came within Musket-shot of us; upon which we observing no Horse to encounter withal, charg'd them with some Loss from their Pikes, though very little from their Shot; but not being able to break them, we retreated to our former Station; whither we were no sooner come up, than we perceiv'd that those who were appointed to guard the Artillery, march'd off: And our Captain, Sir Philip Stapleton, wishing for a Regiment of Foot to secure the Canon, we of the Life-Guard promis'd to stand by him in Defence of them, causing one of our Servants to load and level one of them, where a Body of Horse appear'd advancing towards us from that Side where the Enemy was; we fir'd at them with Case-shot, but did them no Mischief, our Gun being overloaded, and planted on high Ground, which happen'd very fortunately; this Body being part of our Army commanded by Sir William Balfour, who had bravely charg'd into the Enemies Quarters, and nail'd several Pieces of Cannon, and we did not discern the Signal he made us of being Friends. The Earl of Essex order'd two Regiments of Foot to attack the Body which we had charg'd before, and where the King's Standard was, but they could not break it, till Sir William Balfour attack'd them in the Rear, at the Head of a Party of Horse, and we marching down to take them in Flank, they broke, and ran away toward the Hill. In this Action was killed Sir Edmund Varney, Standard-Bearer, *Who engag'd on that Side, not out of any good Opinion of the Cause, as Ludlow was inform'd by a Person of Honour, but from a Sense of a Duty which he thought lay upon him, in respect of his Office, and Relation to the King.* Colonel Maurice, Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert, and other principal Officers, were then killed, and many Colours taken, as well as the Standard, which Colonel Middleton, then a Volunter, took and display'd in Token of Victory; but a strong Party of Horse coming upon us, we were oblig'd to retire with our Standard; and having brought it to the Earl of Essex, he mov'd it twice or thrice above his Head, and then deliver'd it to his Secretary, Mr. Chambers, from whom it was taken by one Captain Smith, a Papist, whom with two more, had disguis'd themselves with Orange-colour'd Scarfs, the Lord General's Colours, and pretending it was unfit that a Penman should have the Honour to carry the Standard, took it from him, and rode with it to the King, for which Action he was made a Knight Banneret. After this there was no other Engagement on either Side, only a few great Guns continued to fire upon us from the Enemy, 'till towards the close of the Day we discover'd a Body of Horse marching from our Rear on the Left of us, under the Hedges, which we of the Life-Guard first perceiving to be the Enemy, we advanc'd towards them, fell upon their Rear, and did good Execution. This was the Right Wing of the King's Army, commanded by Prince Rupert, who taking Advantage of the Disorder that our own Horse had put our Foot into, who had open'd their Ranks to secure them in their Retreat, press'd upon them with such Fury, that he put them to Flight: And if the Time he spent in plundering the Waggoners had been employ'd in taking the Advantages which offer'd themselves in the Place of Battel, it might have prov'd more serviceable to the carrying on of the Enemy's Designs. Instead of which, Prince Rupert fell upon the Waggoners, Carters, Labourers, Pioneers, and others, unarm'd, among whom

many Women were slain, and this Slaughter was *A.D. 1642* the greatest in the Parliament Army, according to the Lord Brooke's Speech to the Citizens in *Guildhall*. Ludlow adds, *The Night after the Battel, our Army quarter'd on the same Ground the Enemy fought on the Day before.* Another writes, "Our Army being thus wholly possess'd of the Ground which the Enemy chose to fight upon, and so *Parl.* clear Masters of it, that none dar'd to dispossess *Chron.* them of it, we stood there all Night till next Morn- *P. 196* ing." Sir Faithful Fortescue betraying his Trust, and going over to the King's Party with his Troop in the beginning of this Battel, was a great Discouragement to the Parliamentarians; but their good Heart and good Cause recover'd that Fault. The Falsities in *Echard's History* of this Battel are, 1. The Number of the King's Forces five or 6000 less than the Parliament's. 2. The Number of the Slain 5000, which were not above 2500. 3. Sir John Smith's Valour, by which he got the Royal Standard and Knighthood, whereas it was deliver'd to him by Mistake and Surprize, without striking a Stroke. 4. The Victory was on the King's Side. *Whitlocke* says, the Parliament Army had the *Victory*, though but a small one. 5. The Disorder in the Faces of the Earl of Essex's Men, the great Dejection of the common Soldiers. *Ludlow* writes, *we hop'd we shou'd have pursu'd the Enemy, who were marching off as fast as they could; but instead of that, for what Reason I know not, we march'd to Warwick: Indeed the Earl of Essex's Conduct on that Occasion, was much disapprov'd.* He had receiv'd a Reinforcement of 4000 Men, under Colonel *Hampden*, and Colonel *Grant*, and might have cut the Cavalier Army to Pieces; instead of which, says General *Ludlow*, he let the King march off as if Master of the Field, as the Lord *Clarendon*, *Warwick* and *Echard*, ridiculously represent it. Some impute this Neglect to his Desire of lengthening out the War, and consequently his high Command in it; which Conjecture seems to have some Probability in it. Others tell us, the Parliament Army wanted Rest and Refreshment, which they had been without eight and forty Hours. The principal Officers slain on the King's Side, were the Lord General, the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord *George Stuart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, Sir *Edmund Verney*, Colonel *Munro*, and one of the *Lunsfords*: Among the Prisoners were the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, Sir *Edward Stradling*, who were sent to *Warwick* Castle. Of the Parliament Officers were slain, the Lord *St. John*, and the brave Colonel *Essex*: Among the Prisoners were Colonel *Walton*, a Member of Parliament, and Captain *Austin*, an eminent Merchant of *London*, of whom the last died through the hard Usage he met with in *Oxford* Goal. Captain *Wingate*, before-mention'd, who was taken at *Powick*, was so near Death through the like hard Usage, that had he not made his Escape, weak and languishing as he was, 'tis suppos'd he could not many Days have surviv'd the Enemies Cruelty. There is nothing strange in that Cruelty: A humane Tyranny is Contradiction in Terms; lawless, arbitrary Power admits not tender compassionate Sentiments; Rage is its Guide, and Torture and Death its Diversion; and whoever were capable of espousing such a Cause, must with it espouse all its Consequences, Rapine, Slaughter and Desolation: Whereas Liberty inspires all its Lovers with Benignity and Benevolence, and softens the Mind at the same Time that it enlarges it.

The Reverend Historian affirms, that the Lord *St. John's* last Words were, *I did not intend to be against the King, but wish him all Happiness.* *Ludlow* says, *He declar'd at his Death full Satisfaction and Cheerfulness to lay down his Life in so good a Cause.* The Parliament Officers who distinguish'd themselves in this Battel, were the Earl of *Essex*,

Lord St. John dies of his Wounds;

A.D. 1642. the General, Sir William Balfour, the Earl of Bedford, the Lord Brook, Colonel Hollis, Colonel Ballard, Sir Philip Stapleton, the Lord Grey, Major Hurrey, Captain Draper, Sir Arthur Hasebrigg, Captain Cromwell, whose Name is remember'd in the Chronicle with those other Heroes: But Echard is positive that He absented himself from the Battel, and observing from the top of a neighbouring Steeple, the Disorder the Right Wing sustain'd from Prince Rupert, he was so terrify'd, that slipping down in Haste by a Bell-Rope, he took Horse, and ran away with his Troop. If we had not such a Cloud of other Witnesses of this Historian's Judgment and Sincerity, this wou'd be enough to let us into his Character. The News of Edgehil Fight came to London the next Day: The first Man that brought it, having been in that Part of it where Prince Rupert had the better, made Report accordingly, that the King was Victorious. Other Messengers soon brought other Advice, that the Earl of Essex had routed the King's Army, kill'd and taken many, and gain'd a compleat Victory; which News was almost as much too good, as the other was too bad. The King went still farther, and order'd a Day of solemn Thanksgiving for a Victory which he did not obtain. There is nothing strange in this neither, that those who had by an Edict enjoin'd the Profanation of the Lord's-Day, shou'd make a Mock-Holyday, and profane even that with dissembled Prayer; in the Form of which for this Thanksgiving, it was said, *Thy Hand alone, thou God of Hosts, hath dispos'd of Victory to thy Servant the King; accomplish the great Work thou hast begun for us; not unto us, but unto thee, O God, we give the Praise; continue these Blessings on the Head of our Sovereign and his Army; continue the Fear and Consternation thou hast already cast upon the Hearts of those who have Rebelliously risen up against him; make them see, that to fight against him, is to fight against Heaven; it is not to be written or read without Trembling: God the Searcher of Hearts, knew the Pride, Vanity, Ambition, Lust and Cruelty of those Hearts thus addressing to an Omniscient, Omnipotent Being, for a Blessing on lawless despotick Power, on Superstition and Prophaneness, in Opposition to Law, Liberty and Reformation. We shall find more such Forms of Prayer on the like Occasions. The Victory for which the King and his Followers give God the Praise, is thus describ'd by Colonel Hollis, and other Colonels, in their Letter to the Speaker; Mr. Lenthall, The King's Foot are either slain, or most of them run away, and we shou'd have pursu'd them, but that we must of pure Necessity refresh our Men. Besides the Thanksgiving, his Majesty publish'd a Declaration after his VICTORY against the REBELS, which is all of a Piece; he says, He is satisfy'd there are a far greater Number of Papists in the Parliaments Presbyterian Army, than in his own: These Papists had every Day Mr. Marshall, Mr. Alb. Mr. Monton, Mr. Obadiab Sedgwick, Mr. John Sedgwick, Mr. Wickens, and several other Presbyterian Ministers to preach to them, and pray with them; to exhort them, as they did in the heat of this Battel, to stand to it, and fight for their Religion, Laws, and Christian Liberties. Besides the Papists already mention'd, the Parliament charg'd the King with granting Commissions to Sir Nicholas Thornton, Sir Thomas Howard, Sir William Riddel, Sir William Gerrard, Sir Cecil Straford, the Lord Herbert, Mr. Smith of Alb, Mr. George Wray, Mr. Edward Gray of Morpeth Castle, Mr. Lancelot Ewington of Denton, Mr. Lancelot Holtby, Mr. Clifton, Mr. William Malton, Mr. Anderson, most of them of the Lancashire and Northern Counties, and with entertaining some that were actually Irish REBELS, as the Lord Taaf, Sir John Dungan, Colonel Fitz Williams, and Dr. Meara, who having been indicted for the Rebellion in Ireland, fled that Kingdom, and was*

appointed Physician to Prince Rupert. His Majesty said further in his Declaration, *That as to the Charge of his raising an Army against the Parliament, the Scandal was so senseless, none of his Subjects cou'd believe it; a Thing so very apparent, was scarce worth mentioning in the Declarations.* Echard had told us, there were about 5000 Men kill'd on both Sides; and three Days after the Fight, he tells us there were but 300 of the King's Soldiers missing; the Lord Brook told the Londoners, not above two or three Hundred Soldiers, Waggoners, Labourers, and Women, were kill'd on the Parliament Side; which ought to be mention'd, to shew the Errors that lye in our way, and require our utmost Care to avoid them.

The Parliament in their Answer to the the King's Declaration, say, *They find it full of Scandals and Invectives against them, without any Ground or Colour of Truth;* as indeed that about the Papists is nooriously so in Fact and Reason; a Charge, say they, contrary to Sense and Policy, that they who have rais'd an Army for the just Defence of their Privilege and Liberties, and of the true Protestant Religion, should make Use of the Papists, the only Enemies of them all, to be the Instruments and Means to protect them. Salmonet, a French Popish Historian, engag'd on the same Side with the Lord Clarendon and Mr. Archdeacon Echard, furnishes them with several such Truths as these: *Several Catholick Priests were found amongst the Dead on the Parliament Side; for they had not only two Companies of Walloon Papists, and other Catholicks in their Army, but had done what they could to engage Sir Arthur Auston in their Service; the same whom Echard names as the only Popish Field-Officer in the King's Wing. The King prov'd that the Parliament had more Papists than he in their Troops, and that they endeavour'd to gain over all the Catholicks, by a Promise to repeal all the Laws against them. The two Houses fully answer'd what was said in the King's Declaration of the Kingdom's being govern'd by a Faction of ten or twelve Men, of Brownists and Anabaptists being in their Army, and the like; but I have not Patience to repeat all that was said in this Paper War; though I must needs say, there are on the King's Side much Assertion and Haughtiness, and much Truth and good Sense on the Parliaments, which probably I shall never be requir'd to prove, because it is so easy to do it.*

His Majesty made General Ruthen a Scotchman, General of his Army; and in his March to Oxford, took in the Lord Say's House at Broughton, Banbury Castle, and two or three small Garrisons, which were not Tenable. The Fairities in the Archdeacon's History are aggravated by the Abuse of the most sacred Terms, as God, Providence, and the like; which are apply'd to Facts which either never happen'd, or not in the manner he represents them. At Oxford, the only City in England which was entirely at the King's Devotion, he was receiv'd by the University with the greatest Acclamations of Joy; to whom is to be imputed the Integrity and Fidelity of the Place; which were equal to the Fidelity and Integrity of the Historian. Whitlocke, who was at Oxford with the Lord Say about a Month before, tells us, they were visited by the Mayor, Aldermen, Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors, who protested all of them their Duty to the Parliament, their Desires of Peace, and engage themselves not to act any Thing against the two Houses, nor to send their Plate to the King; which they did a Day or two after, to shew their Integrity. The Lord Say had then with him 3000 Horse, Foot and Dragoons; and Whitlocke, as I have hinted, blames him very much for not securing the Place, as well as the Plate, which wou'd have prevented his Majesty's making it his Place of Arms, and Capital Garrison, within three Days March of London, near which City Prince Rupert

Parl. Chron. 198.

The King's Thanksgiving Prayer.

Rushw.

King's Declaration.

A.D. 1642.

Parliament's Answer.

King takes Broughton, Banbury, and Oxford.

Ech.

A.D. 1642. immediately made Incurfions; and the Parliament order'd the Earl of *Effex* to bring up the Army, as well to Recruit it, as to be near them, if the King fhould offer to give them any Difurbance; and obferving the King had by a formal Commiffion, empower'd Sir *William Gerrard*, Sir *Cecil Traf-ford*, *Charles Townly*, Efq; *Thomas Clifton*, Efq; *Chriftopher Anderton*, Efq; *John Clausfield*, Efq; and other Popifh Gentlemen, to take Arms with their Tenants and Servants againft the Parliament, the two Houfes resolv'd to ftrengthen themfelves by the *Presbyterian* Intereft, as the King did by the *Popifh*; accordingly they defir'd Affiftance of the *Scots*, purfuant to the *Act of Pacification*. They alfo publifh'd a Declaration for the Encouragement of *Apprentices* that would lift in their Service, who were to have the Time they fo ferv'd allow'd in their *Apprenticeships*, which was the beft way of Recruiting the Earl of *Effex's* Army.

Scots.

Appren-tices.

Earl of Effex.

That General was honourably receiv'd at *West-minfter* the 7th of *November*, and prefented with a Gratuity of 5000 Pounds by the Lords and Commons, who did alfo *Declare and Publifh to the lafting Honour of the faid Earl, the great and acceptable Service which he hath done the Commonwealth, and they fhall be ready upon all Occafions to exprefs the due Senfe which they have of his Merit, by affifting and protecting him, and all others under his Command, with their Lives and Fortunes, to the utmoft of their Power: This to remain upon RECORD in both Houfes of Parliament, for a Mark of Honour to his Perfon, Name and Family, and for a MONUMENT of his fingular Virtue to all Pofterity.* *Echard* endeavours to make a Jelt of this glorious *Monument* to his Merit, though it is more valuable than all the fulfome Panegyricks in the Earl of *Clarendon's* Characters; 'tis the Voice of his Country, and thofe Panegyricks only the Flattery of the *Historian*.

Militia.

Associated Counties.

The *Train'd-Bands of London* were reinforc'd with part of the *Train'd-Bands of the associated Counties, Middlefex, Effex, Kent, Suffolck, Hertfordfhire, Buckinghamfhire*, for the Security of the City; and a ftrong *Garrifon*, under the Command of *Colonel Ven*, was fent to *Windfor* Caftle. *Out-works* were rais'd, and feveral Pieces of *Ordnance* plant'd upon them. Many difaffected Perfons were taken up in the City of *London*, as *Sir George Whitmore*, *Sir William Afton*, *Sir Henry Garraway*, and *Sir John Cordel*, Aldermen; and nothing was omitted that could be thought of for the Safety of that *Metropolis*. The King being advanc'd as far as *Reading*, from whence *Mr. Martin*, the Governor, had withdrawn the *Parliament Garrifon* on the Approach of the *Royal Army*; the News of it, according to *Echard*, threw the *Parliament and City* into a terrible *Pannick*; and again into a *new Confternation*; fo without further *Confideration*, they difpatch'd a *Messenger* to the King, to defire a *fafe Conduft* for a *Committee of Lords and Commons* to attend him with a *Petition*. This *Pannick and Confternation*, are the Birth of his feeming *Fancy*, or that of the *Vifionary Authors* whom he flaviſhly copies. The *Parliament* were indeed uneasy at the wrong Step that was taken by their *Army's* retreating to *Warwick*, and not purfuing the King, whoſe *Troops* their General might eafily have difpers'd, after he had been reinforc'd with 4000 Men: But their *Defire of a fafe Conduft* proceeded not from *Fear*, it was to prevent the *Effufion of Blood*, and reftore the publick *Peace*.

Reading.

Firft Treachy.

At a Conference of the two Houfes three Days before the Earl of *Effex* return'd to *London*, the Earl of *Northumberland* acquainted the Commons, that the *Committee* for the Safety of the Kingdom had ſome *Thoughts of Propofitions* to be made to his Majesty, but were of *Opinion* to acquaint firft his Excellency with their Intentions; who return'd them for *Answer, That he believ'd*

the *Committee had ſuch Reafons for thofe Propofitions as were laid on ſure Grounds; but withal he hop'd, they had no Thoughts of any Weaknefs of his Army, or that the Courage of thofe who flood it fo ſtoutly in the late Battel, wou'd fail them, if nothing but a ſecond Encounter muſt decide the Matter.* Both Houfes agreed to ſend *Sir Peter Killgrew* to his Majesty, then at *Reading*, to defire a free *Accels* for their *Commissioners*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, *Sir John Evelyn*, the Lord *Wainman*, and *Sir John Hippeſley*. The King told *Sir Peter*, he wou'd grant a *fafe Conduft to any ſuch as he had not proclaim'd TRAYTORS*; and then excepted againft *Sir John Evelyn*. *Sir Peter Killgrew* was again ſent to his Majesty on his former Errand, and the King again gave him the ſame *Answer*. The great *Spite* againft *Sir John*, was for his impeaching the Lord *Digby*; and the *Proclamation* in which he was declar'd a *Traytor*, was thought to be publifh'd on *Purpose*, it being wet from the *Preſs* when it was firſt ſhewn. And *Sir Peter Killgrew*, had been kept *Prifoner 24 Hours* by *Prince Rupert*, to hinder his delivering the *Message* till the *Prociamation* was printed: At laſt *Sir John Evelyn's* earneſt *Sollicitations* prevail'd with the *Parliament* to leave his Name out of the *Commiffion*, that it might not retard the *Peace* which they all fo much defir'd. *Mr. Pierrepont* being added to the *Commiffioners*, they carry'd the *Petition to Colebroke*, and prefented it to the King the 11th of *November*. His Majesty appointed them to attend him at *Windfor* Caftle with their *Propofitions*, and defir'd the *Treaty* might be ſpeeded: But in the midft of theſe peaceable *Diſpoſitions*, and when the *Parliament* depended entirely on the *Faith of the Treaty*; the King, as *General Ludlow* writes, "taking the Advantage of a very thick Miſt, march'd his Army the very next Day, *November* the 12th, within half a *Brentford* Mile of *Brentford*, before he was discover'd, de-*Fight* ſigning to ſurprize the Earl of *Effex's* *Train* of *Artillery*, which was then at *Hammersmith*, the *Parliament and City*; which he had certainly done, if two *Regiments of Foot*, and a ſmall *Party of Horſe* that lay at *Brentford*, had not with *unſpeakable Courage* oppos'd his *Paſſage*, and ſtopp'd the *March* of his Army moſt part the *Afternoon*; during which *Time* the *Army* that quarter'd in and about *London*, drew together, which ſome of them, and particularly the *Life-Guard*, among whom was *Ludlow*, had *Opportunity* the ſooner to do, being at that very *Instant* drawn out into *Chelſea* Fields to *Muſter*, where they heard the *Vollies of Shot* that paſſ'd between the *Enemy* and the *Parliament's* little *Party*. The *Diſpute* continu'd ſome *Hours*, till the latter were ſurrounded with *Horſe and Foot*; and then being overpower'd with *Numbers* on every *Side*, many brave and gallant Men having loſt their *Lives* upon the *Place*, the reſt choſe rather to commit themſelves to the *Water*, than to thoſe that were engag'd in ſo treacherous a *Deſign*; where many *Officers*, as *Major Quarles*, and *Captain Lacy*, and private *Soldiers* were drown'd, and ſome taken *Prifoners*. However, the *Enemy's* *Deſign* was by this *Means* defeated, and they discourag'd from any further *Attempt* that *Night*. The *Parliament* were ſo alarm'd with the *Danger* and *Treachery* of this *Enterprize*, that they us'd all poſſible *Diligence* to bring their *Forces* together, ſo that by eight a *Clock* the next *Morning*, the Lord General had an *Army of 20000 Horſe and Foot* drawn up upon *Turnbam-Green*, and Part of their *Army* which lay at *Kingſton*, was marching to them by way of *London*. The *Enemy* drew out a *Party* of theirs towards the *Hill* at *Afton*, which the Earl of *Effex* order'd ſome *Troops* to attack, and they forc'd them to retire in *Diſorder* to their main *Body*. And hereupon, ſays *Ludlow*, in the *Opinion* of many *judicious Perſons*, we loſt, as at *Edgehill*, a favourable

A.D. 1642. favourable Opportunity of engaging the Enemy with great Advantage, our Number exceeding theirs, and their Reputation being utterly lost in the last Attempt. Whitlocke says, "Some of the King's Party did afterwards confess, if they had fallen upon them then, they had probably broken them." This Action in Time of Treaty was so ill resent'd, that the Parliament voted they would have no Accommodation. The Falsity of the Archdeacon's History of this Fight, consists more in the Reflection than Fact. He says, many are of Opinion if the King's Army of about 12000 Men, had attack'd the Parliament's of about 20000, it had presently given way. Another Falsity is, that Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshal, two Army Chaplains, gave Absolution to those Soldiers who had been taken Prisoners at Brentford, and broke their Words by lifting again in the Parliament Army, after they had promis'd to bear Arms no more against the King. He says gravely they did it for the better recruiting their Army with those 500 Prisoners, which in Fact were but 150, tho' the City of London was pouring out Men, as we read in Russhworth; and it was hardly worth while for the two Ministers to absolve them of Breach of Faith when they were so little wanted; which added to the Rarity of Presbyterian Absolution, makes very merry History.

Parliament Petition. His Majesty retreated to Reading, where he receiv'd a Petition from the two Houses, who it seems were in a little better Temper than when they voted no Accommodation, to desire him to return to his Parliament with his Royal, not his martial Attendance: That Religion, Laws, and Liberties might be settled by their Advice, finding by a sad and late Accident, he was environ'd with such Counsels as rather persuaded a desperate Division, than join'd in a good Agreement with his Parliament. The King in Excuse of that sad Accident at Brentford, said he had sent a Messenger to give Notice of it; and as to any intended Surprize and Sack of London, he disown'd it, and added, probably God Almighty would not have given such a Blessing to our Journey, as to have assisted us so by Land and Water, as with less than a third Part of our Foot, and with the Loss but of ten Men, to beat two their best Regiments out of both Brentfords; for all the great Advantage of their Works in them, to kill him who commanded in chief, and kill and drown many others, to take 500 Prisoners, &c. if he who is the Searcher of Hearts and Truth itself, had not known the Innocency of our Heart; and the Blessing of God upon this Action, will we doubt not clear us; and God so bless our future Actions, as we have deliver'd the Truth. Notwithstanding these solemn Appeals, and these boasted Evidences of God's Blessing, the Fact is otherwise; the Number of the King's Forces at Brentford Fight was treble to that of the Parliament, and instead of losing ten Men only, the King lost more than the Parliament, as one of their Author's writes; At last our Numbers and Provision increasing continually, Prince Robert and his Crew of Robbets, were forc'd to fly; being beaten back from their Ground with great Slaughter. Again; notwithstanding all those first Disadvantages, the Loss at this bloody Bickering was most constantly reported to be far more on the Enemy's Side than on ours, at least three to one. Russhworth tells us there were but 150 Prisoners taken. The best Proof of the fair Intention by attacking the Parliament's Forces in Time of Treaty, is what his Majesty says; It may appear by my not pursuing my Victory at Brentford; when he had just before spoken of his great Disadvantage by the Superiority of the Earl of Essex Army in Number, and by his giving Order to his own Army to march off before he had Notice of Forces from London. It is very likely that 24000 Men which the Earl muster'd the next Day at Turnham-Green, cou'd gather together and his Majesty have no Notice of it. One Historian says his Army was forc'd to fly.

King's Answer.

Parl. Chron. 215.

Whitl.

Parl. Chron. 215.

Ludlow, Those Persons who were against the Earl of Essex's pursuing the King, well knew the Enemy to be in a flying and not in a charging Condition: Yet his Majesty declares solemnly to the Parliament and the whole World, that he did not attack the Earl of Essex, to prove that he intend'd nothing at all by surprizing the Parliament's Forces at Brentford. Mr. Acherley remarks that Brentford Fight was while there was a Treaty depending, and after the Two Houses had order'd their Army to forbear Hostilities; on which Account it was call'd a perfidious Part, as bad as massacring the Parliament's Forces, who were resting under a Treaty as they thought secure. Orleans makes a sorry Excuse for it; he thought he no way transgress'd the Treaty, being scarce commen'd. It is not to be doubted but the King's Army would not have fallen upon the Earl of Essex's Troops in Brentford, had they not depend'd upon some Advantage by the Security they were in; and then how mu't it shock one to read in his Majesty's Answer, that God had given a Blessing to that very perfidious Part which the learned Lawyer speaks of.

The Earl of Newcastle associated several Counties in the North of England for the King, as Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, with the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne, which was too great a Power for the Lord Fairfax with the divided Forces of Yorkshire to cope with; and that Power was the more dangerous, for that the Earl's Army was full of Papists Officers and Soldiers. This formidable Combination between the Papists and their Abettors against the Religion and Laws of England, cou'd not but alarm the Scots, and dispose them to lend a willing Ear to the Desires of the Parliament for their Assistance; and so strong an Association put the Two Houses upon taking the like Method.

Earl of Newcastle's

Occasions the Scots entering England.

The Lord Fairfax, Sir William Brereton, Sir William Waller, Lord Grey of Groby, Earl of Manchester, Earl of Denbigh, Major-General Brown, Sir Thomas Middleton, were order'd to associate Yorkshire, Cheshire, Hampshire, Leicestershire, Essex, and the Eastern Counties, Shropshire, Berkshire, North-Wales, &c.

About the same time Colonel Skippon was made Major-General of the Army, and due Care was taken to supply the Earl of Essex with all Necessaries.

His Majesty garrison'd Reading, and made Sir Arthur Aston a Papist Governor; from thence he remov'd to Oxford, where Mr. Edward Hyde his Chancellor of the Exchequer had more Leisure to draw up Declarations than the People found to read them. Warwick owns his Language and Stile were a little too redundant; and tho' he made plain the Deceitfulness of the Parliament, yet a wife Lord said of him, our good Pen will harm us, with Multiplicity and Wantonness of Words. I observ'd this in every Paragraph of the History of the Rebellion; and it is amazing that so voluminous a History without one good historical Quality, shou'd have impos'd on the World above twenty Years: But that Imposition is wearing off to make room for Sincerity and Truth.

P. 196.

P. 197.

The reverend Historian informs us that the two Houses, "Tho' they seem'd so desirous of a Peace, severely prosecuted all such as really endeavour'd it; not one Ward of which is true. It is observ'd, that their Partiality and Injustice was so notorious, that there was no Rule or Measure of Right in any Matter depending before them; every Word of which is false, and is so self-evident, that there needs no Proof of it. Again; The Two Houses found themselves press'd for Want of Money, and forc'd it from the Citizens by Imprisonment, Distress, and the late violent Methods; which is as true as the rest. Such as refus'd to obey their Ordinances for Contributions, were dealt with as the Law directs in Cases of Refusal to pay Taxes.

But

A.D. 1642. But the *Londoners* in general contributed chearfully, infomuch that the Parliament now desiring a Loan of 30000 Pounds, they suddenly advanc'd 60000 Pounds, and resolv'd there shou'd be no Want of Money if the Earl of *Effex* was oblig'd to carry on the War. 'Tis worth observing what a strong Appetite the Cavaliers had to Blood: For not content with spilling it in an unnatural War, they wou'd fain have fed it by Form of Law; and to that End *Heath* one of their Judges was order'd to try Captain *Lilburne*, who had been taken at *Brentford* for High-Treason at *Oxford*, which was as foolish as it was cruel. The Parliament had more Prisoners than they, and cou'd make Reprisals on Delinquents when they pleas'd, which a little right Thinking wou'd have taught them. But they went on till Notice was given them, that if any one was put to Death for having been in the Parliament's Service, they wou'd inflict the like Punishment on such Prisoners as were or should be taken by their Forces; which the wise Heads at *Oxford* might easily have foreseen, and not have shewn their Teeth when they durst not bite. His Majesty publish'd a Declaration against the Two Houses raising Money by Ordinance, which he had done before, and with as good Success; but he thought to succeed better in the Affair of the Sheriffs which he nominated for the several Counties of *England*, whether they were in his Possession or not, which was done with a double Design, the one to exercise the Authority Royal, the other to authorize them to receive a Tax of 400000 Pounds, which had by Act of Parliament been made payable to the Sheriffs, and by them to be return'd to the Places of Receipt in the said Act specify'd; but the House of Commons RESOLV'D, That all those that presum'd to exercise the Office of High-Sheriff without Consent of Parliament, shou'd be summon'd to appear as Delinquents to answer such Matters as shou'd be justly allעד against them. The Author of the *Chronicle* assures us many of these Sheriffs appointed by the King were *Papists*, and all of them universally Persons very ill-affected, and fit for any Design.

Parl. Chron. 220.

Farnham taken.

About the same time the Two Houses were inform'd that Sir *William Waller* had taken *Farnham* Castle, and in it Mr. *Denham* High-Sheriff of *Surrey*, Captain *Hudson*, and several Persons of Note, with a great Booty of Money, Arms, and Ammunition. Sir *William Brockam* the new High-Sheriff of *Kent*, was seiz'd by Sir *Michael Livesay*, with his Commission under the Great-Seal, several Writs, Proclamations, and other such Ware, all which he sent to the Parliament. The Sheriff of *Devonshire* Sir *Edmund Fortescue*, was taken by a Detachment from the Garrison of *Plymouth*, and sent up to *London*, together with Sir *Edward Seymour*, *Edward Seymour* Esq; Mr. *Basset*, Colonel *Champernoun*, Captain *Pomeroy*, Captain *Bidlake*, Captain *Peter Fortescue*, Mr. *Barnes*, Mr. *Shepton* Clerk of the Peace, Major *Firman*, *Robert Warren* Esq; *Thomas Shipcot* Esq; and other Gentlemen, who had Cannon with them, and had great Things in their Heads if they cou'd have accomplish'd them.

Bristol.

Winchester.

Marlborough.

Parl. Chron. 227.

The City and Castle of *Bristol* had been secur'd for the Parliament by Colonel *Effex* with a Party of 1500 Foot and 500 Horse before *Edge-Hill* Fight. Sir *William Waller* took *Winchester*, where the Lord *Grandison* and Commissary *Wilmot* commanded for the King. These with the Lord *Digby* had just taken *Marlborough*, and committed such Cruelties and Robberies as render'd their Names infamous and odious. But what better cou'd be expected from such Leaders and such Soldiers, the Corruption of the corrupt Part of the Kingdom? *Digby* return'd with his Plunder to *Oxford*. *Grandison* and *Wilmot* advanc'd to *Winchester*, near which City Sir *William Waller*, who was sent out after them, found them drawn up to receive him with an equal Number of Forces, which he

drove into the Town, and pursu'd them to the *A.D. 1642.* Walls, where Colonel *Brown* soon made a Breach, and entering the Place, bravely seconded by the other Officers, the Cavaliers were forc'd to retire into the Castle, where they surrender'd at Discretion, and the Town was given the Soldiers to pillage, the Townsmen having made as much Opposition to the Parliament's Soldiers as the Royalists. What was Matter of great Scandal to the latter, was the breaking the Organ Pipes in the Cathedral dedicated to one *St. Swithin*, whose Saintship was owing to a Miracle of his in piecing together a whole Basket of broken Eggs. The Cathedral Men took in great Dudgeon, that the Honour of this famous Saint shou'd be thus expos'd, and his Organ Pipes turn'd into Bagpipes. It must be remember'd that during the whole Course of the War, there was no Cathedral Town but what bore its Testimony against the Defence of the Laws, Rights, and Liberties of the People, and thought Devastation and Blood a poor Sacrifice to Superstition and arbitrary Power.

Godwin;

Sir *William Waller* having garrison'd *Winchester*, proceeded to *Chichester*, and took it.

Sir Will. Waller. Chichester.

We left the Marquis of *Hertford* at *Shireburn*, where he was besieg'd by the Earl of *Bedford*, whose Troops being mostly Train'd-Bands, soon grew weary of the Length of the Siege, and return'd to their Homes. The Earl with the Remainder remov'd to *Yeoville* expecting Supplies; but the Marquis being reinforc'd with 100 Horse and 200 Foot sent him by Mr. *Rogers* High-Sheriff of *Dorset*, order'd Major *Bampfild* with a Detachment of 400 Horse and 200 Foot, to fall upon the Earl of *Bedford's* Rear. These advanc'd to *Babel-Hill* within a Mile of *Yeoville*, where, tho' with great Disadvantage of Ground, they were attack'd by the Parliament Forces, and put to Flight: Major *Bampfild* was taken Prisoner, Captain *Hussey* kill'd; but the Execution was not very great, the Royalists making the best Use of their own Heels and their Horses. In this Action Captain *Ayscough*, Captain *Balfour*, and Captain *Thomson*, distinguish'd themselves on the Parliament's Side. The Marquis of *Hertford* receiving Information that the Lord *Brook* was advancing to join the Earl of *Bedford*, and renew the Siege of *Shireburn*, and being dishearten'd at *Bampfild's* Defeat, he quitted the Castle and escap'd to *Minehead* in Disguise, together with the Lord *Parulet*; from whence the Marquis pass'd over into *Wales*, leaving behind him the Earl of *Bath*, Sir *Henry Berkley*, Sir *Ralph Sydenham*, Sir *Francis Dodington*, Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and other Gentlemen, who were taken Prisoners by the Earl of *Bedford's* Forces, and sent to *London*. A small Addition of Force wou'd then have secur'd the *West* for the Parliament. These Events happen'd before the Battel of *Edge-Hill*.

Marquis of Hertford.

Earl of Bedford.

Yeoville Skirmish.

In *Cornwall* the Lord *Mohun* was very active against the Parliament, having refus'd to attend the House of Peers upon Summons. The Earl of *Bath* had done the same, and the Lord *Capel* gave Power to the Marquis of *Hertford* to receive all his Rents in the *Western* Parts of *England*, which were very considerable at and about *Wrinton* in *Somersetshire*, for maintaining the War against the Parliament, which he had deserted. The City of *Exeter* was garrison'd by the Citizens, and twenty-five Pieces of Ordnance mounted on the Walls. The Earl of *Bedford* while he was superior in Force to the Royalists, kept *Dorset*, *Devon*, and *Somerset* pretty well in Awe, but for want of due Supplies he cou'd not suppress the opposite Party, who especially in *Cornwall* and *Devon* picqu'd themselves on Cavalier Notions of Loyalty, and center'd Religion in Forms and Ceremonies, without being at much Pains to know more, or know better than their Vicars or Tutors taught them; so they took hold of the first Opportunity

Cornwall;

Devon;

Opportunity to deliver themselves from their Deliverers, to reject the Authority and Protection of the Parliament, and give themselves up absolutely to the absolute Power of the King, supported by the most bloody and ravenous Part of his Majesty's Army under *Goring* and *Greenwile*.

North. In the North the Parliamentarians could not make Head against the Cavaliers. The Earl of *Cumberland* commanded there for his Majesty, before the Earl of *Newcastle* had form'd his Army, and had proclaim'd the following Gentlemen Traitors for not joining with him: The

Yorkshire Gentlemen proclaimed Traytors.

Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Sir *Edward Loftus*, Sir *Matthew Bointon*, Sir *Henry Forbes*, Sir *Thomas Malverer*, Sir *Richard Darby*, Sir *Christopher Wray*, Sir *Henry Anderson*, Sir *John Savile*, Sir *Edward Rodes*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *John Hotham*, Sir *Thomas Remington*, Sir *Thomas Norcliffe*, *John Hotham*, Esq; *Thomas Hatcher*, Esq; *William Lister*, Esq; *John Legard*, Esq; *John Dodsworth*, Esq; *John Wastel*, Esq; *John Perce*, Esq; *William White*, Esq; *Thomas Robinson*, Esq; *John Robinson*, Esq; *Arthur Beckwith*, Esq; *Thomas Stockdale*, Esq; and several others; which the Parliament resenting, did the same by the Earl of *Cumberland* and his Array Men. The Lord *Fairfax* being sensible that when the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Newcastle* had joined Forces, the Parliament's would not be a Match for them in *Yorkshire*, concluded a Neutrality for that Province with Mr. *Bellasis* the King's Commissioner; but the Parliament dissolved that Agreement, as not being made with their Consent; and the Lord *Fairfax*, his Son, and their Adherents, made a very gallant Defence against the Earls of *Newcastle* and *Cumberland*, who had an Army almost as great as the King's, till the *Scots* came to their Assistance, and drove the Cavaliers out of the

CaWOOD.

North. Capt. *Hotham* took *CaWOOD* Castle from Archbishop *Williams*, who fled to the King, notwithstanding he had been so ill used by him; and his Usage was not much better afterwards. Sir *Hugh Cholmley* and Sir *Matthew Bointon* joining Forces, fell upon Col. *Slingsby* at *Gisborough*, routed his Party of 600 Horse and Foot, and took himself and 140 of his Men Prisoners. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* seiz'd the Lord *Savile*'s strong House at *Howley*, and found in it 500 Men, with Store of Arms and Ammunition. Sir *William Savile* and Major *Beaumont* made their Escape before the House was taken.

Howley.

Tadcaster.

Mr. Archdeacon, with his wonted Sincerity, assures us, the Earl of *Newcastle* drove the Lord *Fairfax* and his Lieutenant-General, Capt. *Hotham*, out of *Tadcaster*; which little Action has also its Share of Falshy, and I will repeat what the Lord *Fairfax* said of it, to confirm the Reader in his Judgment of the Reverend Author's Fair History, when he writes of the Cavaliers. "I sent to Capt. *Hotham* to bring up the Forces to *Wetherby*,

Fairf. Mem.

"which being done, and the Earl of *Newcastle*'s Army come in Sight, we drew our Men into the innermost Part of our Quarters, where we had raised some Breast-Works for our Musketeers, and there the Fight began about Eleven a Clock, and so continued a sharp Dispute till about Nine a Clock in the Evening the 10th of *December*, in which Time there was at least 40000 Musket-Shot discharged on both Sides, and great Numbers of Cannon-Shot. The Enemy had once Part of the Town, beaten our Men, and plac'd some of their Companies in two or three Houses, which did much indanger us. But

"in the End our Men with great Courage forced them out again, recovered and burnt the Houses, kill'd many of the Enemies that were there placed, and in Conclusion the Enemy retired, leaving very many of their Men dead, and very great Numbers wounded." The Reader may depend upon it that all his Relations of Fights, Skirmishes, and Sieges are of a Piece with this.

The Lord *Strange*, soon after Earl of *Derby*, Lancashire, began the War in *Lancashire*, by the Murder of one *Richard Percival*, a Dealer in Linnen about *Manchester*, which Town he besieged with an Army of 3000 Foot, and 200 Dragoons, most of them *Lancashire* Papists. He had with him three Pieces of Ordnance, and possess'd himself of *Salford*, parted from *Manchester* only by the River: But the Towns-men, with the Assistance of Mr. *Holland* of *Denton*, Capt. *Booth*, Son to Sir *George Booth*, Capt. *Ratcliffe*, Mr. *Ashton* of *Middleton*, Capt. *Bradshaw*, Mr. *Egerton* of *Shaze*, Mr. *Erid*, and their Tenants, defended the Place, defenceless as it was for Want of Walls, against the Lords *Strange*, *Molineux*, Col. *Evers*, Sir *Edward Earl of Fitton*, Mr. *Leigh*, and their little Army, who were obliged to retire, after several insolent Summons and Assaults. The Earl of *Derby*, then Lord *Strange*, was impeached for the Murder of *Percival*, and would have suffer'd if the Parliament could have come at him, as they did afterwards. 'Tis said his joining with the Papists against the Protestants shorten'd his Father's Days, who died while his Son was before *Manchester*.

The Reader will observe that it is impossible to pursue the Thread of this History in due Order of Time; There being Action in several Parts of the Kingdom, and the Parliament sitting at the same Time at *London*, it would confound Civil and Military Matters, and one Action with another too much to observe a Chronological Succession of Things. Most of the Civil Part consists in Declarations, Letters, Messages, and Answers, which have been mention'd in their proper Place.

About a Month before the Battle at *Edgehill* the Lords and Commons pass'd an Ordinance against *Stage-Plays*, *Interludes*, &c. as expressing *Lascivious Mirth and Levity*; in which they have since exceeded all Bounds of Virtue and Good Manners, and have not only met with Encouragement, but the Actors and Managers of them have been favoured and carest'd, as if they had not in all Ages and all Nations been look'd upon and treated as profligate and scandalous.

The University of *Oxford*, when the Lord *Say* and his Men were there, apprehending that his Lordship would have done what *Whitlocke* advised, and what he in Prudence ought to have done, wrote a long Letter to the Earl of *Pembroke*, their Chancellor, elected upon *Laud*'s Impeachment, to hinder a Garrison being left there, or Soldiers suffered to come amongst them; which they knew they had deserved from the Parliament for harbouring Delinquents, and refusing to send them to *London* upon Summons, as Sir *John Biron*, and others. The Lord *Pembroke*, in his Answer, writes thus: *If you had desired my Assistance, I should willingly have contributed my best Endeavours for your Safety and Protection; but your own unadvised Counsels and Actions have reduced you to the Straits you are now in, and in Discretion you might have foreseen, that the admitting of Cavaliers, and taking up Arms, could not but make the University a notorious Mark of Opposition against the Parliament, and therefore to be*

be opposed by it. If you had contain'd your selves within the decent modest Bounds of an University, you might justly have challeng'd me if I had not perform'd the Duty of a Chancellor. I am sorry you have brought these Troubles upon your selves, &c. The chief Man in taking up Arms was Dr. Robert Pink, Warden of New College, and Deputy to the Chancellor, but displac'd by him for this and other Offences. The King's coming here was Matter of great Joy; This learned Militia have not a little valued themselves upon it in eloquent Addresses, and other Discourses; whose Eloquence has not however kept them from Oblivion.

Ireland.

'Twas impossible for the Parliament to do as much for the Relief of Ireland as was necessary, and as they would gladly have done, had they not been diverted by the Care of their own Preservation: But they did what they could, and were as forward to assist the Protestants in that Kingdom as the King was backward. Several Regiments had been transported to Ireland, and had given a great Check to the Rebels. Stores of Ammunition, Artillery, and all Sorts of war-like Provisions, were sent thither from Time to Time, and in greater Plenty than Men or Money, tho' they had both in greater Proportion than the Danger the Parliament were in at home could well bear. How his Majesty behav'd appears by a Letter from the Earl of Leicester, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Earl of Northumberland, complaining of the Delay he met with at Court, then at York, which retarded his going into that Kingdom, and particularly as follows. "The King being

Earl of Leicester's Letter to Earl of Northumberland about it.

"informed that there were certain Draught Horses provided for Ireland, said, I must needs have them for my own Use. I did humbly beseech him not to take them away from his own Service in Ireland, for which they were bought, and besides what I said my self, I made Means by others to save the Horses, so that I heard no more of it for some Time: But then his Majesty said again; I must needs have those Horses, and would have you send for them. I represented that the Parliament might take it very ill, in regard the Horses were bought with their Money, and for the Service of poor Ireland. Therefore I did beseech him not to take them, or would secure me from being an Instrument in what I conceived would much hurt his Affairs, and that I being trusted by the Parliament, could not do it my self, nor consent that any other should do it, being a Breach of Trust. Notwithstanding which, the King sent Mr. Endimion Porter and Sir George Hay to me several Times to the like Purpose; but I return'd the same Answer, adding, I could not do it, and be an honest Man. However, his Majesty gave one Errington, who serv'd me, a Warrant to fetch the Horses. Errington told me of it, I forbid him, and told him, if he did it, he must not expect to have any thing more to do with me; adding, I doubted not the Parliament would hang him for stealing the Horses. Errington said, his Majesty had commanded him upon his Allegiance to execute the Warrant." Accordingly he went away without the Earl of Leicester's Consent or Knowledge, and seiz'd the Horses at Chester. In these Letters, that is, the Earl of Pembroke's to the Oxford Men, and this of the Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Northumberland, there is the honest Face of Truth. In every Letter, Speech, or any the like thing, in the Lord Clarendon's History, there is Wash and Paint, and Fact bury'd or hidden under a Heap of Words with so much Formality and Affecta-

tion, that if what is said had been true, the Manner of saying it must be nauseous and tiresome to Persons who have ever so little Knowledge of right Thinking and Speaking.

Three Days after the Battle of Edgehill, the King, to prepare the Citizens of London for his Reception when he could make his Way thither, sent his Pardon to that City and Westminster, excepting Alderman Fulke and Capt. Manwaring, and all those Persons whom he had before excepted. But I do not find that those who were not excepted had any more Benefit, or took more Notice of it than those that were. Another such Pardon was offer'd to Kent, excepting Sir Michael Livesay and Thomas Blount, Esq; and some other general Exceptions, and it had the like Success.

At the latter End of November, the Lords and Commons published an Ordinance for assessing all such as had not contributed towards raising Horse and Arms, the Assessors to be appointed by Isaac Penington, Esq; Lord-Mayor of London, Sir John Wollaston Alderman, Alderman Towse, Alderman Warner, Alderman Andrews, Alderman Chambers, Alderman Fulke, Sir Thomas Soame Alderman, and the Money paid to Sir John Wollaston, Alderman Towse, Alderman Warner, and Alderman Andrews. Against which Ordinance, his Majesty publish'd a Declaration, wherein Care is taken to tell all those who wonder'd at it, for 'tis excessive long and verbose, that the Anabaptists and Dissenters joining with vicious and debauch'd Persons of desperate Fortunes, had turn'd out godly, pious, and painful Divines, and put in schismatical, illiterate, and scandalous Preachers, who fill'd the Pulpits and Churches with Blasphemy. The Strength of the Argument and the Beauty of the Style seem to be Mr. Hyde's. The Penman of these Papers shews very little Art, but what there is, consists chiefly in turning the Phrases in the Parliament's Declarations, such as godly, pious, painful Divines, on one Side, and illiterate scandalous Preachers on the other, against them. The Assessment was not a Penny the worse for this Declaration. Another was put out by the King against the Parliament's Ordinance for the Receipt of Customs, and with the same Success. But both Sides did hardly ever let any of the like Papers go unanswer'd.

We have mentioned an Agreement made between the Gentlemen of Yorkshire for a Neutrality in that County, the like was done in Cheshire, the Lord Kilmurry, Sir Orlando Bridgman, for the King; Col. Marbury, and Henry Maynwaring, Esq; for the Parliament, who dissolved this Agreement, as they had done that in Yorkshire.

Staffordshire and Warwickshire were empower'd by a particular Declaration of both Houses of Parliament to associate, and the following Commissioners were appointed to manage that Association.

For the County of Warwick and City of Coventry. War-

Sir Peter Wentworth, William Purfoy, Esq; Godfrey Bosvile, Esq; John Barker, Esq; William Jesson, Esq; Mayor of Coventry, John Hales, Esq; Anthony Stoughton, Esq; Thomas Boughton, Esq; William Colemore, Esq; George Abbot, Esq; Thomas Basnet, Alderman.

For Staffordshire and City of Litchfield.

Sir Hugh Wrottesly, Sir Charles Egerton, Thomas Crompton, Esq; Edward Maynwaring, Esq; Thomas Parkes, Esq; John Shrinley, Esq; Rowland Cotton, Esq; Richard Floyer, Esq;

Richard

Richard Bowyer, Esq; Gerard Shrinley, Esq; Edward Leigh, Esq; Richard Broughton, Esq; Matthew Moreton, Esq; Richard Payot, Esq; George Parker, Esq; Humphrey Wicley, Esq; Walter Grosvenor, Esq; Francis Collier, Esq; Ralph Rudyard, Esq; Mr. Edward Broughton, Mr. John Birch, Mr. Philip Jackson, Mr. Henry Stone, Mr. John Swinefield, Mr. John Bourne, Mr. Richard Baxter.

A. D.
1643.
Subscription.

In the Beginning of the following Year, the Parliament publish'd a Declaration, shewing the Necessity of a present Subscription for Money and Plate for further Supply of the Army, wherein they urge the very great Danger the Nation is in from the many Thousands of profess'd Papists bearing Arms against the Parliament, which Papists have plunder'd, robb'd, pillag'd, and murder'd many of his Majesty's good Protestant Subjects, and their Armies encrease by the Accession of many Popish Commanders from Foreign Parts, arriving with Arms at Newcastle, where it is notoriously known the Earl does lay very great Impositions upon all Coal-Ships for London. Much Money and Plate were brought in upon this Declaration, by which the Publick Faith was engag'd to pay it with 8 per Cent. Interest.

London
petition to
the King.

The Citizens of London sent a Petition to the King at Oxford, desiring his Majesty, as the two Houses had done, to return to his Parliament with his Royal, not martial Attendance; to which were added great Professions of Loyalty. This Petition was deliver'd by Sir George Clarke, Sir George Garret, Aldermen, Mr. Bateman, Mr. Peter Jones, Mr. Rhemes, Mr. Henby, Commoners: To which his Majesty return'd an Answer, that could have no other Effect than to exasperate those Minds, which before were only four'd a little. He told the Citizens, He look'd on them as Persons groaning under the same Burthens, and aw'd by the same Persons who begot the late Tumult, and the same Army which gave Battle to him; That he cannot be safe at London, while the LAWS OF THE LAND ('tis almost in every Paragraph) are so notoriously trampled under Foot; That Contributions have been rais'd there for the maintaining of an Army, who have given him Battle with a Design to murder him and his Children; That he can have no Hope while Alderman Pennington, their pretended Lord-Mayor, Ven, Fowke and Manwaring, commit such Outrages as to receive the Money the Citizens brought them. He then offer'd them Pardon, if they would desert the Parliament, and solemnly declare, they will defend the KNOWN LAWS OF THE LAND. But if they should contribute Money, suffer Men to be rais'd, or pay Tonnage and Poundage, every such Person must expect the severest Punishment the LAW can inflict; and his Majesty will seize upon any Part of his Estate within his Power for the Support of his own Army, rais'd for the Defence of the LAW, since he has given Assistance to the Rebels, which by the KNOWN LAWS, &c. And he hopes they will join with him in Defence of the LAW. This terrible Answer being written down, was so grateful to the Council at Oxford, that they advis'd the King to send a Messenger, Mr. Heron, to London, on purpose to see it delivered, for fear the Aldermen and Common-Council Men, who came to present the Petition, might sink the Answer, or leave out some of the *Beaux Endroits*, the beautiful Places of it. It is easy to see that the Air of it proceeded from some vain Hope of the Success of a Plot to betray the City to the Cavalier-Army, the very Thought of

King's Answer.

which makes my Blood shudder, considering what a Crew the Goring's, the Wilmor's, the Greenvill's, the Lunsford's, the Digby's, had with them. The Parliament being inform'd of Heron's coming, appointed a Committee of both Houses to be present when the Answer was deliver'd to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, by Heron himself, for no Body else would venture or deign to read it. After the reading it, the Earl of Manchester complain'd of the wounding Assertions in it cast upon Persons of such eminent Affection in their City. His Lordship said the Parliament own'd themselves equally interested, and would stand by them with their Lives and Fortunes. Then Mr Pym made particular Replies to the several Parts of the King's Answer, and at the End of every Period of his Speech the Acclamations were so loud, that he was often silenc'd. He clos'd it thus: *Worthy Citizens, you see what the Parliament will do for your Lord-Mayor and you.* Upon which they cry'd out, *We will live and die with them, we will live and die with them.* Thus had Henry Heron, Esq; his Majesty's Messenger, a very fine Opportunity to inform himself of the Reason his Majesty had to call the governing Part of the City a Faction only, and the Well-affected to the Parliament a pack'd Crew of Brownists, &c. one of whom, according to the Evidence of Mr. Archdeacon Echar, hop'd shortly to wash his Hands in the King's Blood; but that Minister of Justice, the Lord-Mayor, refus'd to issue a Warrant against him; which, if it had been true, deserv'd to have been remember'd to his Infamy; but as it is invented, the Infamy sticks to the Inventor.

We must not forget that on the 16th of January the House of Commons made an Order, probably on Heron's coming to London, *That if any Agent or Servant to any Person that bears Arms against the Parliament, shall presume to come to Westminster, or reside about London, he shall forthwith be apprehended as a Spy, and proceeded against accordingly.* They also inhibited the Oxford Carriers from travelling, and all other Means of conveying any kind of Provision from London to Oxford, or elsewhere to the King's Army, which is rail'd at as very barbarous; as if in Time of War to distress an Enemy every Way was not customary, and according to Law Martial.

Nothing seems to me more strange in the Progress of this History, than the publishing of so many Proclamations and Declarations at Oxford, none of which had ever any Effect but in the King's own Quarters. His Majesty now sent a Letter to the Sheriffs and City of London, which declar'd, that the Lord-Mayor was no Lord-Mayor, and requir'd the Citizens to take hold of him, Ven, Fulke and Maynwaring; which was too hard a Piece of Service to be perform'd at that Time, especially after the Parliament had forbidden the reading of that Letter: In which the King mentions one Browne, a Woodmonger, as a mutinous Fellow; fit also to be laid hold on; whom I also mention, because he is the very same Person whom this King's Son made a Knight and Baronet, and who was most busy in hanging the Members of this Parliament after the Restoration.

Sir Ralph Hopton's Zeal for the King's Service increasing in Proportion to his Hatred to the Parliament, who had sent him to the Tower for some licentious Speech in their House; he, who had been a noted Puritan, got a Company War together in Cornwall to disturb the Peace of the West. With these he march'd into Devonshire, where his Followers robb'd, plunder'd, spoil'd and

Rushw. p. 123. and pillag'd several Towns, so the Parliament say, and committed divers Rapes and Murders. They add, *And forasmuch as that now Ruin and Destruction is threaten'd, not only by that bellish and accursed Crew, but also by the Welch and other Forces in the County of Somerset, &c. They therefore appointed all Subscriptions and Contributions, which were to be rais'd in that County, to be there expended for the Defence of it, and not sent to London, and made the following Gentlemen Commissioners for the*

Somersetshire Lieutenancy. *Licutenancy and Assessments: Earl of Stamford, Sir John Horner, Sir Francis Popham, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir George Farwell, Alexander Popham, Esq; Hugh Rogers, Esq; John Aps, Esq; Henry Sandford, Esq; Richard Cole, Esq; John Pyne, Esq; John Frances, Esq; John Hippeley, Esq; John Harrington, Esq; William Strode, Esq; Henry Henley, Esq; James Aps, Esq; William Seaborn, Esq; William Long, Esq; John Preston, Esq; Christopher Walker, Esq; John Pike, Esq; Thomas Hippeley, Esq;. I mention the Gentlemen's Names, to shew how impartial the Earl of Clarendon is, where he says, all the Gentlemen of Somersetshire, of eminent Quality and Fortune, were on the King's Side, except Sir John Horner and Mr. Popham. But tho' the Parliament had so well provided for the Tranquillity of this large and populous County, they had too many Enemies in it to preserve it from Waste; and the Cavaliers under Goring and Greenville, from Cornwall and Devon, made such terrible Irruptions into it, that they are to this Day the Subject of Discourse and Abhorrence.*

Episcopacy abolished. When Archdeacon Eckard comes to the passing of the Bill for abolishing Episcopacy, the Fallacies are, that the much greater Majority of the Members of the House of Commons who voted for the Bill, were really against the Bill, and that there were but five Lords for it, which is left to the Faith of the Reader. One of those five Lords, the Lord Viscount Say and Sele, made a notable Speech in the House of Peers, too long to be inserted intire, but Part of it may help us a little in our Conjecture why that august Assembly gave their Assent to the Bill: *Their proper Excellency is Spiritual, the Denial of the World, with the Pomps and Preferments and Enjoyments thereof; this they should teach and practise: But when they, contrary therunto, seek after worldly Excellency, like the great Men of the World, and to rule and domineer as they do, contrary to our Saviour's Precept, Vos autem non sic: But it shall not be so amongst you; instead of Honour and Esteem, they have brought upon themselves, in the Hearts of other People, that Contempt and Odium which they now lie under; and that justly and necessarily, because the World seeth that they prefer a worldly Excellency, and run after it, and contend for it, before their own; which being spiritual, is far more excellent; and which being proper to the Ministry, is that alone which will put a Value and Esteem upon them that are of the Calling. Is it not prodigious, that the Historian, who is himself of the Spiritual Calling, should be as insensible of all these Sentiments, as if they were not Christian and Spiritual? How else could he be in a Rapture when Dr. Fuxon rode in Triumph through the City of London with the Lord High Treasurer's White Staff in his Hand; and doubtless he was as well pleas'd when Dr. Robinson was breaking the Grand Alliance as Ambassador at Utrecht. The Lord Say proceeds; As these Things hurt themselves in their Consciences and Credit, so have they, and if they be continued*

Lord Say's Speech.

*still, will make them hurtful to others. The Reason is, because they break out of their own Orb, and move irregularly: There is a Curse upon their leaving of their own Place. What follows is an Allegory, which, if it had a Place in the Lord Clarendon's History, would have been extoll'd for its Beauty, Magnificence and Truth. The heavenly Bodies, while they keep within their own Spheres, give Light and Comfort to the World; but if they should break out, and fall from their regular and proper Motions, they would set the World on Fire: So have these done; while they kept themselves to the Work of the Ministry alone, and gave themselves to Prayer and the Ministry of the Word, according to the Examples of the Apostles, the World receiv'd the greatest Benefits by them, they were the Light and Life thereof; but when their Ambition cast them down, like Stars from Heaven to Earth, and they grew to be advanced above their Brethren, I do appeal to all who have been versed in the ancient Ecclesiastical Stories, or modern Histories, whether they have not been the Common Incendiaries of the Christian World, never ceasing from Contention one with another about the Precedency of their Sees and Churches, excommunicating one another, drawing Princes to be Parties with them, and thereby casting them into bloody Wars. Their Ambition and intermeddling with secular Affairs, hath been the Occasion of shedding more Christian Blood than any thing else in the Christian World: And this no Man can deny that is vers'd in History. The Reverend Historian must by his Character be vers'd in History, and he has himself compil'd an Ecclesiastical History, without one Syllable that is in the least like this, and consequently it must be miraculously sincere and impartial. Another Historian, contrary to his Representation of the Matter, tells us in his homely Way, *Bishops were voted down Root and Branch, Nullo Contradictante, for which there were Bonfires and Ringing of Bells all over the City of London.**

About the latter End of January a Party of Skirmish at Cavaliers made an Attempt on the Parliament's Henly. Quarters at Henly, where Major-General Skippon's Regiment of Foot, and another Regiment were just enter'd; after a long fatiguing March, and were dispers'd in several Places for the Convenience of Rest and Refreshment. It was Nine a Clock at Night before the Soldiers were quartered, and about Two in the Morning the Enemy from Reading, consisting of about 1000 Horse, came furiously upon them, crying out, *The Town is ours, The Town is ours.* But as they rode along the Lane towards the Town, Capt. Samuel Turner, who commanded the Guard, order'd a Canon which was planted against it to be fir'd: 'Twas charg'd with Musket-Ball, and did great Execution; yet the Enemy's Horse push'd forward, till hearing some of the Parliament's Soldiers cry out very loud, *Fire the Rest of the Ordnance,* they were put into a Terrible Fright, and Flight too, as Capt. Turner phrases it, in a Letter to his Brother. He adds, *I believe they were so bit, they will scarce brag of their Victory, which they are so apt to do.* A Truth Mr. Eckard might easily have observ'd, with as much Pleasure as I have done, the Royalists, in every Relation, boasting they were Victorious, and by taking their Words for it, he has turn'd the Gravity of History into Merriment.

About the same Time Sir Thomas Fairfax Leeds made himself Master of the large Town of *Leeds* in Yorkshire, where Sir William Saville T. Fair- commanded with a Garrison of 1500 Foot, and 500 Horse and Dragoons. Sir Thomas Fairfax had

A. D. had about nine Troops of Horse and Dragoons, 1000 Musketeers, and 3000 Club-men: So well affected was the *Yorkshire* Peasantry to this gallant Officer and his Cause. Sir *Thomas* sent a written Summons to Sir *William Savile* to surrender the Place to the Parliament; Sir *William* answered, *En Cavalier*; he never took Notice of such frivolous Tickets. Sir *Thomas* had with him Sir *William Fairfax*, Sir *Henry Foxelis*, Capt. *Mildmay*, and other Persons of Distinction. He order'd Sir *William Fairfax* to begin the Assault, which was done so vigorously, and Sir *William* was so well seconded by Sir *Henry Foxelis*, Sir *Thomas Norcliffe*, Capt. *Forbes*, Capt. *Briggs*, Capt. *Frankland*, and other brave Officers, who set an Example to the Soldiers, that they drove the Enemy before them, and enter'd the Town Sword in Hand with the Loss but of 40 Men on both Sides, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* restraining the Soldiers from Slaughter and Pillage. He took 500 Prisoners, many Arms, some Cannon, and much Ammunition. Sir *William Savile*, and other Cavalier-Commanders, fled soon after the Fight began by secret Ways towards *Pontefract*, and their Men stole away by Degrees as fast as they could. *Savile* was very near being drown'd as he cross'd the River, and Major *Beaumont* was drown'd. This Success fo terrified the Enemy that they immediately abandon'd *Wakefield*, *Sbirburne*, and *Pontefract*: But the Garrisons that were there strengthen'd the Earl of *Newcastle's* Army, which he drew into *York*; either to save that City or to prepare for the Queen's coming with all Sorts of Supplies from *Holland*, her Standard being sent before by *Goring*. What a fine Army that Earl's was is seen by a Description of it in a Letter from the Lord *Fairfax* to the Speaker of the House of Commons. *The Strength of the Enemy will be found to consist much of Papists, and Popishly affected*, which in Fact was the main Strength of the Royal Army, the Earl of *Newcastle* granting Commissions for raising Men to Papists for the most Part. I send herewith the Names of twelve Recusants, to whom he has of late granted Commissions: Sir *John Middleton*, Sir *Philip Hungate*, Sir *Walter Vavasor*, Mr. *Robert Trapps*, Mr. *Waterson*, Mr. *Stephenson*, Mr. *Andes*, Mr. *Bretton*, Mr. *Tewenge*, Capt. *Sare*, Mr. *Tindal*, Capt. *Granger*. Which Courses have so advanced Popery, that in *York*, where many Recusants are settled, Mass is ordinarily said in every Street, and such Affronts offered to the Protestants and their Ministry, as few do resort to Church, &c. Yet how full are the Royal Declarations of Fighting for the True Protestant Religion. *Echard* has given us the Character of this noble Earl after the Lord *Clarendon*, which is as happy as the rest of the Characters as to Likeness and Nature. He lov'd Monarchy, as it was the Foundation of his own Greatness; the Church, as it maintain'd the Splendor and Security of the Crown. Is not this exquisite Nonfense? How does the Church maintain the Splendor of the Crown? And what does the English Tongue mean by the Crown, but the Sovereign Power limited by the Laws as in the Constitution of *England*? The Splendor of that Power is maintain'd by maintaining the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of the People, which is the Glory of the Prerogative; and how has the Church done that ever since Archbishop *Laud* was at the Head of it? He says further the Earl lov'd Religion, as it inforc'd Order and Obedience to arbitrary Power, Superstition, and the *Laudæan* Hierarchy; for at that Time he could mean nothing else by the Church. There is one Thing in the Earl of *Newcastle's* Character which is true, and on that Score deserves

particular Observation; he had a *Tincture of a Romantic Spirit*, which he acquir'd by his Study of Poetry; for there were some Years ago several Plays of his extant, if they may be call'd Plays, without one Word of Wit or good Sense, and hardly equal to his Wife's, who also printed a Folio or two of Plays and Poems. The Earl of *Clarendon* says he understood Horsemanship, but if he could ride no better than he could write he would have made but an ordinary Hero for a Romance. So remarkable was that romantick Air of his, that his Declarations were drawn in the Style of the *Knight of the Oracle*, and I doubt not the Lord *Clarendon* lik'd them not the worse for that, his own being very puffy and much swollen. The Lord *Fairfax* in one of his Answers, takes Notice of the Earl of *Newcastle's* *Knight-Errantry*, without following the Rules of an *Amadis de Gaul*, or the *Knight of the Sun*, which the Language of the Declaration seems to affect, &c. Mr. *Archdeacon* speaks also of his Amours with the Muses, with whom the Earl was in Love almost to Distraction; but the Nymphs were unmerciful, and never granted him one Favour, unless it was in bestowing upon him an illegitimate Son of theirs, Sir *William Davenant*, to be Lieutenant-General of his Ordnance. As I have not Patience enough to enter far into *Clarendon* and *Echard's* Characters, I hope this Digression will be excus'd.

After the Treaty of *Colnbrook* had been broken by the treacherous Action at *Brentford*, the Parliament did not think of another till some Weeks after, when their earnest Desire to see Peace restor'd to this distracted Kingdom, put them upon a second Attempt for a Treaty, and Propositions were prepar'd to be offer'd to the King at *Oxford*, where before their Commissioners arriv'd, the King held a Council of War about the Beginning of *February*, by whom that grand Affair was debated, Peace or War. The noble Earl of *Bristol*, Father of the noble Lord *Digby*, made a Speech, wherein there is a very handsome Panegyrick upon Slavery to encourage the Continuance of the Civil War. In *Spain*, where the long Time as I resided there as Ambassador, afforded me Privilege to be well acquainted with the State of that Kingdom, in no Age or Record can scarcely be found mention of intestine or Civil Wars, till these very Years, when all the World labours with Dissentions. This is false in Fact, the Reason is, because they are truly Subjects, and their Sovereign truly a Sovereign. The Earl of *Dorset*, who had been long enough in the Court at *Oxford* to be weary of such Counsels, answer'd the Earl of *Bristol's* Speech about *Spain*; That is, as I understand it, the Subjects are Earl of scarcely remov'd a Degree beyond Slaves, nor the *Dorset* for Sovereign from a Tyrant. His Lordship said something also which is so generous and reasonable, that I have often wonder'd it did never enter into the Heads and Hearts of those evil Counsellors whom the Parliament had declar'd Delinquents, and to save whose hated Lives, they basely suffer'd their Royal Master to lose his own; for if they had been given up to Justice, the Cause of the present War, all Contest had been over before a Drop of Blood had been spilt; but Mr. *Edward Hyde*, Mr. *Endymion Porter*, &c. insisted upon it eternally, that he could not give them up to Punishment, without a Diminution of his Absolute Power, which they always imagin'd to him as the very Apple of the Crown's Eye. See what the Earl of *Dorset*, who suffer'd as much as any Man in the King's Cause, said upon it: The Parliament only declares against Delinquents, such as they conjecture had miscounsell'd his Majesty, and been the Authors of these Tumults

More Papists in the King's Army.

Earl of Newcastle's Character.

A. D. 1643. *mults in the Common Wealth; but this Declaration of theirs, except such Claims can be prov'd against them, is of no Validity; the Parliament will do nothing unjustly.* There is no Meaning at all in the Lord Clarendon's History, if he does not every where mean, that the Parliament would do nothing justly. Here is the Evidence of the Earl of *Dorset* against the false Representations in the *History of the Rebellion*, and more authentick cannot, I think, be expected. Again; The Parliament *will not condemn the Innocent, and certainly innocent Men need not fear to appear before any Judges whatsoever. He who shall for any Cause prefer his private Good before the publick Utility, is but an ill Son of the Common Wealth.* Generous Sentiments! There is not one so just and so rational in all that voluminous History. If the Lord *Clarendon* and the other Delinquents had been capable of them, how soon might an End have been put to the Miseries of the Kingdom, and Peace and Prosperity have taken Place of Devastation and War.

In the Beginning of *February* the King's Forces got the most considerable Victory which they could yet reasonably boast of. We have mention'd the Marquis of *Hertford's* passing over from *Minehead* to *Wales*, where he rais'd Forces and march'd with them to *Worcester*, from thence to *Burford*, and from thence he went to *Oxford* to desire that *Cirencester* might be reduc'd, not only to enlarge his Quarters, but to facilitate his raising Contributions in *Gloucestershire* and *Wiltshire*. *Cirencester* in the Beginning of the Troubles was secur'd by the *Militia* and Townsmen, who rose against the Lord *Chandos*, who after he deserted the Parliament, would have possess'd it for the King; but he was glad enough to escape without his Coach, which the Townsmen broke to Pieces. It was then garrison'd for the Parliament, and the Earl of *Stamford's* Regiment, with about 1000 *Militia*, defended it against the Marquis of *Hertford*. But Prince *Rupert* coming to the Marquis's Assistance with 4000 Horse and Foot, they both made an Army of near 7000 Men; and the Prince making a vigorous Attack, first on the *Barren*, and then on the Town, carry'd it on that Side, while the Earl of *Caernarvon* made an unsuccessful Assault on the other, till Prince *Rupert's* Troops attack'd the Parliament's in the Rear, as the Earl of *Caernarvon* did in the Front, and so became Masters of the Place, which was plunder'd and wasted in so horrible a manner, that *Echard* himself is ashamed of it, and owns it was justly made use of to improve the Character of *Pride* and *Cruelty* on the King's Side: So scandalous, that the Reader could not have had Patience with it, had not sufficient Revenge been taken before the End of the War. Prince *Rupert* took 1100 Prisoners, who, according to that fair Writer *Whitlocke*, were led in much Triumph to *Oxford*, where the King and Lords look'd on them, and too many smil'd at their Misery, being ty'd together with Cords almost naked, beaten and driven along like Dogs. Among them were two Ministers, and several Officers of good Account, as also a proper handsome young Man, of a very white Skin, where it could be seen for the Blood of his Wounds; he not being able to go, was set naked upon the bare Back of a Horse, his Wounds gaping, and his Body all over bloody. The Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* was struck with so much Horror at the Report of this Cruelty, which the King saw without the least Emotion, that he tells us the Story at large: *Yet the young Man sat upright upon the Horse with an undaunted Courage and Countenance, and when*

near the King, who did not express any Compassion for him, a bracing Woman cry'd out to him, Ah you traiterly Rogue, you are well enough serv'd. He, with a scornful Look towards her, answer'd, You base Whore, and instantly drop'd off dead from the Horse in Sight of his Majesty, whose Presence increases the Horror one conceives at the Image of this worse than *Cannibal* Cruelty. But indeed such Barbarities had been practis'd in the Star-Chamber Court, &c. in Time of Peace, that it is no Miracle to find the like barbarous Acts continu'd by the like Agents in Time of War. His Majesty was at last so sensible of Prince *Rupert's* Cruelties, that he wrote a Letter to him to give a Check to them but not with so good Effect as was then wish'd for.

The Parliament, in a just Sense of the Calamities of the Nation, which were owing to their Sins, publish'd an Ordinance exhorting all his Majesty's Subjects to the Duty of Repentance, as the only Remedy for these Calamities; but in *Truth*, says Mr. Archdeacon, their Devotion was a *Libel* on the King and the Church. By *Libel* there, is meant a *Lye*, a Thing infamously false, to the Detriment of Church and King. Are the wicked Prophanations of the Lord's Day by Sports and Gamings, formerly encourag'd by Authority, a *Lye* or a *Libel*, they being the Words of the Ordinance? Is the conniving at, and almost tolerating Idolatry, a *Libel*? Is the high Contempt of God's holy Ordinances a *Libel*? Are the Multitudes of Papists and their Abettors in Arms, a *Lye* or a *Libel*? Are all Sorts of Uncleaness, Luxury, and Excess in Eating and Drinking, Vanity, Pride, and Prodigality in Apparel, Envy, Contention, and unnatural Division, Oppression, Fraud, and Violence, a *Libel*? But *Repentance* being a *Puritan* Word, must needs give Offence to such as set their Hearts intirely upon *Absolution*.

The Earl of *Stamford* having with a little too much Precipitation made an Irruption into *Cornwall*, where Sir *Ralph Hopton* had been a long Time making up an Army, was obliged to retire into *Devonshire*, and gave *Hopton* an Opportunity to fall upon *Ruthen*, Governor of *Plymouth*, at *Leskard*, where the Earl of *Stamford* was to have joined him. But these two Bodies being divided, were easily put to Flight one after the other. *Ruthen* made his Escape by Sea to *Plymouth*, and *Stamford* retir'd first to *Tavistock*, and thence to *Exeter*. The most remarkable Thing in Mr. *Echard's* History of this War, is, that Sir *Ralph Hopton's* Men went to Prayers before the Skirmish at *Leskard*. Both Sides had got so little in this Dispute, that they grew alike weary of it, and agreed upon a Cessation of Arms in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, leaving the Strong Holds still in Possession of the Parliament.

About the same Time, the Beginning of *February*, Sir *William Brereton*, with a Party of 150 Men, defeated Sir *Thomas Aston*, who had with him 400 Cavaliers near *Nantwich* in *Cheshire*, and Sir *John Seaton*, with a strong Party of the Parliament's Forces, assaulted and took the Town of *Preston* in *Lancashire*, where he made 200 Officers and Soldiers Prisoners, among whom were several Papists of Note, as Mr. *Anderson* of *Clayton*, Major *Purvey*, who had been in the *Irish* Rebellion, Dr. *Westby* a Physician, Sir *Gilbert Houghton* fled to *Wigan*, and Mr. *Townly* of *Townly*, a Name that has hardly been out of any *Papish* Rebellion since the Reformation, got off with much Difficulty. His Wife Mrs. *Townly*, the Lady *Houghton*, and the Lady *Girlington*, were secur'd for the Malignity of their Husbands. Mr. *Adam Morte*, Mayor of *Preston*,

A. D. 1643. *Preston*, was kill'd in the Assault, so zealous for the Cause, that he was wont to swear, *He would fire the Town, and his own House first, before he would give it up.* From hence Major *Birch* was sent to *Lancaster*, which was immediately surrender'd to him.

The Lord *Brooke* having clear'd *Warwickshire* of all Opposition, enter'd *Staffordshire*, of which County he was also Lord-Lieutenant; but understanding the Earl of *Chesterfield*, with about 300 Men was at *Litchfield*, he intended first to dislodge them, and march'd thither with about 1200 Men. He arriv'd before the Town on the 1st of *March*, and after some hot but short Service he drove the Lord *Chesterfield* into the Close, a Place which by the Strength of the Walls and otherwise was much more defensible. While his Soldiers were giving the Assault, and particularly at *St. Chad's Church* adjoining to the Close, the Lord *Brooke* being withdrawn into a House to give Directions, as he was looking out at the Window for that Purpose a Musket Ball

struck him near the Left Eye, of which he immediately dy'd. His Soldiers instead of being discourag'd, were animated by Revenge, and Sir *John Gell* bravely supply'd his Place. They assaulted the Close so vigorously, that they got to the Wall, which they were preparing to blow up, and continue the Storm, when the Cavaliers cry'd out for *Quarter*, which was granted, and the Place yielded, with Store of Arms, Money, &c.

Here the Earl of *Chesterfield*, his Son, and several other Persons of Condition were taken Prisoners; and here too the Zeal of the Cathedral Men met with the same Reward as at *Chichester*. But the Parliament's Forces had scarce been a Month in Possession of the Town and Close, before Prince *Rupert* gave them a Visit. He had just taken *Birmingham*, near which was a smart Encounter between some of the Horse from *Birmingham* and a Party of the King's, in which the Earl of *Denbigh* was mortally wounded, and soon after dy'd. The Prince having joined his Troops with the Earl of *Northampton's* and Col. *Hastings*, advanc'd to *Litchfield*, and before the City was put into a good Posture of Defence, he attack'd and enter'd it. The Close held out a Fortnight after, and then the Prince having by a Mine blown up Part of the Wall, the Parliament's Soldier's submitted upon Terms, and were allow'd to march out with Bag and Baggage under a Convoy to *Coventry*. The Falsity in *Echard's* Account of the Lord *Brooke's* Expedition against *Litchfield* is, that he enter'd it without any Resistance. *Rushworth* tells us there was some hot Service; and the poor Reflections of the Lord *Brooke's* hearing a Sermon at *Coventry* before he march'd to *Litchfield*, are not much mended by Archbishop *Laud's* Observations, which turn the Musket Ball into a Judgment: It being shot by a Clergyman's Son, and upon *St. Chad's Day*, a precious Monk in the Reign of *Wulpher King of Mercia*, to whom that Cathedral has the Honour to be dedicated.

Sir *John Gell* having recruited his Forces design'd to march towards *Stafford*, and Intimation was given to Sir *William Brereton* to draw that Way. The Earl of *Northampton*, Col. *Hastings*, and other of the King's Commanders who lay at *Stafford*, being advertised of *Gell's* Approach, march'd out to meet and give him Battle, which they did on the 19th of *March* upon *Hopton Heath*, by some call'd *Salt Heath*. The Earl charg'd with much Bravery, and was as bravely receiv'd, both Parties fighting with true *English* Courage: But after two or three Hours sharp Engagement, the Parliamentarians growing weak, and ready to be utterly defeated, Sir *Wil-*

liam *Brereton* happen'd to come in to their Relief, with a considerable Body of Horse and Dragoons, and falling furiously on the Rear of the King's Forces, while Sir *John Gell* with his re-animated Troops, ply'd their Front, cut off many of them, among whom the Earl of *Northampton* fighting valiantly was slain, and his Forces retreated into the Town of *Stafford*, *Gell* and *Brereton* keeping the Field. Thus does *Rushworth* tell the Story, and it appears by it that the Archdeacon's Account of it is false in almost every Line. He says *Gell* and *Brereton* were join'd when the Fight began; whereas that Junction was when the Fight was almost ended; That *Gell's* Forces were double in Number to the Earl's, *Gell* having but 1500 Horse and Foot, and the Earl of *Northampton* had 1000 Horse only. He says *Gell* was so totally routed, that he had scarce a Horse left in the Field; whereas Sir *William Brereton* came to his Assistance before the Royalists could break his Horse. He adds, Sir *Thomas Byron* charg'd *Gell's* Foot with good Execution; and we are told, that by the timely coming in of Sir *William Brereton*, ere the Battle was ended, Sir *John Gell* obtain'd a glorious Victory, and drove his Enemies quite out of the Field. The Reverend Historian affirms, that the Royalists thought fit to forbear any further Action, but what consisted in running away, and had all the Ensigns of Victory, except the King's Standard, and some other Ensigns carry'd off and kept by Sir *William Brereton*. A greater Victory would have been an unequal Recompence for the Loss of the Earl, of whose Party were slain but 25 Men. The *Chronicle* tells us, at least 140 of the Cavaliers were kill'd, and among them Mr. *Spencer Lucy*, Mr. *Ferdinando Stanbop*, Capt. *Baggot*, and other Gentlemen. But what is falser still than all the rest, is where he says above 200 of the Parliamentarians were kill'd and wounded. The *Chronicle* tells us, the Victory was obtain'd with the Loss only of 8 or 10 Parliamentarians. I have instanc'd the many Falsities in the Archdeacon's Relation of this Fight to save my self the Trouble of doing the like again on the like Occasions, for most of his and the Lord *Clarendon's* Accounts of Actions are of this Kind, and they erect Trophies of Victory for the Cavaliers in the very Fields where they were shamefully beaten. He would not let us know that about the Earl of *Northampton's* Neck, and in his Pocket, were found a *Crucifix* and an *Agnus Dei*, as was testify'd by two Witnesses *visâ voce* in Parliament, who were present when those Popish Trinkets were found about him. Neither would he inform us of the Recompence this Lord's Son met with for his Father's Services, and that the King gave away from him the *Rangership* of a Forest which his Father held; and when *Endimion Porter* minded his Majesty of the Earl of *Northampton's* losing his Life for him, and press'd him to give it to the young Earl, the King reply'd, *Hath the Earl done more than became him to die for his King?* No doubt it is the highest Honour when the King is fighting in the Defence of his Country.

There is something Merry enough in what follows of the Reverend Author's grave History: The Lord *Herbert*, a bigotted Papist, having all South Wales committed to his Care, at his own Charge, and other Catholick Friends, raised a little Army of 1500 Foot, and 500 Horse, with which he advanced, and set down before *Gloucester*. The King did the same soon after, with an Army of 2000 Men, and with not much better Success. Sir *William Waller* came suddenly

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Parl. Chron. p. 288.

1b.

1b. p. 16.

Reybold.

Ld. Brooke kill'd.

Litchfield Close taken.

Birmingham.

Litchfield Close re-taken.

Hopton Heath Fight.

A. D. 1643. denly on the Lord Herbert's Army of Welch Men, at sight of whom, according to *Echard*, they threw down their Arms without giving or receiving a Blow, and cry'd Quarter. *Waller* took 1500 Foot, and 8 Troops of Horse, upon which the Historian makes this very wise Reflection. *If the Money which was laid out upon the Welch Forces had been employed to the Kings best Advantage, it might have put an End to the War next Summer.* How better could it have been employ'd than in raising Forces! Unless the two Houses of Parliament, their General the Earl of *Essex* and his Army could have been brib'd with it. There would then have been no more War in *England*, but what was carry'd on by *Practors* and *Paritors*. He could not tell this pitiful Story without some Falsities. *Rusworth* informs us, There were so many Blows given and taken, that 500 Welch Men were slain on the Spot. The Lord Herbert was not then at *Oxford*, but in the Battle, and with Difficulty made his Escape thither. Sir *William Waller* a Week before this had taken *Malmsbury*, where Colonel *Lunsford's* Brother was Governor. *Waller* was beaten off at the first Attack, but at the second the Garrison desired Parley and yielded upon Quarter.

Malmsbury taken by him. We must now look into the Affairs of the *North*, where the King's had a good Aspect. Though his Majesty had not many profitable Employments to dispose of at present, yet he had at present Honours and Titles, which had a mighty Influence on the Vanity of the Country Gentry; Sir *Ralph Hopton* was created Lord *Hopton of Stratton* in *Corwall*; and doubtless Sir *Hugh Cholmley* had the same Honour in View, when he deserted his Country which he had so zealously serv'd, and deliver'd up *Scarborough Castle* to the Royalists. He remain'd uncorrupted till the Queen landed in *Yorkshire*, and after that 'twas observed two Trumpets came upon one Day to *Scarborough* from Colonel *Goring* and Sir *Francis Mackworth*, Commanders for the King, under Pretence of exchanging Prisoners, Sir *Hugh* from that Time often magnify'd the Earl of *Newcastle's* Forces, and undervalued the Earl of *Essex's* and Lord *Fairfax's*. He complain'd that the Parliament slighted him, and from Disgust fell into Treason, and betrayed the Town and Castle committed to his Charge. The same Disgust had had the same Effect in *Devonshire*, where Sir *George Chudleigh*, who had serv'd the Parliament very successfully, revolted to the King. But *Echard* will have it, that the Wound in these Gentlemens Consciences, made by their taking Arms in Defence of the Protestant Religion, the Rights and Liberties of the People, caus'd them to apply the best Remedy to it, which was to turn to the other Side, and fight for Arbitrary Power, Superstition, and a *Laudean* Hierarchy, which they had so strenuously opposed.

Yorkshire. About the Middle of *February* the Queen landed at *Burlington Key* in *Yorkshire*, the Earl of *Newcastle* having drawn his Army that Way for her Safeguard. Four of the Parliament's Ships were at the Mouth of *Newcastle Harbour*, whose Captains having Notice of her Arrival weigh'd Anchor, and came before *Burlington*, where they shot at the small Vessels that were landing the Military Stores. Some of the Bullets reach'd into the Town near the House where her Majesty lay for her Repose, so that she was forc'd to remove thence to a more secure Lodging behind a Hill. *Echard* avers, The Ships shot directly at the Queen's House; and that her Lodging behind the Hill was a Ditch. He adds, the Parliament Ships would

not have desisted, but for some Threats from the Dutch Admiral, which is false, and foolish to a Prodigy, for the Dutch had not a Power equal to the Parliament's; and it is not likely that the Admiral of two or three Ships would have dar'd to insult the Commadore of a Squadron of the Parliament's, especially when the States had just before stopp'd one of the Ammunition Vessels, which the Queen was to have brought with her. As soon as the Lord *Fairfax* heard of her Majesty's Arrival he sent Sir *William Fairfax* with a Letter to her, offering to be her Guard, but she refus'd his Offer, and put her self under the Protection of the Marquis of *Newcastle*.

During these military Actions, the Treaty of Peace was renew'd at *Oxford*. The Parliament's Commissioners were the Earl of *Northumberland*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Holland*, Lord *Wenman*, Lord *Dungarvon*, *William Pierrepont*, Esq; Sir *William Armine*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *William Litton*, *Bulstrode Whitlocke*, Esq; *Edmund Waller*, Esq; *Richard Winwood*, Esq; But I do not find that all these Commissioners acted. The Parliament appointed Mr. *John Rusworth*, Mr. *Michael Welden*, Mr. *John Corbet* of *Grays Inn*, and Mr. *James Standish* to attend the Commissioners as Messengers, and the King order'd Passes for them. I do not see any of the Commissioners Names in this Negotiation, which was carried on by writing, but the Earl of *Northumberland*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *William Armine*, Mr. *Pierrepont*, and Mr. *Whitlocke*. Others of them might be there, as particularly, Mr. *Waller* was, for when his Majesty gave them Audience first in *Christ Church Garden*, and they had the Honour to kiss his Hand in turn, according to their Quality, Mr. *Waller* being the last, the King said to him, *Though you are the last, yet you are not the worst, nor the least in my Favour.* Mr. *Whitlocke* observes, "The Discovery of a Plot then in hand at *London*, to betray the Parliament, wherein Mr. *Waller* was engaged with *Challoner*, *Tompkins*, and others, did manifest the King's Courtship to Mr. *Waller* to be for that Service." After the Commissioners had kiss'd the Prince's Hand, as well as the King's, the Earl of *Northumberland* read the Propositions to his Majesty with a sober, stout Carriage, and being interrupted by the King, he said smartly, *Your Majesty will give me Leave to proceed, the King answer'd, I, I, and so the Earl read them all through.* The Propositions were to disband his Army, and return to the Parliament, to leave Delinquents to Trial, and Papists to be disarm'd, to pass a Bill for abolishing Bishops, and such other Bills as should be presented for Reformation, Recusants to abjure Papacy, to remove malignant Counsellors, to settle the Militia as the Parliament desir'd, to prefer to Offices such as the Parliament should name, to take in all that were put out of the Commissions of Peace; a Bill to vindicate the Lord *Kimbolton* and the Five Members, and to enter into an Alliance for the Recovery of the Palatinate. The Interest of the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Royal Family, were never forgotten by this Protestant Parliament: As if they foresaw that the Security of our most Holy Religion, and the Rights, Properties, and Privileges of their Successors and Posterity, would one Day depend intirely on the Protection of that illustrious House; and those good Sentiments have ever since inspir'd all true English Men with the same Zeal and Affection, and will, we hope, inspire them as long as this Nation

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Nation has a Name. Other Propositions were for a general Pardon, with some few Exceptions, Newcastle, Digby, &c. Members of Parliament to be restor'd to their Offices, and to have their Losses repair'd. The King answer'd with Propositions of his own. The first of which made void whatever the Parliament had, or should ask of him. To have his Magazines, Towns, Ships, Forts, and all his Revenues, immediately restor'd to him; to recall what was done against LAW, and the King's Right; always supposing, that whatever the Parliament did in defence of their and the People's Rights, Properties, and Liberties, was against LAW, and that whatever the King had done or should do was his Right. All Power claim'd by Order of Parliament to be disclaimed. His Majesty will consent to the Execution of all Laws concerning Popery, provided there be a Bill for preserving the Common Prayer. The Commissioners were by their Instructions ty'd down to treat with the King himself, who had commonly with him Prince Rupert, the Lord Keeper Littleton, Earl of Northampton, the Lord Chief Justice Banks, and several Lords of the Council. The Commissioners often debated Matters till Midnight, and upon one of the most material Points press'd his Majesty so home with good Reasons and Arguments, that he said he was satisfy'd, and promis'd to give them his Answer in writing according to their Desire the next Morning: Upon which the Commissioners went to their Lodgings, full of joyful Hopes to receive the promis'd Answer the next Morning, which being given, would have conduc'd to a happy Issue of the Treaty. They had his Majesty's Word for it, says Whitlocke. But instead of that Answer then, he gave them a Paper quite contrary to what had been concluded, and very much tending to the Breach of the Treaty. The Commissioners humbly expostulated it with his Majesty, pressing him, upon his Royal Word, and the ill Consequences which they fear'd would follow upon his new Paper. But he told them, he had alter'd his Mind, and that the Paper he now gave them was his Answer. And to their great Grief they could obtain no other. Some of his own Friends, of whom the Commissioners inquir'd touching this Passage, inform'd them, That after they were gone from the King, and that his Counsel were also gone away, some of his Bed-Chamber, and they went higher, hearing from him what Answer he had promis'd, and doubting that it would tend to such an Issue of the Treaty as they did not wish, they being rather for the Continuance of the War, never left pressing, and perswading his Majesty till they prevail'd with him to change his former Resolutions, and to give Order for his Answer to be drawn as it was now deliver'd.

The Treaty had continu'd near six Weeks, when his Majesty sent this Message to the House on the 12th of April. That as soon as he was satisfied in his first Proposition, which was every Thing, to disarm the Parliament, and remain himself in Arms, for what else is his having all the Revenues of the Kingdom, the Tower, Portsmouth, Hull, and, in a Word, all the strong Towns, Forts and Castles, put into his Hands, as he demanded. As soon as the Members of both Houses should be restor'd, and that his Majesty and both Houses might be secured against tumultuous Assemblies, which he conceiv'd could not otherwise be done than by adjourning the Parliament to some Place twenty Miles from London, his Majesty would consent to disband his Army, and return to the Parliament. This Message being intimated to the Commis-

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sioners, they dissuaded the sending of it as that which, they fear'd, would break off the Treaty, it being very improbable, that the Houses would adjourn, and leave the City of London, their best Friends, and Strength, and put a Discontent upon them. Yet was the King prevail'd with to send it, and the two Houses upon Receipt of it immediately recall'd their Commissioners, April the 15th. as the smallest Politician in the smallest College at Oxford could not but have foreseen. Whitlocke has not told us, what it was that gave his Majesty Satisfaction, nor whether the material Point was the Militia, or the Bishops Bill, probably it was the latter, and is sunk by the Earl of Anglesey, who publish'd his Memorials, that nothing might appear in Defence of that Bill, which carry'd with it so much Conviction as to satisfy the King, whose Inflexibility, and the Influence his Queen and evil Counsellors had over him are here most apparent.

Some Weeks before this Treaty broke up, the Scots Com- Earl of Loudun, Chancellor of Scotland, and Mr. ^{Commissioners} Henderson, one of the chief Members of the Assembly of the Kirk, came to Oxford. The Earl of Loudun came to offer the Mediation of the Conservators of the Peace in Scotland, for composing the Differences between the King and the Parliament. Mr. Henderson brought a Petition, which the Lord Clarendon and Mr. Echarde find Wit enough to make merry with for these Terms in it, The Lord Jesus Christ. The Work of the Lord. Unity of Religion. The Lord of Heaven and Earth. Abuse of the Gospel. Idolatry, Superstition. Day of Visitation, &c. There is not the least Appearance of Wit in either of their Histories, unless they catch at such Religious Phrases, which having been long profan'd by Ridicule, are perfect Jest with them. Let us now see what our Scots Brethren say for themselves, "Our great Grief and Apprehension of Danger is not a little increas'd, partly by the Insolence and Presumption of Papists, and others disaffected to the Reformation of Religion, who though for Number and Power they be not considerable amongst us, yet through the Success of the popish Army in Ireland, and the Hopes they conceive of the Prevailling of the popish Armies, and Prelatical Faction in England, they have of late taken Spirit, and begun to speak big Words against the Protestant Religion." They then complain of the Earl of Newcastle's Army in their Neighbourhood full of Papists, Officers and Soldiers, as infamous for their Treasons and Conspiracies against Princes and Rulers, as for their known Idolatry and spiritual Tyranny. This, and the like Passages, are represented as Farce by those two Historians, who did not enough consider their Talents and their Subject, when they affected to be witty on what would so little bear it, had they had more Wit to spare. The King's Answer to the Complaint about Papists gives one full Satisfaction, as to his good Intentions with respect to the other Parts of the Petition, for in Excuse of his arming that idolatrous Race, his Majesty says, the Parliament had arm'd more Papists than he, and that 20 or 30 Papists had been found in a Troop or Company of their Army when taken Prisoners; nay, some of them such Papists, that he had himself refus'd to employ them, which I think is sufficient to shew us, of what Spirit, and what Truth the Oxford Answers, Declarations, and Messages were. The Lord Loudun's Offer of a Mediation was refus'd, and so was his Request, that there might be a Parliament in Scotland. And Mr. Henderson could get no better

A. D. 1643. Answer than the Proposition of a Synod regularly chosen according to the LAWS, by which was meant a Convocation, and what that means in the Case of Reformation needs not to be further explain'd here. The King was so far from per-

Ech. 565.

mitting the Scots Commissioners to go to London, that they were told they would be murder'd on the Way if they attempted to go thither without his Licence. One may easily imagine what will be the Issue of dismissing these Gentlemen in this Manner, and that when they came home their Principals would enter upon other Measures for their Preservation, since their Application to the King had been so ineffectual. The Oxford People were so afraid of their applying to the Parliament, that, as we have said, they were threaten'd to be assassinated if they went that Way.

Reading taken by the Earl of Essex.

There being so little Hope left of an Accommodation, the Two Houses order'd their General to besiege Reading, to streighten the Garrison of Oxford, and prepare the Way for the Reduction of that City, from whence frequent Inroads were made into the adjacent Counties, as particularly that of the Earl of Cleveland, Lord Chandos, Lord Crawford, Sir John Biron, and others, to the Number of 1200, who pillag'd, plunder'd and wasted the County of Buckingham, as by a Letter which Sir John Witterwong and Sir Thomas Tyrrel wrote to Col. Hampden and Col. Goodwyn, to be communicated to the Parliament, dated the 16th of May. "They murder all who make any Resistance: One Woman big with Child, who could make no Resistance, they cut in Pieces: What Household-Goods they cannot carry off, they destroy: They sweep the Pastures of Cattle; and that no Cruelty might be left unexercis'd, they have this Day fir'd a Village call'd Swamburne in seven Places, and guarded the Fire so carefully, with all their Forces divided into several Parts, that no Neighbour durst venture to come to quench it." The Earl of Essex came before Reading two Days after the Parliament had recall'd their Commissioners from Oxford. The Earl of Essex's Army consisted of 15000 Foot and 3000 Horse; and Sir Arthur Aston, the Popish Governor, who afterwards join'd the Rebels in Ireland, had a Garrison of 3000 Men well provided for a Siege. The Lord General sent a Summons to the Governor, who return'd an haughty Answer, and the Artillery began to play on the great Fort upon Caversham Hill, where the Besiegers continu'd to make their Approaches, and a Shot of theirs beating down a Stack of Chimneys, one of the Bricks fell upon the Governor's Head, which wounded him so much, that he was disabled, and kept his Chamber. His Successor, Col. Fielding, wanting Powder, as it was said, hung out a Flag of Truce. While the Treaty was depending, the King in Person, with Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, &c. having drawn together a considerable Body, advanc'd from Wallingford towards Reading to raise the Siege. But the Lord Roberts and Col. Berkeley's Regiments, which were posted at Caversham Bridge, stop'd the Passage of the Royal Army, and compell'd them to retire with Loss: Yet in the Time of this Skirmish they at another Place got an Opportunity to convey over the River into the Town a Quantity of Powder. However the Treaty went on, being in a manner concluded before, and Fielding alledg'd he could not in Honour recede from it; so the Articles were sign'd April the 27th, to surrender the Town, to have free Passage to Oxford; to deliver up the Earl of Essex's Deserters; and accordingly the next Day the Garrison march'd out. But, says Rusworth, "one

Ruslw. 266.

"of their Waggon was pillag'd by Essex's Men, and some of them had their Hats and Swords taken away or chang'd; General Essex was much offended, and in Person beat and slash'd the Soldiers for such their violating the "Articles." Here was one Waggon plunder'd, and some Hats chang'd, but under Pretext of making Reprisals for this one solitary Waggon and a few old Hats, the Cavaliers sack'd the City of Bristol when it was afterwards taken by Prince Rupert. Echar'd in Defiance of Truth assures us, most of the Waggon were plunder'd, the Soldiers not only abus'd, but many of them disarm'd. He says not a Word of the Occasion of it, as in Rusworth: *The Garrison were themselves in Fault, there being one Waggon discover'd which had 140 Muskets in it, directly contrary to the Articles of Surrender, and this exasperated the Parliament Soldiers, who were also put out of Humour by being restrain'd from plundering the Town, which they were in Expectation of had they carry'd it by Storm.* The King was much incens'd at Fielding for yielding up the Place, and he was condemn'd to lose his Head by a Council of War, but obtain'd a Reprieve. His Majesty by Proclamation broke that Article of the Treaty of Surrender, which oblig'd the Governor to deliver up Deserters; and Mr. Archdeacon gives a most pleasant Reason for it: The Soldiers out of Conscience had left the Parliament's Godly Army to serve in the King's more Godly one, and the poor conscientious Men ought not to have been put out of the King's Protection. Thus he tells us in the same Page, that Major General Chudleigh out of Conscience deserted the Earl of Stamford's Army, and join'd himself with that pious Gentleman Sir Richard Greenville, and the other religious Gentry of Cornwall. I am sensible that this Gaiety is not within the Decorum of History, but really the grave Assertions in the Earl of Clarendon's and Mr. Echar'd's, which are the very Reverse of Fact and Reason, provoke Mirth, and would make even a Thucydides merry. Chudleigh had been taken Prisoner by Design, as Rusworth informs us, at the Battle of Stratton in Cornwall by Sir Ralph Hopton, who had there beaten the Earl of Stamford much better than the Earl had beaten him before at Oakhampton; and while he was a Prisoner proper Means were us'd to work upon his Conscience, the same doubtless as were practis'd upon Sir Alexander Carew, the two Hotthams, and others; Promises of Honours and Offices, which in all Times have carry'd with them Conviction in Minds capable of Temptation and Perfidy.

We are now to return to the North, where we left the Queen and her little Army, of which she declar'd her self General, and march'd thence to join the King, having with her 3000 Foot and about 2000 Horse and Dragoons, with 6 Pieces of Cannon. The King met her at Edgehill in the Beginning of July, and she carry'd off so many Men with her, that the Marquis of Newcastle's Army when divided was not so formidable as it had been in the Northern Parts. Sir Thomas Fairfax attack'd those at Wakefield, beating 3000 Foot and 400 Horse, and gain'd a complete Victory, which Echar'd takes no Notice of. Sir Thomas Fairfax, as himself tells the Story, with 1200 Foot and about 800 Horse, advanc'd to Stanley, where they beat up the Enemy's Quarters, and took about 20 Troopers and Dragoons Prisoners. About Four a Clock in the Morning, May the 21st, Fairfax's Soldiers came before Wakefield, and beat the Enemy's Horse into the Town. His Foot with unspeakable Courage drove the Cavalier Foot after them, and assaulted

A. D. 1643.

Queen.

Sir Tho. Fairfax's Victory at Wakefield.

A. D. 1643. faulted the Town in two Places, *Wrengate* and *Norgate*. The Dispute lasted an Hour and an half, and *Fairfax's* Men having taken a Cannon and turn'd it upon the Enemy, Passage was open'd to them into the Town at *Norgate*, and almost at the same Time at *Wrengate*. Sir *Thomas* with the Horse clear'd the Street where General *Goring* was taken Prisoner by Lieutenant *Alured*, Brother to Capt. *Alured* a Member of Parliament; yet three Troops of Horse stood in the Market-Place, as also Col. *Lambton's* Regiment of Foot, which had but just enter'd the Town. Sir *Thomas* sent a Trumpet to them with Offer of Quarter upon laying down their Arms, which they refusing with Scorn, Major General *Gifford* a Parliament Officer fir'd a Piece of their own Ordnance upon them, and the Horse falling in at the same Time, the Cavaliers were beaten out of the Town, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* became intirely Master of it. Here were taken about 40 Officers, the Chief of them General *Goring*, Sir *Thomas Bland*, Lieutenant-Colonel *St. George*, Lieutenant-General *Macnoyler*, Major *Carnaby*, Capt. *Legard*, Capt. *Lambton*, Capt. *Benson*, 27 Colours of Foot, 3 Cornets of Horse, and 1500 common Soldiers, a great Number of Arms and Store of Ammunition. There were not above 7 Men kill'd on the Parliament Side, and the Number of Prisoners being almost equal to their Forces, Sir *Thomas* put them into Places that were more tenable than *Wakefield*.

The two We have spoken of the Desertion of Sir *Hugh* *Cholmley*, and are now to mention that of Sir *John Hotbam* and his Son Capt. *Hotbam*. Sir *John* had been tamper'd with by the Lord *Digby*, who lay conceal'd in *Hull* with his Privy; but he withstood the first Temptation, tho' it sufficiently prepar'd him for another. The elder *Hotbam* had had frequent Differences with the Lord *Fairfax*, the Parliament's General, in *Yorkshire*, to whom he was unwilling to submit, expecting that Command himself, by overvaluing his taking Possession of *Hull*. The Parliament, who were pleas'd with the Lord *Fairfax's* Conduct, hearing of *Hotbam's* Behaviour towards him, had Thoughts of putting another Governor into *Hull* unless he made the Lord *Fairfax* more easy, which Sir *John* suspecting, resolv'd to keep his Government by betraying his Trust, and declaring for the King. The Parliament had Spies about him, and Warning enough of his and his Son's intended Treason; so they order'd Sir *John Meldrum* to apprehend Capt. *Hotbam*, who was seiz'd and sent Prisoner to *Nottingham* Castle, but made his Escape. Sir *Matthew Boynton*, a very honest worthy Gentleman, Brother-in-law to Sir *John Hotbam*, had Instruction to have an Eye upon him and his Son too, and to endeavour to preserve the Town if he perceiv'd it in Danger. In the Interim the Mayor of *Hull* receiv'd Information of a Plot to betray it, which he presently communicated to Sir *Matthew Boynton* and some of the Aldermen, and it was resolv'd to arm the most zealous of the Townsmen for the Preservation of the Peace: Accordingly 1500 Men were in a few Hours got in Readiness, and with so much Privacy, that they seiz'd on the Commanders of the Main Guard, particularly Capt. *Hotbam*, before any Notice was taken of them. They then seiz'd on the Magazine, the Ordnance, on the Walls, the Guards at the Gate, the three Block-houses, and the Castle. Thus in an Hour's Time they secured the whole Town without one Drop of Blood. Sir *John Hotbam* got out of his House, and meeting a Man riding into the Town, made him alight, mounted his Horse, and rode thro' *Beverly* Gate, the Guard having had no Order to stop him; but being pur-

su'd, he quitted the Road and turn'd down to a Ferry, intending to have pass'd over into *Hol-derness*. He there miss'd the Boat, and was forc'd to ride on to *Beverley*, whither Sir *Matthew Boynton's* Man was now got before him with a Letter to his Son Col. *Boynton*, acquainting him with the Plot, and Order to apprehend him, which he did, taking hold of his Horse's Bridle as he enter'd the Town, and obliging him to alight. He sent him to *Hull*, from whence he was soon after convey'd to *London* by Sea together with his Son, and both imprison'd in the Tower. The Parliament were very well pleas'd with the good Service done on this Occasion, and publish'd a Declaration to indemnify *Thomas Raikes*, Esq; Mayor of *Hull*, Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *William St. Quintin*, Sir *Richard Darley*, Sir *John Bourcher*, Sir *William Allison*, *Lancelot Roper* Alderman, *Nicholas Denman* Alderman, *John Barnard* Alderman, *William Pople* Alderman, *John Penrose*, Gent. and *Robert Johnson* Clerk, for what they had done in that acceptable Service to the King and Parliament.

I do not repeat all the King's Messages, they being most of them pretty long, and drawn as if they were intended not to have any Effect at this; upon News of the Victory at *Stratton* in *Cornwall*, wherein his Majesty gave the Parliament an Account of the Strength of his Army, and the Plenty of his Ammunition, as sure Tokens of his Inclinations to Peace, and requires them, as they will answer to God, himself, and the World, that they would remember by whose Authority, and to what End they met in that Council. Was it not very easy to answer, that they sate there then by their own Authority, it being not in his Power to dissolve them but by their own Consent, and that their End was to prevent for the future the Injustice and Oppression of the Administration for 16 Years past, to secure their own Privileges; and the Rights, Liberties and Properties of the People, Spiritual and Temporal, which had been so often invaded and violated. This, says *Echard*, put the Parliament in a Fury. Their Clergy blew their Trumpets louder than ever, if that could be possible. If there was not a Sort of Witchery in the Case, these People would not so often touch upon Things which are so easily turn'd against them, nothing being better known than that the Sermons of *Sibthorp*, *Pocklington*, *Beal*, *Montague*, *Maynwaring*, for arbitrary Power, Superstition, and Persecution, were the real Cause of the Calamities which ensued. Had he never read this Speech in Parliament: "My Lords, it is a Saying of *Gregory* the Great, that when Antichrist comes, Præparatus est exercitus Sacerdotum, there is an Army of Priests to receive him. This is fulfill'd in our Time, for certainly this Army of Priests doth many Ways advance the Design and Plot of Popery for the Subversion of our LAWS and Government. Our LAWS and Popery cannot stand together, but either Popery must overthrow our LAWS, or our LAWS must overthrow Popery. But to overthrow our LAWS, the PRIESTS must overthrow Parliaments, and to overthrow Parliaments, they must overthrow Property; they must bring the Subjects Goods to be arbitrarily dispos'd of, that so there may be no Need of Parliaments. This hath been done by Dr. *Maynwaring*, Dr. *Beal*, &c,

Among other unprecedented Things at which the Archdeacon holds up his Hands, is the Impeachment of the Queen. He had forgot what he had said before, that this King's Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham* had told her, there

A. D. 1643.

The two
Hotthams
Traitors.

Rushw. 220.

Clergy.

Queen.

have

A. D. 1643. *have been Queens of England who have lost their Heads.* He informs us, *This Action is without Precedent, and extremely surprized the World,* which is not true. The World talkt of such a Thing a Year before, and the Commons made a solemn Declaration against it. But since that, in the Words of *Rushworth*, "She had been very industrious, whilst in *Holland*, to furnish the King with Arms, Ammunition and Money, and being now at the Head of a considerable Army at *York*, ready to march *Southward*, the House of Commons resolv'd to impeach her Majesty of *High Treason*, and Mr. *Pym* was sent up to the Lords on that Message.

Queen impeach'd.

"Accordingly he did impeach her, promising in the Name of the Commons to bring in particular Articles." The *Queen*, in a Letter to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, writes him, *The House of Commons hath declared me Traytor, and carry'd up their Charge against me to the Lords. This I assure you is true, but I know not yet what the Lords have done upon it, God forgive them for their Rebellion.* They have no other Word amongst them, when the Privileges of Parliament, the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the Defence of them, are in question. To speak the Truth of them is to asperse, to oppose their Oppression and Violence to rebel. The *Queen's* harbouring of Priests, employing Papists, ill counselling the King, and her unpopular Conduct, had been long a general Complaint, which she depending perhaps on foreign Support too much, slighted, and upon her being impeach'd the People shew'd their Resentment, by insulting her Chapel, driving away the Jesuits and Friers, breaking the Organs, throwing down the Altars, and pulling down the Cross in the Burying Place. *If these Marks of their Hatred were too outrageous, says Larrey, her secret Practises gave Occasion to the Outrage.* What we read in another Author takes off something of the Surprize. Mr. *Echard* put us into at her Impeachment.

H. I. L.
187.

"The whole Source of the King's deplorable End, sprung only from his Marriage with a Daughter of *France*, who though residing in another Kingdom, yet still retain'd warm Affections for her own *popish* Country, preferring the Counsels which came with her from thence to the Repose and Tranquility of her Royal Husband and his Kingdom, so blindly bigotted was she to her own Ways of Worship, that all her Thoughts were bent upon establishing her *idolatrous* Religion here, and advancing only those who profess it, which was absolutely contrary to the LAWS OF THE LAND." *Echard* has often spoken of her as a Blessing to this Nation, and as such there was a Form of Thanksgiving Prayer made for her by the *Oxford Doctors*: *Oh most merciful God, we render thee all Praise and Thanks, for that thou hast been pleased to extend thy Hand of Deliverance unto the Person of our gracious Queen, That thou hast made her an Instrument of so much Good to this Kingdom, and brought her safely hither; Lord, make the King and his People daily more and more happy in her, that as by thine especial Favour she is already become the Mother of so many hopeful Princes, so she may be daily fruitful in the Addition of more Blessings to us, through Jesus Christ our Lord.* If every Word of this is not Blasphemy, in the Mouth of a Protestant, sensible of the Idolatry of her Religion, and her secret Practises to establish it, we are then to be taught what the Meaning of the Word is, and what the Nature of the Sin.

Prayer for the Queen.

About the same Time that the Earl of *Essex*

took *Reading*, Sir *William Waller* having routed and dispers'd the *Welch* Forces, march'd from *Gloucester* to *Hereford* with 3000 Horse and Foot, and some Artillery. Coming before that City he summon'd it, but receiving a slight Answer from the Governor, Colonel *Herbert Price*, he order'd the Cannon to fire upon the Gates, through one of which a Ball pierc'd and kill'd a Lieutenant within it with some Men. This so frighted the Cavaliers, that most of the Garrison abandon'd the City at another of the Gates, and the rest yielded upon Quarter. Here were taken the Lord *Scudamore* and his Son, Colonel *Herbert Price*, Sir *Richard Cave*, Lieutenant Colonel *Coningsby*, Mr. *Coningsby*, Sir *Walter Pye*, Sir *William Crofts*, Sir *Samuel Adebry*, Major *Dalton*, Dr. *Rogers*, Dr. *Godwyn*, Dr. *Evans*, and several others, who were sent to *Gloucester*.

Bristol had supply'd Sir *William Waller* with Plot as part of his Forces, and while he was ranging Bristol. thus in *Gloucestershire* and *Herefordshire*, a Plot was form'd to betray that City to Prince *Rupert*. The chief Plotter was one Mr. *Robert Yeomans*, a Merchant, who *Echard* tells us, was a Man of great Reputation, and had been High Sheriff the Year before. As I have by me a Manuscript History of that City, which I may hereafter publish, I have acquainted myself much better with the Affairs of it than it can be suppos'd he has done. *Yeomans* was indeed the youngest Sheriff in the Mayoralty of Mr. *John Locke*, Merchant, and far from being a Person of distinguish'd Reputation. *George Bowcher* his Fellow Plotter, was drawn in by him, as were Mr. *William Yeomans*, Mr. *Edward Dakers*, Mr. *Arundel*, Mr. *Teague*, *Thomas Barret*, Cutler, *John Nickens*, Trunk-Maker, *Ephraim Goody*, Goldsmith, Mr. *Millard*, *John Collins*, Mr. *Brent*, *Robert Blackborough*, Captain *Cole*, Mr. *John Throupe*, one *Coxley* a Quack, *Green* an Attorney, *John Pester*, *Thomas Stephens*, *Matthew Stephens*, *Nathaniel Street*, Tiler, *Henry Russel*, and others. On Monday the 7th of March in the Night, Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, and the Lord *Digby*, with 4000 Horse and 2000 Foot, were to advance to *Durdam Down*, half a Mile from the City on *Gloucester* side, and the Conspirators engag'd to sieze *Froom Gate* under St. *Michael's* Hill and *Newgate* for their Entrance. *Blackborough*, one of the Plotters, liv'd near *Froom Gate*, and was to give Passage to the King's Forces through his Garden. Notice was to be given the Conspirators, by tolling a Bell at St. *Nicholas*, St. *John*, and St. *Michael* Churches. The Bell at St. *Nicholas* was a Token to those that were to attack the main Guard near the Cross and *Tolsy*. The Bell at St. *John's* was Notice to those that were to sieze *Froom Gate*, and the Bell at St. *Michael's* was a Token to Prince *Rupert's* Men without the City on *Gloucester* side, to act all together. The Conspirator's were to be distinguish'd by white Tape in their Hats. According to Agreement about 50 of them met arm'd at Mr. *Yeoman's* House, expecting to be join'd by a Multitude of Butchers from the *Shambles* near St. *Nicholas's* Gate and other Rascality at the *High Cross*, at the upper End of *High Street*, fronting that Gate. They were there to sieze the main Guard, and post a strong Body at St. *Nicholas* Gate to hinder Assistance from that part of the City which is on the other Side of the Bridge, in *Somersetshire*. *Robert Yeomans*, who was to be a Colonel in the King's Service, undertook to move with this Part as soon as St. *Nicholas's* Bell toll'd. *Bowcher* was to head the Party that was to sieze *Froom Gate*, at the Tolling of St. *John's* Bell, in which he was to be assisted by the Seamen from

A. D.
1643.

Sir William Waller takes Hereford.

A. D. 1643. from *St. Austin's* Back. Then was the Bell at *St. Michael's* on the Hill to toll, and the Royalists immediately to draw down to *Froom Gate* and *Blackborough's* Garden, while others of the Conspirators broke open the House of *Humphrey Hooke*, Esq; Mayor of the City, murder'd him and his Family, and seizing the Keys of the City Gates, open'd them to their Confederates. Those Citizens who had not the *white Tape* Mark, and certain other Marks, were to be massacred and plunder'd. It was not above an Hour or two before this Conspiracy was to be executed, when a poor Man came to the Guard at the *Bridge* foot, and said, he saw some Men go into *Yeomans's* House at 12 a Clock at Night. *Yeomans* being a suspected Person, a Party of Horse and Foot was sent to invest his House, where they forc'd Entrance, and found the Men in Arms, whom they presently apprehended and carry'd to the Castle. *Bowcher* being also a suspected Person his House was search'd at the same Time, and a like Company found there in Arms. Both *Yeomans* and *Bowcher* had increas'd the Suspicion against them, by their not hanging out Lights, as Colonel *Fiennes* the Governor had commanded the Citizens to do. Prince *Rupert* advanc'd according to the Scheme project'd, but hearing no Tokens, and apprehending the Plot was discover'd, he quitted *Durham Down*, where he had waited 3 or 4 Hours for them, and drew as near as *Brandon Hill* with some Horse, but after a Shot or two of Cannon from the City Works he retir'd. In *Yeoman's* House was found this Writing, *All Inhabitants of the Bridge, High-street and Corn-street, keep within your Doors upon Peril of your Lives. All other Inhabitants of this City who stand for the King, let them forthwith appear at the High Cross with such Arms as they have, and follow their Leaders.* The Parliament having Information of the Discovery of the Plot, and Seizure of the Plotters, order'd *Clement Walker*, Esq; Advocate to the Council of War, Colonel *Fiennes*, *William White*, Esq; *Richard Cole*, Esq; &c. to exhibit Articles of High Treason against them, and proceed by Law Martial. The Court sat at the *Lady Rogers's* House. The Fact was very plainly prov'd upon them, and *Robert Yeomans* and *George Bowcher* were condemn'd to be hang'd before the main Guard, which Sentence was executed the 30th of *May*, notwithstanding the impotent Menaces of the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General, to hang up Mr. *George*, Mr. *Stephens*, and Captain *Huntly*, Prisoners taken at *Cirencester*, if those two Conspirators suffer'd. But Colonel *Fiennes* and Mr. *Walker* sent them Answer, that they would in such case execute Sir *Walter Pye*, Sir *William Crofts*, and Colonel *Coningsby*, who were taken in open REBELLION, and actual War against the King and Kingdom. His Majesty himself wrote a Letter to the Mayor, the two Sheriffs of *Bristol*, *William Colston*, Esq; and *Henry Greswick*, Esq; wherein he told them, that the hanging of *Yeomans* and *Bowcher* would call down the just Vengeance of God, and bring perpetual Infamy on the City, he therefore will'd and commanded them to raise all the Power and Strength of the City to rescue them. There is no End of Wonderment at these Letters, for could any one suppose that the Mayor of *Bristol*, a Puritan, would enter into a War with the Governor *Fiennes*, a Presbyterian, to attempt a Thing that could end in nothing but Slaughter or the Gallows. *Warwick*, for they are alike, says *Dakers*, was hang'd too, but it is a Falstury. There was a Day of *Thanksgiving* kept for this Discovery at *Bristol*; the Parliament also or-

A. D. 1643. der'd *Thanksgivings* for it; and what is very extraordinary, the King too order'd *Thanksgivings* at *Oxford* for Prince *Rupert's* Deliverance from this Conspiracy, which it was said there was a mock one contriv'd by *Fiennes* to draw that Prince and his Cavaliers into a Snare, and then under Colour of receiving them cut them to pieces.

Another Plot broke out the very Day that *Waller's* *Yeomans* and *Bowcher* were hang'd at *Bristol*, to betray the City of *London* to her avow'd Enemies, the Cavaliers. Mr. *Waller*, one of the finest Genius's of his Age for Poetry but an ordinary one for Politicks, was at the Head of this Conspiracy; his Brother-in-Law Mr. *Tompkins*, Clerk of the Queen's Council, Mr. *Challoner* a wealthy Tradesman in *Cornhill*, Mr. *Blinkhorn* of *Covent Garden*, and others, enter'd into the Plot, after having taken an Oath of Secrecy, to seize the King's Children, to secure several Members of both Houses of Parliament, particularly the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Wharton*, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Colonel *Hampden*, Colonel *Strode*, as also the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *John Woolaston*, and the Committee of Militia, under pretence of bringing them to a legal Trial. To seize upon the Outworks which had been rais'd from *St. James's* to *Hide Park* Corner, *Piccadilly*, *St. Giles's*, *Pancrass*, *Grays Inn Lane*, *Holloway Road*, *Newington* and *Hoxton*. To seize the Magazines, *Gates*, and other important Places of the City, the Tower, and let in the King's Army, whose Lust was so strong after the Plunder, to resist and obstruct all Payments of Parliament. Mr. *Waller* being brought acquainted with Mr. *Challoner* by Mr. *Tompkins*, propos'd to him, to make a Party in the City of the Moderate Men to stand in the Gap between King and Parliament, and bring them to a Reconciliation, without which Party there was no Hopes to unite them. *Challoner* said, Sir, If I could assure you of three Parts of *London*, none of them should stir unless we had the Countenance of the Lords and Commons. Mr. *Waller* reply'd, You shall have to countenance this Business the whole House of Peers, except three or four, and divers of the House of Commons. Mr. *Waller* was the Mouth of those Peers and Commoners. He told *Challoner* what Conversation he had, or pretended he had with those Lords and Commons, and *Challoner* told *Blinkhorn*, *Abbot*, *Luntloe*, *King*, and other Citizens. Among all the Falstities in the History of the Rebellion, and the Archdeacon's History, there is none that has so good Proof against it as this, That the Plot was only to petition for a Peace, *Tompkins* and *Challoner* at the Gallows confessing it was a treasonable Design. *Tompkins* said his Suffering was just; and *Challoner*, I confess I now die justly. The Lord *Clarendon* and *Echard* will not allow that these poor Gentlemen, who were just going to be hang'd for this foolish Business, as *Tompkins* call'd it, spoke the Truth. I can see no real Cause, says the Lord *Clarendon* very gravely, but those who dy'd for it, own'd themselves there was a real Cause, and that they dy'd justly. The like Assertion is not in any History, or other Writing in being, and it is a great Comfort to have his Lordship's fine Characters confirm'd by so fine a Remark. The first Discovery of the Plot was made by Mr. *Roe*, Servant to Mr. *Tompkins*, who having over-heard some of the Consultations, imparted the Substance of them to Mr. *Pym*, who acquainting the Parliament with it, a Committee, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Mr. *St. John*, and Mr. *Glyn*, were appointed to inquire into the Conspiracy, which they trac'd

A. D. several Days and Nights to find out the Conspirators, and when the Matter was ripe, the Two Houses had a Conference upon it, and a Declaration of it was drawn up by their Order, to be printed and read in all Churches and Chapels. In *Tompkins's* Cellar was found a Commission from the King under the Great Seal of *England*, to *Sir Nicholas Crisp*, *Sir George Stroud*, *Sir Thomas Gardiner* Recorder of *London*, *Sir George Binion*, *Richard Edes*, Esq; *Marmaduke Roydon*, Esq; *Thomas Brozen*, Esq; *Peter Paggen*, *Charles Jennings*, *Sir Edward Charlton*, *Robert Abbot*, *Andrew King*, *William White*, *Stephen Bolton*, *Robert Alden*, *Edmund Foster*, and *Thomas Blinkhorn*, of *London*, Gentlemen, to raise Forces, Horse and Foot, to arm, muster, conduct, order, lead and govern, to raise Money for the clothing, arming, furnishing and paying them, to stay and to destroy the Friends to the Parliament, I see no real Cause, says *Lord Clarendon*, and I do not know many Sayings of his better grounded. This Commission was brought from *Oxford* by the *Lady Aubigny*, and one may by that see what good Use the Ladies made of the Parliament's Civilities towards them. *Hazel* one of the King's Messengers, went to and fro between *London* and *Oxford* with Accounts of the Conspirators Proceedings, and the King's Approval of them. One of his Instructions was, that they should settle at *Oxford*, *Qua forma Regiminis*, what Sort of Government should be set up when the Parliament was destroyed, which is something more than a *Petition for Peace*, mention'd by the *Earl of Clarendon* as the Sum of this Design. *Mr. Alexander Hampden* was another Agent, and probably he had suffer'd as well as *Challoner* and *Tompkins*, had not his Sickness prevented his Trial. The Conspirators *Tompkins*, *Challoner*, *Blinkhorn*, *Abbot*, &c. were try'd by a Council of War in *Guildhall*, where were present in Court 22 Colonels of the City and the Lord General's Army, the *Earl of Manchester* President. The Evidence and the Confession of the Prisoners gave full Satisfaction as to their Guilt, so these four receiv'd Sentence of Death, *Abbot* and *Blinkhorn* were repriev'd, but *Tompkins* was executed over against *Fetter-lane* End in *Holborn* near his own House, and *Mr. Challoner* over against the *Royal Exchange*, both dying very penitent, and sensible of their Wickedness in engaging in this cursed Conspiracy; tho' their Wickedness in plotting is not so great, considering their Penitence, as that of the Historian, who with equal Impenitence and Falshood turns this Plot upon the Parliament, as if it had been a Contrivance of theirs to bring a Scandal on the King, who indeed was deeply concern'd in it, as appears by the above-mention'd Commission to stay and destroy the Parliament and all their Friends and Adherents. A French Popish Historian, who however is more modest than either the Author of the *History of the Rebellion* or the Archdeacon, says, *The particular Inclinations his Majesty always had to save the Blood of his Subjects, his earnest Desire to stop the Effusion of it on so many Occasions, and his great Tenderness to his poor People, shews sufficiently that he had no manner of Knowledge of such a Design, to kill and destroy, tho' he had granted a Commission for it under his Broad Seal.* The *Lord Clarendon* says there is nothing in the World clearer than that the Commission had no Relation to *Tompkins*, tho' it was found in his Cellar; and he said at the Gallows he was glad it was discover'd, for it might have occasion'd very ill Consequences, and *Challoner* own'd at his Death he knew of it, as in *Rushworth* 326, 327. What Consciences must

these Men have, and what Heads, to affirm Things to be false, the Truth of which was so easily prov'd? *Mr. Archdeacon* aping the *Lord Clarendon*, I cannot say right or wrong, for it is always wrong, tells us, *The Parliament* subtly join'd *Sir Nicholas Crisp's Commission* and *Waller's Projects* together, and enviously moulded them into one Plot. What occasion was there for subtly joining and moulding a Thing that was moulded and join'd to their Hands? *Echard* goes on very sagely and gravely, *Plots are the dark Parts of History, Plants of quick Growth with small Roots and Branches, almost invisible in their Causes, but visible in their Effects.* These very formal and impertinent Reflections are not however his own, for the Strength of his Genius does not seem to exert it self in Reflecting. Was the Broad Seal an invisible Part? Was a Commission to raise Men and Money, Horse and Arms, to seize Magazines, and kill and massacre, a small Branch? It is not worth Animadversion, for one cannot tell which is most predominant here, the Falshood or the Nonsense. This Plot has no Darkness in it, 'tis confess'd, the Causes were as visible as the King's impatient Desire to be Master of the City could make it, and the Effects were to guard against the like Treason for the future, by a new solemn Engagement or Covenant to be enter'd into by all the good People of *England*. The Preamble to it was, *Since there has been a Popish Design to subvert the Protestant Religion, and a Popish Army to support that Design, and a treacherous and horrid Plot lately discover'd, &c. I A. B. will not consent to lay down Arms so long as Papists, now in open War against the Parliament, be protected against Justice.* The Reverend Historian declares here that the Preamble was void of Truth, and thus gives the Lie to the House of Lords and House of Commons; yet some squeamish People have thought I have offended against Decency, when I have charg'd him and the *Lord Clarendon* with saying Things void of Truth: Tho' it is monstrous to think I may not take the same Liberty with Historians who write falsely, as they both take with the most august Senate in the World in Arms for the Defence of their own and the People's Religion, Rights, Privileges and Liberties. If the Papists had no Design to subvert the Protestant Religion, if there was no Plot to seize the City and dissolve the Parliament, then the Preamble was void of Truth, and on that Issue I leave it. The chief Plotter, *Mr. Waller*, appeal'd from the Council of War to the House of Commons, of which he was a Member, and being brought to the Bar, made one of the most eloquent and moving Speeches that is in our or any other Language, ancient or modern. He begins with a Confession of that Crime which the *Lord Clarendon* and *Mr. Echard* deny with incredible Resolution; for can one believe that two Men should know more of a Matter than the Man who is to die for it, and yet confess it. His Speech began thus; *I acknowledge it a great Mercy of God, and a great Favour from you, that I am once more suffer'd to behold this Honourable Assembly. I mean not to make use of it to say any thing in my own Defence by Justification or Denial of what I have done; I have already confess'd enough to make me appear worthy not only to be put out of this House, but out of the World too.* The *Lord Clarendon* has it over and over again, *I can see no real Cause* which the Criminal who expects Sentence of Death to pass upon him, did see and own that he saw. I am not surpriz'd at *Echard's* repeating such prodigious Passages, for had the Extravagance of that

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Partiality been greater, and the Falshood of it been still more notorious and self-evident, he would have run away with it as with an inestimable Treasure coming out of such a Storehouse as the *History of the Rebellion*, where we also read, and in the Archdeacon's History too, that Mr. Waller brib'd the Ministers of the Gospel who came to pray with him, to speak a good Word for him to the House of Commons, which will not bear Remark. He clos'd his Speech thus; *Sir, not to trouble you any longer, if I die, I shall die praying for you; if I live I shall live serving of you, and render you back the Use and Employment of all those Days you shall add to my Life.* By this pathetick Spceeh and other Artifices, says *Echard* as fully as ever Man said any thing, *he prevail'd not to be try'd by a Council of War*, p. 571. *Rusworth*, p. 330. The House of Commons proceeded to expel him, *so being LEFT TO THE COUNCIL OF WAR*, *he was condemn'd to die.* Should a Man with such a Falshood in his Mouth accuse very religious and pious Divines of *Vile Sayings*, of *taking great Sums for their Prayers*, of *Hypocrisy* and *Bribery*. But so it is, and the Insensibility with which he repeated such Stuff after the most partial and profligate Writers, will doubtless render all Reproof ineffectual. Mr. Waller had a Reprieve from the Lord General *Essex*, and after about a Year's Imprisonment, paying a Fine of 10000 Pounds, which, says the Lord *Clarendon*, the *Parliament wanted*, he was discharg'd and travell'd into *France*. Is not the Historian's Reflection there on the Parliament's Poverty very discreet and courtly, considering what a flowing Treasury his Majesty had at *Oxford*? There are several Parts of the *History of the Rebellion* as merry as this, and one cannot help laughing, as much as it is below the Dignity of History, *Larrey* having read what the Earl said of *kneading* and *joining*, which *Echard* calls moulding and joining two Plots together, thought it very ridiculous. " 'Tis of little Importance whether *Crisp's* Commission was a Sequel of *Waller's* Conspiracy, as *Rusworth* writes, or a separate Enterprize from either, as the Lord *Clarendon* affirms, tho' it seems not at all to agree with the Commission's being found in *Tompkins's* Cellar." Mr. *Waller* was forc'd to sell an Estate of 1000 Pounds a Year

Dr. Birch. to clear off this Fine and Charges. Dr. *Birch*, who marry'd his Daughter, in a *Manuscript Account* of his Life, said, " He conferr'd with some Loyal Citizens and others about recovering the City into the King's Interest, in which he was betray'd by his Sister *Price* and her Presbyterian Chaplain Mr. *Good*, who stole some of his Papers; and if he had not strangely dream'd the Night before he was seiz'd that his Sister betray'd him, and thereupon burnt the rest of his Papers by the Fire left in his Chimney, he had certainly lost his Life for it." Now to get a *Petition*, as the Lord *Clarendon* positively asserts the Design was, is no hanging Matter. This small Scrip of History by Dr. *Birch*, shews us what Sort of Historians our most famous Doctors make: He tells us the Presbyterian Minister was a *Thief*, and builds his Story on a Dream. Mr. *Echard* cannot but be pleas'd to see his own Manner of Writing confirm'd by that of Dr. *Birch*.

Waller accus'd the Earl of *Portland* and the Lord *Conway* of being privy to the Design, and they were imprison'd for some Time; but it not being clearly prov'd they were discharg'd.

His Majesty publish'd a Proclamation at *Oxford*, *June 20.* forbidding all Persons to obey the

Orders of the Two Houses. We must note that these Proclamations had no Currency any where but in the King's own Quarters; but the Penman Sir *Edward Hyde* was extremely enamour'd with his florid Style, and took infinite Pleasure in writing Proclamations and Declarations with a Clarendon's style. Fluency of Words, which pass'd off as they were, like so much Air. Sir *Philip Warwick* informs us that Mr. *Hobbes* thought his Verbofeness and Flourishes did more Hurt than Good. I had taken Notice of this Vice in his Language before I knew that it was the Opinion of *Warwick* and *Hobbes*. In this Proclamation was an Offer of a general Pardon, with some Exceptions in it; as, *Robert Earl of Essex*, *Robert Earl of Warwick*, *Exceptions* *Edward Earl of Manchester*, *William Lord Say to the* *and Sele*, *Sir Francis Popham*, *Sir John Hotham's* *tham*, *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, *Sir Henry Ludlowe*, *Sir Edward Hungerford*, *Alexander Popham*, *Esq;* *Nathaniel Fiennes*, *Esq;* *John Pym*, *Esq;* *William Strode*, *Esq;* *Henry Martin*, *Esq;* *Alderman Pennington*, *Capt. Ven*; neither of whom, as I can find in History, shew'd any Disposition to be at the Charge of the Broad Seal for a Pardon, tho' his Majesty threaten'd to proceed against them as guilty of *High Treason* by the KNOWN LAWS OF THE LAND, which are twenty Times mention'd in this Proclamation, and have been a thousand Times broken in this Reign by upper and lower Officers.

About a Month before, a Proclamation was publish'd at *Oxford* in Favour of the Clergy, wherein it is said that several Ministers have been sequester'd for *preaching the Word of God according to its Purity*, of which Hundreds of Instances might be taken out of the Registers of *Laud*, *Wren*, and other such Prelates, for *not teaching Sedition*, for *not somenting this unnatural War*, for *not sowing Sedition again*, for *not acting contrary to the Word of God*, &c. Wherefore the King forbids any one to take their Places, or touch their Tithes. Where the Cavaliers were Masters, no Body was suffer'd to take any thing from them but themselves; but where the *Parliamentarians*, this Proclamation did them no more good than *Goring's* Blessing would have done. Before we enter further upon the Military Actions of this Year, we must remember the Civil, and we find the Parliament proceeding with great Calmness and Wisdom in the Latter, and with as much Diligence and Vigour in the Former, as the Circumstances of the Times would permit.

They pass'd an Ordinance about the Beginning of *April* for *sequestering the Estates of all notorious Delinquents*, and another for the *speedy raising and levying of Money throughout the whole Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, for the Relief of the Common-Wealth, and the Taxing such as have not at all contributed or lent Money, or not according to their Estates and Abilities.* The Preamble to this Ordinance having set forth the Miseries the Nation endured by the Army the King had rais'd to make War against his Parliament, and the Ruin that would be inevitable, unless the Army rais'd by the Parliament was supported, it is further said, " which said Army cannot be maintain'd without great Sums of Money, yet for raising such Sums, by Reason of his Majesty's withdrawing himself from the Advice of the Parliament, there can be no Act pass'd with his Majesty's Assent, albeit there is great Justice that the said Money should be rais'd; Be it therefore ordain'd by the Lords and Commons, that all those who have not contributed, &c. as in the Title, shall be affect'd;" and Commis-
sioners

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Clarendon's style.

P. 197.

Exceptions to the King's Pardon.

A. D. 1643. sioners were appointed to assess and levy this Tax, which being, I think, the first of the Kind, I shall insert their Names.

Commissioners for the General Contribution Tax all over England and Wales, in the Year 1643. rais'd by Parliament.

COMMISSIONERS.

County of Bedford.

Sir John Burgoyne, Bart. Sir Thomas Alston, Knight and Bart. Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bart. Sir Oliver Luke, Knt. Sir Samuel Luke, Knt. William Duncomb, Esq; Humphry Monox, Esq; Thomas Rolte, Esq; Thomas Sadler, Esq; Edward Osborn, Esq; Samuel Bourne, Esq; James Beverly, Esq; Robert Stanton, Esq; John Vaux, Esq; Humphry Fish, Esq; John Neale, Esq; Oliver Butler, Esq; Dr. Banister, and the Mayor of Bedford for the Time being.

County of Berks.

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County of Chester.

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County of Devon.

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Drake, Bart. Sir John Davy, Bart. Robert Savery, Esq; Henry Waltrond, Esq; John Worlby, Esq; Hugh Fortescue, Esq; Arthur Up-ton, Esq; George Trobridge, Esq;

City of Exeter.

Christopher Clarke, Esq; Mayor, Alderman Sanders, Alderman Cressing, Alderman Bennes, Alderman White, Alderman Hakewill, James Gould, Esq; Sheriff.

County of Dorset.

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Town of Colchester.

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County of Gloucester and City.

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Town of St. Albans.

The Mayor, Charles Lord Viscount Cranbourne, &c. as before, John Robotham, Esq; Ralph Pemberton, Esq;

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County of Huntingdon.

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A. D. 1643. Esq; John Boys, sen. Esq; Augustine Skinner, Esq; Richard Lee, Esq; Thomas Blunt, Esq; Richard Browne, Esq; William James, Esq; City of Rochester.

The Mayor for the Time being, Richard Lee, Esq;

City of Canterbury.

The Mayor, Sir William Master, Sir William Man, Thomas Curthope, Esq; Alderman Savine.

County of Lancaster.

Sir Ralph Ashton, Sir Thomas Stanley, Barons, Ralph Ashton, Esq; Richard Shuttleworth, Esq; Alexander Rigby, Esq; John Bradshaw, Esq; George Dodding, Esq; John Moote, Esq; Richard Holland, Esq; Edward Butterworth, Esq; Peter Egerton, Esq; Nicholas Cunliff, Esq; Thomas Fell, Esq;

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The Mayor, Alderman Stanley.

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Kesteven.

Sir William Armine, Sir Hammond Whichcot, Sir John Brownlow, Sir Thomas Trollop, Thomas Grantham, Esq; Thomas Lister, Esq; John Archer, Esq;

City of Lincoln.

The Mayor, Thomas Grantham, Esq; John Broxholm, Esq; Robert Moorcroft, Esq; William Watson, Esq; Alderman Dawson.

County of Middlesex.

Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Franklyn, Sir Edward Barkham, Sir John Hippefly, Sir William Roberts, Sir — Springall, Lawrence Whitaker, Esq; Thomas Wilcox, Esq; John Morris, Esq; Richard Dunton, Esq;

For the County of Norfolk, and City of Norwich.

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Town of Northampton.

The Mayor, Alderman Martin, Alderman Fisher.

A. D.

1643.

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Town of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Henry Warmouth, Esq; Ralph Gray, Esq; Henry Lawson, Esq; John Blackston, Esq;

Town of Berwick upon Tweed.

John Slieghe, Mayor, Sir Robert Jackson, Ralph Salkeld, Esq;

County of Nottingham.

Francis Pierepoint, Esq; Sir Francis Thornhaugh, Francis Thornhaugh, Esq; Sir Francis Molineux, Joseph Widmerpole, Esq; Robert Reynes, Esq; Gilbert Millington, Esq; Thomas Hutchinson, Esq; Charles White, Esq; Henry Ireton, Esq;

Town of Nottingham.

The Mayor, Millington Plumtree; Doctor of Physick, Francis Chadwick, Esq; John James; Alderman, John Gregory, Gent.

County of Rutland.

Sir Edward Harrington, Every Armyne, Esq; John Osborn, Esq; Robert Horseman, sen. Esq; Christopher Browne, Esq; Robert Horseman, jun. Esq; Thomas Wayte, Esq;

County of Suffolk.

Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Sir Thomas Barnardiston, Sir William Spring, Sir Roger North, Sir Edward Bacon, Sir Butts Bacon, Sir Robert Brook, Sir William Soame, Sir Edward Duke, William Heveningham, Esq; Nathaniel Bacon, Esq; Nicholas Bacon, Esq; Henry North, Esq; Robert Brewster, Esq; Francis Bacon, Esq; Theophilus Vaughan of Beccles, Esq; William Cage, Esq; John Gurdon, Esq; Edmond Harvey, Esq; John Bassé, Esq; Brampton Gurdon, Esq; Wiseman Bokenham, Esq; Isaac Apleton, Esq; Robert Reynolds, Esq; Thomas Cole, Esq; Richard Pepys, Esq; Nathaniel Bacon of Ipswich, Esq; John Clinch, sen. Esq; John Clinch of Culphere, Esq; Nicholas Rivet of Dringston, Esq; Gibson Lucas, Esq; Thomas Chapman, Esq; the Aldermen of St. Edmunds Bury, Thomas Johnson of Aldborough, Gent. the Bailiffs of that Town.

Town of St. Edmunds Bury.

Mr. Samuel Moody, Mr. Thomas Cole, Mr. Chaplyn.

Town of Ipswich.

The Bailiffs, John Sickleman, Gent. Richard Puplet, Gent. John Aldy, Gent.

County of Surrey.

Sir Richard Onslow, Sir William Ellior; Sir Robert Parkhurst, Sir Ambrose Browne; Sir Anthony Vincent, Sir John Dingley; Sir Matthew Brand, Sir Thomas Grimes; Sir John Gresham, Sir John Lenthall, Sir John Maynard, Nicholas Stoughton, Esq; George Evelyn of Wootton, Esq; Henry Weston, Esq; Arthur Onslow, Esq; Francis Drake, Esq; Thomas Sands, Esq; George Myn, Esq; William Mauschampe, Esq; Edward Bish, sen. Esq; Edward Bish, jun. Esq; Edward Bagshaw; Esq; John White, Esq; Robert Goodwin, Esq; John Turner, Esq; Edmund Sanders, Esq; Herman Arwood, Esq; Sir John Howland; George Goodwyn, Esq; Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Cornelius Cooke, Gent.

County of Sussex.

Sir Thomas Pelham, Sir Thomas Eversfield, Sir William Goring, Sir Thomas Parker; Sir William Colepeper, Sir John Chapman, Anthony Starke, Esq; Herbert Morley, Esq; Thomas Whit-

A. D. 1643. *Whitfield, Esq; Henry Goring, Esq; Nicholas Gildrege, Esq; George Churcker, Esq; Edward Goring, Esq; Thomas Aynscomb, Esq; William Thomas, Esq; William Mariot, Esq; William Hay, Esq; Thomas Jeffery, Esq; Henry Bridger, Esq; Herbert Board, Esq; Henry Peck, Esq; John Board, Esq; Francis Sellwyn, Esq; Anthony Foote, Esq; Laurence Ashburnham, Esq; William Careley, Esq; Thomas Middleton, Esq; William Michelbourne, Esq; Peter Farnedon, Esq; John Busbridge, Esq; Robert Spence, Esq; Stephen Humphrey, Esq; Thomas Shirley, Esq; Henry Shelley, Esq; John Alford, Esq; Thomas Challoner, Esq; Thomas Collins, Esq; Edward Higgon, Esq; John Baker, Esq; Herbert Hay, Esq; Ralph Cooper, Gent. Hall Ravenscroft, Gent. Edward Apsley, Gent. John Downes, Gent. William Carolp, Gent. George Oglander, Gent. George Simpson, Gent. James Bachelor, Gent.*

County of Somerset.

Sir John Horner, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir George Farewell, Christopher Walker, Esq; William Strode, Esq; Richard Cole, Esq; John Harrington, Esq; John Hippeley, Esq; William Long, Esq; John Prellon, Esq; Henry Henley, Esq; Henry Sandford, Esq; John Pyne, Esq; James Ash, Esq; Roger Hill, Esq; George Searl, Esq; Jasper Chaplin, Esq; William Capel, Esq; William Bull, Esq; Robert Harbin, Esq; John Hunt, Esq; Alexander Popham, Esq; Hugh Rogers, Esq; Clement Walker, Esq; Robert Blake, Esq;

City of Bristol.

Richard Alworth, Esq; Mayor, Joseph Jackson, Esq; Hugh Brown, Esq; Sheriffs, Richard Halkworthy, Alderman, Luke Hodges, Henry Gibbs, Aldermen.

County of Southampton.

Sir Thomas Jervoyse, Sir William Waller, — Wilters, Esq; Robert Wallop, Esq; Richard Whitebead, Esq; John Doddington, Esq; John Lisle, Esq; John Fielder, Esq; John Button, Esq; George Wilters, Esq; — Baynard, Esq;

Isle of Wight.

Sir Henry Worsley, Sir Henry Lee, Sir John Lee, Thomas Kerne, Esq; John Lisle, Esq; John Bulkeley, Esq; John Buller, Esq;

County of Salop.

Sir John Corbet, William Pierpoint, Esq; Thomas Mytton, Esq; Richard Moore, Esq; Walter Barker, Esq; Thomas Nicholls, Esq; Robert Corbet, Esq; of Stamerden, Humphrey Mackworth, Esq; Andrew Lloyd, Esq; of Aston, Lancelot Lee, Esq;

County of Stafford.

Sir Richard Sceffington, Richard Pyot, Esq; Michael Biddulph, Esq; Edward Maynwaring, Esq; John Birch, Esq; Matt Morton, Esq; Philip Rudyard, Esq; Michael Low, Esq; Sir Edward Wrottesley, Sir Edward Littleton, Barons, Edward Leigh, Esq;

City of Litchfield.

Bailiffs and Sheriffs for the Time being, Richard Brafgate, Esq; Richard Baxter, Esq; Thomas Burns, Gent. Michael Noble, Esq;

County of Warwick and City of Coventry.

Sir Peter Wentworth, John Hales, Esq; Anthony Staughton, Esq; William Colemore, Esq; Sam. Purefoy, Esq; Thomas Boughton, Esq; William Jesson, Esq; Thomas Willoughby, Esq; Godfrey Boswell, Esq; John Barker, Esq; William Purefoy, Esq; George Abbot, Esq; Thomas Basnet, Esq;

County of Wilts.

Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir Edward Bainton, Sir John Evelyn, Sir Nevil Poole, Thomas

Moore, Esq; Edward Bainton, Esq; Edward Tucker, Esq; Edward Goddard, Esq; Edward Ash, Esq; Alexander Thistlethwaite, Esq; Edward Poole, Esq; Robert Jenner, Esq;

County of Westmoreland.

Sir Henry Bellingham, Knt. and Bart. Richard Brantwaite, Esq; George Gilpin, Esq; Edward Wilson, Esq; Nicholas Fisher, Esq; Thomas Sleddal, Esq; Rowland Dawson, Esq; Allen Bellingham, Esq; Roger Bateman, Esq; Robert Philipson, Esq; Gervase Benson, Esq;

County of Worcester.

Serjeant Wilde, Humphrey Sakway, Esq; Edward Dingley, Esq; Edward Pytt, Esq; Thomas Greves, Esq; William Jefferyes, Esq; Ambrose Elton, Esq; Serjeant Creswell.

County of York.

East Riding.

Sir John Hotham, Knt. and Bart. Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Strickland, Sir Thomas Rymmington, John Hotham, Esq; Richard Rymmington, Esq; John Aislaby, Esq; Henry Darley, Esq; Richard Darley, Esq; John Alured, Esq;

North Riding.

Sir William Sheffield, Sir Henry Fowles, Sir Matthew Bointon, Brian Stapleton, Esq; Henry Anderson, Esq; Henry Darley, Esq; John Wastall, Esq; Christopher Perchley, Esq; George Trotter, Esq; Matthew Smelt, Esq; John Legard of Malton, Esq; Francis Lassels, Esq; Jeffery Gale, Esq; John Dent, Esq; Thomas Robinson, Esq; Francis Bointon, Esq;

West Riding.

Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, Sir William Fairfax, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Charles Fairfax, Esq; Sir Thomas Maleverer, Sir William Lister, Sir Arthur Ingram, Sir Edward Rodes, Sir Jervas Cutler, Sir John Savill, Henry Ardington, Esq; George Marwood, Esq; Sir John Reresby, John Farrer, Esq; Thomas Maleverer, Esq; William White, Esq; John Robinson, Esq; Thomas Stockdale, Esq; Thomas Westby, Esq; Thomas Boffevile, Esq; John Bright, Esq; Godfrey Boffevile, Esq;

City of York.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Alderman Hodson, Alderman Hutchinson, Alderman Vaux.

Town of Kingston upon Hull.

Sir John Hotham, John Hotham, Esq; Thomas Raikes Mayor, Lancelot Roper, Gent. John Barnard, Gent. Joshua Hall, Gent. Nicholas Denman, Gent. William Pople, Gent.

The County of Oxford is omitted, the King's Forces being in Possession of it. As this is the first Precedent of appointing Commissioners of Taxes in every County, as is done lately for the Land-Tax, at least it is the first that comes so near to the late Practice; and this being the most compleat List extant, for all others are imperfect, I doubt not it will be acceptable to the Reader; and the Posterity of those Gentlemen who have preserv'd true Protestant and English Principles in their Names and Families, will be pleas'd with so honourable a Succession. As for those who have degenerated, and there will be some found in several Counties, it is to be hop'd that the Goodness of the Cause, and the Example of their Ancestors, will wean them from Bigotry and Faction, and make them as good Englishmen and as good Protestants as their Fathers were before them.

All this while was the War carrying on in several Parts of the Kingdom by Skirmishes, Surprises, Rencounters, without much Damage to either

A. D. 1643. either Side, tho' it must be confess'd that what Advantage there was fell mostly to the King's Share in this Year's Dispute. The Garrison of *Oxford* made frequent Sallies even within a Mile of the Earl of *Essex's* head Quarters, which were about *Thame*. Prince *Rupert* cut off a Regiment or two at *Postcomb* and *Chinnor*. He also fell upon a Body of *Parliamentarians* in *Chalgrave Field*, *Buckinghamshire*, where a warm Action commenc'd, and ended in the Rout of the latter, who were betray'd by Col. *Hurry* a Deserter. In this Engagement Major *Gunter* was shot dead, and Col. *Hampden* mortally wounded; Capt. *Sheffield* and many Officers and Soldiers were taken Prisoners. Some advised Mr. *Hampden* not to go upon that Party, he having no Order for it; but, says *Whitlocke*, his Courage did put him forward. He adds, *He was a Gentleman of the most ancient Extraction in the County of Bucks, Hampden of Hampden; his Fortune large, his natural Abilities great, his Affection to publick Liberty and Applause in his Country, expos'd him to many Difficulties and Troubles, as in the Business of the Ship-Money and the Loan, and now in Parliament, where he was a most active and leading Member. He spoke rationally and subrely, and often propos'd Doubts more than he resolv'd. He was well belov'd in his Country, where he had a great Interest, as also in the House of Commons.* He dy'd of his Wounds a Week after the Engagement, about the 24th of *June*, and was lamented by every good Man in the Nation. His Character is universally acknowledg'd to be the brightest and purest of any Man's then living. Mr. *Whitlock* was his Neighbour and Friend, as good a Judge of Men as was then in *England*, and as well able to speak in their Praise or Dispraise; yet we see in how few Words, with what Simplicity and Sincerity he leaves this shining Character to Posterity. If it will not shine of it self, it shall have no Ornament of Words or Fancy from him; and if the Earl of *Clarendon's* Pictures had been drawn with the same Integrity and Discretion, we had lost above half of them in Number and Value. I shall speak of them more at large elsewhere, and could prove very easily, that there is not one of them just, either in Beauty or Blemish. That all Likeness is lost in a barren Superfluity of Words, and the Workings of a prejudiced Imagination, even where one may suppose the Drawing was his own. But that there has been more Dawbing in some Places, and more Dirt in others, put on by his Editors, is now incontestable. In the Character of this great and excellent Man, which we could wish had escap'd his Drawings, or the Drawings of those clumsy Painters into whose Hands his Work fell, there is something so very false and base, that such Coin could only come from a College Mint. In a Word, what was said of *Cinna* might well be apply'd to *Hampden*, he had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to perswade, and a Hand to execute any Mischief: His Death therefore seem'd to be a great Deliverance to the Nation. There are not Words to express the Infamy of this Slander and Imposture, nor the unparalleld Wickedness of those Doctors, who foisted so horrid a Reflection into that Character. The Person who did it was Mr. *Edmund Smith* of *Oxford*, Author of *Phedra* and *Hippolitus*, a Tragedy, who at his Death confess'd to the Gentleman in whose House he dy'd, that among a great Number of Alterations and Additions which he himself made in the *History of the Rebellion*, by Order of Dr. *Aldrich*, Dr. *Atterbury*, and Dr. *Smalbridge*, successive Deans of *Christ-Church*, this very Saying of *Cinna*, apply'd to Mr. *Hampden*, was

one; and when he read it to one of those Doctors, he clap'd him on the Back, and cry'd with an Asseveration, *It will do.* The Confession Mr. *Smith* made, and the Remorse he express'd for being concern'd in this Imposture, were his last Words. Probably before this History is publish'd that Gentleman, or my self by his Permission, may have set this whole Matter in a clear Light, and the World will then see what a fair Way they were in to be impos'd on, perhaps for ever, if so worthy a Gentleman had not detected the Fraud. That the Ground-work of the Characters and History was the Lord *Clarendon's*, is not to be doubted, from the Abundance of Words and Wantonness of Fancy; but that those Additions and Alterations were made to flatter or abuse Persons and Things to keep Life in a languishing Cause, is now well known, and will be made appear. This Digression must serve for all that might be said here upon this Subject.

We have mention'd the *Covenant* fram'd on the Discovery of *Waller's Plot*, which was order'd to be tender'd by the Ministers of Parishes to their Parishioners. One *Grimes*, Parson of *Ightam* in *Kent* not only refus'd to take it himself, according to Order, but also to tender it to his Congregation. The Parliament being inform'd of it, sent a Party of Horse to bring him to *London*: But the Parson was prepar'd to receive them, and having gotten a Rabble together with Halberts, Swords and Staves, pretended to stand out against the Troopers, who soon dispers'd them, seiz'd *Grimes*, and carry'd him off. But the Mob assembled again as soon as the Party was gone, and rais'd a downright Rebellion against the Parliament, being encreas'd to 2000, and having got Fire-Arms amongst them. Against these Col. *Richard Brown* was order'd to march with 600 Horse and Dragoons, and 1200 Foot. He came up with them at *Tunbridge*, and they fir'd upon his Men, kill'd an Officer and seven Soldiers; upon which Col. *Brown* commanded his Forces to attack them, and their sudden Flight prevented a great Slaughter; 200 were taken Prisoners, and the Town was plunder'd for harbouring and encouraging them. The Parliament had offer'd them Pardon if they would lay down their Arms, and to redress whatever Grievances they complain'd of, but they contemptuously refus'd it; and being routed, the Two Houses pass'd an Ordinance in *August*, empowering Commissioners to seize the Horses and Arms, the Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels of these Rebels, and their Abettors; which Commissioners were Sir *Henry Vane* sen. Sir *Anthony Welden*, Sir *John Sidley*, Sir *Michael Livesey*, Sir *Henry Hayman*, Sir *Edward Boyse*, Sir *William Springall*, Sir *Edward Master*, Sir *Peter Wroth*, Sir *John Roberts*, Sir *Thomas Walsingham*, *Thomas Selyard*, Esq; *Augustine Skinner*, Esq; *Thomas Blunt*, Esq; *Thomas Franklyn*, Esq; *John Boyse*, Esq; *Richard Lee*, Esq; Mr. *Nutt*, Mr. *Browne*, Mr. *Boyse*.

About the Time of the Discovery of the Plots to betray *London*, *Bristol*, and *Hull* to the Cavaliers, there was a Conspiracy to deliver up the City of *Lincoln* by Major *Purefoy* and his Brother, who were in the Parliament's Service there. Two thousand of the Forces which the Queen had left at *Newark* in her Passage to *Oxford*, were to advance to the Gates, which the two *Purefoys* had engaged to open to them, and for that Purpose had admitted a small Party of the Enemy, disguis'd like Market-men, whom they conceal'd in the Dean's House. The Mayor of *Hull* got Intimation of the Plot, and communicated it to the Governor of *Lincoln*, who seiz'd

Chalgrave Field.

Mr. Hampden kill'd.

Clar. Characters false.

Clar. History altered.

A. D. 1643.

A Rebellion in *Kent*.

A Plot at *Lincoln*.

A. D. 1643. the two *Purofays*. However, the disguis'd Cavaliers sally'd out of the Dean's Houfe into the Town, and endeavour'd to feize the Magazine and master the main Guard till one Cannon only was fir'd upon them, which kill'd feveral of them, and the reft threw down their Arms. The Forces from *Newark* hearing the Plot was discover'd made their Retreat. Not long after the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* with a Party of Horfe and Dragoons took *Gainsborough*, and made the Earl of *Kingfton*, Sir *Jervafe Scroop*, and feveral other Gentlemen and Officers Prifoners, together with 250 common Soldiers. He found Treafure in the Earl's Houfe, which held out a whole Day after the Town was taken. The Lord *Willoughby* understanding the King's Forces were gathering from *Newark* and other Places to recover *Gainsborough*, fent away the Earl of *Kingfton* in a Pinnace to *Hull*, which a Party of Royalifts on the *Trent* fide fpying they difcharg'd their Muskets at her, and kill'd the Earl of *Kingfton* and his Man *Savil* in the Cabbin. The Pinnace got clear and paff on to *Hull*. Colonel *Cromwel* hearing that the Lord *Willoughby* had taken *Gainsborough*, drew that way to reinforce him, and in his March met with Colonel *Cavendish* with a Party of the Earl of *Newcastle's* Army, which he entirely defeated, and flew the Colonel. He gives this Account of the Action himfelf in a Letter dated *July 31*. " I march'd after the taking of *Burleigh* to *Grantbam*, and was join'd by the *Lincolneers* at *North Scarles*, 10 Miles from *Gainsborough*. About a Mile and half from the Town we met the Forlorn of the Enemy, who drove a Troop of our Dragoons back to their main Body. We advanc'd and came to the Bottom of a fteep Hill, which we could not well get up but by fome Tracts, and the Body of the Enemy endeavour'd to hinder us, but we prevail'd and gain'd the Top of it. This was done by the *Lincolneers*, who had the Vanguard. A great Body of the Enemy's Horfe fac'd us there, at about a Musket Shot diftance, and a good Referve of a full Regiment of Horfe behind it. We did what we could to put our Men in good Order, and the Enemy advanced towards us to prevent it and take us at a Difadvantage, but in fuch Order as we were we charg'd their great Body, I having the right Wing: We came up Horfe to Horfe, where we difputed a pretty while with our Swords and Piftols, all keeping clofe Order fo that one could not break the other. At laft the Enemy shrinking a little our Men foon perceiv'd it, preft in upon them and routed their whole Body, fome flying on one fide and others on the other of the Enemy's Referve. Our Men purfu'd them with good Execution about 6 Miles. I perceiving the Referve ftill unbroken kept back my Major *Whaley* from the Purfuit, and with my own Troop and two Troops more of my Regiment we got into a Body. In this Referve was General *Cavendish*, who one while fac'd me, another while fac'd four of the *Lincoln* Troops, which were all of ours that engag'd the Referve, the reft being in Purfuit of thofe who fled. General *Cavendish* charg'd the *Lincolneers* and routed them. Immediately I fell on his Rear with my three Troops, which did fo aftonifh him that he gave over the Chafe, and would have deliver'd himfelf from me, but I preffing on forc'd him down a Hill, and below it drove the General and fome of his Soldiers into a *Quagmire*, where my Captain Lieutenant flew him with a Thruf under his fhort Ribs. The reft

" of the Body was wholly routed, not one Man ftaying on the Place." I have repeated *Cromwel's* own Words, to fhew the unparalleled Falfties in *Echard's* Account of this gallant Action. Colonel *Bury* had given Colonel *Cavendish* Quarter, and he was flain in cold Blood, throwing the Blood running from his Wounds in his Enemies Faces, like the *Cannibal* in *Montaigne*. Neither *Echard* nor his Original, knew that this had more of the *Manaluke* and the *Tartar* in it than the Hero.

This Victory was more than over-ballanc'd on the King's Side, by the Defeat of the Lord *Fairfax* on *Atherton* Moor, where he was engaged by the Earl of *Newcastle*, who was much Superior to him in Number. He had 500 Men kill'd. Many Prifoners and Pieces of Ordnance were taken by the Royalifts. The Lord *Fairfax* with his fhatter'd Forces retreated to *Bradford*, and thence to *Leeds*, the Earl of *Newcastle* purfuing him. At *Leeds* his Lordfhip heard of *Hotbam's* Confpiracy to betray *Hull*, he repair'd thither, and in his Paffage was ftopt at *Selby* by a Party of the Earl of *Newcastle's* Army, whom Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Son held in Play, while his Father and his Attendants paff the River. In this Skirmifh Sir *Thomas* was fhut in his Arm, and though he loft much Blood he kept a Horfeback 20 Hours after; his Lady, who would accompany him, was taken in the Rout at *Atherton* riding behind Mr. *William Hill* an Officer, and his Daughter, not above 5 Years old, fhe who was afterwards Dutcheff of *Buckingham*, was alfo in the Retreat with him, riding in his Maid's Lap. Sir *Thomas* paff the *Trent* and went to *Barton*, but had not been there a Quarter of an Hour before the Enemy came up with him. However, he made a fhift to get a Ship-board under the Security of the Fire from the Ships Ordnance, and croffing the *Humber* arriv'd at *Hull*, whether the Earl of *Newcastle* fent his Lady in his own Coach with a Guard of Horfe, which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Memorial; fays himfelf, Gain'd him more Reputation than p. 58. he could have got by detaining a Lady Prifoner.

The Earl of *Newcastle* being thus Master of the Field came before *Gainsborough* with 6000 Horfe and Foot, and having batter'd the Town with his Artillery, the Lord *Willoughby* furrender'd it on Terms to march with Bag and Baggage to *Lincoln*, whether the Earl of *Newcastle* follow'd him, had the Gates open'd to him, and plac'd a Garrifon there for the King.

The Lord *Fairfax* was made Governor of *Hull*, and the Earl of *Newcastle* came before it with an Army of 16000 Horfe and Foot, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had got together about 1500 Foot and 700 Horfe, with which he was pofted at *Beverley*, while the Earl of *Newcastle* was in *Lincolnshire*, and with that little Body he was fo troublesome to the Garrifon and Neighbourhood of *York*, that the Enemy fent for the Earl of *Newcastle* to return into *Yorkshire*, though his Orders were to take in *Boston*, from thence to enter the associated Counties, to march through *Effex* to *London*, and block it up on that Side, while the King, who was Superior to *Effex* in Number, advanced, and did the fame on *Middlefex* fide. But *Newcastle* return'd to *York* and commenc'd the Siege of *Hull*, into which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had thrown himfelf upon his Approach towards *Beverley*, though with fome Difficulty. The Lord *Newcastle* laid down at a great Difftance from *Hull*, the Sluices being let down, and the Country drown'd. Yet upon a Bank which was the Highway he approach'd fo near as to fhoot Cannon-shot at random into the Town, and for the moft part hot Bullets, but by the Diligence and Care of the Governor, who caus'd every

Gainsborough taken for the Parliament.

Earl of Kingfton kill'd.

Col. Cromwel routs Col. Cavendish.

A. D. 1643.

Lord Fairfax routed.

Sir Thomas Fairfax's Lady and Daughter.

Memorial; p. 58.

Earl of Newcastle.

A. D. every Inhabitant to watch his own House the
 1643. Danger was prevented. Sir *Thomas Fairfax's*
 Horse being useless in the Town he was sent over
 with them into *Lincolnshire*, to join the Earl of
Manchester's Forces, and was receiv'd at his
 Landing by Major General *Cromwel*. Sir *John*
Henderson had got together a little Army of near
 6000 Men, drawn out of the Garrisons of *New-*
ark, *Gainsborough*, *Lincoln*, most of them Ca-
 valry. The Earl of *Manchester's* Troops were
 fuller though not so many in Number, and he
 led them on singing of *Psalms*. Quarter Master
 General *Vermuyden* had the Forlorn, with 5
 Troops of Horse, and Colonel *Cromwel* the Van,
 seconded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. The Roy-
 alists Word was *Newcastle*, the Parliamentarians
Truth and Peace, and they engaged near *Horn*
Castle in *Lincolnshire* the 19th of *October*. *Ver-*
meyden and the Dragoons gave the first Charge,
 and then Major General *Cromwel* charg'd with
 the Horse, having received the first Fire from
 the Enemy's Dragoons. They gave him a se-
 cond Salutation within half Pistol Shot. His
 Horse was kill'd and fell down upon him, and as
 he rose he was knock'd down again by the Gen-
 tleman who charg'd him; suppos'd to be Sir
Ingram Hopton, but he got up and recover'd a
 poor Horse in a Soldier's Hand and so mounted
 again. The Van of the Royalists Horse being
 beaten back upon their Foot put them into Dis-
 order, and *Manchester's* Troops taking that Ad-
 vantage fell in upon them and put them to flight,
 leaving their Dragoons who were now on foot be-
 hind them. Thus being totally routed *Manchester's*
 Men had the Pursuit, and did Execution upon
 them for several Miles. The Earl of *Manche-*
ster's Foot did not come up till after the Horse
 had done the Business. The Number of the
 Royalists slain were about 1500, among whom
 were Sir *Ingram Hopton*, Sir *George Bolles*,
 Lieutenant Colonel *Markham*, and other Of-
 ficers. On the Parliament Side very few were
 kill'd, and none of Note. The Royalists had
 no Time to rally, being pursu'd as far as *Lin-*
coln. Neither were they suffer'd to rest there,
 the Earl of *Manchester* following them thither
 the next Day, and finding them at work in for-
 tifying the *Close* he summon'd them to surren-
 der, which they refusing, he attack'd them gal-
 lantly with Horse and Foot and carry'd the Place
 by Storm with very little Loss. He found there
 2500 Arms, 30 Colours, and 3 Pieces of Can-
 non; and these Successes so soon one after an-
 other, gave a Check to the Marquis of *Newcastle*,
 as he is now to be call'd, whose Army was more
 terrible by the Noise they made than by their
 Actions. A few Days before this Victory the
 Earl of *Manchester* seiz'd the Town of *Old*
Lynne, and planting Ordnance there much annoy'd
 the new Town: He made two Approaches,
 one by the *Causeway* that leads to the *South*,
 the other to the *East Gate*. The Besieged
 sally'd upon him and fir'd two Houses in *Gar-*
wood, intending to destroy the whole Town
 that he might not have Quarters there, but that
 Party was beaten back and the rest of the Hou-
 ses preserv'd. The Besiegers summon'd in Pio-
 neers from the Neighbourhood, and by Degrees
 brought their Approaches within half Musket
 shot, and had begun a Battery near that End of
 the Town next the Sea, resolving to storm it by
 Land and by Water, Boats and Ladders being
 provided for that purpose, which the Besieged
 perceiving, they sent to desire a Parley, and a
 Treaty was agreed on, to be manag'd by eight Per-
 sons of a Side: For the Earl of *Manchester* were
 Sir *John Palgrave*, Colonel *Russell*, Colonel *Wal-*
ton, Mr. *Philip Calthorp*, Mr. *John Pickering*,

Mr. *Gregory Goffet*, Mr. *John Spelman*, and
 Mr. *William Good*. For the Town were Sir
Hammond L'Estrange, Sir *Richard Hovil*, Mr.
Clinch, Mr. *Dereham*, Mr. *Pallet*, Recorder,
 Mr. *Hudson*, the Mayor elect, Mr. *Leek*, and
 Mr. *Kirby*. The Terms were soon concluded.
 They were honourable, and honourably observ'd.
 His Lordship took Possession of the Place the
 same Night, and detach'd 500 Men to reinforce
 the Garrison of *Hull*. But Care not having been
 taken in the Articles of *Lynne* to provide for
 Reparation of Damages so such well affected
 Persons in the Town as had been damnify'd by
 the *Cavaliers*, the Parliament empower'd Colo-
 nel *Walton*, who was made Governor of *Lynne*
 to examine into those Damages and appoint Re-
 paration accordingly.

We left the Marquis of *Newcastle* in a vain
 Enterprize against *Hull*; he lay near a Month
 about the Place without making any consider-
 able Approach, and the Lord *Fairfax* the Go-
 vernor having receiv'd a Reinforcement, made a
 Sally out of the Town on the Marquis's Trenches,
 the very same Day that Sir *John Henderson* was
 routed at *Newcastle*. The Lord *Newcastle* drew
 out most Part of his Army to relieve them, but
 the Lord *Fairfax's* Men charg'd them so reso-
 lutely that they possess themselves of his Cannon,
 and pursuing their Advantages put the Enemy
 to a total Rout, upon which he rais'd the Siege
 and return'd again to *York*. These are the
 Actions of which the Lord *Clarendon* says, *Few*
Days past without Bloes between Newcastle
and Fairfax, in which the Parliament Forces had
usually the worst. And to shew his Impartiality
 further, he says not a Syllable of the Rout at
Horn Castle, nor of the Marquis of *Newcastle's*
 being driven from before *Hull*, which Mr. Arch-
 deacon phrases very finically, *The Lord New-*
castle thought it necessary to withdraw. Thus
 it is through both of their Histories, the *Cava-*
liers are always charging first. If the *Parlia-*
mentarians are worsted they run, if the *Roy-*
alists they withdraw, which is extremely pu-
 erile, and by no means the Mark of Talents pro-
 per for History.

The Success of the Parliaments Forces in
Yorkshire and *Lincolnshire*, was abundantly made
 up to the King by the taking of the most impor-
 tant Place in *England*, the City of *London* only
 excepted, for Prince *Rupert* with an Army of
 20000 Horse and Foot coming before *Bristol*,
 and the Summons being refus'd, laid Siege to
 it, and the next Day gave a fierce Assault, but
 was beaten off. He continu'd his Attacks with
 great Resolution, and was as resolutely resist-
 ed, till Colonel *Washington* gain'd the Outworks,
 and made a Breach in the Walls, which Captain
Langrige was to have secur'd with his Troop of
 Horse, but there was some Failure in that Ser-
 vice, and Colonel *Fiennes* the Governor submit-
 ted to a Parley, which brought on a Treaty that
 was soon concluded, and the City surrender'd on
 Articles, *The Officers to march out with full*
Arms, Horses, Bag and Baggage, the Foot
Soldiers without their Arms, the Troopers with
their Horses and Swords, the Parliaments
Friends in the City to have free Liberty, with
their Wives, Families, Goods, Bag and Bag-
gage, to depart the Town with the Governor
and Forces, all the Citizens to be secur'd from
Plundering and all other Violence. Not one of
 which Articles was kept, but all of them broken
 in the most outrageous and scandalous Manner,
 Colonel *Fiennes* was try'd and condemn'd by a
 Council of War, but afterwards repriev'd, and
 serv'd no more in the Army. Prince *Rupert* came
 before the City on the Eve of *St. James*, the great
 Fair

A. D. Fair Day, and had it surrender'd the 27th of July.

1643.

Landf-
down
Figh.

Some Days before this Sir William Waller had beaten up the Cavalier Quarters at Wells, and dispers'd Sir James Hamilton's Regiment, which so provok'd the Royalists, that they gather'd what Forces they had in those Parts together in a Body and resolv'd to drive Sir William out of Bath. He order'd Major Dowel with 300 Horse and Foot to secure the Pass at Ford Bridge, but he was beaten off, 10 of his Men kill'd, and two Hammer Pieces taken. On the 4th of July Waller drew out his Forces upon *Landsdown* expecting the Enemy, who advanc'd the next Day. Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Colonel Carr, Major Dowel and Captain Butler, charg'd them with 400 Horse, but were gallantly receiv'd, and forc'd to retreat, though in good Order, till they were relieved by Colonel Burghill, between whom and the Royalists the Fight was maintain'd for two Hours, and then the Parliaments Foot growing weary a Supply was sent, which consisting of new rais'd Men presently gave ground, and Colonel Burghill was shot through his right Arm. The King's Party charg'd up very furiously, which prov'd to the Advantage of the Parliament's, for now both Armies being on the Plain, and Waller exceeding the Cavaliers in Horse as much as they exceeded him in Foot, had the better Opportunity of fighting. The Battle grew hot on both Sides, and continu'd so many Hours till Night parted them, each side pretending to the Honour of a Victory, which Echard, after his usual Way, puts out of all Doubt; and if we will not allow him such Victories his History will be the most barren of Triumphs of any that ever was written. There's a Trophy erected on *Landsdown*, a Mile from Bath, in Honour of that brave Gentleman Sir Bevil Greenwile of Cornwall, who was slain in this Fight, and those of his Posterity who have been ennobled have taken their Title of Viscount or Baron from this *Landsdown*, in Remembrance of the Glory their Ancestor acquir'd here. On the King's Side were also kill'd Lieutenant Colonel Ward, and Major Lower. On the Parliament's Side Major Straughan a Scots Gentleman, a Lieutenant and two Cornets. The Number of the Slain is so variously reported that there is no fixing it. Waller thought himself so much a Victor, that having refresh'd his Men a Day or two at Bath, he follow'd the King's Forces to the *Devizes*, where Sir Ralph Hopton shut himself up with the Foot, no great Sign that he was Victorious at *Landsdown*, while Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford carry'd away most of the Horse to Oxford. Waller made an Assault upon the Town, and Sir Ralph desir'd a Parley and Cessation for two Hours, but Sir William Waller's Terms not being accepted of, both Sides again took to their Arms, and Waller was preparing for a general Assault when he heard that the Lord Wilmot and the Earl of Carnarvon with 2000 Horse, were advanc'd within 2 or 3 Miles of the *Devizes*, upon which, instead of keeping his Ground, which was advantageous against Cavalry, he suddenly drew off July 13th, without Drum or Trumpet to *Roundway Down*, where his Horse, rashly led on by Sir Arthur Haslerigge, gallop'd up Hill, leaving the Foot to be attack'd by Sir Ralph Hopton. Haslerigge charg'd the Cavaliers in a disorderly Manner, and was consequently put to a disorderly Retreat, yet with the Help of their Reserve his Troops rally'd and stood a second Charge, but were then totally routed. Waller's Foot made a better Resistance, but the Lord Wilmot's Horse coming upon them they were intirely defeated; flung

Round-
way
Down
Figh.

down their Arms and fled. The King's Forces took 4 Pieces of Cannon, abundance of Arms, and many Prisoners, Sir William Waller, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Colonel Popham, Colonel Strode, and other Commanders, escap'd to Bristol, 25 Miles off, where they could not stay long, for that City was surrender'd a Fortnight after. Waller repair'd to London, and notwithstanding this Disaster, owing chiefly to ill Conduct, he was highly carress'd, and Means concerted to raise him another Army.

In this Confusion of Affairs Civil and Military, 'tis impossible to observe the due Order of Things and Times. While the one Party is making War with Success in the North of England, the other does the like in the West. Four or five Towns are besieging at once by both Sides; the Parliament are busy'd in Debates and Counsels at Westminster, the same are the King and Court at Oxford, we are therefore compell'd to antedate and postpone Events, as it serves best to clear Matters in the several Parts of the Kingdom where they happen'd. The Parliament's Affairs are represented by Clarendon, Warwick, Echard, and that Sort of Writers, as in a desperate Condition, though they themselves were far from any such Apprehensions, and knowing that the Scots were preparing to march an Army to their Assistance, the Confidence of the Cavaliers was more ridiculous than terrible to them, which Confidence they did not only mix with their Mirth over their Cups, but with their Devotion, and thank'd God for Victories they either never obtained, or had at the same time Losses which over ballanc'd them.

The Parliament Army under the Earl of Essex had suffer'd much by Sicknes, which had lessen'd their Number, and Desertion had not a little thin'd the Companies and Regiments, the Soldiers being disgust'd that they were restrain'd from plundering Reading, and had not received the 12 Shillings a Man they were promis'd in lieu of it. Their usual Pay also did not come so regularly as at first, which putting them into an ill Humour, one may be sure their General was not in a good one. He wrote a Letter to the Parliament from Great Brickhill, wherein he propos'd to send to his Majesty to have Peace, and mention'd some of the Terms which Echard conceals, *To bring the chief Delinquents to trial for having brought all this Mischief to both Kingdoms, to have Religion, Laws and Liberties settl'd, &c.* Terms which every Man in his Wits would have fallen in with. And in such Case the Author of the *History of the Rebellion* must have been brought to Trial, being always excepted in the Parliament's Indemnities as a chief Delinquent, and he has endeavour'd to take his Revenge of them in his History. In case the King wou'd not comply with this, the Lord General desir'd he might be mov'd to name a Day and Place for a Battle to decide the Matter at once, and put an End to the Cries of the poor People which are infinite. The Parliament return'd for Answer, "The King by his last Proclamation, publish'd in the *Height of Exultation for the taking of Bristol*, had cast them out of his Protection, and thereby made them incapable to treat till that Proclamation be recall'd. And that by their late Covenant they were bound never to lay down Arms so long as Papists, now in open War against them, shall by Force be protected from Parliamentary Justice." They assur'd him of speedy Recruits both of Men and Money, which they perform'd, and in about a Month's Time he muster'd an Army of 15000 Men on *Hounslow Heath*.

A. D. 1643.

Waller routed.

Earl of Essex writes to the Parli. about Peace.

The

A. D. 1643. The Lords and Commons taking into Consideration the Inconveniencies which attended the Want of a Great Seal, pass'd an Ordinance for making a new one, the Lord Littleton having, contrary to the Trust repos'd in him and the Duty of his Place, secretly and perfidiously convey'd it away. The Commissioners appointed for keeping of this new Seal, were Henry Earl of Kent, Oliver Earl of Bolingbroke, Oliver St. John, Esq; John Wyld, Esq; Serjeant at Law, whom the Earl of Clarendon calls infamous, Samuel Brozen, Esq; and Edmund Prideaux, Esq;

Book of Sports. The Parliament had some Time before pass'd an Ordinance for burning the Book of Sports by the Hangman, and all Persons who had those impious Books, which injoin'd the Profanation of the Lord's Day, were order'd to bring them in to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, that they may be burned accordingly.

Printing. The Licentiousness of Pamphlets requir'd the Wisdom and Authority of the Parliament to restrain it. One Saltmarsh, a Minister, had said in a Book of his, That all Means should be used to keep the King and People from a sudden Union: If the King would not grant their Demands, he should be set aside, and the Crown put upon another Head. Exceptions being taken against this in the House of Commons, Mr. Henry Martin said, I see no Reason to condemn Mr. Saltmarsh; it is better one Family should be destroy'd than many. Sir Nevil Pool mov'd that Mr. Martin might explain himself, and he boldly answer'd, I mean the King and his Children. Upon which some Members upbraided him with his Amours, and several spoke sharply against him, so he was committed to the Tower, but soon after releas'd, and re-admitted to his Seat in Parliament. However an Ordinance pass'd to restrain the Licence of the Press, by which the following Licensers were appointed in the several Faculties.

Licensers of the Press. For Books of Divinity. Mr. Thomas Gataker, Mr. John Downham, Mr. Callibut Downing, Dr. Thomas Temple, Mr. Joseph Caryl, Mr. Edmund Calamy, Mr. Carter of Yorkshire, Mr. Charles Herle, Mr. James Cranford, Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, Mr. Batchelor, Mr. John Ellis jun.

For Law Books. Sir John Bramston, Mr. Serjeant Rolls, Mr. Serjeant Pbesant, Mr. Serjeant Fermine.

For Physick and Surgery. The President and Censors of the College of Physicians.

For Civil and Canon Law. Sir Nathaniel Brent, or any three Doctors of the Civil Law.

For Heraldry. One of the three Heralds at Arms.

For Philosophy, History, Poetry, Morality and Arts. Sir Nathaniel Brent, Mr. Langley Schoolmaster of Paul's, Mr. Farnaby.

Assembly of Divines. An Ordinance pass'd the 12th of June, for calling an Assembly of Learned and Godly Divines, and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament for the settling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England, and for the vindicating and clearing of the said Church from false Aspersions and Interpretations. This Synod consisted of Lay-Members as well as

Clergy, as will be seen by the following List of some of both: Algernoon Earl of Northumberland, William Earl of Bedford, Philip Earl of Pembroke, William Earl of Salisbury, Edward Earl of Manchester, James Lord Viscount Say and Sele, Edward Lord Conway, Philip Lord Wharton, Edward Lord Howard of Escreeck, Sir Henry Vane sen. Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Sir Thomas Barrington, Sir Henry Vane jun. Sir John Clotworthy, John Selden, Esq; Bulstrode Whitlocke, Esq; John Maynard, Esq; William Wheeler, Esq; Walter Young, Esq; Humphrey Salwey, Esq; Oliver St. John, Esq; Edmund Prideaux, Esq; Francis Rous, Esq; John White, Esq; John Glyn, Esq; John Pym, Esq;

Here are the greatest Names in England, Lords and Commons; now let us see what Divines there were: Dr. William Twisse, Dr. Thomas Wincop, Dr. Richard Love, Dr. Brocket Smith, Dr. Cornelius Burges, Dr. Anthony Tuckney, Dr. Callibut Downing, Dr. Edmund Stanton, Dr. Thomas Temple, Dr. William Spurston, Dr. William Gouge, Dr. Lazarus Seaman, Dr. Henry Wilkinson, Dr. Francis Cheyney, Dr. Humphrey Chambers, Dr. Joshua Hoyle, Dr. Peter Smith, Dr. John Arrowsmith, Dr. John Lightfoot, Dr. Edward Reynolds, Dr. John Conant, Dr. Christopher Pashley, Edmund Calamy, B. D. Herbert Palmer, B. D. Thomas Whitaker, B. D. Oliver Bowles, B. D. Robert Harris, B. D. Henry Hall, B. D. Thomas Hill, B. D. George Walker, B. D. William Mew, B. D. Thomas Valentine, B. D. Robert Cross, B. D. Thomas Gataker, B. D.

I mention no more of the 120 Divines, for these eminent Names will be sufficient to prove that human Nature is not capable of a greater Frailty than this Asperion of the Earl of Clarendon's: Some of them were INFAMOUS in their Lives and Conversations, and most of them of very MEAN PARTS, if not of scandalous Ignorance, and of no other Reputation than of Malice to the Church. An Author capable of saying that, one may modestly say, is incapable of writing a true History. Dr. Calamy reflects upon it very justly: "This is a very heavy Charge upon such a Body of Men as they were. Tho' my Lord Clarendon was undoubtedly a very great Man, yet this Censure won't recommend his History to Posterity, who will be hard put to it to find Men of more exemplary Piety, and more eminent Ministerial Abilities among their Progenitors in any Age, than those were whom he endeavours at any rate to expose. Who can give Credit to him as an Historian, who shall represent such Men as Dr. Twisse, Bishop Reynolds, Dr. Arrowsmith, Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Gataker, &c. as Men of scandalous Ignorance," I am glad this groundless Reflection, so defil'd with Scandal, drop'd from the Pen of the Historian, it being a strong Confirmation of the Liberty he took in the abusive Part of his Characters in other Places, and having given Mr. Eckard himself an Opportunity to own he is asham'd of it, the Lord Clarendon perhaps is too severe. Every one of the Assembly-Men had four Shillings a Day allow'd for their Subsistence in London. When they met first July 1. Dr. Twisse preach'd the Sermon, and was chosen *Protocutor*. He was look'd upon as a Divine the most able in Controversy of any of his Time. Mr. Roborough and Mr. Adoniram Byfield were appointed Scribes and Notaries, and the good Success of the Synod was pray'd for by the City Ministers. Their Place of Meeting was the Jerusalem Chamber

A. D. 1643.

A. D. Chamber in the Deans Lodgings, Westminster, 1643. and one of their first publick Acts was a Petition to both Houses for a Fast, to which the Parliament consented, and Mr. Bowles and Mr. Nere-comen preach'd before them. The King publish'd a Proclamation to countermand their Meeting, which had no other Effect, than to keep out Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Hammond, Archbishop Usher, Bishop Broxwrigg, Bishop Westfield, Bishop Prideaux, Dr. Sanderfon, Dr. Hacker, all excellent Men, and their Absence was a great Loss to the Assembly. Those who sat did not answer the general Expectation of the People. Dr. Calamy tells us, "They met with many Difficulties. They were not only embarrass'd by the Dissenting Brethren, but by the learned Mr. Selden, who often employed his uncommon Learning rather to perplex than clear Matters that came before them." At which Mr. Archdeacon rejoices extremely. After the Fast was solemniz'd the Synod wrote Letters to the Reform'd Churches abroad, wherein speaking of their Desire for a farther Reformation in England, and the War that was rais'd to prevent it; they say, *We doubt not but the said Reports of the Miseries under which the Church and Kingdom of England do bleed, and wherewith we are all ready to be swallow'd up, the Cup which the Righteous Lord hath given us to drink, is long since come to your Ears, and it is probable that the same Instruments of Satan and Antichrist have endeavoured by their Emisaries to present us as Black as may be amongst your selves, who by Falshood and Lies endeavour every where to put fair Glosses upon their own bloody Design.* The History of the Rebellion is an intire Collection of those Glosses. *And to reproach our Struglings after a more thorough Reformation of Religion in the Church of England, according to the Word of God, and our just Defence of our Lives, Liberties and Religion, against their own cruel and unjust Violences. Again, How great a Hand this treacherous and bloody Generation amongst us have long had in the Miseries of other Reform'd Churches, in the Destruction of the Palatinate, and in the Betraying and Loss of Rochelle; and how by seeming Overtures of Embassies and Treaties for their Relief, they have fomented, combin'd and increas'd their Calamities, is so well known by you all, and miserably felt by some of your selves, that we need not speak any Thing of them; and we suppose their inveterate Hatred against you all is sufficiently manifested, in that Multitudes of them have refus'd to acknowledge any of you for Churches of Christ, because you are not Prelatical, and thereby, as they conceive, want a lawful Vocation of Ministers, &c.* The Lord Clarendon particularly refus'd to acknowledge the French Protestants to be a Church, and was one of the Counsellors who dissuaded King Charles the Second from going to the Reform'd Church at Charenton when he was in France. These Letters were address'd to *The Reverend and Learned Pastors and Elders of the Classes and Churches of the Province of Zealand, our much honoured Brethren.* The same to those of Holland, East Holland, Guelderland, Overysse, Utrecht, Friesland and Groningen. *To the Reverend and Learned Pastors and Elders of the Church in the City and Republick of Geneva, our much honoured Brethren.* The same to the Churches of Bern, Zurich, Basil, Schaffhausen. *To the Reverend and Learned Pastors and Elders of the Church at Paris, our much honoured Brethren.* *To the Reverend and Learned Pastors and Elders of the Classes and*

Their Letter to the Reform'd Churches.

A. D. Churches of Hessen, our much honoured Brethren. The same to those of Anhalt. And lastly, *To the Reverend and Learned Pastors and Elders of the Churches of Hanaw, our most honoured Brethren.* In these populous and potent Republicks and Principalities, there may by a modest Computation be about seven Millions of Souls. The Presbyterians of Bohemia, Transylvania, Poland, Silesia, and Austria; and other Protestant Principalities and Cities of Germany were not written to. And the whole Body of the Presbyterians in England, Scotland, Ireland, which at that Time was the Generality of the British Nation, or at least was pretended so to be, even according to Echard, are not number'd. All these Nations in Mr. Archdeacon's Opinion, are Schismatical, and only those of the Church of England, who thought and said as Laud did, Orthodox, though they were not one in Twenty of those Bodies of People. He tells us further, the King publish'd a Collection of seven Petitions to the Parliament, sign'd by 482 Lords and Knights, 1740 Esquires and Gentry, all of Note, 631 Doctors and Divines, I wonder they were not 6000, and no less than 44599 Freeholders of Name and Note, for the Preservation of Bishops and the Common Prayer. This is extremely diverting, for the Falsity of it stands in the Front. He owns there were but seven Petitions, and we will suppose they came from seven of the largest Counties in England. There must then be to every one of these Counties 70 Lords and Knights, 250 Esquires and Gentlemen, and 6000 Freeholders, all Men of good Name and Note, and not one Presbyterian among them. I doubt not the Reader will remember this, I was drawn into the Digression by the Simplicity of the Calculation.

After some Time of Sitting the Assembly of Divines presented to the Parliament a Confession of Faith, a larger and shorter Catechism, a Directory for the publick Worship, &c. of which some further mention will be made. The Annotations on the Bible ascrib'd to this Synod are not their Work, but some of their Members assisted in it, as Dr. Gouge, Dr. Reynolds, and the very Learned Gataker, who, says Dr. Calamy, is exceeded by no Commentator antient or modern.

After the taking of Bristol, and his Majesty's King's other Successes in the West, there were two Declarations publish'd at Oxford, A Form of Prayer on and for a Thanksgiving, and a Declaration address'd to all his loving Subjects. There was also a Form of Prayer for the Victory in the North, I suppose at Atherton Moor, without taking any Notice of the Rout at Horncastle, and near Gainsborough, of the Loss of Lincoln and Lynne, and of the Marquis of Newcastle's being driven off from Hull. Having spoken in their Form of Prayer of the notable Victory over the Rebels in the North, for they call Names in their Prayers, they say, *O Lord; though our Sins cry loud hear them not, but look to the RIGHTEOUSNESS of our CAUSE, see the Seamless Coat of thy Son torn, the Throne of thine Anointed trampled upon, thy Church invaded by Sacrilege, and thy People miserably deceiv'd with Lies.* It is not to be repeated. *Paganisme has nothing so profane. See it, O God, as see it thou dost, and vindicate what thou seest upon the Heads of those who lead these Wretches.* They call Names again, and the same Temper, the same Humility and Sincerity, are in all their Thanksgivings. The Declaration, if you can believe the Archdeacon, was much magnify'd as a most gracious and undeniable Instance of his Majesty's Clemency and Justice, wherein he express'd

A. D. 1643. *press'd himself an Indulgent Father to the most Disobedient Children.* We shall see that presently. He is pleas'd to leave the World to judge, Whether those Men who are profess'd Enemies to the Establish'd Church, who persecute the Learned, Orthodox Ministers, who vilify the Common Prayer, can be good Protestants; and whether they ought to suffer their Country to be wasted and ruin'd by the Malice and Cunning of those State Impostors, who under Pretence of Reformation would introduce whatever is Monstrous and Unnatural both in Religion and Policy, and therefore he requires Money, Plate, Men, Arms and Horse, which may establish a firm Peace. I have already hinted, that it is very easy to distinguish the Sophistry from the Argument in these Papers. Is any Thing more natural to Mankind than the Desire of Liberty? Is any Thing more monstrous than Tyranny and Idolatry? As to Malice, Cunning, State Impostors, and the like, they are Words to which no Ideas are annex'd, for we can have no Conception of the Malice of a Parliament, the Cunning of a Parliament, the Imposture of a Parliament. One cannot suppose that these Papers were read any where, but in the King's Quarters, and where he could take the Money if it was not given him. The Archdeacon, who is the constant Teller in both Houses of Parliament, assures us, there were but five Peers in the Upper House who had any Inclination to continue the War. There was not one Lord nor Commoner at that Time, who was not for Peace on Terms of Security against future Oppression. The Lords drew up Propositions which were very secure and good Grounds to treat upon, To Disband both Armies, to settle Religion by a Synod, and the Militia by a Bill, to the Satisfaction of King and Parliament, to punish Delinquents, and pass a general Pardon. The Commons were not so forward to treat as the Lords. But after a VAST Debate, says Mr. Archdeacon, who is a fine Linguist, it was carry'd by 29 Votes. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, petition'd against the Treaty, and express'd themselves so zealously for a vigorous Prosecution of the War, that the House of Commons were inspir'd with the same Zeal, gave the City Thanks for their Petition, Advice and Courage, and rejected the Propositions. The sober Part of the City, according to Echard, discover'd great Aversion to this Petition, and to prove it, he brings out his sober People, the Wives of the most substantial Citizens gather'd together in a tumultuous Manner, and in the same Manner they ran to the Parliament House, crying out in the Sobriety of their Spirits, Peace, Peace. A very good Word in its right Construction; but when by Peace is only meant the Carrying on of wicked Designs without Opposition, it is the worst one can make use of. On the Change of the Ministry in the Days of Sacheverel and Harley, the Cry was Peace, Peace; and what was the wicked Design, but to break the Grand Alliance, to restore the exorbitant Power of France, to bring in the Pretender, and introduce Popery and Slavery? And what did these sober Women mean by bawling out Peace, Peace, at this Juncture, but to restore the King to the Exercise of that absolute Power to which he laid Claim before the Parliament met, and which is still meant by the LAW, the LAWS OF THE LAND, THE KNOWN LAWS, &c. in Proclamations, Declarations, Messages and Answers. These sober, substantial Gentlewomen cry'd out also, Give us the TRAYTORS that we may tear them to Pieces. Give us that Dog PYM. It is really true, the Reverend Historian does say,

They were of the sober Party, and the Wives of the most wealthy Citizens, but after the firing of some Powder, and a little Drubbing from the Soldiers, they grew still soberer, and all that had Houses to go to return'd home. These Ladies made the greatest Army that ever appear'd in the City on that Side, which Mr. Archdeacon has happily espous'd.

Though his Account of the Siege of Gloucester is as frail as his other Accounts, yet there being some pleasant Things in it they must not escape us, after we have told the Fact as it was. On the 10th of August his Majesty having march'd from Oxford to Bristol came back and fac'd Gloucester with 6000 Horse and Foot in Tredworth Field, about a Quarter of a Mile off the Town, and about 2000 more fac'd it in Walkham within Cannon Shot, the Main of the Army not being yet come up. His Majesty sent two Heralds at Arms with a Summons, promising to pardon the Citizens and the Soldiers, if they would submit, and threatening all Calamities and Miseries if they would not. Colonel Maffey the Governor, with the Consent of the Mayor and Aldermen, return'd the following Answer:

WE the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers and Soldiers, within this Garrison of Gloucester, return our humble Answer, that we do keep this City according to our Oath and Allegiance to, and for the Use of his Majesty and his Royal Posterity, and do accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majesty, signify'd by both Houses of Parliament, and are resolv'd so by God's Help to keep this City accordingly. Sign'd,

<i>Constance Ferrer, Mayor,</i>	<i>C. Ferrer,</i>
<i>John Brewster,</i>	<i>Humphry Matthews,</i>
<i>William Lugge,</i>	<i>Isaac Dobson,</i>
<i>M. Singleton,</i>	<i>Edward Gray,</i>
<i>Tho. Hill,</i>	<i>Thomas Blainey,</i>
<i>Tho. Pury,</i>	<i>Robert Backhouse.</i>
<i>Edward Maffey,</i>	

This Answer was sent by Major Pudsey and one Citizen, who presented it to the King, and he receiv'd it without expressing either Choler or Indignation, though he seem'd to wonder at their great Confidence, and from what Hope of Relief it should proceed, using these Words before the Messengers, *Waller is extinct, and Essex cannot come.* But Essex did come, and Waller was so far from being extinct, that he extinguish'd the King's Army at Alresford in Hampshire some Months after. The Pleasantry of Echard's Story is this: There return'd two Citizens from the Town with *lean, pale and ugly Visages, and in a Garb so strange and unusual that at once gave Mirth to the most severe Countenances.* A Flourish of the Lord Clarendon's. *And Sadness to the most chearful Hearts.* These without any Marks of Duty or good Manners, in a pert, sprill, fearless Tone, said, *They brought an Answer from the godly City of Gloucester.* Which is false, the Word Godly being not once named in their Answer. Major Pudsey who brought it, behav'd very gallantly in this Siege, and shew'd it was much easier to lampoon him than to beat him. He proceeds, this Indignity prompted Resolutions of Revenge, which no doubt the Cavaliers would have taken if they could. It was on the other Side resolv'd by the Governor and Council of War, that the whole Suburbs of the City, which were a third Part of it, should be demolish'd, and 241 Houses were accordingly burnt, pull'd down, and utterly destroy'd, besides Barns, Stables, Out-houses,

A. D. 1643. in all to the Value of 26000 Pounds, which was done the Night before the Cavaliers began their Attacks. The King's head Quarters were at *Matson* on the *East* Side of the Town. Col. *Maffey* order'd the Cannon on the *Pen* at *Wefgate* to fire on the Body of Horfe in *Walham*, and oblig'd them to retire with Lofs. Lieutenant-Colonel *Matthews*, Capt. *White*, Capt. *Blunt*, Capt. *Pury* the younger, and Capt. Lieutenant *Harcus*, made a Sally at the *North-gate*, fell upon a Party at *Watton*, and brought 10 Prisoners into the Town. Soon after Capt. *Nelmes* sally'd out at the same Gate towards *Burnwood*, and did some Execution; which Sallies gave the Besiegers to understand, that they were not like to get Possession of the Town easily. As soon as the Army began their In-trenchments, the Townswomen and Maids wrought all that Afternoon in the *Little Mead*, fetching in Turf for repairing the Works in Sight of the King's Horfe. The Besieg'd, for Want of Men, but 1400 in all to guard the City it self, were forc'd to quit their Our-Works, at the *Wine Yard* and Two Sconces in the Isle of *Alney*. The Royalists cut off the Pipes that convey'd the Water from *Robin Hood's Hill* to the City Conduits, and diverted the Water which drove the *Corn-Mill*. The Citizens contented themselves with Pump and *Severn* Water, and us'd Horfe-Mills for their Corn. Sir *William Vavasor*, a bigotted Papist, lay with his *Welch* Forces on the *West* Side, and intending to join with others coming from *Worcester*, he drew to the *North* Side. On the *South* lay *Ruthen* Earl of *Brentford*, the King's General, shelter'd from the Shot of the Town by a Rising Ground. On the *East* Side Sir *Jacob Ashley* was quarter'd with a strong Brigade, and was shot in the Arm in one of the first Skirmishes. Many of the King's Commanders were Officers of the greatest Skill and Experience, and his Army was increas'd, by the Arrival of two Regiments out of *Ireland*, commanded by Col. *Myn* and Sir *William St. Leger*. These Regiments had been rais'd by the Parliament for the War against the bloody *Irish* Rebels; but now his Majesty recall'd the *English* Troops in that Service to employ them against his Protestant Subjects in *England*. The King's Officers and Engineers made their Approaches and plac'd their Batteries with as much Advantage as was possible; nor were the Besieg'd behind-hand in Courage and Dexterity, as appear'd in their Defences and frequent Sallies, which kept the Cavaliers waking by continual Alarms, and wasted and weary'd them. On the 12th of *August* Capt. *Harcus* sally'd out thro' a Door made for that Purpose in a Brick-House adjoining to the Town-Wall, on the *South-East* Part, and making a Bridge of Ladders over the Mote, fell suddenly into the Besiegers Trenches in *Garwdy Green*, beat them out, took some Prisoners and Arms, with several of their Tools, and retreated without Lofs. The same Day Capt. *Gray* with 150 Musketeers sally'd over the Works upon the *Worcester* Forces at *Kingsholm*, march'd up to their Main Guard and burnt it, kill'd Capt. *Runney* and nine Soldiers, took five Prisoners and some Arms, and retreated without Lofs. The Besiegers planted two great Culverins of between 15 and 16 Pound Ball at the *East* Side, batter'd the Town-Wall, and shot several Shells into the Town without doing any Execution. The Besieg'd lin'd their Walls from the *South-gate* to the *East-gate*, and the biggest Mortar-Piece which the Besiegers had, said to be the biggest in *England*, broke at the first Discharge. On *Sunday August* the 13th they plant-ed three Pieces of Ordnance on their Battery at

Garwdy Green; the Ball 15, 18, and 23 Ponders, from whence they fir'd briskly all that and the next Day; but as fast as any Breaches were made, they were repair'd with Wool-Sacks and Earth-Baskets. On *Tuesday* the 15th of *August*, upon Intelligence that the Enemy was drawing Ordnance to *Kingsholm*, the Governor sent out 150 Musketeers under the Command of Capt. *Mallerie*, who kill'd some Men, took some Prisoners, and fir'd the Cavaliers Quarters at the *Margrets*. The same Day Capt. *Harcus*, a very brave Officer, was slain as he was too venturously looking to see what Execution a Granado had done which he had flung into the Enemy's Trenches. On the 16th of *August* Capt. *Crisp* sally'd with 150 Musketeers at the *New Port*, fell on the Royalists in their Trenches, kill'd above 100 of them, wounded many, drove them out of their Works, took their Spades, Shovels and Arms, and retreated without Lofs. This *Rushw.* Day the King left the Siege and went to *Oxford*. The next Day several Granades were shot into the Town, some of which fell upon Houses. One in the open Street near *South-gate*, but a Woman coming by with a Pail of Water, threw the Water upon it, and so extinguish'd the Fusee, that it did not break, but was taken up whole, and weigh'd 60 Pound. *August* the 18th the Besiegers having planted four Pieces of Ordnance against the *Acungate* and Sconces adjoining, a Party of 400 Men, under the Command of Major *Pudsey*, Capt. *Gray*, Capt. *Falkner*, and Capt. *Massy*, sally'd at the *North-gate*, having one *Weaver*, a stout Fellow in Capt. *Pury* junior's Company, for their Guide. Major *Pudsey* sent Lieutenant *Pincock* with about 50 Musketeers over the Works, to give the Enemy a divertive Alarm by advancing up towards the Cannon. In the mean Time the Major got behind their Cannon and Breast-works, fell upon their Main Guard, kill'd two Cannoneers, several Officers and Soldiers, took a Lieutenant Prisoner, nail'd their Cannon, and retreated with the Lofs of two Men. This is the Earl of *Clarendon's lean, pale, ugly visag'd* Man, with a shril Voice and old-fashion'd Clothes. Capt. *Basser* took Lieutenant *Tipper* Prisoner, and this Day his Majesty return'd from *Oxford*, where he had been to make up some Differences which had happen'd there in his Absence. *Saturday* the 19th of *August* the Besiegers, besides their 3 Pieces of Ordnance at *Garwdy Green*, having now planted three more on the *East* Side of the *Fryars Orchard* near *Rignal Stile*, within less than Pistol-shot of the Town-Wall, and two more on another Battery near the *East-gate*, began to batter most furiously on both Sides of the Corner of the Wall next *Rignal Stile*, making above 150 Great Shot upon it, and threw several Shells into the Town, which only kill'd one Man and a Maid. A Shell fell upon Mr. *Hartway's* House, broke thro' his Chamber over the Kitchen, and a Piece of it fell into the Kitchen Chimney, where three Women were sitting, but neither of them receiv'd any Hurt. A few Houses were somewhat damag'd by the Granades. On the 20th of *August* one *Hatron* a Cannoneer deserted the Garrison, and went off to the Enemy, a thing which did not often happen. Two Sallies were made the same Day; one of 200 Men under Capt. *Stevenson* and Capt. *Moore*, in which by Accident 40 Musketeers of the Garrison fell in with three Times the Number of the King's Forces, slew several of them, took Lieutenant *Anderson* and Lieutenant *Trapps* Prisoners, and drove them back to a strong Body of their Forces, after which they made their Retreat with the Lofs of two or three Men only. The other Party that

A. D. 1643. that fall'y'd was commanded by Capt. *Blunt* and Capt. *White*, who pass'd down *Severne* by Boat, and then march'd up to the Enemy's Quarters in *Severne-street*, beat them out of a Redoubt there, kill'd Major *Wells* who commanded the Guard, some Soldiers, and retreated with Loss. Other Partics made Sallies the three following Days only to annoy the Enemy, without coming to any Engagement. On *Thursday* the 24th of *August*, upon a Letter sent into the Town that Mr. *Bell* of *Santhurst* and Mr. *Hill* of *Tewksbury*, both Lawyers, had something of Importance to communicate, they were admitted within the Drawbridge at *North-gate*; their Business was to represent to the Town the great Strength that was against them, the Impossibility of Relief, the Miseries the Country endur'd by Reason of their Obstinacy, and therefore to perswade them to yield while good Terms were to be had. The Governor and Magistrates shew'd they were Men of Temper and Discretion, in suffering these two officious Petrifoggers to harangue them thus, and not throwing them over the Walls to those that sent them. They gave them a short Answer in the Negative, and they return'd like Fools as they came. The same Day the Besiegers made several Shot with two Pieces of Ordnance newly planted at *Lanthony*. One Bullet, a 20 Pounder, came thro' a Chamber of the *Crown Inn*, carry'd away a Bolster before it into a Window, and there slept in it. The Cavaliers also shot red hot Ball into the Town, but did little Damage. It rain'd this Day into their Trenches, which much annoy'd them. At Night the Besieg'd discover'd a Fire upon *Wainload's Hill*, which gave them Encouragement, they having appointed a Person whom they had sent out in Time for that Purpose, to signify to them by making a Fire there, if he heard of any Relief coming. The Royalists observ'd it, and lest the Country should do so too, and their Soldiers be discourag'd, they gave out it was a Stratagem of their own to tempt the Besieg'd into some Ambuscades. On the 25th of *August* the Besiegers, besides many *Granades* and great Stones from their Mortar-Pieces, shot above 20 fiery red hot Iron Bullets from 18 to 22 Pound Weight, which in the Night appear'd in the Air like what we call *Shooting Stars*. The Besieg'd put out Lights on the College Tower to give Notice abroad of their holding out, which extremely vext the Enemy, and they levell'd their Shot at the Tower to destroy them. Capt. *Pury*, who had the Care of setting up those Lights, looking towards *Lanthony*, from whence the fiery Balls came, was in great Danger from their Shot, but he continu'd with his burning Links, and receiv'd no Hurt. On the 26th and 27th of *August* the Besiegers wrought hard in filling up the City Moat with Faggots, making a Gallery over the Head of their Trench to save themselves from the Fire of the Town. They shot at the Besieg'd from this Work, but did them little or no Harm. The Besiegers on the 28th of *August* sunk a Mine under *East-gate*, and the Besieg'd countermin'd till they came to Springs, when they left off, supposing the Enemy would be forc'd to do the like. The next Day they undermin'd at the *East Side* of *Fryars Orchard*, to plant a Piece of Ordnance at the Bottom of the City Wall, and batter the Flank of the Enemy's Gallery, which they did with good Effect. They had Intelligence that Night from *Warwick* that the Earl of *Effex* and Sir *William Waller* were advancing to relieve them. On the two last Days the Besieg'd turn'd out their Cattle to graze in the *Little Mead*, guarded by some Musketeers, and took them in at Night. The Besiegers attempted to take them away, but were

repuls'd. While the intrepid *Massey*, Governor of *Gloucester*, the valiant Mayor, Major *Ferrer*, the Magistrates, Officers, Soldiers and Townsmen, were thus resolutely defending the City, against the fierce and fiery Assaults of the Cavaliers, the *Mace-Bearer* and other fit Instruments for such a villainous Business conspir'd to kill the Governor, the Mayor, Chief Officers and Magistrates, and betray the Town to the King, but the Conspiracy was discover'd, and the Conspirators hang'd. The very learned and worthy Mr. *Chillingworth* was prevail'd upon to assist at this Siege, for which he invented certain Engines after the manner of the Roman *Testudines cum Pluteis*, with which the Besiegers intended to assault the City between the *South* and *West Gate*: They ran upon Cart Wheels with a Blind of Planks Musket Proof, and Holes for four Musketeers to fire out at, plac'd upon the Axle Tree to defend the Musketeers, and those who thrust the Engine forwards, with a Bridge before it. The Wheels were to fall into the Ditch, and the End of the Bridge to rest upon the Town's Breast Works. Thus were several compleat Bridges got ready to enter the City; but the Besieg'd, to prevent it, intended to have made another Ditch out of their Works, so that the Wheels falling thereon, the Bridge would have fallen short off the Breast Work into the *West Moat*, whereby Mr. *Chillingworth's* learned Design would have been entirely frustrated. It is great Pity to find the Name of so excellent a Person as Mr. *Chillingworth* among the Besiegers of *Gloucester*, not only on Account of his Vocation, which was to preach Piety, Purity, and Peace, but on the Score of his Merit, his vast Learning and good Sense, which were strangely corrupted with false Notions of unlimited Obedience to unlimited Power. *Davenant* the Poet was also at this Siege, and receiv'd here the Honour of Knighthood, which if he deserv'd no more for his Chivalry than he did for his Poetry, was a Dubbing thrown away. *August* the 30th the Garrison kept a Fast, and had two Sermons without any Disturbance, only a Musket-Ball enter'd the Church, but did no Hurt. The next Day three Soldiers of Major *Ferrer's* Company crept along the *Severn* Bank, gave the Enemy an Alarm, and held them in Play almost an Hour. The Truth is, never were there more insolent Fellows than the Besieged in *Gloucester*. They seem'd to War in Sport, and to treat the Besiegers with the utmost Contempt, tho' a Royal Army, commanded by the King in Person, surrounded them. On the 1st of *September* some of the Besieg'd crept out at a Hole made in the Dungeon at the *East-gate*, and came softly to the Mouth of the Enemy's Mine, where one *John Burnwood* took a Board aside which cover'd it, and fir'd, and flung a Shell into the Mine among the Cavaliers, who run out of it, crying, *Arms, Arms*. *Burnwood* and his Companions shooting at them as they were running, four of them were kill'd, and the Men of *Gloucester* return'd the same Way they came. The next Day, *September* 2, both Sides were very active, the Besiegers playing hard upon the Wall and the *South Gate*, and the Besieg'd firing as briskly into their Trenches. A Party of *Welch* Men came up as far as the *Town Ham*, where they plac'd themselves in a Ditch, and very valiantly fir'd upon some Maids and Workmen, who were fetching Turf out of the *Little Mead*, but the Gun at the *Pen* soon frighted them away, though it must be said for them, that no other Cavalier Soldiers came nearer the Town than those *Welch* Men. The Springs not hindering the Mine at the *East Gate*, the Besieg'd renew'd

A. D. 1643. renew'd their Countermine, and as they were at Church, Sunday, Sept. 3d, they were inform'd the Besiegers had planted store of Cannon Baskets at the *East Gate*, within less than half Musket Shot, and 'twas believ'd intended a Battery there upon the Springing of their Mine. The Minister dismiss the Congregation without a Sermon. They all fell to Work, Lining the Houses over the *East Gate*, and making a strong Breast-work cross *East Gate Street*, but it was only a Cavalier Flourish. A Party of Horse came almost within Musket Shot, but would not venture nearer. A Gun was fir'd among them from Captain *Pury* the Elder's Sconce, and a white Horse was seen to drop, the rest fled. This Afternoon a Paper was shot upon an Arrow into the City, on which was these Words written, *You are to understand that your God Waller hath forsaken you, and hath retired himself to the Tower of London. Essex is beaten like a Dog. Yield to the King's Mercy in Time, otherwise, if we enter per Force, no Quarter for such obstinate Traytors and Rogues.* This historical Billet has the same Spirit of Truth and Charity as their other Histories have. One of the Townsmen return'd an Answer in honest, though bald Rhime.

Waller's no God of ours, base Rogues, ye Lie,
Our God survives from all Eternity.

The Siege of Gloucester rais'd. On Monday, Sept. 4th, the Besieged observed two Fires on *Wainload Hill*, which they answer'd with Lights from the College Tower, blazing like so many Comets over the Royal Army, who began to discover their Intentions of raising the Siege. September the 5th was appointed for a publick Fast in the Town, to be kept by such as might be spar'd from Labour, and the Townsmen could now perceive the Besiegers were marching off as fast as they could. Their Carriages from *Lanthony* being drawn up *Tredworth* Field, and their Horse and Foot marching after, their Rear Guard fir'd their Huts, and their Trenches were abandon'd. The Townsmen and Soldiers venturing out, burnt their Gallery and Cannon Baskets, and brought in Mr. *Chillingsworth's* Roman Engines. Thus, after the King had lain 26 Days before the City of *Gloucester* he drew off, and made Room for the Earl of *Essex* to enter, which he did the 8th of September with a strong Body of the Parliament's Army, and was receiv'd with as much Joy as one can imagine fill'd the Minds of People deliver'd from a revengeful and cruel Enemy. I have been more particular in this Siege than I shall be in any other, for that it was carry'd on by his Majesty in Person, and gave a Turn to his Affairs, which was not so soon expected by the Parliament, then in their lowest Condition during the whole War. It is said the Queen hurry'd him on to this Expedition, which had the Success of her other Counsels. He lost 1000 Men before this City. The Loss on the Parliament's Side was inconsiderable, not above 50 kill'd and taken. The Lord General *Essex* began his March the 25th of August from *Colnbroke*, to relieve *Gloucester*. Prince *Rupert*, with the greatest Part of the King's Horse drew off to oppose him. About *Bicester* 400 of his Men fac'd a Part of the Parliament's Army and skirmish'd, but were soon driven away. Scarce a Day past but there were some such Skirmishes, Prince *Rupert* very narrowly watching the Earl of *Essex's* Motions to take Advantage of them. On the 4th of September a very smart Encounter happen'd near *Stow* in the *Wold*, where Prince *Rupert* attack'd him with 4000 Horse, but could make nothing of it, and

the News of his being repuls'd reach'd *Gloucester*. On the 5th *Essex* advanc'd to *Presbury Hill*, where the Royal Army could see him, and they immediately began to make Way for him. He lay two Nights only in *Gloucester*, and having furnish'd it with all Neecessaries he march'd to *Tewksbury*, near which he made a Bridge over the *Severne*, as if he design'd for *Worcester*, and on a sudden turn'd back upon *Cirencester*, where the Enemy had left two Regiments with most of their Stores, Ammunition and Provisions, which were intended for an Army to be rais'd in *Kent* by Sir *Nicholas Crisp*, for which the Parson of *Igham* was preparing the Way by the Rebellion on he began there, as is before mention'd. The Lord General enter'd *Cirencester* about one a Clock in the Morning, surpriz'd the two Regiments that were posted there, drove Sir *Nicholas Crisp* and Colonel *Spencer* out of the Town, took 40 Loads of Provision, 6 Standards, 300 Soldiers, and 400 Horses, but did not leave behind him those Marks of Blood, Rapine and Destruction, which Prince *Rupert* left after he had taken the Place from the Parliament.

There are abundance of fine Schemes in the History of the Rebellion, to scatter all the Parliament's Armies, break up the Parliament, and shut the Doors of the two Houses. Mr. *Echard* repeats them very gravely, as if there really had been something in them. Thus the Earl of *Newcastle* is to enter *Whitechapel*, while the King enters *Piccadilly*, and being join'd at the *Royal Exchange* to do what they would with the City of *London*, and if this had been done the King would not have met with that Disgrace before *Gloucester*. Of such Matter are their excellent Histories made up. From *Cirencester* the Earl of *Essex* march'd to *Cricklade* and *Swinden*, and the Van of his Army being almost over *Awburn Chace*, between *Marlborough* and *Hungerford*, a strong Body of the King's Horse fell upon their Rear Guard and routed them, forcing them to retire in Disorder to the main Body, where they were again drawn up in Order, but the King's Horse once more advancing, put their Enemies again into Confusion, till Sir *Philip Stapleton* came in with fresh Forces and stopt them in their Career. Both Sides behav'd in this Engagement with true *English* Valour, which could not have been worse employed than in the Slaughter of *English* Men. On the King's Side was kill'd the Marquis de *Vieuville*, who contrary to the Law of Nations, drew his Sword against the Parliament, to whom he came in an Embassy with the Prince of *Harcourt*, Ambassador of *France*, to mediate a Peace between the King and the two Houses. This Breach of the Law of Nations is highly commended by Mr. Archdeacon, at the Expence of two or three Falsities, for he did not attend the Queen out of *Holland*, he was not taken Prisoner, he was not kill'd in cold Blood. All which that Reverend Historian plainly asserts. Quite contrary to which, he came over with the Ambassador of *France*, he wounded Colonel *Kilson* in the Fight, and pursuing him with too much Obstinacy was himself kill'd by him. The Lord *Clarendon* does not say he was kill'd in cold Blood. And *Echard* takes it from *Salmonet* a French Papist, and *Orleans* a French Jesuit. My Author is a French Man too, but the Archdeacon may object against his Authority because he was a Protestant. I have met with another Account of the Death of *Vieuville*, differing a little from *Larrey*. Here the Marquis of *Vieuville* was taken Prisoner, and had Quarter given him, but as he was marching arway with the Officer that took him he suddenly drew out

A. D.

1643.

Earl of
Essex re-
lieves
Gloucester.Takes Ci-
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Chace En-
gagement.Larrey,
p. 165.Chron.
415.

A. D. 1643. a pocket Pistol and shot him, but the Wound not being mortal, the stout Officer instantly flew at him with his Poleax and clave his Head asunder.

Larrey.

Hartcourt the French Envoy.

If this is killing in cold Blood the popish Historians and Mr. *Echard* are in the Right. There were Three other French Men, all of the Ambassador's Train, in this Engagement, *Chartre*, *Persan* and *Beaveais*, and their Treachery was the Occasion of the Ambassador's Negotiation proving Abortive, for the Parliament resenting this Partiality would not hearken to his Proposals, which was signify'd to him by the Earls of *Stamford* and *Salisbury*. He excus'd it as an imprudent Action, which could not be imputed to him, and for which the three Gentlemen living had been sufficiently punish'd by the Death of one of their Companions. This gave no Satisfaction to the Parliament, and he was told in plain Terms, that they look'd upon him as no better than a Spy, and as one who design'd rather to foment the Troubles than appease them.

Newbury Fight.

The Earl of *Essex* proceeding to *Hungerford*, carry'd with him the Corpse of the Marquis de *Viewville*, but order'd it to be deliver'd to those the King sent for it, paying 500 Pounds to his Soldiers. He there surpriz'd a Troop of the King's Horse, and took up his Quarters in great Want of Provisions. His Carriages not being come up, and the Country about him so ill affected, occasion'd by the Neighbourhood to *Oxford*, that he could get nothing but by Compulsion. The whole Body of the King's Army had posted themselves off *Newbury*. On their right Hand they had the Advantage of the River *Kennet*, and on their left a Hill half a Mile from the Town, where they had planted their Ordnance, so that the Parliament's Forces had no Passage to them but what was expos'd to the Fire of their Cannon; however, the Earl of *Essex* finding his Soldiers were full of Mettle, and resolv'd to force their Way, would not balk them, but led them on in Person, and first charg'd the Enemy with his own Regiment, as we are inform'd by *Whitlocke*, but the Reverend Historian directly contrary to this assures us, *The precipitate Courage of the King's young Officers compell'd him to fight*. The Earl of *Essex*'s Regiment, and the Lord *Roberts*'s Brigade of Horse began the Battle about six a Clock in the Morning, *Sept. 20th*. It lasted with very hot Service till ten a Clock at Night. The Parliament's Forces beat the Enemy from all their Advantages, got the Hill from them, pursu'd them to *Newbury*, and out of the Town again, and though the King's Forces, especially the Horse, consisting mostly of Gentlemen, made a gallant Resistance, yet this Place being not proper for their Fight, they could not support their Foot, who were every where beaten, and in the Night the King drew off his Ordnance and march'd away, leaving the Earl of *Essex* entirely Master of the Field of Battle, which he kept that Night and part of the next Day. When Night drew on the Enemy both Horse and Foot stood in good Order on the farther Side of the Green where they fought, and the Earl of *Essex* expected another Engagement the next Day, but the King's Forces retreated by Night. The Parliament's had the Pillage of the Field. Both Parties perform'd with great Manhood and Animosity, particularly the King's Horse, who were however worsted. The Earls of *Carnarvon* and *Sunderland*, Colonel *Morgan* a Papist, who had rais'd a Regiment of Horse, Lieutenant Colonel *Houghton*, Major *Exvre*, Major *Leak*, Captain *Constable*, Captain *Wolsole*, Captain *Clifton*, Captain *Singleton*, Captain *Whittingham*, Captain *Symcots*, Captain *Molinueux*, the last Nine all Papists, were slain in

the Fight. The Lord Viscount *Falkland*, Secretary of State, in the Morning of the Day of Battle call'd for a clean Shirt, and daily shifting not being then the Mode, he was ask'd the Reason of it. He reply'd, *If I am kill'd in the Fight they shall not find my Body in foul Linnen*. Being dissuaded by his Friends not to go to the Battle, as having no Call to it, his Office a Civil and not Military one, he said to them, *I am weary of the Times, and believe I shall be out of it before Night*. As indeed he was, being slain in the Fight. *Whitlocke* closes this Story with a just and modest Character of this noble Lord, *His Death was much lamented by all that knew him or heard of him, being a Gentleman of great Parts, Ingenuity and Honour, Courteous and Just to All, and a passionate Promoter of all Endeavours of Peace between the King and Parliament*. *Echard* would have us take his Word for it, that the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Character of this Great and Good Man is written with the Majesty of an Historian. You will see how both the Earl and he understood the Majesty of History, by these few Words of this very Character concerning the Lord *Falkland*'s Death; *Had there been no other Brand upon this odious and accursed Civil War than that single Loss, it must be most Infamous and Execrable*. Can any Thing be more Majestick, *Odious, Accursed, Infamous and Execrable*, in a Breath. It is most certain they neither of them knew better. Sometime before this Battle the King and Court being at *Oxford*, his Majesty and his Attendants drew the *Sortes Virgilianas*. It was then a Custom among the Learned, as it was among the Godly to dip for Texts of Scripture to be adapted to certain Purposes. The King's *Sors Virgiliana* was these Verses of the IVth Book of *Virgil's Aeneis*.

*At Bello audacis populi vexatus & Armis,
Finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Juli,
Auxilium imploret, videatq; indigna suorum
Funera: Nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniqua
Tradiderit, regno, aut optata luce fruatur:
Sed cadit ante diem, mediaque inhumatus arena.*

The King commanded Mr. *Cowley* to translate them, but did not let him know the Reason of it, and he did it thus:

*By a bold People's stubborn Arms oppress'd,
Forc'd to forsake the Land which he possess'd,
Torn from his dearest Son, let him in vain
Beg Help, and see his Friends unjustly slain.
Let him to bold, unequal Terms submit,
In hopes to save his Crown, and lose both it
And Life at once. Untimely let him die,
And on an open Stage unbury'd lie.*

MS. ante Warwick.

By *Dryden* more paraphrastically, and more elegantly:

*Yet let a Race untam'd, and baughty Foes,
His peaceful Entrance with dire Arms oppose,
Oppress'd with Numbers in th' unequal Field,
His Men discourag'd, and himself expell'd,
Let him for Succour sue from Place to Place,
Torn from his Subjects and his Son's Embrace,
First let him see his Friends in Battle slain,
And their untimely Fate lament in vain;
And when at length the cruel War shall cease,
On hard Conditions may he buy his Peace,
Nor let him then enjoy supream Command,
But fall untimely by some hostile Hand,
And lie unbury'd on the barren Sand.*

A. D. 1643. It is said King Charles seem'd concern'd at this Accident, and that the Lord Falkland observing it would likewise try his own Fortune in the same Manner, hoping he might fall upon some Passage that could have no Relation to his Case, and thereby divert the King's Thoughts from any Impression the other might have made upon him. But the Place Lord Falkland stumbled upon, was yet more suited to his Destiny than the other had been to the King's, being the following Expressions of *Evander* upon the untimely Death of his Son *Pallas*, as *Dryden* translates them :

*O Pallas ! Thou hast fail'd thy plighted Word,
To fight with Caution, and not tempt the Sword.
I warn'd thee, but in vain ; for well I knew
What Perils youthful Ardour would pursue.
That boiling Blood would carry thee too far,
Young as thou wert to Dangers, raw to War.
O curst Essay of Arms ! disastrous Doom !
Prelude of bloody Field, and Fights to come.*

Æneis XI.

The Loss of Men was much greater on the King's side than on the Parliament's : 2000 Royalist were slain from the Time of *Effex's* Removal from *Hungerford* to the End of *Newberry* Fight. The Earl of *Sunderland* was not far from the King's Person when he was kill'd ; as was also Col. *Constable*, and a great Number of Officers. On the Parliament's side were slain 500. Col. *Tucker*, Lieutenant Colonel *White* of *Effex's* Regiment, and a Captain of Horse were the Chief. The City Auxiliaries were the hardest put to it, and distinguished themselves in this Battle : After which, *Effex* advanced towards *Reading* to refresh his Men, and no Enemy appeared till he came to *Theale*, 4 Miles from the Town, where Col. *Harvie*, a *Scotchman*, fell upon his Rear with a Party of the King's Horse, and a hot Skirmish ensued, in which 60 of *Harvie's* Men were slain, about 8 of the Parliament's, and the rest of that Party retreating, the Parliament Army marched on to *Reading*, without Interruption. When the Reader has gone through this History, will he not be surpriz'd to hear *Echard* tell him the King had considerable Marks of Victory ; and the Lord *Clarendon*, to flee at the Parliament ; they made no Scruple to declare it a Victory. Sir *Philip Warwick*, who is by no means so florid, but every whit as faithful an Historian as the Earl of *Clarendon*, owns the King was worsted ; but his owning it does not signify much. The Defeat was too shameful and visible to be disputed. The Lords and Commons sent a Committee to their General at *Reading*, to complement him, and congratulate his great Successes. It must be own'd, that from his marching to relieve *Gloucester*, to his Arrival at *Reading*, not much above 20 Days, he had done Wonders, considering the Difficulties he had struggled with. His Army consisted chiefly of *Militia*, and besides was not so numerous as the King's, who were spirited with several late Successes. However he had obliged the King to raise the Siege of *Gloucester*. He had surpriz'd two Regiments, and a great Magazine at *Cirencester*. He had engaged the Royalists in several Actions, and in the last obtained a Victory over them : All which gave new Heart to the Parliament and their *Well Wishers* ; and the Condition of their Affairs grew daily better. The Lord General, with the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Philip Stapleton* and other principal Officers coming to *London*, were received with great Marks of Honour and Esteem. The House of Commons, with their Speaker, went to *Effex's* House to complement the General on his happy Success

Honours
paid the
Earl of
Effex.

2

and safe Return, and caused their Acknowledgment of it to be enter'd into their Journal. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited upon him in their Scarlet Gowns, and paid their Compliments to him as the *Protector and Defender of their Lives and Fortunes, their Wives and Children*. Before this Issue of the Campaign, People were much terrify'd at the News of the Cavaliers frequent Successes, in the *West* especially, which the Royalists magnify'd beyond all Bounds of Modesty and Truth. Some great Persons were so weak as to desert the Parliament, when their Presence and Assistance were most wanted. The Earl of *Portland*, the Lord *Lovelace*, the Lord *Conway* were never much depended upon, and their Absence was not much lamented ; but the Earls of *Bedford*, *Clare* and *Holland* had express great Zeal and Alacrity in the Cause which the two Houses were engaged in ; and when it was known that they were in *Oxford*, it struck a Damp on the Minds of many good *Englishmen*, which however did not last long ; for those three Lords had then an Opportunity to see so much of the Conduct of the Court, that they were satisfy'd it was not mended by residing at *Oxford*, so they left the King's Party again and returned to the Parliament. It is pretended that the cold Reception they met with there was the Reason of their Return : But the Earl of *Holland* said, *That after he heard of the Cessation with the bloody Irish Rebels, his Conscience would not give him Leave to stay any longer with them at Oxford.*

As the King apply'd himself to the *Papists* in *Scots*. *Ireland*, so did the Parliament to the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, who being our Brethren as Protestants, were very fit to be enter'd into Friendship with. The two Houses had sent the Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *Henry Vane*, junior, Sir *William Armine*, Mr. *Darley* and Mr. *Hatcher*, with two Ministers, Mr. *Marshall* and Mr. *Nye*, to *Edinburgh*, to treat with the *Scots* for Assistance. That Nation were themselves alarm'd at the Strength of the Earl of *Newcastle's* malignant Army in the *North*, and wanted only the Forms to enter *England* with a stronger Army, and assist the Lord *Fairfax*. The *Scots* insisted upon abolishing of *Episcopacy* in this Kingdom, and that the *Solemn League and Covenant* should be taken here : To which both Houses agreed, and to advance 100,000 *l.* Sterling, for raising and maintaining 20,000 *Scots*, Horse and Foot, to carry on the War, to secure the Religion, Laws, Rights and Liberties of both Nations, and bring *Delinquents* to Justice. The *Scots* were to have a Committee at *Westminster* to act with a Committee of both Houses with equal Authority as to the Management of the War. *Echard* is positive that they did not believe the Parliament would have swallowed the *Covenant*, because they knew that most of the Lords were against the *Presbyterian Government* ; whereas in Truth they did not, and could not know any such Thing, for the Proposal of taking it was no sooner made to both Houses than they both fell in with it more readily than with any other Ordinance which had yet past : And accordingly the Lords and Commons, and the Assembly of *Divines* took it with great Solemnity in *St. Margaret's Church Westminster*, on the 25th of *September*, a double Holy-day ; by the Earl of *Effex's* Return to *London*, and this religious Exercise, says Mr. Archdeacon with a Fleece, as he treats most Things that are really religious, and have not their very Essence in *Form* and *Ceremony*.

Here follow the Names of those Members of Taken by the House of Commons who took the *Covenant* : *Parliament.*

A. D.
1643.

A. D. 1643. William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker, Sir Beauchamp St. John, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir Walter Earl, James Cambel, Esq; Sir Thomas Cheek, Robert Nicholas, Esq; Sir Ben. Rudyard, Sir Edward Masters, John White, Esq; Anthony Stapely, Esq; Dennis Bond, Esq; Lawrence Whitaker, Esq; Michael Noble, Esq; Peregrine Hoby, Esq; Richard Barwis, Esq; John Gurdon, Esq; Sir Robert Harley, Sir Francis Knollis, John Pyne, Esq; George Scarl, Esq; Sir Henry Vane, sen. Sir Nevill Pool, Sir John Young, Sir Henry Herbert, Thomas Sandys, Esq; William Jesson, Esq; Philip Lord Herbert, Sir Thomas Barrington, Sir Martin Lumley, Francis Godolphin, Esq; Sir John Trevor, Thomas Arundel, Esq; Edward Stephens, Esq; Sir Gilbert Pickering, John Crew, Esq; Sir Edward Baynton, William Cawley, Esq; John Moyle, Esq; Oliver Cromwell, Esq; Sir Henry Vane, jun. William Cage, Esq; Richard Brisley, Esq; Philip Lord Lisle, William Heveningham, Esq; Isaac Pennington, Esq; Richard Cresfield, Esq; Sir Thomas Pelham, Sir Thomas Parker, John Leigh, Esq; John Harris, Esq; Augustine Skinner, Esq; John Venn, Esq; Sir William Strickland, John Francklyn, Esq; Robert Scarwen, Esq; Roger Hill, Esq; Samuel Brown Esq; John Button, Esq; John Meyrick, Esq; William Ambrose Browne, Richard Wynn, Esq; William Spurstow, Esq; Sir Peter Wentworth, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Roger North, Thomas Hodges, Esq; John Maynard, Esq; Samuel Vassal, Esq; Sir Anthony Irby, Sir John Clotworthy, Charles Pym, Esq; Edward Owner, Esq; Charles Lord Cranbourne, Sir Dudley North, Benjamin Weston, Esq; John Nut, Esq; Sir John Corbert, Sir Roger Burgoyne, Sir Peter Temple, Benjamin Valentine, Esq; Sir Thomas Walsingham, Sir Oliver Luke, William Alenfon, Esq; Humphry Salway, Esq; Richard More, Esq; Thomas Fountayne, Esq; William Ellis, Esq; Sir Henry Ludlow, Henry Skelley, Esq; Richard Shuttleworth, Esq; George Gallop, Esq; Robert Gallop, Esq; Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Oliver St. John, Esq; Thomas Grantham, Esq; William Lord Fitz Williams, Edmund Dunch, Esq; Sir Henry Mildmay, Hugh Rogers, Esq; Thomas Hatcher, Esq; Sir John Wray, Sir Simonds D'Erwes, Anthony Bedingfield, Esq; John Ash, Esq; William Lord Mounson, Sir Martin Lister, Robert Goodwyn, Esq; Edward Thomas, Esq; Henry Lucas, Esq; Miles Corbet, Esq; Philip Smith, Esq; Cornelius Holland, Esq; John Lowry, Esq; Sir Henry Cholmley, William Pierpoint, Esq; Alexander Popham, Esq; John Broxholm, Esq; John Fervoyce, Esq; John Blakiston, Esq; Walter Long, Esq; John Rolle, Esq; Robert Fenner, Esq; John Waddon, Esq; Sir William Masham, John Lisle, Esq; Sir Edmund Fowell, Edward Ash, Esq; Thomas Pury, Esq; Richard Whitehead, Esq; Richard Jemyns, Esq; Sir Humphry Tuston, Thomas Dacres, Esq; John Downes, Esq; John Goodwyn, Esq; Sir Francis Drake, Sir William Waller, Sir Samuel Luke, Francis Buller, Esq; Richard Harman, Esq; George Buller, Esq; Arthur Onslow, Esq; Richard Winwood, Esq; Sir Robert Pye, Henry Lord Grey of Ruthen, Richard Knightley, Esq; John Pym, Esq; Sir Christopher Yewerton, Anthony Nichol, Esq; Peter North, Esq; Robert Reynolds, Esq; Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Sir Henry Hayman, William Purefoy, Esq; Valentine Walton, Esq; Michael Oldsworth, Esq; William Wheeler, Esq; Hall Ravenscroft, Esq; Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir Christopher Wray, Herbert Morley, Esq; Thomas Lane, Esq; Robert Cecil, Esq; William

Bell, Esq; Sir Thomas Soame, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Harbottle Grimston, Esq; Simon Snow, Esq; John Nash, Esq; Ralph Abbron, Esq; Sir Edward Ayscough, John Wyld, Esq; John Trenchard, Esq; Thomas Fervoyce, Esq; Richard Browne, Esq; Sir William Plaiters, Nathaniel Stephens, Esq; Sir Gilbert Millington, John Hippeley, Esq; William Hay, Esq; Sir Willaim Lewis, John Hervey, Esq; Edmund Prideaux, Esq; Sir Francis Popham, Alexander Bence, Esq; John Glyn, Esq; Thomas Lord Wenman, Edward Partherick, Esq; Denzil Hollis, Esq; Sir Poynings More, Edward Montagu, Esq; Richard Rose, Esq; Walter Young, Esq; Edward Poole, Esq; Sir John Dryden, Giles Green, Esq; Edward Douce, Esq; Thomas Hoyle, Esq; Zouch Tate, Esq; Squire Beuce, Esq; Sir Richard Onslow, Bulstrode Whitlocke, Esq; Henry Campian, Esq; Edward Wingate, Esq; Sir Edward Byffe, Sir Norton Knatchbull, Francis Reus, Esq; John Browne, Esq; Henry Pelham, Esq; Nathaniel Fiennes, Esq; Sir William Litton, William Strode, Esq; Edward Exton, Esq; Sir John Curson, John Selden, Esq; Sir John Coke, George Montague, Esq; William Whittaker, Esq; James Fiennes, Esq; William Jephson, Esq; Thomas Eden, Esq;

Here are 222 Members, whom for Estate the Earl of Clarendon assures us the King's Troop of Guards could buy. The King himself in all his Declarations upbraids them with the Paucity of their Number; whereas, allowing for Sicknes and Absence, here is a very great Majority of the House of Commons, excluding the Deserters and other great Offenders who had been regularly expell'd. These all took the Covenant, which, says the Lord Clarendon, was illegal, wicked, and full of Perjury. And Mr. Archdeacon, who refines upon his Lordship, even in his Faults, adds, *It shed more Blood than Henry VIII's six bloody Articles; it ruin'd Families infinitely beyond them; it destroy'd the Patrimony of the Church; and murder'd the King.* I know very well the Respect that a Writer owes his Reader, and that he ought never to appear before him in Passion; but is it possible to write or read such Trash without Indignation? The Presbyterian Clergy, when the King was about to be try'd, protested against it, and urg'd the Obligation of this very Covenant, by which they were all sworn to preserve his Royal Person. Their Words are, *It is contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant, from which Engagement we know not any Power on Earth able to absolve us.* We will now see what there was in this Covenant, which the King calls seditious, and the Oxford Men damnable, and which has been call'd more Names in Pulpits and Colleges than the Ribaldry of Billingsgate can furnish one with.

The Preamble is the obligatory Part of the Oath, and it is then divided into six Articles.

The First is, *That the Covenanters will sincerely, really and constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour to preserve the Reformation of Religion in England and Ireland in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the Word of God, and the best Examples of the Reform'd Churches.*

This is what the Earl of Clarendon terms Wickedness and Perjury.

The Second Article is, *That they will in like manner, without Respect of Persons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, of Archbishops, Bishops, Chancellors, Commissaries, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on the Hierarchy, and of all Superstition, Heresy, Schism, Profaneness,*

A. D. 1643.

A. D. 1643. *Saneness, and whatever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine and the Power of Godliness. More Perjury and Wickedness, according to Lord Clarendon.*

The Third Article is, *That they will with the same Zeal and Constancy endeavour with their Estates and Lives mutually to preserve the Rights and Privileges of Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's Person and Authority.* Here the Wickedness and Perjury are intolerable, for they are so impious as to explain what they mean by the King's Authority, *in the Preservation and Defence of the True Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom.* The Lord Clarendon and Mr. Archdeacon have not the least Conception of any such Authority; *that the World may bear Witnesses with our Consciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminish his Majesty's just Power and Greatness.* For the Power those two Historians always intend is unjust and arbitrary.

The Fourth Article concerns one of those Historians personally, *That they will endeavour to bring all Malignants, Incendiaries and evil Counsellors to condign Punishment.* The Parliament had declar'd Mr. Edward Hyde to be one of those Malignants, and he could not therefore be much in Love with this Covenant, or think it any thing better than Perjury and Wickedness.

The Fifth Article is, *To preserve the Peace between England and Scotland, and punish all that oppose it.*

The Sixth is a general Confirmation of all the rest, *And that they will never yield to a detestable Neutrality, but continue constant to their Covenant to their Lives End.*

The King publish'd a Proclamation against taking the Covenant, but it was taken before that Proclamation came out by both Houses of Parliament, the City of London, the Clergy, &c. And if they had not done it, one cannot suppose they would have been hinder'd by a Proclamation, which, like the Thunder of the Vatican, had of late lost all Effect and Terror.

Scots.

His Majesty was very well inform'd of the Proceedings of the Scots towards assisting the Parliament; and tho' he could not prevent the Meeting of the Estates at *Edinburgh*, yet when they were about raising an Army, he issu'd a Proclamation against it, and he might as soon have beaten the Army with a Proclamation as have hinder'd the raising it. He also permitted the Earl, whom he made Marquis of *Montrose*, to invite the Marquis of *Antrim*, with 2000 *Irish* Rebels; into *Scotland*, and those Papists under *Calkito*, Brother to *Antrim*, joining *Montrose*, *reacted the Massacre of Ireland*, as the learned

Ach. 552.

Lawyer informs us, *by murdering Men, Women and Children, and added to the Cruelty the burning their Houses and Habitations.* These Butchers were intended to make a Diversion in that Kingdom as soon as the Scots Army enter'd *England*, and the King at the same Time drew off the best *English* Regiments from *Ireland*, as Sir *William S. Leger's*, Sir *Michael Ernly's*, Sir *Richard Fleetwood's*, Col. *Myn's*, Col. *Monk's*, Col. *Warren's*, by which Means the bloody-minded Rebels were left at Liberty to continue their horrid Butcherings, Burnings, Rapes and Robberies. We have mention'd the Care which the Parliament took of that Kingdom, by procuring Subscriptions for vast Sums of Money for raising Forces to oppose those Rebels, and relieve the Protestants; which Care of theirs had not the desir'd Success, by Reason of the Delays the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* met with in his

Ireland.

Dispatches from the Court, of which his Lordship complains in the Letter to the Earl of *Northumberland*; and it might well be so, when the *Irish* Rebels had Agents at Court, and a Cessation of Arms with them was in Treaty soon after the King set up his Standard. His Majesty refus'd to pass the Act to enforce the Payment of the Subscription-Money for the Service of *Ireland*. That Act was sent to him by Sir *Robert King*, *William Jephson*, Esq; and *Arthur Hill*, Esq;. The Pretext was, that the Money would be employ'd against him. But the true Reason was probably that it would be employ'd against the *Irish* Papists then in Rebellion, tho' he would not allow them to be call'd *Rebels*; insomuch that when Sir *Edward Walker* gave him his Manuscript Memoirs, wherever the Term *Rebels* was us'd, he struck it out, and with his own Hand wrote *Irish*, as *A. Wood* informs us. Mr. *Jephson* seeing the Lord *Dillon* and the Lord *Taaf*, two *Irish* Papists, in high Favour with the Court at *Oxford*, told the Lord *Falkland*, Husb. p. then Secretary of State, "There were two Lords 247. "about the King, who to his Majesty's great "Dishonour, and the great Discouragement of "his good Subjects, did make use of his Majesty's Name to encourage the Rebels; that "he had seen two Letters sent by the Lord *Dillon* and the Lord *Taaf* to the Lord *Muskerry*, "the chief Man in the Rebellion of *Munster*, intimating, that tho' it did not stand with the "Conveniency of his Majesty's Affairs to give "him publick Countenance, yet the King was "well pleas'd with what he had done, and "would in Time give him Thanks for it; which "Letters were also seen by the Lord *Inchiqueen*, "General of the *English* Forces in *Munster*, and "by his Secretary, who took Copies of them;" which Mr. *Jephson* said should be forthcoming, and my Lord *Falkland* cry'd, *They deserve to be hang'd*. But the Matter was no further inquir'd into. On the contrary, their Negotiations in Favour of their Fellow-Rebels went on successfully, as will be seen in the Sequel. Before we proceed in the Affairs of *England*, we will take a transient View of the *Rebellion in Ireland*, from its Beginning to this Time.

The first Town the Rebels undertook to be-siege was *Drogheda*, which was bravely defended by the Governor Sir *Henry Tichburn*, the Lord *Moore*, young Sir *John Borlace*, and other gallant Officers; and after the Garrison had been reduc'd to eat Horses, Dogs, and Cats, the Lord *Moore* making a Sally with 400 Horse, fell upon Sir *Phelim Oneal*, General of the Rebels, and put him to Flight; which so discourag'd the *Irish*, that they rais'd the Siege; after which Sir *Henry Tichburn* and the Lord *Moore* recover'd *Dundalk*. Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Colonel of the first Regiment that was sent from *England* against the *Irish* Rebels, was kill'd before the Castle of *Carrickmain*, within four Miles of *Dublin*, as was also Major *Bor*; but their Men reveng'd their Death, storm'd and enter'd the Castle, and put all the *Irish* to the Sword. In April 1642. the Marquis of *Ormond* march'd out of *Dublin* with 3000 Foot and 500 Horse, most of them Troops sent by the Parliament to the Assistance of the Protestants under Col. *Monk*, Sir *Michael Ernly*, Sir *Richard Greenville*, and other good Officers. The Lord *Ormond* engag'd the Rebels at *Kilrush*, and defeated them, tho' much above twice his Number, killing 700, among whom the Lord *Dunboyne's* Brother and the Lord *Ikerin's* Son were the Chief. Many Colonels and Captains fell on the Spot. In May the Rebels held that great Council at *Kilkenny*, which *Leti* speaks of and asserts that this Meeting was

Life Cromw.

A. D. 1643. was with the King's Consent. They took the Government of the Kingdom into their own Hands, as far as their Power extended, drawing up a Form of it, which was approv'd of by these Popish Bishops; *Hugh* Archbishop of *Armagh*, *David* Bishop of *Ossory*, *Emery* Bishop of *Down* and *Connor*, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Cashels*, *Boetius* Bishop of *Elphin*, *John* Bishop of *Clonsfert*, *Malachy* Archbishop of *Tuam*, *Patrick* Bishop of *Waterford*, *Roch* Bishop of *Kildare*, with some Deans, Abbots, Priors, and one Archdeacon *John Bowwick*, who were all involv'd in the Rebellion and Massacre, and had the same Hands with which they absolv'd and blest'd their Penitents, stain'd with the Blood of 200000 Innocents by Commission, or Permission; for the Pardon of which and all other Sins Pope *Urban VIII.* sent them a Bull. The Delay of Relief to *Ireland* could not be avoided, by Reason of the Danger the Parliament was fallen into in *England*, which oblig'd them to provide for their own Defence in the first Place. If they could not defend themselves, the Defence of the Protestants in *Ireland* must fall of course. They did however send them Supplies of Men, Money, Arms, and Ammunition, some of which Supplies were intercepted by the King's Forces, as particularly Arms and Clothes, which were seiz'd by them near *Coventry*. The Parliament in one of the Papers deliver'd by their Commissioners to the King's at *Uxbridge*, say, "Tho' the Complaints from *Ireland*, and the great Extremities of the Protestants, have been procur'd and increas'd by the Popish Party, yet earnest Endeavours have been us'd to lay the Blame and Neglect therein upon the Two Houses of Parliament, who have been so zealous for their Relief, and whose only Care, under God, hath been their Preservation; and that in the Heat of our miserable Distractions, they have continu'd their Supplies; and from their own great Want, have not spar'd to afford our Brethren there the Means of their Subsistence." Mr. *Robert Goodwin* and Mr. *Robert Reynolds*, two Members of the House of Commons, were appointed to reside at *Dublin*. With them went Colonel *Tucker* of *London*, afterwards kill'd at *Newbury* Fight. They carry'd over 20000 Pounds in Money, 300 Barrels of Powder, 10 Ton of Match, &c. The Lords Justices and Council receiv'd these Gentlemen with Respect, and they us'd their Endeavours to satisfy the Officers of the Army of the Care the Parliament took to make Provision of all Kinds for them. It is very obvious that the Residence of these two Deputies would be of good Use, not only to give the Two Houses right Information of the State of Affairs in that Kingdom, but also to encourage the Officers and Soldiers by their Presence. The King, who had other Service for the Army there, did not like this Deputation from the Parliament, and sent Orders that the two Deputies should not be admitted into the Council; so they return'd to *England*, and the Cessation with the Massacrers went on briskly.

The Marquis of *Ormond*, with 2500 Foot and 500 Horse defeated an Army of the Rebels, 6000 Foot and 650 Horse, in *Ross*, kill'd 300, took Lieutenant-General *Cullens* and many Prisoners, with their Baggage and Ammunition; and soon after he receiv'd a Commission from his Majesty to treat with our Subjects who have taken Arms against us, and to agree with them upon a CESSATION. The rebellious Murderers are term'd Subjects, and spoken of with much Tenderness. The Lords and Commons, and the Protestant People of *England*, are Rebels, Traytors, and Devils, as far as the Malice

and Infolence of the *Oxford* Men could make them so. This pious Commission was confirm'd a Week after by a second Command, and follow'd with an Order to Sir *John Borlace* and Sir *Henry Tichburn*, Lords Justices, to agree to that Cessation, tho' contrary to the LAW OF THE LAND, THE KNOWN LAW OF THE LAND, to all LAWS of Nature and Nations, Divine and Humane. His Majesty, says Mr. *Acherley*, laid aside his Promises, to observe without Violation the LAWS pass'd in this Parliament, for by the Cessation with the REBELS the Security of the Adventurers was to be enervated and defeated. We have been often, and shall again and again be told he was fighting for the *Laws*, &c. There has not been, nor will be a Proclamation or Declaration but what is full of the LAWS, THE LAWS OF THE LAND, and the like Terms. The Council of *Kilkenny* appointed *Nicholas* Viscount *Gormanston*, *Donogh* Viscount *Muskerry*, Sir *Lucas Dillon*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, *Tirlogh Oneale*, Esq; *Geoffry Brozen*, Esq; *Ever Mac Gennis*, Esq; and *John Walsh*, Esq; to treat with the Marquis of *Ormond*, who made no Scruple of entering into an Agreement with those execrable Wretches, and concluded a Cessation the 15th of *December*, in the Articles of which those detestable REBELS are styl'd his Majesty's Good Subjects. To make way for this wicked and infamous Treaty, Sir *William Parsons*, one of the Lords Justices, was turn'd out of his Place, as were also Sir *John Temple* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Adam Loftus* Under-Treasurer of *Ireland*, and Sir *Robert Meredith* a Privy-Counsellor, for dissuading the Cessation, as dangerous, scandalous and illegal. The Parliament of *England* publish'd a Declaration against it; the Protestants of *Ireland* oppos'd it with all the Vigour they were capable of; yet with the most confounding Confidence it is said, the Cessation with the Massacrers was made for no other End than to save those Protestants from Destruction; whereas in Truth it was made for no other End than to bring over the Forces the Parliament had rais'd and sent to *Ireland* against the REBELS, and employ them against the Lords and Commons of *England*. This Design was so barefac'd, that it impos'd upon no Body, and only made the People shake their Heads in Pity of such Counsels, which tending to the greatest Evil, pretended to the greatest Good. The Parliament say in their Declaration, "The Wants of the Army were often represented and complain'd of, whereby with much Craft a Ground was preparing for the Pretext, wherewith they would cover the Counsels of this Cessation, as if nothing had drawn it on but the extreme Wants of their Armies; whereas it is evident that the Reports of a Treaty have been in a great Part the Cause of their Wants, for thereby the Adventurers were dishearten'd. Contributions were stopp'd, and by the Admittance to Court of the Negotiators of this Cessation, their wicked Counsels have had that Influence as to procure the Interceptions of much Provisions which were sent for *Ireland*; and others coming from thence with Commodities to exchange for Victuals, have been taken not only by *Dunkirkers*, having his Majesty's Warrant, but also by *English* Ships commanded by Sir *John Pennington* under his Majesty: The Parliament's Messengers, with Ordinances for Loans and Contributions, have been taken and imprison'd; their Money seiz'd, and not a Penny either Contribution or Loan hath been suffer'd to be sent in for *Ireland* from those Counties which were under the Power of the King's Army,

A. D. 1643. " Army, while in the mean time the Houses of Parliament were still procuring no contemptible Aid and Relief for the distress'd Protestants in that Kingdom." The Earl of Clarendon says, and *Echard* vouches for him that he is in the right, the *Cessation* was pious and just, and it is self-evident that there is no Act of Injustice and Impiety to compare with it in all Story, the Blood of 200000 innocent Men, Women, and Children being sacrific'd to it, and the Murderers were dismiss'd with Impunity.

Before this accurs'd Treaty was concluded, *St. Leger's* and *Myn's* Regiments, already mention'd, were shipp'd for *England*, and landed at *Bristol*, where the Lord *Hopton* receiv'd them under his Command, which, according to *Acherley*, proves that *Ormond* knew the REBELS would be obedient to the King's Inclinations. The other Regiments were sent to *Chester*, and receiv'd and commanded by the Lord *Byron*. Before and after these came over, several Irish Rebels, Officers and Soldiers, as Lord *Muskerry*, *Callagan o Callegan*, and others, who were welcome to the Court at *Oxford*, in which City *Ludlow* saw some of them when he was there a Prisoner; and he informs us, they were sent by the Papists in Rebellion to treat with the King about assisting him against the Parliament.

Scots. The Committee of Estates in *Scotland* having summon'd all the Lords of the Council to take the Covenant, Duke *Hamilton* and some more refus'd it, for which their Goods were order'd to be seiz'd, their Rents to be gather'd, and their Persons to be apprehended. The Duke and his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick* went to *Oxford*, where *Montrose* had been before-hand, and represented their temporising with the Covenanters as Treachery. The Design of the *Hamiltonians*, since they could not hinder the raising an Army for the Parliament, was to have as many Lords as would take Service in it be chosen from among the King's Friends, that when they were in *England* they might assume the Umpirage between both Parties, and join against that which would not consent to an Accommodation. These Counsels were condemn'd by *Montrose* and the rigid Royalists as fraudulent; and the Queen hating *Hamilton*, so prepossess'd the King against him, that his Majesty was deaf to his Reasons. I know it will be thought to be taken from the scandalous Chronicle, but I have it from good and great Authority, that the Queen's Hatred to *Hamilton* was occasion'd by his being a little too curious, and having made some such Discovery as 'tis said cost *Ovid* a perpetual Banishment; that *Hamilton* had profess'd Gallantry at Court, where *Fermin* was prefer'd, and his Jealousy making him very watchful, he saw what may be better imagin'd than express'd. I know the Ground we walk on is slippery, and therefore leave it, tho' I do not want Supporters if I had a mind to go further. Neither of the *Hamiltons* were admitted to the King's Presence. They were both imprison'd as soon as they arriv'd, and severely us'd. The Resentment of the Court was push'd so far, that it was talk'd of trying them for their Lives. *Lanerick's* great Crime was the putting the King's Signet, of which he had the keeping as Secretary of State, to a Proclamation for a General Rendezvous of the Army that was to march into *England*. Those Writers, as *Echard* and others of that Stamp, who speak of Duke *Hamilton's* Correspondence with the *Kirk* Men, had never Opportunities of informing themselves of the Truth in doubtful Matters, or they might have known that the Duke was authoriz'd by King *Charles I.* to favour the Covenanters that he might find out

A. D. 1643. their Designs, and he was now so treated, according to *Echard*, not for looking upon a Lady and her Lover, but for looking upon the Covenanters, and sometimes sitting with them. What he or his Originals spin so finely, as to the Duke's mysterious Conduct, is only one of those Visions with which their Heads are sometimes giddy. *Hamilton* had been bred under a Mother, Lady *Ann Cuninghame*, Daughter to the Earl of *Glencairn*, who was a zealous Presbyterian and Covenanter, and his Heart doubtless hung that Way, but his Ambition, and the Glory of being a Favourite, kept him from engaging further than consisted with the Character of a Courtier, and that was enough to render him suspected, and Suspicion enough to cause his Confinement, when the Court were so afraid of the Scots. The Marquis of *Montrose*, and those who came from *Scotland*, knew so much of his countenancing the Covenanters in Raising the Army intended for *England*, that it was resolv'd to try him for High Treason. The Queen push'd on this Trial, and made so sure of the Duke and the Earl of *Lanerick's* being found guilty, that when she heard the latter had made his Escape, she said, *Abercorn* has mist a Duke-Burnet; The Lord *Abercorn* was a Papist, and next the two Brothers in Succession to that Title. The Duke must have been try'd as Earl of *Cambridge*, and the Court found the Majority of their own Lords would not convict him, so they sent him Prisoner to *Pendennis*, and afterwards to *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*, where he remain'd till that Place was surrender'd to the Parliament's Forces three Years after, and two Years after that he commanded an Army against the Parliament. The Matter of the Trial was push'd so far, that a Warrant was actually sign'd by the King, and undersign'd by the King himself as a Secretary of State, for executing both Duke *Hamilton* and his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick*, which the Lords procur'd; and to have them try'd at a distance from *Oxford*, that if they were condemn'd Sentence might be executed before they could get a Pardon; for the Lords doubted not if they were pardoned they would have the King's Ear again, and then their Judges would have been infallibly ruin'd. The Lord *Berkeley* of *Stratton* shew'd Bishop *Burnet* the original Warrant.

In the beginning of the Winter Prince *Maurice* came before *Exeter* with an Army, and laid Siege to it. The Earl of *Stamford* was in the City, but not with a sufficient Strength to defend it a long Time. The Citizens, like the Inhabitants of other Cathedral Towns, being Enemies to those who declar'd for the Protestant Religion, the Rights and Liberties of the People, and for bringing Delinquents to Justice. The Lord *Stamford* in the Articles of Surrender, committed a great Weakness and Error, by stipulating for a Pardon for himself, Sir *George Chudleigh*, Sir *John Bampfild*, Sir *John Northcot*, Sir *Samuel Roberts*, Sir *Nicholas Martin*, &c. These Gentlemen could not be overstock'd with Wisdom, if they had been so long venturing their Lives and Fortunes in a Cause which they thought needed a Pardon. The Parliament was much disgust'd at it, and there was a Discourse of Calling the Earl to an Account for that Article, and his whole Conduct in their Service, but nothing came of it.

The King having succeeded so ill in the Siege *Digby's* of *Gloucester*, an Attempt was made to get the City by Treason since it could not be got by gainst Arms. The Lord *Digby* employ'd one *Stamford*, a Friend to Captain *Backhouse*, who commanded a Company in *Gloucester*, to enter into a Negotiation for betraying the Town. *Backhouse* was offer'd 5000 Pounds, and actually received 200 Pounds. Several Letters pass between

A. D. 1643. *tween him and Stamford, which were all communicated to the Governor Colonel Massey by Backhouse. A Cavalier Party of Horse and Foot advanc'd as far as Lassington Hill, in Expectation of hearing from Backhouse that he was ready to admit them into the Place, but no News coming they mistrusted Backhouse had discover'd the Plot and retreated to Newent.*

Col. Skippon takes Grafton. Major General Skippon with about 1000 Foot; a Party of Horse, and four Pieces of Ordnance march'd from Newport Pagnel to Grafton Regis, where the King's Forces had a strong Garrison in a House of the Lady Crane's. After three Days Siege the Governor Sir John Digby desir'd a Parley, and agreed to surrender. The Garrison were all made Prisoners, and among them Sir John Digby, Major Brookband, Captain Clarke, Captain Longfield, Captain Butler, 80 Troopers, 100 Foot, three Ministers, and several Gentlemen that came thither Volunteers. Major Brookband having formerly deserted the Parliament's Service was try'd by a Council of War, condemn'd, and shot to Death about Christmas.

Sir Alexander Carrew's Design to betray Plymouth. The Parliament having received Information of a Correspondence between Sir Alexander Carrew, Governor of Plymouth, and Sir John Berkley, who commanded under Prince Maurice in Exeter, had taken Order for apprehending him, but the Soldiers of Plymouth Garrison having Intimation of the Governor's Treachery seiz'd him, and sent him up to London in September; when Colonel James Woodlace was appointed to command there in Chief: He embark'd at Portsmouth, together with Colonel Gould and 600 Soldiers to reinforce that Garrison, and he had not been many Days at Plymouth before he surpriz'd the Royalists Guards at Horwe, took Captain Slowly, an Ensign, and 52 Soldiers. The Garrison had for some Time been blockt up by the Royalists, who took a Fort called Mount Stamford upon Articles. The Town was much streighten'd and terrify'd by it. However, the Garrison and Townsmen were so faithful to the Parliament that they all took an Oath to defend the Place to the utmost Extremity. The Gentlemen of the King's Party who lay before the Town sent a Summons; which was sign'd by John Digby, Thomas Bassett, Peter Killebrew, John Wagstaff, Jonathan Trekarony, R. Prideaux, John Arundel, Thomas Monk, William Arundel, John Downing, Thomas Stukely; with Offers of Pardon, and Security for Persons and Estates, if the Mayor and Governor would surrender, but they return'd no Answer, and the Royalists continu'd the Siege, which was commanded by Prince Maurice, whose Forces took the Town Guard at Lazy Point, and in it 6 Pieces of Ordnance. There happen'd other Skirmishes, as that at Lypson Work and Lare Point, in which 100 Cavaliers were driven into the Mud, and most of them either taken, stifled or drown'd, though not without considerable Loss to the Besieg'd. The Batteries of the Besiegers were so counterbatter'd from the Works that their Men could not stand to their Guns, and did little Execution, so that after a tedious, fruitless Siege, Prince Maurice was forc'd to abandon it. The Prince had taken Lyme and Dartmouth by the same Means as he hop'd to take Plymouth, the Treachery of those that had the Keeping of them.

Mr. Pym's Death and Character. The greatest Loss the Parliament met with this Year, was by the Death of that great Senator and Patriot John Pym, Esq; who for his eminent Qualities, Wisdom, Courage, Learning, Zeal and Constancy, deserv'd every Man's good Word. He had the Spirit of Cato, and the Eloquence of Tully. Curtius lov'd not his Country, nor Bru-

tus Liberty better than Mr. Pym: He wore himself out in the Cause of both, and carry'd to his Grave, the Respect, Love and Esteem of every good English Man, and good Protestant, yet the Picture the Earl of Clarendon has drawn of him is more ugly and deform'd than that of Cerberus. To crown it, he affirms Mr. Pym dy'd of the Lowly Disease, which is well known to be as false as that he did die is true. Whitlocke tells us, The Multitude of Business and Cares so broke his Spirits, that it brought his Death. Rushworth speaks of it thus, Whereas it is reported he died of that loathsome Disease, the same was not true, and for publick Satisfaction herein his Corpse was expos'd to the View of many Hundreds. Ludlow says the same. And Echard owns, that the Abuse on his Memory is not true, but the Lord Clarendon is positive in that false Abuse against them all.

We have mentioned the Ordinance for raising the general Contribution this Year, and there past another Ordinance for sequestrating the Estates of Delinquents, as were all who were then in Arms against the Parliament, against which the King, as usual, publish'd a Proclamation, which had no more Effect than his offer of Par-
Earl of Essex, or any other Proclamations. There was one against the Oppression of the Clergy, which was intended to prevent the Proceedings of the Committee for ejecting scandalous Ministers; but they went on, and so did the Parliament notwithstanding another Proclamation not to obey their Votes, Orders and Ordinances. This Proclamation had also an offer of Pardon in it, with the Exceptions already mention'd. Another Proclamation was publish'd at Oxford, forbidding People to trade with London, which had as much Effect as if it had forbidden them to eat and drink.

It is necessary for both Writer and Reader to divest themselves of all Passions, and to write and read with the most determin'd Serenity of Mind, or 'tis impossible not to be ruffled at the following Incident, the most surprizing and terrifying they ever met with; though the bare telling it has these Effects, yet one cannot pass it over without some Remark.

His Majesty being ready to receive the Sacrament from the Hands of the Lord Archbishop Usher, at Christ Church in Oxford; rising up from his Knees, and beckoning to the Archbishop for a short Forbearance, said,

My Lord,

I Espy here many resolved Protestants, who King's Pro-may declare to the World the Resolution I do testation now make. I have to the utmost of my Power before the prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver. sacrament And may I so receive Comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the Establishment of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its Beauty in the happy Days of Queen Elizabeth, without any Connivance at Popery. I bless God, that in the midst of these publick Distractions I have still liberty to communicate, and may this Sacrament be my DAMNATION if my Heart does not joyne with my Lips in this Protestation:

And the very next Day was Peace given to the bloody Irish REBELS by the Cessation then agreed on at Oxford. See his Letter to the Marquis of Ormond, Dec. 15, 1644. speaking of the Irish Papists, gives my Lord Muskerry and Plunket my particular Thanks. Their Nation in general, and this in particular, shall have Comfort in it. And to shew that this is more than Words, I do hereby promise them, that the penal
Laws

A. D. *Laws and Statutes shall not be put in Execution; and if they assist me, &c. I will consent to the Repeal of them by a Law; instead of conniving,* this is Encouraging with a Witness. In another Letter of the 9th of *January* following he calls the *Rebellion in Ireland, the first War,* and the *Civil War in England the Rebellion.* In another of the 27th of *February, 1644.* he will consent to the present taking away of the Penal Laws against Papists.

Ruffi-
worth,
978, 979.

I thought to have remark'd on this astonishing Incident, but it will not bear it: There's the Fact; and the Reflection upon it is but too plain.

Judge
Barkley
fin'd.

In *September* this Year, that busy Medler in the Ship Money Grievance, Judge *Barkley*, was fin'd 20,000 Pounds, to be incapacitated for Places and Honours, and imprison'd in the *Tower* during Pleasure. An Ordinance pass'd about the same Time for seizing the King and Queen's and Princes Revenues, and for appointing a Committee to raise Money for the Defence and Preservation of the County of *Northampton.* Sir *John Dryden*, Sir *Christopher Yelverton*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Roxland St. John*, Sir *Edward Nichols*, Sir *John Norwiche*, Sir *Humphry Orme*, Sir *Richard Samwell*, Sir *Samuel Danvers*, *Edward Montagu*, Esq; *William Fitz Williams*, Esq; *John Crewe*, Esq; *John Cartwright*, Esq; *Zouch Tate*, Esq; *Richard Knightly*, Esq; *John Blencoe*, Esq; *Edward Farmer*, Esq; *Edward Hanbury*, Esq; *John Claypool*, Esq; *Robert Mildmay*, Esq; *Edward Bagshaw*, Esq; *Richard Knightley of Fawsley*, Esq; *Edward Shuckburgh*, Esq; *John Norton*, Esq; *Richard Samwell*, Esq; *John Barnard*, Esq; *Edward Harbey*, Esq; *Edward Only*, Esq; *Philip Holman*, Esq; *John Wirley*, Esq; *William Lisle*, Esq; *Thomas Elmes*, Esq; *Francis Quarles*, Esq;

Northam-
tonshire
Committee.

King's
Commissi-
oners for
Notting-
ham and
Lincoln-
shire.

Ruffw.
306.

As several Counties associated for the Parliament, and had their Committees to manage the Affairs there: So did the King appoint Commissioners in those Counties where his Power prevailed, as these for *Nottinghamshire* and *Lincolnshire*, out of which had been squeeze'd 200000 Pounds by them, in little more than a Year. Lord *Chaworth*, *J. Cobham*, Sir *John Digby*, Sir *Edward Hussy*, Sir *Robert Markham*, Sir *William Thorold*, *Charles Hussy*, Esq; *Ger. Nevele*, Esq; *Anthony Eyre*, Esq; *Roger Cooper*, Esq; *Thomas Holden*, Esq; *Hugh Cartwright*, Esq; *Robert Tredwey*, Esq; *John Burrell*, Esq; *Edmund Thorold*, Esq; *Thomas Harrington*, Esq; *Chr. Berisforde*, Esq; We have observ'd how his Majesty valu'd himself on the Number and Weight of the Gentry. The Reader will better judge of it by comparing the Committee of the single County of *Northampton* with the Commissioners of the two Counties of *Lincoln* and *Nottingham.*

Brook and
Riley's
Plot.

About the latter End of the Year there was discover'd a chimerical Design carry'd on by Sir *Basil Brook*, Treasurer for the Papists. One *Reed*, an Officer among the *Irish* Rebels, taken Prisoner at *Dublin*, sent to *England* and imprison'd in the *King's Bench*, *Thomas Vilet*, a Goldsmith, his Fellow Prisoner, and *Theophilus Riley*, Scout Master General of the City Militia, by whose help *Reed* and *Vilet* got their Liberty by Exchange. The Design was to procure a Treaty between the King and the City, exclusive of the Parliament, the Preliminaries to secure the Protestant Religion, pay the publick Debts, and a general Pardon on both sides. *Digby*, that eternal Contriver of fruitless Conspiracies, manag'd this. *Vilet*, the broken Goldsmith, got to *Oxford*, and confer'd with the

King; and when he return'd to *London*, disclosing the Matter to Sir *David Watkins*, the latter discover'd it to the Parliament, who order'd *Brook* and *Riley* to be committed close Prisoners to the *Tower*, of which *Isaac Penington*, Esq; Lord Mayor, was appointed Governor, and *Vilet* to some other Prison.

A. D.
1643.

I chuse to begin the Year according to the common Computation, at the the first of *January*, for that it is not only more Historical, but is better known than the Computation from the 25th of *March*, which is more peculiar to *Law* and *Traffick.*

The Scots had all Things in Readiness to enter *England* with the New Year. Their Army Scots consisted of 18000 Foot, 3000 Horse, and 600 my. Dragoons, commanded by

1644.

The Earl of *Leven*, General.

John Bayley, Lieutenant General.

David Lesley, Major General of the Horse.

Sir *Alexander Hamilton*, General of the Artillery.

Colonels of Foot.

Earl of *Cassils*, *William Steuart*, Earl of *Lindsay*, Sir *Patrick Hepburne*, Lord *Cowper*, Earl of *Loudon*, Lord *Maitland*, Sir *David Home*, Lord *Levingston*, Earl of *Buccleugh*, *James Rae*, Earl of *Dumferlyn*, Sir *Alexander Hamilton*, Lord *Gask*, Earl of *Lothian*, *Douglas* of *Kelhead*, Lord *Dunhope*, Master of *Tester*, Earl Marshal, *Arthur Eykin*, Lord *Sinclar.*

Colonels of Horse.

His Excellency the Earl of *Leven*, Major General *David Lesley*, Earl of *Eglinton*, Lord *Kirkcubright*, Earl of *Dalbousy*, Lord *Balcarras*, *Michael Welden*, Lord *Gordon*, Marquis of *Argyle.*

Dragoons.

Colonel *Freiser.*

Among the inferior Officers were several Persons of Quality, as Sir *George Douglas*, Sir *John Browne*, Sir *Robert Adaire*, &c. The Army began their March in the Middle of *January*, when the Snow was Knee deep. The General was attended by Committees of the *English* and *Scots* Parliaments, and enter'd *England* the 19th of *January*, when the Committees wrote a Letter to Sir *Thomas Glenham*, Col. *Gray*, and the rest of the Commanders and Gentlemen of the County of *Northumberland*, inviting them to concur with them in the Defence of the true reformed Religion, which was in danger by a Popish and Prelatical Faction. Sir *Thomas Glenham*, in his Answer declared, *If they meant the Common Prayer, and the nine and thirty Articles by the true reform'd Religion, he and his Friends were ready to defend them with their Blood.* How illuminated their Zeal was. *Otherwise they would not suffer themselves to be made Slaves without Opposition.*

Newcastle
summon'd.

On the 3d of *February* General *Leven* came before *Newcastle*, into which Place the Marquis of that Name had thrown himself; and the Committees sent the Marquis of *Argyle*, and Sir *William Armine*, with a Summons to the Mayor and Aldermen, who answer'd, *That the King's Governor being there, the Power was in him; but if he was not, they would venture their Lives and Fortunes for the King's Honour, to which they set their Names.* *John Morley*, Mayor, *Nicholas Cole*, *Thomas Lyddel*, *Lionel Maddison*, *Alexander Davison*, *Mark Milbank*, *Francis Bowes*, *Francis Anderson*, *Henry Maddison*, *Ralph Cock*, *Leonard Carr*, *Robert Shafte*, *Cuthbert Car*, *Ralph Grey*, *John Emerson*, Dr. *Rowcastle*, *Charles Clarke.*

The Scots were not willing to waste their Time before this Town: So they pass the *Tyne* at

A. D. 1644. at *Ovingham*, *Bydwell*, and *Atringham*. From thence they march'd to the *Darwent*, and past that River at *Ebchester*. March the Second they past the River *Weare* near *Lumley* Castle, and on the Fourth enter'd *Sunderland*. The Marquis of *Newcastle* being join'd by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Colonel *Fenwick*, and others, made up an Army of 14000 Horse and Foot, with which he secur'd *Durham*. The Scots took *South Shields*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Bellantine*, of the General's Regiment, surpriz'd a Troop of the Marquisses Horse at *Chester* on the *Street*, near which Place *Newcastle* drew up his Army, and the Scots did the like on a Hill towards the Sea: Both Armies fac'd each other, and there happen'd some Skirmishes with alternate Success. The Marquis return'd to *Durham*, and the Scots march'd to *Quarendon* Hill within two Miles of it, where we must leave them awhile to see what pass'd at *Oxford* and *Westminster*.

The Mongrel Parliament at Oxford.

The King summon'd the Members of both Houses of Parliament, as well those who had been expell'd for Misdemeanors as those who out of Cowardice or Bigotry, had deserted their Duty at *Westminster* to meet him at *Oxford*, the 22d of *January*, to shew, as he said in his Proclamation, how far the major Part of both Houses were from approving of the Proceedings of the Lords and Commons at *Westminster*, and in Order to this, there was a Meeting of 118 Members of the House of Commons at *Oxford*, who were to let the World see they were the major Vote to 222, then assembled in *St. Stephen's* Chapel. The Lords at *Oxford* sent a Letter to the Conservators of the Peace in Scotland to protest against the Invitation made by the Parliament of *England* for the Scots Army to come to their Assistance, and the Conservators of the Peace sent them the solemn League and Covenant for an Answer.

The Names of the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford, called by King Charles the First, his Mongrel Parliament.

Peers.

Prince *Charles*, Duke of *York*, Duke of *Cumberland*, Lord *Littleton*, C. S. Lord *Cottington*, L. H. T. Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis of *Hertford*, Earl of *Lindsey*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Leicester*, Earl of *Carlisle*, Earl of *Bristol*, Earl of *Berkshire*, Earl of *Cleveland*, Earl *Rivers*, Earl of *Dover*, Earl of *Peterborough*, Earl of *Kingston*, Earl of *Newport*, Earl of *Portland*, Lord Viscount *Conway*, Lord *Digby*, Lord *Mowbray*, Lord *Wentworth*, Lord *Cromwell*, Lord *Rich*, Lord *Paget*, Lord *Chandos*, Lord *Howard* of *Charlton*, Lord *Lovelace*, Lord *Savile*, Lord *Mobun*, Lord *Dunsmore*, Lord *Piercy*, Lord *Seymour*, Lord *Wilmot*, Lord *Hatton*, Lord *Fermin*, Lord *Carrington*.

Commoners.

John Fettiplace, Esq; Sir *Alexander Denton*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, *Francis Gamul*, Esq; *John Harris*, Esq; *Jos. Jane*, Esq; *Richard Edgecomb*, Esq; *Jonathan Raspleigh*, Esq; *George Fane*, Esq; *Peter Edgecomb*, Esq; *William Glanville*, Esq; Sir *Robert Holburn*, Sir *Ralph Sydenham*, *Francis Godolphin*, Esq; *George Parry*, L. L. D. *Ambrose Manaton*, Esq; *Richard Vivian*, Esq; *John Polewheele*, Esq; Sir *John Arundel*, Esq; *Thomas Lower*, Esq; *Edw. Hyde*, Esq; *Will. Allestree*, Esq; Sir *George Stonehouse*, *Edward Seymour*, Esq; *Peter Saint Hill*, Esq; Sir *William Poole*, *Roger Matthew*,

Esq; *Richard Arundel*, Esq; *Robert Walker*, Esq; *Henry Killegrew*, Esq; *John Dutton*, Esq; *Henry Brett*, Esq; *William Chadwell*, Esq; Sir *Theobald George*, Sir *Thomas Fanshawe*, *Humf. Coningsby*, Esq; *Richard Seaborn*, Esq; *Arthur Lord Ranekagh*, *Thomas Tompkins*, Esq; Sir *Sampson Evers*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, Sir *John Meux*, *Matthew Davis*, Esq; *Thomas Fermin*, Esq; *John Taylor*, Esq; *Thomas Hanham*, Esq; *Edward Phillips*, Esq; *John Digby*, Esq; *Christopher Kirton*, Esq; *Edward Lewknor*, Esq; Sir *Edward Alford*, Sir *James Thynne*, *Andrew Porter*, Esq; *Samuel Sandys*, Esq; *John Bodville*, Esq; *William Morgan*, Esq; *William Thomas*, Esq; *John Mostyn*, Esq; *Thomas Cooke*, Esq; Sir *Robert Crooke*, *Herbert Price*, Esq; *John Whisler*, Esq; *Giles Strangways*, Esq; Sir *John Strangways*, Sir *Thomas Helm*, Sir *George Rappier*, *Samuel Turner*, M. D. *William Constantine*, Esq; Sir *John Harrison*, *Jeffery Palmer*, Esq; *Thomas Fanshawe*, Esq; Sir *Roger Palmer*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, *William Watkins*, Esq; *John Smith*, Esq; Sir *Thomas Bludder*, Sir *Edward Littleton*, Sir *Harvey Baggot*, Sir *Richard Levison*, Sir *Richard Cave*, Sir *Richard Lee*, Sir *Thomas Whitmore*, Sir *Edward Acton*, *Richard Weston*, Esq; *C. Baldwyn*, Esq; *R. Goodwyn*, Esq; *Thomas Howard*, Esq; *Thomas Littleton*, Esq; Sir *Robert Howard*, Sir *Francis Cornwallis*, *William Bassett*, Esq; Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Edward Rodney*, *John White*, Esq; *John Asburnham*, Esq; *William Smith*, Esq; *Thomas Leeds*, Esq; *Robert Hyde*, Esq; Sir *Edward Griffin*, Sir *Walter Smith*, *Henry Bellassis*, Esq; Sir *George Wentworth*, *William Malory*, Esq; *Richard Alburgh*, Esq; *John Salisbury*, Esq; *William Herbert*, Esq; *William Price*, Esq; Sir *John Price*, Sir *Richard Herbert*, *Charles Price*, Esq; *Philip Warwick*, Esq;

I do not mention the other Members who were absent in Service or with Leave, because there were Members of the House of Commons in the same Circumstances on the Parliament side, and had all those other Members been at *Oxford*, those at *Westminster* would have been a very great Majority. Some of the *Oxford* Members, as *Digby*, *Fermyn*, *Piercy*, lay under Impeachments of High Treason; very many of them had been regularly expell'd for Delinquency, or for Desertion, or for being Monopolizers; and having no Seat in the other Senate, were glad to fit in a Mongrel One. Had they been all together, they were but 175, and there were at *Westminster*, as by our last Tale, 222; yet *Echard*, an admirable Teller, assures us the 175 were superior in Number to the 222. It exceeded the other in Number. This Assembly consisting of upper and lower Houses, had, with great Formality, their two Speakers; the Lord *Littleton* for the Lords, and Serjeant *Evers* for the Commons. The first Work they went upon, was to write a Letter to the Earl of *Effex*, to conjure him to procure a Treaty. But he excus'd himself, for that they had made no Address to the two Houses, whose Privileges he and his Army were resolv'd to maintain at the Expence of their Blood. He also sent them the solemn League and Covenant. They then got the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General, to write a Letter to the Earl of *Effex*, for a safe Conduct for two Gentlemen, whom the King would send to the Parliament concerning a Treaty. *Effex* answer'd, That when his Majesty desir'd a safe Conduct, he would shew his Willingness to further any Way that Happiness which honest Men pray'd for; upon which, the King sent a Message to the two Houses, with a Preamble that was sure to render it ineffectual.

A. D. 1644. *festual, by the Advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford, proposing a Treaty; but the Parliament at Westminster took Exceptions at his Majesty's putting those Deferters, Delinquents, Monopolizers, and expell'd Men, on an equal Foot with themselves; and if the Oxford Counsellors really intended Peace by this Step towards it, their Wisdom did not appear much in starting this Difficulty, which they could not but know, with a moderate Knowledge of Things, would never be gotten over. For the Parliament at Westminster would as soon have treated with a Convocation as with the Assembly at Oxford, whose main Business was to raise Money if they could, tho' every Penny that was taken by Virtue of any Act of theirs was a downright Robbery. They endeavour'd to soften it by terming their Act a Letter, to which their two Speakers set their Hands. It was directed to such Persons as they thought were able and willing to lend a certain Sum mention'd in that Letter. They began with themselves, and wrote Letters to one another, by which a considerable Sum of Money was collected, and 'tis certain the King had not without it been able to take the Field the next Campaign. They also laid an Excise upon Wine, Beer, Ale, Cyder, Perry, Grocery, Drugs, &c. as the Parliament had done by an Ordinance; which Excise was high enough, as*

	l.	s.	d.
<i>Excise. For every Pound of Tobacco not of the English Plantations</i>	00	02	00
<i>For every Pound of Tobacco of the English Plantations</i>	00	00	04
<i>For every Ton of Wine imported</i>	05	00	00
<i>For all Strong Waters every Gallon</i>	00	00	08
<i>For every Barrel of Ale at the Brewers</i>	00	02	00
<i>For every Barrel of Ale home-brew'd</i>	00	01	00
<i>For every Hoghead of Cyder or Perry for Sale</i>	00	02	00
<i>For every Hoghead of Cyder or Perry for Private Use</i>	00	01	00
<i>Grocery, Drugs, Mercery, Wrought Silks, Linnen, Haberdashery, Upholstry, Paper, Skins, Glasses, and Earthen Ware, for every Twenty Shillings Value</i>	00	01	00
<i>Raw Silks, for every Twenty Shillings Value</i>	00	00	06
<i>Silks in the Gum</i>	00	00	09
<i>Soap imported, for every Twenty Shillings Value</i>	00	01	06
<i>Soap made in England, the best, for every Firkin</i>	00	00	10
<i>Second Sort</i>	00	00	09
<i>Worst Sort</i>	00	00	08
<i>All Foreign Salt, Salt for Fish excepted, for every Gallon</i>	00	00	01
<i>All British Salt, Salt for Fish excepted, for every Gallon</i>	00	00	00 1/2
<i>Beefs, Muttons, Veals, Porks, Lambs, and other Butcher's Meat, for every Twenty Shillings Value</i>	00	01	00
<i>Every Rabbet</i>	00	00	00 1/2
<i>Pigeons, for every Dozen</i>	00	00	01

Commissioners of the Excise.

John Towse, Esq; Alderman of London, Thomas Foot, Esq; Alderman of London, John Kendrick, Esq; Alderman of London, Thomas Cullum, Esq; Alderman of London, Simon Edmonds of London, Esq; John Lamot of London, Esq; Edward Claxton of London, Esq; John Langham, Esq; one of the Sheriffs of the City of London.

Auditors of the Excise.

Thomas Falconbridge, Esq; William Bond, Esq;

I have not seen the Oxford Excise Act, but I suppose it to be very much like this, which the Cavaliers had exclaim'd against as a Burthen that in a Year or two would break all the Backs in England. The Mongrel Parliament voted also, that the Scots and all who assisted them were TRAYTORS. They had got two Names amongst them, REBELS and TRAYTORS, and they made the most they could of them. Tho' the King could not get them to vote that the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament at Westminster were no Parliament, which he earnestly press'd them to do; yet he got these Votes out of them, and the Reader will easily judge of what Use they were to him; That the Lords and Commons who consented to the raising an Army under the Command of the Earl of Essex, are guilty of High Treason; That the Lords and Commons who consented to the making of a new Great Seal are guilty of High Treason; That the Lords and Commons who invited in the Scots are guilty of High Treason; That the Lords and Commons ought to be proceeded against as TRAYTORS, and hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd; and, That all his Majesty's Officers of Peace had been refus'd by them. The Two Houses at Westminster publish'd a Declaration, shewing why they could not accept of the Overtures made from Oxford for a Treaty, wherein they say, "As it hath always been and ever shall be our earnest and faithful Endeavours to put an End to the Troubles and dangerous Distempers of this Kingdom, by a happy and well-grounded Peace; so is it our settled Resolution, in Discharge of the Trust reposed in us, never to purchase it with the Loss and Ruin of our Religion and Liberty, having before our Eyes the sad Spectacle of that woful Kingdom of Ireland, which, after the spilling of so much innocent Blood in Defence of the Protestant Religion, is under the false Glofs of Peace, subjected and brought under the Power of Popery and Superstition; and those BLOODY REBELS having effected their Ends in that Kingdom, are brought over hither to bring us under the same Yoke, &c."

Some of those bloody Rebels came from Ire-Irish Re-land with Forces under Monk, who had engag'd in the Parliament Service against them, had now into Eng-betray'd his Trust, and brought over those very land. Men he had commanded for the Parliament to fight against them. But we shall find that he betray'd every Power that employ'd him, except Cromwell. Monk made a Shew at first of being sensible of the Treachery of his quitting the Parliament's Service, and bringing over their own Soldiers to destroy them. The Marquis of Ormond was jealous of him, and put him in Prison, but it was all Affectation. A short Con-Monk de- finement conquer'd all his Scruples, and he with sers the other English Officers, and 3 or 4000 Soldiers, Service a- landed at Chester, and join'd the Lord Byron's gainst the Army before Nantwich, which it had storm'd in Irish Re- bels. five several Places, but was beaten off with the Loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton and Captain Sandford, the Bully of Byron's Army, who sent a Summons to the Townsmen, threatening Man, Woman and Child with Wounds and Death, Sword and Fire. The gallant Defence of the Town gave Sir Thomas Fairfax an Opportunity to come up to its Release. On the 21st of Ja- Siege of nuary Sir Thomas began his March from Man- Nant- chester with 2500 Foot and 1400 Horse. The wyc he Enemy's Forces were about 3000 Foot and 1800 rais'd by Horse. Fairfax's Troops met a Party of theirs Sir T. on Delamere Forest, and took 30 Prisoners. Fairfax. About six Miles further 200 of them maintain'd a Pass, which Sir Thomas Fairfax's Men, com- manded

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A. D. 1644. manded by Col. *Morgan*, forc'd. As he was marching between *Acton* and *Nantwyche*, the Cavaliers pass'd the River and fell upon his Rear, where were Col. *Holland's* and Col. *Booth's* Regiments, while another Body of the Enemy charg'd them in Front, and were oppos'd by Sir *William Brereton* and Col. *Ashton*, who with Col. *Lambert* and Major *Copley* did very good Service. The Besieg'd at the same Time made a Sally with 800 Men: The Horse under Sir *William Fairfax* was expos'd to great Danger to encourage the Foot, tho' the Lanes were so narrow they could afford little Help. The Fight was very smart for above two Hours, and then the Royalists gave Ground. The Parliament's Forces drove their Foes to *Acton Church*, where they were caught as in a Trap, as Sir *Thomas Fairfax* wrote the Earl of *Essex*, and yielded themselves Prisoners, with all their chief Officers, Arms, Colours, and Ammunition. Their Horse retreated in better Order towards *Chester* without much Loss. Of the Parliament's Forces not above 50 were slain; of the King's above 200; and the following List of Prisoners was sent to the Lord-General *Essex*: Major-General *Gibson*, Sir *Michael Ernley*, Sir *Richard Fleetwood*, Col. *Monk*, Col. *Warren*, Sir *Francis Butler* Lieutenant-Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel *Gibbs* an Irish REBEL, Major *Hammond*, 14 Captains, 20 Lientenants, 26 Ensigns, 2 Cornets, 2 Muster-Masters, Sir *Ralph Done*, Mr. *Sberlocke* Chaplain to a Regiment, 41 Serjeants, 40 Drums, 4 Cannoneers, 22 Colours, 1500 Common Soldiers, 6 Pieces of Ordnance, whereof 5 Brass, 20 Carriages, and several Waggons; 120 Women that follow'd the Camp, of whom many had long Knives, with which they were said to have done Mischief. Col. *Monk* and Col. *Warren* were sent to *Hull*, and from thence to *London*, where they were imprison'd in the *Tower*. *Monk* some Time after engag'd with the Parliament again, and after with *Cromwell* against them, and after that with the Parliament again, and after that with the King's Son against them, and had all this Treachery with as little Capacity as ever Man had who pretended to be a General and an Admiral.

More Irish Rebels in England. Some of the Forces sent from *Ireland*, with Irish Rebels among them, landed in the *West*, and were order'd to reduce *Warder Castle* in *Wiltshire*, where Major, afterwards General *Ludlow* commanded; but the Majority of these Forces had not forgot their Religion and their Country so shamefully as those under *Monk* and others; for understanding that the Governor was a *Protestant*, and that his Government was to fall into the Hands of a *Papist* if the Castle was taken, they refus'd to be employ'd against it.

Warder Castle. Col. *Roland Langhorn*, who was Governor of *Pembroke* for the Parliament, was very much streighten'd by the Garrisons which the Earl of *Carberry*, his Majesty's Lieutenant in that Part of *South Wales*, had put into *Tenby* and *Haverford West*; but upon the Arrival of Capt. *Swanley* with a Squadron of Ships and Supplies of Ammunition, *Langhorn* taking with him 200 Seamen, sally'd out of *Pembroke*, and took *Stackpool House*, belonging to Mr. *Lort*, and garrison'd it for the King. Some Days after he march'd to *Treffloin*, another garrison'd House, which he took, and in it about 40 Horse and 150 Foot. He then pass'd over to *Rouse Side*, and attack'd the Fort at the *Pill*, in which he was assisted by Capt. *Swanley*, upon the firing of whose Guns the Garrison cry'd out *Quarter*. Here were taken Mr. *John Barlow* Master of the Ordnance, 5 Captains, 24 Pieces of Cannon, and 300 Common Soldiers. The Close of this Expedition

was merry, for Sir *Henry Vaughan*, who lay with 500 Horse and Foot at *Haverford West*, had order'd a strict Watch for Intelligence if the Enemy approach'd nearer; and one *Wheeler* a *Grafter* having a Drove of Cattle feeding on the Hills, they happen'd in the Evening to graze somewhat nearer the Town, upon which the *Strict Watch* cry'd out *The Roundheads are coming*, and Sir *Henry Vaughan* and his Parry Sir *Henry* immediately quitted the Town, leaving behind Vaughan him 10 Pieces of Ordnance and Store of Provisions, which Col. *Langhorn* took Possession of, and a few Days after attack'd *Tenby*, which was bravely defended by Commissary *Gwyn*; but a great Part of the Town being beaten down by *Langhorn's* Battery, he storm'd and took it, putting very few to the Sword; an Instance of Generosity not to be met with on the Part of the Royalists in the whole Course of this unnatural War. Col. *David Gwyn*, High Sheriff of the County of *Pembroke*, and about 300 Soldiers, were made Prisoners, their Arms taken, and several Pieces of Ordnance. With the Reduction of this Town and *Carew Castle*, all *Pembrokeshire* fell under the Command of the Parliament.

Colonel *Hastings* in *Leicestershire* carry'd on the War for the King with great Safety and Glory, for hearing that about 200 Ministers, Church Wardens, and other Officers of that County, were repairing to *Leicester* to take the *Covenant*, he lay in wait for them about *Ditton* and *Lutterworth*, took near 100 of them, and carry'd them Prisoners to *Hinckley*, which the Garrison of *Leicester* hearing of, a Party of them march'd away immediately, fell upon *Hastings's* Quarters in the Night, routed his Soldiers, rescu'd all the Ministers and their Companions, took 50 of the Cavaliers, 150 Horses, with some Arms and Ammunition. About the same Time, the latter end of *March*, there was an Action at *Newark* which was much for the King's Advantage. The Commissioners for *Nottinghamshire* and *Lincolnshire* before mention'd, sent a Remonstrance to *Oxford* of the Distress and Danger they and that Town were in, unless Relief was speedily sent them, who being Persons of Condition, their Memorial had so much Weight as to procure Assistance under Prince *Rupert*, who Prince *Rupert* came unexpectedly upon the Parliament's Forces before that Town, commanded by Sir *John Meldrum*, who had no Time to prepare to receive him, yet Colonel *Rositer*, Major *Lilburne*, Captain *Bethel* and Captain *Hunt*, gallantly charg'd and routed the Prince's right Wing, led on by himself; others of *Meldrum's* Troops did not play their Parts so well, 500 of them deserted the great Fort before they were assaulted, secur'd their Arms, and went away to *Lincoln*. Prince *Rupert* had double the Number of *Meldrum's* Men, and the latter could ill spare so great a Desertion; by which Means his Highness became Master of that Fort, and of the Island, where he entrench'd himself, and cut off all Provisions from coming to *Meldrum*, who had *Newark* Garrison at his Back, and Prince *Rupert's* Army in Front. In this Extremity the brave *Scot* desir'd a Parley, and Commissioners were appointed to treat on both sides. For the Prince, Sir *Richard Crane*, and Sir *William Neal*: For *Meldrum*, Sir *Michael Hubbard*, and Sir *John Palgrave*, who agreed that all Cannon, Arms, and Ammunition, should be deliver'd up, the Soldiers to march away with Swords, Colours and Drums; the Officers and their Servants with Arms, Bag and Baggage; but, contrary to the Articles, their Colours, Swords and Pikes were taken away, which is not worth taking

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Lord Byron routed.

Monk.

More Irish Rebels in England.

Warder Castle.

Langhorn Governor of Pembroke

His Successes.

Col. Hastings for the King takes several Ministers, &c.

Prince Rupert routs Sir John Meldrum near Newark.

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taking Notice of: For those who were fighting to enslave their Country Men, could not scruple to plunder them. The Parliament lost here 3000 Muskets, a great Quantity of Pistols, 11 Brass Guns, and two Mortar Picces. In this little Victory there are two or three Falsties, as Mr. Archdeacon tells it. *The Prince's Number was inferior to the Enemy's.* *Rusworth* says, He had an Army of 7000 Men, and *Meldrum* not half that Number at the Time of raising the Siege. *Meldrum's* Men had *Leave to lay down their Arms.* The Officers and Servants had all their Arms. The Soldiers their Swords, Pikes, Colours and Drums. This Action, as great as it was, is much magnify'd by *Echard*, who seems to put it in Ballance with the two Victories obtain'd by *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, at *Nantwyche* and *Selby*, where *Sir John Meldrum* soon after reveng'd the Affront he met with at *Newark*.

Sir Thomas Fairfax defeats *Col. Bellasis* at *Selby*.

Sir Thomas Fairfax having spent some Days before *Latham* House in *Lancashire*, defended by the Countess of *Derby*, left *Sir William Fairfax*, Colonel *Ashton* and Colonel *Rigby*, to carry on the Siege, and himself return'd to *Yorkshire* to observe Colonel *John Bellasis*, afterwards Lord *Bellasis*, whom the Marquis of *Newcastle* had left to command in and about *York*, while himself attended the Motions of the *Scots*. After the Junction of *Sir Thomas Fairfax's* Troops with those under the Lord *Fairfax* his Father, and some Forces brought him by *Sir John Meldrum*, they march'd to *Selby*, where they were inform'd Colonel *Bellasis* lay with 1500 Horse and 2000 Foot. The two *Fairfax's* had about the same Strength. Their forlorn Hope beat a Party of *Bellasis's* Horse, and follow'd them into *Selby*, and the next Day, *April* the 11th, the Lord *Fairfax* drew out his Army, and attack'd the Town in three Places, himself led one Division, *Sir John Meldrum* a second, about a Fortnight after his Retreat from *Newark*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Needham* the third, *Sir Thomas Fairfax* with the Horse being ready to support the Foot. The Cavaliers made a resolute Defence for two Hours. At length the Lord *Fairfax's* Troops beat them from the Line, but could not advance further, because of the Horse within. *Sir Thomas Fairfax* got a Barricado open which let in his Horse betwixt the Houses and the River. Here he was encounter'd by the Enemy's Cavalry, who after one Charge fled over a Bridge of Boats to *York*, but another Party of Horse came and charg'd *Sir Thomas's* Men again, himself was overthrown, being single, a little before his Men, who presently reliev'd him, and forc'd the Enemy back. Colonel *Bellasis* was wounded and taken, and the Parliament's Foot entring now on all sides, the Enemy was entirely defeated. As many as could do it sav'd themselves by flight, some towards *Carwood*, some towards *Pontefract*, and the rest towards *York*. The Lord *Fairfax's* Troops pursu'd them every way, and that Lord sent the Parliament the following List of the Officers taken Prisoners; Colonel *John Bellasis*, *Sir John Ramsden*, Colonel; *Sir Thomas Strickland*, Lieutenant Colonel *Tyndal*, Lieutenant Colonel *Forbes*, Major *Hasketh*, Major *Wentworth*, Major *Sadlington*, Major *Rogers*, Captain *Horsefield*, Captain *Beversham*, Captain *Washington*, Captain *Grimston*, Captain *Cholmley*, Captain *Scudamore*, Captain *Williamson*, Captain *Merrit*, Captain *Turner*, Captain *Skelton*, Captain *Briggs*, Captain *Waterhouse*, Captain *Kirk*, Captain *Hardcastle*, Captain *Lister*, Captain *Nevil*, Captain *Covers*, Captain Lieutenant *Salvyne*, Captain Lieutenant *Covers*; *Elias Walker*, Master of the Magazine, *Richard Ludlow*, Provost Marshal. Serjants,

Fairf.
Mem.

Trumpets, Drums, four Brass Ordnance, seven Barrels of Powder, 16 Bundles of Match, 2000 Arms, 1600 common Soldiers, many Ships and Boats in the River, all their Bag and Baggage. This Victory was a terrible Blow to the Marquis of *Newcastle*, who before was not strong enough to make Head against the *Scots*, and being now apprehensive that he might be shut up between the *Scots* Army, within two Miles of him, and the *Fairfax's*, he made haste into *York*. The Earl of *Leven* fell on his Rear, kill'd several, and took 80 Prisoners. The Marquis arriv'd at *York* a Week after the Rout at *Selby*, and the next Day the *Fairfax's* join'd the Earl of *Leven* at *Tadcaster*. But the Marquis having near 5000 Horse with him, the two Armies when join'd were not sufficient to invest the City of *York* on all Sides, and they durst not divide themselves, the Marquis of *Newcastle's* Horse being ready to attack that part of them which should be weakest on a Division; Thus they were obliged to send for the Earl of *Manchester* and Lieutenant General *Cromwell* out of the associated Counties. The Earl of *Manchester* in his March Northward took *Lincoln* by Storm, and in it *Sir Francis Fane* the Governor, *Sir Charles Dalli-son*, Colonel *Middlemore*, Colonel *Bandes*, two Lieutenant Colonels, two Majors, 20 Captains, 700 private Soldiers, 100 Horse, all their Arms and Ammunition, eight Pieces of Ordnance, with the Loss only of eight Men. On the King's Side about 50 were kill'd, and the rest crying out *Quarter* it was given them. Another generous Example, which was never given nor taken on the Part of the Enemy, whose Swords had never been drawn, had they been sensible of Principles truly generous, the Chief of which is, the Love of one's Country. The Earl of *Manchester* laid a Bridge of Boats over the River near *Gainsborough*, to hold Communication with the Lord *Fairfax* and General *Leven*, whom he join'd before *York* the 3d of *June*. The City being now invested, a Battery was rais'd near *Walingate* to play upon the Castle. On the 6th of *June* the Besieg'd fir'd most Part of the Suburbs, and the Besiegers endeavouring to quench the Fire a hot Skirmish ensu'd, but the latter succeeded not in it. There were daily such Skirmishes between the Parties on both Sides. The Royalists were animated with Hopes of Relief, and the Parliament's Forces with Hopes of putting an End to the War in the *North*, if they could reduce *York* the Capital.

Prince *Rupert* after raising the Siege of *Newark* march'd into *Shropshire* and took *Longford* House, thence he came to *Stopworth* in *Cheshire*, where the Parliament had a Garrison, which he also reduc'd, and took some Hundreds of Prisoners, with their Arms and Ammunition. This Success made the Besiegers at *Latham* House quit their Enterprize, and Prince *Rupert* with an Army of 10000 Men appear'd before *Bolton*, which Place he attack'd with his wonted Fury, and was repuls'd, but at a second Attack a Party of his Horse entring the Town at a Place call'd the *private Akers*, which Passage is suppos'd to have been betray'd to them, every one within the Town began to shift for himself, and the Prince's Troops rush'd in on all Quarters. By what follows out of *Rusworth* the Reader will see in what Manner the Cavaliers made War in Defence of the LAWS OF THE LAND, THE KNOWN LAWS OF THE LAND, &c. " They put about 1200 to the Sword, pursuing their Victory not only in the Town, but some Miles round, in Out-houses, Fields, Highways and Woods, killing, destroying and spoiling almost all they met, denying Quar-

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Prince *Rupert* advanc'd to *Liverpool*, where Colonel *Moore* was Governor, who finding it was not tenable against so great a Force, drew off his best Ordnance, Arms and Ammunition, and at last most Part of his Soldiers, and richest Goods in the Town, and safely convey'd them Aboard the Ships in the *Poole*, after which Prince *Rupert's* Men enter'd the Place, and being disappointed of Plunder reveng'd themselves upon the Inhabitants, and those Soldiers who were left behind, whom they butcher'd. As the Prince march'd to *Blackburn* he was skirmish'd with by Colonel *Shuttleworth*, but his Power was too great for such Opposition. His Army being increas'd to near 20000, with which he advanc'd to the Relief of the Marquis of *Newcastle*, who in the mean Time had amus'd the Parliament's Generals with a Treaty to surrender *York* upon Articles, till he had Advice of his Highness's Approach with so powerful an Army.

Commissioners were appointed on both Sides; for the Marquis of *Newcastle* were, the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Thomas Glemham*, Sir *William Wentworth*, Sir *Richard Hutton*, Sir *Thomas Mottam*, and Sir *Robert Strickland*. For General *Lesley* were appointed, the Earl of *Lindsey*, and the Lord *Humbee*. For the Lord *Fairfax*, were Sir *William Fairfax*, and Colonel *White*. For the Earl of *Manchester*, Colonel *Ruffel*, and Colonel *Hammond*. A Cessation of Arms was agreed upon, and the Place of Treaty a Tent between two Forts. The Marquis's Commissioners would not accept of the Conditions offer'd by the Besiegers, but behav'd with great Haughtiness, and the Treaty was broken off. On the 16th of *June* Major General *Craxford* sprung a Mine in the Earl of *Leven's* Attack, by which a Tower belonging to the Manor near *Botham Bar* was blown up, and in the Fall of it many Town's Men and Women kill'd; 200 *Scots* enter'd at the Breach and took the Manor, but the Garrison taking the Alarm their Forces flock'd thither from all Parts and surrounded the *Scots*, who fought resolutely as long as their Powder lasted, but were most of them kill'd or taken. There were only a few light Skirmishes afterwards, and on the first of *July* the three Generals drew off their Armies to meet and give Battle to Prince *Rupert* before his Conjunction with the Marquis and the Garrison of *York*. *Warwick*, whose Invention is not so good as the Earl of *Clarendon's*, though his Will is, assures us they drew off, not with an Intention to fight him, but out of Fear, and to quit the Siege.

The Earls of *Manchester* and *Leven*, and the Lord *Fairfax*, march'd to *Hessam Moor*, commonly call'd *Marston Moor*, and drew up in Battalia, expecting the Prince would have made that his Way to *York*, but his Highness, intent on the Relief of the City, caus'd only a Party of his Horse to face the Enemy on the *Moor*, near a Bridge, where they might at Pleasure secure

their Retreat, and in the mean Time himself, with about 200 Horse march'd to *York* on the other Side of the River, but his Foot and Ordnance quarter'd that Night in the Forest of *Gortrey*, within five Miles of the City. The Parliamentarians finding themselves disappointed, and that the Prince had relieved *York* without fighting, quarter'd that Night at *Long Marston* and the adjacent Towns, a great part of their Horse staying on the *Moor*. The next Day they resolv'd to march to *Tadcaster*, *Carwood*, and *Selby*, partly to possess the River, and thereby hinder him from furnishing *York* with Provisions out of the *East Riding*, and partly to obstruct his March Southwards; his Highness having scarce any other Way left, the Earl of *Denbigh*, and the *Lancashire* Forces being advancing from the *West*, whence he came.

Accordingly on the 2d of *July*, the Parliament's Foot and Artillery were commanded to march towards *Tadcaster*, the *Scots* in the Van, but before they were arriv'd within a Mile of that Town notice was given them, that the Prince with the Van of his Army was come upon *Marston Moor*, and press'd close upon their Rear as if his Resolution was to draw on a Battle, upon which the Foot and Carriages were order'd back with all speed. The Prince had possess'd himself of so much of the *Moor*, and advanc'd so near them, that they had not Room enough to draw up there, but were forc'd to do it in a large Field of *Rye*, which being a rising Ground the Prince sent a Party to hinder them of that Advantage, but they were beaten back, and the Corn Field possess'd by the Parliamentarians, whose Pioneers made way to get Ground whereon to extend the Wings of their Army, placing their right Wing just by *Marston Town* side, the Town on their right Hand, fronting on the East, and as their Foot and Horse came up form'd their Battalia and left Wing, endeavouring to gain as much of the left Point as they could; thus their Army at last fronted to the *Moor*, from *Marston* to *Topwith*, a Mile and half in length. The Prince having part of his Foot behind *Owse*, was as late as they before he had fully drawn up, but about three a Clock both Armies were pretty well form'd. When the Forces had join'd him out of *York* he had about 14000 Foot and 9000 Horse, and 25 Pieces of Ordnance, himself led the right Wing, consisting of 100 Troops, in all 5000 Men; the left Wing of the Royalists was led by Sir *Charles Lucas* and Colonel *Hurry*, who had deserted the Parliament's Service; their main Body was left to the Command of General *Goring*, Major General *Porter*, and Major General *Tellier*. The Marquis of *Newcastle* had no general Command, and it is certain he was against Fighting, as well as disgusted at the Prince's coming, and Carriage towards him. He was of Opinion, not to give Battle till Colonel *Clavering* came up with 3000 Foot, which he expected every Day out of the *North*, but his Highness declar'd he had a Letter from the King, commanding him to fight the Enemy, and he would not miss that Opportunity.

The Parliament's three Armies had been so diminish'd by Detachments into *Lancashire*, and other Counties, that when join'd they exceeded not the Prince's in Number, being about 24000 Men Horse and Foot. The two Armies made near 50000 Men, and the Armies in the West, the Midland Counties, the Forces in the Garrisons, and other Places, were at this Time computed to amount on both Sides to above 100000 Men. The right Wing of the Parliament's Horse consisting of 80 Troops, was commanded

A. D. 1644. by Sir Thomas Fairfax, being his own, and part of the Scots Horse; their Body was under the Command of the Earl of Leven and the Lord Fairfax, and their left Wing, consisting of about 70 Troops, was commanded by the Earl of Manchester and his Lieutenant General Cromwel. The Prince's Army extending farther in Front than the Parliament's, a Party of Scottish Dragoons were posted there under the Command of Colonel Frizel. The Field Word given by the Prince was, *God and the King*; that of the Parliament's Army, *God with us*. The Connonading lasted two Hours without considerable Execution. About five a Clock there was a general Silence, each Side expecting who should begin the Charge, there being a small Ditch and a Bank between the two Armies, though their Wings were within Pistol Shot. They continu'd so long in this Posture that it was thought there would have been no Action that Night; but about seven a Clock the Parliament's Generals resolv'd to fall on, and the Signal being given, the Earl of Manchester's Foot, and the Scots of the main Body advanc'd in a running March, soon made their way over the Ditch and Bank and gave a smart Charge. Prince Rupert with his Division of Horse advanc'd against that Division of the Enemy where Cromwel was in Person, and put him hard to it, his Highness having with him his best Men, who charg'd Cromwel's both in Flank and Rear, and stood at Swords Point a pretty while hacking one another, but at last Cromwel broke through, and at the same Time the rest of his Horse of that Wing, and Major General Lesley's Regiments, which behav'd very well, had wholly broken all that right Wing of the Prince's, and were in Chase of them beyond their left Wing. Thus we see that it was not his Highness's too great Intrepidity and Precipitation here which lost the Victory, as at *Edge-hill* and *Naseby*. The Earl of Manchester's Foot on the right Hand of them went on by their Side almost as fast as they, dispersing and cutting down the Prince's Foot. The Marquis of Newcastle's Regiment of *White Coats* were almost wholly cut in pieces; they scorn'd to fly, and were slain in Rank and File. The rest of that part of the Prince's Army which escap'd killing or being taken fled in Confusion towards *York*.

But the Prince's left Wing under Colonel Hurry had better Success, he did as much to the Parliament's Right, for though Sir Thomas Fairfax with 5 or 6 Troops charg'd through them, and went to their own left Wing, the rest of his Forces were defeated; and the Lord Fairfax's Brigade being furiously attack'd, and at the same Time disorder'd by some of Sir Thomas Fairfax's new rais'd Regiments, who wheel'd about, and being hotly pursu'd flying back upon them, and upon the Reserve of the Scottish Foot, broke them wholly, and trod many of them under Foot. Thus their right Wing, and part of their main Body were routed, and fled out of the Field several Miles towards *Tadcaster* and *Cawood*, giving out that all was lost. The Royalists were pursuing, and just ready to seize all the Carriages, when Cromwel with his Horse, and Manchester's Foot, came back from the Chace, and finding their Friends had in the mean Time been worsted, he advanc'd in good Order to a second Charge with all the Prince's Horse and Foot that had thus disorder'd their right Wing and main Battle. The Royalists seeing them approach gave over the Pursuit, and prepar'd to receive them, both Sides not being a little surpriz'd to find they must fight the Battle over again, for a Victory which they each thought they had already gain'd; however, the Royalists

march'd with great Resolution down the *Corn A. D. Field*, the Face of the Fight being exactly 1644. chang'd, for now the King's Forces stood on the same Ground, and with the same Front which the Parliament's right Wing had before; and the Parliament's Forces on the same Ground, and with the same Front which the King's had before. The Fight being renew'd grew desperate, but in fine, after the utmost Efforts of Strength and Courage on either Side, Victory wholly inclined to that of the Parliament, who before Night had clear'd the Field, and not only recover'd their Ordnance and Carriages, which were in so much Danger, but took all the Prince's Train of Artillery, and follow'd the Chase with great Slaughter within a Mile of *York*, into which City Prince Rupert got by the Goodness of his Horse. Of the King's Forces above 4000 were slain, and 1500 taken Prisoners, among whom were Sir Charles Lucas, Major General Porter, Major General Tillier, Mr. Goring, Son to the Lord Goring, Colonel Ewre, Son to the Lord Exere, Mr. Edward Talbot, Brother to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Major Vavasor, the three latter Papists, and 100 other Officers, 10000 Arms, 100 Colours, and all their Bag and Baggage. Some of the Colours were sent up to the Parliament by Captain Stewart, and among them were several with notable Devices and Motto's. I shall only mention one of them, to shew the good Will, good Sense, and good Manners of the Cavaliers. *In the middle of it was a Lion Couchant, and behind him a Mastiff seeming to snatch at him; and in a Label from his Mouth was written KIMBOLTON, at his Feet little Beagles, and before their Mouths P Y M, P Y M, P Y M, and out of the Lion's Mouth a Label with these Words, Quo usque tandem abutere patientia nostra.* There was also taken the Marquis of Newcastle's Cabinet of Papers, where were found several Letters from Sir John Hotham, with the Marquis's Commission of General, empowering him to raise Men and Money, and to make Knights. Of the Parliamentarians not above 300 were slain. This glorious Victory was owing chiefly to the Valour and Conduct of Lieutenant General Cromwel, who was wounded in the Neck, Sir Thomas Fairfax in the Face, Major Fairfax, of his own Regiment, received 30 Wounds, of which he died at *York*, and Sir Thomas's Brother, Mr. Charles Fairfax, being mortally wounded, died, and was bury'd at *Marston*, *Ætat.* 23. Captain Micklethwaite, a very brave and honest Gentleman, was slain; as also a Lieutenant Colonel, whose Name is not remember'd, and a few other Officers. The very next Morning after the Battle the Marquis of Newcastle took a Resolution to leave the Kingdom, as if he was afraid of that Liberty for which his Country Men were fighting. Having taken his Leave of Prince Rupert he was conducted by a Troop of Dragoons to *Scarborough*, where he embark'd aboard a Ship bound for *Hamburgh*, together with his two Sons, Charles Lord Viscount Mansfield, Henry Lord Cavendish, Lord Falconbridge, Lord Widdrington, Earl of Ethbyne, Earl of Carnwarth, Sir Charles Cavendish his Brother, Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of *Londonderry*, Sir William Carnaby, General King, Colonel Basser, Sir William Vavasor, Sir Edward Widdrington, Sir Hugh Cholmley, Sir Francis Mackworth, Colonel Moxon, and about 80 other Persons, who doubted not but that Battle was decisive, and would put an End to the War, but the Earl of Essex's ill Success in *Cornwall* continu'd it a Year longer, though the King's Condition grew every where worse, and the Continuance of it only made more Sacrifices

Rushw.
634.

Marquis of
Newcastle;
and other
Lords, leave
England.

A. D. to Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny. Almost all the Accounts given of this Battle by the Earl of Clarendon, and the Writers on that Side are wrong, and a sure Proof of it is, that they all differ from one another, and therefore cannot be right. The Earl of Clarendon, who is always foremost on those Occasions, says, the Scots General the Earl of Leven, ran away so far from the Place of Battle, that he was taken hold of by a Constable as if he had been a Vagabond. Orleans affires us, Prince Rupert, according to his usual Custom, pursu'd those that fled too far, whereas Prince Rupert's Wing was the first part of the Royalist's Army that was routed and fled. Echard says, his Highness gave the Command of the right Wing to the Marquis of Newcastle, whereas he had no Command at all, but engag'd in the Battle as a Voluntier, if the Marquis's Wife, who wrote his Life, knew any Thing of the Matter, for she tells us, His Friends advis'd him not to engage, the Command being taken from him. Salmonet says, He had no Command in the Army, and that after the Defeat Prince Rupert took away his Commission. He is false as to the latter, for Newcastle refus'd to serve in England, and his Commission was found in his Cabinet, and the Battle was actually begun before he came into the Field. Sanderfon affirms the Parliament Army had all the Choice of the Ground; and we have seen that they were so far from having such Choice that they had no Ground at all till the Pioneers made it for them; but there is a Letter in Rushworth, written by a Gentleman Soldier on the same Side still, which shews us what Sort of Accounts the Cavaliers gave of their Battles; 'tis from one Serjeant Francis, to his Father in Somersetshire.

Fol. 46.

Rushw. p. 685.

Dear Father,
THES E are to signify unto you certain Occurrences here: Prince Rupert hath utterly defeated the bonny Scots and REBELS, that besieged York; taken General Leshley; and that ARCH-REBEL Sir Thomas Fairfax Prisoners; slain the Earl of Manchester, and taken 48 Pieces of Ordnance, and 10000 Arms; and not left them so much as a blue Bonnet. Time will not give me leave to send you the Particulars; but it is certisy'd by an Express, and under his Highness Prince Rupert's own Hand, and therefore you may credit it and make it known.
 Yours, &c.

As wild as this Relation is, it is very common for their best History Writers to assert Things on no better Authority, as I have prov'd and could further prove out of Clarendon and Echard.

Prince Rupert left Sir Thomas Glemham, Governor of York, and went to Burrough Bridge, where he rally'd his scatter'd Forces, join'd Col. Clavering, and thence march'd into Lancashire. The Parliament Army return'd to the Siege of York, July the 4th, and after having lain 11 Days before it, Sir Thomas Glemham surrender'd the City upon Articles. Then the Earl of Leven march'd with the Scots Army to Newcastle, which he took by Storm; and therein the Earl of Crawford, the Lord Maxwell, and Dr. Wisbart, a Divine, who had been as resolute as any one in Defence of the Town against the Parliament.

York surrender'd.

Earl of Manchester.

The Lord Fairfax was made Governor of York, and the Earl of Manchester return'd to the associated Counties, where he was commanded to recruit his Army. He sent Lieut. Colonel Lilburn to take in Tickhill Castle, and Major General Crawford to reduce Sheffield Castle: Both which surrender'd on moderate Articles.

Fretchville House and Bolsover Castle follow'd their Example, as did also Wingfield Manor, and Welbeck House, belonging to the Marquis of Newcastle.

Having taken a View of the War in the North, where the Dispute is pretty well over, we must do the like by that in the South and West.

Early in the Year the Earl of Forth and the Lord Hopton, with an Army of 13 or 14000 Men enter'd Hampshire, with a Design to break the Strength of the Southern Association: This Cheriton Army was met March the 29th, on Cheriton Down, near Allresford, by that of the Parliament, consisting of about 10000 Men under the Command of Sir William Waller, General, Sir William Balfour, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Sir Michael Livesey, and Major General Browne. The Field Word of both Armies happen'd to be at first, the same, *God with Us*; which by some Accident being made known to Waller, he chang'd it on his Side to *Jesus help Us*. Hopton's Forces for a while seem'd to have the better of it, but were afterwards totally routed. The Lord John Stuart, Brother to the Duke of Richmond, and Colonel Sandys were kill'd in the Fight, as were Sir John Smith, who recover'd the King's Standard at Edgehill, Colonel Richard Manning, Lieutenant Colonel Scot, Captain Rookwood, all Papists; Colonel Appleyard, Sir Edward Stawell, and Sir Henry Bard, lately come out of Ireland, were taken Prisoners; his Regiment and another newly come from that Kingdom were the first that ran away. The other Foot Regiments stood stoutly to it on both Sides, and came up to push of Pike. The London Regiments drove the Enemy from the Hedges, which they had lin'd with Musketeers, and gain'd the Passage to a Wood, which stood the Parliament's Forces in great stead. The Royalists were soon after put to an entire Rout, scarce ten of them being left together. Their General Forth, and the Lord Hopton fled to Basing, Part of their Ordnance, their Arms, Bag and Baggage were left to the Parliament; 500 of them were slain in the Battle, and many more in the Pursuit, on the Parliament's Side about 100 were slain, Colonel Dalbier wounded, and Colonel Thompson's Leg shot off. Amidst the Rejoicings at Oxford for the raising the Siege of Newark, came Advice of this signal Defeat given the King's Forces, under his Captain General, which damp'd their Joy, and their glad Hearts became exceeding sorrowful. Waller coming to Winchester had the Gates open'd to him: Sir William Balfour took Andover; and receiving Notice that the Lady Hopton was about Newbury, he sent out a Party, who surpriz'd her, with two Coaches and 12 Horses, and near 200 Persons in Company. The Lady was dismiss'd, and sent to Oxford, with her own Plate, Jewels and Baggage, but the rest were made Prize.

On the 19th of April a Common Hall was holden in the City of London, to whom repair'd a Committee of both Houses of Parliament, to stir up the City to contribute towards a speedy recruiting the Armies. The Earl of Warwick said, *As a Com- you have been very forward and active in this mntee Cause of God, and the publick Liberty, so you will not be wanting now in drawing your selves into the Field, with all our Armies, to defend God's Cause and the publick Liberty.* The Cause against that of God and the publick Liberty, is that which has the Blessing of Mr. Archdeacon Echard, and the Panegyrics of the Earl of Clarendon. Sir Henry Vane told them, *Their Troops had behav'd themselves with so much Gallantry, that the Enemy apprehends no Forces like unto those that were out of this City, being*

A. D. 1644.

Fight in Hamp- shire.

Royalist routed.

Whitlocke

Waller takes Win-

chester,

and Lady

Hopton.

City of

London.

As a Com-

tee

there.

being

A. D. 1644. *ing Persons, who for Religion, for Faithfulness to the Cause, and for Publickness of Spirit to the Parliament, have ever shewn themselves as firm and as forward as any whatsoever.* The Earl of *Essex*, Lord General, said, *You have been inform'd of the Victory which God hath given Sir William Balfour and Sir William Waller.* He put *Sir William Balfour* first, though *Sir William Waller* was General of that Army, and this is the best Proof we have of the Earl of *Essex's* Jealousy of *Waller's* Greatness, and that Disagreement between them, which sometime after occasion'd the dividing of their Forces, which expos'd the Earl of *Essex* to the Danger and Disgrace he met with in *Cornwall*. He concluded, *Whatsoever Forces you are pleas'd to draw out, I shall venture my Life with them, and be ready to give a quick End to this Cause.* The Earl of *Pembroke* ended his Speech thus, *I doubt not but your Care, and your Love, and your Fidelity, will make that Issue that will quit the Kingdom of all those VILLAINS who have been the Cause of so much Effusion of Blood.* These very Men, so term'd by his Lordship, are in the Earl of *Clarendon's* History, the Pious, the Noble, the Warlike and Wife, to a Man.

Essex jealous of Waller.

Col. Hollis said, *The Parliament depend upon your Affections, and desire you to offer yourselves as one Man; for it is to no Purpose to go by little and little; it is but as a little Water thrown on the Fire, that does but enrage and will not quench it.* The Recorder *Glyn* was the last who spoke; and all their Speeches had such an Effect, that there were no less than 8400 Auxiliaries rais'd, half of which was sent to *Waller*, and the other half join'd the Lord General's Army, which was speedily recruited and rendezvouz'd at *Beconsfield*, from whence he march'd to *Wickham* the 14th of *May*, where we must leave him some Time to take a little Notice of what is done at *London*, where Archbishop *Laud* had been brought to his Trial, which we shall abridge after *Pryn's* Account of it.

Archbishop Laud's Trial.

This Trial commenc'd the 12th of *March*, when the Archbishop was brought to the Bar of the House of Lords, where he kneel'd down, and was commanded to rise by the Lord *Grey of Werke*, Speaker of that most Honourable House, and then Mr. Serjeant *Wylde*, by Way of Introduction, related the Heads of his Offences. "If all the Oppressions, all the pernicious Practices and Machinations which have been in each Time to ruin our Religion, Laws and Liberties, were lost, I think here they might be found and drawn out again to the Life. His Faults are so wilful, so universal, so destructive to the Laws of God and Man, so comprehensive of all the Evils and Miseries which now we suffer, the Sin would be upon our own Heads if we should not call for Justice, &c." The Serjeant proceeds, "How Churchmen in all Ages, as hath been observed, should come to be the archest Seedsmen of Mischiefe, and principal Actors in all the great Distractions and Alterations that have happen'd, is a Destiny that may seem strange. But the Reason is, *ex bono Theologo malus Medicus.* Their intermeddling with temporal Things, and Matters heterogenous to their Calling, wherein God is pleas'd to smite them with Blindness, and to infatuate their Counsels, whereof a perfect Partern we have in this great Prelate, who, by abusing his Profession, and making the Business of State the customary Subject of all his Endeavours, became the Author of all the illegal and tyrannical Proceedings in the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commission Court* and other Courts, of all the In-

novations in Doctrine and Discipline, of the suppressing of godly Ministers and Preaching, of the advancing of others who were the Promoters of Popery and Arbitrary Power, and indeed of all the Concussions and Distractions in Church and State, whereby Religion hath been justled out, Laws and Parliaments trodden down under Contempt, &c." When the Serjeant had done, the Archbishop desir'd Leave to speak, and it being granted, he made a long premeditated Oration, which he had written in his Hand, of which nothing is more remarkable than this; *I do here challenge whatsoever is between Heaven and Hell, that can be said against me in Point of my Religion.* What was said against him, is by the Parliament in the first Article, *That he hath traiterously endeavour'd to subvert God's True Religion by Law establish'd in this Realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish Superstition,* which was prov'd upon him by *Sir Nathaniel Brent* Vicar-General to Archbishop Abbot, and Dr. *Featly* Household Chaplain to that great Prelate, by whose Evidence it appear'd, that no Chapel in *Rome* could be more idolatrous than his at *Lambeth*; nor more full of offensive Pictures and Images, taken from the Images and Pictures in the *Mafs-Book*. The like Idolatry and Superstition were introduc'd by him in the King's Chapel, as was testify'd by *Sir Henry Mildmay*. His causing the Communion-Table to be remov'd to the East End of the Church, to be rail'd in and plac'd on an Ascent for Adoration, was another Evidence of his Idolatry. But he deny'd, when *Sir Nathaniel Brent* made Oath to it that he had ever given Directions to him about it; Upon which *Sir Nathaniel* said, *My Lords, on the Oath I have taken, I receiv'd express Command from the Archbishop himself to remove and rail in Communion-Tables in his Metropolitick Visitation.* The Archbishop reply'd, *I protest I never gave him any, and I wonder Sir Nathaniel dares be so bold as to assert it upon Oath, since I can prove he formerly deny'd it.* To this *Sir Nathaniel* answer'd, *My Lords, since the Archbishop so confidently denies that he ever gave me any such Directions, I shall humbly desire that this Letter of his, sent to me while I was visiting at Maidstone, may be read, for it will soon end the Controversy.* The Letter was as follows.

Sir,

I Require you to command the Communion Table to be placed at the East or upper End of the Church, and there rail'd in; and that the Communicants there shall come up to the Rails to receive the blessed Sacrament; and the like you are requir'd to do in all Churches.

W. CANT.

This Letter being read, says my Author, much daunted and discredited the Archbishop in the Opinion of all the Auditors, he having nothing to reply but that he had forgotten it.

The impious Book of Sports on the Lord's Day was his own Work. *Sir Nathaniel Brent* prov'd that he gave him special Charge to suspend Mr. *Culmer*, Mr. *Players*, Mr. *Hieron*, three eminent Ministers in *Kent*, for not reading the said wicked Book. Mr. *Wilson*, another Minister, being conven'd before the Archbishop himself, and ask'd by him, Whether he had publicly read the Book of Sports in his Church? Upon his saying, *No*, the Archbishop said, *I suspend you for ever from your Office and Benefice till you read it.*

Another

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1644.

Another Instance of his Endeavours to introduce Popery, was his prosecuting Mr. *Henry Gellibrand* and his Servant *William Beale*, in the *High Commission Court*, for publishing an *Almanack*, in which the Names of the Popish Saints were left out, and some holy Martyrs put in their Place, according to Mr. *Fox's* Calendar. Mr. *Gellibrand* was Professor of the Mathematics at *Gresham College*, and his Man *Beale* learn'd enough under him to compose a yearly *Almanack* for the *Stationer's Company*. *Laud* was then Bishop of *London*, and he carry'd on the Prosecution with great Violence; but Archbishop *Abbot* and the general Vote of the Commissioners acquitted *Gellibrand*; upon which the Bishop stood up in a Fury, and told the Court, *The Queen her self sent for him, and specially complain'd to him against this Almanack, which gave great Offence to those of her Religion, and desir'd him to prosecute the Author of it, and suppress the Book; and therefore he hop'd he should not pass unpunish'd in that Court.* However the Court acquitted him, and the Bishop in a great Rage said to *Gellibrand*, *Sir, you have made a Faction in this Court, for which you ought to be punish'd; and know that you are not yet discharg'd hence; I will sit upon your Skirts,* (a very common Menace with him) *for I hear you keep Conventicles at Gresham College after your Lectures there.* Accordingly he gave Order for a second Prosecution against him in the *High Commission Court*, which so affected that pious and learned Professor, that it threw him into a Fever, of which he dy'd. Here *Laud* frankly confesses he was an Agent for the Queen and her Papists, and it was too notorious to be controverted by Men of Integrity and Modesty.

One Dr. *Pocklington*, a Creature of his, publish'd a Book call'd *Altare Christianum*, wherein that Author still'd those Popish Legendary Saints, left out by Mr. *Fox* in his Calendar, *Holy Martyrs and Confessors of Jesus Christ*, and reviles Mr. *Fox's* Protestant Martyrs as *Traytors, Murderers, Rebels, Hereticks*; which godly Book was found curiously bound and gilt in the Archbishop's Closet, being an acceptable Present from his Friend *Pocklington*.

His causing *Auricular Confession* to be preach'd up, with *Penance* and *Absolution*, after the *Romish* manner, was too easily prov'd upon him to admit of the least Doubt, especially in the Case of Mr. *Adams* of *Cambridge*, who made a Sermon on Purpose to restore the *Popish* Confession and *Absolution*, in which he was oppos'd by those eminent Divines Dr. *Ward*, Dr. *Brownrigge*, Dr. *Love*, Dr. *Beachcroft*, Dr. *Holdsworth*, Dr. *Bambridge*, and encourag'd and supported by Dr. *Cosins*, Dr. *Sterne*, Dr. *Collins*, Dr. *Smith*, Dr. *Cumber*, Dr. *Lany*, Dr. *Martin*, Dr. *Eden*. But the major Vote was against *Adams*, and he was order'd to recant; which he was so far from submitting to, that he maintain'd *Auricular Confession* in his Act Questions. Thus we see how furiously they were driving towards *Rome*.

That the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was approv'd by *Laud*, appears by a Speech of his in the *Star-Chamber*. *Purgatory, Processions, Oblations, Monckery, Prayers to the Virgin Mary, Aze's, Celibacy of Priests, Consecrations, Tapers, Candlesticks, Bowings, Altars*, and the like, were fix'd upon him by a Cloud of Witnesses; as was his Hatred to the *Reform'd* Churches abroad and their Brethren in *England*, which appear'd to the Scandal of the Christian Church, in his opposing Contributions for the Maintenance of the exil'd Ministers, driven out of the *Palatinate* by the *Spaniards*. The Queen

of *Bohemia* had sent one Mr. *Ruly* into *England* to promote that charitable Deed, and he procur'd a Patent by the Favour of the Lord-Keeper *Coventry* and Secretary *Cooke*; but when he carry'd it to *Lambeth* for the Archbishop's Licence to have it printed, *Laud* refus'd it, because it was said in the Patent, that the Charity was for Persons of the *same Religion*, which he would not allow, and complain'd of it to the King, who sent for the Lord-Keeper *Coventry* and Secretary *Cooke*, and they acquainted his Majesty, that the Patent was made *Verbatim* according to former Precedents, and it was now pass'd the Seal, and could not be alter'd. The King reply'd, *It must be alter'd, for the Archbishop will have it so, and another must be drawn according to his Mind*; which was done, and these Words left out, *This Extremity is fallen upon them for their Sincerity and Constancy in the True Religion, which we together with them do profess, and which we are all bound in Conscience to maintain to the utmost of our Powers.* *Laud* would not allow that we are all bound in Conscience to maintain the *Reform'd* Religion abroad, or indeed that it was the *True Religion*, for he struck out the Word *True*. To this he made a very weak Defence, and urg'd his Reason for leaving out those Words, *because by the Religion of the Palatines the Pope was declar'd to be Antichrist, which had never been determin'd by any Council*, whereas it was prov'd that the Synod of *Gap* in *France*, A. D. 1603. the Synod or Convocation of *Ireland*, A. D. 1615. the Synod and Parliament of *England* in the Act for the Subsidy of the Clergy, 3 *Jac.* define the Pope to be *Antichrist*. Most of his Defences are turn'd against him as directly as this, and there is no need of enlarging on the *Second Branch* of the Parliament's Charge touching his Endeavours to reconcile the Church of *England* to the Church of *Rome*, the *First Branch* including the *Second*; for by traiterously endeavouring to subvert the *Protestant Religion*, he of course endeavour'd to re-establish *Popery*.

As to State-Matters, the Charge against him was, *That he hath traiterously endeavour'd to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom, and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary Power*; which grand Article was spread into several Branches.

His traiterous Endeavours to subvert God's True Religion by Law establish'd.

His Usurpation of a Papal Power in Derogation of his Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and the Subjects Liberties.

His traiterous Endeavour to subvert the Rights of Parliament.

The first Part of the Evidence was manag'd by *John Maynard*, Esq; *March* 13th, 16th, 18th, and 28th: The Forenoons for the Evidence: The Afternoons for the Archbishop's Answers, and Mr. *Maynard's* Replies. The Second Part of the Evidence was manag'd by *Robert Nicholas*, Esq; which took up *April* 16th, *May* 4th and 16th. The third Part concerning Religion, was manag'd by *John Wylde*, Esq; Serjeant at Law, *May* 20, 27. *June* 6, 11, 17, 20 and 27th. and *July* 20 and 24th. The fourth and last Part of the Evidence was manag'd by Mr. *Nicholas* the 29th of *July*, and concluded the same Day.

The Archbishop had three Council allow'd him, Mr. *Chute*, Mr. *Herne*, and Mr. *Hale*, and after all the Evidence was given, and the Answers and Replies severally made, the Archbishop desir'd he might make a general Recapitulation of his whole Defence before the Lords, which accordingly he perform'd on the 2d of *September*.

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A. D. 1644. To which *Samuel Browne*, Esq; reply'd, and on the 11th of *September* summ'd up the principal Parts of the Evidence against him at the Lords Bar, answering the Archbishop's *Allegations* and *Defences*. This *Browne* was that eminent Lawyer afterwards *Sir Samuel Browne*, made a Judge of the Common Pleas by King *Charles* the Second, of whom *Rusworth* says, *he invalidated all the Archbishop's Defences and Allegations*. Now see how modest Mr. *Echard* represents it; *The Innocence of this Prelate, and the Malice of his Enemies, are hardly to be match'd in any Account of primitive Persecution*. *Prynne* tamper'd with the *Witnesses*. The Earl of *Cork*, *Sir Nathaniel Brent*, *Sir Henry Mildmay*, *Captain Mildmay*, *Thomas Challoner*, Esq; *Dr. Featly*, were some of the *Witnesses* with whom *Echard* tells us Mr. *Prynne* tamper'd; and then to shew he is as wise as modest, he adds, *The Archbishop reckon'd it a particular Hardship, that a Man doubly stigmatiz'd, for which the Archbishop is now going to receive his Reward, should be trusted with the Witnesses and the Evidence against him*. All the World knew that this imperious Prelate had spirited up the bloody Prosecution against Mr. *Prynne*, who was innocent in the Judgment of the whole Kingdom, except the corrupt Part of the Clergy and their Disciples, and the Voice of his Country so far declar'd him innocent, as to return him a Member in all the succeeding Parliaments which were regularly chosen, and trust'd him with every Thing that was dear to *English* Men. I take no Notice of the rest of the Archbishop's Trial and Condemnation, as 'tis reported by Mr. Archdeacon, because 'tis one continued Misrepresentation, and shall have recourse to *Rusworth*, whose Sincerity has not yet been question'd.

The Archbishop pray'd the Lords, that his Counsel might be heard in point of Law, and their Lordships consented to it. The Managers for the House of Commons desir'd they might first have Notice, What Matter of Law the Archbishop's Counsel would insist upon, which was, *Whether in all, or any of the Articles charg'd against him, there was any Treason contain'd*. Which was argu'd at the Lords Bar by *John Herbe*, Esq; as the Mouth of his Counsel, and reply'd unto by the Managers, *October 11th*.

The Commons finding their Proceedings, in Case of the Archbishop, met with new Difficulties daily in the Lords House, and it having hung too long already, order'd an Ordinance to attain him of *High Treason* upon the Evidence given against him. In pursuance of this Ordinance he was brought to their Bar, where Mr. *Browne* in his Presence repeated that Evidence. In answer to which the Archbishop made a Speech of some Hours in length, which so little satisfy'd the House, that they the same Day, *Nov. the 11th*, pass the Ordinance for his Attainder with but one dissenting Vote. They sent it up to the Lords, and their Lordships voted that the Archbishop was guilty of the Charge as to *Matters of Fact*. They voted, that he had *traiterously* endeavour'd to subvert the Religion, Laws, Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom. That he had usurp'd an arbitrary, tyrannical Power, in Derogation of that of the Sovereign, and they wanted only to be satisfy'd, whether all this was Treason. It was not indeed within the Statute of *25 Edward III.* which determines the Government in the Person of the King, and all Treason within that Statute is only against his Person. But is it not within common Sense to know that he who would destroy the Constitution, the Religion, Laws, Rights and Liberties of the

People, is a *Traitor* in the worst Interpretation of the Word. The Commons appointed a Committee to draw up Reasons to satisfy the Lords therein, which were communicated at a Conference *Jan. the 2d.* by Mr. Serjeant *Wylde*, Mr. *Browne*, and Mr. *Nicholas*. But the wife *Warwick* assures us, they were all *frivolous*, and whoever has read his admirable Memoirs cannot but know how well able he was to distinguish between the *Frivolous* and the *Important*. On *The Arch-* the 4th of *Jan.* the Lords pass the Ordinance, *bishop con-* by which the Archbishop was to suffer Death, as *demn'd to* in Cases of *High Treason*, to be drawn, hang'd be drawn, and quarter'd. Mr. Archdeacon, who does real-ly believe that the Posterity of those Lords would be asham'd of what their Fathers had done against this Prelate, prints the Names of six of them, in which I shall imitate him, with a quite different Intention, *Henry* Earl of *Kent*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Oliver* Earl of *Bolingbroke*, Lord *North*, Lord *Grey of Werke*.

The Lords, at a Conference with the Commons, inform'd them of a Letter and a Petition from the Archbishop, and a Pardon granted him by the King, which was drawn up at *Oxford* by *Sir Edward Hyde*, who, some say, drew up the *History of the Rebellion*. This was like the rest of the sage Counsels at *Oxford*. What Heads must they have, who could think that a Piece of Paper would keep the Archbishop's Head upon his Shoulders after the Pains the two Houses of Parliament had been at to condemn him. Thus as every one else believ'd it would be, 'twas over-ru'd and rejected. The Archbishop then petition'd, that if he must die, he might have *Dr. Sterne*, *Dr. Heywood*, *Dr. Martin*, three of his Chaplains, who, as it appears by his Trial, had been the principal Instruments of his Tyranny and Superstition, to administer Comfort to his Soul; and that he might not be Hang'd but be Beheaded, which the Commons agreed to but not without great Difficulty. The Parliament recommended two Divines, Mr. *Marshall* and Mr. *Palmer*, to him, on this melancholy Occasion; but as he never allow'd the Presbyterian Ministers to be of the Christian Religion in his Life-time, so he would not be pray'd for by them at his Death. He was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill* the 10th of *January*, where

he made a Sermon on that Text, *Let us run* *But is Be-* *with Patience*, &c. wherein he endeavour'd to clear himself of the Charge against him, of a Design to introduce Popery. *I have always*, says he, *liv'd in the Protestant Religion establish'd by Law*. He would have satisfy'd all that heard him, had he said, *I die in the true Protestant Reform'd Religion as it is now settled in Christendom, according to the Word of God, the Practice of the Apostles, and the primitive Church of Christ*. He did not forget the Churches *Patrimony* in his last Prayer. Which shews us what deep Impression worldly Wealth had made on his Mind, so deep, that the Terrors of Death could not efface it. What Bishop *Burnet* writes of him, gives one further Reason to believe he was far from being so heavenly minded as the Lord *Clarendon*; and his Shadow, Mr. Archdeacon, represent him. "He was a hot, indiscreet Man, eagerly pursuing some Matters that were either inconsiderable or mischievous, as the Altar, the *Walloon* Churches, Book of Sports; his Severity in the Star-Chamber and the High Commission Courts, was such a visible Blemish, that nothing but the Manner of his Death could have rais'd his Character. His *Diary* shews him to be an abject Fawner on the Duke of *Buckingham*, and a superstitious

" Re-

A. D. 1644. " Regard of *Dreams*. His Defence of himself, written with so much Care, is a very weak Performance. Echard *cries it up as a wonderful Piece*. He intended in that to make an *Appeal* to the World. In most Particulars he excuses himself by this, That he was but One of Many, who either in *Council*, *Star-Chamber*, or *High Commission*, voted illegal Things.

Before I had seen Bishop *Burnet's* Character of him, I could not but have Pity for so miserable an Excuse, when there was not a Man who ever heard of him, but knew he was the Contriver, Prosecutor, and Finisher, of the illegal and inhumane Sentences in those tyrannical Courts. The Bishop of *Sarum* again,

" Now though this was true, that he was but one, yet a chief Minister, in high Favour, determines so much, that they are little better than Machines acted by him. On other Occasions he says, the Things were prov'd by one Witness only. Now how strong soever this Defence may be in Law, it is of no Force in an Appeal to the World, for if a Thing is true, it is no matter how full, or how defective the Proof is. The Thing that gave me the strongest Prejudice against him in that Book is, that after he had seen the ill Effects of his violent Counsels, and had been so long shut up, and so long at leisure to reflect on what had past in the Hurry of Passion, in the Exaltation of his Prosperity; he does not in any one Part of that great Work acknowledge his own Errors, nor mix in it any wise or pious Reflections on the ill Usage he met with, or the unhappy Steps he had made.

In April this Year the Parliament remitted 66000 Pounds to the Forces in one Province of *Ireland* that stood out against the *Irish* Rebels, notwithstanding the *Cessation* which his Majesty had made with them, for the Preservation of those Protestants whom those Rebels had not yet massacred.

Whitl. Elect. Palat.

His Serene Highness the Prince Elector *Palatine* wrote a Letter to the Parliament, Of the great Want he and his Mother were in, their Stipend from England being stopp'd. He bewoan'd the Courses which his Brothers Prince *RUPERT* and Prince *MAURICE* took in fighting against them, and rejoiced to hear of the Covenant. For as the Royal House of *Bohemia* always possess'd the Affections of the good People of *England*, who always made their Succession to the Crown the Subject of their most zealous and devout Prayers, so have those good People been ever in the best Wishes of that princely Family, the Conduct of Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* for a few Years only excepted.

Dutch Ambassadors.

Some Weeks before this, Ambassadors from the *States General* of the *United Provinces* to the Parliament arriv'd at *London*, and were honourably receiv'd by the two Houses and the City. They brought with them Letters from the Divines in those Provinces to the Assembly at *Westminster*, expressing their Satisfaction in the Parliament's and their Proceedings with respect to the *Covenant*, and desiring there might be a Union of the Nations. Mr. *Strickland*, the Parliament's Minister at the *Hague*, having discover'd certain *English* Merchants, *Webster*, *Bainham*, *Manning*, *Ford*, *Yard*, who had been assisting in borrowing Money for the Queen on the Jewels; and buying Arms and Ammunition, they were voted Incendiaries and Enemies to the State. The *Dutch* Ambassadors had a publick Audience in the House of Lords, and afterwards in the House of Commons, where Chairs were set for them. They first were carry'd into the

Inner Court of Wards, prepar'd for them as a *Withdrawing Room*; from thence they were conducted by the Serjeant at Arms with his Mace, and two Members of the House were sent to accompany them: When they came into the Parliament House, the Speaker and all the Members stood up in their Places uncover'd, and the Ambassadors saluted them as they past by them. Then they sat down in their Chairs, and the Members sat down also. When the Ambassadors were cover'd the Speaker and the House also cover'd. The former made a short Speech of their Master's Affection to these Kingdoms, and their Desire to mediate an Accord between the King and his Parliament. After their Speech was ended they return'd with the same Ceremonies as at their coming thither. During the Time of their being in the House, there lay upon the Table in their View 48 Colours taken from the King's Forces at the Battle of *Marston Moor*. The *French* Ambassador, Prince *Harcourt*, had no Negotiation with them, on Account of his refusing to make his Addresses in the regular Stile and Manner.

Before we follow the Parliament's Army into the *West*, we must take a View of the King's Affairs, which were not in a very flourishing Condition. The *Mungrel* Parliament at *Oxford* were gone home. The *Scots* and the Parliament's Forces had shut up the Marquis of *Newcastle* in *York*, before *Marston More* Fight: The Lord *Hopton* had been routed at *Allresford*, and the King had no considerable Body in the Field, but that under Prince *Maurice*, before *Lyme*. The King therefore draws his Troops out of his Garrisons to form an Army for himself; and the Queen being very near her Time left *Oxford*, *Queen leaves Oxford* April the 17th, to be deliver'd with more Quiet and Safety at *Exeter*.

The Parliament had an Army of 10000 Horse and Foot under Sir *William Waller*, about *Farnham*, and another of near the same Force at *Reading*, under the Earl of *Essex*, who took Possession of *Abington*; and Sir *Samuel Luke*, Governor of *Newport Pagnel*, whom *Butler* abus'd by the Name of *Hudibras*, detach'd Captain *Temple* with a Party of Horse, to observe the Motions of the Lord *Hopton* in his March from *Abington* to *Worcester*. *Temple* was order'd not to engage, but being too forward, he fell upon three Troops of *Hopton's* Horse at *Istip*, took 50 of them, a Captain and 17 Troopers, with some good Booty; but he was question'd for not obeying Orders, and his good Service could scarce save him.

Had there been a right Understanding between *Essex* and *Waller*, there had now been an End put to the War, and they might have taken *Oxford* with the King in it, he having no Army to relieve him. But their Jealousy of each other hinder'd their joining heartily in the same Service. *Waller's* Instructions were to reduce the *West*, and *Essex* wanted that Commission himself, by the Perswasion of the Lord *Robarts*, who assur'd him that upon his Appearance in *Cornwall* the Royalists would throw down their Arms. But the Parliament order'd the two Generals to join their Armies, and besiege *Oxford*, if the King was there; if not, to pursue him where-ever he was, and disperse his Forces, which were in no Condition to oppose them, what they were lay about *Woodstock*, *Kidling-Essex near Oxford*, *Bladon*, *Wolvercot*. The Lord General *Essex* gain'd the Pass at *Ainslow Bridge*, and *Waller* that at *Newbridge*, the former with the Loss of Captain *Dean*. Lieutenant Colonel *Cunningham* having one Arm shot off, held up the other and cry'd out, *I have one yet left to fight for the Parliament*.

The

A. D. 1644. The King left Oxford the 3d of June, about 9 a-Clock at Night, and the next Morning muster'd his Army at North Lye, about 3000 Foot and 4000 Horse. From North Lye he march'd to *Beurton on the Water*, where he and the Prince lodg'd at Dr. *Temple's*, one of the Prince's Chaplains. From thence he march'd to *Evesham*, and thence to *Worcester*. *Effex*, upon Intelligence of the King's Departure, march'd to *Chipping Norton*; and *Waller* advanc'd to *Stow on the Wold*. By which Stations they entirely cut off the Communication between the King and Oxford; and his Majesty had no Prospect of any Help from the North. It was then debated in Parliament whether the Earl of *Effex* or Sir *William Waller* should march into the West to relieve *Lyme*, the Siege of which was prest by Prince *Maurice*, recover *Exeter* and succour *Plymouth*; but before their Pleasure was known, the Earl of *Effex* had drawn off his Forces for his Western March, and left *Waller* to pursue the King. Their Matters being thus ill concerted for Want of a good Understanding between those two Generals; the Earl of *Effex* met with the greatest Disgrace that happen'd to the Parliament's Party in the whole War; and *Waller*, if he was not beaten, was render'd incapable of acting effectually against the King. The Earl of *Effex* was advanc'd as far as *Salisbury*, when he receiv'd Orders to march back again towards Oxford, and only to send a Detachment to relieve *Lyme*. Much better Counsel than he took. *Waller* was to follow that Detachment, and himself, with the main Army to pursue the King: But *Effex* continu'd his March Westward; and the two Houses finding it was too late to prevent it, agreed to it. But this Conduct of theirs, and the Disagreement between him and *Waller*, was good Cause for the Parliament to put their Armies on another Foot, and under other Command the next Year; and from this Time their very great Reverence to the Earl diminish'd, and their Affections cool'd.

Parliament Generals ill Conduct saves the King.

In the mean while Major General *Browne* had a Commission granted him to command in *Oxfordshire*, *Berkshire* and *Buckinghamshire*, and assist in reducing the King's Garrisons about Oxford. He had 4200 Men, most of them City Auxiliaries; as the *Red Regiment*, under Colonel *Harsnet*, the *Blue* under Colonel *Pindar*, and the *White* under Colonel *Shepherd*. While he was advancing towards Oxford, Sir *William Waller* took *Sudely Castle*, where Sir *William Morton*, high Sheriff of *Gloucestershire*, Lieutenant Colonel *Parreyer*, Major *Oldham*, Major *Floyd*, 5 Captains, 250 common Soldiers, were made Prisoners.

Waller takes Sudely Castle.

His Majesty being inform'd that the Earl of *Denbigh*, Colonel *Mytton*, and Sir *Thomas Middleton* had besieg'd *Dudley Castle*, in *Staffordshire*, he sent the Lord *Wilmot*, with the Earl of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade of Horse, and 1000 Foot to raise the Siege. *Wilmot* charg'd the Parliament's Forlorn, under *Mytton*, with such Fury that his Forces were all like to be cut off; and several Officers advis'd *Denbigh* not to quit his Trenches to relieve his Friends, but there to abide the Coming of the Royalists. The Earl, who had sent out *Mytton* to meet them, resolv'd, at all Ventures, to assist him, and drawing out his Troops, led them on in Person, giving the Cavaliers so smart a Charge, that he not only reliev'd his Friends, but repuls'd the King's Party.

Earl of Denbigh before Dudley Castle.

From *Worcester* his Majesty march'd to *Bewdley*, and *Waller* came to *Bromesgrave* and *Kidderminster*, within 2 Miles of him. He there

expected to be join'd by Colonel *Massefey*, and the Forces from *Gloucester*, by the Earl of *Denbigh*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Colonel *Mytton*, Colonel *Rigby*, Sir *William Brereton*, with the Forces out of *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, *Staffordshire*, which would have made a formidable Army. And the King being apprehensive of their Junction, took a sudden Resolution to return to Oxford. To conceal his true Design he order'd some Troops of Horse to shew themselves along the *Severne*, towards *Bridgnorth*, as if he meant to march directly to *Shrewsbury*; upon which *Waller* dislodg'd, and made all the Haste he could to get before him; but his Majesty suddenly turn'd back with his Foot, and came, before Night to *Worcester*, whether his Horse soon after follow'd, leaving *Waller* two Days March behind him. This was a fine Stroke of Military Politics; and it is very plain that the King outgenerall'd Sir *William Waller*. His Majesty the next Day march'd to *Evesham*, where he took some of the Magistrates, for having exprest too much Kindness to the Parliament's Army, and proceeded to *Broadway* and *Burford*; from whence he sent to Oxford for his Ordnance, Arms and Ammunition, and as many Men as could be spar'd. From *Burford* he came to *Whitney*, and quarter'd his Horse in the Villages, near and upon the Banks of the River *Thames*, from *Newbridge* to *Letchlade*, where having staid three Nights, he held a general Rendezvous at *Campfield* near *Woodstock*; from whence he advanc'd to *Buckingham*, and thence made Incurfions into the neighbouring Parts, as *Bedford*, *Dunstable*, *Laiton*, which much alarm'd the associated Counties; and 'twas believ'd the King design'd to advance farther. This was one of the finest Marches and Expeditions during the whole Course of the War; and had it been against the common Enemy of Englishmen, would have deserv'd more Praises than even the Earl of *Clarendon* could bestow upon it. *Waller* perceiving himself dup'd, endeavour'd to recover by Speed what he had lost by Incaution. He march'd from *Wardsey*, near *Dudley* to *Saltwyche*, thence to *Pershore*, thence to *Tereksbury*, lately taken by Colonel *Massefey*, thence to *Stow*, *Shipson* upon *Stoure*, *Banbury* and *Chipping Norton*. The King hearing he was so close to him, march'd from *Buckingham* to *Brackley*, and the next Day to *Culworth*. *Waller* quarter'd the same Night at *Hanzwell*, and the next Day, the 28th of June, drew up his Forces in *Battalia*, under *Crouch Hill*, about half a Mile West of *Banbury*. The King's Army fac'd him all Day: The River *Charwell* between them.

The next Morning *Waller* appear'd again in *Copredy Battalia*, and stood so, till perceiving his Majesty drew off towards *Daventry*, leaving a Guard of Dragoons at *Copredy Bridge*, he commanded Lieutenant General *Middleton* with two Regiments of Horse, and some Companies of Foot to fall upon his Rear. *Middleton* soon beat off the Guard at the Bridge, and marching over, charg'd the King's Forces, supposing them to be the Rear. But the Horse having pursu'd them a while, found a greater Party of the Royalists yet behind them. The latter had got between the Bridge and the Foot, who came over with the Horse. These Cavaliers took several Pieces of Ordnance which were brought over the Bridge, and not sufficiently guarded; so that the Parliamentarians could not make their Way back without great Loss and Difficulty, but at last they forc'd it; the Bridge being made good and secur'd for their Retreat, by the Regiments of the *Tower Hamlets*: The Service was very hot, while

A. D. 1644. Copredy Bridge Fight.

A. D.
1644.

while it lasted. On the King's Side were slain two *Kentish* Knights, Sir *William Boreler*, and Sir *William Clarke*. The Lord *Wilmot* was wounded and taken Prisoner, but rescu'd by Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, and Mr. *Robert Howard*, who was Knighted for it. On the Parliament's side Colonel *Weems*, a *Scots* Officer, General of the Artillery, was taken Prisoner; as also Lieutenant Colonel *Baker* of Sir *William Waller's* Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel *Baines*, and several Officers; Colonel *Middleton* was dismounted amongst the King's Forces, of whom one taking him for a Commander of theirs, mounted him again, and had him make haste and kill a Roundhead. The Royalists, says *Rushworth*, gave out that they lost but 14 private Soldiers. *Echard*, who writes after the very worst of those Royalists, affirms there were but 14 common Soldiers kill'd on the King's Side. *Rushworth* assures us there were 100 kill'd, and 60 taken. *Waller* maintain'd the Bridge, and kept his Men drawn up on the other Side, both Armies facing one another the rest of that Day, and the Cannon play'd on both of them. In the Night they alarm'd each other, but little Execution was done; and in the Morning the King's Army being drawn off, *Waller* march'd over *Copredy Bridge* to *Towcester*. *Echard's* History of this Engagement is extremely merry: *Waller* was defeated; *Waller* was routed; *Waller* quitted the Ground; so many Soldiers ran away from him that the King was prevail'd with to send a Pardon to the rest of them, notwithstanding these Pardons had never any Effect or were more minded than old Almanacks. Sir *Edward Walker*, Garter King at Arms, was to carry this Pardon; but *Walker* would not stir till a Trumpet had been sent for a safe Conduct; and *Walker* said he had no Power to receive any Message from the King without Consent of Parliament. The City Regiments, after the Skirmish at *Copredy Bridge*, return'd to *London* to be recruited, and *Waller* following them was receiv'd more like a General who had obtain'd a Victory, than one who had been so shamefully beaten as Mr. Archdeacon represents it.

Lyme re-
hev'd.
Dorche-
ster and
Wey-
mouth
taken.

Before the Earl of *Essex* could reach *Lyme* that Town had been reliev'd by the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Fleet; *Essex* detach'd Sir *William Balfour* for that Service, and in his March took *Dorchester*, as Sir *William* did *Weymouth*, where the Lord General came the 19th of *June*; and the Earl of *Warwick* landing there, they had a Conference about the Operations of the Campaign.

Parlia-
ment and
Essex dis-
agree.

The Jealousies and Misapprehensions increas'd between the Parliament and their General *Essex*: The latter prest for Money for his Army, and it was suggested, as if more Care was taken of supplying *Waller* than him. On the other hand, some of the Members seem'd to disapprove of his Conduct in marching into the *West*, alledging *Lyme* might as well have been reliev'd by a Party of Horse, without carrying the whole Army so far: To which the Earl answer'd pretty warmly, concluding one of his Letters thus; *Your innocent though suspected Servant*.

His March
into the
West.

On the 26th of *June*, *Essex* having summon'd *Wareham* in vain, advanc'd to *Chard* in *Somersetshire*, where he receiv'd a Message from the Queen, who 10 Days before had been deliver'd of a Daughter, the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, at *Exeter*, she who was afterwards the beautiful Dutchess of *Orleans*; 'twas to desire a safe Conduct to *Bath* for the Recovery of her Health; and afterwards by another Message, she desir'd a safe Conduct for *Bristol*, to which he return'd Answer to this Effect; *That if her Majesty*

Princess
Henrietta
Maria
born.

pleas'd, he would not only give her a safe Conduct, but wait upon her himself to *London*; where she might have the best Advice and Means for restoring her Health; but as for either of the other Places, he could not obey her Majesty's Desire without Directions from the Parliament: Upon which her Majesty not judging her Person safe at *Exeter*, as soon as she was in a Condition to travel, remov'd from thence on Sunday the 14th of *July*, and took Shipping at *Falmouth* Queen for *France*, her Month being just up. The Earl of *Warwick* had order'd several Ships to attend at *Torbay*, to intercept and hinder her Passage; yet her Majesty, with a *Flemish* Man of War and 10 other Ships, ventur'd out, and by the Advantage of the Wind avoided any Annoyance from the Parliament's Fleet, which however pursu'd with all the Sail they could make; and one Frigate came up and discharg'd several Shot at the Ships under Convoy of the *Flemish* Man of War; but the Queen's Ship being fresh and clean, out sail'd the Parliament's, and her Majesty landed safe at *Brest*, never seeing *England* again till after the Restoration.

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From *Chard* the Earl of *Essex* march'd to *Tiverton*, where he heard that Prince *Maurice* having sent a Party to *Barnstaple*, the Town shut their Gates against them, and slew several of them. Upon this the Earl dispatch'd the Lord *Robarts*, with a strong Party, to secure and settle the Town. Here was one Captain *Howard*, who had been formerly Lieutenant to Captain *Pym*, in the Parliament's Service, which he deserted, and carry'd off with him 19 Horse, for which he was now try'd before a Council of War, condemn'd and executed: In Revenge of whose Death, Sir *John Berkley*, Governor of *Exeter*, having in Custody one Captain *Turpin*, a Sea Commander, who attempted to relieve that City when the Earl of *Stamford* was besieg'd in it, and for the same being indicted, was condemn'd, but hitherto repriev'd, he hang'd him up by Command of Prince *Maurice*. The Parliament took this Man's Death very ill, alledging his Case was quite different from *Howard's*, the latter being a Run-away, the former a fair Prisoner of War; and therefore having Serjeant *Glanville* in their Custody, who sat on the Bench when *Turpin* was condemn'd, they order'd him and the other Judges, *Heath*, *Foster* and *Banks*, to be impeach'd of High Treason, *July* the 22d. This Business and the hanging of 12 of the Parliament's Party, said to be Clothiers, soon after at *Woodhouse* in *Wiltshire*, gave occasion for preparing and hastning the Ordinance for erecting a Court Martial. The Jargon of levying Arms against the King, two Years after the King had levy'd Arms against the Parliament is so absurd, that nothing but the laudable Clemency of the two Houses could have sav'd *Glanville* from the Gallows, for having been accessary to the Murder of *Turpin*. Indeed the Creatures of the Court, in this and the following Reigns, till the Revolution, shew'd a strong Appetite to hanging, and carry'd their Point more by the Halter than by Reason and Justice.

About this Time Sir *Robert Pye* and Colonel *Blake*, afterwards the victorious Admiral, took *Taunton Dean*; and the Parliament Con-*Taunton* voy, who went with the Cavalier Soldiers to taken by *Bridgewater*, had Serjeant *Francis's* Letter a-*Blake* bout Prince *Rupert's* Victory at *Marston Moor*, shewn them to mortify them; and though that Letter is one Lye from the Beginning to the End, yet it is better grounded than most Facts in their Histories; for after the Royalists had worsted one Wing of the Parliamentarians, they im-

A. D. 1644. immediately dispatch'd an Express to Oxford of a compleat Victory; and there was ringing of Bells upon it, and other Demonstrations of Joy; which News was carry'd as far as Bristol before that of Prince Rupert's Rout arriv'd there. Serjeant Francis's Letter is already inserted, and was so thoroughly believ'd that the Lord General Effex having receiv'd a Copy of the three Generals Relation of the Princes Defeat, he sent it by a Trumpet to Sir John Berkley, offering him a Sort of Bett that if Serjeant Francis's Letter was true, he would engage his Honour to deliver up Weymouth and Melcomb, if Sir John would engage to surrender Exeter, in Case the Account in the three Generals Letter was true: To which Sir John return'd an Answer so modest and handsome, that it is worth reading.

My Lord,

IN the Posture we are, 'tis very possible I may be deceiv'd in our Intelligence, and considering the Practice of some, not impossible but your Lordship may be. I am confident your Lordship hath no Intention to abuse the People. I am most sure I have not. It must be acknowledg'd your News is very unpleasant to Men of my Affection, and will not prove very prosperous to those of your Lordship's, if I am not mistaken in them, or my Arguments of them. I still incline to believe our own Account, but not to that degree of Difference as there is between Exeter and Weymouth; however, I shall receive the Assurance of either with the most equal Mind, and in the worst Event shall never want the Satisfaction of having discharg'd my Duty to my Country with an Heart as untouch'd of private Ends and Respects as any Man living, and as much

Your loving humble Servant,
John Berkley.

Irish Rebels in the King's Army taken and hang'd. On the 11th of July Colonel Obrian sent out a Party of 240 Horse and Foot from Wareham to Dorchester, who fac'd the Town several Hours, but the Inhabitants stood on their Guard, and sent to the Parliament's Garrisons at Alderbury and Weymouth for Relief; accordingly Colonel Sydenham, Major Sydenham, and other Officers, came thither with some Forces, fell upon the Cavaliers, put them to flight, and pursu'd them almost to Wareham, slew 12, and took 60 Horses, and 160 Prisoners, of whom 8 being Irish Rebels, seven of them were immediately hang'd, and the eighth was spar'd for hanging his Fellows. It was said to be in Revenge of this that the Cavaliers hang'd up the twelve Wiltshire Clothiers. Colonel Obrian was Brother to the Earl of Inchiquin, and hearing not long after that his Brother had declar'd for the Parliament, in Opposition to the odious Cessation with the horrid Massacrers in Ireland, he quitted the Service he was in, and return'd to Ireland to serve under his Brother.

The King after the Action at Copredy Bridge intended to march Northwards and join Prince Rupert, but hearing of that Prince's Defeat he thought fit to change his Measures and go into the West, Waller being in no Condition to pursue him. From Evesham the Marquis of Hertford sent a Copy of a Message to the Earl of Essex, who communicated it to the Parliament, and 'twas intimated that the French Agent had the Original to deliver. A preposterous Way of doing Business, to send a Copy only of a Message, and to leave the Original to be deliver'd by a Person who had render'd himself obnoxious to them, with this Error in the Address, *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at*

King's Message for Peace.

Westminster, and not to the Parliament of England. His Majesty tells them, no Success of his shall divert him from endeavouring to restore Peace. This Success is the Skirmish at Copredy Bridge, and the Parliament had just receiv'd the News of the entire Rout of his Armies in the North; he promises to maintain the true Reformed Religion establish'd by Law, by which is meant, Spiritual Courts, Lay Chancellors, Excommunications, and the like, which they resolv'd to abolish, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, according to the LAWS OF THE LAND, according to the same Lawes as when the Subjects were prest for Soldiers, and their Property forcibly taken from them by Ship Money, Loans, Tonnage and Poundage, and the like. The very same Laws were then in the Land, and there has been so little Appearance of real Sorrow for the unparallel'd Violation of them, that a Promise to maintain them could not but have wonderful Effects on those who were in Arms to prevent their being again violated. The Parliament had never been offer'd the least Guarantee for the Keeping of this Promise, but the same Royal Inclinations that had before so often broken it. Their Answer was, that they were considering of Propositions of Peace, and could take no farther Notice of that Message, it being but a Copy, and they not own'd as the two Houses of Parliament, any more than the Mungrel Parliament at Oxford. His Majesty had a Design upon Terkesbury, but Colonel Maffey, Governor of Gloucester, having strongly reinforce'd the Garrison, the King on a sudden made up the Hills, march'd in View of Sudely Castle over the Downs to Cobberly, Beverston Castle, Sudbury, and so to Bath, Maffey continually skirmishing his Rear. At Bath the King appointed a Meeting of the Inhabitants of Somersetshire at Kingsmore, near Ilchester, where he made a long Speech to them on the 22d of July, and told them, *The Parliament were ready to devour them, and to destroy the true Protestant Religion, their Liberty and Property, adding, These I am come to defend, and he that dares not venture his Life for these, I had rather have his Room than his Company.* Though the Somersetshire Men were no greater Politicians than they were 40 Years after, when so many Hundreds of them were hang'd for the Protestant Religion, Liberty and Property, as the Duke of Monmouth told them, and many of them did not march away with the King, yet it is incomprehensible how they could be impos'd on to believe the Parliament of England were about to beggar and inflave them.

From hence the King march'd to Exeter, and Cherring-Effex made a Motion as if he intended a counter march to the East and meet him, which Prince Maurice having Intelligence of, he march'd with 4000 Horse and Foot after him, but Effex remain'd in his old Quarters about Tiverton, and hearing that the Lord Pawlett's Regiment of Horse was advanc'd to Cherrington, he sent a Party to beat up their Quarters, which they did in the Night, kill'd one Captain, some Troopers, took 60 of their Horses and all their Baggage. Effex found himself in great Perplexity by the King's getting between him and all Supplies of Men from London, and other Places. There was no way left for him but into Cornwall, whether the King seems to drive his Army before him, as a Covey of Birds are driven into a Net. The Lord Robarts indeed promis'd that he should be sufficiently supply'd there, and enabled to attack the King in Front, while Waller, or some other Parliament General, fell upon his Rear, and thus having coop'd him up they might cut

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A. D. 1644. cut off his Army at Pleasure; but no Parliament Army came that way, and the King's increas'd daily by Reinforcements from Prince *Maurice's* Troops and his Garrisons, and by the coming in of the West Country Men, who, as *Acherley* observes, liv'd so far off from *London*, that they might not know but that *Laud* was really the true *Protestant Religion*, and *Strafford* the Liberty and Property of the Subject, it being *Laud's* Religion, and *Stafford's* Politicks, which the King was fighting for.

Sir Richard Greenville's ill Practices.

Essex in his farther March Westward drove the King's Garrisons out of *Mount Stamford*, *Plympton*, *Saltash*, and *Greenville* House, near *Tavistock*, belonging to that Mirror of Chivalry, *Sir Richard Greenville*, who was every Way equal to the Service to which he was revolted: He began it with Perfidy and Ingratitude, and continu'd it with Brutality and Cruelty. He endeavour'd to maintain the Pass at *Newbridge* to keep the Earl of *Essex* out of *Cornwall*, but the Parliament Army soon forc'd their Way, and the Earl possess'd himself of *Launceston*, where he found Store of Ammunition. He earnestly solicited the Parliament for Succours, and Major General *Middleton* was order'd into the West with 2500 Horse and Foot; he took some of the King's Carriages in *Somersetshire*, but came too late to effect any Thing for the Relief of the Earl, to whom his Majesty wrote a Letter with his own Hand the 6th Instant, and sent it by the Lord *Beauchamp*, the Marquis of *Hertford's* Son, Nephew to *Essex*, to propose their joining together, and obliging the Parliament to put an End to the War, but without naming any Terms, unless he took the Offer of Advantage to his Lordship and his Army to be Terms. The Earl, though very desirous of Peace on honourable Conditions, would not hear of a Treaty without Consent of his Masters, and it was a vain Proposal to a Man of his known Honour. Minds truly noble, as they are incapable of espousing a bad Cause, so are they of deserting a good one; and Heaven and Hell are not more distant than Treachery and a publick Spirit. Such Sort of Addresses must be inconceivably Shocking to a generous Soul, that had stak'd every Thing which it held dear, for the Defence of the Protestant Religion and Liberty.

King writes to the Earl of Essex

This Letter from the King was back'd by another from Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Brentford*, advising the Earl of *Essex* gravely to take his Majesty's Letter into Consideration, and that was follow'd by another from the Lord *Hopton*, and the Officers of the King's Army, for Commissioners on both Sides to meet and settle Matters between them, without giving the Parliament any further Trouble about it. How full of Wisdom and Honour were the then prevailing Counsels? The Earl of *Essex* answer'd the Earl of *Brentford*, *That whereas he had received a Letter from his Majesty, another from his Lordship, and a third from some other Commanders, by all which a Treaty was desir'd, he thought fit to acquaint his Lordship, that it was not in his Commission to be concern'd in any such Treaty; nor could he betray the Trust repos'd in him by the Parliament.* If I had not made my self so well acquainted as I am with the Reverend Historian's *Notions of Religion and Honour*, I should have wonder'd at his passing by this History without the least Reflection on the Perjury the Earl was tempted to commit; instead of which, he blames him, and insults him for not breaking his Oath so solemnly taken in the Covenant, and renouncing the many Protestations he had made to be faithful to the Cause he was engag'd in. 'Tis Matter of great Lamentation, that

the paltry Interests of this World should so blind the Consciences of Men, whose Function it is to preach up the next, as to render them insensible not only of pious, but of moral Sentiments; and nothing could be more immoral and impious than the Earl's entring into a Treaty without the Consent of the Parliament, who had entrusted him with the Command of their Armies. True it is, the Temptation was the stronger on Account of the Difficulties he had precipitated himself into by suffering the Enemy to shut him up in a Nook of the Kingdom. The General sent up these Letters to the Parliament, and they were read at a Conference in the *Painted Chamber*, August the 14th. The two Houses approv'd of his Lordship's Conduct so well, that they order'd him Thanks for his Fidelity.

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About this Time the Lord *Wilmot*, Lieutenant-General of the King's Horse, fell into his Majesty's Displeasure, and was sent Prisoner to *Exeter*, upon which, his Lordship being well belov'd in the Army, the old Horse Officers presented a Petition to the King, to know the Reason of his Disgrace. In Answer to which a Charge was drawn up against him, and offer'd to them for their Satisfaction. The Main of the Charge was, That by the Messenger who went with his Majesty's Letter to the Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Wilmot* sent also a Message, to commend him kindly to the Earl, and tell him from him, he had many good Friends in the Army, that he should lay hold of this Opportunity, and then they would shew themselves, and the Court should not have Power to hinder it. *Wilmot* in his Reply speaks very soberly and reasonably, though *Echard* represents him as always in his Cups; *I never had a private Treaty, nor did ever speak any Thing to the Prejudice of the Publick Cause, yet if there could be a Means found out to reconcile the just Interests of the King and Kingdom, such as becomes an honest and well affected Man to appear in, I am sure I should be very ready to engage all my Assistance, thinking it an Action that may be very well justify'd to God and all honest Men.*

In the mean Time *Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper* Warcham and Colonel *Sydenham*, with about 1200 Horse taken by and Foot, drawn out of the Garrisons of *Lyme*, *Sir A. Ashley* *Weymouth* and *Pool*, came before the Town of *Weymouth*, and began to storm the Out-works, upon which Colonel *Obrian* desir'd a Parley, and the Place was surrender'd on honourable Conditions; the Chief of which was, that *Obrian* and those Forces there that had been brought out of *Ireland*, should return to that Kingdom, to serve against the *Irish* Rebels.

As the King had out general'd *Waller* before *Essex* in at *Copredy* Bridge Skirmish, so he did the same now by *Essex*, and both in one Campaign: He coupd the latter up in a Corner, from whence there was no way left for him to escape but by Sea. *Ludlow* blames him for not fighting the King's Army before the western Forces had join'd him, he being till then, at least equal in Number to his Majesty's; and he adds, much Superior in Courage and Affection to the Cause. If the Parliament did not take so much Care as was expected in sending him Supplies, his Care ought to have been the greater in preventing the Want of them. And Posterity will not think the Advice of the Lord *Robarts*, though a *Cornish* Man, sufficient to justify his giving the Enemy such an Advantage over him.

There are various Accounts of the Disgrace which befel the Earl of *Essex's* Army in *Cornwall*; but *Whitlock* assures us his is true; and *Echard's* Account being almost the Reverse of it, I shall give it in the Words of the *Memo-*

rialist.

A. D. 1644. *Whitel.* p. 98. *Effex leaves the Army.* His Majesty came to *Leskard*, 8 Miles from *Lestwithick*, where *Effex* lay, and was there encompass'd by the King and Prince *Maurice* at *Boconnoc*, Sir *Richard Greenville* at *Bodmyn*, and Sir *Jacob Aspley* at *Hull*. The King's Party was desirous to fight, but upon Consultation it was held more advifable to starve the Parliament's Forces, to which End *Goring* with a Party of Horse, and Sir *Thomas Basset* with 1500 Foot, were sent *Westward* to stop all Provisions from the *Land's End Side*, and to streighten *Effex* by keeping his Horse and Foot close together. *Effex* drew his Cannon and Baggage towards *Foy*, but in those bad Ways his Carriages stuck, and they were much hinder'd by it. In this Distress the gallant Sir *William Balfour*, having a strong Body of Horse, near 3000, under his Command, and scorning to submit to an Enemy he had always hitherto been us'd to conquer, broke thro' all the King's Quarters, and got safe to *Salisbury* and from thence to *Plymouth*, with no Loss. This is the most glorious Event in the whole War, and the disarming the Earl of *Effex's* few Foot by the King's powerful Army of both Horse and Foot, with all the Advantages of Ground, was so far from covering the Shame of this Insult of Sir *William Balfour's*, that the Glory of the King's taking away the Earl of *Effex's* Mens Arms is lost, in the Disgrace he suffer'd by *Balfour's* Horse breaking thro' all his Army, Cavalry and Infantry: And whatever Advantage his Majesty would have had the World believe he had gain'd by disarming *Effex's* Foot, People talk'd more of Sir *William Balfour's* Gallantry than of the King's Victory. The Parliament's Foot made a brave Defence some Time after their Horse was gone; but *Effex's* leaving them, and taking with him the Lord *Robarts*, Sir *John Meyrick*, and other Officers, it was too great a Discouragement for them to defend themselves longer. It is true Major-General *Skippon* propos'd it to them in this Speech.

Gentlemen,

Major Gen. Skippon's Speech to them. " YOU see our General and some chief Officers have thought fit to leave us, and our Horse are got away. We are left alone upon our Defence. That which I propound to you is this, that we having the same Courage as our Horse had, and the same God to assist us, may make the same Trial of our Fortunes, and endeavour to make our Way thro' our Enemies as they have done, and account it better to die with Honour and Faithfulness, than to live dishonourable.

But few of the Council of War concurr'd with him in this Resolution, alledging the Horse had many Advantages to break through which the Foot had not, who now were also dismay'd by the going away of their General; and several other Reasons they urg'd for a Treaty which they had receiv'd Intimation from the King's Army his Majesty was willing to accept.

Accordingly Commissioners were appointed to treat.

For the King.

Treaty between the King and the Parliament's Army in Cornwall. Prince *Maurice*, the Earl of *Brentford*, the Lord *Digby*.

For the Parliament.

Col. *Barclay*, Col. *Whichcot*, Col. *Builer*.

Articles were agreed upon the 2d of *September* to this Effect; To deliver up to the King their Artillery, with all their Bag and Baggage: No Person under a Corporal to wear any kind of Weapon: All Officers above to wear only Sword and Pistols. In Pursuance of this Treaty

his Majesty had Possession of 40 Pieces of Brass Ordnance, 200 Barrels of Powder, Match and Bullet proportionable, 9000 Arms for Horse and Foot. Some of the private Soldiers list'd themselves in the King's Service, and some of the rest as they march'd forth being pillag'd by the Cavaliers, Major-General *Skippon* rode up to the King, who stood to see them pass by, and told him, It was against his Honour and Justice that his Articles should not be perform'd, his Soldiers pillaging some of the Parliament's Soldiers contrary to those Articles, and desir'd his Majesty to give Orders to restrain them, which was done, and *Skippon* with his Men march'd to *Pool* under Convoy of Col. *Adrian Scroope*, who sign'd a Certificate of the good Behaviour of the Parliament's Forces in their March, and Major-General *Skippon* did the same for his generous Deportment towards him and his Soldiers, and gave him a safe Conduct to *Bridgewater*. This worthy Gentleman Lieutenant-Colonel *Adrian Scroope* had a Kinsman in the Parliament Army, who with Col. *Ingoldsby* sat on the Bench at the Trial of the King; but at the Restoration Col. *Ingoldsby* was made a Knight of the Bath, and Col. *Adrian Scroope* was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, notwithstanding the good Services of his Kinsman and Namesake for his Majesty, and the good Services of many of that ancient Family in several Parts of *England*, who took Arms for the King.

The Officers of the Parliament Army in *Cornwall* who surrender'd, were Major-General *Skippon*, Col. *Whichcot*, Col. *Barclay*, Col. *Gorver*, Col. *Tyrrel*, Col. *Butler*, Col. *Hunter*, Col. *Francis*, Col. *Dean*, Col. *Fortescue*, Col. *Weare*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Martin*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Moore*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Draper*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Ingoldsby*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Mackensy*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Floyd*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Webb*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Pride*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Everspot*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Bulstrode*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Traberne*.

Whitlock informs us several who were no Friends to *Effex* inveigh'd against him as one that had quitted his Command, and deserted his Army in the greatest Danger. Others excus'd and commended him for this Action, by which Means only he could preserve himself, his Officers and Soldiers to do the Parliament further Service. Others condemn'd *Waller*, *Manchester* and *Middleton*, for not making more haste to the Assistance of their General. Every one vented his own Fancy and Censure; but there seems to be great Reason to charge the Earl with Want of Vigour and Foresight in his *Western March*. He propos'd his coming to *London* to justify himself; but the Parliament wrote him, They were fully satisfy'd that he was not wanting to use his utmost Endeavours in that Service, and were well assur'd of his Fidelity, desiring him to entertain no Thoughts of Discontent or Discouragement, but to go on in the managing of the War, Sir *William Waller's* and other Forces being ready to join him. Notwithstanding this civil Letter, it is evident that from this Time their mutual Civilities were affected, and the Cordiality of their Friendship daily diminish'd. The Parliament were desirous of Peace in the best Acceptation of the Word, and were resolv'd to bring the King to a Necessity of the same Interpretation of it. They were jealous that their General the Earl of *Effex* took it in too unlimited a Sense, and was willing enough that the *Lauder's* Hierarchy should stand, and the Prerogative be what the King would have it, provided himself, and the House of Peers were secur'd in their Privileges, and the Commons were kept in the same

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same or a greater Inferiority. The Two Houses were for the general Rights, Liberties and Properties of the People, and a thorough Reformation. To effect this, they resolv'd as soon as conveniently they could to put their Military Affairs under the Management of Officers who were intirely of their own Sentiments, and for a vigorous Prosecution of the War till those good Ends could be obtain'd.

The King, according to *Echard*, after this glorious Success, look'd upon *Plymouth*, and receiv'd a rude Answer to a most gracious Message; for my Lord *Robarts*, who was left Governor there, was not so frighted at this Glory as to part with so considerable a Place for a kind Word or two. His Majesty put the Two Houses in Mind of his Message from *Evesham* about Peace, but this Message too wanting the necessary Form of Address, had no more Effect than the other, and with good Reason, for the Stile of all these Messages were eternally the same; *The Religion as establish'd by Law; The Prerogative according to the Laws of the Land; The Rights and Privileges of Parliament according to Law*: All which he administer'd for 15 or 16 Years in the Manner the Two Houses justly fear'd he would again interpret those Laws, when he was restrain'd by no Power but the Royal Will and Pleasure.

His Majesty march'd back thro' *Somersetshire*, where the Inhabitants presented a Petition to him, offering to spend their Lives in assisting him to obtain such a Peace as he was contending for. There was much Dependance to be made on these worshipful People, who not long after were some of the first who petition'd the Parliament to bring the *Grand Delinquent* to Justice.

During the King's Stay at *Chard*, says *Echard*, the brave Col. Gage, a Papist, undertook from Oxford to relieve *Basing House*, a strong Place in Hampshire, valiantly defended by the Marquis of Winchester, another Papist, against the Parliament for above three Months. All which he perform'd after a most soldierly Manner, tho' it was near 40 Miles from Oxford; and soon after this great Action, &c. I repeat this short Piece of History, because it is an Epitome of his Way of telling Story. *Whitlock* informs us this Gage "took about 1500 of the King's Foot out of several Garrisons, and mounting them for Dragoons, march'd by Night towards *Basing House*. Col. Norton and Col. Morley, who were then in a kind of Blockade, took the Alarm: Norton charg'd his Troops and broke thro' them, but they with great Courage wheel'd about, and charg'd Norton's whole Body, who retreated into Col. Morley's Quarters. In the mean while they got some Supplies of Ammunition and Provisions into the House. Morley and Norton fac'd them, but they would not fight, and retreating back again, were pursu'd, 150 of them kill'd and taken, as many Men as they had reliev'd. Among the Prisoners was a Major and other inferior Officers. Norton lost but one Man. Gage's Party gave an Alarm to Major-General *Brown* at *Abington*, who shortly after in Revenge alarm'd Oxford it self, and brought away four Drove of Cattle from under the Walls.

Another merry Story of the Archdeacon's, is as follows *Verbatim*. "The fearless *Goring* being now possess'd with great Gaiety, earnestly advis'd the King to march with all Speed and beat *Waller*, who lay at *Andover* with 3000 Horse and Dragoons. This was agreed to, but the March was not manag'd with all necessary

Punctuality by those about the King. Yet they came not within four Miles of *Andover* before *Waller* had Notice of their Motions; and taking a View of their Strength and good Order, durst not stand a Battle, but drew back into the Town, leaving a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to make good his Retreat. But the King's Van charg'd and routed them with considerable Execution, pursu'd them thro' the Town till the Darkness of the Night secur'd the Remainder. They were very much shatter'd.

The plain Truth of the Fact is no more nor no less than what *Whitlock* writes thus *Verbatim*. "The King's Army march'd to *Andover*, where some Skirmishes were betwixt them and Sir *William Waller's* Forces, and about 20 kill'd on both Sides." I should not much commend the Archdeacon and his Brother Historians for making the most of every little Success in case it had come to any thing, and their noble Cause had been a whit the better for it. But since a few Months only are to pass before they are to be beaten out of every Field and every Town in *England*, it is a very childish Piece of Vanity to represent those to be always Heroes, who are so soon to be always Runaways. It would be endless to pretend to give an Account of every petty Advantage obtain'd by the Parliament's Forces over the King's. But what would the Archdeacon have made of a Skirmish between 80 of the Garrison of *Leicester*, Convoy to some Carriers, and Colonel *Hastings* with 120 Men, who set upon those Carriers? But their Convoy kill'd 8 of the 120, took 60 Prisoners, and most of their Arms.

At the same Time Sir *Thomas Middleton* having taken *Montgomery* Castle in *North Wales*, was forc'd to leave it at the Approach of the King's Army in those Parts, against which it was not long tenable, and to look out for Help to rescue the few Parliamentarians whom he had left in the Castle, which the Lord *Byron* immediately besieg'd with 5000 Men. *Middleton* being join'd by Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *John Meldrum*, and Sir *William Fairfax*, advanc'd with about 3000 Men against the Enemy, who *Montgomery* met and engag'd them, Sept. 18. both Parties came presently to push of Pike, and the Cavaliers worsted the Parliament's Horse, which so encourag'd the King's Soldiers, that, as it was a very common Thing with them, they shouted and cry'd, *The Day's our own, The Day's our own*; and their Shouting and Crying so enrag'd the Parliament's Forces, that they came on again with fresh Courage and entirely defeated the Royalists, took Major-General *Broughton*, Sir *Thomas Tildesley* a Papist, Lieutenant-Colonel *Bludwell*, Major *Williams*, 9 Captains, as many Subalterns, and 1500 private Centinels. On the King's Part were slain 300, and 500 wounded. On the Parliament's Part about 40 were slain, and about 60 wounded. The Lord *Byron* made his Escape by the Goodness of his Horse. But the Parliamentarians had little Reason to value themselves on their Victory, since they purchas'd it so dearly as with the Loss of Sir *Will. Fairfax*, who was kill'd with nine Wounds, of whom with much Sincerity and Plainness may be said, there was not a braver Officer, nor a better Englishman, nor a more zealous Protestant in the Kingdom. His Zeal for Religion and Liberty engag'd him in this, the Good Old Cause, and no doubt he could with great Comfort say in the Agonies of Death, *Dulce est pro Patriâ mori*.

A Trumpet who had deserted Prince *Rupert* on some Discontent, came to Sir *William Brereton* and inform'd him that Col. *Baines*, Col. *Coniers*,

Gage attempts to relieve Basing.

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A. D. 1644. *Coniers*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, all three Papists, with 1000 Men, were marching towards *Chester* by *Malpas* to join the Prince, upon which *Brereton* drew out 8 Troops of Horse, and 7 Companies of Foot, every Footman mounted behind a Trooper. When they came within two Miles of *Malpas* the Foot alighted, and the Horse march'd before the Foot. The King's Forces sent out a forlorn Hope to observe them; but *Brereton's* Horse not coming the Way they expected, wheel'd about, and got between the Town and the Cavaliers, kill'd or took most of them, and defeated also a Party from *Malpas*. Col. *Baines*, Col. *Coniers*, Major *Harborn* a Papist, and Major *Hesketh* another Papist, were slain; Major *Masey*, Major *Cromwel*, and Major *Crathorn*, were taken Prisoners, together with other Officers, and most of the Soldiers.

Fight at Malpas.

These and a great many other fine Actions on the Parliament's Side are intirely omitted in the Earl of *Clarendon's* and Mr. Archdeacon's Histories, or are loosely flurr'd over; the Former gives his Reason for it, and I think it the sincerest Thing in the Book, when he speaks of the Rout at *Marston Moor*. He took no Delight in telling it.

The King.

After the Skirmish at *Andover*, his Majesty march'd to *Whitechurch*, and sent the Earl of *Northampton* with his Brigade of Horse to raise the Siege of *Banbury* Castle, which Col. *John Fiennes* had besieg'd three Months to little Purpose. Accordingly on the 25th of *October* the Earl, having join'd some Horse and Foot from *Oxford* under Col. *Gage*, came to *Banbury* and rais'd the Siege; doing considerable Execution on *Fiennes's* Men, who did not behave as their Fellow-Soldiers had done on the like Occasion. He had much ado to make good his Retreat to *Warwick*, leaving behind him some of his Ordnance, and three Waggon-Load of Arms and Ammunition. But by this Service his Majesty was depriv'd of the Assistance of this Brigade of Horse at the second Battle of *Newbury*, which happen'd two Days after,

Banbury reliev'd by the King's Forces.

Newbury second Battle.

The Parliament had been diligent to recruit *Effex's* Army, and had sent 6000 Arms by Sea, for his Foot that came out of *Cornwall*. They had also new cloath'd them, and furnish'd them with a new Train of Artillery, which was sent by Water as far as *Reading* to be convoy'd thence by *Manchester's* Army to the Earl of *Effex's*, who took the Field on *Thursday Oct. 17.* about 6 Weeks after his Disgrace in *Cornwall*. He advanc'd from *Portsmouth* to *Petersfield*, and on the 21st his Forces, *Manchester's*, and *Waller's* join'd near *Basing*, making an Army much superior to the King's, who now saw that his Advantage in the *West* had more Honour than Profit in it. For there were also marching to join the Earl of *Effex*, the City Brigade, commanded by Sir *James Harrington*; being the *Red* and *Blue* London Regiments. The *Red* Regiment of *Westminster*, the *Yellow* Regiment of *Southwark*, and the Regiment of the *Tower* Hamlets, making in all 5000 Men. On the 22d of *October* his Majesty, who had fac'd the Parliamentarians with a Party of Horse, drew off his Infantry from *Kingsclear*, and march'd to *Newbury*, as the Parliament Army did to *Reading*: The next Day the Latter came to *Aldermarston*, and two Days after to *Bucklebury Heath*, about five Miles from *Newbury*. They made a very good Army, and the Parliament wrote to the Generals to agree among themselves, and take for Example the good Understanding between the General Officers in the *North*. But whatever was the Reason of it, if it was not Indisposition, as the Earl of *Effex* gave out, his Lordship absented himself from the Ar-

my at this important Juncture, and without imputing it to the Intrigues of *Cromwel*, and the *Finesse* of some leading Members of the House of Commons, that Assembly would not have deserved the Character of Wise, which is given them by all sober Writers, had they ever put him again at the Head of their Armies. It was thought the King, whose Army was inferior in Number to the Parliament's, would have declin'd fighting till Prince *Rupert* had join'd him with 3000 Horse and Dragroons, or at least till the Earl of *Northampton* return'd with his Brigade of Horse and the Foot from *Oxford*; and it was the best Counsel his Majesty could take. He had cast up Works about *Newbury*, fortify'd the Avenues, lin'd the Hedges, and kept within the Town, guarded with his Artillery; so that what Advantage the Parliament Generals had by Numbers, the King would have had as much by Situation, if he had kept it; but he caus'd his Horse and Foot to draw out into *Speen* Field, the Midway between *Newbury* Town and *Dennington* Castle, as well to make his Army seem more numerous, as to embattle them as advantageously as possible. Little pass'd the first Day, the 26th of *October*, for the River *Kenner* was between them, only the two Armies cannonaded each other, tho' with no great Execution, and some Skirmishing and Picqueering happen'd between the Horsemen; so the greater Part of the Parliament Army retreated to *Cheveley*, and quarter'd there that Night in the Field. Here it was resolv'd at a Council of War to divide their Forces thus: All General *Effex's* Horse and Foot, and most of the Forces under the Command of *Waller*, with the City Brigade, should march to *Speen* Hill, and the Earl of *Manchester's* Foot and Part of his Horse to continue in the Field near *Shaw*, a small Village, where the House of Mr. *Doleman* was fortify'd by his Majesty's Forces; and it was agreed, that as soon as the Latter should by discharging of the Cannon understand that those at *Speen* were engag'd, *Manchester* should fall on to gain the Passage at *Shaw*, and give a Diverfion to that Part of the Army design'd for *Speen*. The Horse were commanded by Sir *William Waller* and Sir *William Balfour*, the Foot by Major-General *Skippon*, who by Break of Day on *Sunday* the 27th of *October* was on the March. He fetch'd a Circle to avoid the Fire from *Dennington* Castle, where Part of the Garrison fall'y'd on his Rear, and took some Prisoners, and *Skippon* intercepted some Carts loaden with Provisions for his Majesty's Use. In four Hours Time his Foot made their Approach on the *West* Side of *Newbury*. It was near Three a Clock in the Afternoon before they could get themselves into *Battalia*. Then the forlorn Hope of Horse began the Fight, seconded by the Foot, and for three Hours together the Battle was maintain'd with as much Resolution, Bravery, and even Desperateness, on both Sides, as had been known since the Commencement of the War; but in Conclusion the Parliament's Forces beat the King's from the Works at *Speen*, and out of the Village, and took nine Pieces of Cannon, among which were six of those they lost in *Cornwall*, which the Foot that were then disarm'd ventur'd desperately to regain, and when they had got them, embrac'd them for Joy, saying, *We'll give you a Cornish Hug*. *Orleans* assures us, that all those Troops having taken an Oath in *Cornwall* never to serve against the King, were perjurd by fighting against him in this Battle; which is false, for the Parliament's Soldiers there disarm'd took no such Oath, and they now sufficiently reveng'd themselves for the Affront then put upon them.

A. D. 1644.

Night

A. D. 1644. Night coming on prevented further Action. On the other Side of *Newbury* the Earl of *Manchester* the same Sunday Morning commanded a Party of about 400 Musketeers to pass the *Kennet* on the left Hand of *Shaw*, and thereby divert the King's Strength from attending *Speen Hill*. These Musketeers advanc'd accordingly, and beat the King's Forces out of two of their Works, and took some Prisoners, but were at last beaten back with considerable Loss. Towards Four a Clock, *Manchester* hearing the Cannon play from *Speen Hill*, play'd also on *Doleman's House* at *Shaw* with two small Pieces of Ordnance, and commanded a Party of 500 Musketeers as a Forlorn Hope to attack it, which they did, and beat those who fall'd out of the House into their Works. The Reason why they did no more, was said to be because Night came on. The Action on this Side is generally condemn'd as imperfectly perform'd, and gave Occasion of Complaint against one another by *Manchester* and *Cromwel*, and that the King's Army was not as entirely routed as ever was any Army, is imputed wholly to the bad Service on *Shaw* Side. The King's Forces left the Field in exceeding Haste and Confusion, which is hardly worth mentioning; for the Parliament Army was much more numerous. *Skippon* had broke in upon the King's Forces on the West Side, *Manchester* might more easily have done it on the East Side, *Doleman's House* being nothing to *Dennington Castle*, and the Cavaliers must then have been intirely cut to Pieces. The King march'd out of *Newbury* Town in the Night, and securing what Cannon he had left, his Carriage and Baggage in *Dennington Castle*, he retreated by *Wallingford* to *Oxford*. The Loss was little or nothing on the Parliament's Side: On the King's about 200 were kill'd, among whom were Mr. *Goring*, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, and Major *Trevillian*, Col. *Thomas Dalton*, Capt. *Thurstan Anderton*, Capt. *Samway*, Capt. *Wells*, the four last Papists. Three hundred of the King's Forces were taken Prisoners, and among them *Thomas Wentworth* Earl of *Cleveland*. Major-General *Skippon* wrote thus to the Committee: "The King, Prince *Charles*, and Prince *Maurice*, with about 7 or 800 Horse, got Westward, as we are credibly inform'd. The rest of his Forces leaving the Train at *Dennington*, went towards *Oxford*, all much shatter'd. General *Ruthen*, and the Earl of *Brentford's* Lady, were taken 7 Miles off, himself narrowly escaping, thro' our own Party's unadvisedly sounding of a Trumpet when they were near the Place where he was. We had 50 Soldiers slain, and no Officer of Note but Capt. *Gauler* of my Lord General's Regiment. The Wounded are scarce 100. *Whislock* informs us that the King march'd out of *Newbury* an Hour after Midnight with an Attendant Troop of Horse only. The Parliament's Forces took 1000 Arms, and had they had but one Hour more of Day-light, would in all Probability have routed and dispers'd the King's whole Army, which was in so great Distraction, that they retreated three several Ways at once in great Confusion." General *Ludlow*, who was in this Battle, tells us, "The Usage our Men met with in *Cornwall* being fresh in their Memory, caus'd them to charge with such Vigour, that some of them ran up to the King's Cannon and clap'd their Hats on the Touch-holes, falling so furiously on the Enemy, that they were not able to stand before them, but were forc'd to quit their Ground, and ran under the Shelter of *Dennington Castle*." Mr. Archdeacon, with whose Sincerity and Judgment the

Reader must by this Time be as well acquainted as I am, assures us, "Sir *John Cansfield*, another notorious Papist, Colonel of the Queen's Regiment of Horse, charg'd the Parliamentarians with so much Gallantry, that he routed them, and pursu'd the Execution of them near half a Mile. General *Goring* and the Earl of *Cleveland* charg'd the Left Wing of the Parliament's Horse so furiously, that they forc'd them over a Hedge in great Confusion, and follow'd them. At *Shaw House* Sir *John Broome* with the Prince's Regiment drove 1200 Horse and 3000 Foot of the Earl of *Manchester's* Men before him with great Execution, till meeting with another Body of their Horse, he retir'd to the Foot in *Doleman's Garden*, who oblig'd *Manchester's* Horse to wheel about, when Sir *John* fell upon their Rear, kill'd many, and kept that Ground all the Day, while Col. *Therwell's* Reserve of Foot gall'd their Foot with several Vollics, and then fell in with the But-End of their Muskets till they beat them quite out of the Field, leaving two Drakes, some Colours, and many dead Bodies behind them. At this Time a Body of their Foot attempted *Shaw House*, but were so briskly receiv'd by Colonel *Page*, that they were soon forc'd to retire with such Confusion, that they left 500 dead upon a little Spot of Ground, so they drew off the two Drakes into the House. The Enemy being beaten off, and retiring from all that Quarter, it was now Night, which neither Party was sorry for." This excellent Portion of History, of which hardly one Word is literally true, is however a poor Imitation of a more famous Historian on the Cavalier Side, who wrote *Mercurius Aulicus*, the Court Paper, at *Oxford*, and was the best Hand that could be pick'd out in that University, where once a Week it diverted and edify'd the illustrious Assembly then in that City.

This News-Book was publish'd the Saturday after *Newbury* second Fight, and contains a Relation of it at large, every whit as florid as the Lord *Clarendon's* History, and a little more impartial. "The REBELS sent out several Parties to have fallen upon his Majesty's Quarters, but they were every one beaten; 1100 of the REBELS on the Hill before *Shaw* came down to pass the River *Kennet*; they got over, and then advanc'd with much Confidence, till that gallant Gentleman Sir *Bernard Astley* came up with 400 Musketeers, and charg'd them with such Judgment and Courage, that he routed all those 1100 REBELS. While he was upon the Execution of the REBELS, two other Bodies of REBELS hasten'd over the River to second the first; but the brave Knight so follow'd his Blow, that he made the first REBELS rout the second REBELS, who all ran thro' the River in such Distraction and Confusion, that abundance of them were drown'd, besides the Slain." There are several following Pages of the like History on his Majesty's glorious Victory at *Newbury* in this State Paper, which is but a faint Resemblance of *Falstaff's* Account of his Prowess in *Shakespeare*, I shall only give one Instance more. Col. *Lisse* gave the REBELS three most gallant Charges. In the First his Field Word was *For the Crown*, and then he beat them back and knock'd them down both with Bullet and Musket Shot. In the Second Charge his Word was *For Prince Charles*, and then he cut them off as they came on, and hewed them down sufficiently as they ran away. In the Third Charge it was *For the Duke of York*, and

A. D. 1644.

A. D. 1644.

Fine Writing on the Cavalier Side.

A. D. 1644. " and then he slash'd them so home, that they troubled him no more, for had they come on again, he had resolv'd to have gone over all the King's Children, and have knock'd them down, and hew'd them down, and slash'd them down For the Duke of Gloucester, the Princess Mary, the Princess Henrietta, till he had not left one REBEL to fight against the Crown or the Royal Progeny." This Cavalier History-Writer, whose Manner is equally polite and sincere, modestly rebukes a News-Writer at London for saying Mr. Charles Goring was kill'd, tho' he was ready for another Charge against the REBELS; but then he unfortunately commits the like Slip himself, Their General the Earl of Essex is now in the Chirurgion's Hands, whereas the Earl of Essex was not in the Battle. He upbraids the Parliamentarians, Sir William Waller, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Sir Philip Stapleton, Col. Fortescue, Sir William Balfour, &c. with the Meanness of their Quality; and having just mention'd the Earl of Manchester, he says, I have not met with a Right Honourable REBEL, except the Honourable Mr. Fiennes. The Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Archdeacon have not suffer'd so delicate a Remark to escape them.

Rushw.
728.

I doubt not we shall be excus'd for this long Digression, it being so undeniable a Proof of the Dependence we are to make on these Gentlemen's Histories, and of the Necessity of our own to set People right, if they would know any thing of these Matters. It is certain there was not the same Vigour shewn on *Sharv* Side as there was on that of *Speen* by the Parliament's Forces, and that the Appearance of the King's Army again at *Newbury* a few Days after, gave too great Reason to the Two Houses to be apprehensive of the ill Effects of the Misunderstandings and Jealousies among the chief Generals, and to provide against them as well as they could.

The Parliament Army, after the Fight, summon'd *Boys* Governor of *Dennington* Castle to surrender it, and that resolute Officer defying them, they march'd towards *Oxford*, but were hinder'd advancing farther than *Hanwell* by the bad Ways, so they return'd to *Newbury*; and two or three Days after they receiv'd Advice by their Scouts that the King's Army very much increas'd by the Junction of the Forces under Prince *Rupert*, and those from *Banbury* was on the March to relieve *Dennington*, which the King effected, tho' the Parliament's Army was more numerous than his. General *Ludlow* writes of it thus. " The King in the Face of an Army twice as numerous as his, had Time to send his Artillery from *Dennington* Castle towards *Oxford*, without any Opposition, to the Astonishment of all those who wish'd well to the Publick; but by this Time it was clearly manifest, that the Nobility had no further Quarrel with the King than till they could make their Terms with him, having for the most Part grounded their Dissatisfaction upon some particular Affront, or the Prevalency of a Faction about him. But tho' it should be granted that their Intentions in taking Arms, were to oblige the King to consent to redress the Grievances of the Nation, yet if a War of this Nature must be determin'd by Treaty, and the King left in the Exercise of the Royal Authority, after the utmost Violation of the Laws, and the greatest Calamities brought upon the People, it doth not appear to me what Security can be given them for the future Enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges." Here the *Republican* was too hard for the *Englishman*. The Propositions of the *Uxbridge* Treaty, if the King had comply'd with them, were sufficient Security, as will

King re-
lieves Den-
nington
Castle.

be seen hereafter. But the Over-carnestness of some Parliament Lords for Peace before such Security was obtain'd, oblig'd both Houses to change Hands in carrying on the War, and to employ those Officers who thought it their Duty while their Swords were drawn, to make the best, and that was the quickest Use of them.

Soon after this the King resolv'd to relieve *Basing*, and to oppose him therein the Parliament's Forces drew from *Newbury* that Way, but those before *Basing* rais'd the Siege of their own Accord, and nothing of Moment happen'd between the Two Armies, and nothing was like to happen till the Parliament's was put under other Management: For tho' the Earl of *Essex* was a Man of too much Honour to betray his Trust, yet he was for doing the Parliament's Business in his own Way, and not in theirs, which made it absolutely necessary for them to take other Measures before the next Campaign.

The King's Forces took up their Quarters at *Oxford*, *Marlborough*, *Basing*, *Odiham*, *Blewbury*, &c.

The Parliament's at *Reading*, *Henley*, *Abington*, *Farnham*, &c.

His Majesty returning to *Oxford*, the Archdeacon pursues him with a Panegyric Congratulation on his Successes this Summer, in which he nobly display'd his Genius, and shew'd himself a most vigilant and valiant Commander. When he has not the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Abundance of Words, which are the Character of his Lordship's Characteristicks, Mr. *Echard*'s Eulogy is extremely laconick and barren; for tho' a small Invention will serve to falsify Fact, it must be a large one to adorn it. I do with Pleasure read the Story of the King's admirable Conduct through the whole Course of this Campaign. In the Beginning of which he was shut up between two Armies under *Essex* and *Waller*, each of them as numerous as his own. One of them he so ruffled at *Copredy* Bridge, as to render it impotent; the other he disarm'd in *Cornwall*. And when they were both recruited and rejoin'd, he fought and clear'd himself of them with little more than half their Forces at *Newbury*, where in ten Days Time he appear'd again to give them Defiance; and to deny him the Glory of a great intrepid General, is to do him Injustice. If the same Courage and Conduct had been shewn in so good a Cause as that of King *William*'s at the *Boyne*, his Fame and his Memory would have been equally glorious and immortal. What a deplorable thing is it to think on, that a great King should be environ'd and govern'd by desperate and criminal Counsellors, and to save them, be hurry'd on to his own Destruction? For it is certain by his Conduct in the War he was capable of heroic Actions, if, instead of Heroism, *Laud* and his Brethren had not fill'd his Royal Breast with Bigotry, a Weed which grows fast, takes deep Root, and choaks all the good Seed which otherwise would spring and flourish in a good Soil.

During these Transactions between the greater Armies, some Things memorable were transacted between the Less. Col. *Massej*, with a Detachment of the Garrison of *Gloucester*, having join'd Col. *Purefoy* with his Regiment of Horse, they made an Incurion into *Herefordshire*, and fac'd *Hereford*. Prince *Rupert* having Intelligence of it, advanc'd towards *Evesham* Bridge, intending to pass it, and get between *Massej* and *Gloucester*, while Col. *Myn*, and Sir *John Winter* a Papist, held him in Play on *Herefordshire* Side. But *Massej* hearing of his Approach, drew back in Time, and got safe into *Gloucester*. Four Days after, *May* the 7th, he march'd

A. D.
1644.

The King's
admirable
Conduct
this Cam-
paign.

A. D. 1644. out of that City with 900 Musketeers, 100 Pikes, Col. *Puresfoy's* and Part of his own Regiment of Horse towards the Forest Side, where he fell upon *Westbury*, a Garrison of Sir *John Churches* profan'd by *Winter's*, who held the Church and a strong House adjoining. At *Acton* in *Lancashire* we found the Cavaliers behind their great Guns in Col. *Masseys* the Church, at *Westbury* in *Gloucestershire* they are posted on the same holy Ground, and the *Westbury* Roundheads must beat the Church about their Ears to come at them: But whenever the Parliamentarians get into a Church, it is made a Stable, it is profan'd, 'tis Sacrilege, and a damnable Sin. *Masseys* order'd his Soldiers to fling their Granades into that consecrated Place, which was soon surrender'd, and Capt. *Bret* and 60 Prisoners taken, while a Party of his Troops beat up the Enemy's Quarters at *Little Dean*, where Lieutenant Colonel *Congreve*, a Papist, was slain, Capt. *Wigmore* and others taken Prisoners. Thence, *May* the 8th, *Masseys* march'd to *Newnham*, where another Party of Sir *John Winter's* kept Garrison in another Church, into which *Masseys*'s Forces presently running after them, the Cavaliers cry'd out *Quarter*, but at the Instant one *Tipper*, a Papist, Servant to Sir *John Winter*, blew up a Barrel of Gun-powder in the Church, which however had no other ill Effect than to singe some of the Soldiers. *Tipper* had been taken Prisoner before, and broken his Parole, which made him afraid of a Gibbet, and that put him upon this mischievous Design, which so enrag'd *Masseys*'s Men, that they slew him and 20 of his Companions. All the rest had *Quarter*, except one Capt. *Butler* an *Irish Rebel*, whom a Common Soldier knock'd o' the Head. Here were taken Capt. *Malory*, Capt. *Michael Morgan*, Capt. *Halford*, Capt. *Blany*, 3 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, Store of Powder, Match, and 4 Pieces of Ordnance, without the Loss of one Man on *Masseys*'s Side, who hearing Col. *Myn* and Sir *John Winter* had join'd the Forces of the Lord *Herbert*, another Papist, to oppose him, got again safe into *Gloucester*. Soon after, *May* the 22d, he surpriz'd *Beverston Castle* in *Wiltshire*, while *Oglethorpe* the Governor was abroad courting his Mistresses, and thence marching to *Malmsbury* he sent a Summons to Col. *Henry Howard* the Governor, who, to his Honour be it spoken, return'd an Answer which no Cavalier Governor had the Wit or Courage to send before or after it, *I keep the Town of Malmsbury for the King and Parliament assembled at Oxford*. Upon which *Masseys*'s Foot got into the Suburbs, broke their Way thro' the Houses till they came almost up to the Works, and the only Place of Entrance into the Town, which is built on the Level of a Rock. *Masseys* caus'd a Blind to be made cross the Street to bring up the Ordnance, loaden with Carbine Shot; but in the Heat of the Business the Fancy of an Alarm seiz'd upon his Men, that those in the Town were falling out upon them. There was nothing in it, yet so prevalent was their *A Pannick*. *Pannick*, that those very Men who at other Times would brave it in the Face of an Enemy, venture on Breaches, and even Mouths of discharging Cannon, were now smitten with such Distraction and Fear, that they all fled when none pursu'd them, and left their Ordnance deserted in the open Street. The Garrison, by Reason of the *Blind*, perceiv'd not this Advantage, which otherwise had prov'd fatal to the Assailants. This Incident shews us that Cowardice as well as Courage has its critical Minute, and that Terror and Temerity possess Men sometimes like Dæmons, and produce the most involuntary Actions. *Masseys* had much ado to rally his amaz'd Soldiers, but at last they recover'd both their Cou-

rage and their Ground, and the next Morning a *A. D.* Forlorn Hope, seconded with a good Reserve, 1644. advanc'd to the only Passage which had no Draw-bridge, only a Turnpike, at which they flung in their Granades. Those within made a Random Shot; but by the Disadvantage of a rainy Night, their Muskets lying wet on the Ground, were little serviceable; and *Masseys*'s Men thronging into the Town, got Possession of it *May* the 24th. *Malmsbury* in Col. *Howard* was taken at the Works, making as brave a Defence as was possible. *Masseys* gave *Wiltshire* strict Orders that the Town should be preserv'd from Plunder, as he always did on the like Occasions, giving this Reason, *I cannot judge any Part of England to be an Enemy's Country, nor Generosity any English Town capable of Devastation by English Soldiers*. A Saying worthy a great Commander, who was in Arms for the Defence of the Liberties and Properties of *English* Men.

About ten Days after, *June* the 5th, Colonel *Masseys* drew out a Party of Men, 120 Horse and 30 Dragoons under Major *Hammond*, and 300 Foot, with which he made himself Master of *Tewkesbury*, his Horse and Dragoons coming up to the Main Guard before the Alarm was taken, overturn'd the Enemy's Ordnance, and charg'd thro' the Streets as far as the Bridge, *Worcester Way*, where they took the Governor Col. *Myn*, who had deserted the Service in *Ireland*. Col. *Godfrey*, Col. *Vavasor* Quarter-Master General, and a Lieutenant, all three Papists, with other Officers of the Garrison, were slain. *Masseys*'s Horse and Dragoons, the Foot not yet come up, supposing themselves to be wholly victorious, some of the Officers and Soldiers dismounted and went into the Houses, others dispers'd themselves, all neglected both making good the Bridge they enter'd at, and disarming the *Main Guard*, for tho' they charg'd and routed them, yet they were now rally'd again, and observing the Enemy not seconded with Foot, and in Confusion, they fell upon them, beat them out of the Town, and took several Prisoners. But *Myn* the Governor was secur'd and sent over *Severne* as soon as he was taken, and by this Time *Masseys* was advanc'd with his Foot to the Bridge towards *Gloucester*, which he found drawn up and the Works mann'd on that Side. He posted his Dragoons there while he drew up his Men round the Town, it being now dark Night; but before he could reach the farther End, where he enter'd, those of the Town having lost their Governor and several Officers, and despairing to maintain it, fled towards *Worcester* about Midnight, leaving behind them 18 Barrels of Powder, Store of Match, 200 new Pikes, two Brass Cannon, &c. The taking of this Place was of great Consequence, it being a strong Frontier Town, securing that Side of the County of *Gloucester*, and commanding a good Part of *Warwickshire*, by which his Majesty's Measures were broken, who intended to have made a Stand at this Pass against *Waller's* Army. I am the longer about this Progress of *Masseys*, for that there are several surprizing Turns in it, which doubtless will be Entertainment for the Reader, especially considering that this active Officer endeavour'd afterwards to turn his Activity as well as Person on the other Side, tho' not with the like Success and Reputation. It is not unnatural to impute it to the Cause on both Sides.

The taking and keeping of these Places so drain'd away *Masseys*'s Men, that he could no longer keep the Field, till recruited by the Arrival of Col. *Stephens* with three Troops of Horse and two Troops of the Regiment of Col. *Harley*, a very worthy Gentleman, Father of that most excellent Protestant and Patriot Mr. *Robert Harley*,

A. D. 1644. *ley*, to whose pious Memory is owing the Honour of having put a Stop to the Victorious Arms of England against France. *Massej* being inform'd that the King's Forces of *Herefordshire* and *Worcestershire* were to join about *Cosselawen* to waste the Country about *Gloucester* in Harvest Time, a Work the *Cavaliers* most delighted in, he resolv'd to prevent this Junction, and with 200 Horse and 300 Foot was preparing to march; but just as they were ready an Accident happen'd, which had like not only to have spoil'd the Design, but to have ruin'd the whole Garrison of *Gloucester*; for there having that Morning at a Council of War some Words pass'd between Major *Gray*, who had distinguish'd himself at the Siege of *Gloucester*, and Major *Hammond*, the former began now to question the latter for his hasty Language, and requir'd Satisfaction. His Challenge being either refus'd or slighted, *Gray* gave *Hammond* a Box on the Ear; upon which both drew, and after a Pass or two *Gray*, who began the Quarrel, receiv'd his Death's Wound by a Thrust in the Neck, and expir'd on the Spot. His Soldiers being then in Arms, not only refus'd to march, but threaten'd to be reveng'd on *Hammond* for the Death of their Major. The Governor, Col. *Massej*, was forc'd to use all the Art he was Master of to appease them, and after an Hour's Perswasion and Treaty, they were somewhat qualify'd, and content to march. Major General *Myn*, another *Irish* Deserter, with 160 Horse and 800 Foot, quarter'd at *Red Marley*, with whom next Morning, *July* the 27th, Col. *Massej* engag'd, and after a sharp Encounter, Major General *Myn* was slain, with about 170 of his Men; Major *Buller*, 7 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 5 Ensigns, and 300 Common Soldiers taken Prisoners: In the Pursuit of whom *Massej*'s Forces met 150 Horse and 500 Foot coming from *Worcester* under Lieutenant Colonel *Passie* to join *Myn*. *Passie*, who commanded them, rode away before, not expecting an Enemy, and just at the Beginning of the Fight was coming up to *Myn*'s Brigade to give Notice of the Approach of his Men; but meeting with some of *Massej*'s, he was wounded and left for dead, by which each Party knew nothing of the other's Condition; but during the Time of Action the *Worcester* Men were advanc'd near, while *Massej*'s Men were scatter'd in the Pursuit of *Myn*'s, whom they had routed. The first Discovery of these Men was made by Col. *Broughton* and Capt. *Backhouse*, upon whom a blunt Trooper charg'd up from the Head of the Main Body in the Entrance of a Cross Lane. Him they surpriz'd in the Name of Friends, drew him aside, and inform'd themselves of the Strength at Hand. After which they made a sudden Outcry, as if they had a great Body ready for a Charge. The *Worcester* Men suspecting an Ambuscade, stopp'd and retreated, which gave *Massej* an Opportunity to rally his dispers'd Troops, and content with the Success he had gain'd, to make his Retreat to *Gloucester*, where he gave honourable Burial to the Body of Major General *Myn*.

I cannot yet leave the Company of this victorious Officer Col. *Massej*. After the Rout at *Marston Moor* some of Prince *Rupert*'s scatter'd Troops got towards *Wales*, and quarter'd about *Hereford*: These he had a Mind to draw into the *West*; but apprehending lest *Massej* might intercept them, he to facilitate their Passage over *Severne* at *Aust*, sent a Party of 500 Horse and Foot to fortify *Beachley* for a lasting Guard, being a Place of difficult Approach, a Gut of Land running out between *Severne* and *Wye*, but a commodious Passage from *Wales* to *Bristol*, and the *Western* Parts. Four Days after they had be-

gun their Fortifications, and drawn their Trench half-way from the Bank of one River to the other, the rest being well guarded with a high Quickset Hedge lin'd with Musketeers, a Ditch within, and a fair Meadow beyond, in which was made an Entrenchment, *Massej* with about 600 Horse and Foot advanc'd thither, and lighting on a Party of Horse from *Chepstow*, skirmish'd and made them retreat. He fac'd the new Works that Evening, and next Morning waited an Opportunity to assault them, for at high Water the Place was inaccessible, by Reason of the Ships which guarded each River with Ordnance lying level with the Banks, and clearing the Face of the Approach from *Wye* to *Severne*. He therefore took the Advantage of the low Water, and drew forth a Party for the Onset. He selected 10 Musketeers out of the *Forlorn Hope* to creep along the Hedges, and there fall on. These gave the first Alarm, and caus'd those in the Works to spend their first Shot in vain; which being done before they could re-charge, the *Forlorn Hope* went on, and the Reserve following, they ran up the unfinish'd Works, and got Possession of them, killing several, and taking many Prisoners; but some recover'd Boats and made their Escape, and others were drown'd.

His next Expedition was the taking of *Monmouth*, which was indeed deliver'd to him by Lieutenant Colonel *Kyrle*, who had revolted from the Parliament's Party on the Loss of *Bristol*, and weary of the Cause he was engag'd in, was willing to purchase his Peace of them at the Price of this important Town. *Kyrle* propos'd to *Massej* to pretend a sudden Return to *Gloucester* with his Forces from *Beachley*, and the Lieutenant Colonel would come out, as to fall on his Rear, which should beat him back, and enter the Place with him. *Massej* accordingly gave out the Necessity of a Retreat, and having march'd back three Miles, lodg'd his Forces in a Thicket of the Forrest of *Dean*, sending out Scouts to prevent Discovery. The Intelligence soon reaches *Monmouth*, Lieutenant Colonel *Kyrle* draws out his Men, and is surpriz'd at *Highbow* House about Midnight with 30 Horse. Tho' as little Noise as might be was made, yet Col. *Kyrle*'s Cornet escaping gave the Alarm to *Monmouth*, and the Garrison stood upon their Guard when *Massej* came up to it, yet *Kyrle* arriving there with 100 select Horse, and pretending to return with many Prisoners, periwaded the Guard at the *Drawbridge* to let it down with Col. *Holtby* the Governor's Consent, but with much Jealousy, and a strong Guard, and the Bridge presently drawn up again; inso-much that this first Party were like to be made Prisoners, and began to suspect that *Kyrle*, instead of betraying the Town, had betray'd them. However they declar'd themselves, fell on, over-power'd the Guard, and made good the Bridge, some of 'em keeping a strict Eye on *Kyrle*'s Department, who fought as heartily as any of them, to let in the main Body, who soon master'd the Town, *Sept.* the 26th; but by the Favour of the Night, dark and rainy, the Governor and most of the Garrison got off over the dry *Graft*.

The Surprize of *Monmouth*, the Key of *South Wales*, the only safe Intercourse for the King's Army between the *West*, *Wales* and the *North* Parts, alarm'd all the King's Party thereabouts, especially the old Marquis of *Worcester*, a zealous Papist, in his Castle of *Ragland*. He rais'd the Country, and call'd in some of Prince *Rupert*'s Horse to his Assistance, who with Sir *William Blaxton*'s Brigade of 500 Horse, and above 1000 Foot, march'd towards *Monmouth* and beat up a Quarter of *Massej*'s, but after a brisk Skirmish

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Major Hammond kills Major Gray in Gloucester

Massej routs Major-General Myn.

Destroys Pr. Rupert's Works at Beachley.

A. D. 1644. was repuls'd, a Major of Horse and two Captains slain, Sir William Blaxton wounded, and several Prisoners taken, of whom such as were *Welch Massey* us'd very kindly, and soon after sent them to their respective Homes, every one with a little Note directed to his Master, or the Parish where he liv'd, signifying, *That the Intention of the Parliament and Massey's coming thither, was not to enslave their Persons, or take away their Goods or Livelihoods, but to preserve their Lives and Fortunes, to open the Course of Justice, and free them from their heavy Burdens under the Forces of Rupert a German.* By which Artifice, and free Discharge of all Prisoners, the *Welch* People began to entertain better Thoughts of the Parliament's Party than formerly: After this Colonel *Massey* demolish'd the Works at *Beachley* a second Time, and drove away Sir *John Winter*, who had repair'd them. But he could not hinder the Recovery of *Monmouth* by the King's Forces, who took the Town at a Disadvantage when Lieutenant Colonel *Throgmorton*, whom he had left Governor there, was march'd with 300 Men to take *Chepstow*. The Marquis of *Worcester's* Tenants in *Monmouth* presently sent Notice of his having drawn off so many Men, upon which Colonel *Rogers*, Sir *Trevor Williams*, the Lord *Charles Somerset*, the Marquis's Son, with a strong Party came to the Town, and easily master'd it, taking the Committee Men, Colonel *Broughton*, Colonel *Stephens*, Mr. *Catching of Trelbeck*, and Mr. *Jones of Uske* Prisoners, together with 4 Captains, 150 common Soldiers, 14 Pieces of Ordnance, 15 Barrels of Gun-powder. Thus was this important Place lost by the Rashness and Vanity of *Throgmorton*, that as *Rushworth* says, *He might have the Honour of doing something, or there would not have been any General in this War, who had begun, prosecuted and ended a Campaign with more Glory than Colonel Massey did this.*

Leverpool taken by Sir *John Meldrum*. One of the last Actions this Year was the Reduction of *Leverpool* by Sir *John Meldrum*, who had lain some Time before it and reduc'd it to great Straits, yet the Officers refusing to surrender the Town to the Parliament, 50 of the Garrison escap'd out of it, and drove away before them what Cattle they could to *Meldrum*, which those that remain'd in the Town perceiving, and being most of them *Irish*, and fearing they should be exempt from Quarter, they to make their Peace seiz'd on their Officers on the 1st of *November*, and deliver'd them Prisoners to *Meldrum*, who took Possession of the Town, where were taken two Colonels, two Lieutenant Colonels, three Majors, 14 Captains, and great Store of Ordnance, Arms and Ammunition. The Royalists had shipp'd their best Goods to convey them to *Beaumaris*, but the Soldiers had Notice of it from the well affected in the Town, and manning out long Boats brought the Booty back again. We shall have too much Occasion to speak of the Divisions and Sub-Divisions in the Parliament and Army hereafter. What *Echard* says of them at the Close of this Year's military Actions, is to represent both as Men of addle Pates, guided by Faction and Enthusiasm, while the Counsels at *Oxford* were the most sober and the most sage that human Policy could produce, though there were such miserable Divisions and Distractions, the unavoidable Effects of Distress and Despair among them, and the sage and sober Counsellors so persecuted the King with Advices and Demands, that Mr. *Locke* tells us, he had scarce the Liberty of Choice, whether to remain in their Hands, or put himself into the Hands of the Parliament Army. Nay, the King

himself says in a Letter to his Queen dated at *Oxford*, April 9th, 1645. *If thou knewest what a Life I lead in point of Conversation, which in my Mind is the chief Joy or Vexation of one's Life, I dare say thou wouldst pity me, for some are too wise.* Those are the Counsellors so often spoken of by the Earl of *Clarendon*, who was himself one of them. *Some are too foolish:* These are the Counsellors so often spoken of by my self. *Some too busy, others too reserv'd, many Fantastick, &c.* *Echard* hides all this as carefully as can be, that none of their Wisdoms may be brought into Suspicion, which he learn'd from the Lord *Clarendon*. This Letter was sent to the Queen by *Binton*, the *London* Silkman, who though a Bankrupt at *London* made a rare Courtier at *Oxford*. The Misunderstandings among the Cavalier Officers had already shipp'd near 100 of them for *Hamburg*, and foreign Parts, which is no great Wonder, for Persons under Disappointment and Calamity seldom agree well together, nor is there often more Agreement among Persons flush'd with Success. Demands rise high in Prosperity, every Man judges of his Merit as it weighs in his own Scale, and in Adversity every Man thinks he is at least intitul'd to Complaint, and the Loser will have leave to speak. But the unhappy Differences which prov'd so fatal to the Parliament were yet in *Embryo*, and the Birth appear'd not with the Deformity which *Echard* gives it till two or three Years after. However, they now pass several Ordinances which could not but seem Monstrous to his Imagination. As, one for *Ordination of Ministers*, notwithstanding any Breach in the Apostolical Succession. An Ordinance for providing them *Maintenances out of Deans and Chapters Lands*. An Ordinance for *Establishing the Assembly's Directory of Worship, and putting down the Common Prayer Book*. I believe Mr. Archdeacon thinks no Wickedness in the World can come up to that. Such Ordinances as these must throw him into a Tremour; and that about *scandalous Ministers* work it up to a Frenzy, and we cannot expect Ceremony from him towards a Senate who had abolish'd all Ceremonies in the Church.

The Mystery which he makes of the Designs of the *Independents* by the Change of the Generals, is not a Dream of his own, but of some of his sober Writers, whom he has copy'd as faithfully as if they had been awake when they wrote for him. He makes the great Villainy of this Turn to be the Production of a *Fest* when their Preachers kept the Pulpit 10 Hours, and the next Day Sir *Henry Vane* told them, *If ever God appear'd to them it was in Yesterday's Exercise, which could only proceed from the immediate Spirit of God.* He besought them to remember God and their Country; and that those Parliament Men who had Places would lay them down, which of course remov'd *Effex, Manchester, Waller, &c.* among whom were those Disgusts and Disagreements which were so prejudicial to the Service. The Reverend Historian represents those Gentlemen who had been zealous for the *Directory* as out of their Wits, and to do that effectually he seems to have parted with his own. General *Ludlow*, who was himself an *Independent*, a Member of Parliament, a chief Officer of the Army, a Man of Honour, Genius, Vertue, Learning, Knowledge and Experience, speaks of this Alteration soberly and rationally. "The Disputes in the mean Time continu'd in the two Houses concerning the Conduct of the Army, and though what was objected touching the late Miscarriages at the Fight of *Newbury*, and elsewhere, amount-

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A. D. 1644. " ed not to a formal Charge, yet it so far prevail'd with the House of Commons, as to convince them of the Necessity of making an Alteration in the Command of the Army, in order to bring the War to a Conclusion." Which Resolution was taken by the House upon a Report made to them by Mr. Zouch Tate, who, by the way, was a zealous Presbyterian, and no Independent, and is said to be the only profess'd Presbyterian in the House of Commons, when this Parliament met first, though there was a great Number of Puritans. Mr. Tate was Chairman of the Committee for reforming the Army, and represented in his Report, That the Committee had been endeavouring to obey the Order of the House, but found the Condition of the Army as the Physician did the Blood of his Patient, who consulted him about the Cure of a slight Tumour, when the whole Mass of his Blood was entirely corrupted; that therefore the Committee had order'd him to acquaint the House, that the whole Body of the Army being infected, nothing would serve for their Recovery less than the entire renewing of their Constitution.

Self-denying Ordinance. The House, that they might do it without giving Occasion to any sinister Reflections upon themselves, agreed to a Self-denying Ordinance, the Grounds of which were express'd to be the Clearing of the Parliament from the Aspersions cast upon them of prolonging the War, on purpose to gratify each other with Places, and neglecting their Duty in the House by holding Employments in the Army, &c.

Every one knows Zouch Tate was no Creature of Cromwel's, and every one that has read the true History of these distracted Times, such as Rushworth's and Whitlocke's, must know, that the Disagreement among the General Officers of the Parliament's Army, would necessarily corrupt the Soldiers; and if as they had begun their Defence with the Sword, they resolv'd to end it by securing their Religion, Rights and Liberties, they could not hope to do it without putting their Forces under other Management, and they could not change Hands more decently than by this Self-denying Ordinance, of which we shall hear more the next Year. Some Historians, as Gregorio Leti, who pretends he had his Memoirs from the Earl of Anglesey, who publish'd Whitlocke's Memorials, represents this Ordinance as the Effect of Cromwel's Intrigues to remove the Earl of Manchester, to whom he was Lieutenant General, and get the chief Command himself; but as he is out in most Things, notwithstanding the Authority he boasts of, so is he in this; and to me nothing can seem more natural, than that after Sir William Waller had been routed at Roundway Down, for want of Assistance from the Earl of Essex, and the Earl of Essex had been hinder'd of a compleat Victory at Newbury first Battle, for want of Assistance from Waller, after the Earl's Disgrace in Cornwall, and his leaving the Army, not only there, but before the last Newbury Fight, after Cromwel's formal Complaint against Manchester, and Manchester's as formal Complaint against Cromwel, the Parliament should put other Generals over their Armies. The Royalists were sensible that the Alteration would be for the worst with respect to them, and that in the Low Condition of their Affairs a vigorous and zealous General would soon clear the Kingdom of them; but though they were afraid of this Change to a Degree hardly expressible, yet they put the best Face they could upon it, and seem'd to be Merry even when they trembled, calling the Parliament's new Model of the Army the new Noddie, and it is some of their best Wit too.

A. D. 1644. I have mention'd his Highness the Prince Elector Palatine's writing to the Parliament, and about the latter End of the Summer he came over into England, and was complimented by a Committee of both Houses. This Prince appears to have a Sense of true Religion, and to differ in Morals very much from his Brother Prince Rupert, who indulg'd himself in Looseness of Life as well as Principle, though in his latter Days he became sensible of the Design to destroy the Protestant Religion and Liberty, and generally voted in Parliament with the Country Lords in King Charles the Second's Reign. The Committee inform'd his Electoral Highness, That the two Houses were surpris'd at his Coming without giving them any previous Notice, and conceiv'd his Residence abroad might be of great Advantage to the Publick, for the Parliament have always been very tender of the Affairs of his Highness, and will continue the same Regards, and are ready to express it in their Actions and faithful Advice. To which the Elector reply'd, I hold my self much oblig'd to the Parliament for their former Favours, and my Coming is to express in Person what I have often done by Letters, my sincere Affections unto them, and to take off such Jealousies as either the Actions of some of my Relations, or the ill Effects of my Enemies might by my Absence cast upon me. My Wishes are constant for the good Success of the great Work you have undertaken for a Thorough Reformation, and my Desires are to be rul'd and govern'd by your grave Counsels, and being ready to serve you, I will with Cheerfulness embrace your Advice. The King wrote his Highness a Letter from Tavistocke, Sept. the 27th, which was extremely cold; and though his Majesty said, The Consideration of your Mother's Son is the only Cause of my Curiosity, yet it is plain he was a little perplexed about it, and wanted to know who invited him, and what he meant by coming. The latter was very plain, his Highness could have no other Meaning than to procure Assistance of those who were willing and able to assist him; whereas himself and his Interests, and the Interest of the Protestant Religion in Germany, had been shamefully abandon'd by the Court of England for above 20 Years, but the Palatine House was too much Protestant to be regarded by Ministers under the Influence of Villiers, Weston, Wentworth and Laud. The two Houses order'd an Apartment at Whitehall to be fitted up for his Highness, and 8000 Pounds a Year to be settled upon him, till their Circumstances enabled them to make better Provision. They also pass an Order for his being admitted, when he pleas'd, into the Assembly of Divines, to hear their Debates, as his Highness had desir'd. A Committee was appointed to take his Affairs into Consideration, and 10000 Pounds a Year order'd to be paid to his Royal Mother the Queen of Bohemia. These Civilities from the Parliament are the Occasion, I suppose, that Echard tells us, her Majesty's eldest two Sons Rupert and Maurice scorn'd their elder Brother the Elector. I have frequently observed with what Disregard that Queen and her Royal Posterity have always been treated by the Laudian Faction. If they had been famous for Foresight one would think they foresaw, that the Succession of that Illustrious House to the Crown would one Day save and secure the Reform'd Religion in England, the Liberties and Properties of the People, which they could not foresee but with the utmost Terror and Detestation, as appears by the Tenor of their late Historics.

In June this Year the Parliament pass an Ordinance for excluding all Members of both Houses, Law Commissioners, who missioners.

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who had deserted them, and for electing Members to sit in the Place of those Commons who had been expell'd. Two Months after they pass'd the Ordinance for executing *Martial Law*, intended chiefly against *Spies, Conspirators, Mutineers, Breakers of the Covenant, Deserters, Assistants of the Enemy*; The Commissioners were the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Kent*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Bolingbroke*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, Lord Viscount *Say*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *North*, Lord *Grey of Werke*, Lord *Robarts*, Lord *Liste*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigge*, Sir *John Corbet*, Sir *John Bampfild*, Sir *Henry Hayman*, Col. *Stapely*, Colonel *Whitehead*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Purefoy*, Col. *Ven*, Col. *Jephson*, Col. *Rigby*, Col. *Brown*, Col. *West*, Col. *Player*, Col. *Prince*, Col. *Harsner*, Col. *Popham*, Major General *Skippon*, Col. *Fleetwood*, Col. *Williams*, Col. *Turner*, Col. *Maynwaring*, Col. *Whickcot*, Col. *Pindar*, Colonel *Humphry*, Colonel *Owen*, Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, Dr. *Thomas Eaton*, *Edward Baynton*, Esq; *William Molyns*, Esq; *John Bradshaw*, Esq; *Thomas Arundel*, Esq; *William Steel*, Esq; Lieutenant Colonel *Welden*, Lieutenant Colonel *Underwood*, Lieutenant Colonel *Wilson*, Lieutenant Colonel *Webb*, Lieutenant Colonel *Bradley*, Major *Salloway*, Major *Tichburn*, Major *Camsfield*. A Court as little likely to do any thing cruel and unjust, as could be hop'd for from the Birth, Education, Principles and Professions of so many noble Lords and Gentlemen, there being very few of them who were Gentlemen by their Offices only, as *Ven* and *Brown*. The latter indeed did sit in a bloody Court afterwards, and aton'd by his Injustice there for the Justice he did in this. The first Man who dy'd by this Act, was one *Pit* of *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordshire*, a profess'd *Puritan*, who being Tenant to Col. *Levison* the Popish Governor of *Dudley Castle*, was prevail'd upon to endeavour to bribe Capt. *Tuthill* Governor of *Rushal-Hall* to betray that Garrison for 2000 Pounds. *Tuthill* discover'd the Treason, and *Pit* at the Gallows express'd his great Sorrow for attempting the Fact for which he was to suffer.

An Ordinance for an Assessment for Ireland.

In *October* an Ordinance pass'd for an Assessment thro' the Kingdom of *England* for the present Relief of *Ireland* and the *British Army* there. The City of *London* was assess'd 300 Pounds a Week, *Middlesex* and *Westminster* 125 Pounds a Week, and so all the Counties of *England* and *Wales*, amounting in all to about 4500 Pounds a Week. The Parliament also pass'd an Ordinance, that no Quarter should be given to the *Irish* who were found in Arms against them in *England*.

For no Quarter to Irish Rebels in England.

At this Time the Lord *Macgwire* and *Hugh Oge Mac Mahon*, Esq; were first brought upon their Trials for the *Irish Rebellion*, and their Guilt was so notorious, that Mr. Archdeacon cannot lay their Blood to the Parliament on any other Account, than that *Macgwire* was a Lord and try'd by Commoners. *Macgwire* and *Mac Mahon* were taken at *Dublin* the Day before they were to have seiz'd that Castle, and to have murder'd the Lords Justices of *Ireland*. *Mac Mahon* immediately confess'd and boldly avow'd the Plot; but *Macgwire* would not then acknowledge it. At last he made a large Confession before the Lord *Lambert* and Sir *Robert Meredith*. About *July* 1642. they were sent for over to *England* and committed to the Tower, where they remain'd two Years, the Parliament not having Leisure to bring them to Trial. They then, by

Confederacy with two Priests belonging to the *Spanish Ambassador*, and one Mr. *Levison* over against the *New Exchange* in the *Strand*, at whose House the *French Agent* lodg'd, got a *Lord Mac-Steel* saw, with which in the Night they saw'd afunder the Door of their Chamber above two Inches thick, and so with Cords got over the Tower-Wall, and swam the Ditch. No News was heard of them in a Month. They took Lodgings at a Constable's House in *Drury-lane*, and one of them looking then out of Window to call an Oyster-Woman, happen'd to be spy'd by a Servant of Sir *John Clotworthy*, whose Servant *O Conolly* had discover'd their Plot; and probably the good Services of this Gentleman's Servants expos'd him to the Insults of the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard*. The Lieutenant of the Tower hearing where they were hous'd, went and seiz'd them, and carry'd them back to Prison. Their late Escape put the Two Houses upon expediting their Trial. *Mac Mahon* pleaded *Not Guilty*, but was convicted by full Evidence, condemn'd, hang'd, drawn and quarter'd at *Tyburn*, Nov. 22. *Macgwire* pleaded his *Irish Peerage*; but Mr. *Prynne* and Serjeant *Whitfield*, Counsel for the State, argu'd learnedly against it, and the Court over-rul'd his Plea. The Witnesses who prov'd the Charge, were Sir *William Cole*, Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Sir *William Steward*, the Lord *Blaney*, the Lady *Caulfield*, and Sir *Charles Coote*. The Evidence was too full to admit of much Debate, so he was convicted and condemn'd to die as *Mac Mahon* did. He petition'd the Two Houses that he might be beheaded, which was refus'd, and in Truth the Gallows was good enough for such an impenitent bloody-minded Rebel. He had much Popish Trumpery about him when he mounted the Ladder, and Directions from his Priest how to make his Prayers, as, *We fly to thee for Aid, O holy Mother of God. Hail! sweet Mother of Christ, pray for the Church of Ireland, M. Grea, Say Jesu Maria three Times, also a Pater and Ave and Jesu Maria three Times.* Which Farce the poor Wretch was made to believe by his Priest would carry him to Heaven.

About the same Time Sir *Alexander Carew* was brought to his Trial for Treason in contriving to betray the Island of *St. Nicholas* near *Plymouth*, of which the Parliament had made him Governor, to the King. Treachery is a Crime so unworthy a Gentleman, that it has a good Word in no History but in the Archdeacon's and the History he copy'd from. He tells us this Knight was willing to redeem his former Errors, his voting for the Attainder of the grand Apostate *Strafford*, and taking the *Covenant*, by Breach of Oath and Trust. It is no Matter how these Men gain their Ends, if they can but gain them. *Carew* was seiz'd in the very Fact by his own Soldiers, and sent up to the Parliament, who order'd him to be try'd by the Court *Martial*. The Witnesses against him were Mr. *Francis Mayor* of *Plymouth*, Mr. *Randal*, and Mr. *Willis*, two Ministers, Capt. *Hancock*, Mr. *Deep* a Merchant, and *Arthur Skinner* Gent. Being found guilty, and condemn'd to be beheaded, his Lady petition'd for a Reprieve on Account of his distracted Condition, upon which a Committee was appointed to visit him, who reported that he was not distracted, but a Month's Time was given him to settle his Estate. He made a Speech on the Scaffold, wherein he said, *All you can lay to my Charge is but Intention, and no Man knows my Intentions better than my self, and they shall die with my self.* The Archdeacon makes an old Woman's Reflection on this Execution,

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A. D. 1644. execution, that he was the next Man who was beheaded on that Scaffold after the Earl of Strafford. But what he makes of the Punishment of the *Hothams* is enough to set one a trembling; that their Death was another Instance of *Divine Vengeance*, for their being true to their Country, and securing *Hull*. As if the Cause of Tyranny, Spiritual and Temporal, of Sabbath-Breaking, Superstition, and Ceremonies, was the Cause of God. The *Brackmans* and *Muselmans* seem to know as much of the *Christian Religion* as these Men do of the *Reform'd*.

Sir John Hotham try'd and condemn'd.

On the 30th of November Sir John Hotham was brought before the Court Martial at Guildhall, Sir William Waller President. The Charge against him was for traitorously endeavouring to betray the Trust the Parliament had repos'd in him, which was prov'd by his Letters to the Lord Digby and the Marquis of Newcastle. He made but a poor Defence, and Sentence of Death pass'd upon him that he should be beheaded; but on his Lady's Petition for Time to settle his Estate, he was repriev'd.

His Son Capt. Hotham try'd and condemn'd.

His Son Capt. Hotham was charg'd with holding traitorous Correspondence with the Parliament's Enemies. One main Evidence was his own Servant John Keys, who depos'd that his Master having first sworn him to Secrecy, sent him to Newark with a Message to the Queen, just after he was committed to Prison in Nottingham Castle. 'Twas to desire her Majesty to send a Party to rescue him, when he was remov'd thence to be sent to London, or to the Lord General. Keys was intrusted with several other Notices for the Queen, and desiring his Master to give him a Token that her Majesty might give Credit to him, Hotham said, *By the same Token I sent her a Letter by one of her own Doctors of Physick where she might land in England.* Keys further depos'd, that when he came to Newark and deliver'd his Letter, her Majesty said, *This unhappy Accident had not fallen out if Capt. Hotham had come away when he first resolv'd it.* Upon which the Lord Digby standing by, told her Majesty, *Both he and his Father had come in long since, but for doing your Majesty better Service, and by forbearing it for a Time.* So plain Evidence as this could not but produce the same Sentence as pass'd against his Father 17 Days before. The Father being condemn'd the 7th of December to die on the 16th, and the Son was condemn'd the 24th of December to die the 1st of January, which I mention to shew Mr. Archdeacon's uncommon Veracity and Modesty. He says, *The vile Artifices us'd both before and after their Trials, were so unhuman, as have been rarely practis'd among Christians.* The Man who writes thus is a Dignitary in the Church. *The Father was order'd first to suffer upon an appointed Day, and the Son the Day following.* Rushworth tells us the Father was condemn'd to be executed the 16th of December, and the Son was not condemn'd till the 24th of December; he adds, they were try'd by a Court Martial, but he takes no Notice of the Ordinance which made the Court Martial the Law. The Lords having repriev'd Sir John Hotham for a few Days without Consent of the Commons, it occasion'd a Vote that no Reprieve should be valid without the Consent of both Houses. This tragical Story takes up but a few Lines in the Archdeacon's Folio, and yet it teems with Falsities. He suffer'd Hugh Peters to tell the People he had reveal'd himself to him, and confess'd his Offences against the Parliament. What Laurence Echard says of Hugh Peters, they being both Ministers, is so far from being true, that Sir John Hotham

Both executed.

himself said on the Scaffold, *I was no way guilty of betraying Hull from the Parliament; and Hugh only told the People, It is the Desire of Sir John Hotham, that since he has in his Chamber fully discover'd himself to me and other Ministers, many Questions may not be put to him, but that he might have Liberty to speak only what he thought fit concerning himself.* Sir John disown'd any Offence against the Parliament as to Hull, and Mr. Peters did not declare that he had confess'd his Offences. One cannot let such Scraps of History pass without taking Notice of the Insolence in them; for the Peters was a Man of a whimsical Character, yet his Station in the Protestant Church was of much more Eminence than the Historian's is like to be, at least if he is rewarded as his History deserves.

A. D. 1644.

The next Criminal brought before the Court Martial, Sir John Corbet President, was an infamous Person, one Roger L'Estrange, a Writer of such History as our late Histories of England, in the Reign of King Charles II. and a zealous Champion for the Church, in Echard's Sense of that Word. His Crime was the contriving to betray the Town of Lynne in Norfolk to the Cavaliers. He receiv'd a Commission from his Majesty, beginning thus; *We having receiv'd from our trusty and well-beloved Roger L'Estrange, Esq. Which Commission, said the Judge Advocate, not being that of a Soldier to raise Men, but a Commission of Bribery and Corruption, merely to make a Party in the Town by clandestine Ways, with Bait and Promises of Money and Preferment, and the Prisoner coming from the Enemy into the Parliament's Quarters without Drum, Trumpet, or Pass, it brought him within the Danger and Penalty of a Spy.* It was prov'd against him, that he promis'd one Mr. Leaman, a Sea Captain, 1000 Pounds, and Corporal Haggard 100 Pounds to make a Party in Lynne, which Leaman discover'd to Col. Walton the Governor, who sent six Soldiers disguis'd like Seamen to seize L'Estrange at Mr. Paston's at Appleton Hall, where they took him and his noble Commission, and he was condemn'd as a Spy, *To be carry'd back to the Place from whence he came, to be hang'd and there to be carried to Smithfield, there to be hang'd by the Neck until he be dead.* A Sentence which all honest Men in England wish'd afterwards had been executed. But he was repriev'd and shut up in Newgate several Years, where he learnt the Manners and Language of a Goal, as appear'd plentifully in his Observators, Ryehouse-Plot, and other detestable Libels against the Protestant Religion and Liberty, which made him so great an Ornament to the Cause he espous'd, and a proper Subject for Mr. Archdeacon's Eulogy. Among other Pieces of Treachery, which, as the easiest Way, the Cavaliers chose to do their Work by, was the Attempt of one Mr. Barnard, a Parson, to corrupt Major General Browne Governor of Abingdon. Barnard had left his Parish of Woolchurch, London, to be a Court Preacher at Oxford. Browne was a Sort of Kinsman of his, and as such Barnard sent to him for a Pass to come and speak with him, which being granted, he told the Major General he wish'd they were both on one Side. Browne, to sift him, declar'd, *if he thought himself in an Error, he would not be long in leaving it.* Mr. Barnard then desir'd Liberty to write to him, which the Major General granted, and the first Letter he wrote him informs Browne, *His Majesty wonder'd that he, who is recommended to him for many worthy Parts and Actions, which shew'd he was no Stranger to noble Qualities; He, who, &c.* and so

Roger L'Estrange try'd.

A. D. 1644. so for 20 panegyricall Particulars, should not only join with, but lead his Subjects against him. By the by, this same Major General, with all these heroical Endowments, was no more nor less than a London Woodmonger. The Parson endeavour'd to prove that he was IPso FACTO excommunicated for siding with the Parliament by two or three Texts out of *Proverbs*, the Writer of which never heard of Excommunication, and that he was commanded to run from his Colours by two or three Texts more in *Timothy*. That he was look'd upon as *Mordecai* look'd upon *Esther*, as one advanc'd to restore the King to his Subjects, and his Subjects to the King. If *Hugh Peters* or *Stephen Marshal*, whom *Echard* calls the *Essex* Parson, had held forth like this Mr. *Barnard*, the Archdeacon could not have made himself too merry with them. *Browne* gave a civil Answer to his Letter, which was follow'd by another, with an Offer of being made a Baronet. But the Major General reply'd, *Abingdon* deseru'd something better. Upon which the Lord *Digby* wrote to him, and told him, He was a Person of much Reason, and very much a Gentleman, and if he will be so good as to receive his Majesty's Forces into *Abingdon*, he shall have a Warrant to be a Baronet, and the Command of a Brigade in his Majesty's Army. *Browne* answers, There is nothing wanting to an absolute Conclusion between them, saving a speedy Provision of his Affairs at London. The Reply from the Lord *Digby* highly extols the Major General's Discretion, and presses for a speedy Conclusion. But the Major General receiving a Reinforcement of 1500 Foot into the Town, convinc'd the Lord *Digby* that *Browne* had made a Fool of him, which appear'd more fully in the Major General's next Letter, *Did your Lordship imagine that your Ink would catch like Bird-Lime. You say you have hang'd a Spy of mine, and that you may be ballanc'd, this very Morning I will cause to be hang'd one of yours, condemn'd by our Council of War.* *Digby* out of Revenge wrote a Letter to worded, as to give the Parliament a Jealousy of *Browne*, who answer'd it, as one who knew what he meant by it, *The World may now see which Way the Queen convey'd from London the Jewels beyond Sea, and the Irish Rebels were brought over, which Way so many Overtures have appear'd and vanish'd, surely by my Lord Digby's Trick of Cleanly Conveyance, a Term Digby had us'd in his last Letter.* *Browne's* Works about *Abingdon* were not finish'd, and had the Garrison of *Oxford* attempted the Place, while he was fooling their Secretary of State, they must have carry'd it. But when the Fortifications were compleat the Major General told him so, and bad him Defiance. The Dexterity of this volatile Lord is the Subject of much Encomium in the Earl of *Clarendon's* and the Archdeacon's Histories, though we see he is out-witted and banter'd by a Woodmonger.

1645. We have mention'd that there had been some Overtures for a Treaty made by his Majesty. But the two Houses conceiving that in those Messages they were not sufficiently own'd to be a Parliament, return'd only an expostulatory Letter, and no farther Progress was made in it till about a Month before *Christmas*, when both Houses, with the Consent of the *Scottish* Commissioners, having prepar'd certain Propositions for Peace, wrote to the King's General for a safe Conduct for the Lords and Commons, and Commissioners for *Scotland*, who were appointed to carry them to his Majesty, and these were, the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Maynard*, the Lord *Wenman*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Whitlocke*, the

Ld. Digby out-witted by Colonel Browne the Woodmonger.

Commissioners sent to Oxford.

Lord *Maitland*, Sir *Charles Erskines*, Mr. *Barclay*. The Trumpet who carry'd the Parliament's Letter brought back a safe Conduct from Prince *Rupert* under the King's Hand and Seal, which yet took no Notice of them as Members of Parliament, but as private Persons. The Commissioners were not very civilly us'd by Colonel *Blake*, Governor of *Wallingford*, who quarrell'd with the Earl of *Denbigh* concerning some Passages of the War, and Sir *Jacob Ashley* Governor of *Oxford* made them wait some Hours in the cold open Field, at the latter End of *November*; at last they were admitted into the Town, and lodg'd at a forry Inn, the *Katharine Wheel*, near *St. John's College*. The next Day they had Access to his Majesty, and the Earl of *Denbigh* read the Propositions which the two Houses of Parliament and the *Scots* Commissioners had agreed to, as the Ground Work of Peace. The King ask'd the Commissioners if they had Power to treat. They answer'd, No. But their Commission was to receive his Majesty's Answer in writing. His Majesty reply'd, Then a Letter Carrier might have done as much as you. The Earl of *Denbigh* said, I suppose your Majesty looks upon us as Persons of another Condition than Letter Carriers. The King reply'd, I know your Condition, but I say your Commission gives you Power to do no more than a Letter Carrier might have done. Which caus'd some Disatisfaction in the Commissioners, who went away in it, but some of the Court Lords afterwards excus'd to them those hasty Words. At the Reading the excepted Persons Names which the Earl of *Denbigh* read with great Courage and Temper, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* being present when there Names were read as Persons excepted, they fell into a Laughter, at which the King seem'd displeas'd, and bad them be quiet. His Majesty's Behaviour to these Commissioners in general did not promise well for a Peace. When he gave them his Answer 'twas seal'd up, which they did not think proper to receive thus, and humbly address'd to have a Copy of it. The King reply'd, What's that to you, who are but to carry what I send, and if I will send the Song of *Robin Hood* and *Little John*, you must carry it. To which the Commissioners only said, The Business we came about, and are to return with your Majesty's Answer, is of somewhat more Consequence than that Song. *Whitlocke*, one of them, says, "Other Passages there were which shew'd the King to be then in no good Humour, and more wonder'd at, especially in a Business of this Importance, where the disobliging of the Commissioners could be of no Advantage to the King; but all was endeavour'd to be made up again by some Lords about his Majesty before the Commissioners came away, and a Copy of the Answer was sent them. They took another Exception to the Paper, which was directed to no Body, nor the Parliament so much as acknowledged or nam'd in it." To which the King answer'd, It was deliver'd to the Parliament's Commissioners, and that was sufficient. Some of the Lords told them, They could not get it otherwise, chiefly because they were there as Commissioners of both Kingdoms, and earnestly entreated them for Peace sake to receive it as it was sent, which was at last consented to, and they carry'd it to the Parliament. Both Houses had a Conference upon his Majesty's Answer. In the Preamble of which were *High Expressions of his Desires of Peace*, and he demanded a Safe Conduct for the Duke of *Lenox* and Earl of *Southampton* to bring his Answer to the Propositions, which was granted, and *Somerfet House* order'd

A. D. 1645. ill us'd by the King's Officers.

A. D. 1645. to be prepared for their Reception: But no Member of either House was permitted to visit them or send to or receive any Message from any one that came from Oxford without leave. All the Answer the King's Commissioners brought, was a Proposal for Persons to be appointed to treat on both Sides and debate the Propositions, which the Parliament had sent to his Majesty, which being voted, safe Conducts were granted by King and Parliament for their respective Commissioners, and Uxbridge appointed to be the Place of Treaty.

Treaty at Uxbridge.

The King's Commissioners.

Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Marquis of Hertford, Earl of Southampton, Earl of Kingston, Earl of Chichester, Lord Seymour, Lord Hatton, Lord Capell, Lord Colepepyr, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir Edward Hyde, Sir Richard Lane, Sir Thomas Gardner, Mr. John Ashburnham, Mr. Jefferey Palmer, Dr. Stuart.

Assistants to the King's Commissioners.

Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Lany, Dr. Fern, Dr. Potter, Dr. Hammond.

The Parliament's Commissioners.

Earl of Northumberland, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Denbigh, Lord Wenman, Denzil Hollis, Esq; William Pierrepont, Esq; Sir Henry Vane, jun. Esq; Oliver St. John Esq; Bulstrode Whitlocke, Esq; John Crew, Esq; Edmund Prideaux, Esq; John Earl of Loxdon, Archibald Marquis of Argyl, John Lord Maitland, John Lord Balmerino, Sir Archibald Johnston, Sir Charles Ereskines, Mr. George Dundas, Sir John Smithe, Mr. Hugh Kennedy, Mr. Robert Berclay, Mr. Alexander Henderfon.

Secretaries to the English Commissioners:
Mr. Thurloe, Mr. Earl.

To the Scots Commissioners:
Mr. Chiefely.

Assistants to the English Commissioners:
Mr. Vynes, Mr. Marshal, Mr. Cheynel.

587. These Commissioners for the Treaty on both Parts met at Uxbridge, Wednesday the 29th of January, and several Visits past between them; Sir Edward Hyde visited Mr. Hollis and Mr. Whitlocke; the Lord Colepepyr did the same to Sir Henry Vane, and others of the King's Commissioners visited several of the Parliament's, with whom they had long Discourses about the Treaty, which both Sides seem'd very forward to promote; but it was visible as soon as it open'd, that the King did not think his Case so desperate as he soon found it to be, when the Campaign was begun and his Commissioners made no Concessions which they could suppose would be satisfactory. Mr. Archdeacon continues the Character of his History in the Account he gives us of this Treaty: The very Opening of it being false and taken from a French Papist. The Parliament invested their Commissioners with a Power only to treat, whereas the King invested his with a full Power not only to treat but to conclude. Salmonet says, *Au lieu que le Roy Leur avoit donné un plain Pouvoir de traiter librement & de conclurre sur tout le detail des Affaires les Estats avoient restraint les Pouvoirs de leurs Deputes aux Instructions qu'ils recevoient*, which is directly the Reverse of the Truth. Whitlocke assures us the King's Commissioners

said, *We are bound up by our Instructions from his Majesty, and can go no further.* A. D. 1645.

Sir John Benner's House at the farther End of the Town was fitted up for the Place of Meeting, and the first Thing they treated upon when the Commissioners met there, was Religion, the chief Article of which Dr. Stuart asserted to be not Faith and Piety, but Episcopacy, such as that of Munster and Toledo, which he affirm'd to be *Jure Divino*. By Episcopacy he must understand Baronies, Lordships, Titles, Dignities, Spiritual Courts, Prerogatives, Mitres, Crostiers, &c. Which it was impossible for the Apostolical Bishops to have or think of, there not being a Power upon Earth which did not treat them as Enemies; for if the good Doctor had said, that Bishop Titus and Bishop Timothy's Vocation to preach God's Word and take Pastoral Care of their Flocks was *Jure Divino*, nay that their pious Successors have the same Divine Right which those primitive Bishops had, there would not have been a Word said against him. Mr. Henderfon and Mr. Marshal spoke in Praise of Presbyterian Government as more suitable to the Word of God, and consequently *Jure Divino*; and the Marquis of Hertford reply'd to both of them, *My Lords, here is much said concerning Church Government in general; the Reverend Doctors on the King's Part affirm, that Episcopacy is Jure Divino; the Reverend Ministers on the other Part do affirm the Presbytery is Jure Divino; for my Part, I think that neither the one nor the other is Jure Divino; and I desire we may leave this Argument, and proceed to debate upon the particular Proposals.* The Earl of Pembroke was of the same Judgment, and many of the Commissioners besides these two Lords were willing to pass over this Point, and to come to the Particulars. But the *Jure Divino* Men on both Sides stood to their Text, and the Lay Commissioners could not but perceive the Peace they came to treat about would not be much forward-ed by the warm Debates of the Clergy. One of them, Mr. Christopher Love, who it seems was a Voluntier, and was come to Uxbridge without being sent, preach'd there to the Market People, and said in his Sermon, *They were not to expect any good from the Treaty, for that they came from Oxford with Hearts full of Blood, and that there was as great a Difference between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell, and that they only amus'd the People with Expectations of Peace, till they were able to do some fatal Mischiefe.* This Piece of Impudence would have deserv'd some notable Punishment, if the King's Commissioners had not really so amus'd the People. Their Memorial upon it was sent to the Parliament, but the Treaty broke up so soon that Love escap'd Animadversion. In the Management of the first Article about Religion, and Episcopacy as a Fundamental of it, we may see by the Papers on both Sides how hopefully the Business went on.

King's Commissioners Paper. "As we have given your Lordships already many Reasons concerning the Injustice and Inconvenience which would follow upon passing the Bill for abolishing Episcopacy: So we are ready now by Conference to satisfy your Lordships, why we conceive that the said Bill is not for the Glory of God or the Honour of the King. Parliament's Commissioners Reply. "We have received no Satisfaction from your Lordships, nor have you yet made appear unto us any Injustice or Inconvenience in the passing of the Bill for abolishing Episcopacy." This occa-

A. D. 1645. occasion'd a new Debate between the Divines for Episcopal and Presbyterian Government; and after it was over,

The Parliament's Commissioners deliver'd another Paper. "There having now been several Days spent upon the Proposition for Religion, and all Objections allcdg'd to the contrary, either from Conscience, Law, or Reason being fully answer'd, we should be wanting to the Trust repos'd in us, if we did not press for a clear Answer to the Proposition concerning Religion.

King's Commissioners. "We deny that the Objections allcdg'd by us against the passing the Bill for abolishing *Episcopacy*, from Conscience, Law or Reason, have been fully answer'd by your Lordships, or that indeed we have receiv'd any Satisfaction from your Lordships in those Particulars; and we should be wanting to the great Trust repos'd in us if we should consent, &c.

Parliament's Commissioners. "We did assure our selves that after so many Days Debate concerning Religion, and our Removal of whatever Objections had been offer'd by your Lordships, and our making appear how great a Hindrance *Episcopal* Government is, and hath been to a *perfect Reformation*, to the Growth of Religion, and prejudicial to the Civil State, that your Lordships would have been ready to have answer'd our Expectation, &c.

King's Commissioners. "It is evident, and we conceive consented to on all Purposes, that *Episcopacy* hath continu'd even from the Apostles Times by continual Succession in the Church of Christ without Intermission or Interruption.

If two of them speak, or two Hundred of them it is all one. Eternal Sophistry and Prevarication! That the Function and Title of a Bishop to preach the Gospel, administer the Sacraments, to take the Pastoral Care of one Church, and sometimes to superintend others, in a brotherly exhortative Manner, was without Intermission or Interruption is true; but could the most invincible Assurance pretend that the Matters for which the King's six Doctors contended, Mannors, Royalties, Peerages, temporal Powers, Courts and Castles, have been without Intermission or Interruption in the Church of Christ, from Pope *Linus's* Time to Pope *Joan's*, or Pope *John's* 800 Years after. I have before me a very learned and judicious Writer, Mr. *Tallents*, who knew the State of this Affair better than the *Uxbridge* Doctors; and I shall give his own Words, which will be sufficient and satisfactory, and there needs no more be said of it.

Binius
Can. Apost. "The Names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were promiscuously used, and not distinguish'd for above 200 Years. There were good Bishops at *Rome* till after the Year 300: From thence they declin'd much, till the Year 600, and from thence they grew very bad. The Catalogues of these Bishops seem very fair; *This is the boasted Succession, without Intermission or Interruption*; but there is great Confusion in them: Few of them are alike. Some are nam'd that were never in Being. The Times of most are uncertain, and the Names of divers unknown; there being no certain Writer of their Lives from the Year 858, to the Year 1047. Besides, there were many long Vacancies, and 30 Schisms, 2 or 3 Bishops or Popes at the same Time. There are also great Differences about the first 6 Bishops, as *Baronius* confesses: Some say St. Peter came to *Rome* Anno 42. some say 63. and some not at all. We must by no Means imagine

"the first Bishops of *Rome*, who were holy Men, and gave themselves to Prayer and the Word, were like the Bishops in after Ages or now, &c." What Mr. *Tallents* says is agreeable to the

Parliament's Commissioners Reply. "So far were we from consenting that *Episcopacy* hath continu'd from the Apostles Times by continual Succession, that the contrary was made evident to your Lordship, and the Unlawfulness of it fully proved." *Warwick*, who is certainly as good a Divine and Casuist as he is a Politician and Historian informs us, that the Presbyterians storm'd at Dr. *Lany*; and Dr. *Hammond* prov'd by Scripture that the *Covenant* was against it. *Echard* assures us, *impartial Men*, such as the Earl of *Clarendon* and himself, thought the King's Divines superior to the other in Argument and Genius; the last Word *Genius* is very good if he understood it, and if he had we should not have found it in his Panegyrick. This is their modest way of talking. By Superiority here, if any Thing is meant it is Confidence, they out fronted the Presbyterian Divines, as we read in *Whitlocke*, Dr. *Steward*, and Dr. *Sheldon* argu'd very positively, that the Government by Bishops was *Jure Divino*; Mr. *Henderson* and Mr. *Vines* argu'd as positively, but more modestly, that the Government of the Church by Presbyteries was *Jure Divino*.

King's Commissioners. "We must profess to your Lordships that we did conceive the Succession of *Episcopacy* from the Apostles was consented to on all Sides, and cannot remember that the contrary thereof was so much as allcdg'd, much less that the Unlawfulness thereof was prov'd.

One may perceive by this with what Spirit and with what Truth these Gentlemen and Doctors argu'd. It was not possible for the Parliament's Commissioners to debate this Article, but they must at least alledge some such Thing; But the King's Commissioners, the Lords, Knights, and Doctors, do not remember a Syllable of it, and a Treaty was likely to come to something that was made up of asserting and denying. His Majesty's Commissioners were oblig'd to allow that the *spiritual Courts* ought to be abolish'd by taking away their Fees and Excommunications; yet that scandalous Grievance, which not only reflects on the Protestant but the Christian Religion, and indeed upon all Religion, as being a Mart for Wickedness by Mulcts and Commutation, &c. is still the Complaint of all honest Men, and the Practices of those mean mercenary Officers the Infamy of a great and generous Nation. The King's Commissioners offer'd that Ceremonies should not be enjoy'd, which in Truth was to abolish them; that Bishops should not ordain without Consent of the Presbytery; that they should preach every Sunday and reside in their Diocesses, and that Pluralities should not be suffer'd, &c. But the Parliament's Commissioners had engag'd for the establishing of the *Covenant* which abolish'd *Episcopacy*, and it was great Pity they could accept of nothing less; for the King's Commissioners could yield to nothing more: So that Article remain'd in *Statu quo*.

The next was that of the *Militia*, the Power of which the Parliament's Commissioners demanded to be vested in such Persons as both Houses and the Parliament of *Scotland* should nominate, which, says *Echard*, *Lane*, *Gardiner*, *Bridgman* and *Palmer*, prov'd to be without any Pretence of Law or Justice. Observe how positive he is, and yet the very contrary of it is the Fact. He adds, "Sir *Edward Hyde* and

A. D.
1645.

“ and Mr. *Whitlocke* had some Disputes, but to “ no Effect ; ” that is, the King’s Commissioners would make no Concession that was effectual. *Whitlocke’s* own Account of it is as follows ; “ Sir *Edward Hyde* would have had it “ for granted that the whole Power of the *Militia*, by the Law of *England*, is in the King “ only : Mr. *Whitlocke* deny’d this to be so very “ clear, and undertook to make it out, that our “ Law doth not positively affirm where that “ great Power is lodg’d, and *doubted not* but to “ satisfy the Commissioners fully in that Point : “ Upon which it was mov’d that a Day might be “ appointed to hear their Arguments, but the “ Earl of *Southampton* was against a formal Debate, which would take up too much Time, “ and so was Mr. *Hollis*. However the Commissioners of *England* and *Scotland* at their “ Return to their Quarters gave *Whitlocke* “ Thanks for encountering Sir *Edward Hyde* “ upon the Point of Right as to the *Militia*, “ wherein he was so confident. They said the “ Honour of the Parliament was concern’d therein, and *Whitlocke* had vindicated it.” However the King’s Commissioners, continues *Echard*, to shew their Readiness for an Accommodation, propos’d, that for seven Years the Persons to be trusted with the *Militia*, should be nam’d half by the King and half by the Parliament : Whereas the Truth is, the Parliament to shew their Readiness for an Accommodation, sent an Express to their Commissioners at *Uxbridge* to propose a “ Limitation of the *Militia* for three “ Years after the three Kingdoms are declar’d “ by the King and Parliament to be settled in “ Peace, or have it settled in the Parliament “ for seven Years after the Time the King is “ willing to settle it.

Ireland.

The Third Article about *Ireland* is told as faithfully as the rest. The Archdeacon writes, “ Sir *Edward Hyde*, who knew the Secrets of “ that Affair, undertook the King’s Vindication, “ and historically display’d the Justice and Piety “ of the King’s Proceedings, and the inevitable “ Necessity of the Cessation with the bloody “ *Irish REBELS*.” This is not only directly against the Truth, but in full Defiance of it. That pious and just Act struck the whole Nation with Horror, and one cannot read it without shuddering. These *Irish Rebels* had just massacred 200000 Protestants, Men, Women and Children, with the greatest Variety of diabolical Cruelty. The Blood of those Innocents was still as it were reeking on the Hands that sign’d the Treaty on the Part of the Massacrers. As to the Justice of it, let us see what the Parliament’s Commissioners at *Uxbridge* said after the Matter had been debated. “ It is very contrary to our “ Expectation to find your Lordships unsatisfy’d, “ notwithstanding the Arguments and Reasons “ alledg’d by us that his Majesty had not Power “ to make the Cessation with the REBELS in *Ireland* ; and that upon Perusal of the Statutes, “ it appears not to you that his Majesty had no “ Power to make that Cessation. It is strange “ that your Lordships had forgot all other Arguments used by us from the Common Law “ from other Proceedings in Parliament, and “ Circumstances as this Case stands, on which “ we still insist, and do affirm, that his Majesty “ had no Power to make or consent to that Cessation ; ” which indeed is as plain as simple Fact and common Sense can make a Thing ; for by an Act of Parliament pass’d by this King himself, the Contributors of Money towards carrying on the War in *Ireland*, were to be repaid out of the forfeited Estates in that Kingdom, and this Cessation cut off those Forfeitures. The King’s

Commissioners, in the Management of this Point, spoke and acted like Persons who were ashamed of the Business, but yet were oblig’d to justify it, and confirm it, the King having not only sent for Sir *Michael Ernly’s*, Sir *Richard Fleetwood’s*, Col. *Monk’s*, Col. *Gibson’s*, and Col. *Warren’s* English Regiments from *Ireland* ; but the Cessation was then about to be turn’d into a Peace, and the Popish REBELS were treating with him to supply him with an *Irish Army* to reduce the Parliament of *England*. One can’t without blushing read the frivolous Excuses of the King’s Commissioners for the Marquis of *Ormond’s* refusing to take Vengeance on the Murderers of so many Thousands of unarmed defenceless Protestants. We have seen what was the Justice of this Cessation, and the Piety of it could not but be seen at the same Time. The Parliament’s Commissioners earnestly besought the King’s, That God’s Quarrel might be re-reng’d upon those perfidious Enemies of the Gospel of Christ, who had imbrud their Hands in so much Protestant Blood ; and that they would consider the Cessation that is made with them is for their Advantage, and rather a Protection than a Cessation, as if it had been all of their own contriving, Arms, Ammunition, and all manner of Commodities being to be brought to them, that afterwards they may the better destroy the small Remainder of the Protestants. The Parliament’s Commissioners add, Again, we beseech your Lordships, in the Bowels of Christian Charity and Compassion to so many poor Souls, who must perish if the Strength of that raging Adversary be not broken, and in the Name of him who is the Prince of Peace, who hates to be at Peace with such Shedders of Blood, give not your Consent to the Continuance of this Cessation, till Justice have been fully executed upon the Actors of that accursed REBELLION. Let not the Judgment of War within this Kingdom, which God hath laid upon us for our Sins, be increas’d by so great a Sin as any Peace or Friendship with them, whatsoever becomes of us : If we must perish, let us go to our Graves with that Comfort, that we have not made Peace with the Enemies of Christ, yea the Enemies of Mankind, declar’d and unreconcil’d Enemies to our Religion and Nation. Yet, according to the Reverend Historian, the making Peace with these Enemies of Christ was an Act of great Piety. As to the inevitable Necessity of it, the Fallhood of that Pretence is as self-evident as that there is Light in the Sun : For the English Protestants in *Ireland*, for whose Preservation it was shamefully pretended to be made, protested, complain’d, and petition’d against it, and yet it is confidently said at *Uxbridge*, His Majesty’s English Protestant Subjects could not subsist without a Cessation. There is nothing in the History of the Rebellion, or Mr. Archdeacon’s History, more false than this, The Parliament’s Commissioners answer’d the King’s ; The contrary is undeniable, and his Majesty’s Protestant Subjects there, both English and Scottish, who have oppos’d that Cessation, have subsisted, and do still subsist. It was said again by the King’s Commissioners, The poor Protestants in *Ireland* were preserv’d, and that Kingdom kept from utter Ruin by the Cessation of Arms made with the Popish bloody REBELS. Nothing faller than this is to be met with in Monkish Fables and Legends ; it is not only the very Reverse of a Truth which every body knew, but which they that said it could have prov’d better than any one. The Parliament’s Commissioners reply’d, It is most apparent that the Necessities alledg’d for the Grounds of that Cessa-

A. D.
1645.

A. D. 1645. Cessation were made by Design of the Popish and Prelatical Party in England and Ireland, who so wickedly contriv'd the same, that the Provisions sent thither by the Parliament for Relief of his Majesty's good Subjects in Ireland, were dispos'd of, and afforded to the REBELS there in their greatest Wants. Many wicked Instances of this Design are set forth in their Paper of the 22d of February; and this is the just and pious Affair of which, says *Echard*, Sir Edward Hyde knew the Secrets. These Men do really know no more of Piety and Justice, than what Mr. Archdeacon expresses in his Vindication of that impious and unjust Cessation, of which *Whitlocke* writes thus; *The Earl of Ormond concluded the Cessation with the Irish REBELS, and divers of them under Col. Ernley came over hither to serve the KING. A Minister was voted out of his Living for constantly praying for the Irish REBELS. Sir William Breerton reported to the House of Commons, that the Irish REBELS commit great Spoil and Cruelty where they come in Cheshire, and that more of them are expected over. The House taking into Consideration the Marquis of Ormond's treating with them, and sending them over to England, voted to impeach him as a TRAYTOR to the Three Kingdoms. In the mean while 20000 of the Scots in the North of Ireland vow'd to live and die together in Opposition to the Cessation. The Earl of Inchiquin, who commanded the English Army in Munster, wrote a Letter to the King, subscrib'd by all the chief Officers, Earl of Inchiquin, Lord Broghil, Sir William Fenton, Sir Percy Smith, Lieutenant Col. William Brocket, Lieutenant Col. Thomas Searl, Major Muschamp; wherein they earnestly pray'd his Majesty to revoke the Truce which his Commissioners at Uxbridge said again and again, and no doubt would have sworn it, was made on Purpose to preserve them. The Conclusion of this Letter was thus, Whatever your Majesty's Resolution is hereupon, ours is to pursue the War vigorously against those inhuman and furious BUTCHERS, and we will rather chuse to die Martyrs in a good Cause, than basely abandon the Defence of it. What Baseness was it then not only to abandon those brave Men, but to assert that the abandoning them was to save them, the Nonsense of which is without Example, as is the Effrontery of justifying an unjust and impious Act as a pious and just one. But to close this Article, and give a solid Proof of the Ingenuity of the King's Commissioners at Uxbridge, and of the Modesty and Ingenuity of their Historians, Mr. Hyde and Mr. Echard, let us read what Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and a Privy Counsellor there when this Cessation was made, says of it. "After a considerable Number of Horse as well as Foot sent over by the Parliament of England arriv'd at Dublin, and had in some petty Encounters thereabouts try'd the Metal of the REBELS, and found their Spirits of a poor and base Alloy, they began extremely to disvalue them, and would be no longer abus'd with the fabulous Reports of their great Strength and Numbers, which with much Advantage they had long made use of. Therefore now they began to seek them out in all Places, and wheresoever they met with them they always prevail'd even with small Numbers very often against great Multitudes of them, sparing not many Times to pursue them into the midst of their greatest Fastnesses, and made the very Bogs and Woods unsafe Receptacles for their broken Forces, and with so great Success was the WAR prosecuted by the Eng-*

lish, from the first landing of their Forces out of England, until the TREATY OF THAT MOST UNHAPPY CESSATION concluded in September 1643. as that in all the Encounters they had with the REBELS during that Time, they never received any Scorn or Defeat, but went on victoriously beating them down in all Parts of the Kingdom." This Gentleman was on the Spot, a great Sufferer by that accurs'd REBELLION, and was like to be still as great a Sufferer as any Man in Ireland, yet he is so far from thinking there was any Preservation for him in the Truce with the Massacrers, that he bewails the concluding it. What Absurdity, what Stupidity, and worse still than all that, are there in pretending to conclude a Treaty to preserve those People who know there is no Preservation for them but in breaking it, and continuing the War. The Truth is, the Militia, Episcopacy, and the bringing Delinquents to Punishment were Things the King himself, his Bishops and his Counsellors, could not bear the Thoughts of, and the King could not maintain his Ground another Campaign against the Parliament without Assistance from the Irish Papists, who according to what the Parliament's Commissioners said at Uxbridge, were in League with the Prelatical Party; and Agents from the Irish Massacrers were admitted by the Court of Oxford, to whom the King, when he took his Leave of them, said, we have both need of one another, *Rushw.* that we neither of us may fail of what we design. The Design of the bloody Irish REBELS was to cut the Throats of all the English Protestants in that Kingdom, and restore the Papal Tyranny and Idolatry. This Design was open and avow'd, the Lord Inchiquin, in a Letter he wrote Colonel Myu before he deserted the Service in Ireland, writes thus, Some Counsellors about the King have prevail'd with him to make such an Agreement with the Rebels here, as leaves the Interest he now has in their Power, whereof we find they mean to make use for the Extirpation of the English Nation and Protestant Religion out of this Kingdom, of which we have given the King notice, &c. However, the King tells them farther, You must not defer putting it in Execution; by assisting me with all your Forces against my REBEL Subjects of England. Do you assist me to subdue them, and when you have done me that Service, you the Irish Butchers, the King himself calls them so; *Rushw.* p. 240. may expect all the Support and all the Protection that can be hop'd for from a grateful Prince. At the Head of this Agency, were Dermot Mac Trag Obrien, one of the most barbarous of those Butchers, the Lord Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, &c. and one need not say how welcome they were to the Court at Oxford, after what we have repeated of the Speech which was there made to them. Thus ended the famous Treaty of Uxbridge, after it had lasted 24 Days, in which, according to *Whitlocke*, There appear'd no Compliance in the King's Commissioners to grant any of the Propositions, and they only press'd for longer Time. Dr. Welwood, in his Memoirs, imputes the King's Obstinacy in refusing the least Compliance, except a little in the Article of Episcopacy, to a Letter he received at that critical Juncture from Montrose, who with a Party of Banditti, for most of his Followers were no better than Highland Robbers, had over-run Scotland, but made no Settlement. The Bishop of Salisbury told this Story to *Welwood*, Ep. Sal. not with a Design he should print it, and having p. 39. himself related it in his own History, I shall take it thence. The Marquis of Montrose's Success was very Mischievous, for when the King had been

A. D. 1645. been satisfy'd by *Whitlocke* and *Hollis*, two of the Parliament's Commissioners at *Oxford*, just before the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, that it was his Interest to make Peace with the Parliament on the Foot of their Propositions, softned in some Places, and many of his Counsellors, as the Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Dorset*, Lord *Colepeper*, not *Digby* nor *Hyde*, &c. were of the same Opinion, just then the King receiv'd a Letter from the Lord *Montrose*, with such an Account of what he had done, of the Strength he had, and of his Hopes next Summer, that the King was by that prevail'd on to believe his Affairs would mend, and that he might afterwards treat on better Terms. This unhappily wrought so far, that the Limitations he put on those he sent to treat at *Uxbridge*, made the whole Design miscarry. *Montrose* wrote to his Majesty, *That he had gone over the Land from Dan to Beersheba*, which was true as to his riding Post and outrunning Opposition; but as Bishop *Burnet* observes, he had made himself Master of no strong Places or Passes, and therefore had it in his Power only to do Mischief to his Country without doing good to his Master. He added, *Come thou and take the City lest I take it and it be called in my Name*; for having been a rank Covenanter and bigotted Presbyterian, he wanted not Texts of Scripture to express his Vanity now as they had done his Hypocrisy before. Most of the King's Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, who were not excepted out of the Parliament's Article of Indemnity, as Mr. *Hyde* always was, were for accommodating Matters before they left *Uxbridge*. The good Earl of *Southampton* rode Post from *Uxbridge* to *Oxford*, to press the King to yield to the Necessity of the Times, and by giving his Assent to the most material Propositions, settle a lasting Peace with his People: All the wise and innocent Part of his Council prest him to do it upon their Knees, and his Majesty, though very reluctant, at last was prevail'd upon to follow the wholesome Counsel of those faithful Counsellors. The next Morning was appointed for signing a Warrant to his Commissioners to that Effect; and so sure were they of a happy End of all Differences, that the King at Supper complaining his Wine was not good, one told him merrily, *I hope your Majesty will drink better before a Week is out, with my Lord Mayor at Guildhall*: But before the next Morning came, the fatal Letter from *Montrose* arriv'd with his *Dan to Beersheba*; wherein he express his utter Aversion to all Treaties with his Rebel Parliament; and adds, *he hopes it is not true that his Majesty has consented to treat, advising him not to do it as unworthy of a King, and assuring him he doubted not but to be able within a few Months to march into England with a brave Army to his Assistance*. Thus in a Moment were all the Impressions the King's best Friends had made upon him dash'd out. This Letter was copy'd from the Original by the Duke of *Richmond*, which Dr. *Welwood* saw, and has printed at large: And Dr. *Burnet* not only affirms this Letter came to the King during the *Uxbridge* Treaty, but Messengers also brought the same Romantick Advices from *Montrose*. Yet *Echard* with a vain ridiculous Air says, *I will not examine into the Inconsistency of this Letter with the Earl of Clarendon's Account and the best Writers*; as if the surest Way to come at the Truth was not to refer to those Histories that are inconsistent with the Earl of *Clarendon's* and his best Writers? and being sensible that his own Authority would by no Means pass with judicious Readers, he quotes the weakest Passage in the

Compleat History of England, where weak ones are pretty plenty: *Supposing such a Letter was written, yet it seems to be no Inference that the King himself was the Cause of the Breaking off the Treaty, when the Denial of the least Concessions, and even of a few further Days, was the sole Act of the Parliament's Commissioners*. This is their way in all their Arguments and Histories. They take the very Reasoning and Words of the Parliament, and turn them against them. The Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* informs us, *there could be no Expectations of a good Issue of the Treaty, or Inducement for the Parliament to grant longer Time, when not one of the Parliament's Propositions was granted*. These spiritual Authors are always in such a Pannick when their temporal Concernments are in Jeopardy, that any Help, even of the Irish REBELS, is acceptable: And as the Article of Episcopacy every Way concern'd them, they have no Mercy on the Parliament for not making Concessions, that is, for not continuing the Revenues, Prerogatives, Powers, Dignities, and every Thing belonging to it, which has a Tincture of the Poms and Vanities which it is their Duty to renounce and to teach us to do the same. It was easily to be conjectur'd by the King's Commissioners bringing so many Doctors with them that the Article of Religion would never be comply'd with.

That of the *Militia* would have secur'd all the rest, and there being no Military Power left to invade the Civil, the Government must have been reduc'd to the Rule of the Law, which is no where pretended to have been the Rule of this King's Reign, but in his own Declarations, and the Historians who have built their Histories on those solid Foundations, and that it would be the Rule afterwards when the Power of Breaking it was reserv'd, could not be conceiv'd by any Man in his Senses.

The Article of the Irish REBELS was not likely to be yielded up when there had so lately pass'd so much Endearment between them and the Court at *Oxford*, who expected with Impatience a powerful Assistance from them. Nay, during the Treaty it was intimated to the King's Commissioners that his Majesty was engag'd for *Ireland*, and had sent this Letter to *Ormond*.

I Cannot but mention the Necessity of hastning the Irish Peace. But in Case, against all Expectation and Reason, Peace cannot be had, you must not by any Means fall into a new Rupture with them, but continue the Cessation, for which you shall promise them to join with them against the Scots and *Inchiquin*, &c.

By these Letters, says *Sanderson*, as great a Cavalier and as great an Historian as Mr. Archdeacon, the Mystery is open'd why the King is so violent for Peace with the Irish: But this was tenderly treated by the King's Commissioners; and well they might be willing to shadow these Designs. He frankly confesses the King dealt doubly with the Parliament in the Affair of the Irish REBELS; and *Echard* commends his Justice and Piety in it.

Till the Preliminaries were settled for a good Foundation to treat, the Meeting at *Uxbridge* was at best but a wild Business, from which no reasonable Man could expect any Good.

Notwithstanding the Archdeacon's Objection to *Welwood's* Memoirs as inconsistent with the Earl of *Clarendon's*, an excellent Character of a History, and notwithstanding also the notable Reflections he has cited out of the *Compleat History*

A. D. story of England, sober Writers are of Opinion that *Montrose's* Romantick Aëtings and Boastings had too great an Influence on his Majesty's Resolutions in rejecting every Proposition of the *Uxbridge* Treaty. Mr. *Acherley* writes thus of it; "As to the King, his Majesty's Affairs were in a ruinous Condition, for it was apparent that by one Stroke more all his Power in Point of War would be quite extinguish'd, which makes the Wonder great why he insisted so much as he did upon Points of *Prerogative*, and why he did not comply with any Terms by which his Government and Possession of the Crown might be restor'd at a Time when he had nothing to oppose against the prevailing Power, unless his Majesty's too great Dependence on *Montrose's* wild Successes made him indifferent." Bishop *Burnet* says, *Lord Hollis* told me all was owing to *Montrose's* unhappy Successes.

I cannot conclude what I have to say of the *Uxbridge* Treaty without taking Notice of an Error in *Raguénot*, *Gregorio Leti*, and even *Larrey*, who all mention *Oliver Cromwel's* being one of the Parliament's Commissioners there; and *Leti* particularly writes thus; "*Cromwel's* Reputation increas'd much in this Conference, wherein he gave great Proofs of his Ability, both in Military and Religious Matters, infomuch that every one was not only pleas'd with the Solidity and Eloquence of his Arguments, but there was hardly any Body that would venture to argue with him." All the Fault in him is, that *Cromwel* was no Commissioner, and was not there.

The Preparations for War continu'd all this while, and the two Houses pass the Ordinance for new modelling their Army. And what wise ones the King had about him we may guess again by *Echard's* Character of them, they look'd upon this new Army and their new Officers with such Contempt, that the New Model was by them in Scorn, commonly called the New Noddle, which is some of their best Wit as well as Foresight. But the Truth is, they were in mortal Fear of both the new Officers and Army. They knew too well the Conduct and Courage of *Fairfax* and *Cromwel*, to have any Hopes left of spinning out the War. They knew both those Generals were in Earnest, and resolv'd heartily to reduce them to Obedience without any more Ceremony and Complement. The Parliament declar'd their Intention to be no longer amus'd with Messages and Words: But since the Controversy had been left to the Decision of the Sword, they were for the Sword's deciding it as soon and as effectually as possible. For this End they shifted Hands, and to do it with as much Civility as they could to their own Members, they made the Ordinance General to exclude the Members of both Houses from Employments in Army and Fleet: But there was a Pretext found out to continue *Cromwel* in his Command. I do not find that the Parliament had any Jealousy of the Earl of *Essex's* Fidelity to the Cause they were engag'd in; but it is visible by his March and Disgrace in the *West*; by his avoiding the second Battle at *Newbury*; by his Misintelligence with *Waller* and other Generals; by his own continual Speeches in Praise of *Peace*, that he would have been glad of one on much easier Terms than the Parliament would submit to, and it was not prudent in them to carry on the War under such Management. But they parted with the Earl in as handsome a Manner as they could. They highly extoll'd his Valour, Wisdom and Experience; they thank'd him for his many glorious Services to the Common Wealth, and let-

Parliament Army new modelled.

ted 10000 Pounds a Year on him. 'Tis certain he was very loath to part with his *Batson*, though he gave the Parliament as good Words as they had given him, when he deliver'd it up. But those who were for a speedy End of the War, and reducing their Enemies to a Necessity of making such a Peace as would effectually secure those valuable Rights and Liberties for which they had been Fighting and Conquering, found it absolutely necessary to change their General, which is the whole Secret of this *Self-denying* Ordinance. Indeed other Use was made of it afterwards, when the Army had knock'd down all Opposition, and began to set themselves above their Masters, when a Party under the Notion and Title of *Independants*, became the Majority in the Army, and supported the like Party in the House of Commons, till they were the major Vote in Parliament. The *Independants*, at the Passing of this Ordinance, could carry nothing by themselves, and if the *Presbyterians* had not join'd with them it had never pass'd. Mr. Archdeacon makes a Mystery of this plain Fact, and almost all his Authorities are founded on the Dreams and Visions of those who wanted some better Excuse for their being beaten and baffled, than Cowardice and Folly. This Ordinance was not to extend to Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of Peace, or Commissioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, who were Members of either of the Houses of Parliament. The Lords did not so readily fall in with it as the Commons desir'd; and the Disagreement about it increas'd the great Difference between the two Houses, which ended in the Dissolution of one of them.

The new Army was to consist of 6000 Horse, 1000 Dragoons, and 14000 Foot, under the Command of

- Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, General.
- Oliver Cromwel*, Esq; Lieutenant General.
- Philip Skippon*, Esq; Major General.
- Lieutenant General *Hammond*, Lieutenant General of the Ordnance.
- Henry Ireton*, Esq; Commissary General of the Horse.

- Colonels of Horse.
- Col. *Middleton*, Col. *Sidney*, Col. *Graves*, Col. *Sheffield*, Col. *Vermuyden*, Col. *Whaley*, Sir *Michael Livesey*, Col. *Fleetwood*, Col. *Rofter*, Sir *Robert Pye*.

- Colonels of Foot.
- Col. *Crayford*, Col. *Barkley*, Col. *Montagu*, Col. *Aldridge*, Col. *Holborn*, Col. *Fortescue*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Pickering*, Col. *Rainsborough*, Col. *Welden*.

The Archdeacon assures us that these Ten Colonels of Foot had not among them all one thousand Pounds a Year Land, which though it is as false as it is impertinent, is far from being a Diminution of the Merit of these Officers. I could name him ten Generals in the late Wars with *France*, who had not altogether Land enough for a Knight of a Shire, when they enter'd the Service; yet they behav'd as gallantly as if they had been Heirs to as much Land as they conquer'd.

By the *Self-denying* Ordinance the following Members of both Houses were oblig'd to lay down their Commissions: The Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Robarts*, the Lord *Grey* of *Gröby*, the Lord *Howard* of *Esrick*, the Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Sir *John Meyrick*, Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *John Price*, Sir *Samuel Luke*.

A. D. 1645. Luke, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Denzill Hollis, Esq; William Strode, Esq; Thomas Cary, Esq; Isaac Pennington, Esq; Colonel Purefoy, Colonel Hutchinson, Colonel Rainsborough, Colonel Stapeley. But Cromwell, Brereton, Luke, Price, Middleton, Rainsborough, and others, were permitted to serve 80 Days longer, and that Permission was afterwards prolong'd as their Service was wanted.

Sir Tho. Fairfax made General.

Earl of Essex lays down his Commission.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was in the North when he was made General of the Army, and coming privately to London, was the next Day, February the 19th, conducted to the House of Commons by four of their Members. A Chair was set for him, but he refus'd to sit, and the Speaker told him the great Trust the Commonwealth had conferr'd upon him in the Command of their Army, and the good Opinion they had of his Valour and Fidelity for the Defence of Religion, Laws and Liberties, yet it was six Weeks after this that the Earl of Essex formally deliver'd up his Commission at a Conference between the two Houses, at which Time he deliver'd also a Paper to this Effect, *That he having been employed for almost three Years past as General of all the Parliament's Forces, which Charge he had endeavour'd to perform with all Fidelity and Sedulity, yet considering by the Ordinance lately brought up to the House of Peers, that it would be advantageous to the Publick, he desir'd to lay down his Commission, and freely to render it into the Hands of those from whom he received it, and desir'd, that such of his Officers who had done faithful Service, and were now left out, might have their Arrears, and some others be received into favour.* The Earls of Manchester and Denbigh then also laid down their Commissions, which was declar'd by both Houses to be *an acceptable Service, and a Testimony of the Fidelity and Care these three Lords had of the Publick.* The Commons appointed a Committee to consider of Gratifying the Lord General, and the two other Earls, for their faithful Services, and hazarding their Lives and Fortunes for the Publick. Some of Essex's Friends were against his laying down his Commission, but others told him, That Mischiefs and Contentions might arise if he kept it, of which he himself was sensible. And, says Whitlocke, *As he had great Stoutness of Spirit, so he had great Goodness of Nature, and Love to the Publick, which perswaded him to deliver up his Commission.* It was very absurd and desperate Counsel, which those of his Friends gave, who would have had him to have kept it, after the Parliament had voted a new General, and not at all to depreciate the Merit of so gallant a Peer, and so good an Englishman, as the Earl of Essex, it is most certain, that excepting the Raising the Siege of Gloucester, his Services were not so beneficial to the Publick, as his Losing his Army in Cornwall, through his own ill Conduct, was prejudicial; and as for the Battles of Edgehill and Newbury, which he fought, though Ecbard and other Historians falsify the Fact in denying him the Advantage, yet it is very evident that those Victories were not so well improv'd as they might have been; and that the Suffering the King's Army to retreat after the treacherous Action at Brentford, lost an Opportunity of dispersing it, and restoring Peace before much Blood had been spilt in this unnatural War. No Body thinks there was the least Tincture of Unfaithfulness in his Lordship's Conduct, or that he wanted Courage; but it is obvious he would have had the War carry'd on, and the Peace made in his own Way, which the Parliament thought too indifferent and dilatory.

Admiralty. The Earl of Warwick laid down his Commis-

son of Lord High Admiral, as the other Earls had done, and had a like Compliment from the Parliament, who appointed Commissioners of the Admiralty, and nam'd the Earls of Essex, Northumberland, Pembroke, Warwick, the Lords Say and North, Sir Walter Earl, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Evelyn, Sir Christopher Wray, for that Commission. The Commissions which they granted now to their Generals had not the Care of the Preservation of his Majesty's Person in them, nor were in the Name of the King and Parliament, but in the Name of the Parliament alone, and if they had run so at first there would have been the less Absurdity in them, for every one knew the Earl of Essex's Army was rais'd to fight the King's, and that the Care of the Preservation of the King's Person at the Battle of Edge-hill, where his Majesty attack'd him, was Nonsense, yet the Archdeacon tells us, that the leaving out that Nonsense was a Sign of the Parliament's Intention from the beginning to murder the King. *This was the first plain Discovery of their Intention.* The Juggle and Mask were remov'd. He knew very well that the two Houses abhor'd the King's Death, and while they were free did their utmost to prevent it, yet because they were Presbyterians he does what he can to load them with this Infamy.

The main of the King's Strength was in the West, where Goring commanded, and committed so many Acts of Cruelty and Rapine, that his Name is Infamous there to this Day, especially about Taunton, which Town he besieg'd, and during the Siege his Soldiers made themselves terrible by continual Butcheries, Rapes and Robberies, insomuch that the Name of Goring's Crew is even now remember'd with Abhorrence. Before he form'd this Siege a small Officer, one Colonel Edmund Windham, sent a Summons to Colonel Blake the Governor, threatening him with Fire and Sword, but Blake, infinitely superior to Windham in the Character of Heroism, return'd this Answer, *These are to let you know, that as we neither fear your Menaces, nor accept your Proffers, so we wish you for Time to come to desist from all Overtures of the like Nature unto us, who are resolv'd to the last Droop of our Blood to maintain the Quarrel we have undertaken, and doubt not but the same God who hath hitherto protected us, will e'er long bless us with an Issue answerable to the Justice of our Cause. Howsoever, to him alone shall we stand or fall.* The Works of the Place were inconsiderable, and Blake was in great Want of Ammunition and Provisions, yet he made a resolute Defence against several Armies, one after another, till a Party of the Parliament's Forces broke through the Besiegers, and supply'd the Town with Stores of Provisions, and what they wanted. Larrey terms it the Saguntum of Taunton the Parliamentarians, comparing the Fidelity of Taunton to that of Saguntum in Spain, and the Extremities which both Towns were reduc'd to, one with the other. Taunton, however, had better Fortune than Saguntum, which Hannibal took and demolish'd, but Taunton was reliev'd twice by the Parliament Army; the first Time was when Colonel Welden and Colonel Graves, who were detach'd by Sir Thomas Fairfax, came to the Assistance of Blake, whom the Parliament had order'd the General to relieve, but he was afterwards countermanded, and Graves and Welden sent on that Expedition. They came before the Town on Sunday, May the 11th, and the Besiegers knew nothing of their coming till they were within 4 Miles of the Place. Greenville the western Robber, and the other Cavalier Commanders, immediately drew off in Confusion,

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A. D. 1645. on, blocking up the Way with Trees that the Parliament's Forces might not pursue them. The Town, especially *East Street* was much burnt, having been several Times storm'd and enter'd by the Enemy, who was always beaten out again. In the last Storm one *Bazelon*, a Parliament Officer, having his Thumb cut or shot off, as he was driving the Cavaliers before him out of that Part of the Town, protested the Rogues should not carry it away with them, and while he was searching for it, one of those Rogues, who remain'd drinking in an Alehouse shot him dead out of a Window, which was the greatest Loss that happen'd to the Besieg'd in that Action. The Parliament order'd Colonel *Blake* 500*l.* and 2000*l.* for his Garrison. And what is very remarkable, the 11th of *May* was kept an Anniversary Day of Rejoicing for the Relief of that Town, even after the Restoration, and in the Worst of Times, King *Charles*, and King *James's* Reigns, and is still yearly kept at *Taunton* in some Measure. *Goring* had been order'd out of the *West*, and Prince *Rupert* out of the *North*, to join the King at or about *Oxford*, where the Court was very much perplexed at the Raising the Siege of *Taunton*; *Goring's* Heart was set upon the Reduction of that Place, that he might bring that rich and populous Town and Country under Contribution, and indulge himself in Rapine and Riot. This made him ill digest the Orders he receiv'd to leave the *West*, especially when he heard that Colonel *Welden* and Colonel *Graves* had thrown Succours into the Town. In this Humour he approach'd *Oxford*, which City his Majesty had left and was making towards *Worcester*, to be nearer Prince *Rupert*.

Cromwel defeats the *Earl of Northampton* at *Ipslip*. Lieutenant General *Cromwel* march'd from *Windsor* with a Party of Horse to *Cavesham* Bridge, and thence to *Wheatley*, to observe the King's Motions, and being inform'd that a Squadron of Horse under the *Earl of Northampton* and *Goring* was hovering about *Ipslip*, he hasten'd thither, attack'd and defeated them, took 400 Horse, 200 Prisoners, of whom many were of Rank, and the Queen's own Standard. The rest fled to *Bletchington* House, where Colonel *Windebank* kept Garrison for the King. *Cromwel* pursu'd them thither, and after some Treaty took the House also upon Articles, and therein store of Arms and Ammunition, for which Colonel *Windebank* was shot to Death at *Oxford*.

Takes *Bletchington* House. *Windebank* kept Garrison for the King. *Cromwel* pursu'd them thither, and after some Treaty took the House also upon Articles, and therein store of Arms and Ammunition, for which Colonel *Windebank* was shot to Death at *Oxford*. Colonel *Fiennes* fell upon a Party of the King's Horse near *Witney* in *Oxfordshire*, took 120, three Standards, and 140 Prisoners, Lieutenant General *Cromwel* fell upon another Party of the King's at *Bampton Bush*, where he took Sir *William Vaughan*, Lieutenant Colonel *Littleton*, and another Lieutenant Colonel, Mr. *Lee*, 5 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 8 Ensigns, Dr. *Dunsc*, 20 Serjants, 230 Common Soldiers and Arms. Being reinfor'd with 500 Foot from Major General *Browne's* Garrison at *Abington* he attempted *Farringdon* House without Success. The King's Forces under Prince *Rupert* and *Goring* join'd in *Oxfordshire*, and, with the Troops his Majesty had there before, made an Army of 11 or 12000 Men, which had he kept together he might at least have defended himself longer. *Echard* has found out a Victory for *Goring*, who surpriz'd a Horse Quarter of *Cromwel's*, and another Party of *Fairfax's* Horse, broke and defeated them with great Slaughter, which gave him great Reputation, and made him exceeding welcome to the King. *Larrey* writes, *Cromwel* open'd the Campaign fortunately, by the Defeat of Colonel *Goring*, whom he made to lose the Title of Invincible, which his People had given him. But *Larrey* being a Protestant may not have Credit

with Mr. Archdeacon, therefore see what *Leti* a *Papist* says, *Cromwel* meeting a Body of 1300 Horse commanded by *Goring*, defeated them, took 200 Prisoners, &c. We see how well grounded the Reputation of the Historian's Heroes is, for *Goring* did not beat *Cromwel's* or *Fairfax's* Men, but was himself soundly beaten. He was order'd again into the *West* to join *Greenwile* and *Hopton*, and renew the Siege of *Taunton*.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* being making Preparations to besiege *Oxford*, the King perceiv'd he was ill advis'd in dividing his Army; and tho' his marching *Northward* to relieve *Chester*, which was distress'd by Sir *William Brereton*, had so good an Effect, that *Brereton* on the News of it drew off his Forces; yet it brought him into a Necessity of coming to a decisive Battle, which prov'd fatal to himself and to his Followers.

But before the utter Overthrow of his Army he came before *Leicester*, where Col. *Gray* commanded for the Parliament; and one of the Gates being betray'd to him, his Forces enter'd, after a gallant Defence made by the Parliament's Soldiers in the Market-place. The Cavaliers put a great Number to the Sword, some of them after Quarter was given. They murder'd several Women, ravish'd several Maids and Matrons, turn'd others naked into the Streets. They hang'd Mr. *Rayner* and Mr. *Sawyer* in cold Blood, and murder'd Mrs. *Barlowe*, a Minister's Wife, and her Children. The whole Town was miserably plunder'd. This is *Whitlocke's* Account of the King's Triumph, as *Echard* terms it; and I do not here or elsewhere mention the Massacres, Rapes and Plunderings of the Royalists as Matter of Wonderment; for People who were in Arms to destroy the Rights, Liberties and Properties of the Nation in general, could not stick at killing them, and robbing them in particular; but to shew what Reason the Archdeacon has to glory in a Conquest which a good Protestant and Englishman cannot read without Horror, he assures us the Town was got purely by an Act of great Courage; and *Whitlocke*, that it was got purely by an Act of great Treachery. But this Falshood is nothing to the wretched Reflections he makes on the Conspiration the Two Houses were in on News of the Loss of this one Town only, a Place, says he, very considerable, but of no great Extent. The taking of *Leicester* gave the King's Armies a mighty Reputation, and made a terrible Impression upon the Hearts of those at *Westminster*. Great Fears and Distrusts arose in the Houses, every Word false, and several Members were heard to say in their Passage, There is no Hope but in the King's Mercy, and the speediest Recourse to it will be the safest Expedient. What follows may have a little more Truth in it, because this has none at all. The Royal Party seem'd as good as sure that the Day was their own; which they made appear even in London by all publick Signs and Discourses, which they durst no more do than to have taken *Cromwel* by the Nose at the Head of his Ironsides. What his Majesty said upon it in a Letter to the Queen, shews how soon he was lifted up with a little Success in the Midst of extreme Calamity and Distress: I may, without being too sanguine, affirm, that since this REBELLION, my Affairs were never in so hopeful a Way.

The strong Town of *Shrewsbury*, which cut off the Communication with *Wales*, had been lately surpriz'd by the Parliamentarians; the Town of *Taunton*, one of the Keys of the *West*, had lately been reliev'd; *Weymouth*, which Sir *Lewis Dives* had taken for him, was just recover'd, by the Parliament's Forces; the Scots had

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A. D. 1645. had join'd Sir William Brereton in the North; Sir James Long had been just routed at the *Devizes* by a Party of Sir William Waller's Troops, with the Loss of a whole Regiment of Horse. *Montrose* had lately been defeated in *Scotland*. The Rout at *Ipsley* was but a few Days before, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was about to lay Siege to *Oxford*; yet his Majesty says, his Affairs were never in so hopeful a Way since he began the War.

Battle of NASEBY.

Let us look a little into *Echard's* History preceding the Fight at *Naseby*, because we shall see by it that himself and the Authors he depended upon are as ignorant of the true Cause of that Fight, as if it had been fought in *China*. "The King, instead of retiring towards *Worcester* to join General *Gerrard*, who had 3000 Horse and Foot, or staying for General *Goring*, now sent for by his Majesty, or of marching Northward with the Terror of a victorious Army, which we shall see presently was so terrible, that Oliver was afraid they would have given him the Slip, unfortunately turn'd towards *Oxford*, which was thought by some to be in Distress. From whence hearing that *Fairfax* was drawn off, it kindled a greater Appetite in the King's Army to find him out." There are many other Falsities in this Account of the Preparations for the Battle of *Naseby*, but the last is the most extraordinary one; for *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* were all this while drawing the Cavaliers into the Snare they had prepar'd for them, as appears by *Larrey's* History. "*Cromwel* made but a small Account of his little Successes. His Views and Hopes went much farther, and flaming with Desire to see himself engag'd with the Royal Army, he despis'd all Triumphs but over the King, and therefore being highly delighted that his Designs were supported by the Advice and Commands of the Two Houses, he us'd his utmost Diligence to bring his wish'd-for Project to succeed, and block the Way up, so that the King could not escape him." The Two Houses, instead of having Recourse to the King's Mercy as the safest Expedient, in which *Echard* tells us they center'd all their Hopes, had really Recourse to their Army, and commanded their Generals to bring the King to a Battle, now he was in the Field, before he got into a Town again. *Larrey* proceeds, "With this Design, and the better to conceal it, *Cromwel* made a Feint of marching towards the Northern Counties, as if his Intention was to go into *Scotland*, and there join the Covenanters Army. He cross'd *Huntingtonshire* and *Cambridgeshire*, but he communicated his Intention to General *Fairfax*, that he might follow him, keeping close to the King's Army, which he did not doubt would pursue him, and join him when there should be Occasion. Every thing succeeded. The King supposing no Stratagem, and being altogether intent on *Cromwel's* Motions, took his Route thro' *Northamptonshire*, with a Design to observe him, but not risk a Battle, in which he was mistaken. The active and diligent *Cromwel* no sooner had Advice that the King was encamp'd near *Naseby*, but he resolv'd to surprize him there, and compel him to fight. He advis'd *Fairfax* of it, and the whole Army marching all Night, came the 10th of *June* by Break of Day up with the King's Camp." What need was there then of the Archdeacon's kindling an Appetite in the Royalists to find out *Oliver*? *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* have found out the King, and are resolv'd not to let him escape, as he had done at *Edgehill* and *Brentford*. The Battle

ending so unhappily as it did, *Echard* will by no Means leave any Blame on the King, and therefore he affirms his Majesty design'd to return to *Leicester*, and continue on the Defensive; whereas, directly contrary to this, we are inform'd by a Writer who was on the Spot, the King's Opinion prevail'd against the Mind of most of his great Officers, who thought it best to avoid Fighting.

On the 5th of *June* Sir Thomas Fairfax rose from before *Oxford*, and march'd to *Marsh Gibbon*, having order'd Major General *Skippon*, who lay before *Borsall* House to join him, which Mr. Archdeacon very ingeniously calls being beaten off with Loss. Here the Lord General had Intelligence that the King was marching from *Leicester* towards *Daventry*, with Intention to raise the Siege of *Oxford*, which was done to his Hand. The next Day the Army march'd to *Great Brickhill*, and the next Day to *Sherrington*, from whence an Express was sent to General *Cromwel* in the Associated Counties, to inform him of the Army's advancing that Way. On the 9th of *June* a Party was sent out to get Intelligence of the Enemy, who brought in some Prisoners of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale's* Brigade, by whom General *Fairfax* was inform'd that the King lay still at *Daventry*, having fac'd *Northampton*. A Council of War was also held, where it was resolv'd to send Letters to the Two Houses, praying, That in Consideration of the Likelihood of a sudden Battel, Lieutenant General *Cromwel's* Absence in the House might be dispenc'd with for a Time, which shews us that he was not so entirely exempted from the self-denying Ordinance as is pretended. Col. *Hammond* went Post to *London* with these Letters, and return'd Post with a favourable Answer, and a Commission for General *Cromwel* to command the Horse under the Lord General *Fairfax*; which Proceeding of the Parliament being pursuant to a Motion of the Council of War held when *Oliver* was at a Distance, and knew nothing of the Matter, takes away much of the Artifice and Trick imputed to *Cromwel*, to get himself dispenc'd from the Ordinance last mention'd. On the 11th of *June* the Army march'd to *Wootton*, within 8 Miles of *Northampton*, where they were inform'd that the King's Army lay still at *Daventry*, his Foot and Carriages on *Burrough Hill* making a Shew as if he intended to fight on that Ground. But afterwards it appear'd that his Stay there was only till a Party of 1200 Horse was return'd from conveying the plunder'd Cattle and Sheep from *Leicestershire* and *Northamptonshire* to *Oxford*, himself intending to follow *Cromwel*. From *Wootton* the General march'd to *Gilsborough*, within 5 Miles of *Burrough Hill*. A Party of Horse being detach'd to get further Information of the Enemy, they alarm'd their Camp and took some Prisoners, by whom the *Parliamentarians* understood the King was a Hunting, the Soldiers in no Order, and their Horses at Grass, having not the least Knowledge of *Fairfax's* Advance. But the Alarm was quickly taken thro' all their Quarters, and the Parliament's Foot being somewhat behind, it was not thought proper to make any farther Attempt. About Twelve that Night the General took Horse, and rode about both the Horse and Foot Guards till Four in the Morning, expecting the Enemy would have shewn some Gallantry that Night, and fallen upon some of his Quarters. About Break of Day a remarkable Accident befel him as he was riding his Round, for having forgot the Word, he was stopp'd by the Guard, and requiring the Soldier who stood Centinel to give it him, he refus'd to do it, saying,

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Sp. p. 33.

A. D. 1645. *I am to take the Word from all that pass, but to give it to none;* which oblig'd the General to stop in the Rain till the Captain of the Guard came, and commanded the Centinel to give him the Word, which he did, and the General rewarded the Soldier for his Duty and Carefulness. As he was riding within a Mile and a half of *Flozere*, where the Enemy kept a Horse-Guard, he could discern them about Three a Clock in the Morning riding fast over *Burrough Hill*, and making Fires in Abundance, as if they were Firing their Huts, which gave him Reason to conclude they were about to march; and two Hours after he receiv'd Advice from Scout-master General *Watson*, who was almost always upon the Reconnoitre, that the Enemy was drawing off from *Burrough Hill* in great Amazement at the near Approach of the Parliament Army. *Echard* owns his Majesty lay quiet five Days, not knowing where *Fairfax* was, tho' within five or six Miles of him; a very unhappy Security amidst so much Danger, and an Instance that the King's ill Fate fast pursu'd him; for in all the War he had not till then shewn any Want of Conduct or Activity. *Watson's* Scouts were follow'd by some Spies, who confirm'd the former Report, adding, that the King's Carriages were drawn from *Burrough Hill* towards *Harborough*. Upon which a Council of War was held. Before it broke up, Lieutenant General *Cromwel* arriv'd with 600 Horse out of the Association, to the great Joy of the General and the whole Army. A Party of Horse was immediately order'd to get Intelligence on *Daventry* Side, and Colonel *Ireton* with a strong Party to fall upon the Flank of the Enemy if he saw Cause, while the main Body of the Parliament's Army flank'd the King's in their March to *Harborough*, and came that Night, the 13th of *June*, to *Gilling*, where they understood the Royalists were at *Harborough*, their Rear within two Miles of *Naseby*, and soon after, that Col. *Ireton* had fallen into their Quarters in *Naseby* Town, where he took many Prisoners, some of the Prince's Life-guard and *Langdale's* Brigade, and gave a terrible Alarm to all their Forces; upon which his Majesty quitted the Quarters he had taken, and for Security went to *Harborough*, where Prince *Rupert* quarter'd, who was then a-bed; but the King order'd him to be call'd up, and a Council of War to be held, by whom it was resolv'd to give Battle, taking themselves, says my Author, as indeed they were, a more considerable Force than the Parliament's, especially in Horse, on which they chiefly depended.

Saturday, June the 14th, General *Fairfax* advanc'd by Three a Clock in the Morning from *Gilling* towards *Naseby*, and by Five his Army rendezvouz'd near the Town, when great Bodies of the Enemy's Horse appear'd on the Top of the Hill on *Harborough* Side; and these were follow'd by the whole Army, for the Royalists had receiv'd false Intelligence, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was flying towards *Northampton*, and they made so much haste to pursue him, that they left many of their Ordnance behind them. Whereas *Fairfax*, instead of flying, had drawn up his Army in *Battalia* in a large fallow Field, on the North-West Side of *Naseby*, and was ready to receive them.

The Battle.

The King commanded the Main Body of his Army, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* the Right Wing, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left, the Earl of *Lindsey* and the Lord *Astley* the Right Hand Reserve, the Lord *Bard* and Sir *George Lisle* the Left.

Of the Parliament Army *Fairfax* and *Skippon* commanded the Main Body, *Cromwel* the Right

Wing and *Ireton* the Left. The Reserves were brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond* and *Pride*. The Parliament Word was *God our Strength*; the Royalist, *Queen Mary*, a *Papist*, 'tis true, but never the worse Word for their Purpose. Prince *Rupert* began and charg'd the Parliament's Left Wing with great Resolution. *Ireton* made gallant Resistance, but was at last forc'd to give Ground, he himself being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, his Horse shot under him, and himself taken Prisoner. Prince *Rupert* follow'd the Chace almost to *Naseby*, and in his Return summon'd the Train, who made no Answer but with their Firelocks. He also visited the Carriages, where was good Plunder, for which the Cavaliers had always so keen an Appetite that to come at it, they never consider'd the King's Safety nor their own, and it must be confess'd that this Plunder was what their common Soldiers fought for, since one cannot believe they were so well appriz'd of the great Advantages of arbitrary Power, and the Blessings of Superstition and Priestcraft, as the Earl of *Clarendon* and the more enlighten'd of them were.

Prince *Rupert* remain'd all this while among the Parliament's Carriages which he could rise, tho' they could not take, and all this while was *Cromwel* cutting to pieces the left Wing of the King's Army, whom he had forc'd from their main Body, broke them and their Reserve with a dreadful Slaughter; after which he bore down like a Torrent on the main Body of the Royal Army, and with the Assistance of two or three Regiments of Infantry encompass'd their Foot, who finding themselves deserted by their Horse, threw down their Arms and yielded themselves Prisoners. His Majesty got out of the Field into *Leicester* Road, where he was pursu'd by the Parliament Horse, and thinking *Leicester* not safe enough, he posted to *Litchfield*, and thence into *Cheshire* and *Wales*. Prince *Rupert* returning too late from his Expedition against the Parliament's Carriages, found all was lost on the Place of Battle, and with about 300 Horse made as fast as he could to *Bristol*. Tho' the Action was hot while it lasted, and many of the King's Soldiers who behav'd like *Englishmen*, were slain; yet the Shortness of it prevented a greater Slaughter on both Sides: On that of the Parliament, Captain *Bush* of *Cromwel's*, and Captain *Selby* of *Fleetwood's* Regiments, and Lieutenant Colonel *Francois* of *Skippon's* Regiment were kill'd, and about 1000 kill'd and wounded: 600 of the King's Soldiers, among whom was Colonel *Sayr*, a *Papist*, were kill'd, but 6000 were taken Prisoners, which made the Number of the Slain the less. Among the latter were Sir *Thomas Dalison* and Sir *Richard Cave*, Sir *Peter Brown*, Major *Rively*, Major *Markham*, and Captain *Thorold*, the four last *Papists*. All their Train of Artillery, every one of their Carriages were taken, 8000 Arms, 200 Barrels of Powder, 200 Horses, 6 Colonels, 7 Lieutenant Colonels, 16 Majors, 70 Captains, 80 Lieutenants, 80 Ensigns, 200 inferior Officers, 140 Standards and Colours, the King's Footmen and Servants, his Coaches, Sumpter and Cabinet, of which more in due Time. *Whitlocke* tells us, there were found among the Runaways 100 Irish Women, and many other Women who had follow'd the Camp; and Mr. *Echard*, with singular Sincerity, tells us, *Fairfax's* Soldiers avoided no Manner of Cruelty, and in the Pursuit kill'd above 100 Women, some of which were Persons of Quality. It is modest to a Miracle. Women of Quality are wont to be Campers; and tho' they were Irish Quality,

A. D. 1645. lity, the *Trulls of Irish* REBELS, they were not massacred, as the Archdeacon affirms they were. Lilly says, p. 72. *The King's Army was overcharg'd with Irish Whores.* Some particular Accidents which happen'd in the Fight are worth Remembrance.

Particular
Accidents
in the Bat-
tle.

The Lord General had his Helmet beaten off, and riding in the Field bare headed from one Part of his Army to another, to see what Advantage might be gain'd, he came up to his own Life Guard, commanded by Colonel *Charles Doyly*, who told him he was too much expos'd, so many Bullets flying about him, and offer'd him his Helmet, which the General refus'd, saying, *It is well enough Charles.* A Body of the King's Horse making a Stand not far off, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ask'd him if he had charg'd them; *Doyly* reply'd, *I have charg'd them twice but cannot break them:* Upon which the General order'd him to charge them once again in Front, and he would himself charge them in Rear. Thus they would meet together in the middle of them. *Doyly* did as he was commanded, and both together charging that Body put them in Confusion, broke them, and *Fairfax* and *Doyly* met indeed in the Middle of them, where *Fairfax* kill'd a Cornet, and one of *Doyly's* Troopers took his Standard, bragging of the Service he had done in killing the Officer and taking his Colours: But *Doyly* who saw the General himself kill the Cornet, severely reprimanded the Trooper for his bragging and lying, telling him how many Witnesses there were who saw the General do it with his own Hands; but *Fairfax* himself bid the Colonel let the Trooper alone, saying, *I have Honour enough, let him have that Honour.* General *Skippon*, the oldest Soldier remaining among the Chief Officers, receiv'd a Shot in the Body, from one of his own Men, as was suppos'd unwillingly, whereby he was in a great Measure disabled to perform the Duty of his Post that Day, though extremely desirous to do it: The Lord General entreated him to go out of the Field, but he answer'd, *I will not stir so long as a Man will stand;* and he staid accordingly till the Battle was ended. *Cromwel* also had his Helmet knock'd off, but hastily catching it up he clap'd it on the wrong Way, and so fought with it bravely the rest of the Day. We have mention'd *Ireton's* being wounded and taken in the Fight, but in the Confusion of the Rout, he got loose again and was a Witness of the Victory obtain'd by his Party.

Whitlocke, who was one of Lilly's Patrons, as were Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Christopher Wray*, Mr. *Reynolds*, and the Learned *Elias Ashmole*, Esq; speaks of that *Astrologer's* foretelling the Battle of *Naseby*, which he himself tells thus in his Life, "I made Use of the King's Nativity, and finding that his Ascendant was approaching to the Quadrature of *Mars* about June 1645, I gave this unlucky Judgment in my *Anglicus* for that Year, "If now we fight a Victory stealeth upon us, and so it did in June 1645, at *Naseby*, the most fatal Overthrow he ever had." Sober Persons, especially such as curse Lilly for his Prediction, may censure so grave a Person as Mr. *Whitlocke* for taking any Notice of it, and despise the Parliament for countenancing him, tho' the King himself countenanced him so far as to send Mrs. *Whorwood* to him from *Hampton-Court*, when he was there under Confinement, to erect a Figure for his Escape, and she gave him 20 Broad Pieces, part of the 1000 Pounds which Alderman *Adams*, of *London*, had lately sent him. But the King's Conjurers, though they were eternally running from one House to

P. 46.
Lilly's Pro-
phesy of
Naseby
Fight.

another among the *Celestial* Ones, could never make any Thing of their Errand. All the Houses were against them. The chiefest of them was *Hodges* of *Wolverhampton*, of whom Lilly writes, "He was a great *Royalist*, but could never hit any Thing right for that Party, though he much desir'd it."

Colonel *John Fiennes* was sent to *London* with the Prisoners and Colours, and the News was receiv'd in that City with unexpressible Joy, as being the Promise of a safe Peace.

Among the Pillage of the Field, which was very rich, was taken the King's own Cabinet, "Where, says the Archdeacon, were lodg'd his *secret Papers*, and Letters between him and his Queen, of which they soon after made the most barbarous Use, and publish'd them in Print with the severest Comment." The Falshood and Sophistry of this Reflection, which is in all their Histories, *Orleans*, *Raguenot*, *Salmonet*, *Clarendon*, *Warwick*, &c. are equal to the Character of his History. He would have you believe by the most *secret Papers*, are to be understood the *Privacies of Conjugal Amours*, and the *Secrets of the Marriage Bed*, which if they had made publick, it would have been a barbarous Use of those Papers. Instead of this they publish'd such Passages as prov'd to the World what they had long asserted, That the King corresponded with the *Irish* REBELS, and that he was never sincere in the Treaties he proposed to the Parliament. We have already observ'd that he would not suffer those Butchers to be call'd REBELS, and it was here that the Manuscript of his Victories written by Sir *Edward Walker* was taken among other Papers, where when Sir *Edward* said REBELS, he struck it out with his own Hand, and in several Places wrote *Irish* over it. There was also taken and brought to the Lord General a Wooden Image like a Roundhead, which the Cavaliers blasphemously call'd the *God of the Roundheads*, and carry'd it about their Camp in Scorn a little before the Battle began. In one of the Letters to the Queen, it is said *His Majesty intended to make a Peace with the Irish, and to have 40000 of them over into England to prosecute the War here.* Did this need a severe Comment? and could any Thing but this Intention keep up the Spirit of a Party reduc'd to the extreme Degree of Misery and Despair. In other Letters to the Queen the King complains, *that he could not prevail with his Mongrel Parliament at Oxford to vote that the Parliament at Westminster were no Parliament: That he will not make Peace with the English REBELS without her Approbation, nor go one Foot from the Paper she sent him. That upon the Treaty at Uxbridge he did not positively own the Parliament, it being otherwise to be construd, though they were so simple as not to find it out, and that it was recorded in the Notes of the Council that he did not acknowledge them a Parliament.* But the Parliament were not such Simpletons as to be impos'd upon by him and his *Oxford* Counsellors. They oblig'd the King to own them in as solemn Words as Language can express, and his Majesty's commanding that Prevarication to be recorded in the Notes of the Council, that he did not own them after he had done it so solemnly, is one of those Passages which a little Discretion would have sunk as the Parliament sunk those Passages in the King's Letters, which would have vindicated him for the Particular of the 40000 *Irish* REBELS. The King made them more than they were, to keep Life in the languishing Spirits of his Queen and Followers; but that he intended to bring as many of them over

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P. 51. "The Duke of York suffer'd me to talk very freely to him about Religion, and as I was urging him with somewhat out of his Father's Book, he told me, *That Book was not of his Father's Writing, and that the Letter to the Prince of Wales was never brought to him;*" 'tis much insisted on by Clarendon and Echard. "The Duke of York added, Dr. Gauden writ it; after the Restauration, the Doctor brought the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Southampton both to the King and me, who affirm'd, that they knew it was his Writing, and that it was carry'd down to the Isle of Wight by the Earl of Southampton, and shew'd the King during the Treaty there, who read it, and approv'd of it. The Duke said farther, *Though Sheldon and the other Bishops oppos'd Gauden's Promotion, because he had taken the Covenant, yet the Merits of that Service carry'd it for him, and he was made a Bishop.*" Dr. Burnet says this Evidence is very strong, and indeed stronger there cannot be. Since these Evidences we have still another later one, Dr. Burnet of the Charter-house, and a Bishop whose Name I was not told, being at Dinner on a Thirtieth of January, at the House of a Person of Quality, one of the noble Company, from whom I had it, said to Dr. Burnet, *There's Dr. Gauden's Letter to the Lord Clarendon about Eikon Basilike, and the Lord Clarendon's Answer in their own Hand-writing at such a Booksellers, Why don't the Bishop and you go and see them?* Dr. Burnet reply'd, *Be quiet, be quiet, we have seen them already.* I find, that upon the publishing of this Book, many People suspected it to be an Imposture, among others Lilly writes, "I wonder at that Passage of his, if it was his, which I doubt of, in that Book publish'd under his Name, and call'd his *Portraiture*, wherein he maintains the Parliament was called as much by his own Choice and Inclination, as Advice of others, whereas it is manifestly known even unto all, it was only Necessity and the Importance of the *English*. The Book it self maintains so many Contradictions unto those Things, manifested by his own Letters under his own Hand to his Queen, that I conceive the most part of it *Apocryphal*. The *Meditations* or *Psalms*, wholly were added by others. Some loose Papers he had I do well know, but they were nothing so well methodiz'd." Again,

P. 53. "Two main Things are objected against the King, which his late pretended Book meddles not with, or answers. First, Why his Majesty

"was so tender-hearted of the *Irish*, as not to suffer above 40 Proclamations to issue against those *Rebels* in *Ireland*, and those also to no Purpose, or unopportunity, when too late. Besides, to shew his Respect unto them, I know he obliterated with his own Hands the Word *Irish Rebels*, and put in *Irish Subjects*, in a MS. Discourse, writ by Sir Edward Walker, and presented to him, which I have seen of the *Irish* Rebellion. Secondly, Whereas the Parliament were sending over Clothes and other Necessaries for the *English* Soldiers in *Ireland*, the King seiz'd them as they went, arm'd and furnish'd the *English* and *Welch* against the Parliament. The Reasons of these are omitted by the *Penmen* of his *Portraiture*.

But to good Judges of Sentiments and Style all these Declarations are needless. The Disagreement there is between the King's Thoughts and Expressions in that and his other Writings, the Affectation, and the Rounding and Ranging of the Periods, the Coldness even in such exalted Devotion, and the Bitterness where Occasion is taken to speak of the Reform'd Religion, as it is establish'd in Protestant Countries, shew sufficiently, without other Proof, that it was not the Work of a Layman.

Echard's Story of the *Spy*, who was the Cause, of the Loss of the Battle of *Naseby*, is so far from being true, that it could not be true. He tells us, *Cromwel* and *Ireton* prevail'd with the unwilling General to open the Letters which the *Spy* was carrying to the King from *Goring*, advising him not to fight till he join'd him. *Cromwel* could not prevail with him, for he was then in the *Associated Counties*, and came not to *Fairfax's* Camp till after the Resolution to fight was taken. If there had really been no Intention to bring over the *Irish* *Massacres* to assist the Cavaliers, the continuing the War after the entire Defeat at *Naseby*, is an Effect of Despair, which seldom appears while Men have their Wits about them, for if, like the *Parliamentarians*, we pursue the Royalists from one End of the Kingdom to the other, 'tis only from Rout to Rout on their Side, and from Victory to Victory on that of their Enemy.

General *Fairfax* march'd from *Naseby* Field General to *Leicester*, where the King had left a Garrison *Fairfax* under the Lord *Hastings*, whom he summon'd *Leicester* two Days after the Fight, and his Lordship receiv'd a Cavalier Answer, defying him and his victorious Army, but he did not keep in that sturdy Humour, for the next Day on the Firing of two or three great Guns, he sent out a Trumpet to desire a Parley, which being granted, Colonel *Pickering* and Colonel *Rainsborough* concluded a Treaty of Surrender on more honourable Terms than Men in their desperate Condition ought to have expected. But such was the Clemency of the Parliament's General, who took Pleasure indeed in Conquest, but not in Insolence and Cruelty, which cannot be said of the King's Generals in the few Instances we have of their Successes.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Heart was set on relieving *Taunton*, which good Town *Goring* had reduc'd again to a second Extremity, and ruin'd the adjacent *stretches* Country with second Pillage and Devastation. Colonel *Blake* the brave Governor, had in several Sallies got great Advantages of him, and at last wrote to the Parliament; *That if Relief General came not speedily they should be put into great Straits for Provisions and Ammunition.* He Letter to assur'd the House he had never accepted of a Parley, but scorn'd it. *That his Garrison had some Ammunition left, and resolv'd to feed upon their Horses.* He desir'd the House to take Consideration

Eikon Basilike not written by the King.

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Eikon Basilike suspected at first to be a Forgery.

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A. D. 1645. *Almightry, who he doubted not would relieve them.* The Parliament answer'd, *That Relief should speedily come to the Garrison. And what Money they took up the House would pay, desiring them to go on in their Vigilancy and Valour and they should never want Encouragement.* Soon after Governour Blake had Intelligence from *Lyme*, that Succours were order'd for him, and having receiv'd thence a small Supply of Powder, a Party of the Garrison issu'd out on the Besiegers and slew above 400 of them, with the Loss of 100 of the Besieg'd, who oblig'd the Enemy by this sharp Action to draw back, and enlarg'd their Quarters 5 or 6 Miles in Compass. On the Parliament's Side were kill'd Colonel *Lloyd* and Colonel *Richbel*. On the King's Major *Norwood* and Captain *Richardson*, two Papists. Sir *John Digby* was mortally wounded and died at *Bridgewater*, a staunch Papist. The Parliament sent Orders to General *Massej* to march towards *Taunton* with 3000 Horse and Foot, before General *Fairfax* left pursuing the King, but he was only strong enough to hinder the Cavaliers scatter'd Troops from joining *Goring*, and *Fairfax* wrote him Word he would be up with him by such a Day, in order to clear *Taunton*, and the Country about it, from such a horrid Crew.

General Fairfax's March into the WEST. The two Houses desir'd the Scots Army to advance towards *Hereford*, that by reducing so considerable a Place on the *Welch* Frontier, the King, who was in *Wales*, might be farther straiten'd, and sent Orders to General *Fairfax* to march to the Relief of *Taunton*. Accordingly having settled the Town of *Leicester*, he march'd the 20th of *June* to *Lutterworth*, thence to *Warwick*, thence to *Clifford* and *Campden* in *Gloucestershire*, and on the 25th he came before *Highworth* in *Wiltshire*, and summon'd one Major *Hen*, who had fortify'd himself in the *Church* and refus'd to surrender. There is a Spice of Desperation and Frenzy in the future Actions of the Cavaliers. *Hen* hung out bloody Colours, but he no sooner saw the Guns drawing up against his Fortification than he yielded upon Quarter. The Soldiers had good Booty. The Resistance the Cavaliers make is like the Agonies of dying Men, yet they will not suffer their Master to part with the *Laudean* Prelacy, or rather to part with them, to save Himself, his Kingdoms and Posterity. The Mischief they did now was of no Use to them, and the Parliament's Forces treated them like Men who deserv'd Pity rather than Chastisement, the Delinquents only excepted, who had brought all these Calamities on the Nation, and of whom Mr. *Edward Hyde* was not the least guilty. The General left a small Garrison at *Highworth* to enlarge the Parliament's Quarters that way. From *Marlborough*, *June* 29. Spies were sent to *Taunton*, to give Governour *Blake* Notice of *Fairfax's* March towards him. On *Salisbury* Plain the Army met with some of the *Club Men*, and near *Blandford* in *Dorsetshire* took Mr. *Penruddock* and one *Fussell*, two of their Captains, who upon Promise of future peaceable Behaviour were dismiss'd. These *Club Men* were spirited up by some *Laudean* Priests in *Wiltshire* and *Dorsetshire*, who having a little more Discretion than Dr. *Hudson*, Dr. *Dunse*, and other Doctors, who were among the King's Troops, did not counsel them to declare openly for the King; but for a *Neutrality*, and under that Pretext to fall upon those who offer'd to disturb them, meaning the Parliament's Forces only, which they fail'd not to do when they met with Straglers, or had any Advantage over them, as they once broke into Major General *Massej's*

A. D. 1645. Quarters, surpriz'd some of his Men and slew them, but having several of their own slain in Revenge, it gave a Check to them for some Time. Their Leaders, Dr. *Gocher* of *Trinity College, Cambridge*, Mr. *Bromwel*, Mr. *Walsham*, Mr. *Hook*, all Club Divines, *John St. Loe*, Esq; *Peter Hoskins*, Esq; *Thomas Trenchard*, Esq; *Robert Culliford*, Esq; Gentlemen much too good for the Company they kept, Mr. *Richard Neweman*, Mr. *George Hawles*, Mr. *Robert Parvett*, and one *Young* an Attorney, deliver'd a Petition to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, to desire, that till a Peace was concluded the Towns of *Dorset* and *Wilt*s should be put into their Hands. The General thought fit to temporize with them till he had driven *Goring* from before *Taunton*, lest on any ill Success these Club Troops, headed by their Clergy, should fall upon those of his Men, who retreated to those Counties, so he gave them good Words, though he knew very well that some of them had rais'd Men by the King's Commission, and resolv'd to disperse them as soon as he had an Opportunity.

Goring hearing of *Fairfax's* Approach drew off his Army to *Blackdown*, to tempt the Garrison of *Taunton* to sally still farther from their Works, and then cut off their Retreat. But the Garrison heard as well as he that General *Fairfax* was approaching, and left *Goring* to his Management.

The Army march'd from *Dorchester* to *Beaumont*, which Town they found in Ashes, being set on Fire by Prince *Maurice's* Men in five Places at once, occasion'd by a Quarrel between the *French* and *Cornish*. Here the General receiv'd certain Information, that *Goring*, who did not know what to do, was quite drawn off from *Taunton* and come to *Imiser*, making the best of his Way to avoid the victorious Army, but he had staid about *Taunton* too long. He had a long Reckoning to make up, for the Robberies and Cruelties he and his Crew had committed, and *Fairfax* is resolv'd they shall pay it. At *Crookkern* the General commanded Colonel *Fleetwood* with a Body of Horse to pursue *Goring*, while three other Regiments of Horse, and two of Foot, march'd more slowly after him, to be ready to join in case of Action. The Enemy pretended to make good *South Perberton* Bridge, but on *Fleetwood's* Approach they abandon'd it. The Parliament's Forces march'd over the Bridge towards *Ilchester*, and sent a Detachment to *Load Bridge*, where the Royalists had a strong Guard, but it was not thought fit to attack them. They had also garrison'd *Ilchester* and *Langport*, and broke down the Bridge near *Yeovill*. On *July* 7, the Parliament Army rendezvouz'd in a Field near *Crookkern*, and the General and Lieutenant General went with a Party to view the Pass at *Load Bridge*. The Enemy's Horse appear'd in great Numbers. They drew up their Foot and march'd some Regiments from *Load Bridge* along the Side of the River *Parret*, towards *Ilchester*. The Horse on both Sides skirmish'd all Day by Parties on the Meadows near the River. The Cavaliers had Garrisons at *Ilchester*, *Langport*, *Burrough*, *Sydenham House*, and *Bridgewater*, and their Army was ready on the other Side of the River to defend the Passage. The General therefore left a sufficient Strength to observe the Garrison at *Ilchester*, and the Guard at *Load Bridge*, and march'd his Army to *Yeovill*, where Intelligence was brought that Colonel *Phillips*, Governor of *Ilchester*, had quitted it, after having burnt the *Bridewell*, a Place he had fortify'd. The Guard also was drawn off from *Load Bridge*, and *Goring* came near *Taunton* again as if he thought he might surprize the Town

A. D. 1645. Town in the Security they probably were in upon the Approach of the Parliament Army. General Fairfax sent Major General Massey after Goring with his own Brigade of Horse, and order'd another Party of Horse as a Reserve if need were.

Battle of Langport.

Wednesday, July the 9th, the Army march'd to Long Sutton, where News came that Major General Massey was near upon an Engagement, and the General immediately gave Command that Colonel Montagu should march with 2000 Musketeers to his Assistance, being every where an inclos'd Country, but the Engagement was over before he could come up, Goring's Party beaten, many slain, 800 Horse taken Prisoners. In this Action Colonel Cooke was shot through both Cheeks. The Parliament Horse continu'd all Day skirmishing with the Enemies, at a Pass a Mile beyond Langport on Ham side. They took a French Cornet with his Standard, a Dutch Man, and a Spaniard Prisoners.

The next Day, July the 10th, the Cavalier Infantry advanc'd from Langport to the Pass, lin'd the Hedges thick with Musketeers, and drew up their Ordnance, upon which the General, Lieutenant General, and all the Officers, instantly mounted and rode up the Field where the Enemy was preparing to engage, one of the rashest Actions in the War, for Goring might have made his Escape when he was Master of the western Side of the River. Fairfax could not have hinder'd his Army's getting into Devonshire and Cornwall, where there were more Forces to encrease it, but ill Fate pursu'd the King and his Generals, and Despair hurry'd them on Enterprizes which had no Prospect but Destruction. The Parliament's Army was not only more Numerous but Victorious, and Goring's, spirited with nothing but the Lust of Blood and Rapine, which sinks always in Battle, where the honest and generous Mind only carries a Man well through.

General Goring routed.

Before the Detachment sent as a Reserve to Massey return'd, Fairfax's Ordnance play'd on Goring's Army with great Execution, beating the Enemy from the Hill on Ham side, and forcing them to draw off their Ordnance from the Pass. The Parliament Foot drew down the Hill towards the Pass, and with their wonted Resolution charg'd the Enemy from Hedge to Hedge till they got the Pass, upon which Goring's Horse advanc'd towards them, and were charg'd and routed by Major Bethel and Major Desborough. The Musketeers coming up after the Horse, fir'd on them so close, that the King's White and Black Regiment march'd off without farther engaging, and were pursu'd as far as Aler Drove, 3 Miles off, where Goring's Horse and Foot made a short Stand, but seeing Fairfax's Horse and Foot marching after them in excellent Order, the Cavaliers took to their Heels, the Horse endeavour'd to leap the Reens, which are broad, full of Water in Winter, and Mire in Summer, and many of the Cavaliers were mir'd. The Troopers dismounted and got into the Meadows to the Infantry, who being surrounded yielded at Discretion. There were about 300 of the King's Soldiers kill'd, among whom was Mr. Theodore Morse, a Popish Voluntier, and 1400 Prisoners taken, among whom were Major General Porter, Colonel Heveningham, and Colonel Slingsby, General of Goring's Ordnance. Fairfax's Men took also 100 inferior Officers, 40 Standards and Colours, 4000 Arms, and 1200 Horses. Goring, and the rest of the Runaways, got to Bridgwater, and the General took up his Quarters at Middlesey, within 5 Miles of it. The next Day he drew up his whole Army, Horse

and Foot, on Weston Moor near Pensy Pound, the very Spot of Ground where just forty Years after the Duke of Monmouth's Forces fought King James the Second's. The People of Middlesey, Weston, Chedsey, Barwrip, Puriton, Pawlet, and all along Poldon Hill, hearing of the Defeat of the Cavaliers, and fearing to taste of their former Cruelties as they ran away, rose in great Numbers, and with their Colours, Clubs, and Arms, appear'd upon Knoll Hill, then belonging to the famous Governor Blake. General Fairfax being inform'd of it, He, Lieutenant General Cromwel, and other Officers, rode up the Hill to them, and were receiv'd with seeming Joy, in token of which they gave them a Volley, and their Leader made a neutral Speech. The General having engag'd them not to supply Bridgwater with Provisions return'd to the Army, which quarter'd that Night in and about Chedsey, within two Miles of Bridgwater, which Town the Lord General resolv'd to reduce.

If I am more particular in this Siege than any Siege of other, some Allowance is to be made for my BRIDGWATER. writing it on the Spot, and for the Love which every one naturally bears to the Place of his Nativity, an Affection which I have observ'd to be more prevalent in the Natives of this Town than those of any other, owing probably to their plentiful and jocund Way of living. I am furnish'd with the Particulars by a Manuscript which will be improv'd by my Knowledge of the Place, at that Time the most Important in the West of England, it, in some Measure, cutting off the Communication between all the Country beyond it to the Lands End, and the Rest of England, standing on the River Parret, which divides the spacious and rich County of Somerset in two, and from the Mouth of that River 12 Miles from Bridgwater in the Severn Channel, to its Source on the Edge of Dorsetshire, not far from the British Channel, is an Isthmus not much above 30 Miles broad. The Country from the North almost to the South Channel, abounds with all Sorts of Provisions, as much, if not more, than any Part of England, and could plentifully supply a much greater Garrison than the King had in Bridgwater. A Town which never departed from the true Interest of England, when they were not misled by Bigots, nor influenc'd by an ill Neighbourhood. It was now full of Gentlemen and Clergymen, who, contrary to the Inclination of the Inhabitants, who were generally Puritans, under the Guidance of a very pious, worthy Minister, Mr. Devenish, their Vicar, made it a Garrison for the King, while the gallant Colonel Blake, afterwards the renowned Admiral, a Native of this Town, kept Taunton for the Parliament.

About 3 Months before General Fairfax attack'd Bridgwater, the Prince of Wales kept his Court in the Castle there, and had his Council with him, the chief of whom were, the Earl of Berkshire, Sir Edward Hyde, the Lord Capel, the Lord Colepepyr. Thither were summon'd the King's Commissioners for the four associated Counties.

For Dorsetshire.

Sir John Strangways, Anchtel Grey, Esq; Mr. Ryves.

For Somersetshire.

Sir John Stawell, Sir Hugh Windham, Mr. Walrond, Mr. War.

For Devonshire.

Sir Peter Ball, Sir George Parry, Mr. St. Hill, Mr. Muddiford.

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For Cornwall.

Sir Henry Killigrew, Mr. Coriton, Mr. Scawen, Mr. Roscorroth.

These Gentlemen waited on the Prince the 23^d of April, and a long Consultation was held at the Castle about the Operations of the ensuing Campaign. Sir John Starvel propos'd, that *One and All* should rise in these *Associated* Counties, and knock the Parliamentarians o'th' Head. But the Vigour of that Proposition did not meet with the Applause it was intended for, his Highness's Council not being satisfy'd that the *One and All* were at the Command of Sir John Starvel. At this Meeting was discover'd the ill Effect of the Disagreement between *Goring* and *Greenville*, the King's Generals in the *West*. Complaints were daily brought against Sir *Richard Greenville*, and *Goring* was disgusted that the Prince did not make him *Generalissimo* of all the *Western* Armies, which were to be soon dissipated. Much Business would have been done according to Sir *Edward Hyde*, who was one of the principal Counsellors, IF it had not been for the Divisions in the Councils, which render'd this Meeting useless. His Highness staid at *Bridgwater* eight Days, and then return'd to *Bristol*.

Windham Governor of Bridgwater his Character and his Wife's.

The Earl of *Clarendon* in the *History of the Rebellion*, gives us a pleasant Account of the Wife of the Governor of *Bridgwater*, Colonel *Edmund Windham*, who had been a Burgees for this Borough, and was expell'd the House of Commons as a *Monopolizer*. His Wife had given Suck to the Prince, yet, to use the Lord *Clarendon's* Words, she was a *Woman of no good Breeding, and a Country Pride, Nihil Mulibre præter Corpus gerens, having nothing of a Woman about her but her Body*. He adds, *She valu'd her self much upon the Power and Familiarity which her Neighbours might see she had with the Prince of Wales, and therefore upon all Occasions in Company, and when the Course of People was greatest, would use great Boldness towards him, and, which was worse than all this, she affected in all Companies where she let her self out to any Freedom, a very negligent and disdainful Mention of the Person of the King. She diverted the Prince by her Folly and Petulancy from applying himself to the serious Consideration of his Business, and spoke negligently and scornfully of his Council*. Intolerable! The Lord *Clarendon* was the chief Man of that Council, and to be scorn'd and neglected was enough to put her into his History in as ill a Figure as the Wife of Col. *Ven*, whom he has also made as immortal as the History of the Rebellion. Governor *Windham* acted upon his Neighbours without Controul, says the Earl, and it is said he hung up an honest Townsman upon the Sign-Post of the *George Inn* for having given Offence to some of his Clergymen by certain Acts of Devotion in the Presbyterian Way. On the 3^d of *June* the Prince of *Wales* return'd to *Bridgwater*, and was attended by a Deputation from the *Club-Men*, who to the Number of 5 or 6000 appear'd in Arms on *Poldon Hill*, near *Marshal's Elm*, 10 Miles from this Town. They complain'd of *Goring's* Violence and Rapine, and the Earl of *Clarendon* assures us that Sir *John Starvel* had his Agents amongst them. Several Persons were active at their Meetings, who were known to be affected to the King's Service. The Prince order'd *Goring* to reform his Army by good Discipline, but he took little Notice of those Orders, and liv'd himself and suffer'd his Men to live in all manner of Licentiousness; but what was most grievous to *Windham* Governor of

Bridgwater, he took the Contributions which were assess'd on the Inhabitants of the Parts adjacent for the Payment of his Garrison, which consisted of about 1800 Men, some of whom were taken Prisoners by the *Club-Men* for attempting to levy those Contributions by Force, after *Goring* had inhibited *Windham* to do it.

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The Town of *Bridgwater* is seated, as the Earl of *Clarendon* observes, in the Centre of the Shire, and is consequently the best situated for the Business of it, which one would think to be within the Compass of common Understanding, and therefore not liable to be contested. It is the youngest Town and the oldest Corporation in the County; it not having a Being before the *Norman* Invasion, and was incorporated about 130 Years after by Procurement of that powerful Baron *William de Briwere*, Favourite to *Henry II. Richard I.* and King *John*. *Briwere* built the Castle, and made it the Head of his Manors in those Parts. The Castle and the Manor of the Castle are now in the Possession of his Grace the Duke of *Chandos*, who has built a very handsome Street between the Site of the old Castle and the River. The Castle now remaining is a modern Building not 100 Years old, and there were no more Apartments in it in *Windham's* Time than there are now, but some Outlodgings and Houses, of which nothing now is to be seen. There were 40 Guns mounted on the Walls, which were 15 Foot thick in most Places. An Historian who was with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, says, *The Town glory'd in the Equality of its Level, there being not a Clod on the East Side of the River that could afford any Advantage against the Place. The Fortifications were very regular and strong; the Ditch about it very deep, and 30 Foot wide, which for a great Part of the Circuit of the Town was every Tide fill'd up to the Brim with Water. The Circuit within the Line and Works was not very large, but very well mann'd. The Town is divided into two Parts by the River Parret, over which is a Stone Bridge with three large Arches built by Nicholas Trivet the Historian, who marry'd a Descendant of Briwere's in Henry III's Time, or that of his Son Edward I. There was a high Fortification at the East End of the Field, where stood the Hospital of St. John, and Mounts rais'd between that and Dunwear, which render'd the Access difficult on the Side of Eastover the Eastern Division of the Town. There was also a Garrison in Sydenham House, belonging now to Mr. Dodington, one of the Lords of the Treasure, and Representative in this present Parliament for the Borough of Bridgwater. The House was surrender'd to Colonel Helbern on Summons, and in it 100 Men were made Prisoners of War. The General order'd Col. *Welden's* Brigade to post themselves at *Hann* House on the South-West Part of the Town, and the adjacent Hill belonging also to Mr. *Dodington*, from whence it was easy to annoy the Place. Batteries were rais'd there, but the Lord General resolv'd not to make a long Siege of it, and to carry the Town by Storming, while his Soldiers were flush'd with the Victory at *Langport*. He commanded Col. *Okey* with a Detachment to reduce the King's Garrison at *Burrough*, where 140 of *Goring's* Men had fortify'd themselves in a Chapel on the Top of a steep Pyramidal Hill; but they were so terrify'd at the Sight of the Rout given their Fellows in *Auler* Grounds, just under the Hill, that they surrender'd upon Quarter.*

An Account of the Town.

Vice Admiral *Moulton* had been order'd to cruize in the *Severne*, or *Bristol* Channel, and prevent the transporting of Soldiers from *Wales* to

A. D. 1645. to *Bridgewater*, between which there is great Communication on Account of the Coal Trade. *Moulton's* Frigates took 16 *Welsh* Transports off *Steepholmes*, an Island, or rather Rock, about two Leagues from the Mouth of *Bridgewater* River, famous for the Retirement of the old *British* Historian *Gildas*, which, with Variety of other curious Incidents relating to these Parts, must be refer'd to the Description of *Somersetshire*, a Work the Author has been preparing these twelve Years, the perfecting of which, as useful and pleasant as it would be, has been and is still impeded purely by the Prejudice of Party, and a private Jealousy too mean to be mention'd here.

On *Monday* the 14th of *July* a Council of War was held at the head Quarters at *Chedsey*, and a great Debate arose whether to storm the Town or not. They came then to no Resolution; but however Preparations were made for a Storm, Faggots were provided, and the Soldiers drawn out in a Readiness: But it was deferr'd at that Time, and Lieutenant General *Hammond* caus'd eight Bridges about 40 Foot long to be prepar'd, which was of great Use in the Storm. This Day the General fording the River at *Dunwear* to view the Posts on *Ham* Side, was in Danger of being surpriz'd by the Head of the Tide, which at a Spring breaks in sometimes in a foamy Wave, of 4 or 5 Foot high, the Breadth of the River. Two Days after another Council of War was held at *Chedsey*, wherein was debated, *Whether to rise, and leave the Town unattempted*, which was conceiv'd to be very prejudicial to their future Progress, or to sit down before it; being a Place of that Strength, and they not sure to carry it, leaving the Enemy at Liberty to rally his broken Forces, which seem'd very hazardous, or block it up by Forts on both Sides with Part of their Army: But the Difficulty of laying a Bridge over the River, thro' the Violence of the Current, which would be necessary for maintaining a Communication between the Quarters on both Sides, hinder'd that Design, or attempt it by Approaches. It was consider'd, if they should go that Way, it would prove very tedious; and if, during their Stay about it, any great Glut of Rain should fall, it would fill up their Trenches, and disable them from effecting the Business; so at last it was resolv'd to storm, tho' it carry'd the greatest Danger with it. Yet the Desire the Army had to be speedily free, for the farther Service of the Common Wealth, surmounted all Difficulties, and both Officers and Soldiers drew Lots for their Posts, some to storm, some to be Reserves, others to allarm. The Day appointed for it was *Monday* the 20th of *July*. General *Massefey* was to make the Attack on *Ham* Side, with the Regiments of Col. *Welden*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Fortescue*, Col. *Herbert*, Col. *Birch*, and the Major General's own Regiment. On *St. John's* and *Castle Field* Side were posted the General's Regiment, Lieutenant General *Cromwel's*, Col. *Pickering's*, Col. *Montagu's*, Sir *Hardress Waller's*, Col. *Pride's*, Col. *Rainsborough's*. On the *Saturday* the General forded the River again, and rode round the Town to see if all Things were ready, that both Sides might fall on together. The Castle Wall on the *North* Side was very high, the Moat was deep, and between the *North Gate* and *West Gate* was a Battery on the off Side of the Moat, which hinder'd all Approach that Way. On *Sunday* Mr. *Peters* preach'd an encouraging Sermon, after his Way of Preaching, in the Forenoon, and Mr. *Bowles*, the Lord General's Chaplain, in the Afternoon. The eminent Mr. *Baxter*, who was present at this great Action, was not want-

ing in the Discharge of his Duty. Mr. *Bowles* is the same Divine who was afterwards so instrumental in the Restoration, and refus'd the Deanry of *York*, which was offer'd him. After the Sermons the Drums beat, and the Army was drawn up in the Fields about *Horsely* and *Bower*. The Commanders of the Forlorn Hope, and the Soldiers who were to begin the Storm, were afresh exhorted to do their Duties by Mr. *Peters*, who behav'd that Day *tam Marte quam Mercurio*. As soon as it grew dark, the Soldiers drew to the several Posts allotted them to Storm. The Signal was the shooting off three Pieces of Ordnance, which the Forces on *Ham* Side were to take Notice of, and to fall on at the Instant. Before the Action Sir *Thomas Fairfax* sent a Summons to the Governor and Citizens, as Sir *Roger Manley* calls them, to surrender: But *Windham*, like the rest of the Cavaliers, did not want Words of Defiance, and return'd a scornful Answer, for which he is to pay severely the next Day. *July* the 21st, about Two a Clock in the Morning, while *Massefey's* Forces kept alarming the Enemy on the *South* Part of the Town, Lieutenant Col. *Hereford* led on the Forlorn Hope at the *East* End, and was valiantly seconded by the General's own Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Jackson*, and Lieutenant General *Cromwel's*, commanded by Lieutenant Col. *Ashfield*. The Bridges prepar'd by Col. *Hammond* were quickly brought to the Ditch at *St. John's* and *Castle Field*, and thrown over it, on which the Soldiers pass'd with little Loss, and with undaunted Courage mounted the Works the Enemy had rais'd there, beat them from their Ordnance, and turn'd them on the Town, while Capt. *Reynolds*, of *Cromwel's* Regiment of Horse, at the Head of the Forlorn Hope, drove the Cavaliers from the *Draw-bridge* at *St. John's*, which was let down, and a Passage made to the *East Gate*, which was soon forc'd open, and *Reynolds* entering *Eastover*, says my Author, with his Horse, scour'd the Streets of that Part of the Town up to the Stone Bridge, over the River that cuts it in two; upon which the Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of 600, who had made Resistance in *Eastover*, threw down their Arms, and cry'd *Quarter, Quarter*. There was at that Time a Gate on the Bridge where the Enemy instantly made Barricades, and drew up a *Draw-bridge*. The Parliament's Forces had not been two Hours in *Eastover* before the King's shot Granades and Slugs of hot Iron, which fir'd it on both Sides, and by next Morning it was all burnt to the Ground, except three or four Houses: It consisted then of *Goodly Buildings*, as my Author writes, who saw it, and of several Streets. Major *Corvel* of Col. *Harley's* Regiment, stood in the Midst of *Eastover*, while both Sides were in Flames, and kept Guard to prevent the Enemy's fallying. General *Fairfax* hoping the Storm might have so wrought upon the Soldiers, and the Fire on the Townsmen, that they would have hearken'd to a Treaty, renew'd his Summons, which the Governor peremptorily refus'd, as if it was his Intent that so fair a Town should be destroy'd, for he knew he could at worst be but a Prisoner of War. There was no Hope of his being reliev'd, and the Resistance the Royalists made, had more of Frenzy in it than Courage. When the Latter saw *Eastover* in a Blaze, they rang the Bells for Joy, and set Fire themselves to several Houses in *Silver Street*, *Friers Street*, and at the *Pig Cross*, which shew the Effect of it to this Day; where the Parliament Fire had done no Hurt, laying it to the Charge of the Townsmen, who, they said, did it on Purpose to be rid of them; for the Inhabitants,

A. D. 1645. habitants, as I have already observ'd, were generally well affected to the Parliament. The Townsmen said the Soldiers did it, when they had little Hopes to hold out; *But Thanks be to God*, says the Historian, *we found more of it standing than we expected.*

On Tuesday, July 22. General Fairfax resolv'd to alarm the Town on the East Side, while General Maffey storm'd it on the South; but that Resolution was chang'd to an Alarm on both Sides, at which the Enemy was much amaz'd, and abandon'd their Line on the South and South-West Part of the Town. About Two a Clock that Day the General sent a Trumpet to the Governor with a Message to this Purpose; *That his Denial of fair Terms had wrought in him no other Thoughts, but of Compassion towards those that were innocent, who otherwise might suffer thro' the Governor's Obstinacy; wherefore he signify'd to him, That Women and Children that would might come forth of the Town by Four a Clock;* which being made known to Col. Windham's Lady, she came out, as did also the Lady Hawley, Mrs. War, and several other Ladies. They were no sooner gone, than the Cannon play'd fiercely into the Town; Granades were shot, and Slugs of hot Iron in Abundance, by which several Houses on the Corn-hill, in St. Mary's Street and High Street were set on Fire, and the Wind being high, increas'd the Flame. *The Citizens and Soldiers, says Sir Roger Manley, who was then there, were astonish'd at this unusual Tempest, and every Man employ'd about saving his House and his Goods.* Windham, amidst this Distraction, sent Tom Elliot, as he was then generally call'd, one of the King's Domesticks, to desire Terms; but the General would only grant *the Soldiers their Lives, the Inhabitants their Liberty and Freedom from Plunder, the Gentlemen to be dispos'd of as the Parliament should appoint,* which the Governor said the Gentlemen would not consent to, and Mr. Elliot, the same who carry'd the Great Seal to the King at York, fearing the Army would fall on, pray'd the General to forbear till he went once more to Windham, from whom he presently brought back an Answer of Submission. The Town continu'd on Fire, and the Townsmen ran about, crying, *Mercy, for the Lord's Sake.* Hostages also came out to the Lord General for Performance of the Governor's Agreement, who were Sir John Heal, Sir Hugh Windham, Mr. Walrond, Mr. War, Mr. Sydenham, Mr. Speke, and the Town was the next Day, July the 23d, surrender'd to the Parliament Army upon Quarter for Life only. There were in the Town when Sir Thomas Fairfax came before it; Col. Edmund Windham the Governor, Sir Hugh Windham, Sir John Digby, Sir John Heal, Sir John Starvel, Sir Francis Courtney, Mr. Speke, Mr. War, Mr. Walrond, Mr. Sydenham, &c.

One of the poorest historical Creatures who ever wrote, is Sanderson, to whom Mr. Archdeacon is much obliged, and he tells us, *The Garrison was to march out, leaving such Ammunition and Plunder as escap'd burning, which was very little, and not worth the Purchase.* This Author was allow'd to be the best Historian on the Cavalier Side, till the Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Echard appear'd in direct Defiance to Fact and Truth; and how they were taught by Sanderson will be seen when he is compar'd with Whitlocke and Rushworth, the latter being present when this Town was storm'd and taken. *There were left for the Parliament 40 Pieces of Ordnance, 4000 Weight of Match, and*

Powder in Proportion, Victuals for 2000 Soldiers for four Months, 1700 Prisoners, 200 of them Reformades, Commanders, Gentlemen and Priests, Treasure in Plate, Jewels, &c. said to be worth 100000 Pounds. The Works of the Town were as strong as any in England, and the Moat as deep.

The taking of Bridgewater, according to my Lord Clarendon, who had been there but a Month before, was "Matter of Amazement to all Men; nor was it any Excuse that it was not of Strength enough against so strong an Army, for it was so strongly situated, and it might well have had all those Additions which were necessary for Fortifications, that it was inexcusable in a Governor, who had enjoy'd that Charge 3 Years, with all the Allowances he had himself desir'd, and had often assur'd the King that it was not to be taken, that it did not resist any the greatest Strength that could come before it for one Week, and within less Time it was surrender'd into Fairfax's Hands, not till it had been storm'd, burnt, and render'd defenceless: But the Earl of Clarendon did not love Windham on his Wife's Account, who had no very good Opinion of his Councils. Again, "That this prodigious Success on the Enemy's Side should break the Spirits of most Men is not at all to be wonder'd at, &c."

An Express was immediately dispatch'd to the Parliament with Advice of the Surrender of Bridgewater. They gave him 20 Pounds as a Reward, and order'd that the Ministers in the several Parishes of London should the next Lord's Day, render Thanks to God for the taking of this Town, of which Mr. Peters gave them, two or three Days after, a more particular Account, and produc'd several Commissions in Characters which were taken from the Prisoners at Bridgewater. The House order'd him 100 Pounds, and Thanks to their General Sir Thomas Fairfax, for reducing it. Colonel Birch was made Governor. The Reason of so great Treasure found here was, that the Cavalier Gentry had from all the adjacent Parts, sent in thither their Jewels, Plate, and best Household Furniture; Colonel Windham, the Governor, having assur'd the King it could not be taken. Much Plate and rich Hangings were carry'd thence to London, and there sold to raise Bounty Money for Fairfax's Soldiers who were at the Storm, which was the most Furious of any in this War, and the Prize of the Victors as valuable; But the fine Town, as the Historian stiles it, suffer'd much in the Burning so many goodly Buildings, of which there are left no Remains in the Eastern Division of the Place, which was taken by Storm, but the Western can now boast of more Beauty and Magnificence of Building than any other Town in the West of England, of so small a Circuit, scarce 2 Miles in Circumference.

A Week after the Surrender of Bridgewater, the Army was drawn up on Mendip Hill, above Wells, with Intention to march to Bath; but Bath taken upon Intelligence that the Citizens had open'd their Gates to Colonel Rich, who came before it with two Regiments of Horse and two Troops of Dragoons only, the General turn'd towards Shireburn, which he took a View of at the Lodge, Saturday, August 2. The same Day he had Information that the Club Men of Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset, were to rendezvous at Shaftsbury, and a fair Opportunity offer'd to surprize them. These Club Men corresponded with Prince Rupert, Lord Hopton, and Goring, though they pretended Neutrality. Indeed it was one of the best Cards the Cavalier Generals had to play in this Extremity. This Rabble were in all above

Taken.

A. D. 1645.

Club Men.

A. D. 1645. above 15000 Men, and if they could have been prevailed upon to have declar'd and fought for the King, it might have prolong'd the War some Months at least, and People in Despair always flatter themselves, that Matters being at the Worst must mend; but though the *Club Men* were much better inclin'd to that Service than to the Cause of their Country, they had not Courage enough to oppose a victorious Army, and the Lord General did not think it convenient to be any longer trifled with by them, or to leave them at Liberty to join or not join the Royalists at their Pleasure. He therefore commanded Colonel *Fleetwood* with a good Body of Horse to surround them in the Town of *Shaftsbury*, which accordingly he did, and took about 50 of their Ringleaders Prisoners; among whom were Dr. *Goche*, the Parson, Mr. *Hawles*, Mr. *Carey*, Mr. *Young*, Mr. *Cradocke*, who were all disarm'd and imprison'd. The next Day the General receiv'd Advice that more *Club Men* were to join them from *Dorset*, *Wilts* and *Somerset*, to deliver their Fellows out of Prison, though their real Intent was to hinder Provisions coming to the Army before *Shirburn*. Upon this Lieutenant General *Cromwel* went in Person with Part of the Army to disperse them: As he advanc'd towards *Shaftsbury*, he discover'd some Colours on the Top of a high Hill, full of Wood and almost inaccessible. He sent a Lieutenant and a small Party to know their Meaning, and to inform them the Lieutenant General was there. Mr. *Newman*, one of their Leaders went along with Gen. *Cromwel*'s Lieutenant, to the General, and demanded, *Why the Gentlemen were taken at Shaftsbury?* *Cromwel* told him, "No Account was due concerning their Fellows there taken, but yet he assur'd him, that the General only intended if they were found upon due Trial, to have committed any Offence, they should be punish'd according to Law, otherwise be releas'd." *Newman*'s next Demand was, *that they might secure themselves from Plunder*: To which the Lieutenant General reply'd, "The General will not suffer any of you to be plunder'd or injur'd, but upon Complaint against any of his Soldiers, will do you Justice;" With which Answer he seem'd satisfy'd, and the *Club Men* on the Hill disappear'd: But *Cromwel* advancing towards *Shrawton*, the Seat of Mr. *Freeke*, saw 4000 of them on *Hambleton Hill*, where is an old Roman Work deeply trench'd. The Lieutenant General sent a Lieutenant with a Party of Horse to require an Account of their Meeting; he was answer'd with a Volley of Shot from the *Club Men*. *Cromwel* sent one Mr. *Lee*, who had come from them to him to require Submission to his Orders, and that they would disperse, which they refus'd, and made another Volley on the Parliament's Soldiers. *Lee* was sent to them again to prevent Effusion of Blood, but they refus'd this third Message at the Instigation of one *Bravel*, a Parson, who bad them stand to it, or he would Pistol those that gave back. The Lieutenant General then order'd his own Troop to fall on, which they did, and were repuls'd, the *Club Men* firing from behind the old Work, to which there was a Passage about 20 Foot wide: Upon this Major *Desborough* with the General's Regiment, went round about a Ledge of the Hill, and climb'd it with much Difficulty, which the *Club Men* perceiving, and that he was about to attack their Rear, they ran away; some were slain, many wounded, the rest slid and tumbled down the high steep Hill to the Hazard of their Necks. Four hundred of them were brought to *Shrawton*, of whom 200 were wounded. In this Skirmish Captain *Pattison*

and about 12 more were kill'd on the Parliament Side. There were among the Prisoners four Parsons, Mr. *Talbot* of *Milton*, Mr. *Lawford* of *Auckfield*, a vicious one, and two more. The Motto of their Colours was,

*If you offer to plunder or take our Cattle,
Be assur'd we will bid you Battle.*

My Author adds, in others of them they had Sentences of Scripture profanely apply'd by their malignant Priests, who were the principal stirrers up of the People to these tumultuous Assemblies, particularly *Bravel* before mention'd, Parson of *Compton*, and Mr. *Rogers* Parson of *Langton*, who issu'd out Warrants to the Country Fellows to make Reprisals for the Prisoners taken at *Shaftsbury*, and the *Club Men* own'd they would have laid down their Arms had it not been for *Bravel*, *Lawford* and *White*, Vicars or Curates. We have read in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s and *Echard*'s Histories, That the Puritan Ministers were the Ecclesiastical Drummers, and preach'd the People to War. But here we find some of their own Ecclesiastical Friends in actual War, misleading their stupid Hearers to hazard their Lives and Goods for they knew not what; and the same Spirit still possesses too many of the Vicars and Curates in the same Quarter of the Kingdom.

In the mean Time General *Fairfax* carry'd *Shirburn* on the Siege of *Shirburn Castle*, before which was kill'd the gallant Captain *Horsley* of Colonel *Rainsborough*'s Regiment, who was bury'd with military Pomp in the fine Church at *Shirburn*, where his Ancestors lay bury'd: His Family being at least as ancient and honourable as Mr. *Hyde*'s, who is pleas'd to say in his impartial History, that there was hardly a Colonel in the Parliament Army of a better Family, than the private Soldiers, and here's a Captain only of as good a one as his own, or that of the greatest General in the King's Army, the Princes only excepted. A Breach of 50 Foot wide being made in the Castle Wall, the General summon'd Sir *Lewis Dives* the Governor to yield, but he return'd a peremptory Denial, confiding too much in the Zeal and Strength of the *Club Men*. Upon his Refusal of Terms 20 of his Garrison leap'd over the Wall, and came to the Parliament Army upon Quarter. Those within cry'd out for a Parley, but it was deny'd upon any other Condition than to have their Lives spar'd; and while they were disputing it, the Parliament's Soldiers enter'd the Place at the Breach, and the Garrison threw down their Arms; Quarter was given them, but they were stripp'd to the Purpose, all but Sir *Lewis Dives* and his Lady, the Lord *Digby*'s Sister, and a few more. The Soldiers found Plunder to a great Value, and took it in a disorderly Manner, which could not then be prevented. Besides their making a Resistance not like brave Men, but mad Men, no Relief being to be expected, lost them all Claim to the Usage of generous War. The taking of this Place so discourag'd the *Club Men*, that they gave the General very little Trouble afterwards. In it were taken, besides Sir *Lewis Dives*, the Governor, Colonel *Giles Strangersways*, Sir *John Walcot*, Mr. *Pawlet*, Colonel *Thornhill*, and others of Quality. We cannot name the latter without observing that Sir *James Thornhill*, the greatest Genius for Painting, not only of our Nation, but of our Age, is of the same Family, and Owner of the same Seat, *Thornhill*, in this County of *Dorset*.

Dispers'd.

A. D. 1645. The Prisoners, as well the *Club Men* as those taken in *Shirburn Castle*, being sent to *London*, the General march'd to *Castle Cary* in *Somersetshire*, and in his March order'd Colonel *Rainsborough* with his own, and Colonel *Hammond's* Regiments to take in *Nunney Castle*, which was very strong though not very large; and had a Garrison of 100 Men under Captain *Turberville*, who surrender'd it the second Day after Summons.

Nunney
Castle 12-
ken.

Siege of
Bristol.

The Siege of *Bristol* being resolv'd on, Commissary General *Ireton* was commanded to advance near it with 2000 Horse and Dragoons, to preserve the adjacent Towns for the better Accommodation of the Army. Vice Admiral *Moulton* was order'd to send some Ships from *Milford*, to block up the City on the Side of the *Severne*. Prince *Rupert*, the Governor, had there and in the Neighbourhood about 5000 Men; Horse and Foot. The General detach'd a strong Party of Horse with a Regiment of Foot to take Post at *Hanham*, three Miles from *Bristol*, on the River *Avon*, between that and *Bath*, which gave the Enemy the first Alarm; for the Cavaliers made so great Dependance on their good Friends the *Club Men*, that they did not think the General would be able to reduce *Shirburn* in so short Time. Upon his Approach they fir'd *Bedminster* and burnt it to the Ground, a Village now almost contiguous to the City on *Somersetshire* Side: Thither was sent a strong Party of Horse and Foot to keep the Prince where he was, upon Advice that he intended to break through with his Horse and join *Goring*. The General and Lieutenant General went with this Party, view'd the Town, and appointed Guards and Quarters on *Somersetshire* Side: The General himself quarter'd at *Keynsham*, where he receiv'd Messages from several Lords and Persons of Quality for Passes to go beyond Sea; but they had staid too long in *England* since the War broke out, and done too much Mischief to be let go at the Ending of it. The two next Days, the 22d and 23d of *August*, were spent in setting Guards on *Gloucester* and *Somersetshire* Side, the Head Quarters being remov'd to *Hanham*. The Enemy's Cannon play'd from the *Great Fort* and *Pryor's Fort*, but wounded only a Dragoon. They made a Sally with a Party of Horse but were beaten in again, with the Loss of Sir *Richard Crane*, and others. The Head Quarters were again remov'd to *Stapleton* on *Gloucestershire* Side. The next Day being *Sunday*, the Enemy sally'd out again, at the *Salley Port* near *Pryor's Hill Fort*, in a full Career, but were again beaten back by Colonel *Rainsborough's* Regiment. In this Action they lost a Major and some others. The next Day Warrants were issu'd to Sir *John Horner*, that eminent Patriot, High Sheriff of the County of *Somerset*, to raise the *Posse*, and be in a Readiness to reinforce General *Massey*, who lay about *Taunton*, to observe the Motions of *Goring*, who had got a Body together in *Devonshire*. On *Tuesday* the Enemy sally'd on Colonel *Welden's* Brigade at *Bedminster*, and through the Negligence of the Officer who then had Command there, took 10 and kill'd as many. As a Recompenſe for this Affront Captain *Molineux* of Colonel *Butler's* Regiment, and another stout Officer, seeing three bold Cavaliers under their Works, rode up to them, and ask'd *Whom they were for?* They swore, *God damn them, for the King*, and fir'd at the two Roundheads, who immediately return'd their Fire, wounded them, and after some Bickerings, took Sir *Bernard Ashley*, who was one of them, and dy'd of his Wounds; Colonel *Daniel* another of

them, and his Companion got into the Town again. On *Thursday* the 28th of *August*, Lieutenant Colonel *Kempson* of *Welden's* Regiment, took the Fort at *Portthead Point*, which open'd a Passage for the Parliament's Ships into *Kingroad*, where Vice Admiral *Moulton* arriv'd three Days after, came a Shore to wait on the General, and offer'd him his best Assistance of Sailors, if the General storm'd the City. The Besieg'd made a Sally on the Parliament's Quarters near *Lawford's Gate*, and took three or four Soldiers.

On *Monday* the 1st of *September*, Prince *Rupert* sally'd out with 100 Horse and 600 Foot, and was driven in again by *Fairfax's* Horse and Colonel *Rainsborough's* Brigade of Foot; but it being a wet misty Day, Colonel *Okey* fell in among the Enemy unawares, and was taken by them. The Valiant Captain *Guilliams* of Commissary General *Ireton's* Regiment was kill'd in the Skirmish. On *Tuesday* a Council of War was held, and it was then resolv'd to storm the Place. Colonel *Welden* with his Brigade, consisting of his own Regiment, Colonel *Ingoldsby's*, Colonel *Fortescue's* and Col. *Herbert's* were to storm on *Somersetshire* Side; Colonel *Montagu* with the General's Brigade, consisting of *Fairfax's* Regiment, Colonel *Montagu's*, Colonel *Pickering's*, and Sir *Hardress Waller's* were to storm on both Sides *Lawford's Gate*, to the Rivers *Avon* and *Frome*. The Bridge over *Frome* to be made good against Horse with Pikes, or to break it down. Colonel *Rainsborough* with his own Regiment, Major General *Skippon's*, Colonel *Hammond's*, Colonel *Birch's*, and Colonel *Pride's* were to storm from the *Salley* on *Frome* Side up to *Pryor's Hill Fort*, and to storm the Fort it self as the main Business, 200 of this Brigade to go up in Boats with the Seamen to storm *Water Fort*: A Regiment of Horse and another of Foot to move up and down in the Cloſes before the *Royal Fort*, to ply hard upon it and alarm it. A Regiment of Dragoons and two Regiments of Horse to carry Ladders with them, and attempt the Line and Works by *Clifton* and *Washington's* Breach: All Things being ready, the General order'd every Man to have six Shillings paid him for his Encouragement; so much having been promis'd them as a Bounty for their good Service at *Bridgewater*; and the General and Council here receiving News of *Montrose's* Successes and Depredations in *Scotland*, wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Leven* and his chief Officers, to express how sensible they were of it, and how willing to serve them if Need were for their settling of their Nation in Peace, so soon as the Condition of this Kingdom could spare them. Sign'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, General, *Oliver Cromwel*, Lieutenant General, *Thomas Hammond*, Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, *Henry Ireton*, Commissary General, *Edward Montagu*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, Colonel *Richard Fortescue*, Colonel, afterwards Sir *Richard Ingoldsby*, Colonel *John Pickering*, Sir *Hardress Waller* Colonel, Colonel *William Herbert*, Colonel *Robert Hammond*, Lieutenant Colonel *James Gray*, Adjutant General of the Foot, Lieutenant Colonel *Thomas Pride*, Sir *Robert Pye* Colonel, Colonel *Thomas Rainsborough*, Colonel *Thomas Sheffield*, Colonel *Ralph Welden*, Colonel *Charles Fleetwood*, Lieutenant Colonel *John Raymond*, Lieutenant Colonel *Leon Watson*, Captain *Arthur Evelyn*, Adjutant General of the Horse, Captain *Richard Dean*, Comptroller of the Ordnance, Lieutenant Colonel *James Jackson*, Major *John Desborough*, Major *Christopher Bethel*.

Cannon

A. D.
1645.A. D.
1645.

Cannon Baskets being fill'd, Seamen and Boats sent for, and all Things ready for a Storm, the Lord General sent a Letter to Prince Rupert, to summon him to surrender the City, in which Letter he endeavour'd to convince the Prince of the Justness of the Parliament's Cause, and of his delivering up the City to them: He closes it thus, *Let all England judge whether the Burning of its Towns, ruining its Cities, and destroying its People be a good Requital from a Person of your Family, which hath had the Prayers, Tears, Purfes and Blood of its Parliament and People.* I have often taken Notice of this. *And, if you look on either as now divided, hath ever had the same Party, both in Parliaments, and among the People most Zealous for their Assistance and Restitution, which you now oppose and seek to destroy, and whose constant Grief hath been, that their Desires to serve your Family have been ever hinder'd and made fruitless by the same Party about his Majesty, whose Course you act, and whose Interest you pursue in this unnatural War.* It is worth observing here that General Fairfax remonstrates against Prince Rupert's drawing his Sword against a Party, who were the only zealous Friends to his illustrious Family, the Parliament of England having always desir'd nothing more earnestly than the Restoring the Palatine House to their Hereditary Rights. The Trumpet that went with the Summons was detain'd all Night, and the next Day, September the 5th, brought an Answer from the Prince, desiring Leave to send to the King, which the Lord General excus'd as a Delay, and demanded a more positive Answer by the same Trumpet, who brought back Propositions; to every Article of which the General objected, and gave his Reasons for it in Writing, which not satisfying Prince Rupert, the Storm was made the 10th of September.

Parliament Party the only Friends to the Palatine Family.

The Storm.

The Signal was the Firing of *Straw and Fagots* on the Top of a Hill, and the Shooting off 4 great Guns against *Pryor's Fort*, from the Place where the General was to reside all the Time of the Storm, which began immediately upon the Signal, and was terrible to the Beholders. The Parliament Word was *David* before the Line was enter'd, and the *Lord of Hosts* afterwards. Colonel *Montagu* and Colonel *Pickering*, with their Regiments at *Lawford's Gate* enter'd speedily, and took 22 great Guns with many Prisoners. Major *Desborough* advanc'd with the Horse after them, having the Command of the General's Regiment and part of Colonel *Graves's*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Jackson* enter'd with their Regiments between *Lawford's Gate* and the River *Frome*, Colonel *Rainsborough's* and Colonel *Hammond's* Regiments enter'd near *Pryor's Fort*, Major General *Skippon's* and Colonel *Birch's* enter'd nearer to the River *Avon*. The Regiment commanded by Colonel *Pride* was divided, part assign'd to the Service at *Pryor's Fort*, and part to alarm the *Great Fort*. These took a little Fort defended by *Welch Men*. The Seamen assisted in storming the Line and Works, which being broken down by Pioneers, Captain *Ireton*, Major *Bethel*, Adjutant General *Fleming*, of *Whaley's*, *Rich's* and *Graves's* Regiments of Horse, enter'd, and meeting with a Party of the Enemies defeated them. In this Action Colonel *Taylor*, Burgess for *Windfor*, but expell'd for Malignancy, was mortally wounded. This so dishearten'd their Horse, who perceiv'd also that *Fairfax's* Foot were Masters of the Line, that they never came on again to give one Charge, but retreated, and stood in a Body under Covert of the *Great*

Fort, and *Coulston's Fort*. In the mean while *Pryor's Hill Fort* held out obstinately two Hours after the Line was center'd, but then was taken by Storm, some of the Parliament's Soldiers creeping in at the *Port Holes*. Captain *Jago*, of Colonel *Pride's* Regiment, was the first who laid hold on the Colours, and the Parliamentarians were so enrag'd at the Obstinacy of the Cavaliers, that they put the Commander, Major *Price*, and most of the Officers and Soldiers to the Sword. All this was done between two o'Clock and five in the Morning. It was dark, and well it was so for the Parliament's Soldiers, who could not have stood upon any Ground, had it been light, to have attempted *Pryor's Hill Fort*, in regard the *Great Fort*, and *Coulston's Fort* on the one Side, and the Castle on the other, might have cut them off as they came, but being in the Dark they durst not shoot for fear of killing their own Men, the Cavalier Horse being drawn up during the Storm in a Body between *Coulston's Fort* and the *Great Fort*. The Forces on *Somersetshire Side* had not the like Success. The City Works were so High without *Temple Gate* and *Radcliffe Gate*, that the Ladders could not reach them. The Horse design'd to enter the Line there, were Lieutenant *Cromwel's* Regiment, commanded by Major *Huntington*, Sir *Robert Pye's*, and Colonel *Sheffield's*, who all three behav'd with great Intrepidity, but could not force their Way. And least the Prince should attempt to make his Escape, while *Fairfax's* Men were storming, Commissary General *Ireton's*, Colonel *Butler's*, and Colonel *Fleetwood's* Regiments of Horse, were appointed to be in a moving Body on *Durdam Down*, the most open Passage for Horse to get off. *Ireton*, and the two other Regiments, alarm'd that Side of the Line, and *Great Fort*, towards *Durdam Down* and *Clifton*, as Colonel *Okey's* Dragoons did *Brandon Hill Fort*, and the Line towards *Clifton*.

About 9 a Clock a Trumpet came from the Prince to desire a Parley, which there was Reason enough to refuse, but considering the Enemy had fir'd the City in several Places, at which Time *Temple Street* was burnt, and that the whole City was like to be consum'd, if the Fire had gone on, the General consented to a Treaty, and nominated Colonel *Montagu*, Colonel *Rainsborough*, and Colonel *Pickering*, to be his Commissioners to treat with the Prince's Commissioners, Colonel *Mynn*, Major General *Tillyer*, Sir *William Vavasor* a Papist, and they agreed upon Articles which were very honourable for a Garrison in that desperate Condition, who were allow'd to march out with *Arms, Colours, Drums, Bag and Baggage*, and they did so the next Day, the 11th of September, when the Prince march'd out of the *Great Fort*, and with him went 8 Lords, several Ladies and Persons of Quality. The General waited on his Highness about 2 Miles, and there was a great Appearance of the Country to see Prince *Rupert* and his Garrison marching off, many crying, *Give him no Quarter, Give him no Quarter*, for his Highness had much provok'd the People by the ill Discipline of his Men, and had carry'd on the War with great Rage and Inveteracy against the Parliament, who made such ample Provision for his Mother and elder Brother the Prince Elector, and were always so zealous to promote the Interests of his Princely Family. *Whitlocke* says, "The Cause of sitting down before *Bristol* was to prevent the Plunder and Cruelties of Prince *Rupert* in that Country." Here were taken 140 Pieces of Cannon mounted, 100 Barrels of Powder, and Ammunition in Proportion. The

Great

A. D. 1645. Great Fort and Castle had Provisions for 150 Men for 350 Days; there was in Garrison, as Mr. *Creswick* the Mayor told General *Cromwel*, 2500 Foot, 1000 Horse, and about 1500 Train'd Bands and Auxiliaries, and there march'd out only 500 Horse and 1400 Foot, the rest being kill'd, or wounded, or taken, or run away. *Fairfax* lost but 160 Men in the Storm, among whom were Capt. *Gayle* of *Pickering's* Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel *Dursey* of *Fortescue's*, Major *Cromwel* and Capt. *Ward* of *Ingoldsby's*, Capt. *Sterne* of *Rainsborough's*, Major *Betbel* of *Whaley's*, Capt. *Guilliams* of *Ireton's*. *Fairfax* here and at *Bridgewater* recover'd all the Cannon which the Earl of *Essex* lost in *Cornwall*. Major General *Skippon* was appointed Governor of *Bristol*, Mr. *Creswick* the Mayor was displac'd, and *John Gunning*, Esq; who had been Sheriff A. D. 1651. put into his Office.

Thus in little more than two Months has the victorious General Sir *Thomas Fairfax* won two Battles, and taken the two strongest and most important Towns in the West of England, by Storm partly, and partly by Surrender. We must now leave him there, and see how his Majesty dispos'd of himself after the Rout at *Naseby*.

The Continuance of the War now is an Affront to the Character of the English Nation, whose Valour has always had a Mixture of Sobriety; but the Cavaliers are so many Quixots fighting with Windmills. There is not the least Likelihood of their saving themselves by Resistance, and yet they keep up one another's Spirits as if there was Heroism in their Despair.

The King
after
Naseby
Rout.

The King being got into South Wales, was join'd by General *Gerrard* with 2000 Horse and Foot, and receiv'd great Encouragement from the Commissioners of the Welsh Counties, who attended him at *Abergavenny*. Several Gentlemen in those Parts were seiz'd for obstructing the Levies that were made for him, and without considering that the Parliament had a hundred to one to make Reprizals, some about the King were for hanging these Gentry, which his Majesty not consenting to, *Echard* tells us the Marquis of *Worcester* made this shrewd Answer; *Well, Sir, that forgiving Temper may chance to gain you the Kingdom of Heaven, but if ever you gain the Kingdom of England by these Means I'll be your Bondsman.* I do not believe one Word of it came out of the Marquis's Mouth. 'Tis so far from being shrewd, that it is extremely silly; for if, as his Lordship would have had him, the King had order'd the Marquis's Neighbours to be hang'd, and the Parliament had hang'd up half a hundred of their Enemies, how shrewdly would the old Marquis have advis'd his Majesty, who was about passing over to *Bristol*, and in order to it was come to *Chepstow*, where he was met by Prince *Rupert*; and tho' his Highness seem'd highly pleas'd with having the Court in the City of which he was Governor, yet other Measures were taken, an usual Effect of the Irresolution in unfortunate Counsels. The King returning to *Cardiffe*, heard of the Loss of *Bridgewater*, which, says the Lord *Clarendon*, he had been perswaded to believe was impregnable, and the Loss of it could not but make great Impressions upon him, to think he was betray'd. The Commissioners of all Counties earnestly desir'd Peace, and some Officers of the Army enter'd into Cabals with them to get Proposals to be sent to the Parliament. Prince *Rupert* was of the same Opinion, and wrote his Reasons for it to the Duke of *Richmond*, which the King answer'd in a Letter written with his own Hand at *Cardiffe*. The Lord *Clarendon* informs us, 'Twas

so lively an Expression of his Soul, that no Pen else could have written it: I shall therefore repeat a Passage or two, *If I had any other Quarrel but the Defence of my Religion, Crown and Friends, you had full Reason for your Advice.* It will not be deny'd that those Friends were the Delinquents, against whom the Parliament demanded Justice, and, as was declar'd after the Restoration, drew their Swords to bring them to it. All the Calamities which the Nation had incur'd in this King's Reign, were owing to their evil Counsels, yet the Letter says, *God will not suffer his Cause to be overthrowen. I know my Obligations not to abandon God's Cause, and do not despair that God may in due Time avenge his own Cause, for which his Majesty had bargain'd with the Irish Rebels to fight, as will be seen presently.*

At *Cardiffe* the King heard that the Scots Army had laid Siege to *Hereford*, and the Earl of *Clarendon* is of Opinion no better Way could be thought of to relieve it, than by issuing Writs to the Welsh Sheriffs to raise their Posse. I was very willing to follow his Lordship in his History of the King's Actions after *Naseby* Rout, but every one of them is so magnify'd, and will so little bear it, that it is turning them into Ridicule.

His Majesty pass'd over the Mountains of *Brecknock* and *Radnor* to *Ludlow*, thence thro' *Shropshire* and *Derbysire* to *Welbeck*, intending to join *Montrose*, who had over-run *Scotland*, without having made himself enough Master of any Part of it to stand out against the Power that was coming against him. The King proceeded as far as *Doncaster*, where the Gentry so well preserv'd their Promises to him, that within three Days there was an Appearance of full 3000 Men without Arms; but they offer'd to get Arms within four and twenty Hours, if the King staid so long, which was so uncertain, that a few Hours after his Majesty made haste back to *Newark*, on News that *David Lesley* was come to *Rotheram*, with all the Scottish Horse, to enter *Scotland* and oppose *Montrose*, which he did effectually, routed his Band of Mountaineers and Irish REBELS, whom he cut off almost entirely, and oblig'd the Marquis to shelter himself behind the *Grampian Hills*. This was the Army which was to enter *England*, in Hopes of whose March the Treaty of *Usbridge* was broken off, and his Majesty got into *Yorkshire*.

The Lord *Clarendon*, in the Fulness of his Politicks, which are indeed incomparable, informs us, that IF the King with his beaten and baffled Troops, as he calls them himself, had, instead of retreating from *Doncaster*, fallen upon *David Lesley* and his 4000 Horse at *Rotheram*, he had found him in a very ill Posture to have made Resistance, and had absolutely preserv'd *Montrose*. His Majesty, says the Earl, prosecuted his Journey from *Newark* to *Oxford*, tho' not without making some Starts out of the Way, by which he had an Opportunity of beating up some Quarters of the Parliament Horse. As thus in *Whitlocke*: "In the King's March, the Scots Horse fell upon his Quarters at *Bewdley*, took 70 Horse, and several Officers. At *Tilbury* Sir *John Gell* fell upon his Rear, took Capt. *Blake* and 40 Prisoners." The Earl of *Clarendon* assures us, that *David Lesley* knew nothing of the King's being in *Yorkshire*; and *Whitlocke*, that Major General *Pointz*, Col. *Rossiter*, and the Country Forces, were order'd to join the Scots, after which Junction they got between the King and the North, so he retreated back to *Newark*. A Party of the Parliament's made

A. D. 1645. made a Start and fell upon his Rear, took the Lord Harris a Papist, 100 Horse, and several Prisoners. *Whitlocke* again: "From *Newark* the King march'd into *Lincolnshire*, where his Army committed many Outrages." The Earl of *Clarendon's* Starts. The next Day he lay at *Belvoir*, the next at *Stamford*, his March being very sudden, for he met with frequent Starts from the Parliament's Forces. "A Party from *Burleigh* and *Leicester* fell upon his Rear, took 80 Horse, four Standards, and many Prisoners. The Van of his Army being as far as *Stilton* by *Huntington*, were oppos'd by Capt. *Gibbs* and Capt. *Poe*, but they were overpower'd by Numbers, and the King's Forces enter'd the Town, which they miserably plunder'd," and made the like Starts in several Places of *Cambridgeshire* and *Bedfordshire*, upon an unarm'd defenceless People, and not upon the Parliament's Horse Quarters. At last understanding the Country was rising against them, his Majesty hasten'd to *Woburn*, where some of his Stragglers were taken, and from thence to *Oxford*, where he staid three Days only, and then, according to the Lord *Clarendon*, prosecuted his former Resolution, "at least to endeavour the Relief of *Hereford*; and as he was on his March thither, he receiv'd Intelligence that the *Scottish* Army, upon Notice of his Purpose, was that Morning risen in great Disorder and Confusion. This News was so welcome, and his Majesty was receiv'd with so full Joy into the City of *Hereford*, that he slip'd the Opportunity not of vanquishing, overcoming, or routing, but of discommoding the *Scottish* Army, IF not ruining it." The Pleasantry of it is extremely delightful; for in Truth the *Scots* Army consisted of 16 or 17000 Men, and the King had with him not above 4000, most Horse and Dragoons. The Parliament order'd Major General *Pointz* and Col. *Roffiter* to attend his Motions, and if he went towards *Hereford*, to correspond with General *Leven*, and assist him. Accordingly *Pointz* and *Roffiter* follow'd the King, and the Common Council of the City of *London* resolv'd that every one of them should furnish a Horse and Arms to make up with other Forces a flying Army to attend the King, who, if we may believe the Lord *Clarendon*, was going even then to drive the *Scots* Army from before *Hereford*. There is no other such History in Being. The Truth is, the *Scots* were alarm'd at the Progress of *Montrose*, and tho' their Horse was gone to the Relief of their Brethren, they could not be easy so far Southward, while all was in Danger in the North; upon which Consideration only they quitted the Siege of *Hereford*, and march'd Northward; but in their March heard of the Marquis of *Montrose's* intire Defeat, and at the Desire of the Parliament lay down before *Newark*, the King making what haste he could towards *Chester* to relieve that City, besieg'd by Sir *William Brereton*. His Forces plunder'd and burnt Mr. *Cartwright's* House at *Aynoe* in *Northamptonshire*. But before he bent his March that Way, he endeavour'd again to get some Levies in *Wales* to relieve *Bristol*. He went a second Time to *Ragland* Castle in *Monmouthshire*, where he receiv'd the dreadful News of the Surrender of *Bristol*, which so discompos'd him, that he wrote the following Letter to Prince *Rupert* from *Hereford*.

A. D. 1645. "but is likewise the greatest Trial of my Constancy that hath yet befallen me. For what is to be done, after one that is so near to me both in Blood and Friendship, submits himself to so mean an Action? I give it the easiest Terms such — — I have so much to say, that I will say no more of it, only lest Rashness of Judgment be laid to my Charge, I must remember you of your Letter of the 12th of August, whereby you assur'd me, that if no Mutiny happen'd you would keep *Bristol* for Four Months. Did you keep it four Days? Was there any thing like a Mutiny? More Questions might be ask'd, but now, I confess, to little Purpose. My Conclusion is, to desire you to seek your Subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my Condition somewhere beyond Sea, to which End I send you herewith a Pass, and I pray God to make you sensible of your present Condition, and give you Means to redeem what you have lost; for I shall have no greater Joy in a Victory than a just Occasion, without blushing, to assure you of my being

Your loving Uncle, and

Most faithful Friend,

C. R.

Having lately read the Particulars of the Siege and Surrender of *Bristol*, one can't think the Prince's Conduct deserv'd so severe Animadversion. General *Fairfax* had master'd above a Mile of the Line and Works in the strongest Part of the City, the Miscarriage on the Side of *Somersetshire* was owing only to the Shortness of the Ladders, which would be lengthen'd in two or three Hours time. The City was a Fire, and the Prince had no Way to save that, himself and his Garrison, but the Way he then took. What Success the King had had in his Field Battles, was owing to Prince *Rupert's* Valour, and this Letter seems to be the Effect rather of Affliction than Reflection.

His Highness was convoy'd from *Bristol* to *Oxford*, and the King wrote a Letter to the Council there, to require him to deliver up all his Commissions; which it was surmis'd to him the Prince would not do tamely; and therefore Orders were sent to imprison Col. *Leg*, Governor of *Oxford*, and Favourite to his Highness, lest he should attempt any thing on his Account.

From *Hereford* the King went to *Worcester*, and made an Attempt to reach *Oxford*, but was hinder'd by Major General *Pointz*, who follow'd him close with about 3500 Horse and Dragoons; so he march'd to *Ludlow*, and thence towards *Chester*, which was besieg'd and distress'd by Sir *William Brereton*, Col. *Jones*, and the *Cheshire* and *Lancashire* Forces. It was thought the King intended to pass from *Chester* into *Ireland*; and put himself at the Head of the Army that was to be transported thence into *England*. The Earl of *Clarendon's* Account of the King's March and Defeat, is as pleasant as his Lordship's other Relations of Events in this War. "The Enemy had surpriz'd both the Out-works and Suburbs of *Chester*, when the King came within half a Day's Journey of it; so that his unexpected coming look'd like a Designation of Providence for the Preservation of so important a Place. The *Parliamentarians* were no less amaz'd, looking upon themselves as lost, and the King's Troops believ'd them to be in their Power." Every Word of which is as true as that the King saw the ensuing Fight from

Nephew,
His Letter to Prince Rupert. "THO' the Loss of *Bristol* be a great Blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did is of so much Affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget the Consideration of that Place,

A. D. 1645. the Walls of *Chester*, when he was not in the Town, but in the Battle on *Rowton Heath*, two Miles off. The placing his Majesty upon *Chester Walls*, is to lessen the Disgrace of the Defeat as much as possible, in a Supposition that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had not been so beaten as he was by Major General *Pointz*, if his Majesty had been in the Battle: A very poor Way of Writing! If his Troops are beaten, he is beaten, and there's no Need of concealing his being in the Action, which is not a whit the better or the worse for it. The Fact is thus: Sir *William Brereton*, with the above-mention'd Forces, had lain before *Chester* some Time, when Col. *Jones*, who commanded the Horse, and Adjutant General *Lothian*, who commanded the Foot, drawing off from before it in the Evening, the Besieg'd thought they were gone, and took the less Care of their Works, but early the next Morning *Jones* and *Lothian* return'd and storm'd the Suburbs and Out-works before they were discover'd, which the King hearing, hasten'd his March to relieve the Place, and with about 5000 Horse and Foot got thro' *Wales* to the Neighbourhood of *Chester*. *Pointz*, whose Duty was to observe him, having Intelligence of his March, took a shorter Way, and came to *Rowton Heath*, 2 Miles from *Chester*; he could reach no farther. He also had given Col. *Jones* Notice of his Approach, desiring him to charge that Body in the Rear while he attack'd them in Front. But the King's Troops engag'd *Pointz*, Sept. 26. before *Jones* could come up, and worsted him. However he rally'd and made good his Ground till *Jones's* Forces join'd him, and then, together with *Lothian* and *Jones*, renew'd the Fight, utterly routing the King's whole Body, of which about 300 fled into *Chester*, and the King with them. But the Pursuit was so violent, that he immediately left the Town, and fled into *Wales*. The rest of his Party were kill'd, taken, and dispers'd. Among the Slain was the Lord *Barnard Stewart*, Earl of *Litchfield*, a faultless young Man, says the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lieutenant Colonel *Middleton*, Lieutenant Colonel *Constable*, Capt. *Abraham Lance*, Capt. *Robert Lance*, all Papists; and during the Siege were kill'd Lieutenant Colonel *Philip Howard*, Mr. *Roger Wood*, Mr. *Edward Davis*, Mr. *Errington*, all Papists, on the King's Side, as also two Knights, one Colonel, and above 400 Officers and Soldiers, Sir *Philip Musgrave*, and ten Colonels, most of them Knights, seven Lieutenant Colonels, five Majors, forty other Officers, 1000 Common Soldiers, and 100 Horse were taken. The Country People took 60 Prisoners after the Rout, with Store of Arms, which the Cavaliers had flung away in their Flight, and the Parliamentarians had good Pillage. The invincible Obstinacy, or rather the miserable Infatuation of these Men! There is scarce a Horseman left of the whole Body that had attended the King since the Battle of *Naseby*; *Montrose* was suppress'd in *Scotland*, the King's Troops in the *West* were flying before General *Fairfax*. *South Wales* was in a manner reduc'd, *Pointz* following the King into *North Wales*. Yet rather than Delinquents shall be punish'd, or Episcopacy abolish'd, does the King not only fly from the War, but from *Peace*, which might now easily be had on those Terms, and there remain'd no Hope for him ever to have better, unless he had plac'd his Hope in Assistance from *Irish* REBELS. In this desperate Condition the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* are eternally holding Councils of War for the wise Counsellors to shew their Parts; but they came to Resolutions only to abandon them; and yet these two Historians in-

large upon them, as if they had been all crown'd with Victory. A. D. 1645.

The first Action which succeeded those Councils, was the sending the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* Northward to join *Montrose*, if they could. The Earl of *Clarendon's* History of this Event is as risible as Affectation and Insincerity can make it. "The Lord *Digby* was inform'd at *Doncaster*, that there was 1000 Foot newly rais'd for the Parliament a little out of the Way, which he resolv'd to fall upon, and did it so well, that they all threw down their Arms." *Whitlocke*, "He surpriz'd 400 of the Parliament's Party at *Shirburn*, and shatter'd Col. *Wren's* Regiment of Horse." *Clarendon* again: "While the Lord *Digby* staid at *Shirburn*; he had Notice of the Advance of some Troops of Horse under the Command of Col. *Copley*. *Digby* presently sounded to Horse, and having gotten some few Troops ready, march'd with them out of the Town, and finding *Copley* standing upon a convenient Ground, he would not stay for his other Companies, but immediately charg'd them with that Courage, that he routed most of their Body, which after a short Resistance fled, and were pursu'd thro' *Shirburn*, where his other Troops were refreshing themselves, and discerning the Flight of *Copley's* Horse, concluded in great Consternation, that their own Fellows were flying, and so with equal Confusion they mounted their Horses, and fled as fast as the others. IF it had not been for the flying of these Troops, because the Enemy fled, the Lord *Digby* had without doubt been Master of the *North*." Is not this excellent above all Story? The Roundheads and Cavaliers are running away very lovingly together. Again: "By this Means one Troop only that remain'd in the Field unbroken fell upon the Lord *Digby*, and those Officers and Gentlemen who stay'd with him, for it seems the Parliament Troops ran away, tho' no Body ran after them, and they were compell'd to retreat to *Skipton*, which they did with the Loss of Sir *Richard Hutton*, a gallant and worthy Gentleman;" as they are all to a Man, excepting two or three who had disoblig'd his Lordship. "The Lord *Digby's* Baggage and Cabinet were taken, which being publish'd by the Parliament, administer'd so much Occasion of Discourse." The Occasion administer'd, was by the Discovery of a horrid Correspondence with the bloody Massacrers in *Ireland*, and a Design to bring them over to destroy the Protestants in *England*, as they had done there; which I speak the more boldly, for that I shall prove it upon them, when I have given the true History of the Rout of *Digby*, that the Reader may laugh as well as I when he compares it with that of the Lord *Clarendon*.

"Col. *Copley* engag'd the Lord *Digby's* whole Whid. p1 Body, not a Part of them, about *Milford*, 162. "routed and pursu'd them three Miles, slew Col. *Carnaby*, Sir *Richard Hutton*, several Officers, and 40 others, took Prisoners four Colonels, many inferior Officers, Gentlemen and Reformades, about 400 Troopers, and the Countess of *Niddesdale*, who was under the Lord *Digby's* Convoy. That Lord's Coach, the King's Chirurgeon, and divers Letters and Papers were taken, among which was a Letter to a Member of Parliament, who was expell'd for it." *Ludlow* adds, that *Copley* recover'd the Men and Arms which the Lord *Digby* had taken. One cannot part with the Earl of *Clarendon* yet, for what follows is not one of the least Falsities in

A. D. 1645. in the History of the Rebellion. " Most of Digby's scatter'd Troops came together again at Skipton, with which he march'd without any other Misadventures through Cumberland and Westmoreland, as far as Dumfries in Scotland." One cannot read it without Hands and Eyes uplifted. For Ludlow informs us, that Party was defeated a second Time by Sir John Browne, and a third by Colonel Bright; yet according to the Lord Clarendon, they met with no other Misadventures; " but being arriv'd in Scotland, and neither receiving Directions which Way to march, nor where Montrose was, and less Knowledge how to retire without falling into the Hands of the Scottish Army on the Borders, in the highest Despair, the Lord Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, the Earls of Carnwarth and Niddesdale, and most of the other Officers embark'd themselves for the Isle of Man, and shortly after for Ireland," which is so far from Truth, that he met with the following Misadventures, Disgraces and Routs, as we read in Whitlocke; " The Lord Digby and Langdale, with 800 Horse advancing towards Scotland to join Montrose, were fallen upon at Carlisle Sands by a Party of the Scots Forces under Sir John Browne, who though less in Number, after a sharp Dispute routed Digby's Party, kill'd 100, took 200 Horses, several of their Officers, 3 Colours, many Prisoners, and dispers'd the whole Party, Digby and Langdale flying into the Isle of Man." The Reader will observe how the Earl of Clarendon turns and winds himself in this Historical Adventure, and how it is after his Manner envelop'd in Words to conceal the Truth. Warwick, who tells his Tale as wretchedly as ever any Body told one, comes off much better in his than the Lord Clarendon.

P. 290. Digby's Design evaporated; he is beaten in his Entrance into Yorkshire, before he got into Carlisle defeated, and so forc'd to ship himself for Ireland, instead of Scotland. This Scrap of the History of the Rebellion is so very extraordinary and Clarendine, that I recommend it to the Reader as a choice Example of the Author's sincere and fine Way of Writing.

Now let us see what Sort of Letters there were taken in the Lord Digby's Coach: The Contents were, That the King, notwithstanding that tremendous Appeal to Heaven before the Sacrament at Christ-Church, Oxon, against Popery and Papists, and the pledging his Salvation upon it, offer'd the Irish Papists a Toleration of their Religion, the Choice of their Governor, to have Forts and Castles, &c. on Condition they sent 10000 of those Massacrers into England, whom he himself call'd Butchers, to assist him against his Enemies, meaning the Parliament of England. There was also a Commission to the Earl of Glamorgan, a Papist, empowering him to treat and conclude an Agreement with the Irish REBELS. The Popish Archbishop of Tuam being slain at the Battle of Sligo, in Ireland, Whitlocke informs us there were Letters taken about him, discovering the Transactions between the KING and the REBELS, whom his Majesty tenderly styles the Confederates; but the Lords and Commons of England are every where term'd in the Full of the Mouth, REBELS. Whitlocke adds, Those Letters discover'd large Offers to the Massacrers, as a Toleration of their Religion, &c. as is above-mention'd. Not long after the People of Padstow in Cornwall, siezing a Ship coming from Ireland, the Master of which threw a Packet over Board, it was recover'd, and in it was found a Letter from the Earl of Glamorgan, importing that 6000 Irish REBELS were ready

to embark for the Assistance of the King's Party, and 4000 more should follow in a little Time, which is farther confirm'd by this Letter of the Earl of Glamorgan's to the King, I am now at Waterford providing Shipping, immediately to transport 6000 Foot, and 4000 more are by May next to follow: This was after the Earl of Glamorgan had been charg'd with High Treason by the Lord Digby, and committed for treating with the Massacrers, which Commitment was all Grimace. The Noise that wicked Treaty had made even among the Royalists, of whom the more reasonable complain'd against it, occasion'd the pretended Disgrace of the Earl of Glamorgan, who wrote to his Lady not to entertain any Fears concerning him, for that he doubted not he should be able to justify his Proceedings to the Confusion of those who had caus'd his Imprisonment, which he could well do by the before-mention'd Commission, and he was employ'd in the same impious Service after his Enlargement, as appears by his Letter in Sander-son, address'd to his Majesty, yet upon the Parliament's discovering and declaring warmly against this clandestine, felonious Treaty, the King reply'd thus, His Majesty doth protest, that till such Time as he had Advertisement that the Person of the said Earl of Glamorgan was arrested, he never heard nor had any kind of Notice that the said Earl had enter'd into any Capitulation with the Irish. I never met with any colourable Pretence for this nefarious Confederacy with the Irish Massacrers. The best is in Echard, because taken from the best Writer and the honestest Man on that Side, one Doctor Nalson, who in a Nook of the Paper Office, found a Letter written to the Popish Lords and Gentlemen by the Lord Digby, wherein 'tis said the King will joyn with the Roundheads and Scots Presbyterians rather than do the least Act that may hazard the Protestant Religion. The Archdeacon's Judgment was not of Extent enough to let such an idle Paper from such an idle Author escape him; for it is very well known, as Whitlocke says, that this very Lord Digby, the Popish Earl of Glamorgan, and the Marquis of Ormond, concluded the Peace with the Irish Butchers, which put the Provinces of Munster and Ulster in that Kingdom, under the Government of the Popish supreme Council. Glamorgan's prior Treaty had so incens'd the Parliament, " That they refus'd either to treat with the King, or admit him to come to London, " or this Business to end here, but render'd all " the King's subsequent Treaties with the Parliament suspected, and the End of attaining " the King's Propositions more difficult: And " here, continues Coke, you may see how this " King would prostitute his Honour and Christianity, contrary to what he so often profess'd " not only to the Parliament but to his own " Party.

The King remaining at Newark after the Departure of Digby and Langdale, there happen'd some Differences in the Garrison, which render'd his Condition still worse, as it made him more uneasy, for there was no Manner of Prospect that it would mend. Hither came Prince Rupert with his Brother Prince Maurice, and was seemingly reconcil'd to the King about the Surrender of Bristol; but his Majesty having made the Lord Bellasis Governor of Newark, instead of Sir Richard Willis, who was appointed Captain of his Guards, about the 20th of October, the two Princes and the Lord Gerrard espous'd Willis's Quarrel; and Bellasis had the Party of the Lord Digby. Prince Rupert told the King plainly, Willis was remov'd because he

Lord Digby routed near Scotland.

A. D. 1645. King's Treaty with the Irish REBELS. Sander-son.

Ludlow.

Sander-son.

Coke.

Division in the King's Garrison at Newark.

Ludlow.

A. D. 1645. *was his Friend*; and *Gerrard* added, *It was a Plot of the Lord Digby, who was a Traytor, and he would prove him so.* This Language so surpriz'd the King that he commanded them from his Presence, and to come no more into it: Upon which the Prince, the Lord *Gerrard*, Sir *Richard Willis*, and above 200 Officers, the Meanest a Captain, desir'd Passes to go beyond Sea, and retir'd from *Newark* to *Wyverton*, whence they sent to Col. *Roffiter* for Parliament Passes, engaging their Honours never to return to take up Arms against them; accordingly Passes were granted to the Princes and others. The King soon after by hasty Night Marches, got from *Newark* to *Oxford* in the Beginning of *November*, where we must leave him to follow General *Fairfax* farther into the *West*.

Fairfax's
March in-
to the
West.

The Prince of *Wales* was *Generalissimo* of all the King's Forces in those Parts, which were commanded under him by the Lord *Hopton*, Sir *Richard Greenville*, the Lord *Goring* and Sir *John Digby* in several Bodies; but before the Parliament's Forces went in Pursuit of them, 'twas thought convenient to clear the Trading Counties and the Roads towards *London*, of Cavalier Garrisons, which were reduc'd rather to Nests of *Banditti* than Retreats for Soldiers. *Ludlow* tells us, "Many of the King's Party hover'd about the *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire* Downs, to rob Travellers, and thence were call'd Colonel *Down's* Men.

Lient. Gen.
Cromwel
takes the
Devizes.

Lieutenant General *Cromwel* march'd with his own, Colonel *Montagu's*, Colonel *Pickering's*, Sir *Hardress Waller's*, and Colonel *Hammond's* Regiments, to take in the *Devizes* and *Lacock* House in *Wiltshire*. Sir *Charles Lloyd*, Governor of the *Devizes* surrender'd it after a few Shot, on Condition of marching out, Officers and Gentlemen with Arms, and the Soldiers without Arms. The next Day, *September* the 24th, Colonel *Bosville* yielded *Lacock* on Summons, himself, Officers and Soldiers to have their Arms and Baggage. Colonel *Rainsborough* summon'd Sir *Charles Lucas*, Governor of *Berkley*, who answer'd, *He would eat Horse Flesh before he would yield, and Man's Flesh when that was done*; but they were not such *Cannibals* as they made themselves. We must remember that these heroidal Persons had not the least Hope of Relief, and that the Overflowings of their Courage are of no more Use to them than the Overflowings of their *Bile*, and indeed past off generally in Vapour. For no sooner had *Rainsborough* master'd the Out-works by Storm, and put 40 to the Sword, than *Lucas* was glad to found a Parley, and accept of such Conditions as *Rainsborough* would give him and his Garrison, about 500 Men.

And Berk-
ley.

Cromwel
takes Win-
chester.

Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, while General *Fairfax* was marching Westward, dispers'd the *Hampshire* Club Men, and coming before *Winchester*, forc'd the Gate, enter'd the Town and began to batter the Castle, the Lord *Ogle* the Governor having rejected his Summons. He then planted more Guns against it and made a Breach; upon which the Lord *Ogle* beat a Parly, which was agreed to, and Colonel *Hammond* and Major *Harrison* for *Cromwel*, concluded Articles with the Governor, who surrender'd the Castle the 14th of *October*. It had a Garrison of 500 Men, and was well provided with all Sorts of Stores. There were in the Place Sir *John Parwler*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Edward Ford*, and Colonel *Benner*. Against the two latter *Cromwel* made great Exceptions, they having not kept to their Engagements with the Parliament, but rather than stay longer before it he at last consented to let them go with the rest

and march'd himself to reduce

Basing, a Place of Importance, it having been a great Annoyance to the Trade, both of *London* and the *Country*. As soon as Lieutenant General *Cromwel* had planted his Batteries and settled the several Posts for the Storm, his Men fell on with their wonted Resolution, and took *Basing* House and the *Grange* with little or no Loss. Colonel *Pickering* storm'd the *New House*, past through it, and got to the Gate of the *Old House*; the Marquis of *Winchester*, a Papist, Lord of it, founded a Parley, which the Parliament Soldiers would not hear of. In the mean while Colonel *Montagu* and Sir *Hardress Waller's* Regiments master'd the strongest Work, and beat the Enemy from a whole Culverin. They there drew their Ladders after them, and got over another Work and the House Wall before they could enter. In this Attack Sir *Hardress Waller* was wounded, but the Parliament Forces suffer'd not much: They put many of the King's Forces to the Sword, and some Officers of Quality: One Major *Castle* a notorious Papist, was kill'd by Major *Harrison*, for this Garrison had been a Harbour for Papists, and no doubt they fear'd the worse for it. Major *Casaud*, Captain *Wyburn*, Captain *Rigby*, Popish Officers, were slain, as also these Popish Volunteers, Mr. *Sabvine*, Mr. *Bowles*, Mr. *Stoner*. One *Robinson*, a noted Player in those Days, and a fit Champion for such a Cause, was kill'd here; about 300 Prisoners were taken, and the Soldiers got rich Booty, the Stores of all Kinds being prodigious; the Furniture so costly that one Bed only was valu'd at 1300 Pounds. The old Marquis talking with *Hugh Peters* after the Place was taken, as to the Justice of the Quarrel, said, *If the King had no more Ground in England but Basing House, which was called Loyalty, he would adventure as he did and maintain it to the uttermost.* The Son of this zealous Papist became a zealous Protestant, and all the Reward he had for the Sufferings, Losses, and Merit of his Father, was his being spar'd when the Lord *Ruffel* was murder'd in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, the Court having as good Proof against the one as the other. The Marquis, Sir *Robert Peake* and other Prisoners of Quality were sent up to the Parliament.

A. D.
1645.

Besieges
Basing.

Storms it,

Takes it,

After this new Advantage the Lieutenant General follow'd General *Fairfax* into the *West*, and in his March took *Langford House* in *Wiltshire*, which Sir *Bartholomew Pell* surrender'd at Summons, *October* the 18th. And by the reducing of this Place the Roads were so clear'd from *London* to *Exeter*, that a single Man might have travell'd there, without any Fear of an Enemy.

And Lang-
ford House.

General *Fairfax* about the same Time took *Tiverton*, and gave Quarter to Sir *Gilbert Talbot* the Governor, and the Garrison, though his Men enter'd the Place Sword in Hand, and carry'd it by Assault; in it was found much Plunder, and about 300 Men were made Prisoners: among them was one Major *Sadler*, who having deserted the Parliament had privately made Overtures to General *Fairfax* to serve him for a Pardon, but they being rejected he was try'd by a Council of War, and condemn'd to die. He broke Prison and escap'd to *Exeter*, not yet reduc'd, where the Royalists having had Information of the Offers he had made General *Fairfax*, try'd him by their Council of War, condemn'd and shot him.

While the General was on his March in *Devonshire*, he receiv'd Advice that all *South Wales* had declar'd for the Parliament, after Colonel *Milton* had oblig'd Colonel *Fitz Morris* to deliver up *Chepstow* Town and Castle and made him-

A. D. himself Master of *Monmouth*, Sir *Trewer Williams* and Colonel *Morgan* rais'd 1500 Men for the Parliament in *Glamorganshire* and *Monmouthshire*. *Pembrokeshire* and *Carmarthenshire* had before been intirely reduc'd by Major General *Langborne*. The Marquis of *Worcester* had a long while influenc'd and govern'd that Country. The King was twice there in Expectation of raising very great Reinforcements for his Armies; but Resource is now cut off, and *Hereford* being surpriz'd by Col. *Birch* and Col. *Morgan*, the Cavaliers have no Place to retire to on that Side of *England* but *Ragland Castle*; which will follow the Fate of their other Garrisons. In *Hereford* were taken according to *Ludlow*; 40 Lords, Knights and Gentlemen of Worth; most of them Papists. If it was the Cause of God and the true Protestant Religion for which the King fought, as he always declares, how comes it, that when any of his People are taken Prisoners, there are such Numbers of Papists amongst them? Colonel *Birch's* Stratagem to surprize *Hereford* is a very pleasant one. He hir'd 6 Men, and disguis'd them like Labourers, putting Lieutenant *Bernard* as a Constable over them with a Warrant to bring those Men to work in the City. They lodg'd in the Night within 3 Quarters Musket Shot of the Place, and 150 Firelocks near them; himself with the Foot, and Col. *Morgan* with the Horse coming up after them to cut off all Intelligence from the Town, by which Means they were never discover'd. The first Night they came too short, but the next, with careful Spies and Scouts they carry'd on the Business, and in the Morning, upon letting down the *Drawbridge*, the Constable and the 6 Country-men went with their Pickaxes and Spades to the Bridge. The Guard beginning to examine them, they kill'd three and kept the rest in play till the Firelocks came up, who made it good till Colonel *Birch* and Colonel *Morgan* came with the whole Body, and soon master'd the City, *December* the 18th.

Hereford surpriz'd.

South Wales reduc'd.

We shall not take further Notice of Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Progress in the *West* this Year, intending to begin the History of the next Years Military Transactions with it, and shall close this with a short Account of some Re-encounters in other Parts of the Kingdom.

Colonel *Moor* Governor of *Gaunt House*, with 200 Horse, fell upon 500 of the King's, 3 Miles from *Oxford*, routed them, and pursu'd them to that City, taking Mr. *Sackville*, the Earl of *Dorset's* Son, one of the King's Pages, Prince *Rupert's* Chaplain, and several others, Prisoners; about the same Time Colonel *Paine* march'd with a Party from *Abingdon* to *Farringdon*, with an Intent to surprize the Garrison; but though he fail'd in that, he took 100 Horse, 4 Captains, other Officers, and 36 Prisoners, with the Loss but of one Man. Thus while the Royal Garrison of *Oxford* was shut up within the Walls, the King's Forces in the Neighbourhood suffer'd much by the Vigilance and Valour of the Parliamentarians.

After the King's Defeat at *Routon Heath*, Colonel *Jones* renew'd the Siege of *Chester*, which was valiantly defended, and the Besieg'd made several bold though not successful Sallies. They lay near *Ireland*, and no doubt were in daily Expectations of the 10000 *Irish* Men. Sir *William Byron*, the Lord *Byron's* Brother, got together 400 Horse about *Holt Castle*, of which Colonel *Jones* having Notice, he drew off a Party of Horse from the Siege, attack'd him and routed him, took Sir *William* and other Persons of Quality Prisoners, slew 40, and brought away as many Horse. Sir *William Vaughan* with

Sir William Byron routed by Colonel Jones.

1700 Foot, and 700 Horse was marching towards *Chester* to throw Succours into it, of which Colonel *Jones* having Notice, 1400 Horse and 1000 Foot were detach'd from the Siege to encounter them, under the Command of Colonel *Mitton*, who came up with them near *Denbigh*, defeated them, kill'd 100 of them, took 500 Horse, 400 Foot, and so dispers'd them, that not above 100 were left together. Another Parliament Party took *Shelford Manor*, almost in Sight of *Newark*. It had been resolutely defended by 200 Men, of whom the greatest Part after Summons and Quarter refus'd, were put to the Sword. The Governor, the Earl of *Chesterfield's* Son was wounded and taken Prisoner. Mr. *Cary* and Mr. *Gennings*, two Popish Volunteers were kill'd, as was also Captain *Clifton*, another Papist. *Wyverton House* near *Newark*, follow'd the Example of *Shelford*. *Latham House*, defended two Years by the dauntless Countess of *Derby*, of the Blood of *Tremouille* in *France*, yielded upon Articles, and in it were found 12 Cannon, Store of Arms and Ammunition, rich Prize and Pillage.

A. D. 1645. Sir William Vaughan routed by Col. Mitton.

Shelford House taken.

And Wyverton. And Latham.

Thus the Parliament's Forces clear'd the Way every where, and it is not in human Wisdom to imagine what could reasonably give Hope to the Cavaliers, and support them in an Opposition that was as vain as it was desperate.

We must leave *Newark*, besieg'd or rather blockaded by the Scots and General *Pointz*, *Chester* by Sir *William Brereton* and Colonel *Jones*, General *Fairfax* in *Cornwall*, and take a View of what pass'd at *Oxford* and *Westminster*.

The King being got safe from *Newark* into *Oxford* was at Leisure to consider the Perils which surrounded him, and the hopeless Way of Deliverance by Arms, which Considerations naturally produc'd Thoughts of Peace, but no just Thoughts of accomplishing it. For the wise Counsellors began with advising his Majesty to send a Message to the Parliament, almost glutted with Victory, which as the Earl of *Clarendon* says, should contain nothing but a Resentment, that his former Messages had not been answer'd. Was there ever such Wisdom before in the World? If they had Reasons for not answering the Messages before they were Conquerors, they must of Course have more Reasons not to do it after. The Lord *Clarendon's* political Reflections on this Occasion, being not founded upon Fact, must be left to the Fate of all such Reflections, and the Reader will not expect any Remark should be made upon them: It would too much swell the Bulk of this History, and too much interrupt the Course of it. But when ever any Attempt shall be made to justify them, I am well enough provided to prove it will be in vain.

Before the King's Message of Resentment was receiv'd, the Parliament had appointed a grand Committee to sit about Propositions of Peace, and instead of a Treaty were resolv'd to reduce the Terms of it to Acts, which were to be presented to his Majesty. Yet the Earl of *Clarendon* not taking the least Notice of this Resolution, declaims with a very great Superfluity of Words, on the Perverseness of the two Houses in refusing to treat in the King's Way. The grand Committee had sat several Times, and debated the Propositions, which were in some Forwardness to be made Acts, when the King sent a second Message to them for a safe Conduct for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, Mr. *John Ashburnham*, and Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, to bring his Proposals to *London*; to which Answer was return'd, That they were themselves in Consideration.

King's Answer.

Parliament's Answer.

A. D. 1645. *ation of Propositions to be sent by way of Bills to his Majesty, And the Commissioners for Scotland agreed to it. They were so much in earnest for this Peace, that they provided for themselves and their Friends in the Articles of it, having voted,*

Members to be promoted.

That their General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, be made a Baron, and have 5000 l. a Year settled upon him.

The Lord Fairfax, his Father, to be made an Earl.

The Lieutenant General Cromwel to be made a Baron, and to have 2500 Pounds a Year.

The Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Pembroke, to be made Dukes.

The Earl of Salisbury, and Earl of Manchester, to be made Marquisses.

The Lord Roberts, the Lord Say, the Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Lord Wharton, the Lord Howard, to be made Earls.

Denzill Hollis, Esq; to be made a Viscount.

Sir William Waller to be made a Baron, and to have 2500 l. per Ann.

Sir Arthur Haslerigg to be made a Baron, and to have 2000 l. per Ann.

Sir Henry Vane, sen. to be a Baron.

Sir Philip Stapleton to be a Baron, and to have 2000 l. per Ann.

Sir William Brereton, to have 1500 l. per Ann.

Major General Skippon to have 1000 Pounds per Ann.

In the mean while the King met his mongrel Parliament at Oxford again, and as an Effect of more Wisdom, they were permitted to vote, *That the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges and the Pleaders at Westminster, are guilty of High Treason, and the Seal to be void.* A rare Way this to promote Peace. They also voted, *That the Directory which the Parliament had establish'd by Law should not be us'd in Divine Service, but the Common Prayer to be still us'd as by Law establish'd.* The Parliament of England look'd on them, and treated them as a Non-Entity. But they look'd upon themselves, and the King look'd upon them, and treated them as so many Some-bodies. The two Houses resolv'd, *The King's Answer should be desir'd to their Acts without any Treaty,* which the Scots Commissioners seem'd to desire. And that Motion of theirs to treat, with their refusing to besiege Newark, when they were first requested to do it, and to deliver up the Places they were possess'd of in England with that Readiness which was expected, created ill Blood between the two States, and there was not then Temper enough in either of them to provide against it in Time.

Whit. p. 188.

Divisions in Parliament.

Now also began to appear some Clouds of Difference arising in the Parliament House, the only Cloud that threaten'd them, for the Opposition they might expect from the Royalists was rather despicable than dangerous. And all Parties thought of making their Market by their Merit in the late Successes.

The Presbyterians.

The Presbyterians were the Majority in the Parliament, City, and Assembly of Divines, but the Independents had undermin'd them in the Army, where their Head, *Oliver Cromwel*, did what he pleas'd, though *Sir Thomas Fairfax* had the Name and Show of General. The Cavaliers were a baffled, beaten Party, and without the Divisions and Sub-divisions which fell out in Parliament and Army, they had never been heard of more. Nor is it in any one Instance owing to their Policy and Management that they ever lifted up their Heads again, but wholly to the Inte-

rests, Jealousies, and Resentments of the chief Men, both in the Parliament and Army, both grown too secure and too wanton by Success.

A. D. 1645.

There were but few Independent, and no Baptist Ministers in the Assembly of Divines, but those Independents who were there acted with a Spirit and Constancy which were troublesome to the Presbyterians, who procur'd a Petition from the Common Council of London, *That more Power might be given to Ministers and Elders than was establish'd by Parliament.* This Petition was follow'd by another from the London Ministers, who were answer'd, *That they should go home and look to the Charges of their several Congregations.* Alderman *Gibs* presented a like Petition from the City to the House of Lords, with a long Speech, and their Lordships promis'd to take it into Consideration, being very much Presbyterian in Principle.

The Independents had kept themselves pretty much to themselves till the War broke out, and Divines, they and the Baptists were reckon'd no more The Independents. But when the Assembly of Divines met there were among them 6 or 7 of the most eminent Independent Ministers who join'd with the Presbyterians till they had drawn up the Confession of Faith, the larger and smaller Catechism, but when they came to Church Government, they engag'd the Presbyterians in long Debates, and kept the Matter as long as they could undetermin'd and unexecuted in almost all Parts of the Kingdom, except London and Lancashire, which gave their Party Time to strengthen themselves in the Army and Parliament, and at last hinder its Execution. The Chief of these Independent Ministers were, *Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs*, *Mr. Sydrach Symphon*, *Mr. Philip Nye*, *Mr. Thomas Goodwin*, *Mr. William Bridge*. Not illiterate, ignorant Enthusiasts, as the Lord Clarendon and *Mr. Echard* represent them, but as *Mr. Baxter*, their known Opponent, does it impartially, learned, discreet, and pious, capable of being very serviceable to the Church, Searchers into Scripture and Antiquity. He adds, *Some Episcopal Men, of whom Archbishop Usher acknowledged to him he was one, held that every Bishop was Independent as to Synods, and Synods were not so much for Government as for Concord.* This Party distinguish'd themselves by a Zeal for a Thorough Reformation in Church and State, and were for the most part Republicans. Those of the Parliament who were for so effectually securing their Spiritual and Temporal Liberties, that it should not be in the Power of a single Person to invade them hereafter, lik'd very well to see the Independents so zealous, and gave them Encouragement. *Cromwel*, who probably began to think what Game he should play for himself after the Battle of *Naseby*, courted and carest'd them as much as was consistent with keeping Terms with the Presbyterians.

The Baptists were Independents in every Thing but Infant Baptism, the denying of which, good Church-men do generally believe, being generally so taught, to be as great a Heresy as those of the Ophites and Paternians, if they know what those Heresies were, and considering their Cause is so very good, it is great Pity there is no more to be said for it out of History or Argument. *Baxter*, who wrote for Infant Baptism with more Success than any of those Men, writes thus of the Baptists, "He found many of them sober, godly People, not differing but in Point of Infant Baptism, and as to that, consulting Antiquity, he observ'd, That tho' Infant Baptism was held lawful by the Church,

Cal. p. 112

Cal. p. 113

A. D. 1645. " Church, yet some with *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen* thought it most convenient to make no haste, and the rest left the Time of *Baptism* to every ones liberty, and forc'd none to be baptiz'd, so that not only *Constantine the Great*, *Theodosius*, and such as were converted at *Tears of Discretion*, but *Augustine* also, and many Children of *Christian Parents* had their *Baptism* long deferr'd, to some it was administer'd in *Infancy*, to some at *ripe Age*, and some a little before their *Death*, as was the Case of *the Emperor Constantine*;" in whose Reign there were more Christians baptiz'd than had probably been in an hundred Years before. *Mr. Baxter* and *Dr. Calamy*, both eminent Assertors of *Infant Baptism*, add, *All the Penalty of Delay of Baptism was the being still number'd among the Catechumens* or Expectants. *Mr. Echard* is a *Church History* Writer, and an *Archdeacon*, and yet he does not shew that he knows one Word of these Matters, upon which many thousand Words more may be said was it needful, or more nearly related to the *History of England*, only I cannot help observing, that there is hardly one rural *Vicar* or *Curate* in twenty who has the least Conception that such a *Catechumen* is in a State of *Salvation*, so literate, so rational, and so charitable are they.

The *Baptists* and *Independents* agreeing exactly in *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Polity*, made them united a formidable Party, which alarm'd the *Presbyterians*, who by endeavouring to nip them in the Bud in a Time of so much Distraction, irritated those who were only offended before, and induc'd them to put themselves under the Protection of the *Army*, who found the *Presbyterians* in too much haste as they thought for *Peace*, and willing to accept of it, if the *King* would accept of them and their *Directory*, without considering much the *Merit* of the *Army*, and the *Interest* of the other Denominations, which the *Soldiery* were resolv'd should be consider'd before they put their *Swords* into the *Scabbards*, *Satisfaction* and *Security* after so bloody and expensive a *War* grew popular Terms, and all those who made use of them went under the Notion of the *Independent* Party, though there were many *Presbyterians*, some *Church-men*; and if one could believe *Mr. Archdeacon*, some *Papists*, as *Sir John D'avers*, one of the *King's Judges*, among them: *Lieutenant General Cromwel*, *Lieutenant General Ludlow*, *John Lisle*, Esq; *Sir Henry Vane*, jun. *Henry Martin*, Esq; *Sir Arthur Haslerigg*, *Sir Henry Mildmay*, *Lord Grey of Groby*, *Lord Monson*, *Anthony Stapely*, Esq; *Miles Corbert*, Esq; &c. were at the Head of this Party in the *House of Commons*; and at the

Heads of the Independents. Head of the *Presbyterians* were *Denzil Hollis*, Esq; *Sir Philip Stapleton*, *John Glyn*, Esq; *Sergeant Maynard*, *Sir William Waller*, *Sir John Clotworthy*, *Sir Benjamin Rudyard*, *Sir William Lewis*, *Colonel Long*, *Colonel Harley*, *Colonel Maffey*, *Colonel Copley*.

Neutral Party. There was another Party in the *House of Commons* who declar'd for neither Side, as *Mr. Pierpoint*, *Bulstrode Whitlock*, Esq; *Oliver St. John*, Esq; *John Crew*, Esq; *Sir Thomas Widdrington*, *Colonel Birch*, *Mr. Goodwyn*, *Sir John Hippeley*, &c. who sometimes voted with the *Presbyterians*, and sometimes with the *Independents*, as they thought conduc'd most to the *Service* of the *State*, and generally they went with those who were for *Satisfaction* and *Security*, till it was known that *Oliver* and his Party meant the *Death* of the *King* by it, in which they were left by all those who meant the

Reformation, and not the *Destruction* of the *A. D.* *Government* at the Beginning of the *Rupture*. 1645. As to the *Sefts*, *Antinomians*, *Fanilists*, *Seekers*, *Ranters*; *Adamites*, &c. every one *settaries* knows they were the *Mushrooms* which sprung up in the *Fields of Blood* during the *Civil War*; and when muster'd together, hardly made up the Number of *Parson Mason's Followers* in *Buckinghamshire*, about six or seven and thirty Years ago, with whom the *Church of England* may be as well charg'd as the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, with the *Settaries* against whom they were always preaching and labouring as much as consulted with the *Confusion* of the Times.

Mr. Baxter informs us, that the *Parliament's Divisions* Friends saw betimes what would be the fatal Consequence of the before-mention'd *Divisions* and *Sub-divisions*, and that their *Enemies* had not a *Twig* to catch at to save them from sinking to the *Bottom* for ever but what grew out of them. They had nothing left to employ their *Valour* about, and their *Wisdoms* had been baffled as much as their *Armies* had been beaten; but they could with *Safety*, if not with *Success*, foment those *Divisions*, and flatter'd themselves that when by courting sometimes one Party, and sometimes another, a *Breach* was made, they might enter at it; tho' all other *Entrance* was deny'd them. *Success* is as apt to perplex *Counsels* as *Distress*. The *Conquerors* quarrel as often about dividing the *Prize*, as the *Conquer'd* about keeping of it. There had been 1000 *Light Cal. p. 97* Houses set up in *History* to direct *Nations* and *States* how to avoid the *Rocks* and *Sands* of *Discord*. *Baxter* foresaw; and it needed not good *Eyes*, what would be the *Effects* of the *Animosities* between the *Presbyterians* and the other *Denominations* whom he warn'd, *That a House divided against itself cannot stand*; *That the Course they took would bring them to Shame*, and turn a *hopeful Reformation* into *Scorn*, and make the *Land of Nativity* a *Place of Calamity* and *Woe*, as it was from the *Restoration*, the *Effect* of that divided *House*, to the *Revolution*.

We shall in the *Sequel* of this *History* so often have *Occasion* to speak of these Parties jointly and separately; that it was necessary to explain them a little, to make what we are to say the more intelligible.

Just at the *End* of the present *Year*, his *Majesty* sent another *Message* to the *Parliament*, offering to come to *London* and treat with the *Two Houses*: Upon which read what *Mr. Acherley* writes; " It is observable, that the *King* in *King's* all his *Answers* to those infinite *Petitions* and *Message*. " *Invitations* which had been sent him to return to his *Parliament*, had always objected, " *That he would not return for fear of Tumults* at *Whitehall*, whereas he knew that his " *Prosecution* of the *Invitation* and *Scots Invasion* " *was the Cause* of those *Tumults*. But now " *when the King's Power* to revenge was extinguish'd, his *Majesty* laid aside all his " *Fears*, &c.

He propos'd in this *Message* to commit the *Militia*, *Trust* of the *Militia* for such *Time* and with such *Power* as is express'd by his own, not the *Parliament's Commissioners* at *Usbridge*, to the following *Commissioners*: *Lord Privy Seal*, *Duke of Richmond*, *Marquis of Hertford*, *Marquis of Dorchester*, *Earl of Dorset*, *Lord Chamberlain*, *Earl of Chichester*, *Earl of Southampton*, *Lord Seymour*, *Lord Lucas*, *Lord Jeppington*, *Mr. Delaware*, *Mr. Spencer*, *Mr. Apsburnham*, *Mr. Gervase Clifton*, *Mr. Tho. Chicheley*; *Earl of Northumberland*, *Earl of Essex*, *Earl of Pembroke*, *Earl of Salisbury*, *Earl of Manchester*, *Earl*

A. D. 1645. Earl of Warwick, Earl of Denbigh, Lord Say, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Robert Wallop, Mr. Oliver Cromwell, Mr. Philip Skippon. But the Militia, with all its Powers, being to be restor'd to the King solely in Three Years, while Resentment and Revenge were still hot, and not the least Satisfaction offer'd for the Blood that had been spilt in the Three Kingdoms by the wicked Counsels of Delinquents, the Parliament resolv'd to go on as they had begun, in preparing Bills for his Majesty to sign, as the Foundation of a safe and lasting Peace, which all good Englishmen earnestly pray'd for.

The main Strength the King had left, were the Remains of his Western Army under the Prince of Wales, retreating before Sir Thomas Fairfax, the Garrisons of Oxford, Newark, and Worcester. Yet such was the Fury and Outrage of the Cavaliers, even in the woful Catastrophe of their War, that Col. Bard, Governor of Worcester, now issu'd out his Warrants to the Constables for Contributions, in these Terms: *The King's Know ye, That unless you bring in unto me, at Governor of Worcester's Warrant.* a Day and Hour in Worcester, the monthly Contributions for six Months, you are to expect an unsanctify'd Troop of Horse amongst you, from whom if you hide your selves, they shall fire your Houses without Mercy, hang up your Bodies wherever they find them, and scare your Ghosts. I wonder such a fine Piece should not be found in Mr. Archdeacon's History, among so many Pieces not so fine, which he intended for the Glory of his Heroes.

A. D. 1646. General Fairfax did not think fit to lay Siege to Exeter in the Depth of the Winter, but having streighten'd the Garrison there as much as he could, he follow'd Goring, who was hastening farther Westward with 1000 Horse. Bishops Cliff, Stoke and Poltimore, were garrison'd by Fairfax, the latter with the Consent of the Owner Sir John Bampfield, a worthy Member of the House of Commons, whom I name the rather, for that there are still Branches of that ancient and honourable Family to glory in, and imitate the Example of their Ancestor.

When the General arrived at Ottery, November the 4th, a Trumpet came to him from his Royal Highness the Prince, with a Letter desiring a Pass for two New Lords, Hopton and Colepeper, to go to the King on a Design of mediating a Peace between his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament. The Lord General reply'd, he would send his Highness's Letter to the Parliament, from whom only he could expect an Answer; but if he would disband his Army, and go himself to them, he would be his Convo. While the General lay at Ottery, he receiv'd a Letter from the Lord Goring for a safe Conduct for Col. Scrope and Col. Philips to attend him with Overtures; which was granted, not out of Expectation of Good from the Treaty, but to increase the Jealousy and Discontent between Goring's Party and Greenville's. The Overtures brought by Scrope and Philips were for both Armies to engage themselves to force both King and Parliament to Conditions. To which the General return'd no other Answer, than that he would acquaint the Parliament with it. At Ottery a Sickness incident to the Season seiz'd his Soldiers, and for some Time hinder'd his marching into Cornwall, which gave Greenville and Hopton an Opportunity to raise more Cornish Men; tho' the Earl of Clarendon, then Prime Minister to his Royal Highness, attributes whatever was done in his Service to the Depth of Wisdom in the Prince's Counsels, and makes Mysteries of those Things which will appear to

be plain Facts. The Step the Lord Goring had taken about the Overtures, being not done in Concert with Mr. Hyde and Greenville, the Jealousy and Discontent above-mention'd increas'd so far, that Goring left his Army and retir'd to France, from whence he went to Spain, and, to Goring re-crown all his heroical Actions recorded by Mr. tices to France. Echard, turn'd Dominican Fryar, as did also another of their Heroes, the Lord Cottington, Fellow Ambassador in Spain with Sir Edward Hyde, and the Gradation in the Remove was very small. Indeed I should not have been astonish'd at it if they had all turn'd Fryars, considering the Cause they had espous'd.

The General sent Sir Hardress Waller, with a Body of Troops, to seize Crediton, and order'd several Houses to be garrison'd for the Parliament, as Sir William Courtney's at Poldarham, Sir George Chudleigh's at Aiston, the Lord Chichester's and Mr. Davy's at Canon Leon, by which the City of Exeter was so streighten'd, that the Prince's Generals were press'd very much to relieve it, and gave out they would attempt it, which made the General rendezvous his Army between Okehampton and Crediton, from whence Lieutenant General Cromwell advanc'd to Bovey Tracy, January the 16th, where Part of the Lord Wentworth's Brigade Ld. Went-lay, took about 400 Horse, seven Colours, one worth's of them the King's, with a Crown and C. R. Brigade defeated. upon it. Several of the King's Officers were at Cards when the Parliamentarians enter'd the Town, and seeing the latter coming upon them, flung their Stakes out at the Window; for which, while Cromwell's Soldiers scrambled, the Lord Wentworth's Officers made their Escape.

The General advancing in Person, march'd to Ashburton, which a Day before, January the 9th, had been the Enemy's Head Quarters. The advanc'd Guard found a Body of them at the Town's End, beat them thro' the Town, and broke two Regiments of that Brigade.

On the 12th of January the Army appear'd Dartmouth before Dartmouth, where Sir Hugh Pollard commanded for the King, and had near 1000 Men in Garrison. General Fairfax order'd all Necessaries to be provided for a Storm, and on the 18th about Eleven at Night the Action began. The Cavaliers made but one Discharge before the Parliamentarians got under their Cannon, possess'd them, and turn'd them against the Enemy, having none of their own, the Way and Weather not admitting any to be drawn against the Place, where were no less than 100 Pieces mounted. The Commanders of every Party took the Posts assign'd them, and master'd those of the Enemy. Lieutenant Colonel Pride possess'd himself of Mount Boone, where were Twenty Pieces of Ordnance; Col. Hammond took the West Gate, where were Four Pieces of Ordnance, and Twenty in the Flanker; Col. Fortescue took Tunstal Church with Twelve Pieces of Ordnance in it, and the other Commanders succeeded alike in the other Parts of the Town, particularly the Old Castle, where were five great Guns that commanded the River. All which was done with the Loss of one Man kill'd. The Town being master'd, Capt. Dean, Comptroller of the Ordnance, was sent to summons two Men of War which lay in the River, and yielded immediately. About a Mile from the Town were two old Forts, mounted with 84 Guns, the Garrisons of which beat a Parley. The General permitted Sir Henry Carry, who commanded in one of them, to march away, but oblig'd the Lord Newport and Col. Seymour, with their Garrison in the other, to surrender

A. D. 1646. render at Mercy: Among them was found Sir *Hugh Pollard*, Governor of *Dartmouth*, who had fled out of the Town to that Fort. There were 600 Men in the Out-Garrisons, and 1000 in the Place, of whom 800 were made Prisoners. The rest were either kill'd, or suffer'd to march off with Sir *Henry Cary*. In this Service Capt. *Roupe's* Men of *Dartmouth* were very useful in guiding the Parliament's Soldiers at the several Attacks. The Engineer belonging to the Town, a bigoted Papist, was in Danger of being torn in Pieces by the Women for his Cruelty in burning of Houses, particularly Mr. *Plumley's*, with great Store of Corn in it, thresh'd and unthresh'd.

Plymouth Siege rais'd.

Some Days before, Sir *John Digby*, who commanded the Blockade of *Plymouth*, march'd off, leaving his Works standing, and that important Town which had defended it self against two or three long Sieges, was at last deliver'd from a rapacious revengeful Enemy.

Not long after *Dartmouth* was taken, a Ship from *France* came into the Port, as if it had been still in the King's Hands. The Master immediately threw his Dispatches over-board, but sufficient Matter was discover'd in the Queen's and *Goring's* Letters to shew, they had at the same Time Negotiations with the Scots Presbyterians and the French Papists to carry on their good Cause. The General intended to return *Eastwards* and lay Siege to *Exeter*; but upon Advice that the King's Forces in *Cornwall* were about to cross the *Tamar*, in hopes of being join'd by a great Body of Horse from the *East* to attempt the raising the Blockade of *Exeter*, *Fairfax* march'd to meet them, having by Col. *Hammond* reduc'd *Polderham* Castle, where Sir *Meredith* commanded for the King.

Torrington Fight.

On the 11th of *February* the General came up with the Royalists near *Torrington*, where his Forlorn of Horse charg'd the King's, and forced them to retreat; however they sally'd, being reinforc'd, and put the Parliament's Forlorn to a Stand, whose Reserves and some Foot coming up, they again forc'd the Enemy to retreat, and pursu'd them as far as *Stephenston*, Mr. *Rolle's* House, which they had begun to fortify, but quitted it on the Approach of *Fairfax's* Men, and retreated to *Torrington*, whither *Fairfax's* Forlorn follow'd them. The Enemy drew their Foot out of the Town into the Clofes. The Parliament's Forlorn of Foot lin'd the Hedges, and so they fac'd each other about two Hours within half Musket Shot. There were several Skirmishes between the Forlorns and Reserves on both Sides, and by this Time it began to be Night. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* call'd his Council of War to consider, whether to engage before Day or not; but they deferr'd the Resolution, and the General and Lieutenant General rode to the Forlorn to see in what Posture they were. They knew the Enemy to be still in the Town by the *Tattoo* which they could hear. However, to be certain, six Dragoons were commanded to creep under a Bridge near the Barricades, and to give Fire, to see whether they would answer, by which it might be known certainly whether they stood to defend the Town. They receiv'd the Charge, and answer'd with a sharp Volley of Shot. The Parliament's Forlorn Hope seeing the Dragoons engag'd, gave Fire, upon which the Enemy fir'd all along the Hedges and Works, and the Reserve to the Forlorn came up to their Relief, which being so engag'd, the whole Army advanc'd, and about 8 at Night the Battle began, six Fields from the Town. The Parliamentarians fought from Hedge to Hedge till they had beaten the Royalists into their Barricades; which for an Hour they maintain'd very resolutely, and of-

ten repuls'd the Parliament's Forces, who at last got over the Barricades, and forc'd the Enemy into the Town. The Horse follow'd them, and scouring the Streets, were warmly receiv'd by the Cavaliers; but they drove them before them thro' the Town, and out of the Barricades, at the other End of it. The Parliament's Soldiers having taken many Prisoners, put them into the Church, but many more escap'd in the dark over the Hedges, throwing down their Arms, and all the Men flying several Ways. *Fairfax's* Soldiers were no sooner possess'd of the Town, but the Enemy's Magazine, which they had left in the Church took fire, whether casually or by Design is uncertain: It prov'd a terrible Blast, blowing up the Church with all the Wood and Lead upon it, deforming many Houses, killing some of the Prisoners in the Church, and some of the Parliament's Soldiers in the Church-yard. Two great Webs of Lead fell within 10 Foot of the General, and a great Number were hurt with the Stones, Timber, and Lead. Most of the Town was shaken, and the Blow could not but be prodigious, near 80 Barrels of Powder being fir'd. Sir *John Digby*, at the Head of the Enemy's Horse, gave one Charge more, and then they all fled about Eleven a Clock at Night. Their Infantry were taken, slain, and totally routed, many of their Cavalry taken and dispers'd. The rest fled in great Disorder towards *Cornwall*, leaving all their Bag and Baggage behind them. Among the Colours taken, was one of the Lord *Hopton's*, with this Motto, a very bald one, *I will strive to serve my Sovereign King*. Sir *John Digby's* Commission was taken, 500 Pounds in Money, and much rich Pillage in his Quarters. The Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Wentworth*, were in this Battle, the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Capel* were wounded, Major General *Threave*, Capt. *Fry*, several Officers, and 400 of their Men kill'd and blown up. This Army consisted of about 4000 Horse and 5000 Foot, of which very few remain'd in a Body.

A. D. 1646.

Torrington Church blown up.

Lord Hopton, &c. defeated.

The General having order'd a Party to block up *Barnstable*, and another to take in the Earl of *Bath's* House, march'd after *Hopton* towards *Cornwall*, having detach'd Col. *Butler* with a strong Body to pursue him, and himself following closely with the rest of the Army. Near *Sratton* Col. *Butler* came up with Part of the Enemy's flying Forces, commanded by Major General *Web*, a Papist, whom he routed, and took about 400 Horse, *Feb.* the 24th. This same *Sratton* is the Place where, as *Echard* tells us, this same Lord *Hopton* gain'd that Noble Victory, for which he was made Baron *Hopton* of *Sratton*. But the Village is now to be remember'd to the Honour of Col. *Butler*, who obtain'd this Noble Victory over Part of the Baron of *Sratton's* Army.

Lord Hopton routed General Web, and at Stratton.

General *Fairfax* advancing to *Launceston*, *Feb.* 25. the Lord *Hopton* retir'd to *Bodmin*, whither the General pursu'd him, *March* the 2d, and *Hopton* retreated to *Truro*. At *Bodmin* Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had Intelligence that the Prince of *Wales*, with Sir *Edward Hyde* and his other Counsellors, had shipp'd themselves for *Scilly*, Prince of *Scilly*, says Sir *Edward* in his History, *he might be able to relieve his Friends in England*, tho' he might have done it as well from *Alderney* or *Sark*, for in Truth he wanted Relief himself as much as they did. But these Gentlemen always carry'd their politick Views along with them, and their Hopes seem'd to increase with their Calamities. The last Thing which Guilt submits to is *Despair*.

Wales at Scilly.

A. D.
1646.Cornish
Gentlemen
submit.IRISH
REBELS
employ'd by
the King.

On the 3d of March Col. *Edgecombe* deliver'd up his strong House of Mount *Edgecombe* to the General, and Mr. *Coriton*, Mr. *Glanville*, Mr. *Lozver*, and Mr. *Trevise*, *Cornish* Gentlemen, made their Submission. The General shew'd them the original intercepted Letters from the Earl of *Glamorgan*, concerning the Army of *Irish* REBELS to be brought over to the King's Assistance. Several of those *Rebels* being found a-board the *Irish* Ship at *Padstow*, were knock'd on the Head by the Townsmen, and one, a Captain of those REBELS, offer'd on Promise of Pardon, to confess what he knew, which was, that 300 *Irish* were appointed for the Prince of *Wales*'s Life-guard, of whom 100 were to be put into the *Mount*, and 100 into *Pendennis* Castle. The *Cornish* Gentlemen just mention'd were so surpriz'd at this Intelligence, that they declar'd they would raise what Force they could to assist the Parliament against all *Irish* and Foreigners, tho' they had hitherto assisted the King.

We remember how *Clarendon* and *Echard* insulted the Parliament when the Earl of *Essex* had unadvisedly shut himself up within a Nook of this County of *Cornwall*, and left his Army to take Care of themselves, and that his Horse broke their Way thro' the King's. General *Fairfax* has now got the Royal Army within another Nook of *Cornwall*; but tho' their Horse were almost double the Number to *Essex*'s, there's no Attempt to break thro', which indeed *Fairfax* had well provided against, with the utmost Precaution, and *Hopton* and his Army are in so miserable a Condition, that it would be inhumane to insult them, tho' the Insolence of the Cavaliers and their History Writers, do sufficiently provoke one.

From *Bodmin* Sir *Thomas Fairfax* wrote a Letter to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, taking no Notice of his Barony of *Stratton*, a Title which he purchas'd with Apostacy from good old *English* Principles, wherein he said, "I have thought good, for Prevention of more Blood-shed, or of farther Hardship or Extremity to any, but such whose Hearts God shall harden to their own Destruction, to send you this Summons for your self and your Forces, to lay down your Arms, and withal, a Tender of such Conditions upon a present Surrender, and Engagement never to bear Arms against the Parliament, as may be better than any thing they can rationally expect by farther standing out." Thus we see that the General, out of meer Compassion, made the first Motion of Treaty to them, whom he could easily have cut to Pieces or starv'd. But the Earl of *Clarendon*, who had all along been with *Hopton*'s Army, and must necessarily know the Truth, will not allow this kind Offer to proceed from a generous Sentiment of Soul in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, but from a mutinous Spirit in *Hopton*'s Officers, who positively propos'd to send for a Treaty, which positively had been propos'd and sent to them. The Lord *Hopton*'s Answer to the General's Letter further shews us, what we learn by the Lord *Clarendon*'s History, that the Royalists did not know what was doing at *Westminster*, or that their Judgments were not so sagacious and piercing as the Earl represents them; for he desires to be inform'd, *Whether the King has not pass'd the Four Bills, and concluded a Treaty with the Parliament*: If so, there was no Occasion for them to treat; if not, he would name eight Commanders, and three Country Gentlemen, to give a Meeting to an equal Number on *Fairfax*'s Side. In the General's Answer to the Lord *Hopton*'s Letter, are some Expressions which will confirm what we have urg'd of the King's treating with the *Irish* REBELS, and the Double

Dealing of his Commissioners in former Treaties with the Parliament's: "I believe that as the Parliament may be discourag'd from the Way of Treaty by former Experiences of the Fruitlessness thereof, and the ill Use the same hath been design'd or driven unto, viz. only to gain Advantages for War, without real Intentions for Peace; so the late Overtures that way are the less likely to be successful, by Reason of the clear and certain Discoveries the Parliament have had, that his Majesty, at the same Time, was and is labouring, by Agents in all Parts, to draw in Foreign Forces, and especially that the Earl of *Glamorgan*, by Commission from his Majesty, had concluded a Peace with the *Irish* Rebels, upon the only Condition of sending over Forces to invade *England*, whereof I presume you cannot but have heard: And tho' his Majesty did in a Letter to the Parliament disavow any such Agreement, and pretended he had given Order to the Lord *Digby* for the Attainting and Impeaching the Earl of *Glamorgan* of High Treason, yet by late Discoveries of the Parliament, and especially by Letters intercepted from the Lord *Digby* and the Earl of *Glamorgan*, to Secretary *Nicholas*, your self, Sir *Edward Hyde*, and others, it is most clear and evident, that the arresting the Earl of *Glamorgan* was only for a present Colour, to salve Reputation with the People, and continue their Delusions till Designs were ripe for Execution; for the same Peace is fully concluded with the REBELS, the King to have Aid from them, &c." After this there can be no Front so harden'd, as to deny the Treaty with the *Massacrers* in *Ireland*, and the inviting of them into *England* to butcher the Protestants in this Kingdom, as they had done in that: And to me it does not seem much Matter, whether the King granted a Commission to those bloody REBELS before he made War upon the Parliament or after, for that War might have been avoided, if he had govern'd according to Law, which he says he is fighting for in all his Declarations; and it was as much against Law to commission the *Popish* Rebels to kill the *English* as the *Irish* Protestants; and that he did so commission them was, as General *Fairfax* says, clear and certain. If those *Butchers* were proper Champions for the Cause of God, as his Majesty calls his own, let any reasonable Reader determine; and what fine Histories must the Earl of *Clarendon*'s and Mr. *Echard*'s be, which deny that he gave any Commission at all to the *Irish* REBELS. This one Article is enough to prove that neither of those Historians made Conscience of what they did say, or did not say, for the Cause they espous'd. The Lord *Hopton* seeing his Stratagem would not take, but he must beg a Cessation, if he would have it, sent at Twelve a Clock at Night for a Treaty at *Treshian* Bridge. The Earl of *Clarendon* affirms he would not treat for himself. The General consented, and appointed his Commissioners.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Commissioners.

Commissary General *Ireton*, Commissary General *Stane*, Col. *John Sr. Aubin*, Col. *John Lambert*, Capt. *Edward Hearle*, Capt. *Richard Deane*.

Lord *Hopton*'s Commissioners.

Col. *Charles Goring*, Col. *Mark Trevor*, Col. *Thomas Panton*, Col. *Jordan Bosville*, Sir *Richard Prideaux*, Major *Gotear*.

Who agreed upon Terms, That the Lord *Hopton*'s Army should be disbanded, his Horse, Arms, Ammunition, Artillery, Bag and Baggage be deliver'd up to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. Officers to have their Horses, and Troopers Twenty Skillings.

A. D.
1646.

A. D. *Shillings a Man ; Strangers to have Passes to go beyond Sea, and the English to go to their Homes, taking an Oath never to bear Arms against the Parliament ; about 3000 surrender'd, and Essex's old Soldiers in Fairfax's Army said, We are even with the King's Forces for the Lord General's Business in Cornwall.* While Hopton's Troops were disbanding, another Packet of the Lord Glamorgan's was taken at *Ped-stow*. The Ship put into *Cornwall* on a Supposition that the King's Army were Masters there, and probably the *Irish* REBELS were to re-inforce it. About the same Time Sir *Hardress Waller* reduc'd *Exmouth Fort*, where Colonel *Arun-del* commanded. General *Fairfax* took in *Dennis Fort*, near which Colonel *Rich* defeated Major General *Pert*, and took 300 Horse. The whole Field Force of the Enemy being reduc'd, the Lords *Hopton*, *Wentworth*, and other Persons of Quality embark'd for *Scilly*. The General march'd his Army back to besiege *Exeter* in Form ; but first he wrote a Letter to Sir *John Berkley* the Governor, *March* the 31st, to offer Terms, and Sir *John* in Answer nam'd his Commissioners to treat : Sir *Henry Berkley*, Mr. *William Ashburnham*, Sir *George Carey*, Mr. *John Weare*, Colonel *Godolphin*, Captain *Fitzgarret*, Mr. *Robert Walker*, Mr. *Thomas Knight*, Mr. *Thomas Kendal*, Mr. *Thomas Foard*.

General *Fairfax's* Commissioners.

Lieutenant General *Hammond*, Commissary General *Stane*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, Colonel *Lambert*, Colonel *Harley*, Colonel *Fry*.

The Treaty lasted six Days, and was concluded the 9th of *April*: The Hostages for *Berkley* were Sir *John Coventry*, Sir *James Thynne* and Colonel *Croker*. *Whitlocke* observes that his Commissioners had most at Heart the preserving the Cathedral from Damage. As the Governor was very frank in answering the General's Summons, so the General was very fair in the Conditions he granted him ; one of which was, that the Princess *Henrietta*, afterwards Dutches of *Orleans*, a Native of this City, *Her Governess and Household should have Liberty to pass with their Plate, Money, Goods, &c. to any Place in England or Wales, at her Desire, in 20 Days.*

Barnstable taken and Dunster. The next Day after the City was surrender'd the General march'd to *Barnstable*, summon'd the Town and receiv'd a civil Answer from Sir *Allen Apsey*, who yielded on much the same Terms as Sir *John Berkley*. *Dunster Castle*, the Seat of the ancient Family of *Lutterel* in *Somersetshire* was surrender'd by Colonel *Windham* to the famous Colonel *Blake*, afterwards Admiral. The General returning to *Exeter* the 14th of *April*, made Lieutenant General *Hammond* Governor, and left with him Part of the Country Regiments of Colonel *Shapcot*, Colonel *Fry* and Colonel *Weare*, who had done good Service at *Tiverton* and *Exmouth*.

Gen. Fairfax's great Actions in one Year. On the 18th of *April* General *Fairfax* began his March towards *Oxford*, having in less than a Year obtain'd more Victories and taken more Towns than ever did any General in so short Time, in a War where the Number and Valour of the Troops on both Sides were so equal.

On the 24th of *May*, 1645. he took *Godstow* in *Oxfordshire*.

On the 14th of *June* he gain'd the glorious Victory at *Naseby*.

On the 18th of *June* he took *Leicester*.

On the 27th of *June* he took *Highworth*.

On the 3d of *July* he oblig'd the Lord *Goring*

to raise the Siege of *Taunton*.

On the 10th of *July* he fought and won the Battle of *Lanport*.

On the 23d of *July* he took the strong Town of *Bridgewater* by Storm.

On the 15th of *August* he took the strong Castle of *Shirburn* by Storm.

On the 10th of *September* he took the City of *Bristol* by Storm.

On the 23d of *September* he took the Town of *Devizes*.

On the 20th of *October* he took *Tiverton* by Storm.

On the 16th of *January* he rais'd the Siege of *Plymouth*.

On the 19th of *January* he took *Dartmouth* by Storm.

On the 15th of *February* he fought and won the Battle of *Torrington*.

On the 25th, 28th, 29th of *February*, and *March* the 3d he took *Saltash*, *Leskard*, *Mount Edgecomb*, *Fuoy*.

On the 14th of *March* he oblig'd the Lord *Hopton* to disband all the King's *Western Army*.

On the 10th of *April*, 1646. he took the City of *Exeter*.

On the 20th of *April* he took the Town of *Barnstable*. And,

On the 1st of *May* he came before *Oxford*, being that Day *Twelvemonth* from his leaving the Siege of that City to take the Field. And what History can produce a General who in a *Twelvemonth* did so many glorious Actions, and obtain'd so many Victories?

The King did not stay for his coming, but as soon as he heard of his Intention made his Escape, as will be seen hereafter. We must now look into some other Parts of the Kingdom, where the Royalists were in the Agonies of a dying War.

We left the City of *Chester* besieg'd by Sir *William Brereton*, who met with a gallant Resistance ; but the Hope of Relief from the *Irish* failing, and Colonel *Mitton* having hinder'd the Junction of some Troops that were marching to relieve it, the Besieg'd desir'd a Treaty, which was concluded, and the City surrender'd to Sir *William*, where he found great Store of Provisions and Ammunition. Sir *Jacob Astley* now Lord *Alt-* made a Lord too, had got together 2000 Horse *ley defeat-* and Foot, which were intended to join Sir *Wil-* ed.

liam Vaughan; and some Forces landed in *Wales* from *Ireland*, for the Relief of *Chester*, which being surrender'd, Sir *William Brereton* march'd to meet the Lord *Astley*, who hearing of the Surrender would have shelter'd himself in *Oxford*; but Sir *William Brereton's* Troops being join'd by those of Colonel *Morgan*, Governor of *Gloucester*, and Colonel *Birch*, fell upon the Lord *Astley* at *Stow on the Wold*, in *Gloucestershire*, *March* the 22d, and after a very sharp Engagement routed them, took the Lord *Astley* and 1600 Horse and Men, all their Carriages, Arms, Bag and Baggage. *Brereton's* Word was *God be our Guide*; *Astley's* Word was *St. Patrick* and *St. George*; two special Saints and hopeful Patrons for so hopeful a Cause: About 200 Cavaliers were kill'd, many of them Gentlemen of Quality, as Colonel *Cassidy Bentall*, a Papist. A few of the King's Forces escap'd to *Oxford* and *Farrington*; and the Lord *Astley* said to some of the Parliament's Officers, *Now you have done your Work and may go play, unless you fall out among your selves*, which the Royalists expected, and no Body more than the King himself, who having now no Body of Men in the Field to oppose the Parliament's Armies, plac'd all his Hope in their falling out with one

A. D. 1646. another or with the Scots. A Company of Welshmen were got together in Glamorganſhire for the King, under Sir Charles Keynes, who makes but a ſcurvy Figure at the Fag-end of the War. Major General Langborn, Sir Trevor Williams, and Colonel Morgan ſoon drove him and his Company out of the Country. E-
Diviſions. Richard who is wonderfully delighted with the Earl of Clarendon's Political Myſteries, attributes the Hopes of the King and his Counſellors to the Miſunderſtandings between the Parliament and the Scots Army. But the Parliament had done their Work, and could drive the Scots out of England with as much Eaſe as they had driven Hopton out of Cornwall, had they been forc'd to it. The true Reaſon is in Ludlowe, who writes thus on the above mention'd Saying of the Lord Afley; "It deſerves the more Reflection be-
 " cauſe he being well acquainted with the
 " King's Secrets, was not ignorant that many
 " amongſt us, who at the Beginning appear'd
 " moſt forward to engage themſelves, and to
 " invite others to the War againſt the King,
 " finding themſelves diſappointed of thoſe Pre-
 " ferments which they expected, or out of ſome
 " particular Diſguſts taken, had made Condi-
 " tions with the King, not only for their Indem-
 " nity, but for Places and Advancements under
 " him, endeavouring by a Treaty, or rather by
 " Treachery, to betray what had coſt ſo much
 " Blood to obtain. Theſe Men to ſtrengthen
 " their Intereſt, apply'd themſelves to the Pres-
 " byterian Party, who jealous of the Increate of
 " Sectaries, of which the Army was reported
 " chiefly to conſiſt, readily join'd with them,
 " by which Conjunction moſt of the new elect-
 " ed Members were either of a neutral Spirit,
 " and willing to have Peace upon any Terms,
 " or ſuch, who though they had engag'd againſt
 " the King, yet finding Things tending to a
 " Compoſition with him, reſolv'd to have the
 " Benefit of it and his Favour, though with the
 " Guilt of all the Blood that had been ſhed in
 " the War upon their Heads, as not requiring
 " Satisfaction for the ſame, nor endeavouring to
 " prevent the like for the Future." This
 " was the Party whom the Royaliſts courted, and
 " who were not a little pleas'd with their Court-
 " ſhip. But however, as much as the Diviſions in
 " the Houſe were fomented, it would all have
 " come to nothing, and the Cavaliers would
 " never have had another Card to play, had not the
 " Army, at leaſt the Chief of it, Cromwel, acted
 " an under Plot, and betray'd, and even depos'd
 " his Maſters; and it is a juſt though not a com-
 " mon Obſervation, that as all the Diſgraces, De-
 " feats, Calamities, and Diſtreſſes of the Royal-
 " iſts, were owing to their Raſhneſs, Weakneſs,
 " Pride and Obſtinacy; ſo all the Good that hap-
 " pen'd to them afterwards, was owing to the Jeal-
 " ouſies, Animofities, Diviſions and Quarrels of
 " their Enemies. In a Word, their Miſeries were
 " owing to their own Folly, their Happineſs to the
 " Folly of others.

Corſe Ca-
 ſtle ſur-
 priz'd.

About this Time a Party of the King's ſur-
 priz'd Wareham in Dorſetſhire, and carry'd the
 Governor, Colonel Butler, into Corſe Caſtle,
 whence Butler made his Eſcape with Major
 Laurence a Royaliſt, who reſolv'd to come in
 to the Parliament, and ſoon after Corſe Caſtle
 it ſelf fell into their Hands thus; Lieutenant
 Colonel Pitman, who was in Garriſon there,
 had formerly ſerv'd under the Earl of Inchiquen
 in Ireland, and being weary of the Service he
 was in, intimat'd that if he might have Prote-
 ction he would deliver the Place to the Parlia-
 ment, which being promis'd him, he told Col-
 onel Anketill the Governor, he would fetch

100 Men out of Somerſetſhire to reinforce the
 Garriſon, and would get Leave of the Com-
 mander of the Forces who lay before the Caſ-
 tle under Pretence of procuring an Exchange
 for his Brother, who was their Priſoner, for a
 Parliament Officer in the Caſtle. The Govern-
 or conſenting to it, Leave was had from Colo-
 nel Bingham, who commanded thoſe Forces,
 and gave Pitman 100 Men to carry with him in-
 to the Caſtle, who were no ſooner enter'd than
 the Beſiegers began to ſtorm, and Pitman's Men
 ſoon poſſeſs'd themſelves of the chief Towers,
 which they made good againſt the Garriſon,
 who ſeeing this yielded upon Quarter.

The Siege of Newark was carry'd on by the Newark
 Scots on one Side of the River Trent, and Ma-
 jor Gen. Pointz on the other. Gen. Leven, who
 commanded the Scots, had ſome Difference with
 the Parliament's Commiſſioners in his Army
 about Pay; and the Scots Parliament and Ar-
 my finding they were not careſt ſo much now
 the Parliament of England did not want them
 as when they did, grew daily more diſcontented,
 pretending however 'twas only out of Concern for
 the Presbytery and the Covenant. The Parli-
 ſcots diſ-
 ment were diſcontented at General Leven's rai-
 ſing Money in England by his Warrants, and
 granting Commiſſions for making Levies of Men
 in this Kingdom. contented.

All the Stir the Royaliſts could make was by
 ſpiriting up Mobs and Mutinies in City and
 Camp; and there were not wanting a great
 Number, who over valuing their Merit, thought
 themſelves not ſufficiently rewarded, and were
 ready to take hold of any Occaſion to be trouble-
 ſome. Whitlocke informs us that the King's
 Party was ſuppos'd to ſet on Soldiers Widows
 and Creditors of the Parliament to come to the
 Doors of the Houſe and cry out, Pay us our
 Money, we are ready to ſtarve, and when any
 of the Members came by they ſeem'd as if they
 would tear their Clothes off their Backs. A
 ſmall Game; but the Cavaliers were unwilling
 to ſtand out. Royaliſts
 impotent.

The King remain'd ſtill at Oxford, and from
 thence ſent another Letter to the Parliament,
 January the 16th, deſiring, That Church Go-
 vernment may continue as it was in the Days
 of Queen Elizabeth; a Name dear to all good
 Proteſtants for her Zeal againſt Popery: But the
 Meaning of continuing Church Government as
 it was in her Days, was the Continuance of Spi-
 ritual Courts, Forms, Ceremonies and Superſti-
 tion, which 'tis very well known were the only
 Blemiſh of her Reign. His Majesty was content
 that the Directory of Worſhip ſhould be uſed in
 ſome Churches in London, but not all; which
 muſt neceſſarily have bred the utmoſt Confuſion.
 In a following Letter he charges them with vio-
 lating the known Laws to draw to themſelves
 an exorbitant Power over their Fellow Sub-
 jects: A very likely Stile this, to engage them
 in a Treaty of Peace in the Height of their
 Proſperity. He preſs'd again for it the 26th of
 January; but the Parliament proceeded in the
 ſame Way ſtill, and prepar'd the following Bills,
 to which if he would aſſent, they were willing
 he ſhould come to London.

1. For ſettling Presbyterian Government, and Acts for
 extirpating Episcopacy. 2. For proſecuting the King
 War againſt the Irish REBELS. 3. For the
 Militia to remain in the Power of the Parlia-
 ment. 4. For Payment of the Debts of the
 Kingdom. 5. For bringing Delinquents to
 Punishment, of whom Mr. Hyde, afterwards Earl
 of Clarendon was always named to be one.
 6. That no Honours be given but to ſuch as
 have teſtify'd their Affections to the Publick.

7. Con-

A. D. 1646. 7. Concerning the Privileges of London. His Majesty offer'd the Militia for seven Years; That the Parliament should nominate Officers of State, Judges, &c. That Liberty of Conscience should be granted to those that were scrupulous.

A. D. 1646. " the King's Propositions, and demanded of the Scots an exact Account of what was due to " them", which, as I have already observ'd, was before the King went to their Army; and the Parliament had promis'd to pay them their Arrears upon their withdrawing their Garrisons out of England, which they pretended to keep as cautionary Towns. The Parliament had some Difference with the Scots Commissioners concerning the Propositions about the Militia, the Education of the King's Children, the Disbanding of the Army, the Act of Oblivion, in which Matters the Parliament would not let them interpose; and this occasion'd a Remonstrance from them to the two Houses, containing Expressions highly reflecting on the Parliament, who declar'd them to be injurious, scandalous, and order'd the Remonstrance to be burn'd by the Hands of the common Hangman, the 14th of April; so far were they from being in the least Dread of the Scots, which the Earl of Clarendon and his Shadow Mr. Echard, all along intimate, though in a Manner which discovers that they knew very little of the Things they wrote of, or did not write according to their Knowledge. True it is the two Houses were very desirous to preserve a good Correspondence with the Scots, on Account both of Religion and Interest; but they were not for preserving it at the Expence of their Honour: And the Scots finding them so resolute, thought fit to abate of their Demands, and leave the Parliament to their own Management. These Animosities, says Mr. Archdeacon, and the Scots Pretensions to have a Right in their King, were thought very advantagious to his Majesty's sinking Cause, and there seem'd to be some Life in it. 'Twas thought, and there seem'd; By whom? By those who had been thinking and seeming his Majesty into the most deplorable Condition a Prince could be reduc'd to; and yet in the midst of all this Misery the Historian presents us with a Vow made by the King, That he would restore Abbey Lands, if ever it pleas'd God to restore him to that Sovereign Power which he had so well exercis'd before the Rupture. Archbishop Sheldon gave it under his Hand that he kept a Copy of that notable Vow under Ground thirteen Years, though if he had kept it above Ground, it was not such a Treasure that he needed be afraid of losing it; and a little more Discretion would have hinder'd Mr. Echard's publishing it in print, and calling such Things as the demolishing St. Becket's Tomb at Canterbury Sacrilegious Incroachments. What a Parcel of Words have these Men got to make Use of instead of Reason? Schism, Rebellion, Sacrilege, and if you take down a Rood or melt down a Chalice, though by Act of Parliament, you are as guilty of Sacrilege, according to this good Protestant, as if you stole the Church Bible or Common Prayer Book. To hedge in an Acre of a Monk's Glebe, though allow'd by the Statute, is as damnable a Sin, according to the Reverend Historian, as to break open a House. He tells us the King made an extraordinary Vow, in the Presence of Almighty God, to give back to God's Church; to what shocking Uses do they put that tremendous Name! all Lands belonging to any Abby, Religious House, &c. This Vow was made at the most improper Juncture of Time which could happen; for 'twas when Monsieur Montreuil was sent to England by Cardinal Mazarine, and two Popish Queens, the Regent of France and Consort of England, to persuade the King to abolish Bishops, and set up Presbyters, as the only Means to secure to himself and Posterity the Possession of the Throne.

And what is amazing, after the History we have read of it, he disclaim'd the Earl of Glamorgan's Commission as false, which General Fairfax said was so clear and certain. How this agrees with the pious Sentiments in Eikon Basilike, and how the double Dealing in the Treaties mention'd by the same General, whom his Enemies allow to be a Man of strict Honour, agrees with them, is what no Body can understand but Echard and his Brethren. The Parliament of Scotland wrote to the Parliament of England to settle Religion as the Assembly desir'd, to forward the Propositions for Peace, and pay the Scots Army their Arrears by the third of May. The Committee of both Kingdoms were order'd on the 26th of February, to desire the Scots Commissioners to bring in their Accounts. This was long before any one had the least Suspicion that the King would put himself into the Hands of the Scots Army, and when he did so, and these Accounts were made up, and their Arrears paid, the whole Herd of Cavalier Historians bellow out against it as a Bargain and Sale for the delivering up of the King.

Scots. Let us have Recourse to Ludlow here; " Another Sort of Men there was amongst us, who " having acquir'd Estates in the Service of the " Parliament, now adher'd to the King's Party " for the preserving of what they had got; who " together with such as had been discharg'd " from their Employments by the Reform of " the Army, or envyd their Success, combin'd together against the Common-wealth. " This Party was encourag'd and supported upon " all Occasions by the Scots, and the City of " London. The first of them, though they began the War, and though their Assembly of " Ministers had declar'd the King guilty of the " Blood of Thousands of his best Subjects, " their Covenant engaging them in the Preservation of his Person, so far only as might consist with the Laws of the Land and Liberty of the Subject; yet having had many good Opportunities in England, and hoping for more, supposing it to be in their Power to awe the King to whatsoever they should think fit, they were content to swallow that Ocean of Blood that had been shed, pressing the Parliament by their Commissioners to conclude upon such Terms with the King as shew'd them rather Advocates than such as had been Enemies to him. The City of London had had their Treasure much wasted in the War, and their Trade long interrupted; besides the Influence the Scots had upon them by the Means of their Ministers: The Common Council being also debauch'd by Sergeant Glyn and others of that Party in the House of Commons; it was not much to be wonder'd at, if they earnestly sollicit'd for the speedy Determination of the Difference by a Treaty. The King also perceiving Judgment to be given against him by that Power, to which both Parties had made their solemn Appeal, thought it advisable to make Use of the Fox's Skin, and for a Time to lay aside that of the Lyon, sending Messages to the Parliament, to desire of them a safe Conduct for his coming to London in Honour, Freedom and Safety, there personally to treat with the two Houses, The Parliament for divers Reasons thought it not convenient to comply with

Divisions.

King's Vow about Abbey Lands.

A. D. 1646. *Another Message from the King.*

Throne. About the same Time too as he vow'd this, his Majesty sent another Message to the Parliament, offering "to come in to his two Houses upon their Assurance for the Safety of his Person, provided all those that had heard to him might return home, and live in quiet without taking the Covenant, or having their Estates sequestred: He will then disband his Forces, dismantle his Garrisons, and pass an Act of Oblivion, which was doing nothing." The Parliament knew very well that his Garrisons and Forces would be disbanded and dismantled in a few Weeks without him, and that his Friends wanted an Act of Oblivion much more than they. There is a Reserve in all these Messages which shews that the King never sent them with Expectation of Success; for without *Presbytery* the *Militia* and Justice on Mr. *Hyde* and the other Delinquents he knew well they would not receive him again. The judicious *Acherly* says, *The Parliament argu'd that now the King had no Power but what they should give him, and how he, who had continu'd so obstinate, would use his Power did plainly appear by his Declaration after the taking of Bristol, and therefore their Resolutions about receiving him were for the present suspended.* We shall see what *Life* there seem'd to be in the King's Cause by the Parliament's Answer to this Message, as it is in *Larry*. "They were very much prejudic'd against him as to his Sincerity, and desir'd him not to think of coming to *London* till he had first given his Assent to the *Bills* that would be sent to him." They added, if he attempted to come notwithstanding this Remonstrance; they would give Orders to secure his Person, and sieze on all his Retinue." They also order'd that all Persons who had born Arms against the Parliament should immediately withdraw out of *London*, and without the Lines, under Pain of being treated as Spies. 'Tis said *Cromwel*, who was come from the Army, was in a great Measure the Occasion of this Answer and Order, which sufficiently convinc'd his Majesty that he must either throw himself upon the Parliament, or have Recourse to the *Scots*, whose Difference with them was magnify'd, and himself made believe it was much greater than he found it. *Fairfax's* Approach quicken'd his Majesty in this last Resolution, the worst he could have taken. There had not yet been a Hint in Parliament against the King's Person, but it was resent'd. The major Vote was then for a Peace on Terms of Security for Religion and Liberty, and his Presence at *London* would most certainly have encreas'd that Party, but by his throwing himself upon the *Scots* he irritated both Parliament and Army, and gave the Enemies to his Person an Opportunity to accomplish those Designs which till then they durst not think of. I take no Manner of Notice of the Earl of *Clarendon's* long Account of *Montreuil's* Negotiations with General *Leven* for his kind Reception of the King before his Majesty left *Oxford*, because it is quite contrary to Fact. For the Earl of *Leven* and the Committee of Estates of *Scotland* wrote to the Committee of both Kingdoms, *That they were astonish'd at the Providence of the King's coming to the Scots Camp, which was so private that it was long e'er they could find him there.* They declar'd, *there hath been no Treaty betwixt his Majesty and them;* and add, *We believe your Lordships will think it Matter of much Astonishment, seeing we did not expect him to come to any Place under our Power, and we do ingeniously affirm that there hath been no Treaty nor Capitulation between his Majesty and us,*

Parliament's Answer.

nor any in our Names. The King came to our Army in so private a Way, that after we had made some Search for him upon the Surmises of Persons who pretended to know his Face; yet we could not find him in some Hours. Among others this was sign'd by General *Leven*, to whose Quarters, as *Echard* informs us, the King was conducted by a Troop of *Scots* Horse upon his Arrival at their Camp, and to prove that General *Leven*, the Earl of *Dunferling*, the Earl of *Lothian*, &c. wrote so shameful a Falsity to the Committee of both Kingdoms; he quotes Bishop *Guthry*, which I mention to shew what Authority his Bishop *Guthry* is in other Cases. The *Scots* Commissioners in their Declaration tell the Parliament, the King came to their Army without Capitulation or Treaty; yet the Earl of *Clarendon's* and *Echard's* Histories, as well as *Guthry's*, enlarge upon *Montreuil's* Negotiations, in Pursuance of which the King made his Escape in Disguise, April the 27th, his Hair cut after the Roundhead Fashion, with a Port-Oxford, manteau behind him, as Mr. *John Ashburnham's* Servant. Their Guide was one *Hudson* a Parson of the Militant Order, who conducted them to *Henley*, by Cross Roads, *Brentford*, *Harrow on the Hill*, where his Majesty staid some Time; thence by *St. Alban's* to *Harborough* in *Leicester*, where *Echard* assures us the French Agent *Montreuil*, was to meet him with some *Scots* Horse, according to a Treaty which the *Scots* Lords say he never made with them, and indeed no *Scots* Horse came thither. 'Tis probable *Montreuil* met with Encouragement from the *Scots* as to the King's coming amongst them, but that they sign'd any Treaty is neither propable nor credible; and though the King says in his Letter to the Marquis of *Ormond*, April the 13th, *Having lately receiv'd very good Security that we and all that do or shall adhere to us shall be safe in our Persons, Honours and Consciences in the Scottish Army;* yet there seems to be no other Security for any Thing than the French Agent's Word, and one of the first Things that the *Scots* did after he came to their Army was to prohibit by Proclamation all those that did or should adhere to him to come near his Person. From *Harborough* the King and his Companions went to *Stamford*, and thence cross the Country to *Dorham* in *Norfolk*, where he arriv'd April the 30th; and his Travels were not kept so private but that it was said in *London*, he was gone to the *Associated Counties*, upon which Colonel *Wharton* was sent by the Parliament to *Lynn*, to take Care for the Security of the *Association*. *Clarendon*, *Echard*, *Sanderson*, and all their History Writers throw the Parliament into the most terrible Consternation, on News of the King's having made his Escape: They make them more afraid of him now he is riding about the Country as Mr. *Ashburnham's* Man, than when he had disarm'd General *Essex's* Army in *Cornwall*: Whereas they were in no farther Concern about it than it might be a Hindrance to a Peace, which if he had been taken in *Oxford*, they hop'd he might have been prevail'd upon to hearken to, and as escaping in so clandestine a Manner could not be with any good Design, they declar'd by Beat of Drum and Sound of Trumpet, that *what Person soever shall harbour or conceal, or know of the Harboring and Concealing of the King's Person, and shall not reveal it immediately to the Speakers of both Houses shall be proceeded against as a TRAYTOR, forfeit his whole Estate, and die without Mercy.* From *Dorham* the King went to *Montreuil's* Quarters at *Southwell*, where Part

A. D. 1645.

A. D. of the Scots Army quarter'd, and perhaps there was a Whisper of his being there before he discover'd himself, and after it was known, some Horse might be sent to bring him to General *Leven*. This History will shew that 'tis impossible to read it, and have a very good Opinion of King *Charles's* Counsellors and Counsels. He has hardly taken one prudent Step either before or after the War; and there have many Opportunities offer'd when one such Step would have preserv'd him on the Throne with Safety and Honour. Had he now thrown himself upon Sir *Thomas Fairfax* instead of General *Leven*, he would have puzzled his Enemies, and prepared the Way for a Conclusion of a happy Peace; whereas by going to the Scots Camp, he shew'd that his Intention was to divide them from the Interest of the Two Houses to engage them in his own, and renew the War, which gave too much Occasion to People to think there could be no Security in any Treaty with him. He was brought to the Earl of *Leven's* Quarters the 5th of May, eight Days after he left *Oxford*. On News of which the Parliament voted, *That the Commissioners and the General of the Scots be desired that his Majesty's Person be disposed of as both Houses shall desire and direct, and that he be sent to Warwick Castle; also, That Mr. Ashburnham and Hudson be sent for as Delinquents.* The Former made his Escape, but *Hudson* was brought up by the Serjeant at Arms. The Scots, who had a strong Appetite for their Arrears, resolv'd to delay the Delivery of the King till they were paid. The Account between the Parliament and them, was adjusting by Mr. *Bond* the Auditor; and as their Demands for Damages and Charges, as well as Pay, were exorbitant, it could not be stated with the Dispatch they insisted upon.

The King orders the Surrender of Newark.

They immediately oblig'd the King to send to the Lord *Bellasis* to surrender *Newark* to the Parliament's Commissioners in their Army, and march'd farther North with their Prize, being afraid of having him taken from them by Force. Their receiving him without Consent of the Two Houses, had brought them under Suspicion, and their disputing the Delivery of him, made many, especially among the Soldiery, to wish that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had been order'd to demand him, rather than the Parliament's Commissioners. *Warwick* is not so weak but he could observe the Parliament were a little too forward in their Treaty with the Scots: *If the English Army had been left to themselves, they would soon have sborten'd the Taylor's Bill.* 'Tis Sir *Philip's* courtly Way of Writing. *Fairfax* would have made up the Account sooner than Auditor *Bond*. The Parliament knew it well enough, and order'd Forces to march from several Quarters to the North, to let the Scots see they would vindicate their Demand of the King's Person in another manner, if they attempted to keep him; but the Scots meant only to quicken the passing their Account, and his Majesty soon found when he was at *Newcastle*, that he might as well have trusted himself with the English Army as with the Scots. The Latter began their March from *Newark*, May the 7th, the King being suffer'd to ride before them as their General, the Earl of *Leven* by his Side, and the Scots Lords around him. The Bells rung in the Towns and Villages thro' which they march'd; but tho' there was an Appearance of Joy, there was no Appearance of Liberty for the King; and when he came to *Newcastle*, May the 13th, he was lodg'd in the same House with General *Leven*, but with no Solemnity; and *Leven* issu'd a Proclamation, *That no Papist or Delinquent should come near*

The King at Newcastle.

him, and that all Persons do conform to the *A. D.* Orders and Ordinances of Parliament, who pres'd the Scots Commissioners to settle their Army's Account, that they might be paid, which shews that the Two Houses were desirous to pay off the Scots, and dismiss them, before any Bargain was made for the Sale of the King's Person, which the Ignorant and the Vulgar talk much of; tho' it is certain that according to the Stipulations between the Two Houses and the States of *Scotland*, for the levying and maintaining a Scots Army for the Assistance of the Parliament of *England*, there was near twice the Money coming to the Scots, including their Losses and Damages by the War, as the Parliament agreed to pay, and even of that Agreement, they had not above half paid them.

His Majesty from *Newcastle* wrote another Letter to the Parliament, May the 18th, expressing that he was not come into the Scots Army out of any Intent to divide the Kingdoms in Affection, His Majesty or prolong the War; whereas it was an express Article in *Montreuil's* Negotiation, if there was any such Negotiation, *That the Scots shall really and effectually join with the King of Great Britain, and employ their Armies and Forces to assist him.* His Majesty proceeds, but to secure his Person, and labour to compose the Differences between him and his Kingdoms, and settle all well, he desir'd Religion might be first insisted on, and settled according to the Advice of the Assembly of Divines of both Kingdoms. Before we say more of this Letter, it is worth remarking, that the pretended Martyrdom of this King for the Church, is indeed nothing but a very poor and groundless Pretence; for here he offers to settle Religion as an Assembly of Presbyterian Divines shall advise, it being most notorious that *England* and *Scotland* at that Time had no other Divines in Assembly. As to the Militia, he was willing to concur with what had been propounded at *Uxbridge*. After the Nation had been involv'd in War and Waste twenty Months longer, he would agree to what he had agreed to before: For *Ireland*, he will do what he can to satisfy Desires of that Kind. How tenderly this is touch'd! The Desires of that Kind were to pursue the Irish Mafacrers with Slaughter and Destruction, till the innocent Blood of two or three hundred thousand Protestants was reveng'd, and the Protestant Religion and Interest in that Kingdom sufficiently establish'd and secur'd. He will disband and dismantle his Armies and Towns, if he has any, should have been added, and consent to the Payment of the Debts of the Nation, which the Parliament were resolv'd to see paid, whether he consented or not. Such Propositions were but Waste of Time and Paper. The Parliament have the Power, and consequently will have the Terms. He knew what they were, and the endeavouring to evade them was equally vain and dangerous.

The Royalists, playing their last Cards, were in the mean while very industrious in fomenting Differences in the Parliament, Army, and City; and they were all blind enough not to see it and guard against it. Ambition, Avarice, Pique, Resentment, Revenge, and false Zeal began to operate, now their Work with the King was pretty well over: The Cavaliers durst not speak out, but under various Pretexes increas'd the Misunderstandings between all of them. The Lord-Mayor Sir *John Gayer*, the Aldermen and Common-Council of *London*, presented a Remonstrance to both Houses of Parliament, the Twenty-sixth of May, desiring a strict Course for suppressing all private and separate Congregation.

Dissensions

City Re-

monstrance

A. D. 1646. *Congregations; that all Anabaptists, Hereticks, &c. as not conform'd to the publick Discipline, may be declar'd and proceeded against.*

These worshipful Persons were themselves persecuted five or six Years ago; and now having the Power, as they thought, in their Hands, are themselves very eager for Persecution. This ought to have been a Lesson to their Brethren in our own Days, who could not but have heard how many thousand Reverend Divines had been ruin'd for not submitting to the Tyranny of Subscription after the Restoration, and yet they themselves a few Years since were very zealous to compel Ministers to subscribe. The Citizens proceed, *That all be requir'd to obey the Government settled, or to be settled; That none disaffected to the Presbyterian Government be employ'd in any Place of Publick Trust.* If I had learnt Echar'd's Partiality by reading him, I would have sunk this Remonstrance, it highly reflecting on a Body of Men whom I respect; but I am sensible this narrow Spirit is what they are now ashamed of, and this will be no Example to them for the future. It was levell'd directly against the Army, where Cromwel, Ireton, Lambert, Harrison, and almost all the chief Officers, were disaffected to the Presbytery; and finding themselves struck at, began to think of securing and maintaining themselves. Again, *That the Propositions of Peace may be hastned.* This Article was very Cavalier. By hastning the Peace was always understood the receiving the King. Again, *That the Privilege of Parliament may be so qualify'd, that Men may recover their Debts;* which was a tacit Reproach to the House of Commons, as if the Members of it defrauded their Creditors by that Privilege. *That the Publick Revenues may be employ'd to publick Use, and the City Taxes abated;* another Reproach that the Members of Parliament misapply'd the Money that was rais'd for the Service of the Common Wealth. *That the Compositions of Delinquents may be employ'd to pay the Debts owing the City; That the Committee of Haberdashers Hall may be dissolv'd:* A kind of Committee for Taxes, who were empower'd to compound with Delinquents, to prosecute such as refus'd or delay'd to pay the Contributions requir'd by Ordinances. This was a very popular Article among the Royalists and Disaffected, Haberdashers Hall being as terrible to them as the High Commission Court was to the Puritans. However, in the Clofe of their Remonstrance they soften the Matter, and say, *They would not have it interpreted to intrench upon the Privilege of Parliament, whom they are ready to serve;* whereas they intrench'd upon their Government from the Beginning to the End of their Remonstrance, and directed them what they should do. The House of Commons express'd great Offence at it, and, according to Whitlocke, "many sober Men were unsatisfy'd with this Action of the City, looking upon it as wholly a Design of the Presbyterian Party; but the House of Lords acknowledg'd the great Service and Merit of the City, and gave them Thanks for this Testimony of their Duty and good Affections." Tho' the Royalists were no further the better for this Misunderstanding between the House of Commons and the City, than that they were both the worse for it, yet they were wonderfully elated at it, and by their bold Behaviour so incens'd the Parliament and Army, that they compleated their own and their Master's Ruin.

The King's last Propositions were approv'd of by many of the House of Commons, and in Truth they were a good Foundation for a Treaty, had

the Point of Security been a little better explain'd, and had not the Weakness and Rashness of the Royalists exasperated the major Part of the Parliament and Army, and put Thoughts into their Heads of which they had not till then been susceptible. For nothing can be more obvious; than that a little more Moderation, Discretion, Forbearance, and Compliance in the King and the King's Followers, would have prevented the tragical Catastrophe of the Civil War.

The above-cited Remonstrance produc'd a Counter one, intituled, *A Petition from many Thousands of London, setting forth the Power of Parliaments, and the Labour and Successes of the present Parliament, which cause the more Opposition against them, and praying them to proceed in managing the Affairs of the Kingdom according to their own best Wisdoms, and the Trust reposed in them, and to punish Delinquents and procure Peace. That they would never suffer the free-born People of England to be enslav'd, upon what Pretence soever, nor any other to share with the Parliament, or prescribe to them in the Government or Power of this Nation, and the Petitioners will stand by them with their Lives and Fortunes.* This Petition was counter to the former from the City, and now, says Whitlocke, the Designs were to make Divisions, Arms beginning to fail. The Royalists were soon detected in their Politicks, which seldom had any Depth in them. The Parliamentarians saw as plainly as the Quarter of the Wind, whence came the Differences and Divisions that were rising among them like so many Clouds; but the Variety of particular Interests to be reconcil'd before the general one could be secur'd, render'd it impossible to hinder the Effects which always attend Discord, Confusion, and Overthrow. These Petitioners were thank'd by the House of Commons, as the Remonstrancers had been thank'd by the House of Lords; and is it not great Pity that their Lorpships should not have more consider'd their own Dignity and Safety, than to give into Designs which led so directly to their Ruin? For what could be more natural than to foresee that the Party in the House which were against the Remonstrancers would be supported by the Army; That all Opposition against them would be in vain; and that the only Way to a safe and lasting Peace, was to unite heartily in the most proper Methods of procuring it.

In all Propositions of Peace the Affair of the Church was the first Article, but that of the Militia the most important; for can there be in Reason and Argument greater Nonsense and Contradiction, than that the King, who had utterly extirpated Episcopacy in Scotland, should sacrifice his Life for it in England, where also we shall find, when it is too late, that he consents to abolish it? The Militia was a Concession which secur'd the People's Liberty against future Invasions, and without the Militia the Parliament could not secure their Presbytery against the Zeal and Power of the King, who being resolv'd to have the Power still in him to govern after the Civil War as he had done before, was obstinate in the Point of the Militia, but struck at the Church first, it being the first Article.

The Earl of Clarendon informs us, that Sir William Davenant, whose Poetry and Politicks were much of a Piece, was sent to the Queen to prevail with the King to give up the Church, as sent to the he terms it, and then explains what is to be understood by it, the Lands belonging to Carbedrals. He adds, *That to set up Presbytery was profane and sacrilegious, and to gratify the Lust and Impiety of the Scots, which the Marquis*

A. D. 1646.

A. D. 1646. *quis de Bellievre, the Minister of France, very much press'd the King to do; but he was too conscientious, says the Earl, for if he had given up the Church, he must have given up the Earl, with the other Delinquents, and that would have been as profane and sacrilegious as the other, considering how his Lordship very modestly commends himself, where he makes the King say of him, He is an honest Man, and will never desert me nor the Church.*

I have often observ'd upon what rotten Foundations the Royalists built their magnificent Fabricks, and now the Earl tells us, *IF the Prince of Wales had staid in Cornwall, his Residence might have been secure: Scilly and Pendennis might always be reliev'd by Sea, where the Parliament were Masters, and Oxford, Worcester, Wallingford, and Ludlow, were not taken, which upon any Divisions among them might have turn'd the Scale; that is, those Garrisons, which were all impatient to surrender, might have beaten Sir Thomas Fairfax's victorious Army. If there had been better Politicks in any one Page of his Lordship's History, this should have been spar'd for the Sake of it.*

The King and the Scots.

His Majesty continuing resolv'd not to yield to the Parliament's Propositions, the Scots told him by their Lord Chancellor *Lowdon*, "That the Parliament, after many bloody Battles, had got into their Hands the strong Holds and Forts of the Kingdom; That they had his Revenues, Excise, Assessments, Sequestrations, and Power to raise all the Men and Money of the Kingdom; That they had gain'd Victory over all, and had a strong Army to maintain it, so that they might do what they would with Church and State; and without he granted their Propositions, the Kingdom and his People could not be in Safety; That if he refus'd his Assent, he would lose all his Friends in Parliament, lose the City, and lose the Country; and if he left *England*, he would not be admitted to come to reign in *Scotland*, which had been declar'd by the General Assembly of the Kirk." The King, according to the Lord *Clarendon*, had them proceed their own Way, and tho' they had all forsaken him, God had not. Pagan History has nothing like it. To say it is Noonday at Midnight is Modesty to it; for is there the least Appearance that can be, that *Arbitrary Power, Oppression, Persecution, Superstition*, are a Cause that God will not forsake. But the Argument was as good as the Prophecy, and it is very probable his Majesty never said it. The Parliament had voted, *That the King, in going to the Scots Army, intended to prolong the War, and to make a Difference between the Two Kingdoms.* They also voted, *June the 9th, That this Kingdom hath no more Need of the Scots Army, and that the Scots Commissioners should be desired to take Orders that their Army might be withdrawn out of this Kingdom.* Upon which the Scots Commissioners deliver'd a Paper, containing in Substance, "That they desire to depart, and will deliver up such Towns and Castles as they have: They desire to have Consideration for their Losses and Hazards, Charges and Damages, Part in present Money, and Security for the rest; and his Majesty not having consented to the Propositions, that a Way may be thought upon, by joint Advice, for the Security of both Kingdoms."

Notes concerning the Scots.

The Way which the Parliament of *England* thought of, was reduc'd to Nineteen Propositions.

I

1. "To take away all Oaths and Proclamations against the Parliament and their Actions."
2. "To sign the Covenant, and an Act for the general taking of it."
3. "To pass an Act to abolish Bishops, &c."
4. "To confirm the Assembly of Divines."
5. "That Religion be settled as both Houses shall agree."
6. "Unity and Uniformity of Religion to be settled by an Act."
7. "An Act against Jesuits, Papists, &c."
8. "An Act for educating Papists Children in the Protestant Religion."
9. "The Penalties against Papists."
10. "Against saying Mass in any Place."
11. "The like for Scotland, as they shall think fit."
12. "For the due Observance of the Lord's Day."
13. "The Militia to be in the Parliament for 20 Years, so for Scotland, with the Power to raise Monies, and use the Militia."
14. "All Honours and Titles since the Great Seal was carry'd from the Parliament, to be void, and no Peer to be made but by Consent of both Houses."
15. "To confirm the Treaty between *England* and *Scotland*, and Conservators of the Peace to be appointed."
16. "To establish the Declaration of both Kingdoms of the 30th of *June*, 1643. with the Qualifications of Exception from Pardon, both *English* and *Scots*, and the Names of those made incapable of Office, and such as have deserted the Parliament."
17. "To make void the Cessation in *Ireland*, the War there to be left to the Parliament, and the same Religion to be settled there as in *England*."
18. "The Militia and the Tower of *London* to be in the Government of the City, and their Charters to be confirm'd."
19. "All Grants and Process under the Great Seal here, to be confirm'd, and all by any other Great Seal to be void, and the like for *Ireland*, and all Honours granted since the Cessation there, to be void."

A. D. 1646. The 19 Propositions at Newcastle.

These Particulars to be pass'd by several Acts of Parliament.

The Commissioners appointed to attend the King with these Propositions, were for the Lords, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*; for the Commons, *Sir John Hippestey*, *Sir Walter Earl*, *Mr. Robinson*, and *Mr. Goodwin*, who arriv'd at *Newcastle* the 25th of *July*, and were well receiv'd by his Majesty, as was also *Duke Hamilton*; but, says the judicious *Echard*, at the very Moment he kiss'd the King's Hand, there happen'd a prodigious Storm of Thunder and Lightning, without any preceding Appearance, in the Midst of a fair Day. What then! What did this preface! His Blazing Star in *Libra* prognosticated that *Queen Anne* would die of a Dropsy, which had long afflicted her: But what doth this Thunder and Lightning prognosticate! *Duke Hamilton* lost his Head for the King, whose Hand he kiss'd. The Silliness of this Remark is without Example. When the Commissioners deliver'd the Propositions to his Majesty, the Earl of *Pembroke* told him, *He knew well what a Spokesman he was, therefore he desir'd Mr. Goodwin might speak for him.* The King presently ask'd, *If they had any Power to treat.* They answer'd, *No.* Then said he, Saving

K k k k

A. D. 1646. *Saving the Honour of the Business, an honest Trumpeter might have done as much. I hope you expect not a present Answer to this high Concernment.* The Air is always the same; his Majesty had been often told, that the Parliament would proceed by Bills, and not a Treaty. Sir Thomas Fairfax, in the Letter already mention'd, gives the Reason for it, *the Insincerity of former Treaties*; yet the Parliament's Commissioners could get no other Answer, than an Offer for a *Personal Treaty at London*, which had been so often rejected.

Of the same Authority with *Eikon Basilike*, is what the Archdeacon inserts of the King's Dispute with Mr. Henderson, the Scots Presbyterian Minister, who, according to the Earl of Clarendon, dy'd of Grief, and Heart-broken, for his having taken the *Covenant* and acting against *Episcopacy*. Sanderson, who was as zealous a Churchman as the Earl, assures us, *He fell into a Distemper at Newcastle, and therefore was sent home to Scotland, where he dy'd; and Whitlocke, That he dy'd of Grief, because he could not persuade the King to sign the Propositions.* 'Tis very hard that one can't have one Word of Truth from them, *Echard* again, *IF his Majesty's Army had been as strong as his Arguments, he had been every Way invincible.* Henderson's Arguments were *Texts of Scripture*, the King's the *Authority of the Fathers*, which, as we are told by Mr. Archdeacon, triumph'd over the Word of God.

Ireland. When the Parliament's Commissioners came to Newcastle, his Majesty was engag'd with the famous Mr. Henderson; and in *Whitlocke* we read of another sort of Engagement about the same Time, and that was with the *Irish REBELS*, in Robert King, one of the Parliament's Commissioners in Ireland, bringing thence the Marquis of Ormond's Treaty of Peace with those Butchers, which however had not the intended Effect, for the Pope's Nuncio and the most bigotted of the REBELS, disclaim'd the Treaty made by their Commissioners, and prosecuted the War to their Destruction. *Whitlocke* informs us, that the Commissioners of both Kingdoms begg'd the King on their Knees to sign the Propositions, but he was inflexible, of which more hereafter.

The King orders his Governors of Places to quit them. We have seen already, that the Earl of Clarendon was of Opinion, that *IF Pendennis Castle, Ragland Castle, Wallingford, Ludlow, &c.* had not surrender'd so soon, their standing out might have turn'd the Scale, after every other City, Town and Castle in *England* were reduc'd; and both the Earl and the Archdeacon make it a wonderful Condescension in his Majesty to send Warrants to Sir Thomas Glemham Governor of Oxford, Sir Thomas Tilsley Governor of Worcester, Col. Washington Governor of Banbury, Col. Blague Governor of Wallingford, and all other Governors of Cities, Towns, Castles, and Forts in *England and Wales*, to quit the Places, and disband their Forces, neither of which could they have maintain'd much longer. Sir Thomas Fairfax came before Oxford the 1st of May, and having settled the several Quarters of the Army in order for an Attack, he sent a Summons to Sir Thomas Glemham the Governor the 11th of May, who desir'd a safe Conduct for Sir John Monson and Mr. Philip Warwick, the renown'd Memoir Writer, to confer with him, or whom he pleas'd to appoint, who were Col. Rainsborough, Col. Harley, and Col. Lambert. All that Monson and Warwick propos'd, was to send to the King to know his Pleasure about the Surrender of that chief City of his Residence, this being

A. D. 1646. some Weeks before the Warrant for the general Surrender arriv'd at Oxford or elsewhere, that Proposal being only to delay Time. Sir Thomas Fairfax's Commissioners represented to Sir Thomas Glemham's the Vanity of such a Delay, and the Advantage of treating before the Attack was begun. But they having no Power to treat, a Trumpet was sent back with them for a positive Answer; and in the mean Time the Line went forward, and Order was given for drawing up of the Batteries. Upon which on the 14th of May the Governor made known his Desire to treat, which was agreed to, and Mr. Crook's House at Marston appointed to be the Place.

The Commissioners named on both Sides were,

For the King.

Sir John Monson, Sir John Heydon, Sir George Bynion, Sir Thomas Gardiner, Sir Richard Willis, Sir Stephen Haskins, Col. Gofnold, Col. Tyllier, Dr. Zouch, Thomas Christy, Esq; Mr. John Dutton, Mr. Jeffery Palmer, Capt. Robert Mead, M. A. Mr. Philip Warwick.

For the Parliament.

Lieutenant General Hammond, Col. Ireton, Col. Lambert, Col. Rich, Col. Harley, Col. Watson, Major Desborough, Major Harrison, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Waller.

The General excepted against Sir George Bynion, as being exempted from Pardon by the Parliament's Propositions; and it is observable that this Person had been only an ordinary Silkmán in *Cheapside*, but such another busy Fellow as Jones the Gun Man in *Sackeoverell's* Time. Being oblig'd to leave the City of London, he was well receiv'd by the Court at Oxford, made not only a Knight, but a Politician, and advanc'd from a Counter to a Court. The Parliament were oblig'd to content themselves with the Quality of their People as they found it; and the Earl of Clarendon does not a little value his Cause on the Dignity of those who espous'd it. The Parliament indeed could make nothing but *Soldiers*, but the King made *Knights* and *Lords* too, tho' the Parliament would not own them, as well in the War Time as out of it. Mr. Herbert, one of the Commissioners for the Parliament, is the same who was afterwards Sir Thomas Herbert, who with Mr. Harrington waited on the King as Groom of his Bed-Chamber from his Confinement at *Holdenby* to his Death. The Treaty for the Surrender of Oxford commenc'd before his Majesty arriv'd at Newcastle, and was almost concluded before Sir Thomas Glemham, the Governor, could know his Majesty's Pleasure in it. It spun out to such a Length of Time, about five Weeks, on Account of the General's sending the Articles to London to be consider'd, and confirm'd by the Parliament.

While the Treaty lasted, *Radcot House* was surrender'd by Colonel Palmer to Colonel Saun-House surrender'd, and *Farringdon* by Sir George Lisle render'd, and Sir William Coventry, to Sir Robert Pye, and Faron Condition to have the Benefit of the *Oxford* ringdon. Articles, which were very beneficial to the Royalists. The City had been fortify'd with the utmost Art and Industry, and the Parliament were not willing their Army should be detain'd by the Siege while the Scots were in the North, and had the King's Person with them. Little Incidents very often give great Turns to the Fortune of States; and wise Statesmen will leave as little as possible in her Power. The Parliament Army were sure enough of doing the Work they

A. D. they were upon; but the doing it without Blood-
 1646. shed was thought most eligible, and therefore
 the Commissioners on their Part were the more
 generous in their Terms, which being concluded,
 the City was surrender'd on *Midsummer* Day.
 The Articles were sign'd by the General on one
 Part, and by Sir *Richard Lane*, the King's
 Lord Keeper, *Francis Lord Cottington*, the
 King's Lord Treasurer, *William Marquis of*
Hertford, *Edward Earl of Dorset*, *Thomas*
Earl of Southampton, *Francis Earl of Chichester*,
Francis Lord Seymour, Sir *Thomas Glemham*,
 and Sir *Edward Nicholas* on the other. On
Wednesday, *June* the 24th, there march'd out
Eastward 3000 Soldiers in a Body, 500 march'd
Northward, and a little before and after them
 500 more mostly Horsemen and private Persons
 engag'd in the War. On the *Monday* before
 Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, with their
 Attendants, departed. The Duke of *York* was
 to remain till he could more decently be remov'd
 to *London*. *Whitlocke* observes that no Injury
 nor Affront was offer'd by the Parliament's Sol-
 diers to those of the Garrison, but all the Arti-
 cles were punctually perform'd. There went
 forth several *Irish* Men and *Irish* Women, and
 after the Governor was march'd away, the Keys
 of the City were presented to the General, who
 order'd three Regiments of Foot to enter the
 Town, between whom and the Citizens was
 courteous Language, not a reproachful or un-
 civil Word by any of the Army to them, nor the
 least Disorder. There was little Provision found
 in the Town, either for Man or Horse, which
 shews that the Garrison could not have held
 out much longer. *The Conditions*, says *Sander-*
son, upon which *Echard* builds much of his
 stately Edifice, were but selderly perform'd.
 "Surely, says *Whitlocke*, no Action or Agree-
 "ment, either of War or Peace was ever more
 "punctually observ'd than was this of *Oxford*
 "Articles," which were first broken on the
 King's Side by Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Mau-*
rice, in coming so near *London* as *Oatlands*, up-
 on which the Parliament sent an express Order
 to them to transport themselves beyond Sea in
 10 Days. The Two Princes return'd a very re-
 spectful Answer, *That they were sorry they had*
given the Parliament any Offence; had no In-
intention to do it, and would obey their Order:
 Then had the Prince Elector leave to go to see
 them; and if you will believe *Echard* or *Sander-*
son, they receiv'd his Visit with Scorn.
 They had been just mortify'd with this Rebuke
 from the Parliament, and just order'd to be gone
 out of the Kingdom. They must needs be in a
 very scornful Humour; and their elder Bro-
 ther the Prince Elector, knew little of it, or he
 would not have made a Journey on purpose to
 see them, and to be so scornfully treated by
 them.

Notwithstanding the mutual Civilities between
 the Parliament's Soldiers and the Citizens of
Oxford, as reported by *Whitlocke*, *A. Wood* re-
 presents the Place as thrown into the utmost
 Distraction by the Ministers in General *Fair-*
 Fast Oxon. p. 58. *fax's* Army, who preach'd rascally Doctrine, one
 of them a diabolical Villain; *There was nothing*
but Confusion and Darknes: Hell was broke
loose, and the Orthodox overrun by Blasphemers.
 I am not at all surpriz'd to meet with this Way
 of Thinking and Speaking in an *Oxford* Wri-
 ter. I know what is the Eloquence, Elegance,
 Politeness and Temper of a College Spirit, such
 as *A. Wood's*, reckon'd an Ornament to this Seat
 of the Muses; and though the Earl of *Claren-*
don's and Archdeacon *Echard's* Language is
 somewhat more purify'd, yet the Sentiments in

their Histories agree exactly with those of *A. A. D.*
Wood the Oxonian. 1646.

In the City were left the *Sword of State*, the
Great Seal, the *Privy Seal*, the *Chancery*, the
King's-Bench, the *Ischequer Seals*, which be-
 ing carry'd to *London* were all broken by a
Blacksmith, in the Presence of the Two Houses,
 who were extraordinarily assembled on Purpose
 to assist at that Ceremony, *August* the 11th.

About the Time of *Fairfax's* coming before *Archbishop*
Oxford, *Archbishop Williams* betook himself *Williams*
 to his strong House of *Puryu*, near *Conway* in *for the Par-*
North Wales, and put a Garrison into it, de- *liament.*
 claring for the Parliament. Whatever was the
 Occasion of his Disguist, whether it was his be-
 ing suspected by the King, or resenting the large
 Contributions that were rais'd by the Royalists
 in his Precincts; it is most certain he apply'd
 himself to Major General *Mitton* for Assistance
 against the Lord *Byron*. We are told by *Whit-*
locke, "He perswaded the Country against pay-
 "ing Contribution to the King; and the Lord
 "Byron hearing of his Revolt sent out a Party
 "from *Conway*, to besiege him; but the Arch-
 "bishop sending to Major General *Mitton* for
 "Assistance, the latter drew out a Party to in-
 "terpose, and wrote to the Parliament how
 "ready the Archbishop was to promote their
 "Affairs, particularly for reducing the Castle of
 "Conway, in which, and in all other Matters,
 "he was very active for them." After we
 have read this in such authentick Memoirs as
Whitlocke's, how must one be diverted with the
 Pains taken by Bishop *Hacker*, Mr. *Ambrose*
Philips, *Harmar*, and others, to prove the
 Archbishop never took Arms for the Parliament.
 The Earl of *Clarendon* could not have minc'd
 the Matter better than a *Welsh* Author; he only
 garrison'd his own House, and discountenanc'd
 some stragling Cavaliers. Indeed the Usage he
 had met with was enough to provoke a more mo-
 derate Man than the Archbishop of *York*; for
 in the Beginning of the War he had fortify'd his
 Castle of *Aberconway* for the King, in which *A.*
Wood and others, tell us, He spar'd not any
 Cost or Labour to make it tenable; but then his
 Majesty and Privy Council suspecting he would
 not be faithful to him, they put a Commander
 therein, Sir *John Owen*, and in a Manner,
 thrust the Archbishop out of his own House,
 which is not the only Instance of the prodigious
 Effects of the *Oxford* Counsels. Whereupon tak-
 ing these Matters in high Disdain, he retir'd
 to his House at *Puryu*, not far from *Aber-*
conway, and afterwards obtain'd some Forces
 from a Parliament Colonel, with which he set
 upon *Aberconway* Castle, took it, and kept Pos-
 session of it to his dying Day; and he was for so
 doing call'd *Perfidious Prelate*, *Apostate Arch-*
bishop, *Shame of the Clergy*, &c. by the King's
 Friends, whom we have had too much occasion
 to blame for being foul mouth'd, especially the
Academicks. *Sander son* says he was bold, male-
 pert, petulant, impudent. One would think
 their writing and reading so much courtly Hi-
 story, their being conversant with such well bred
 Persons, should have taught them a little more
 Manners; but the Truth is, their Breeding was
 no better than their Bravery, and they were al-
 ways in too great a Rage to observe Decorum.

It is hardly worth while, after so many illu-
 strious Actions, to bestow Pains on small Sieges
 and Skirmishes, which remain unrelated. *Ban-*
Banbury, after a long Siege, was surrender'd by
 Sir *William Compton* to Colonel *Whalley*, and
 soon after Colonel *Washington* deliver'd up the
 City of *Worcester* to Colonel *Rainsborough*; but *Wor-*
cester, it was not in Obedience to the King's Order, *for*

A. D. for that was publish'd six Weeks before. On the 22d of July, Wallingford Castle was surrender'd by Colonel Blague, to the General, whose Forces in Cornwall reduc'd Pendennis Castle, valiantly defended by John Arundel of Trerice, Esq; but not as valiantly attack'd by Colonel Fortescue, at the Clofe of the Siege, there being no likelihood of that Garrison's receiving any Relief, Captain Batten blocking them up by Sea. Colonel Fortescue's Patience was exercis'd to prevent the Shedding of more Blood, a Consideration which had very little Weight with the Royalists; however it did at last work upon Arundel, the Governor of Pendennis, and he desir'd a Treaty, which was granted, and Commissioners nam'd.

For the King.

Sir Abraham Shipman, Lieutenant Colonel Arundel, Colonel William Slaughter, Colonel Charles Jennings, Colonel Lewis Tremaine, Nevil Bligh, Esq; Joseph Jane, Esq; Lieutenant Colonel Brocket.

For the Parliament.

Colonel John St. Arwin, Sir John Ascue, Colonel Robert Bennet, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Herle, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Fitch, High Sheriff of Cornwall, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Townsend, Major Thomas Jennings, Captain Walter Maynard.

Who agreed that the Garrison, Officers excepted, should march to Arwinch Downs, and there lay down their Arms. The Prince of Wales's Servants to pass with their Bag and Baggage; 500 Pounds were to be paid to the Garrison Officers and Soldiers, who were in Streights to enable them to remove from the Castle. Not far off it is the Mount which Sir William Bassett the Governor surrender'd to Colonel Hammond, who found there Duke Hamilton; and gave him a Pass for London, where that Duke waited at the Door of the House of Commons, and thank'd the Members for his Liberty. Saltcombe Fort had before been deliver'd up to Colonel Welden, by Colonel Fortescue, a Cavalier, and Borstal House by Sir William Compton, to the General, who had before given it a short Vist in his March to Naseby, and because he would not be interrupted in his Pursuit of the King, and did not at that Time continue the Siege, Echard and all their Historians cry out, He was beaten off from Borstal.

All that remains to be reduc'd, is Ragland Castle, except three or four petty Garrisons in North Wales, which were not minded, Major General Mitton being order'd to starve them rather than hazard his own Men about them. The old Marquis of Worcester stood out still at Ragland, against Colonel Morgan, who commanded the Blockade there. At last General Fairfax went thither in Person from Bath, where he had been for his Health; and after several Letters had pass'd between him and the Marquis, the latter surrender'd his Castle, August the 19th, in great Glory, that it was the last Place which held out for the King, though he had something else to boast of, as that he had spent in Money, and suffer'd in Losses and Damages 300000 Pounds in the Cause of the Star Chamber Court, High Commission Court, Book of Sports, Ship Money, &c. which his Posterity no Doubt will always take more Pride in telling than we do. General Fairfax sent to Mitton, he would send him more Men if he wanted them; but the latter reply'd there was no Need of them, as was apparent in the Sequel; for

within a few Days the King had not a Man in Arms for him in any Part of England or Wales. The Parliament sent Orders to the General to disband Major General Massey's Brigade at the *Maj. Gen. Devises*, which he did, and in eight Days disbanded 2500 Horfe. The Major General himself and Colonel Cooke assisting him; but I cannot believe whar a certain Roundbeaded Writer says, *That divers of the Disbanded came from very remote Countries, and had Passes, some for Egypt, some for Mesopotamia, some for Ethiopia*: I cannot, I say, believe that the Ethiopians, Mesopotamians and Egyptians came to fight for the Parliament; but I do verily believe that Irish and French Papists came to fight for the King.

The Civil War being thus ended in four Years Time, from the King's Beginning it, by setting up his Standard at Nottingham the 22d of August, 1642. to General Fairfax's Ending it by taking Ragland Castle, August the 19th, 1646, the General as soon as he was recover'd of a fore Fit of the Stone, went to London: He was met some Miles off by the Militia of the City, and many Thousands of Citizens, and the Parliament congratulated him; the Lords by their Speaker, the Earl of Manchester, the Commons by their Speaker, William Lenthall, Esq; which was done with very great Ceremony.

The Parliament having now no Enemy in England, to divert them from the Affairs of Ireland, began to take them into serious Consideration, and order'd the Forces in the Counties of Oxon, Berks and Bucks, to be dispos'd of for that Service, being Forces that had serv'd in Garrisons, and not Part of Sir Thomas Fairfax's Army. If they had continu'd to complement that Army thus, there is no Doubt but they would have been obedient to them; but as soon as the Parliament shew'd a Jealousy of their Continuance, and talk'd of disbanding them, the Soldiery let them see that it must be done with their own Consent. Major General Langhorn's Forces lying about Milford, were thought most proper to be transported to Ireland, which was order'd accordingly; and that all Soldiers in the several Counties, who would list for the Service should have a Month's Pay extraordinary, and those that would not list be disbanded, which began to create ill Blood; but the Distemper broke not out till the grand Resolution pass'd, that 12000 Men of the Army should be transported to Ireland; and to please the Soldiers, Major General Skippon, who was much in their Favour, was appointed to command them.

In the mean while the Scots Arrears and Demands were under Audit, the Sum amounting to above a Million; but some of the Articles were so extravagant that they admitted much Litigation; and to shorten the Matter, the Scots Commissioners offer'd to lump it at 500000 Pounds: The English Commissioners offer'd 200000 Pounds down, and 200000 Pounds at several after Payments, which the Scots accepting, Major General Skippon was order'd to convoy that vast Sum to Newcastle in ready Cash, for which there were about forty Waggons loaden with Silver. The Money was lent by the City of London to be repaid out of Delinquents Estates and Bishops Lands. The English Parliament were oblig'd in Honour to pay the Scots their Arrears, and make good the Agreement with them upon their coming to their Assistance. It is not pretended there was not 200000 Pounds due to them, and they never receiv'd a Penny more. But because as a Consequence of this new Compact,

And St. Michael's Mount. Duke Hamilton's release. Saltcomb Fort, Borstal House,

Ragland Castle taken.

A. D. 1646.

Maj. Gen. Massey's Brigade disbanded.

End of the Civil War.

Gen. Fairfax returns to London.

Parliament and Army differ.

Arrears due to the Scots paid.

1646

A. D. 1646. part, much short of the Debt to the Scots, the latter were to deliver up their Garrisons, and march out of the Kingdom without the King, it is very whimsically call'd a *Selling of him*. The Parliament appointed a new Committee of both Houses, *September* the 22d, to treat with the Scots Commissioners about disposing of the Person of the King, which the Scots asserted they had an equal Right to with the *English*: To which the Parliament of *England* made a very good Answer in their Arguments to justify this Assertion; *We do affirm that the Kingdom of Scotland hath no Right of joint Exercise or Interest in disposing of the Person of the King in the Kingdom of England*: To which the Scots Commissioners made seven *Objections*, and the Parliament's Answers shew them to be weak enough. But there is an Argument in the Declaration of the House of Commons, which neither the Author of the four last Reigns in the *Compleat History of England*, nor Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, nor any other Ecclesiastical Historian, nor Cavalier Writer say a Word of: "The Question is, Who shall dispose of the Person of the King in *England*? and not after what Manner his Person shall be dispos'd; and it is to be consider'd in what Condition the King now is; That he hath deserted his Parliament and People, enter'd into and continu'd in a bloody and dangerous War against them, hath not granted those Propositions that were sent to him by both the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Scotland*, as the Means of a safe and well grounded Peace, and therefore is not for the present in a Condition to exercise the Duties of his Place, or be left to go or reside where and when he pleaseth; and your Lordships, the Scots Commissioners, did your selves declare, that it was prejudicial to both Kingdoms for the King to go into *Scotland*." The new Committee brought the Scots to a Compliance in this Matter, and it was agreed that the Scots Army should march out of *England*, and leave the King at *Newcastle*, where Commissioners from the Two Houses should be ready to wait upon him, and conduct him to the Place nam'd in their Instructions. The King and his Party car'd not what Blood was shed, what Treasure wasted, what Spoil and Devastation were made, if the Struggle in their Behalf could be kept on Foot. *Warwick* and every one about the King knew that *Fairfax's* Army could have driven him and the Scots Army out of *Great Britain*, if the Parliament of *England* had not wisely consider'd that the Scots were their Brethren, and their Interests, as Protestants, inseparable; that the Money they were to receive was their Due, and a great deal more had the Account been stated with Rigour, and that it would be both unreasonable and unjust to obtain that by Force which they could have by Treaty. This Treaty is what the Cavalier Historians exclaim against as a Bargain and Sale, which is equally absurd and ridiculous. The Scots Convention confirm'd the Agreement made by their Commissioners: The Money to be paid them was due to them long before the King came to their Army: Add to this, it was not possible for the Scots to keep him without a War, and they were not so enamour'd with the Cause as to enter into one with the Conquerors, to espouse it when it was desperate; for the Spirits as well as Fortunes of the Royalists were broken: They were in Despair and Impotence, and in no likelihood of being able to give them such Assistance as would enable them to cope with the Power of the *English* Parliament. If they had suffer'd the King to make his Escape,

the Place he would have gone to was *Ireland*, and the Party he would have rely'd upon the *Irish* REBELS, whom of all Creatures upon Earth the Scots most abhor'd, and who indeed were the Abhorrence of every good Man who ever heard of them. There was not a Prince the Situation of *Europe* that was disposed to espouse the King's Quarrel. The Parliament's Army was a Terror to all the Nations around them. *France* was in a Minority, *Spain* in Declension, the *Dutch* hated Episcopacy, for which the King had been fighting with his People; *Denmark* was weaken'd by her late Losses in *Germany*, and at the best in no Condition to defy the Common-wealth of *England*, *Sweden* was all along a Well-wisher to the Parliament, out of Jealousy of the *Dane*, who now and then talk'd big against the *Swede*. What would these fine Politicians have had the Scots do with the King? Or what would he have done with himself better than a Compliance with the Two Houses, while they were in Temper to receive it? Should they have sent him to *Montrose*, that the Plunderings and Burnings might be renew'd in *Scotland*, as when that Lord was riding Post there with Victory behind him?

On the Eighth of *December* a full Agreement was made with the Scots Commissioners, that when 100000 Pounds came to *Topcliff* in *Yorkshire*, the Scots should give Hostages to quit all their Quarters, Possessions and Garrisons on the South Side of *Tyne*, within 10 Days, when the Hostages were to be re-deliver'd; and upon the Delivery of the other 100000 Pounds on the North Side of *Newcastle*, the Scots should give Hostages to march out of *England*, and quit the Garrisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, within 10 Days. There was another 200000 Pounds talk'd of; the Scots were to take the Parliament's Word for it; and probably they would have paid them if they had not foolishly invaded *England*, a few Months after to procure the Liberty of that Prince whom they now deliver'd up to Prison. General *Fairfax* was order'd to appoint the Convoy for the Cash, and he appointed Major General *Skippon*, Sir *William Selby*, Mr. *Delaval*, Sir *Edward Loftus*, Sir *Thomas Trollop*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *William Broughton*, who were agreed upon to be Hostages with General *Leven* for Performance of the Stipulations on the Parliament's Side, who appointed the Earl of *Stamford* for the Lords, and Mr. *Asburst* and Mr. *Goodwin* for the Commons, to go to *Edinburgh*, and satisfy the Scots Convention as to all Proceedings.

About this Time the Presbyterians stickled much to have Church Government settled after the Scots Model; and the Royalists, who hated *Presbytery*, privately instigated them to insist upon it: The latter had no other Game to play but to sow the Seeds of Discord, which in Time produc'd them a plentiful Harvest. *Whitlocke* observes this Debate about Church Government was intended to raise Divisions, which were the Cause of all the Mischiefs that beset the Presbyterians and their Dissenting Brethren afterwards. Had they now seriously consider'd that the *Laudan* Persecution had created all those Discontents which ended in the Ruin of the Persecutors, and that the creating new Discontents could not fail of the like ill Consequence; That all the Denominations could not support themselves against the Church, but by the Power of the Army, they would certainly have come to an Understanding with those Ministers, and that People whose Principles the Army espous'd, and have yielded them full Liberty of Conscience, and the full Privilege of Englishmen, which if

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they had done without insisting on the Suppression of *Independants* and *Baptists*, they might have supported their Superiority by their Numbers, and their Wealth, and have prevented those Divisions that naturally grew out of Jealousy and Opposition. It is most certain they were the Aggressors by their so frequent troubling the Parliament with Petitions against their Protestant Brethren, who daily got Ground in the good Will of the Soldiery, as the Soldiery daily got Ground in their Influence on the Parliament, who appointed a Committee to consider of a new Petition in Agitation in the City by the *Presbyterian Party*, which they said might tend much to endanger the publick Peace. One Sir *David Watkins* was very forward in this Business, and reported on the *Exchange*, that Sir *John Evelyn*, a Member of Parliament should say, *Since the Citizens of London intend to come to the House of Commons in a tumultuous Manner, he thought Sir Thomas Fairfax's Army should be sent for to quell them*, which was false, and he was question'd for it, as done with a Design to exasperate the Citizens, and increase the Misintelligence between the Parliament and them. Sir *David* being examin'd, said he was told so by one Mr. *Drake*, and Mr. *Drake* upon Examination, declar'd he had it from one Dr. *Aldwyn*; by which one may easily perceive from what Quarter the growing Jealousies and Divisions came, and that the Cavaliers, though they had not Wit enough to do themselves Good, had enough to do Mischief to others. They were like Moles working under Ground, and turning up the Earth in the finest Borders of the Garden.

The City
Petition
again.

The Petition was presented by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and several Citizens, *December* the 19th, first to the Lords, from whom they had Thanks; then to the Commons, who after much Debate thank'd them for their good Services in general, and appointed a Day to consider of the Petition, which in Fact was not the true Sense of the City, but of a Party under the Direction of the Lord Mayor, Sir *John Warner*, and Serjeant *Glyn*, the Recorder; for another Petition from a Considerable Party, as we are told by *Whitlocke*, was obtain'd against it, as there was against the Remonstrance a few Weeks before: And thus did both Parties, blinded by Passion or Zeal, drive one another into the Snare which the common Enemy had prepar'd for them. The House of Commons voted that the Petition was a Breach of their Privilege, and then appointed a Committee to consider the Particulars of it, who to please the Petitioners, agreed that no Minister should preach unless he was regularly ordain'd by the Presbytery, which farther disgusted the *Independants*, and made them throw themselves intirely upon the Army for Protection.

Counter-
Petition.

In the Disposal of the King's Person, there was a Disagreement between the Lords and Commons, and the like Disagreement happen'd too often when they had no Body to quarrel with but themselves. The Lords voted that the King should come to *Newmarket*, the Commons that he should come to *Holmby House* in *Northamptonshire*, and the Lords at last agreed to it. Things being so ripe for Execution, the Scots Commissioners in London sent to the Parliament to acquaint them with their speedy going home to Scotland, and desir'd to know what farther Service they had to command them to the Parliament of Scotland. Both Houses agreed that Thanks should be given the Scots Commissioners for all their Pains and good Services, and Notice taken of their last Respect to them. The

King's
Person.Scots Com-
missioners
depart.

Scots talk'd very sturdily, says the Earl of *Clarendon*, as appears by these Votes of their Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

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1. That Scotland shall be govern'd as it hath been for the five last Years, all Means being used against the King, that the King may take the Covenant, and pass the Propositions.

2. That the taking the Covenant and passing the Propositions doth not give Warrant to assist him against England.

3. That upon bare taking the Covenant the Scots may not receive him.

4. That the Clause in the Covenant for Defence of the King's Person, is to be understood in Defence and Safety of the Kingdom.

5. That the King shall not exercise any Power in Scotland till he hath granted the Propositions concerning Religion and the Covenant, and given a satisfactory Answer to both Kingdoms, in the rest of the Propositions presented him at Newcastle.

6. That if his Majesty refuse to pass those Propositions, he shall be disposed of according to the Covenant, &c.

How sturdily they talk in Behalf of the King? These Votes were pass'd by the Lords and Commons of Scotland; yet *Echard's* Bishop *Guthry* affirms, there were a hundred to one against them in the Parliament, and out of it. I guess at the Authority of this *Guthry* before I came to this singular Evidence of it; and he has no better Buttrices for his superb Edifice. I suppose it is after him or some other such Historian that he tells us how the 200000 Pounds was disposed of, 30000 Pounds to the Marquis of *Argyle*, 15000 Pounds to some Body else, for *Argyle's* sake, Sir *Archibald Johnstone* 30000 Pounds, one round O more had made it Thirty, and been every whit as true. Duke *Hamilton* 30000 Pounds: Here's near half the Money gone to three or four Persons; several of the Kirk Ministers were enrich'd. How honest and ingenious is this same Bishop *Guthry*? How judicious the Archdeacon, to write after him, what appears at Sight to be miserable Fable.

We shall in the Beginning of the next Year see how the Person of the King is dispos'd of, and must now wait upon the Prince of *Wales*, and look a little into the Affairs of *Ireland* and *Scotland*.

We have mention'd his Royal Highness's keeping his Court at *Bristol* and *Bridgewater*; from whence he remov'd to *Exeter* with his Council, the Earl of *Berkshire*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Colepepyr*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*, whose Names are sufficient to give every good Englishman a Concern for his being in their Hands. Not one of them since *Colepepyr's* Apostacy, having any Dispositions to instil other Principles into him than those that had brought his Father into such a desperate Condition, and will bring himself into almost as bad a one, when it is his Turn to reign. The Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, who is his own Historian, gives himself the most advantageous Position in his Picture; and if there is any Defect in Politicks, as humane Wisdom cannot be always perfect, it does not come from Sir *Edward Hyde*, though the Truth is, they had not had a great deal of Business on their Hands, and the most they had was to keep Matters quiet among themselves. The Character the Lord *Clarendon* gives of Sir *Richard Greenville*, is monstrous, not in the Painting but in the Figure; and what else Greenville could one expect from a Person, who having receiv'd a great Sum of Money of the Parliament to raise Men, ran away with it, and took a Commission from the King? His hanging a West Country

The Prince
of Wales,

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Country Attorney would not have deserv'd much Notice, if he had had a better Plea for it than that he had been concern'd in a Suit against him: His throwing the Mayor of *Leſwithe* into the common Goal, for Fiſhing in a River which was not his own: His imprifoning great Numbers for not grinding at his Mill: His impoſing Fines of 2, 3, 4, and 500 Pounds on Men, under Pretence of Diſaffection: His ſending the Mayor of *St. Ives* to the common Jail for not paying him Fifty Pounds when he did not owe him a Farthing, and the Mayor's Son to Jail for petitioning in Behalf of his Father, are ſome of the Piccadillo's he was guilty of. His Rapine and Cruelty about *Taunton* are as infamous as *Goring's*, and theſe two Heroes are the Generals in the *West*, who ſerve under his Royal Highneſs, who being preſid'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* March towards *Cornwall*, was advis'd to ſend a Letter to that General for a Paſs for the Lords *Colepepyr* and *Hopton*, to go to the King about a Peace; which Letter and the General's Anſwer have been mention'd in the preceding Pages. But as the General advis'd the Prince to have ſuch Counſellors as the Parliament ſhould approve, and as Sir *Edward Hyde* would then infallibly have loſt his Seat at his Royal Highneſs's Council Table, one may be ſure he gave him no Counſel of that kind. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* advancing into *Cornwall*, the Prince paſs'd over to *Silly*, from thence to *Ferſey*, and thence to *France*, where, as the Earl of *Clarendon* repreſents it, he was receiv'd in a manner that ſhew'd he was not welcome, and had little to expect from the Friendſhip of that Court. The ſame Hiſtorian gives us ſeveral original Letters from the King to the Prince, written in the Stile of *Eikon Baſilike*, and as if they had been ſo written on purpoſe to be printed, as that of the 22d of *March*, 1645. from *Oxford*: *I command you upon my Bleſſing to be conſtant to your Religion, neither hearkening to Roman Superſtitions, nor the ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Doctrines of the Presbyterians and Independents. Schiſm and Sedition are taken out of the Cavalier Lexicon, and mean Liberty and the Reform'd Religion; for know that a persecuted Church is not thereby the leſs pure, tho' leſs fortunate.* Moſt certainly, if it was the leſs pure by Perſecution, the *Proteſtants in France* and other foreign Countries, the Church of *Scotland*, and their Brethren in *England*, would have been moſt abominably deſil'd in this King's Reign, and his Son's, to whom he writes, *For all other Things, I command you to be totally directed by your Mother, whoſe Directions had contributed more than any thing elſe to his own Miſfortunes.*

Earl of
Eſſex's
Death.

Before we leave *England*, it will be convenient to remember a few other Occurrences, and none more worthy of Remembrance than the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who dy'd the 14th of *September* at *Eſſex* Houſe, in a melancholy diſcontented Manner, ſays the Archdeacon, as falſly as he ever ſaid any thing elſe; for General *Ludlow* aſſures us, his very Death was occaſion'd by his too great Appetite after Sport. "The Earl of *Eſſex* having over-heated himſelf in the Chace of a Stag in *Windsor* Foreſt, departed this Life. His Death was a great Loſs to thoſe of his Party, the Presbyterians, who, to keep up their Spirits and Credit, procur'd his Funeral to be celebrated with great Magnificence, at the publick Charge, 5000 Pounds, the Lords and Commons, with a great Number of Officers, accompanying him to the Grave;" which the Marquis of *Hertford*, his Brother-in-law, offer'd to do, as did others who

had born Arms againſt the Parliament: But as it was thought to be an Artifice to wheedle the Presbyterians, the Houſe order'd that none ſhould go with the Earl's Corpſe at his Funeral. Upon News of his Death, both Houſes in Compliment adjourn'd to the next Day. His Effigies was ſet up in *Weſtminſter* Abbey; and as the Party he oppoſed have never wanted a Set of diſorderly baſe Wretches fit for ſuch vile Purpoſes, certain Perſons, to ſhew their Loyalty, broke off the Head of the Effigies in the Night, tore his Sword, Spurs, Arms, and Eſcutcheons. Thus did the Inheritors of their noble Principles and Practices treat the Memory of the two greateſt Princes in the World, King *William* and King *George*, by deſacing their Statues; and thus may all glorious Names expect to be treated when dead, by thoſe who fled every where before them when living. The Marquis of *Hertford*, or ſome one elſe, having ſeiz'd ſome Writings and Monies in *Eſſex* Houſe, the Parliament order'd them to be reſtor'd to the Earl's Executors, who were the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and Mr. Solicitor *St. John. Echeard* informs us *Devereux* Earl of *Eſſex* ended his Name: A ſmall Error in ſuch a Hiſtory as his! Contrary to this, the Lords order'd a Writ to be ſent to Sir *Edward Devereux*, the new Viſcount *Hereford*, to ſit in Parliament, that Honour and Seat deſcending to him on the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Counteſs being diſaffected to the Parliament, they order'd 4500 Pounds, Part of his Penſion then due, to be paid to his Servants, and for Publick Uſes. They alſo voted 5000 Pounds a Year for Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and his Heirs. They appointed Sir *Rowland Wandeſford*, Sir *Thomas Bedingfield*, and *John Bradshaw*, Eſq; to be Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, and order'd an Ordinance to be brought in to take away Privilege from Members of Parliament as to Titles to Eſtates and Debts, reſerving only Privilege for Perſon, which was done on the Lord *Munſon's* deſiring to wave his Privilege, and to have a Suit againſt him proceed.

We are now to take a View of the Affairs of *Ireland*. *Ireland*, which could not be ſo well attended as the State of them requir'd during the War in *England*. But now the Parliament ſet themſelves to it, and appointed Sir *Thomas Wharton*, Sir *Robert King*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *Roger Meredith*, and Mr. *Salway*, to be their Commiſſioners for that Kingdom, of which the Lord *Liſe* was Lieutenant; and Supplies being about to be ſent thither, the Lords acquainted the Commons by a Meſſage, that Col. *Monk*, a Priſoner in the Tower, had taken the Covenant, was ready to take the *Negative Oath*, and their Lordſhips conceiv'd him a fit Man to be employ'd in the Service of *Ireland*, on Account of his military Qualifications, deſiring a Commiſſion might be given him, which was agreed to with one *Negative* Voice only, Mr. *Carewey's*, who was of Opinion not to employ a Man who had before ſo baſely deſerted that Service.

The Treaty of *Ceſſation* has been ſpoken of, and of my Lord *Inchiquin's* ſtanding out againſt it, for which he was highly extoll'd by the Parliament, and Forces were ſent to his Aſſiſtance as faſt as they could ſpare them. In the mean time the Earl of *Ormond* was empower'd by the King to conclude a Peace with the *Maſſacrers*, on Condition they would oblige themſelves to ſend over an Army to aſſiſt him againſt the Parliament of *England*. The ſupreme Council of *Kilkenny* invited the Lord *Ormond* to that City to treat, and his Lordſhip being willing to ſee his Relations and Eſtate in thoſe Parts, as alſo to expedite

A. D. 1646. expedite that Service, accepted of the Invitation, and march'd thither with about 4000 Horse and Foot for his Guard, which by the Advice of the Lord Mount Garret and the supreme Council, were dispers'd into Quarters in the Villages thereabouts; but Sir Francis Willoughby, who commanded that Party, suspecting Treachery, intimated it to the Marquis, and desir'd he might encamp in the Field, to which his Lordship consented; and the Enemy being disappointed of their Design to destroy the *English* by Surprise, resolv'd to attempt it by Force; and all the Favour the Marquis of Ormond could obtain, was Notice from his Relations to shift for himself, which he did, and order'd Sir Francis Willoughby to return to *Dublin*; but before they could get there, the Country rose upon them in such Numbers, that if Col. Bagnal, Governor of *Laughlin*, had not permitted them to pass the Bridge there, they had in all Appearance been cut off. The *Irish* seiz'd the Marquis's Plate, and whatever else he left at *Kilkenny*; and by this Usage his Zeal for the Prosecution of the Treaty abating, the Earl of *Glamorgan* was commission'd to prosecute it. The Lord Ormond had been very active in giving all manner of Opposition to the Parliament of *England*, having receiv'd a Commission from the King to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the Room of the Lord *Lisle*, to whom however the Two Houses continu'd that Commission. It was Ormond who made the infamous Cessation with the *Irish* Massacres: It was he, who sent the Forces which came from *England* to assist the *Irish* Protestants back to *England* to destroy the Protestants there. He forbid the taking the Covenant in *Ireland*, was Impeach'd as a Traytor against the *Three Kingdoms*, disabled of his Lieutenancy, and all Command in *Ireland*, where the Earl of *Inchiquin* and the Lord *Brogbill* commanded in *Munster*, out of which Province they drove the *Irish* REBELS, and wrote to the Parliament for Supplies. Thus 'tis plain, that if the *English* Forces sent to reduce those Rebels had not been recall'd by the King, but had join'd the Earl of *Inchiquin* and the Lord *Brogbill*, the War in *Ireland* had been over, and the Protestants in Safety many Years before the Commonwealth of *England* put an End to it. One of the most considerable Actions in *Ireland*, till General *Cromwel* landed there, was that at *Sligo* in November, the Year preceding. The Rebels, to the Number of 2000 Foot and 300 Horse, lay before that Town, and block'd up all the Out-Garrisons, with other Forces. Lieutenant Colonel *Sanderson*, who commanded in *Sligo*, Capt. *Richard Coot*, and Capt. *Cole*, resolv'd to sally out upon them; and having given Notice of their Resolution to Sir *William Cole* and Sir *Francis Hamilton*, they came very opportunely to their Assistance with two Troops of Horse; and falling upon the Enemy at the same Time that Col. *Sanderson* attack'd them, the *Irish* were soon put into Confusion, and fled. The *English* had Execution upon them for five Miles, kill'd above 200, took 150 Horse, their Arms, Tents, Baggage, Ammunition, and much Spoil. Amongst the Slain was the Popish Archbishop of *Tuam*, in whose Carriage were found some Papers which discover'd the Endearments between the Court at *Oxford* and the *Irish* REBELS. The *English* lost but one Man, and took 28 Officers of Note, as, *Dom. O Flaherty* Lieutenant Colonel to *Richard Bourck*, Cousin to the Earl of *Clanckard*, Lieutenant Colonel *Gerdy*, Major *Richard Bourck*, ——— *O Neal*, Grandson to Sir *Terlagh Mac Henry O Neal*, Capt. *Browne*, Brother to their famous Lawyer *Jeffry Browne*,

Rebels
routed at
Sligo.

Capt. *William O Shagnise*, Brother to Sir *Roger O Shagnise*, Capt. *Dillon*, Son to Sir *Lucas Dillon*, Capt. *Castlelogh*, the Popish Archbishop of *Tuam*, President of the Province of *Connaught*, and Chief of the Supreme Council of *Kilkenny*. Among his Papers were found the Pope's Bull, and the Earl of *Glamorgan's* Commission to treat with those bloody Butchers, and the execrable Treaty it self made with *Richard* Viscount *Mountgarret*, President of the Supreme Council of Catholics, *Donnogh* Viscount *Muskerry*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, *Alex. M. Donnel*, Esq; *Nicholas Plunker*, Esq; *Dermot O Brian*, Esq; *John Dillon*, Esq; *Patrick Darcy*, Esq; *Jeffry Brown*, Esq;

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By Virtue of his Majesty's Authority, under his Signate and Royal Signature, dated at *Oxford* the 12th Day of March, in the 20th Year of his Reign. The Treaty with the Irish Rebels.

By the First Article, "The Popish Priests were to be put in Possession of all Lands, Tenements and Tithes, to which they laid Claim, and all Papists have the free and publick Exercise of their Religion.

By the Second Article, "They were to hold and enjoy the Churches they had been formerly possess'd of.

By the Third Article, "The Papists were exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy, and the Popish Clergy not to be molest'd in the Exercise of their Jurisdiction, &c.

All which was to be confirm'd by Act of Parliament in *Ireland*.

These Papers were sent to the Parliament by Sir *Robert King* and Mr. *Arthur Annesley*, afterwards Earl of *Anglesey*, who was then a very zealous Parliamentarian; and it appear'd by certain Hints in some of those Papers, that the King's Hopes were from the *Irish Nation*.

The Parliament sent Forces from *England* to join the Lords *Inchiquin* and *Brogbill* in *Munster*, where and elsewhere in *Ireland* the Protestants had frequent Advantages of the *Irish*, but were not strong enough to meet them in the Field. Sir *Charles Coot* and Sir *Robert Steward* engag'd a Party of Rebels, and slew 500. The Lord *Lisle* was order'd to repair to his Government with all Speed, and 1200 Pounds a Month Pay allow'd him; but the Supplies came too slow, and the *Irish*, who were apprehensive of their coming, were industrious to improve the Advantage of their Numbers, before their Arrival. Major General *Mouroe*, who commanded under the Lord *Inchiquin* in *Ulster*, drew the Forces out of several Garrisons to attack the Rebels: He had about 5000 Foot and 600 Horse. The REBELS were about twice the Number; and seeming to retire before him, the *English* follow'd them in too much Disorder, and fell into their Ambuscades, which so gall'd them, that they were forc'd to retreat with the Loss of 500 Men, and most of their Arms and Ammunition. The Lord *Montgomery* and the Lord *Blaney* were taken. This was the greatest Blow the Parliament's Forces receiv'd in any Engagement with the REBELS. The Two Houses wrote to the King, then in the *Scots* Army, to send Order for Delivery of the Garrisons in *Ireland*; but his Majesty answer'd, *If a Peace were settled, that would follow of course*. In June this Year the Rebels took *Roscommon*, and put all the *English* there to the Sword. They also took *Bonratty*, which held out three Months,

A. D. 1646. Months, and put the *English* and *Scots* to the Sword. On Advice of which the Parliament order'd 12000 Men of their Army for the Service in *Ireland*. The Lord *Inchiquin* took *Pilborn* Castle, and put the *Irish* Garrison to the Sword.

The Pope's Nuncio, and the most guilty of the *Massacrers*, were against *Glamorgan's* Peace, as advantageous as it was for the *Irish*. They had no other Reason for it, than that the Protestants were to have Liberty of Conscience for a while at least. *Ormond* join'd the *Irish* Rebels, and they made together an Army of 20000 Men, who were to oblige all *Ireland*, as well Protestants as Papists, to submit to the Peace. But neither Papists nor Protestants were pleas'd with it; and as it was built on no solid Foundation, so it had no long Continuance: For the Nuncio's Papists became so formidable, that *Ormond* himself was convinc'd it could not last, and that the *English* must either unite all their Forces, and procure farther Assistance from *England*, or the *Irish* Papists would extirpate them, as was the Intention of the Nuncio and his Party. *Ormond* therefore sent Sir *Francis Willoughby* with Propositions to the Parliament, and to desire Supplies of Men and Money, he having left the Rebels, and shut the Gates of *Dublin* against them. He offer'd to come to *London* in Person, or serve in *Ireland*, as the Two Houses pleas'd, as also to surrender the City of *Dublin* to them, which the Nuncio's Papists had very much streighten'd, and those with whom he had so lately made Peace abandon'd him. But the Supplies which the Parliament sent arriving with their before-mention'd Commissioners to *Dublin*, and a Party of *English* under Sir *Charles Coote* breaking thro' the Rebels Army, they drew farther off from that Capital. However the Marquis of *Ormond* refus'd to deliver up the Government, under Pretence he had no Command from his Majesty; upon which those Commissioners went to *Belfast* with the Money and Men they brought from *England*. The good Lord *Digby* staid all the while with the Nuncio and his Massacrers; and taking upon him to reprove the Pope's Minister for giving the *Irish* some Advice which he did not like, the Nuncio gave his Lordship the *Lye* three Times. With the Commissioners came Col. *Monk*, who having been before employ'd by the Parliament, deserted their Service; and having afterwards been employ'd by the King, deserted his Service, and will desert two or three Services more before they make a Duke of him. Two thousand Soldiers were now brought over, who with other Supplies kept the *Irish* at Bay till the Army arriv'd from *England*, and made those bloody Rebels a dreadful Example of Justice and Vengeance. Sir *Roger Manley*, as weak a Writer as his Daughter was a wicked one, tells us, the King had commanded *Ormond* to deliver up *Dublin* to the Parliament, when the Nuncio's Army became prevalent; and he argues upon it with the same Sobriety which we meet with in the *History of the Rebellion* and *Echard's* History; an irrefragable Testimony against the black Calumnies of the *English* Rebels. He modestly means the Two Houses of Parliament; for they have all that Cant, and could not carry on their mighty Work without it. *Ormond* said he had no Command from the King; but it will not be expected from me to animadvert on such Memoir Writers as *Warwick*, *Manley*, &c. And indeed if I excus'd my self from that Task with respect to *Echard's* History and that of the *Rebellion* on the same Account, I should not be blam'd by those who know their true Character. If *Ormond* had any Order, 'twas a collusive one,

nor did he submit to it and quit the Government and the Capital till some Months after, hoping to perplex the Parliament's Affairs by his Stay there; but he had no Opportunity, so he left the Kingdom, pass'd over to *England*, and thence to *France*, from whence he return'd to *Ireland*, as we shall see hereafter.

If you will believe *Wishart* Bishop of *Edin-Sotlandburgh*, who wrote *Montrose's* Life, or Mr. Arch-deacon, who copy'd it, the Lord *Montrose* was a perfect *Dravcanfir*, who, as *Dryden*, an orthodox Poet, says,

At once beat those without and those within.

The Accounts they give of him spoils the History, which is really incredible enough of it self. This *Caledonian* Hector being reinforc'd by a strong Body of *Irish* Papists under *Kalkero*, the Marquis of *Antrim's* Brother, took the Field, and with about 2000 Men beat the Lord *Elcho* and Earl of *Tullibardin* at *Tippermoor*, killing 2000, and taking as many as his own Army consisted of. This Battle was fought in *September*, 1644. Bishop *Wishart*, as good an Authority as Bishop *Guthry*, assures us, that *Montrose's* Men were not half the Number of *Elcho's*; and further, that as few as they were they had no Arms, but threw Stones at the Rebels with such Activity, that they ran away immediately. *Montrose* then repass'd the *Tay*, and understanding the Lord *Burghley* was at *Aberdeen*, he pass'd the *Dee*, and found him drawn up in Battle Array, 2000 Foot and 500 Horse posted on advantageous Ground, with Cannon at the Head of his Army. *Montrose* had only 1500 Foot, 44 Horse, and no Cannon; yet at the First Charge the Enemy was defeated, slaughter'd, routed. I chuse to take the History from Sir *Roger Manley*, because he takes it from the Bishop, but it is never the truer for that. *Sanderson*, as orthodox as the best of them, owns it was not at the First Charge: It was a Fight of four Hours Space equal, till *Montrose's* Men got the Advantage. We must not wonder that they contradict one another. Historians who do not make Truth their Guide will not always walk the same Way. As *Perth* was the Prize of the Battle of *Tippermoor*, so is *Aberdeen* the Prize of this Fight. After which he put on his Wings again, and flew with incredible Speed and Diligence into *Argyle*, where having forc'd the Marquis to save himself in a Boat, he did, what I verily believe is the truest Part of the History, destroy and fill the Province with Blood, Slaughter, Rapine and Fire, to use *Manley's* own good Words, for which he will surely have his Reward. Nor were the other neighbouring Countries, as *Lorn* and the rest that acknowledge the Dominion of *Argyle*, better us'd. He then met the Marquis at *Innerlochy* with an Army thrice the Number of his own, charg'd them with such Fury, that he broke their Ranks and defeated them with a great Slaughter, killing above 1500 on the Spot. The Prize of this Victory was the City of *Elgin*. He then forc'd *Hurrey*, who now again was in the Parliament's Service, to retreat, and offer'd *Bayly*, who was just come out of *England*, Battle; *Bayly* gave an Answer like a Man in his Wits to one out of them, *When I fight, it shall be at my own Choice, and not at another's*. After this, notwithstanding he was deserted by the *Gordons*, the Marquis of *Huntley* probably calling back his Sons on some Disgust at *Montrose's* imperious Behaviour, which was intolerable, he march'd with incredible Speed to *Taodun*, and with 150 Horse and 600 nimble or running Footmen, he assaulted, took and plunder'd

A. D. 1646. the Town. Having done this, he made a Retreat of threecore Miles, without Sleep, without Meat, or any other Refreshment, from *Bayly* and *Hurry*, who pursu'd him with 3000 Foot, and 800 Horse; but as the *Presbyterians* could not live without Meat and Sleep, he got from them, and was reinforc'd by the Lord *Gordon*, a Name which in the *Huntley* Family has distinguish'd it self in the Cause of Popery, as much as it has done in the Family of *Sutherland* in the Cause of the Protestant Religion. This Lord *Gordon* brought him 1000 Foot and 200 Horse, and were a proper Band to join with the *Mackdonalds*, *Irish* Papists. There is no need of giving any Appellation to these Gentry, the Simplicity of their Names is enough to shew, without Epithet, what fine Heroes were employ'd in the Field, while the Earl of *Clarendon* and his Brother-Counsellors were at work in the Cabinet. The Reader will observe how *Montrose* has in every one of these Actions made as much use of his Heels as his Head, Heart and Hand; That he has done a great deal of Mischiefe to his Country, without doing his Master any Good; That he has not a Town nor a House to hide in when the *Scots* Army comes up with him; That he has no Way to feed his Men but by Robbery and Rapine: Yet now it was that he wrote the King the fatal Letter, which hinder'd the Conclusion of the Treaty of Peace at *Uxbridge*. He has conquer'd from *Dan* to *Beerseba*, as he told the King; but it was such a Conquest as the Barbarians were wont to make in the *Roman* Provinces in the *Bas Empire*, when they would sometimes plunder the Country for 3 or 400 Miles together, and come and go as swift as a Tempest.

Montrose being now 2000 strong, fought *Hurrey* at *Alderne*, and defeated 3000 Foot and 500 Horse, the 4th of *May*, 1645. and coming to *Alford*, where General *Bayly* lay, the Latter left his Foot at his Approach, and fled with his Horse, who, according to Bishop *Gutbry* and Sir *Roger Manley*, could not have got off, if the Lord *Gordon* had not been kill'd. *Montrose* was afterwards join'd by the Lord *Aboyne*, another *Gordon*, and the Earl of *Airly*, with 300 Horse, and a numerous Recruit of Highlanders, forming in all an Army of 4 or 5000 Men, with which he resolv'd to penetrate into the inmost Parts of the Kingdom, and disperse the Convention at *Perth*. He pass'd the *Forth*, and incamp'd at *Kylsithe*, where he found the REBELS. If we must write after such Historians, we must make use of their Words, or the Force and Beauty of their Histories will be lost, being 6000 Foot and 800 Horse. *Montrose's* Men, animated by the old Earl of *Airly*, rais'd a great Shout, and the *Presbyterians* fell down as did the Walls of *Jericho* when the *Gideonites* blew their Horns: "The *Montrosians* ran upon the "Enemy, beat down such as resisted, and "ruin'd all, scarce 100 of the 6000 Foot escaping, with the Loss of 6 Men only." I have follow'd Bishop *Wishart* and Sir *Roger Manley*, because they will be allow'd to be two great Adorers of *Montrose's* Heroism, and here are indeed many adventurous Deeds, which were the Effects rather of Fury than Valour, for heroick Valour has always Wisdom and Temper in its Company. These Victories seem rather to be dreamt than perform'd: Here's not an Inch of Ground got, but what is lost again as soon as it is left. *Montrose* is no sooner gone from *Perth*, than the States appoint their Convention there, and he has not a Garrison in the Kingdom that could resist the Covenanters a few Hours only. Yet the King in the Decline of his Fortune, was

kept more in Heart by Hopes of *Montrose's* making his Way to him, than by any other Hope, unless it was from the Army of *Irish* REBELS. After the Battle of *Kylsithe*, *Glasgow* and several Cities sent Deputies to compliment the Marquis, that they might not be plunder'd and burnt, as was the Way of his War; for having no Prospect of keeping any Place, his Business was to pillage it and spoil it. His Soldiers were the greatest Robbers that ever infested a Protestant Kingdom. *Montrose* fac'd *Edinburgh*, but did not enter it on Account of the Plague. He sent in the Lord *Nappier* to demand the Prisoners of his Party, who were deliver'd to him; and now he receiv'd his Commission to be *Generalissimo* of the Royal Armies in *Scotland*, after which we do not find he did any thing considerable; for the *Scots*, who were surpriz'd, but not intimidated by him, and as yet had only oppos'd him with raw Men, rais'd in haste, sent for *David Lesley* out of *England*, who advancing with a Body of 3000 Horse, disciplin'd Troops, the very Noise of it blasted all the Blaze of *Montrose's* Glory. His Followers shrunk away from him, and to excuse the entire Rout he met with at *Selkirk*, his Panegyrist say he had but 500 Men left, when the Covenanters fell upon him, cut his Men to Pieces, and himself very narrowly escap'd at that Time; but some of his Followers were taken, as Sir *William Pollock*, Sir *Philip Nesbit*, *Alexander Ogilvie*, Col. *O Caban*, and Col. *Laglin*, the two latter *Irish* REBELS, who were executed for their treasonable Practices. The Lord *Clarendon* makes a great Merit of the King's sending an Order to *Montrose* to lay down his Arms, which I do not find to be so meritorious, for *David Lesley* had routed him before that Order came, and his future Exploits shew that his continuing in Arms would only have led him to a more honourable Death than the Covenanters had doom'd him to.

The *English* and *Scots* being agreed as to the Disposal of his Majesty's Person, the Parliament of *England* appointed Commissioners, *January* the 6th, to go to *Newcastle*, and receive the King and attend him to *Holmby*, a Royal Palace which they order'd for his Residence. These Commissioners were the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, Lord *Montagu*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Cooke*, Sir *Walter Earl*, *John Creeve*, Esq; and Major General *Browne*, the Latter of chief Note for being one of the most detestable Apostates of those variable Times. I shall say a little of him to open his Character, and prepare for what must be said of him after the *Restoration*, when we shall find his Hands stain'd with the Blood of his dearest Friends and Companions, as he now term'd them.

His base Birth and Education fitted his Mind for Corruption; and tho' the Lord *Digby* did not succeed in his Attempt to get *Abington* from him, yet his Ear being us'd to Temptation, convey'd an Impression the easier to him when it was offer'd a second Time. Being nominated for this Commission, he turn'd about to General *Ludlow*, who sat behind him in the House of Commons, and cry'd, *I will be ever true to you*. The General adds, "And truly "I then believ'd him, having met with him at "the Beginning of the War buying Horses in "Smithfield for the Service of the Parliament, "where he spoke very affectionately concerning "this Undertaking, and serv'd them afterwards very successfully, especially at *Abington*; but this wretched Man soon discover'd "the Corruption of his Nature, and the Malignity that lay conceal'd in his Heart; for no "sooner

A. D.
1646.A. D.
1647.Some Account of
Major General
Browne;

A. D. 1647. "sooner had the King found out his ambitious Temper, and cast some slight Favors upon him, giving him a Pair of Silk Stockings with his own Hand, but his low and abject Original and Education, a Fag-got Seller, became so prevalent in him as to transform him into an Agent and Spy for the King." All which noble Qualities have recommended him to a Share of the Earl of Clarendon's Panegyrics; He was a stout and diligent Commander, a Man of great Name and Interest. The Parliament voted 3000 Pounds for the Charge of his Majesty's Journey to Holmby, about 200 Pounds a Day, and 50 Pounds a Day for his Expence there, with the following Persons to attend him in ordinary, as Sir Fulk Greville, Sir Patrick Marel, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Astley, Mr. Middleton, Serjeant at Arms, Dr. Wilson, a Physician, Mr. Marshal, Mr. Caryl, Ministers. But the two Ministers were unwelcome to his Majesty, who had form'd a Project to escape in concert with Dr. Hudson, his Guide from Oxford to the Scots Camp. Hudson wrote to Major General Langborn, Governor of Pembroke, offering an immense Sum if he would be Assistant in that Design. This Letter was convey'd to Mr. Gibb of Lincoln's-Inn, by him to Mr. Price in Wales, and by him to Langborn; though this Offer did not operate now, it did next Year to his Shame and Confusion. Another Project was for a Ship to lye off Shields, and upon the first Opportunity for his Majesty to escape, that he should embark in it for Holland. But the Parliament having Information of it, and Captain Batten being order'd to observe that Ship, the King submitted to go with the Parliament's Commissioners, who arriv'd at Newcastle the 22d of January, and his Majesty appointed the 24th for their Audience.

The King's Servants at Holmby.

Projects for his Escape.

The Lord Pembroke, who was no great Orator, told his Majesty his Children were well at St. James's, and they were commanded by both Houses to attend him to Holmby. The King put off giving them an Answer at that Time, and the Earl of Lanerick arriving from Scotland, with the Votes of that Parliament against his Majesty's coming into that Kingdom, he told his Lordship and other Scots Lords at Newcastle, That he came to their Army for Protection, and had it, but now he perceiv'd it would be otherwise: And they being to deliver up the Garrisons he desir'd to know how he was to be dispos'd of? adding, Go into another Room and consider of it, which they did, and returning acquainted the King, that since his Majesty had refus'd to take the Covenant and sign the Propositions, they were to deliver him to the Commissioners of the Parliament of England: The next Day those Commissioners waited on him for his Answer, who only said he should not be ready for some Days. And Sanderson assures us he told the Earl of Pembroke, he had bely'd him in many Things, but if this Journey pleas'd him he should be much mistaken. Pembroke reply'd, If he had the least Doubt of it some other should have come of the Errand; and if this his good Service displeas'd the King he was like to displease him more: To which his Majesty answer'd, The Scots are beholding to you for travelling so often on their Errands. Six Days after the Scots march'd out of Newcastle, and the English Troops entering it as soon as they were gone, the Parliament Commissioners receiv'd the King the 3d of February, lodg'd in the same House, and watch'd by Turns. They had intimated to his Majesty their Design to remove to Durham, and he seem'd to comply with

Chearfulness, but could not help this severe Reflection on the Scots, That he was better satisfy'd to be with those that dearly bought him than with those that had basely sold him; which was the Cry of the Cavaliers then and a long while after. Though the Scots were so far from receiving any Purchase Money, that they had not receiv'd their Pay. Dr. Calamy tells us they receiv'd but half of it; yet the Earl of Clarendon, Archdeacon Echard, Manley, Sanderson, Walker, Warwick, Dugdale, Guthry and others as excellent for Sincerity and Truth, still to be nam'd, as Perenchests, Heylin, Nelson, Ryves, Symmons, Wagstaff, Heath, Heltingworth, do affirm that the Scots did sell the King for so much Money, in as direct a Bargain as ever was made for African or Sword-Blade Stock.

A. D. 1647.

The Parliament's Commissioners, the King in their Company, went from Newcastle to Durham, February the 8th, under Convoy of 900 Horse, where Proclamation was made that none who had deserted the Parliament should come near his Majesty, and one Mungo Murray attempting it was discover'd, and imprison'd at Nottingham. General Fairfax, with many of his Officers, met the King, who at his coming stop'd his Horse: The General alighted and kiss'd his Majesty's Hand, and then mounting, talk'd with him some Miles, the King giving his Excellency this Character, That he was a Man of Honour, and had kept his Word in observing Articles. However good Words he gave him now, in one of his Letters to the Queen he call'd him the Parliament's brutish General. Upon which the Conjuror Lilly severely, if not brutishly reflected; "A most uncivil Term and Epithet to bestow upon so brave, so civil, so valiant, and so much a Gentleman as Fairfax was and is: Assuredly the Progenitors of the Lord Fairfax were Gentlemen, and of good Estates, when the Ancestors of the Stuarts were but poor Stewards to a Family in Scotland." There's a great deal more of it but 'tis not so beautiful as to make one in Love with it. One of the above-mention'd History Writers tells us that the People where the King came, cry'd out, Hosanna, but the milder Sort wept and fell a Propheesying.

Gen. Fairfax abus'd by the King. P. 102.

The Scots march'd over the Tyne sixteen Days before the King arriv'd at Holmby; from whence his Majesty wrote a Letter to the House of Lords, desiring he might have two or three Divines out of these following to attend him: Dr. Fuxon, Bishop of London, Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Lany, Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. March, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Bailey, Dr. Haywood, Dr. Beal, Dr. Fuller. The Parliament answer'd, That all these Chaplains were disaffected to the establish'd Government of the Church, and had not taken the Covenant; but for others that had, if his Majesty pleases, they shall be sent to him, which has given Occasion for this seraphick Meditation in Eikon Baslike; My Agony must not be reliev'd with the Presence of any one good Angel, for such I account a Learned, Godly, and Discreet Divine; such as Sheldon, of whom I never heard any Thing better than that he took great Delight in Hunting, and in Archbishop Laud, or Fuxon, whom Whitlocke commends as one of the keenest Sportsmen in England, and the best Breeder of Dogs. I should not touch upon such mean Particularities, as true as they are, had I not been provok'd to it by the Lord Clarendon's untrue Character of Caryl, the Divine, whom the Parliament order'd to attend on the King,

A. D. 1647. King, and whom his Majesty intimates to be an *evil Angel*, though his Enemies allow he had all the King's Characteristicks of a good One, he was *Learned, Godly, Discreet.*

Lord Clarendon avers he was a Man of *mean Parts, of most impertinent troublesome* Mr. Caryl. *Confidence and Importunity*, which errs as much against Truth as against Charity and good Manners. As to his Parts, *A. Wood* his bitter Enemy owns he *was in his younger Years a noted Disputant*; and if his Parts had been so mean, it is not likely the honourable Society of *Lincolns-Inn* would have chosen him to be their Preacher. As to his Learning, *Dr. Calamy* tells us, *He had universally the Character of a learned Man.* And as to his *Impertinence, his troublesome Confidence and Importunity*, his Meekness and Patience were such that 'twas a common Thing to compare him with *Job*, on whose Book he wrote a Comment, which is not excell'd by any other in any Language; though all the Lord Clarendon's Characters have not so many Infirmities, yet there is not one but has its Share: And when the *Presbyterian* Ministers or their Religion comes in the way, his Lordship, or the Doctors his Editors, lose all Patience, and fall upon them without the least Regard to Truth or Decency. What fine Notions these Gentlemen have of true Piety and Devotion one may see by the Earl's complaining that the King was fore'd to pray for himself; and he tells us how and where he did it; *He read the Common Prayer in his Bed-Chamber.* How many of these Doctors do really know no more of Divinity than that the Reading the Common Prayer Book in a Bed Chamber is as much an Act of Devotion as the divine Communication between God and a pious Soul in holy Contemplation and Prayer? This is either Cant or Enthusiasm with them; but they are very well read in the Rights, Prerogatives, Powers, Revenues and Dignities which are annex'd to their Doctorships. *The King would not allow Mr. Caryl so much as to say Grace*, according to *Mr. Echard*, which agrees very little with the Effusion of the holy Spirit, so much affected in *Eikon Basilike*, said to be written in this and other *Solitudes*, but in Fact written in this and the next Year, by *Dr. John Gauden*, a *Covenanter*. *Manley* vouches for it, that though it was written by a *Presbyterian*, it surpasses all other Books except the Bible, in *Piety*. Notwithstanding all the Care of the Commissioners at *Holmby* to prevent the Delivery of Papers to his Majesty, yet Colonel *Bosvile*, formerly of the King's Party, disguis'd like a Countryman, as the King and the Commissioners were passing over a Bridge going to the *Bowling Green* at *Harrowden*, put a Packet of Letters into his Majesty's Hand, which the Commissioners observing, caused the pretended Countryman to be apprehended, and he confess'd the Letters came from *France*, and as he was inform'd, from the Prince, to desire Leave that he might make a Campaign in the *French Army* under the Duke of *Orleans*. The Commissioners had not known of the Delivery of the Packet if a Miller, who stood by and saw it, had not cry'd out, *Nobles and Gentlemen, there's a Man gives the King Letters.* *Bosvile* offer'd the Miller Gold to hold his Tongue, but he would not take it: His Majesty being desir'd to let the Commissioners know the Contents of the Letters, answer'd, *He was not to give an Account to any Man living.*

The Royal State was kept up at *Holmby*, and the Commissioners made good Cheer, having a plentiful Allowance. The *Dutch Ambassadors* had Audience of the King there, to notify the

Death of the Prince of *Orange*; and People flock to him to be cur'd of the King's Evil, a pleasant Imposition on the Populace, from the Time of *Edward the Confessor*, who according to *Manley* receiv'd the Gift from Heaven, to the Time of *James the Confessor*, and after the *Revolution*, when that good *Presbyterian Mr. Harley* took the Church into his Protection. The Parliament order'd a Declaration to be drawn, informing the People of the Superstition of being touch'd by the King for the Evil. Every one has heard 100 Stories of the Cures by this Touch, which were not more talk'd of than the Cures by the Stroak of *Greatarakes* the *Stroaker* in *Lincolns-Inn Fields*, in the next Reign. The *Alderstick*, the *Key in the Bible*, the *Ague Charm* have done the like Wonders, and had doubtless as much Efficacy; but the Notion was kept up after the *Reformation* by those of the Priesthood, who were for returning back again to *Popery*, under which they were in Possession of Miracles of *Exorcising, Absolution, &c.* very beneficial to them both in Profit and Credit.

The *Lady Cave*, attempted as *Bosvile* had done, to deliver Letters from *France* to the King, but being also discover'd she was apprehended, and *Bosvile* sent to *Newgate*.

His Majesty told the Commissioners he had long expected the Propositions to be sent to him. As for those he receiv'd at *Newcastle*, if there were no other to come he would send his Answer, which since they did not allow him a Secretary he would scribble over himself. The Contents were his Consent, *That Presbyterian Government be settled for three Years*, and to ratify the Assembly of Divines, propounding a certain Number of his own Ministers to be added to them, to consider what Government should be after the three Years. In the mean Time he and his Household to be free to use the *Common Prayer Book*. He yielded the *Militia* for 10 Years, and after to return to him. He is not satisfy'd in the *Covenant*, and would have some of his own Ministers sent him to satisfy his Scruples. He will confirm the great Seal and all done by it, himself to have it for the Future as formerly. He grants what is desir'd for the *City Militia*; interposes for his Party; promises to recal the Prince, and desires to come to *London*. He assents to an Act against *Jesuits* and *Priests*, and for educating the Children of *Papists* in the *Protestant Religion*; as also for Penalties against *Papists*, when he is satisfy'd what they are to be. He proposes a general Act of Oblivion and Pardon to all on both Sides: The latter would have sav'd *Sir Edward Hyde* and other Delinquents, whom the Parliament resolv'd to make Examples of, as fast as they could come at them: It was for that they drew their Swords, and the Inflexibility of the King in that Article, gave too much Reason to suspect that he would not protect such notorious Offenders so obstinately, unless he intended still to make Use of them or of others equally exceptionable, when he had the Power in his Hands. These evil Counsellors eternally cry'd up his Majesty's Constancy to his Servants, who had constantly advis'd him to take those Measures which had brought this Misery upon him, but their Hearts were harden'd against his Preservation, and they had rather expose his Life than their own.

The King flatters himself with Hopes that after the Treaty of *Westphalia* was concluded, and *France* and *Spain* were reconcil'd, one or both of those Kings would assist him, and his wise Counsellors encouraging those vain Hopes very much

A. D. 1647. contributed to the before-mention'd Constancy. A Letter to him from Mr. *Alburnham* was intercepted, advising him to forbear making an absolute Agreement with the Parliament, for now that the Peace beyond Sea was almost concluded, the King might rely upon the Aid of 40 or 50000 Men; equally silly and incredible; for as has been observ'd already, the Power of the Parliament by Land and Sea was become formidable and terrible to all the Nations around them. Was any Thing more easy than to imagine that the very Name of a Foreign, especially a French Army, would have reconcil'd all Parties against the common Enemy? and was it a proper Time for them to invade England, when there was a victorious Army of 10000 Horse and 30000 Foot ready to knock them on the Head as fast as they landed, if they escap'd the victorious Fleet at Sea? Besides, What was it to Foreigners by what Title the Government of England went? The Alliance was as good, if not better to them, under one Title as under another, and Nations do not use to go to War in earnest about Words, when the Things are the same.

Divisions between several Parties.

While the King remain'd at *Holmby* the Two Houses of Parliament were as little at Ease as his Majesty. The Lords and the major Vote of the House of Commons, together with the City of London, were for closing with the King on the Terms he propos'd, with some Amendment as to the present Establishment of the *Presbytery* and *Directory*, and settling the *Militia* in them for 20 Years, with some Security that it should not afterwards be employ'd against the Rights and Liberties of the People. The Party in the House of Commons, who thought such Security was not practicable, fortify'd themselves with the Favour of the Army, which the other Party resolv'd to break, and began with too much Precipitation. If it be pretended that the Intrigues of the Royalists sow'd the Seeds of Division between the Parliament and Army, it is false: Those Seeds were sown by the Bigotry of some, and the Ambition of others: The Royalists had neither Heads to contrive, nor Hands to execute much Mischiefe; they doubtless look'd on with Pleasure, or in more homely Phrase, with gaping Mouths, in Hopes that something would drop into them. *Ludlow* tells us the Party in the House that were for betraying the Cause of their Country became Encouragers of such Petitioners as came to them from the City of London, and other Places, for a speedy Peace, and to suppress Sectaries; Complaints were made against the Army, both Officers and Soldiers as such, who held erroneous and schismatical Doctrines contrary to the true Doctrine; and that they took upon them to preach and expound the Scripture, not being learned or ordain'd. "Thus, says *Whitlocke*, "Those, who were so lately in the highest Esteem and Respect, as Freers of their Country from Servitude and Oppression, are now by the same People look'd on as Sectaries and Oppressors themselves. Thus we may see the Inconstancy of the giddy Multitude, and the Uncertainty of worldly Affairs. When their Turns are serv'd, their Minds change. Their best Friends when they relieve them, are counted their Enemies when they are reliev'd.

Army of fended.

The Lords receiv'd all these Petitioners very graciously; but the Opposition they met with in the House of Commons gave Occasion to doubt the Success of their Petitions, the Army being offended with them. The next City Petition set forth their Zeal to the Parliament and Covenant, and their Apprehension of the Advance

of the Army, not yet disbanded, nearer the City. They pray the Army may be remov'd, and take Notice of a dangerous Petition counter to theirs, a foot in the City. The House answer'd, That those Particulars and that Petition were under Consideration. Mr. *Tooliday*, who was a Promoter of the counter Petition, was sent to Jail by the Committee to whom it was refer'd. Though many excus'd him, according to *Whitlocke*, it being as lawful for those of one Judgment as of another, to Petition the Parliament. Nothing could be more obvious than that this Jarring among the Parties would in Time be fatal to them; and that if they had now united heartily in Endeavours to settle Religion and Liberty according to their first Professions, they might easily have obtain'd their Ends of the King; and that restless Faction, who by their Divisions recover'd Strength, would never have held up their Heads against them any more, nor have had it again in their Power to ruin their Country, which they almost accomplish'd in the two next Reigns.

A. D. 1647.

The Petition from *Essex* desir'd that the Soldiers quarter'd in that County, might be remov'd, and it was refer'd to the General: But the Army took great Offence at it, as a Reflection upon their Conduct; nor were they less offended with the Votes about their going to Ireland, against which they were preparing a Remonstrance; but Major General *Skippon*, Colonel *Harley*, and the more moderate Party hinder'd it for the present, and Commissioners were sent to the Army, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *William Waller*, and Sir *John Clotworthy*, to see what could be done towards their Embarkation for that Kingdom: These Commissioners met Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and his Field Officers at *Saffron Walden*, where it was propos'd to ship 8000 Foot and 4000 Horse for Ireland. The Officers excus'd their engaging positively, but said, whether they went or not they would endeavour to advance that Service among those under their respective Commands. A general Answer which determin'd nothing; but they afterwards came to Particulars, and desir'd to be inform'd, 1. Under whose Command they were to go. 2. What Regiments, Troops or Companies were to be continu'd in England. 3. What Assurance for Pay and Subsistence for those that go to Ireland. 4. What Satisfaction in Point of Arrears, and Indemnity for past Services, People beginning to threaten them with Procceses for what they had done in the War, against which it highly behov'd them to be indemnify'd. A Petition was drawn up by the Officers of the Army for the General to deliver it to the Parliament if he thought fit. 1. For Indemnity. 2. For Arrears. 3. Against Pressing to serve. 4. For Relief of Widows and maim'd Soldiers. 5. For Pay till disbanded. All these Particulars were reasonable, and had probably been granted sooner without a Petition than with it; for the Parliament began to think themselves under Direction by those Army Petitions, which were rather Remonstrances or Demands. *Cromwel* and *Ireton* encourag'd these Petitions behind the Curtain, that they might get the Army to be at their Beck, and restore the King or destroy him, as they thought it most for their Interest.

Cromwel and *Ireton's* Intrigues.

The Parliament being inform'd of this Petition, sent to the General to use his Endeavours to put a Stop to it, and declar'd the good Esteem they had of the Army, who were not to be appeas'd with such Declarations. For Colonel *Harley* and Colonel *Roffiter*, Members of the House of Commons, receiv'd Letters from them, that the Petition should go forward, and those that refus'd to

A. D. 1647. subscribe were threaten'd to be cashier'd. When it was ready Lieutenant General Hammond, Colonel Ireton, and Colonel Rich, engag'd to deliver it to the Parliament, whose Commissioners went a second Time to *Saffron Walden*, to treat with the Officers; but they found none of them complying except Colonel Harley and Colonel Fortescue: Upon which both Houses voted, *That the Army Petition was set on Foot by evil Spirits, purposely to raise Distempers among the Soldiers; that they forgave what is past, and forbid farther Proceedings in it.* Which Vote was communicated to the Officers by the General; and in Answer to it, *They express a deep Sense of their Unhappiness in being misunderstood in their clear Intention, which was no other than by way of Petition to represent to the General those Inconveniencies which would necessarily befall most of the Army after Disbanding.* They desir'd that as much as he thought fit of their Petition might submissively be made known to the House of Commons, and assur'd him they would wholly acquiesce in whatsoever he should think fit to offer. The General sent up Colonel Hammond, Colonel Lilburn, Colonel Pride, and other Officers, to give the House a full Account of the Business, and acquaint them that he doubted not of the Army's Obedience. But Fairfax knew no more of it than they told him, which was plausible enough. The Secret lay in the Breasts of Cromwel and Ireton. The Officers were call'd into the House, where Pride was charg'd with reading the Petition at the Head of his Regiment, and threatening those that would not subscribe, which he deny'd. The House requir'd the Officers to return to their Charges, and suppress it, which more irritated the Soldiery, who said it was a hard Case that Petitions against them were favourably receiv'd, and their own Petition in their Defence, obstructed. This occasion'd their Talk of drawing to a Rendezvous; and to prevent it the Parliament's Commissioners had a third Meeting with the General and Council of Officers at *Saffron Walden*, where were present 200 Officers. The Earl of Warwick earnestly entreated those of them who were appointed for *Ireland*, to go on that Service; setting forth the Necessity and Honour of it. General Fairfax also much encourag'd them to undertake it: But Colonel Lambert desir'd to know what Satisfaction the Parliament had given as to *Arrears, Indemnity, Maintenance in Ireland, and Conduct*: Sir John Clotworthy reply'd, *They are all answer'd, except Indemnity, of which the Parliament will take Care, and have given Instructions to the Judges, not to receive any Indictment against Soldiers for Things done, in Tempore & Loco Belli, till an Ordinance can be brought in.* Then the Officers ask'd who was to be General? They were answer'd that both Houses had appointed Major General Skippon to be General, and Major General Massey Lieutenant General. Colonel Hammond said, *If they were sure Major General Skippon would go, he doubted not a great Part of the Army would engage with him.* Upon which there was a Cry, *All, All; Fairfax and Cromwel, and we all go.* Not many of the Officers would then engage in that Service: On the contrary most of them sign'd a Declaration in the Nature of the Petition before mention'd, and authoriz'd Lieutenant General Hammond, Col. Hammond, Col. Lambert, Colonel Lilburn, Colonel Hewson and Colonel Rich, to act for them. There were but 7 Horse Officers, 7 of Dragoons, and 87 Foot Officers, who undertook for *Ireland*; and the four Regiments that were quarter'd in *Norfolk* and

Suffolk, absolutely refus'd the Service; but Major Huntington appeas'd them and brought them into a better Temper. Such brave Men as these were, must have been proud of that Service to revenge the Slaughter of 200000 Protestants, if an evil Spirit rais'd by Cromwel and Ireton had not possess'd them. The Parliament however could not think they had so far renounc'd Subjection to them as to usurp Superiority over them, and voted, *That the Army, Horse and Foot, should be disbanded with all convenient Speed, and four Officers were sent for in Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, for obstructing the Engaging for Ireland: But this Activity was like the Blaze of a dying Light.* Some Officers in the Name of themselves and their Fellow Officers, presented to the House a Vindication of their late Petition, setting forth the great Sense they had of some Misrepresentations lately made to the House of their Actions and Intentions, by which, as it is conceiv'd, Endeavours are used to alienate the Houses of Parliament from their ever trusty and obedient Army; the Accomplishment of which would much rejoice their and the Kingdom's Enemies; they desire the Liberty to Petition as Soldiers now, and hereafter as Members of the Common Wealth; and that their Integrity might be vindicated from such false Suggestions and Reports as had been made and rais'd against them, and suggested to the Houses.

Whitlocke observes, that a victorious Army out of Employment is very inclinable to assume Power over their Principals; and this occasion'd the Parliament's growing still more eager to have them employ'd in *Ireland*, which the Army being sensible of, were averse to that Employment; and eight Regiments of Horse enter'd into a Sort of Association to stand by one another in endeavouring to obtain Satisfaction. They chose Agents out of the Troopers, two for every Regiment, who were term'd Agitators, and were a Sort of Committee to consider of what was proper to be done towards obtaining their Ends: The Chief of these Agitators was one Allen, afterwards Adjutant General, one Sexby, afterwards Colonel, Shepherd and Philips, who drew up a Declaration, shewing the Reasons why they could not engage in the Service of *Ireland* under the present Conduct, and complaining of the many Scandals and false Suggestions that were of late against the Army and their Proceedings; that they were taken as Enemies, and Designs form'd against them, which would not permit them to leave the Kingdom till they were satisfy'd in their Expectations, and their just Desires were granted. Sexby, Allen, and Shepherd, brought this Declaration to Major General Skippon, who deliver'd it to the House; and the three Agitators were call'd in and examin'd, touching their drawing and subscribing it. They were ask'd, *Whether their Officers were concern'd in it?* and they answer'd, *It was drawn up at a Rendezvous of the Eight Regiments, and afterwards sign'd at several Meetings by their Agitators, but few of the Officers knew or took Notice of it.* They were then ask'd, *Whether none of them had been Cavaliers?* and Major General Skippon attested for them, *That they had constantly serv'd the Parliament, from the Beginning of the War.* It being demanded, *What was the Meaning of some Expressions in the Petition?* they answer'd, *It was a joint Act of those Regiments, and they could give no punctual Answer, being only Agents; but if they might have the Queries in Writing, they would send or carry them to those*

A. D. 1647. *those Regiments, and return their own and their Answers.* One of the Members mov'd, *That the Agitators might be committed to the Tower; and Cromwel whisper'd Ludlow, These Men will never leave till the Army pull them out by the Ears.* For which Expression that gallant Officer says, *He would have call'd him to Account in another Posture of Affairs.* The Agitators were told, *It did not belong to the Soldiers to meddle with Civil Affairs, nor to prepare or present any Petition, without the Advice and Consent of their General,* to whom the House order'd a Letter to be sent, to desire his Care therein for the future; with which acquainting the three Agitators, and requiring their Conformity to it, they were dismiss'd.

But this not satisfying, another Petition was carry'd on in the Army much to the same Effect as the former, only the Agitators observ'd the Order of the Parliament in directing it to their General, and desiring him to present it Col. *Edward Harley*, a staunch Presbyterian, Father of those two staunch Churchmen *Robert* and *Edward* in Queen *Anne's* Time, told the House that his Regiment was highly dissatisfy'd with the Proceedings of the Petitioners, and some Members mov'd that they might be declar'd *Traytors*, alledging they were Servants, who ought to obey, not capitulate. Others were not wanting to suggest the Cause of these Distempers to be *Cromwel*, and that he ought to be secur'd; but he being advertis'd of it, went out of Town immediately, and repair'd to the Army. The Parliament appointed him, Major General *Skippon*, Col. *Ireton*, and Col. *Fleetwood*, to acquaint the Soldiers, *That the House would provide for them before disbanding, have their Arrears audited, and pass an Ordinance of Indemnity.* *Cromwel* did not as yet shew himself a Malecontent, and acted with *Skippon* in declaring the Votes of Parliament to the Army; adding, *They were enjoin'd to quell all Distempers, which he said to aggravate Things, and hinder a Reconciliation.* Some Officers desir'd to know, *What was meant by Distempers in the Army? If Grievances, which the Soldiers had also Cause to complain of, they had then something to offer, but were unwilling to declare the Sense of the respective Troops, Regiments and Companies, without first acquainting them therewith.* They took great Offence at the Vote, declaring those to be *Enemies, who persisted in the Petition.* This Vote was put when the House was weary with long sitting, by Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, who drew it up upon his Knee, and the Soldiery never forgave him for it. 'Twas oppos'd by several Members, who foresaw and fear'd the ill Consequences of it. But the Majority carry'd it and some other Articles, which the Agitators of the Army perceiv'd were preparatory to their Punishment, and resolv'd to prevent it as soon as they could. They declar'd, *There was no Distemper in the Army, but many Grievances; and being inform'd that the Parliament had voted to disband all such as would not engage for Ireland, they came to a sudden Resolution to possess themselves of the Person of the King, and cut the Matter short, by depriving them of the Means of coming to any Terms with him to their Prejudice.* So they sent Cornet *Joyce* with a strong Party of Horse, and an Order in Writing to take the King out of the Hands of the Parliament's Commissioners.

There were several Officers in the Army who did not approve of the Proceedings of the Agitators, as Sir *Robert Pyc*, Col. *Fortescue*, Col. *Greaves*, Col. *Sheffield*, Col. *Butler*, all of *Hollis's* Party. These were contented their Regi-

ments should be disbanded. Others thought it might prove dangerous to both Parliament and Army. These objected that the Latter would not submit to it. Most of the Members who were piqued at the Army had been thrown out of their Posts by the *Self-denying Ordinance*, and complain'd, that notwithstanding that Ordinance, *Cromwel* and *Skippon* continu'd in their Commands, and others, as *Rich* and *Harrison*, had been chosen Members since, and were admitted to sit. *Hollis's* Party did not directly declare against the Army, but pretended to ease the People of Taxes by disbanding them, and once more Commissioners were appointed on both Sides, to try whether any Accommodation could be made. For the Parliament were the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lord *Wharton*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Skippon*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Col. *White*, Mr. *Scory*, Mr. *Pury*. For the Army were Col. *Ireton*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, Col. *Rich*, Col. *Lambert*, and Major *Desborough*. These Commissioners met at *Wickham*, and probably had accommodated Matters, if the Agitators had not in the mean time sent *Joyce* to take Possession of the Person of the King, which he did the 5th of *June*. The Cornet came to *Holmby* the Night before, and drew up his Troop, some say 50 and some 500 Horse before the King's Lodgings, at about Eleven a Clock, and then demanded Entrance of *Holmby*. Col. *Greaves* and Major General *Browne*, who upon this Alarm immediately doubled the Guards, and ask'd him his Name and Business. He told him his Name was *Joyce*, a Cornet in Col. *Whaley's* Regiment, and his Business was to speak with the King. Being ask'd, *From whom?* He said, *From my self; my Errand is to the King, I must and will speak with him.* *Greaves* and *Browne* bad the Soldiers Stand to their Arms, and be ready to fire at the Word. But those Soldiers finding *Joyce's* Men were their old Companions, open'd the Gates to them, and receiv'd them as Friends. *Joyce* plac'd Centinels at the Chamber Doors of the Commissioners, and by the Back-Stairs, went up to the Door of the Chamber where the King lay, at which he knock'd smartly. The Grooms in waiting desir'd him to forbear, the King being asleep; but the Noise wak'd him, and being inform'd of the Matter, he said, *He would not rise to speak with him till the Morning*, when he sent for *Joyce*, who told his Majesty he was order'd to remove him to the Army. The King demanded a Sight of his Instructions, and *Joyce* pointing to the Court-Yard where his Troop was drawn up, said, *There are my Instructions.* His Majesty looking out at the Window, and seeing them to be tall, stout, and well arm'd, reply'd with a Smile, *Your Instructions are in fair Characters, legible without spelling.* The Cornet then press'd the King to go along with him. His Majesty told him, *He would not stir, unless the Commissioners went also.* *Joyce* answer'd coldly, *He was indifferent as to that;* and promis'd his Majesty should be civilly us'd, and his Servants and other Conveniences continu'd to him. Upon which the King consented to go. But the Parliament's Commissioners coming to him after *Joyce* was gone to his Troop, they perswaded him to alter his Resolution; which the Cornet perceiving when he return'd, put his Majesty in Mind of his Promise, acquainting him, *That he was obliged to execute his Orders.* The King reply'd, *Since I have given you my Word, I will go with you.* But he bid the Earl of *Dumferlin*, who was present, tell the Parliament, *That he was taken thence unwillingly; and that tho' he might sign to many Things,*

Cromwel's double Dealing.

Vote against the Agitators.

Who seize the King's Person.

A. D. 1647.

Hollis's Party.

Joyce carried up his Troop, some say 50 and some 500 Horse before the King's Lodgings, at about Eleven a Clock, and then demanded Entrance of Holmby.

A. D. 1647. *Things, being in this Condition, yet it was not to be believ'd till further Notice given them.*

The Commissioners ask'd *Joyce*, Whether he had any Orders from the Parliament, and whether he was sent by the General? To which he bluntly reply'd, No. Two of them, Major General *Browne* and Mr. *Crew*, publickly declar'd, That the King was forced out of their Hands. His Majesty went into his Coach, and the Parliament's Commissioners follow'd him whither *Joyce* thought fit to carry him and them; and except that the Cornet was somewhat blunt in his Language, the Lord *Clarendon* owns he behav'd civilly enough towards the King.

His Officers who waited on him were continu'd, and Sir *Robert Pye*, a Colonel in the Army, supplying the Place of *Equerry*, rode bare before him. General *Fairfax* knew nothing at all of this unwarrantable Proceeding; and as soon as he did know it, he sent Col. *Whalley*, with a Party of Horse, to use all Means but Constraint to cause his Majesty to return to *Holmby*. The King was come to Sir *John Cuts's* at *Childerley* near *Cambridge* before *Whalley* could get up with him; and when *Whalley* would have perswaded him to return to *Holmby*, he absolutely refus'd it, flattering himself that he should find better Usage from the Army than he had found from the Parliament: So *Whalley* was only added to his Convoy; and *Joyce* frankly own'd, That Lieutenant General *Cromwel* had given him Orders at London to do all he had done.

Cromwel was return'd from the Army to the Parliament while this was doing. He at first disown'd it both to the Two Houses and the General: But the Feint did not last long. Both Houses were terribly surpriz'd at this bold Action of *Joyce's*. The Earl of *Clarendon* is extremely delighted with it; but his Lordship's Jest has too much Gravity in them to have too much Wit. So they are generally taken from Religion; Mr. *Marshall* was sent for to pray with the Parliament. The General could with great Sincerity assure them, That *Joyce* acted without his Privy; That it was his and the Army's Resolution to study to settle Peace and the just Liberties of the People; and the Parliament's speedy Application to these, will further the disbanding of the Army, whose Sense is clear from opposing *Presbytery*, or having an Independent Government, or holding a *Licentiousness* in Religion, but to leave all to the Wisdom of the Two Houses. *Fairfax* meant as he said, but it was not in his Power to perform it. To excuse the taking away the King from *Holmby*, 'twas given out by the Soldiers, that the Parliament intended to have him remov'd to London, and to make Peace with him: It was even said, that Col. *Greaves* had receiv'd Orders from them to that Purpose. But *Cromwel* was beforehand with them. The Stroke being struck, the Parliament thought it the wisest way to temporize with the Army till a better Juncture offer'd, and wrote to their Commissioners appointed to treat with the Army's Commissioners, to go to the General, and confer with him about further Satisfaction for the Soldiers. These Commissioners met *Joyce* on the Road as he was conveying the King to *New-Market*, and one of them told the Cornet he deserv'd to be hang'd; but *Joyce* was not in the least startled at it, and gave them to understand, That he from whom he receiv'd his Orders, was able to protect him in the Execution of them. When *Cromwel* came to the Army, which he had promis'd the Parliament to bring to Reason, he represented to *Fair-*

fax, that nothing could have been done of greater Advantage to the Army and their Generals, to the Church and State, than what *Joyce* had been doing; That the King was on the Point of making an Accommodation with the Parliament, who had determin'd to send Col. *Greaves* to fetch him; and if *Joyce* had not fetch'd him, there would have been an End of both Officers and Army, and all the Pains they had taken for the Publick Good, would not only have been useless, but criminal. These Reasons pleas'd the General, and *Cromwel* had others which pleas'd the King, to whom he promis'd the best Services that were in his Power, not without Intimation that he would procure him better Terms than had yet been propos'd by the Parliament, which he confirm'd with much outward Respect and Ceremony, and the King really thought his Condition was alter'd for the better.

During these Transactions, the City of London petition'd again, That all honourable Means may be us'd to avoid shedding of more Blood; That Satisfaction might be given to the Army; That the Covenant may be kept, and his Majesty's Person preserv'd; That the Parliaments of England and Scotland may have Access to him; That Ireland may be relieved, and the Ordinance to prevent Tumults and Dangers to the Parliament and City be removed; which was immediately order'd, and the Petitioners had the heartiest Thanks the House could express for their constant Affections to the Parliament; who order'd an Ordinance to be brought in for making void the Declaration against the Army, who had appointed a general Rendezvous at *Triploe Heath* near *Cambridge*, which probably was the Occasion of the last Ordinance: But whatever the Parliament did, the Army took no more Notice of it than they thought fit. Colonel *Sands*, Col. *Devereux*, and Col. *Wiltshire*, coming to the House, inform'd them, that meeting with a Major lately come from *Triploe Heath*, he told them the Army was upon their Advance, and the Horse would be here To-morrow by Noon. The Sheriffs and Common Council came to the House soon after, with a Letter sent from the Army to the same Purpose as the Major said, which threw both Parliament and City into the most terrible Consternation. Now they fear that their Votes were *Brutum fulmen*, against an armed Power, whom they had irritated, and could not appease, without submitting to be directed by them, and permitting them to share in the Sovereignty. True enough it is, they were both out in their Politicks. The Cavaliers were the Common Enemy; they had subdu'd them indeed, but there was no Security that they should not again be able to re-act their Tyranny. The King always understood himself to be the Law, and the People knowing that the Constitution was monarchical, were easily impos'd upon to believe that his Counsels were the Law. 'Twas necessary to have his Consent to those Bills that were most likely to secure the Rights and Liberties of the People against future Invasions; and there was no Likelihood of his consenting to such Acts, while Parliament and Army were both courting him to be of their Party. The Parliament were sincere in their good Dispositions towards him, after Provision was made for their Security. Part of the Army thought as they did. Major General *Fincher*, Major *Alsop*, Major *Huntington*, and many other Officers, express'd their Readiness to fall in with the Parliament's Measures, and were so forward as to separate from their Brethren who were of the Party of *Agitators*; but this

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King.

A. D. Separation hurt the Cause they intended to serve, for their Places were presently fill'd up by *Cromwel*, who govern'd *Fairfax*, with Men fit for his Purpose, and the Army Party made stronger and more imperious. The General to Appearance seem'd compliable with the Parliament, but *Cromwel* had ever some Reasons or other to lead him contrary to his Intentions. *Fairfax* order'd a general Rendezvous at *Royston*, where the Parliament's Commissioners were present, and it was resolv'd to go from Regiment to Regiment to have their Resolution as to Compliance with the *Votes for Ireland* and Disbanding. They began with the General's own Regiment, and were so ill satisfy'd with their Success, that they went no farther, for they cry'd *No* to all their Queries, and added *Justice, Justice*. Nor were they without their Partisans, who procur'd Petitions from several Counties, as *Essex* and *Norfolk*, that they might not be disbanded. After the Rendezvous, the Army, to shew they were in earnest, drew nearer to *London*; and the Citizens, who had new modell'd their Militia to defend the Parliament and themselves, began to be apprehensive that such Defence would stand them in little stead against 30000 Horse and Foot, flush'd with Victory. The *Train'd Bands* were order'd out on Pain of Death; but alas! the most serviceable of them had serv'd in the Army; and tho' *Sir William Waller*, *Sir Philip Stapleton*, *General Massey*, and other Officers who were Members of Parliament, promis'd to head them, tho' several hundred Soldiers who had deserted with their Commanders on the Divisions between the Parliament and Army, were in a Readiness to join them, yet the Terror of *Cromwel's* Approach dispirited both the *Train'd Bands* and *Citizens*. The Shops were shut up, and those who had been active in getting Petitions and Votes against the Army, were more afraid of them than ever they had been of the *Cavaliers*. The Common-Council, with Approbation of both Houses, sent a Deputation to the Army to treat with the General and Officers, about a right Understanding between them and the City. The Parliament sent *Sir Thomas Widdrington* to the General with a Letter, desiring him not to advance nearer *London*; but he was come near *St. Alban's* before *Widdrington* deliver'd his Letter; and he told him, he doubted not he should send such Reasons for the Soldiers advancing as would satisfy both Houses, whose Panick increas'd so much, that they said and unsaid, did and undid Things, as they were hurry'd on by Fear and Confusion. They sent for the Militia of *Westminster* to come and guard them: They might as well have sent for the Vestry of *St. Margaret's*! However, upon the Appearance of these *Train'd Bands* under *Capt. Falconbridge* and *Capt. White*, they recover'd themselves a little, and made a bold Order, That the General be requir'd to deliver the Person of the King to such Person as both Houses shall appoint, who were their Commissioners in the Army, and *Col. Rossiter's* Regiment was order'd to be his and their Guard. But the Army were as busy as the Parliament, and sent several haughty Demands to them; the Fruit of which was, that Eleven of their Members, *Denzil Hollis*, Esq; *Sir Philip Stapleton*, *Sir William Lewis*, *Sir John Clotworthy*, *Sir William Waller*, *Sir John Maynard*, *Major General Massey*, *Serjeant Glyn*, *Col. Walter Long*, *Col. Edward Harley*, *Anthony Nichols*, Esq; be suspended. The Charge against them was sign'd by *Sir Thomas Fairfax* and the other Officers: The General being led on so far by *Cromwel*, without considering whither he was leading him, which he

consider'd much too late. The Charge was, for *A. D.* obstructing the Business of Ireland, which they had most vigorously forward'd, and the Soldiers 1647. had themselves oppos'd, for acting against the Army, which was their just Endeavour to keep them within their due Obedience, for being against the Laws and Liberties of the Subject. The Army now had gotten the King's Phrase, who in all his Declarations, and Messages, reproach'd them with acting against the Laws, for obstructing Justice. No-body can tell what they meant by that. After the reading of the Charge, the Members severally made some Defence, and desir'd to be brought to a speedy Trial: But this Charge was follow'd by a Declaration from the Army, deliver'd by *Col. Scrope*, *Col. Okey*, *Col. Hewson*, *Col. Pride*, and five Captains, *Berry*, *Clark*, *Carter*, *Rolph*, and *Sexbie*; desiring, That the Persons impeach'd be suspended till they are brought to Trial; That no Forces be rais'd, and none drawn together, with Design to begin another War with the Army. With which the Parliament comply'd. The Eleven Members found the House of Commons too hot for them, and absented themselves. *Mr. Hollis* the Eleven Members went to France, and return'd not till after the Restoration. *Sir Philip Stapleton* went to *Calais*, but was not permitted Entrance into the Town, being suspected to have the Plague. *Glyn* was so conscious of his Innocence, that he stood it out, and demanded Trial; but the Army not having prepar'd Matter for it, the House, to please them, expell'd him, and committed him to the Tower. *Nichols* was order'd into Custody, but he made his Escape from the Messenger. *Maynard* was impeach'd of High Treason, and imprison'd in the Tower. *Massey* went beyond Sea; and the rest of the Eleven Members retir'd to their Estates in the Country, and concern'd themselves no more in publick Affairs, with which the Army were content. The Common-Council of *London*, who lately would be satisfy'd with nothing less than having the Militia of the City put into their Hands, and who talk'd of raising Men to defend them against the Army, chang'd their Tone a little, on the Report of their Commissioners, whom they had sent to the General, and voted a Letter to him, with Leave of the Parliament, to acquaint him that no Forces should be rais'd against the Army, and that they would move the Parliament for Money to pay them. *Cromwel's* Enemies gave him all Advantages against them they could, by their ill Conduct: For to detain the Soldiers Pay after they had serv'd them so faithfully and so successfully, was universally condemn'd as ungrateful as well as unjust; yet such was the Hatred of the *Hollis* Party to that of the Army, that they added Insolence to their Injustice and Ingratitude, and talk'd of them always as Enemies, taking not one regular Step to reconcile Matters, which might easily have been accomplish'd by paying the Officers and Soldiers well, giving them good Words, and gradually dispersing them by separate Services in *Ireland*, and other Places where they might be employ'd or disbanded at Pleasure. But they were blinded by Pique and Passion, and a vain Hope of Support by the City and the *Scots*. The last Declaration brought from the Army was follow'd by another: 1. That the Houses may be purg'd of such as ought not to sit there. 2. That the Persons who had abus'd the Parliament and Army may be speedily disabled from doing the like. 3. That some Time may be set for the Continuance of this and future Parliaments. 4. That Provision be made that future Parliaments may not be dissolv'd at the King's Pleasure.

London afraid of the Army.

Eleven Members of Parliament impeach'd.

A. D. 1647. *sure. 5. That the Right of Petitioning may be asserted. 6. That Publick Justice may be satisfy'd, by making Examples of the worst of excepted Persons, such as Mr. Hyde; and, That a general Act of Oblivion may pass.*

Whitlocke tells us, that these Declarations were generally drawn up by *Col. Ireton*, who held the Pen for his Party, and having been bred in the *Inner Temple*, had acquir'd good Knowledge in the Laws, as had also *Col. Lambert* by the like Education. *Ludlow*, tho' a Republican in Principle, did not like the mutinous Proceedings of the Army, it being visibly done with Design to subject the Civil to the Military Power, which he abhorr'd. The Army having their Head Quarters at *Maidenhead*, *Ludlow* went thither to visit the Officers, and particularly *Ireton*, the Commissary General, who suspecting that these Things might occasion Jealousies of them in *Ludlow* and others of their Friends in the House, desir'd him to be assur'd of their stedfast Adherence to the Publick Interest, and that they intended only to dispense with such Things as were not material, in order to quiet the restless Spirits of the *Cavaliers*, till they could put themselves into a Condition of serving the People effectually. We have hinted that the *Militia of London* was settled by an Ordinance in the Management of the *Presbyterians*, who were very industrious in compleating their Companies: but, as we have also hinted, this gave Offence to the Army; and *Fairfax* on the 10th of *June* sent a Letter to the Parliament, *That the Militia of London might be put into the Hands of Persons that were better affected to the Army*; which was done, and the Ordinance revers'd two Months after 'twas made. This so disgusted the City, that a Petition was presented by 1000 Apprentices, setting forth, *That the Command of the Militia of the City was the Birth-right belonging to them by Charters confirm'd in Parliament, for Defence whereof they had adventur'd their Lives as far as the Army. They desir'd the Militia may be put again into the same Hands in which it was put with the Parliament's and City's Consent*, by the before-mention'd Ordinance. Some of these Apprentices were so rude as to rush into the House of Commons, keeping the Door open, and their Hats on, crying out, *Vote, Vote*; in which arrogant Posture they stood till the Votes pass'd as they would have them. In the Evening, *July 26.* some of the Common-Council came down to the House, and understanding that the Apprentices had forc'd the Speaker and the Members to put the Question for repealing the Ordinance, they order'd them to disperse, which they did immediately. This Petition was got by the Management of *Hollis's* Party, and so were several others too tedious to repeat. Contrary Petitions were procur'd by the Army Party, and both Parties had always Hands ready to subscribe to what they would have them. Thus the Parliament were held in continual Amusement, sometimes by the City, sometimes by the Army. They could not please both, nor themselves; and in this Perplexity Men of less Capacity than the Earl of *Clarendon's* most capable Counsellors might have taken some Advantage for the King, if their Wisdom had been so great as their Zeal, or their Care of their Master in any Comparison with their Care of themselves.

The House of Commons grew pretty thin at this Time, because many of the most able Members appear'd the less there, for that they resent'd the Usurpations upon them by the City and Army, who were perpetually making Demands and giving Directions. There were Commissioners appointed by the Army, Lieutenant

General *Cromwel*, Col. *Ireton*, Col. *Fleetwood*, Col. *Rainsborough*, Col. *Harrison*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, Col. *Rich*, Col. *Lambert*, Col. *Hammond*, and Major *Rainsborough*, to treat with the Parliament's Commissioners concerning the Parliament's Votes, and the Army's Petitions. The Army had their Head Quarters at *Reading*, and the King was lodg'd at *Causbam*, the Lord *Craven's* Seat, near that Town.

We left his Majesty at *Royston*, from whence he mov'd with the Army to *Hatfield*, where two of his Chaplains, Dr. *Hammond* and Dr. *Skeldon*, were admitted to attend him, and great Ceremony was observ'd towards him by the Officers. Some of them went so far as to give out, *That they intended to establish his Majesty in his just Rights*; which good News was sent to the Queen and Prince of *Wales* in *France*; and tho' Mr. *Hyde* was with them to search into the Depths of every Stratagem of their Enemies, yet he was so impos'd on by the Artifices of the Officers, that he counsell'd the sending away Sir *Edward Ford*, Brother-in-law to Commissary General *Ireton*, into *England*, to sound the Designs of the Army, whether or no they did really intend to restore the King to the full Exercise of the Sovereign Power, for which they were themselves now contending with the Parliament. Sir *John Berkley* follow'd *Ford* on the same hopeful Errand, as did also Mr. *William Legg*. They both landed at *Hastings*, and being on their Way towards *London*, were met by Sir *Allen Appley*, who had been Lieutenant Governor to Sir *John Berkley* at *Exeter*, and by whom he understood that he was sent to him from *Cromwel* and other Officers of the Army, to put him in Mind of some Discourse which Sir *John* had with Col. *Lambert* at a Conference on the Surrender of *Exeter*, wherein *Berkley* took Notice of the bitter Invectives of those of the Army against the King's Person; and presuming that such Discourses were encourag'd in order to prepare Mens Minds to receive an Alteration of the Government, he had said it was not only a most wicked, but difficult Undertaking, if not impossible, for a few Men, not of the greatest Quality, to introduce a popular Government against the King, the *Presbyterians*, the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and the Genius of the Nation, accustomed to Monarchy for so many Ages; advising *Lambert* and the other Officers, that since the *Presbyterians*, who had begun the War upon divers specious Pretences, were discover'd to have fought their own Ends, by which Means they had lost almost all their Power and Credit, the *Independent* Party, who had no particular Obligations to the Crown, as many of the *Presbyterians* had, would make good what the *Presbytery* had only pretended to, and restore the King and People to their just and ancient Rights, to which they were oblig'd both by Prudence and Interest, there being no Means under Heaven more likely to establish themselves, and obtain as much Trust and Power as Subjects are capable of; whereas if they aim'd at more, it would be accompany'd with a general Hatred and their own Destruction. Sir *Allen* added, he had Orders to let Sir *John Berkley* know, that tho' to this Discourse of his they then gave only the Hearing; yet they had since found by Experience, that all, or the most part of it, was reasonable, and that the Officers were resolv'd to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already pass'd, that *Cromwel* and the Officers desir'd he would present them humbly to the Queen and Prince, and be a Suitor to them in their Names, not to condemn them absolutely, but to suspend their Opinions of them and their Intentions,

A. D. 1647.

Divisions
in the City.

The Cavaliers stir up the Independents.

A. D.
1647.

tions, till their future Behaviour had made full Proof of their Innocence, of which they had already given some Testimonies to the World; and that when *Berkley* had done this Office he would return to *England* to be an Eye Witness of their Proceedings.

If this Relation, taken from a Manuscript written in Sir *John Berkley's* own Hand be true, the Advice given the Independents to make themselves Masters of the Army and Parliament, came from the *Cavaliers*, and consequently to them may more reasonably be imputed the Death of the King than to the *Presbyterians*, who always advis'd the quite contrary: For if *Cromwel* had not hearken'd to *Berkley*, the Army had never usurp'd the Power of their Masters the Parliament; and had they never usurp'd it, the King had never been put to Death. His Majesty was then at *Hatfield*, and the Parliament, the major Vote, being still *Presbyterians*, voted that he should be remov'd to *Richmond*, and that they would send the Propositions for Peace, reduc'd to Bills; but the Army, very sensible of what was intended by it, declar'd against his Majesty's being remov'd to *Richmond*, at which the King took great Offence, and when after his resolute insisting upon it he was remov'd to *Windsor*, he would not pass by the Army's Head Quarters at *Maidenhead*, nor see the Officers in his Way. The Parliament to sweeten the Army a little, voted, *That they do own this Army as their Army, and will make Provision for their Maintenance and Pay*, which had so good Effect, that the Head Quarters were remov'd from *Usbridge* to *Wicomb*, and thence to *Maidenhead*, and thence to *Reading*, as is above mention'd. While his Majesty lay at *Causham*, he was visited by the *Electoꝛ Palatine*, with Consent of the Parliament, who at the Request of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, voted that the Earl of *Northumberland* should attend the King with his Children at *Causham*, and see them safe back again to the Palace of *St. James's*, where they were lodg'd. The General removing his Head Quarters to *Aylesbury*, his Majesty was remov'd to *Woburn*, and thence to *Latimers*, within the Eye still of the Army, who had admitted the Duke of *Richmond* as well as Dr. *Skeldon* and Dr. *Hammond*, to wait on the King, but the Parliament sent an Order to dismiss them; and the General wrote a Letter to the Parliament, complaining of the late Petition of the Apprentices, and the Force put upon them by mutinous Assemblies, insinuating that it was necessary he should bring the Army to Town, to free them from such Insults; which being rumour'd in the City, the Citizens were at first spirited by *Hollis's* Party to stand to their Defence; Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Massej* and Major General *Points* appear'd among them, and offer'd to command their *Militia*, and new rais'd Men. The Army Party in Parliament finding Things were come to an Extremity, and that it would fare ill with them if they staid longer at *London*, where all Things for a while tended to a Rupture with the Soldiery, left the two Houses, and put themselves under the Protection of General *Fairfax*, who order'd a General Rendezvous of the Army on *Hounslow Heath*, where were present the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Kent*, the Lord *Gry* of *Werke*, the Lord *Howard*, the Lord *Wharton*, the Earl of *Mulgrave*, and the Lord *Say*, and six Lords more with the Earl of *Manchester*, their Speaker: There were also present about 100 Members of the House of Commons, with their Speaker, Mr. *Lenthall*, and both Speakers with their Maces as in full Parliament,

The Parliament divide.

Part go to the Army.

the Army being drawn up in Battalia. The General accompany'd with the Lords and Commons took a Review of them riding along the Line from Regiment to Regiment. The Soldiers made great Acclamations, crying, *Lords and Commons, and a free Parliament*. His Highness the Prince *Electoꝛ* came also to the Army, who were still more provok'd by the Proceedings of those Lords and Commons who remain'd at *Westminster*, and call'd themselves the Parliament of *England*, as indeed they were the major Vote in both Houses. The Lords chose the Lord *Hunsdon*, and the Commons *Henry Pelham*, Esq; for their Speakers, and then proceeded to vote, 1. *That the King should come to London. That the Militia of the City have Power to raise what Forces they think fit. That they choose a Commander in Chief, and other Officers*: Accordingly the Common Council made Choice of Major General *Massej*, and their Forces, Trained Bands, Auxiliaries, and Reformades were muster'd in *St. James's Fields*. In the mean Time the General enter'd into Communication with the Members of both Houses; and then at his Head Quarters wrote to the City, *That he was tender of them; but laying to Heart those unparallel'd Passages of entering the House of Commons, and compelling the Members to vote; he is sensible of his Obligations to the Parliament, and that the Army are resolv'd, what other Neglect soever hath been, for their Security to use their best Endeavours, as God shall enable them, for the Preservation of the Parliament from Violence.* *Gravesend* Blockhouses were secur'd for the Army, and the *Borough* of *Southwark* fell off from the City in this Contest. Most of the Eleven impeach'd Members retook their Seats in the House of Commons, and Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Massej*, and Major General *Points*, continu'd Listing of Reformades for the Defence of the City. The Citizens were even so bold as to publish a Declaration against the *Armies* fetching away the King from *Holmbury*; against Breach of Privilege with Respect to the impeach'd Members. For delivering the King out of the Hands of the Army, &c. We see that this Party are lost to all Politicks: They fire with Powder only, and will not be able to keep themselves together a Minute on News of the Army's advancing; yet they voted, *That the Ordinance which puts the Command of all Land Forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax, does not give him Power over the Militia.* And thus have they erected a new General, Major General *Massej*, and a new Army, the *London Train'd Bands*, Auxiliaries and Reformades, with a Commission equal to General *Fairfax's*; and it is not owing to their Prudence if these two Armies do not renew the War. For the People of *Southwark* petitioning the Common Council that they might not be list'd under *Points* or *Massej*; some of the Train'd Bands fell upon the Petitioners in *Guild-Hall Yard*, cruelly hack'd and dispers'd them. The Army advancing to *Colnbrook*, his Majesty was lodg'd at *Stoke Abbey*. Col. *Rainsborough* was sent on *Kingston Side*, with a Brigade to assist the well affected in the *Borough* of *Southwark*. The next Head Quarters were at *Isleworth*; and *Massej's* Scouts meeting some of the Parliament's at *Brentford*, there was a small Skirmish, in which the Citizens had the worst of it, which much appall'd the most resolute of them in the Council at *Guild-hall*, where when the least good News came, the City was *One and All*; but when Intelligence was brought that the Army was on the March, the Cry was loud to *Treat, Treat, Treat*, and at last both the Common Council and Council of *Mili-*

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Part sit at Westminster.

The perplexity of the City.

A. D. 1647. *Militia*, agreed to send a Letter to the General, beseeching him that there might be a Way of *Composure*. He demanded to have the Forts on the West Side of *London* immediately deliver'd up to him, for he was coming to Town with those Members of both Houses of Parliament who had been driven thence by the Violence of the mutinous Multitude, which was presently comply'd with, and the next Day, being the 6th of *August*, the Army march'd to *London*. At *Hide Park* Corner the Lord Mayor and Aldermen met the General, and congratulated him on the late *Composure* between the Army and City. Then he proceeded towards *Westminster* in the following Order: First, Colonel *Hammond's* Regiment of Foot, then Colonel *Rich* and Colonel *Cromwel's* Regiments of Horse. Then the General on Horseback with his Life-Guard, then the *Speakers* and Members of the House of Lords and House of Commons in Coaches. Colonel *Tomlinson's* Regiment of Horse brought up the Rear. The General was accompanied with many Officers and Gentlemen, and every Soldier had a Laurel Branch in his Hat. As they pass'd by *Charing Cross* the *Common Council*, who stood there, saluted them, and in the new *Palace Yard, Westminster*, the General alighted, and the Lords and Commons went to their several Houses. The Lords sent for Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and gave him Thanks for his good Service in restoring the Members of Parliament. A Chair was plac'd for him in the House of Commons, and with much Importunity he was prevail'd upon to sit in it while the Speaker gave him Thanks for his great and faithful Services, and in particular, for restoring the Members of both Houses to their former Freedom and Privileges. An Ordinance pass'd immediately, to make him Constable of the *Tower*; and another to make void all Acts done by some Lords and Gentlemen, Members of both Houses at *Westminster*, when the *Speakers* and Members were driven away by Tumults. The next Day the General and Army, Horse and Foot, with a gallant Train of Artillery, march'd through the City of *London* in so orderly and civil a Manner, that not the least Offence or Prejudice was offer'd by them to any Man, either in Word, Action or Gesture, as they marched along, which confuted the Surmises of some of their Enemies, that the Design of the Soldiers was to plunder the City. The General quarter'd at *Croydon*, and the Army in *Kent, Surrey*, and *Essex*. He took Possession of the *Tower*, turn'd out the Trained Bands, and put Colonel *Pride's* Regiment of Foot into it. The Tone of the City is now strangely alter'd. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, came to the *Tower*, to wait on his Excellency, where Alderman *Gibbs* made a Speech to him, To thank him and his Army for their Love and Care of the City, and to invite him and his Officers to dine at *Guildhall*, which he excus'd on Account of the great Affairs with which he and his Officers were at present taken up. They presented him with a Basin and Ewer of Gold, of a thousand Pounds value. A Committee of Lords and Commons were appointed to examine the Force put upon the two Houses by the Apprentices, and find out the chief Actors. The latter were set on by *Hollis's* Party, who whether to establish Presbytery exclusive of all other Denominations, or to advance themselves by making their Peace with the King, encourag'd Tumults as much as before the Civil War, and seem'd dispos'd rather to sacrifice the promis'd Security against future Tyranny, than not to have their Revenge on those that promoted the

Self-denying Ordinance, by which so many of them were displac'd. They push'd their Resentments so far, that some of them, as *Massey, Brown, Annesley*, &c. turn'd rank *Cavaliers*, and their Bigotry and Ambition did certainly deprive the Nation of the good Settlement which must have been the Consequence of their Union with the Army. The Committee before mentioned voted that Sir *John Gayer*, Lord Mayor, Alderman *Bunce*, Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Cullum*, and Alderman *Adams*, were Actors in the late Force put upon the Parliament, for which they were imprison'd and impeach'd of *High Treason*. The same Impeachment was order'd against Lieutenant Colonel *Chapman*, Lieutenant Colonel *Bains*, Captain *Musgrave*, Mr. *Malory* a Minister; and of high Crimes and Misdemeanors against Colonel *Vaughan*, Colonel *Lawrence*, Colonel *Hooker*, Captain *Jones*.

His Majesty was removed to *Oatlands*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Head Quarters were at *Hampton*, from whence the Army sent a Remonstrance to the Parliament, requiring the Purging the House, by secluding all the Members who acted and voted when the *Speakers* and other Members were driven away by the Tumult of the Apprentices; in which Remonstrance General *Fairfax* concurr'd as well as *Cromwel*, and this *Purge* was the Beginning of the *Revolution* which made the *Catastrophe* of the other so tragical. The *City Militia* which had been the Occasion of this Buffle, was put into the Hands of the old Commissioners, whom the *Hollis* Party had turn'd out, as Alderman *Pennington*, Alderman *Wollaston*, Alderman *Atkins*, Alderman *Warner*, Alderman *Fouke*, Alderman *Gibbs*, Alderman *Ven*, Alderman *Allen*, Alderman *Foot*, by which 'tis evident, that the Party in the City which sided with the Army, were not the beggarly Rabble, as the Earl of *Clarendon* represents them, but the most wealthy Citizens and Magistrates, and that their Opponents were in Truth a Faction spirited up by the eleven Members to promote Designs which they durst not own, and therefore pretended to have nothing at Heart but the Purity of Religion, and Uniformity of Worship and Discipline.

I must confess this Party to me are *Hollis's* worse than the *Cavaliers*. They had by their *Party* Clamours and Intrigues brought on the *Civil* War for Redress of Grievances, and now they might have had every Grievance so effectually redress'd, as not to be in any Danger of being renew'd again, they out of Pique about Places and Pensions fall off from the Common Cause, and would have destroy'd that Army on which entirely depended not only the Well-being, but the very Being of the Parliament, from whom the Nation expected *Liberty* and *Security*.

His Majesty from *Oatlands* was remov'd to *The King's* *Sion*, when the Army's Head Quarters were at *Hampton-Putney*, and soon after to *Hampton Court*, where the Princes and Princesses, his Children, were admitted to him, when and as often as he pleas'd. The Nobility were allow'd their Visits, and his Household was settled in so much Order, that there was no Appearance of any Want either in Expense or Ceremony. It was insinuated to the King, that he was indebted for all these good Offices to *Cromwel* and *Ireton*. The House of Commons impeached the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Middlesex*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Hunston*, the Lord *Maynard*, the Lord *Berkley*, of *High Treason*, who were put into several Prisons, but upon their Submission and Repentance they were discharg'd, and the Impeachment dropt. The

A. D. 1647. Forts and Lines cast up for Defence of the City were demolish'd, and the Party which had given Offence to the Army were so humbled that they durst not show themselves, otherwise than in snarling Pamphlets, as no *Merlin*, no *Mercurius Bellum Hibernicæ*, &c.

During these Commotions the Propositions of Peace stopt in both Houses, and the King discover'd on all Occasions his good Wishes to the Party of *Hollis*, who had voted his Return to *London*. These Sentiments hinder'd him from giving Ear to the Whispers of *Cromwel's* Creatures, that he might expect the best Services from him. *Ireton* taking Notice of the Change of his Majesty's Temper, with respect to the Army, whom he at first carest, told him, *Sir, You have an Intention to be Arbitrator between the Parliament and us, and we mean to be so between you and the Parliament.* His Majesty finding himself courted on all Hands, became so confident of his Interest, as to think himself able to turn the Scale. And in these Sentiments *Sir John Berkley* found him when he deliver'd the Queen's Letters to him, with Permission from *Cromwel*, who had confirm'd what *Sir Allen Appesley* had told him, with this Addition, *That he thought no Man could enjoy his Life and Estate quietly unless the King had his Right;* which he said the Army had already declar'd to the World in general Terms, and would more particularly very speedily, by Propositions which should comprize *Royalists*, *Presbyterians*, and *Independents*, as far as they were consistent with one another, *Sir John Berkley* endeavour'd to persuade the King to dissemble with the Army, and permit *Mr. Peters* to preach before him, to converse freely with the Officers, and cajole the *Agitators*, whose Interest encreas'd. But this good Advice, which certainly would have sav'd him, made no Impression upon his Majesty. *Ludlow* tells us, *Cromwel* said, *Never Man was so abus'd as he in his sinister Opinion of the King, who he thought was the most Upright and Conscientious Man in the Kingdom. That the Independents had infinite Obligations to him, for not consenting to the Proposition sent to him at Newcastle, which would have totally ruin'd them, and which his Majesty's Interest seem'd to invite him to.* Concluding with this Wish, *That God would be pleas'd to look upon him according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards the King.* But his Majesty firmly believing *Cromwel* talk'd after this Rate from a Necessity he and the Army had of him, slighted all these good Offers: And notwithstanding the Mysteries on which the Lord *Clarendon* founds this Part of *Cromwel's* History, it is certain he had not as yet form'd any Design against the Person of the King, whose Mistake concerning him prov'd so fatal. His Majesty was wont to say, when any mention was made of *Cromwel* and the Army, *They can do nothing without me;* which Opinion was the more reasonable in Appearance, for that some of the *Agitators* came to *Sir John Berkley*, and express'd their Jealousy that *Cromwel* was not sincere with the King, desiring that if *Berkley* found him false they might be acquainted with it, and they would endeavour to set him right, either with or against his Will. Major *Huntington* was a Confident of *Cromwel*, and therefore entrusted with the Command of the Guard about the King, yet he was so well convinc'd of his Patron's Intentions to serve his Majesty, that to do the King what Service he could, he brought two General Officers to *Sir John Berkley* to assure him, that the King was universally desir'd by the Army, and *Cromwel* and *Ireton* were great Dissemblers, and not real;

but the Army was so bent upon it at present; that those two Generals durst not appear otherwise. They protested, that however Things might happen to change, and what some others might do, they would for ever continue faithful to the King. They told *Sir John*, that Propositions were drawn up by *Ireton*, wherein *Episcopacy* was not requir'd to be establish'd, nor any of the King's Party wholly ruin'd, nor the *Militia* to be quite taken away. They advis'd, that his Majesty would with all Expedition agree to them, while the Army was in this Disposition, which they could not be sure would last always. This Matter went so far, that *Sir John Berkley* had a Conference with *Ireton* himself, in which they debated the Propositions a whole Night; and *Berkley* alter'd two of the *Articles* in the most material Points, but upon his endeavouring to alter a Third, about excluding Delinquents from Pardon, *Mr. Hyde* always one, *Ireton* said, *There must be a Distinction made between the Conquerors and those that had been treated beaten, and he himself should be afraid of a with Parliament where the King's Party had the major Vote.* He conjur'd him, as he tender'd the King's Welfare to endeavour to procure his Consent to the Propositions, that they might with more Confidence be offer'd to the Parliament, and all Differences be accommodated. *Cromwel* and *Ireton* did not forget themselves in the private *Articles*; we are told *Cromwel* was to be made *Earl of Essex*, and *Vicar General of England*, as *Cromwel* *Earl of Essex* was in *Henry the VIII's* Reign, and *Ireton* was to be *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*.

Upon the whole, we have no Reason to believe, but that this Relation is true, and that in case his Majesty had comply'd with these Propositions; the Army would have oblig'd the Parliament to pass them. *Whitlocke* says, *The King's Bishops, always unfortunate to him, persuaded him against what he was inclin'd in his own Judgment to have agreed to, and so ruin'd him and themselves.* Contrary to this, the *Earl of Clarendon* assures us, he was never inclin'd to agree to any Thing against *Episcopacy*. It is in vain to take Notice of the various Petitions presented to the two Houses, they are so numerous and so opposite to each other. The *Borough of Southwark* petitions, *That the Houses might be purg'd of such as assisted in the late Tumults.* The *City of London*, where those Tumults were hatch'd, petition the same. The like do the Counties of *Somerset*, *Oxon*, *Bucks*, *Hartford*, &c. Thus we see again, that the *Purge* attributed to; and accomplish'd by *Pride*, as will be seen hereafter, was not only the Desire of the Army but of the People. Both Houses of Parliament agreed, that in the Settlement of Church Government and Worship, Liberty of Conscience should be allowed to all Persons, except *Papists*, and those that us'd the *Common Prayer*. The House of Commons voted; *That a Period should be put to this Parliament, within a Year after his Majesty had pass'd the Bills that were form'd out of their Propositions, and that the King should be restor'd to his Rights, to his Queen and Children.* These Votes did not satisfy the Army, whose Council of General Officers sent a Paper to the Parliament, directing how future Elections, Times of Session, and Adjournments should be regulated. They offer'd other Regulations, and took upon them to direct the two Houses in their Proceedings towards the Settling of the Nation, which made the Parliament the more desirous of coming to Terms with the King, without their Interposition. *Cromwel* saw this, and in all his Conferences with *Sir John Berkley*,

Deceiv'd
still by
Cromwel.

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A. D. 1647. appear'd most zealous for a speedy Agreement to Ireton's Propositions, which were lower than the Parliament's in the Articles of *Episcopacy* and the *Militia*. He wish'd Sir *John* would act more frankly, and not tie himself up by narrow Principles, always intimating, he doubted the Army would not persist in their good Intentions towards the King. When those Propositions were presented to the King, he was much displeas'd with them, expecting from the Discourse he had had with the Officers, that they would have been still lower. His Majesty said, *If they had any Intention to come to an Accommodation, they would not impose such Conditions on him.* To which Sir *John Berkley* answer'd, *That he should rather suspect they design'd to abuse him if they had demanded less, there being no Appearance that Men who had through so many Dangers and Difficulties acquir'd such Advantages, would content themselves with less than was contain'd in those Propositions, and that a Crown so near lost was never recovered so easy as this would be, if Things were adjusted upon these Terms.* The Articles the King objected to were, 1. *The Exclusion of 7 Persons, Mr. Hyde always one, from Pardon.* 2. *The Incapacitating any of his Party from being elected Members of the next ensuing Parliament.* 3. *The leaving Church Matters unsettled,* that all but *Papists* and *Laudeans* might have Liberty of Conscience. When Arguments were us'd to his Majesty for his Compliance, he breaks away from *Berkley* and others, saying, *Well, I shall see them glad e'er long to accept of more equal Terms.*

Berkley
perswades
the King
to comply
with the
Army.

Ashburn-
ham spoils
all.

About this Time Mr. *John Ashburnham* arriv'd from *France*, to the King's great Contentment, and his Instructions referring to Sir *John Berkley's*, which they were to prosecute jointly, Sir *John* gave him what Light he could into the State of Affairs, but he soon departed from the Methods propos'd by Sir *John Berkley*, and entirely complying with the King's Humour, declar'd openly, *That having always us'd the best Company, he could not converse with such senseless Fellores as the Agitators.* That if the Officers could be gain'd there was no doubt but they would be able to command their own Army, and he would wholly apply himself to them. Upon this there grew a great Familiarity between him and *Whalley*, who commanded the Guards that waited on the King in Turn with *Huntington*, which produc'd a close Correspondence with *Cromwel* and *Ireton*. With these Encouragements, and others from the Presbyterian Party, the Lord *Lauderdale*, and several of the chief Citizens of *London*, assuring the King, *They would oppose the Army to the Death*, he was so much elevated, that when the Proposals were sent to him, and his Concurrence humbly desir'd, he, to the great Astonishment not only of *Ireton*, but even of his own Party, entertain'd them with very sharp and bitter Language, saying, *No Man shall suffer for my sake, I repent of nothing so much, as that I pass'd the Bill against the Earl of Strafford, and the Church must be establish'd according to Law.* To which those of the Army reply'd, *That it was not their Work, and that his Majesty had already consented to the Abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland.* The King said, *I hope God has forgiven me that Sin,* repeating frequently these and the like Words; *You cannot be without me. You will fall to Ruin if I do not sustain you.* This Manner of Courage was observ'd with the utmost Amazement by many Officers of the Army, who were present, and at least in Appearance were Promoters of the Agreement. Sir *John Berkley* taking Notice of it, look'd with much Won-

King
changes his
Conduct.

der upon the King, and stepping to him, said in his Ear, *Sir, You speak as if you had some secret Strength and Power which I do not know of, and since you have conceal'd it from me, I wish you had done it from these Men also.* Upon this his Majesty recollected himself, and began to soften his former Discourse, but it was too late, for Colonel *Rainsborough*, who of all the Army seem'd the least to desire an Agreement, having observ'd these Passages, went out from the Conference, and hasten'd to the Army to inform them what Entertainment their Commissioners and Propositions had found with the King. Sir *John Berkley*, to allay this Heat, demanded of *Ireton*, and the rest of those Commissioners, *What they would do if the King should consent?* *Ireton* reply'd, *We will offer them to the Parliament for their Approbation.* His Majesty having thus bid Defiance to the Army, thought it necessary to bend all his Force against them, especially to strengthen their Enemies in the Parliament, to which End the Apprentices Petition was contriv'd, and the *Militia* in *London* new modell'd, but when it appear'd that the Citizens could not defend themselves against the Parliament, and that the King, notwithstanding the Votes for his coming to *London* by the Lords and Commons, who remain'd at *Westminster* when the Speakers went to the Army, would not be able to carry his Point by that Party, his Majesty was well advis'd to write a Letter to the General and Officers before it was known that *London* would submit, to renew the Propositions, but he would not sign it till after three or four Debates, which lost one whole Day's Time. At last Mr. *Ashburnham* and Sir *John Berkley* going with it, met with Messengers from the Officers to hasten it. But before they could come to *Sion House* the City Commissioners were arriv'd, and the Letter was out of Season, for coming after it was known with what Difficulty it was obtain'd, and that Matters were like to be adjusted between the Parliament and Army, it lost both its Grace and Efficacy. Notwithstanding all which, the Officers being resolv'd to do what they could, propos'd, while the Army was in the very Act of giving Thanks for their Success, that they should not be too much elevated with it, but keep still to their former Engagements with the King, according to the Propositions, which was resolv'd upon, but that Resolution, broken by the Indiscretion and Precipitancy of some of the General Officers, who to ingratiate themselves with the King, gave all Liberty to the *Cavaliers*, and made Speeches in his Behalf in the Council of War at *Putney*. Some of the same Party did the like in the House of Commons, where one of them said, *He thought God had blasted their Counsels for their Severity to the Cavaliers.* The *Agitators*, who suspected that those Officers were bargaining for themselves, complain'd to *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, that their Doors were open to *Berkley* and *Ashburnham*, when they were shut to them. *Cromwel* was startled at their Complaint, and desir'd those two Gentlemen to forbear coming to him, at least not so publicly, for he should not be safe in his Quarters if they did. His Majesty now was so complying with the Army, that he refus'd the Propositions which the Scots Commissioners presented to him, being those that were deliver'd at *Newcastle*, with some Alterations relating to *Scotland*, and demanded a personal Treaty. *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and many of their Party in the House of Commons, spoke for it, but contrary to their Expectation, found a vigorous Opposition from such as had already conceiv'd a Jealousy of their private Agreement with

A. D. 1647. with the King, and were now confirm'd in it; the Suspicion of them growing so strong, that they were accounted Betrayers of the Cause, and lost almost all their Friends in the Parliament: By which it appears, contrary to the Earl of Clarendon's History, that Cromwel had not as yet suffer'd his Ambition to aim at the King's Death and his own Sovereignty. The *Agitators* complain'd openly against them in the Council of War at Putney, saying, Since the King had rejected their *Propositions*, they were not engag'd any further to him; and that it was not just to sacrifice the general Good to the Interest of particular Persons; but they ought now to consult their own Safety, and that of the Commonwealth. That having the Power devolv'd upon them by the Decision of the Sword, to which both Parties had appeal'd, and being convinc'd that Monarchy was inconsistent with the Prosperity of the Nation, they resolv'd to use their Endeavours to reduce the Government of England to the Form of a *Common-wealth*. This was the first Time that this Party in the Army declar'd themselves for a Republick; and it struck so great a Terror into Cromwel, that he and his Creatures thought it necessary to draw the Army to a general *Rendezvous*, pretending to engage them to adhere to their former Propositions, but indeed to bring the Army into Subjection to him and his Party, that so they might make their Bargain by them, designing if they could carry this Point at the *Rendezvous*, to dismiss the Council of *Agitators*, to divide the Army, and to send those to the most remote Places who were most opposite to them, retaining near them such only as were fit for their Purpose. This Design being discover'd by the *Agitators*, amongst whom Col. Rainsborough had the principal Interest, they us'd all possible Industry to prevent the general Muster, which was appointed to be at Ware. Cromwel represented this their Opposition to the King, as a Design to break of all Agreement with him, and protested it was not in his Power to undertake for his Security in the Place where he was, assuring him of his real Service, and desiring the Lord to deal with him and his according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards his Majesty. Some advis'd the King to go to London and appear in the House of Lords: To this it was answer'd, That the Army being Masters of the City and Parliament would undoubtedly seize his Person again; and if there should be any Blood shed in his Defence he would be accus'd of beginning a new War, which if he had not begun even the Army would not probably have thought of putting an End to it by his Death. Others counsell'd him to quit the Kingdom, against which the King objected, that the *Rendezvous* being appointed for next Week, he was not willing to quit the Army till that was over; because if the superior Officers prevail'd, they would be able to make good their Engagements; if not they must apply themselves to him for their own Security. 'Twas also propos'd that he should conceal himself in England; but that was thought unsafe, if not impossible. Some mention'd Jersey for a Place of Retreat; but there were no Ships ready to convey him thither. At last his Majesty resolv'd to go to the Isle of Wight, being, as is most probable, recommended thither by Cromwel, who as well as the King had a good Opinion of Col. Hammond, the Governor there.

To this End his Majesty sent for Mr. William Legg, Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham, requiring them to assist him in his Escape, for which Horses were laid at Sutton in Hamp-

shire. On the following Day, November the 10th, Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham waiting with Horses, the King with Mr. Legg came out towards the Evening, and being mounted, they design'd to ride through Windsor Forest, his Majesty their Guide, but they lost their Way; and the Night proving thick and stormy, and the Roads bad, they could not reach Sutton before Break of Day, and his Majesty would not stay there, being inform'd the County Committee was there sitting by Order of Parliament. The King went to Fitchfield House, a Seat of the Earl of Southampton's, and sent Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham, to Colonel Hammond, with the Copy of the Letter he left on the Table in his Chamber at Hampton-Court.

That Liberty, the Thing now generally pretended and aim'd at, was as necessary for Kings as any other. That he had a long Time endur'd Captivity and Restraint, hoping it might tend to the Settlement of a good Peace; but finding the contrary, and the Unfixedness of the Army, and new Guards set upon him, he had withdrawn himself.

That wheresoever he should be he would earnestly labour the Settlement of a good Peace, and to prevent the Effusion of more Blood; and if he might be heard with Honour, Freedom and Safety, he would instantly break through his Cloud of Retirement, and shew himself ready to be Pater Patriæ.

CHARLES REX.

With this he sent two other Letters he had lately receiv'd, one without a Name, expressing great Fears and Apprehensions of the ill Intentions of the Republican Party against him; the other from Cromwel, much to the same Purpose, with this Addition, *That a new Guard was design'd the next Day to be plac'd about his Majesty, consisting of Men of real Principle.* Echard, who knew as little of these Matters as any Man that ever pretended to know them, assures us, that this Relation of Cromwel's private Treaty with the King is told by his Majesty's Enemies with much Confidence, but with little Authority. One would wonder how these Words much Confidence and little Authority could drop from that Pen; for this Account was really written by Sir John Berkley himself, one of the King's best Friends, in a MS. which General Ludlow receiv'd at Geneva of Berkley's own Hand writing, which MS. is mention'd by the Lord Clarendon: Yet Echard adds, *After a careful Search, we can find nothing to support or indeed to countenance such a Story among the most authentick Writers: Ludlow, a much more authentick Writer than any of his most Authenticks, of Genius, Quality, Fortune and Spirit, superior to the most noble of them, if Ancestry gives Quality, tells us upon his Honour, that Sir John Berkley left that MS. in the Hands of a Merchant at Geneva, where he saw and read it.* If Falsities were not so common with this Historian, there would hardly be any Confidence steady enough to support such a one as this. The King sent a Letter to Colonel Hammond, by Berkley and Ashburnham, wherein after he had express'd his Distrust of the levelling Part of the Army, and the Necessity lying upon him to provide for his own Safety, he assur'd him, "That he did not intend to desert the Interest of the Army, and had chosen him of all the Officers to put himself upon him, whom he knew to be a Person of good Extraction, and though engag'd against him in the War, yet without any Animosity to his Person, to which

Common-wealth talk'd off.

King makes his Escape.

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and Ashburnham's
Discourse
with Col.
Hammond

“ he was inform'd he had no Averſion. That he did nor think fit to ſurprize him, and therefore had ſent theſe two Gentlemen to advertiſe him of his Intentions, and to deſire his Promiſe to protect him and his Servants to the beſt of his Power, and if it ſhould happen that he was not able to do it, then to oblige himſelf to leave them in as good a Condition as he found them.” With theſe Inſtructions Sir John Berkley and Mr. Aſhburnham went to the Iſle of Wight, and met the Governor, Col. Hammond, on the Road between Carisbrook Caſtle and Newport: When they had told him their Errand, he cry'd out in a Sort of Aſtoniſhment, *Oh Gentlemen! You have undone me in bringing the King into this Iſland; if at leaſt you have brought him. If you have not, pray let him not come, for that between my Duty to his Maſteſty, and Gratitude to him, upon this freſh Obligation of Confidence, and the Diſcharge of my Truſt to the Army, I ſhall be confounded.* The two Gentlemen told him, the King intended a Favour to him and his Poſterity, in giving him this Opportunity ſo highly to oblige him, and that it was not at all inconſiſtent with his Relation to the Army, who had ſolemnly engaged themſelves to the King; but if he thought otherwiſe his Maſteſty would be far from impoſing his Perſon upon him. The Governor reply'd, *If the King ſhould come to any Miſchance, what would the Army and his Maſteſty ſay to him, that had refus'd to receive him.* They answer'd, *You have not refus'd him, for he is not come to you.* Colonel Hammond ſeem'd ſomewhat ſatiſfy'd, and deſir'd to know where the King was, wiſhing that he had thrown himſelf abſolutely upon him. The two Generals did not like this Heſitation, but Aſhburnham fearing his Maſteſty might be diſcover'd before they had come to any Concluſion with the Governor, took him aſide, told him where he was, and prevail'd with him at laſt to declare, he believ'd the King rely'd upon him as a Perſon of Honour and Honesty, and therefore he did engage himſelf to perform whatſoever could be expected from a Perſon ſo qualify'd. Aſhburnham reply'd, *I will ask no more.* Then ſaid the Governor, *Let us all go to the King and acquaint him with it.* When they came to Corwes Caſtle, where a Boat lay to carry them over, Colonel Hammond took Captain Basket, Governor of that Caſtle with him, and order'd a File or two of Muſketeers to follow them in another Boat. Upon their Arrival at Titchfield Houſe, Aſhburnham leaving Sir John Berkley below with Colonel Hammond and Captain Basket, went up to the King, and gave him an Account of what had paſt between the Governor and him, adding, *Hammond is come with us, to make good what he has promis'd.* At which the King ſtriking his Hand upon his Breſt, cry'd, *What have you brought Hammond with you! Oh, you have undone me, for I am by this Means made ſaſt from ſtirring.* Aſhburnham then told him, *If he miſtruſted Hammond he would undertake to ſecure him.* His Maſteſty reply'd, *I underſtand you well enough, but if I ſhould follow that Counſel, it would be ſaid, and be believ'd, that he had ventur'd his Life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him. It is now too late to think upon any Thing but going through the Way you have forc'd upon me, but I wonder how you could make ſo great an Overſight.* At which Expreſſion Aſhburnham having no more to ſay, wept bitterly. In the mean Time Colonel Hammond and Captain Basket beginning to be impatient of their long Attendance below in the Court, Sir John Berkley ſent

a Gentleman of the Earl of Southampton's to deſire the King and Mr. Aſhburnham to remember they were below. About half an Hour after his Maſteſty ſent for them up, and before Colonel Hammond and Captain Basket had kiſs'd his Hand, he took Sir John Berkley aſide, and ſaid to him, *Sir John, I hope you are not ſo paſſionate as Jack Aſhburnham. Do you think you have follow'd my Directions? Berkley answer'd, No indeed, but it is not my Fault, as Mr. Aſhburnham can tell you if he pleaſe.* It was now too late to take other Meaſures, and the King received Colonel Hammond very cheerfully, who repeated to him what he ſaid before, which was no Promiſe, for as he was intruſted by the Parliament, it was not conſiſtent with a Man of Honour and Honesty, in any wiſe to betray that Truſt, or to give his Maſteſty any other Protection than was ſuitable to his Diſcharge of it. Colonel Hammond conducted the King, and the Gentlemen who were with him to Corwes, and the next Morning his Maſteſty went with him to Carisbrook Caſtle, being met on the Way by ſeveral Gentlemen of the Iſland, by whom he underſtood that the Iſlanders were unanimouſly for him, and that if Hammond did not answer his Expectations, it would be eaſy for him at any Time to make his Escape, which Information was like what had been too often given the King ſince his Miſfortunes came upon him, very ill grounded both in Fact and in Reaſon.

The Earl of Clarendon is angry with Colonel Whalley for putting a Force upon his natural Temper in his Cruelties to the King, the Colonel being by Nature rude and brutal, and his Maſteſty every Day receiv'd Billets or Letters of wicked Deſigns upon his Life, which put him upon Thoughts of eſcaping from the Army. The Letter which he left for Colonel Whalley, ſhews what a faithful Painter the Lord Clarendon is.

Colonel Whalley,

I Have been civilly us'd by you and Major Huntington. I cannot but by this parting Farewel, acknowledge it under my Hand, as alſo do deſire your protecting my Houſhold Stuff and Moveables of all Sorts, which I have left behind me in this Houſe. I aſſure you it was not the Letter you ſhow'd me to Day that made me take this Reſolution, nor any Advertiſement of that kind, but I confeſs that I am loath to be made a cloſe Priſoner under Pretence of ſecuring my Life. So being confident that you wiſh my Preſervation and Reſtitution,

I reſt your Friend,
Charles Rex.

The firſt News the Parliament had of the King's Escape was by a Letter from Lieutenant General Cromwel, who about an Hour after it was known, that his Maſteſty had withdrawn himſelf from Hampton Court, wrote to the Parliament, *That the King was this Night expected at Supper, and the Commiſſioners entering his Chamber with Colonel Whalley, found his Cloak careleſly caſt on the Ground, by the Way into the Entry Chamber that leads to the back Stairs, and down into the Vaults to the River ſide.* As neither Parliament nor Army was in the Secret of his Escape, they were both terribly alarm'd at it, and the more for that each was afraid of the others coming to a ſeparate Agreement with him, and conſequently jealous of every Step that was taken. The Houſe of Commons read Cromwel's Letter early the next Morning, and voted, *That it ſhall be Loſs of Eſtate and Life for any one to detain the King's Per-*

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A. D. 1647. Person, and not to discover it to both Houses of Parliament. Colonel *Whalley* brought them the Letter his Majesty left upon the Table, and to excuse himself, inform'd them that *Ashburnham* had broken his Parole of Honour with him, that the King should not leave the Army without his Privy and Consent. Great Search was made for his Majesty in the City of *London*, where it was reported he had conceal'd himself, and Messengers were sent every Way in quest of him. But no News came till a Letter arriv'd from Colonel *Hammond* giving an Account of his Majesty's having put himself upon him in the Manner before related. "At which he being exceedingly surpriz'd did not know at first what Course to take, but weighing the great Concernment that the Person of the King is to the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, he thought it his Duty to the King, the Parliament and Kingdom, to use the utmost of his Endeavours to preserve his Person from any horrid Attempt with which he had been threaten'd, and to bring him to a Place of Safety, where he may be also in a Capacity of answering the Expectation of the Parliament and People in the Settlement of the present Distractions." They receiv'd another Letter from Captain *Basket*, and order'd Rewards to the Messengers who brought them. They also order'd a Letter of Thanks to Colonel *Hammond*, who a Day or two after wrote them, That he caus'd a Mutiny of the Gentry of the Island, who express'd their Readiness to preserve his Majesty's Person, and to obey the Authority of Parliament; which shews that my Conjecture was right as to the Unanimity of the Island in the Cavalier Cause, That he had given Order to restrain any from going out of the Island, or coming in, without Passes, or being examin'd. He desir'd Accommodations for his Majesty, and 5000 l. was order'd him, which he complain'd of as too little, and had the former Allowance of 50 Pound a Day continu'd besides that advanc'd Money. Messengers were sent to the *Ile of Wight*, to bring up Sir *John Berkley*, Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Col. *Legg*, but Col. *Hammond* excus'd the not Delivery of them, in a Letter to the Earl of *Manchester*, submitting, however, to the Pleasure of the Parliament if his Excuse was not thought sufficient. His Majesty had not been a Week at *Carisbrook* before he had himself drawn up a Message for the Parliament. Wherein in the first Place, he again refus'd to abolish Archbishops, Bishops, &c. which however he consented to afterwards in his Treaty with the Scots, for renewing the Civil War. The King avows he is satisfy'd in his Judgment, that this Order was plac'd in the Church by the Apostles themselves. That is, that Bp. *Timothy* and Bp. *Titus* were Lords Temporal as well as Spiritual, had Miters, Crostiers, Chancellors, Spiritual Courts, Manors, &c. for if the King and his Chaplains had meant nothing else by Episcopacy, but Preaching, Praying, Ordaining and Super-intending in Ecclesiastical Government, the whole Body of the Presbyterians would gladly have been govern'd by primitive Bishops, as settled in Archbishop *Usher's* Reduction. His Majesty however consents, that the Presbyterian Religion be establish'd for three Years, and in the mean Time the Divines at *Westminster*, with 20 of his own Nomination, to determine as to Church Government after the three Years are expir'd, and then Toleration to scrupulous Consciences to be granted to all Persons, except Papists, Atheists, Blasphemers, and all those that do not say the *Athanasian Creed*, which all that do say it do so perfectly under-

stand. His Majesty gives the Power of the Militia to the Parliament, during his Reign; and also that of the Disposing of the great Officers of State and Privy Counsellors, for the same Term, which were certainly very large Concessions, and such as ought to have given Satisfaction to reasonable Men: And probably they would have satisfy'd every one, had not new Provocations arisen by a new War, and the Minds of the People been more and more inbitter'd by the desperate Attempts of the Cavaliers and their Abettors. The King having no Answer to this Message in 10 Days, sent another to remind the Parliament of it, and a personal Treaty. But the Parliament had resolv'd to have their Propositions turn'd into Acts, and pass'd, before they consented to the King's coming to *London*. And it is to be noted, that the four Propositions which were agreed to be sent to him, had their Rise in the House of Lords, and consequently could not be the Contrivance of the Republican Party to obstruct the Peace. The four Bills for the King to pass, were, 1. A Bill for Settling the Militia of the Kingdom. 2. A Bill for calling in all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations, against the Parliament, and those who adher'd to them. 3. A Bill that those Lords who were made after the great Seal was carry'd to Oxford, should be incapable of sitting in the House of Peers. 4. That Power be given to the two Houses of Parliament to adjourn as they shall think fit. Which Bills being pass'd, they agree to a personal Treaty for the rest of the Propositions. His Majesty wrote a Letter to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, informing him, He had appointed a Copy of his Letter to the Parliament when he left Hampton Court to be deliver'd him, and now had sent him a Copy of his last Message to both Houses from the *Ile of Wight*, in order to the Settlement of a good Peace. He desires him to employ his Credit with them, that Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Oldisworth*, and Dr. *Hammond*, may be protected in coming to him. The House of Lords appointed the Earls of *Kent*, *Northumberland*, *Rutland*, *Pembroke*, *Denbigh*, and *Salisbury*, to be their Commissioners, to carry the four Bills to the King. The Commissioners for the Commons were, Mr. *Bulkely*, Mr. *Liste*, Mr. *Robert Goodwin*, Mr. *Kemp*. And the Scots Commissioners having press'd very much to have the Propositions more accommodated to their Nation and the Covenant; they were answer'd, That Bills pass'd both Houses were not to be alter'd; and that the Parliament were resolv'd to send away their Commissioners, desiring the Scots Commissioners to send their Propositions at the same Time, instead of which they protested against the Bills, and press'd for a personal Treaty with so much Vehemence, that it was suspected they intended to make the Refusal of it a Pretence for another War, about which they were then privately treating with the King; and doubtless, their flattering him with Hopes of Deliverance by the Assistance of that Nation, very much obstructed the King's speedy Compliance with the Parliament. The Commissioners arriving at the *Ile of Wight* on the 24th of *December*, presented the four Bills to the King, who said, He was assur'd they did not expect a present Answer, but he would take them into Consideration, and give his Answer in a few Days; which immediately dash'd all Hopes of any Success from this Commission, the Commissioners having but four Days allow'd them to stay for the Answer. The Scots Commissioners had probably been consulted, for presently after they presented a Protestation against the four Bills to the King, in the Name of the whole

King's
Concessions.

Carry four
Bills to the
King.

A. D. 1647. *whole Kingdom of Scotland; upon which his Majesty founded his Answer to them, That since the Scots Commissioners dissented from them, it was not possible for him to give such an Answer as might be the Foundation of a lasting Peace, and no Suffering and no Peril should induce him to consent to any one Act, till the Conditions of the whole Peace should be concluded.* To which End he again earnestly urges a *Personal Treaty*. It was a wild Imagination to hope for Restitution by a *Scots Army*, for which *Cromwell* and his Party had a hearty Contempt. Yet, as wild as it was, it hinder'd the King from passing the Four Bills, as *Echard* himself confesses; and *Ludlow* owns, that those who were for setting him aside, dreaded his passing them, *it being visible*, says he, *that had he been restored to the Throne, he might easily have gratify'd his Friends, and reveng'd himself upon all his Enemies.* But the Delinquents were so afraid of their Necks, and the Clergy of their Power and Revenues, that whatever Disposition his Majesty was in to do any thing for his own Safety, they always found some Means or other to frustrate it in Consideration of their own; and now they advise him to come to Terms with the *Scots*, who in such Case engag'd to bring an Army into *England* to join with the *Presbyterians* and *Royalists* for his Restitution.

The King falls in with the Scots.

Insurrections for him.

Several small Enterprizes were set on foot in and about *London*, in *Wales*, and in the *North*, with the same View; all which put together admitted a Glimmering of Light thro' a very dark Cloud of Adversity; and by this false Light did those weak Counsellors conduct his Majesty to the tragical End of all his Miseries.

The Lord *Clarendon* takes a great deal of needless Pains, and wastes Abundance of fine Words and round Periods, to shew the *Monstrousness* of the King's Treaty with the *Scots*, and the *infamous Concessions*. How courtly it is! But the *Courtier* is lost in the *Delinquent*, and the Apprehension he was in of perpetual Exile abroad, or a shorter Fate at home, has thrown those two handsome Epithets, *monstrous* and *infamous*, into his Oratory. The King, in a Word, oblig'd and bound himself down by all the Sanctions of a Treaty, *To confirm the Solemn League and Covenant by Act of Parliament; To confirm also Presbyterian Government, The Directory of Worship, and The Assembly of Divines at Westminster*, the very same whom the same Earl calls *infamous, vicious, and ignorant*, for three Years, and then to settle these Things for ever as should be agreed upon by that Assembly of Divines, to which Twenty of the King's Nomination should be added, and a Number from the Kirk of *Scotland*; which proving as plainly as Proof can render a Thing, that his Majesty had given up Episcopacy for ever, With what Front can it be said that he dy'd a *Martyr* for it? Let a Man have the least Forefight imaginable, and the greatest Degree of Stupidity next to Bigotry or Idiotism, could he not have assur'd himself, that the Assembly of Divines, with 40 or 50 zealous Kirkmen from *Scotland*, would have been much too hard in a Vote for Dr. *Sheldon* and 19 more such Doctors, whom the King was to name. Here the Earl of *Clarendon* labours like a Stag in the Toils, the more he struggles, it fastens him the more; he is fast in the Argument, and knowing that the Cause is given up, and the Martyrdom for the Church entirely lost, he strives to avoid and evade it, he strives hard against a very simple Fact, and would come off the same Way which the *Roundheads* always urg'd the King would take to clear himself of all Treaties, by alledging

the Concessions were extorted by the Scots. There was no need of Honour to hinder an Historian's concealing such an Argument; a little Discretion and Temper would have done it, for it confirms beyond Dispute what ever the Parliamentarians said of the Insecurity and Insincerity of the King's Treaties. Whenever any ingenuous Person has a Mind to object to this Passage, he shall find that I could easily have lengthen'd it several Pages, and have shewn that the Lord *Clarendon* was himself sensible that this Treaty of the King's with the *Scots*, knock'd all the Zeal for Church and Churchmen on the head: And what was extraordinary beyond Conception in this Treaty, his Majesty oblig'd himself to pay the very Money with which the Parliament bought him, and which was never paid, tho' such Clamour has been made by staunch Writers and Thinkers against that Bargain and Sale. This Treaty for a new Invasion of *England*, and a new vain unaccountable War, was solemnly sign'd at *Carisbroke Castle* while the Parliament's Commissioners were there, with the Four Propositions; and what can be more evident than that the King resolv'd to argue as the Earl does, that those *Concessions*, and all Concessions which hinder'd his Return to arbitrary Power, should be declar'd extorted, when he could maintain such a Declaration? *Ludlow* informs us, that the *Scots Treaty* was manag'd chiefly by Dr. *Gough* a Popish Priest in *London*, in Concert with the Earls of *Loudon, Lanerick, Lauderdale, Sir William Fleming,* and others, on the Part of the *Scots*; and that while the *English* and *Scots Commissioners* were at one and the same Time at *Carisbroke Castle* walking with the King, they observ'd him to throw a Bone before two Spaniels that follow'd him, and to take great Delight in seeing their contesting for it, which some of them thought to be intended by him to represent the Bone of Contention he had cast between the Two Nations; a Piece of such superficial undisguis'd Politicks, that if both Nations had not been infatuated with mutual Prejudices, they would have seen and avoided it. The Earl of *Clarendon's* Reflections on the Treaty with the *Scots*, and the Conduct of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, agree as much with the Facts, as Things can agree which are made on Purpose for them, and are as agreeable to Truth as Dreams and Visions. I could with a great deal of Pleasure divert my self and the Reader with them, but I have not Room, and am afraid I have already too much offended the Gravity of History, which the Earl maintains amidst as much Mirth as is produc'd by a Man's believing he is imposing on another, when he is all the while himself impos'd upon. One Passage shall serve for all: *The Scots Army in England did as much against the King as the Parliament.* The *Scots* were beaten at *Marston Moor*, where the Parliament's Army obtain'd the Victory. The Parliament's Army obtain'd all the other Victories without the *Scots*, and took all the Towns except two or three on their own Borders; yet they took themselves to have equal Merit with the *English*. One would indeed think the King and the wise Counsellors took them so, or this fatal Treaty had not been enter'd into, which gave the Parliament Army a very signal Opportunity of shewing how equal the *Scots* were to the *English* in the Merit of the War, when *Cromwell* with 8 or 9000 *English* routed and dispers'd above 20000 Horse and Foot, which were rais'd to support this notable Treaty. The King's Answer to the Four Bills was deliver'd to the Parliament's Commissioners sealed up, at which the Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the principal Commissioner, took

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Clar vol. 1. p. 106.

King begins new War.

P. 112.

Offence,

A. D. 1647. Offence, alledging they were requir'd by their Instructions to bring an Answer, and they knew not whether the Contents of that Paper were an Answer or not; and when they had their next Audience of the King, the Lord *Denbigh* said, *I have been your Ambassador, and in that Employment would never have deliver'd any Letter without a preceding Sight of it.* His Majesty said, *I have employ'd twenty Ambassadors, and none of them ever dar'd to open my Letters:* But understanding that what the Earl of *Denbigh* said was the Sense of the other Commissioners, he told them, *Well then I will shew it you, on Condition you will promise not to acquaint any one with the Substance of it before you have deliver'd it to the Parliament.* To which they consenting, he desir'd the Company might withdraw. The Commissioners propos'd that Governor *Hammond* might be permitted to stay, which the King was not willing to allow; but not thinking it convenient to refuse it, he gave way, and by this Means the Governor as well as the Commissioners came to understand that the King had way'd the Interests both of the Parliament and Army to close with the *Scots* against both of them. The Impression which the Discovery of these Things made upon the Governor was so great, that before he departed from *Carisbroke* to accompany the Parliament's Commissioners to *Newport*, he gave Orders for a strict Guard to be kept in his Absence, and at his Return commanded the Gates to be lock'd up, and the Guards to be doubled, sitting up himself with them all Night, by which the King's intended Escape was obstructed. The next Morning he order'd his Majesty's Servants to remove, not excepting *Dr. Hammond* his own Kinsman, who taking Leave of the King, acquainted him that there was a Frigate ready to take him aboard. The Removal of the King's Servants, and the obstructing his Escape, made a great Noise; and one *Burley*, a discarded Sea-Officer, caus'd a Drum to be beaten to draw People together and rescue the King; but, says *Ludlow*, there were few besides Women and Children that follow'd him, having but one Musket amongst them, so that the King's Servants thought not fit to join them. *Whitlocke* adds, *The Mayor of Newport where Burley beat his Drum, and the Inhabitants, shew'd their Affection to the Parliament, and were thank'd for it.* Now, according to the Earl of *Clarendon*, the whole *Island* fell into the Mutiny under *Capt. Burley*, of a good Family; they said, *They would not endure to see the King so us'd:* Every Word of which is invented, as is what follows. *That the King's own Servants, those very Servants that had been put out of the Castle, quieted the People.* The Ground we walk on is all as rotten as this, and every Step we take gives Way under us! *The poor Gentleman, the honest Tarpaulin, paid dear for his ill-advised Loyalty, the Term he gives to the Drum-beating; and the Parliament without Delay, above three Weeks after, sent down a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, with an infamous Judge, Wylde, a Gentleman of as good Extract and as great Fortune, of better Practice in the Law, and of as fair Character in Morals, as Mr. Hyde, who so scurrilously uses him, and so falsely represents the Fact; whom they made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for this Service, whereas he was not made Lord Chief Baron till nine Months after; who caus'd poor Burley to be indicted of High Treason.* He did not cause it. The Parliament order'd *Burley* to be try'd by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and the Jury found him guilty. *A pack'd Jury*, according to the Histo-

rian, that he may be out in every Word of his History. *Upon which their Judge condemn'd him, and the honest Man was forthwith executed.* *Whitlocke* says, *Judgment was given against him, but Execution respit.* I defy all Readers of History to produce any Passage in any History, from *Herodotus* to *Echard*, which teems with Falsties like this; and what follows is as teeming, and for Want of Wit, excites Indignation rather than Mirth, for there is not the least Appearance of Conscience in it; and a Man who was capable of writing at that Rate, was well qualify'd to palm so many Sham-Plots on the World as were contriv'd after the Restoration, when many honest Men were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, with all Circumstances of Barbarity and Cruelty, with which he charges the Execution of poor honest *Burley*, tho' not one of them did ever offer to beat a Drum.

The King's Negative being return'd to the Four Bills, it was debated in Parliament, *Jan. 3.* The Debate was begun by *Sir Thomas Wroth*, C. W. f. *Bürgess* for *Bridgewater* in *Somersetshire*, whom a Member of the same Parliament calls *Jack Pudding* to *Prideaux* the Postmaster. *Wroth* spoke to this Purpose: *Bedlam is appointed for sir Tho. Madmen, and Tophet for Kings. Our Kings of late have carry'd themselves as if they were fit speech for no Place but Bedlam. My humble Motion shall consist of three Parts. 1. To secure the King, and keep him close in some Inland Castle, with sure Guards. 2. To draw up Articles of Impeachment against him. 3. To lay him by, and settle the Kingdom without him. I care not what Form of Government you set up, so it be not Kings and Devils.*

Commissary General Ireton spoke after him: *The King has deny'd Safety and Protection to his People by denying the Four Bills. Subjection to him is but in Lieu of his Protection; which being deny'd, they may well deny any more Subjection to him, and settle the Kingdom without him. This is what is now expected. After so long Patience, we should now shew our Resolution, and not desert those valiant Men who have engag'd for us beyond all Possibility of Retreat, and will never forsake the Parliament, unless the Parliament forsake them first.* The Debate continu'd with great Warmth from Nine a Clock in the Morning to Seven at Night; and when the House was ready for the Question, *Lieutenant General Cromwel* stood up and said, *It is now expected the Parliament should govern, and defend the Kingdom by their own Power and Resolutions, and not teach the People any longer to expect Safety and Government from an obstinate Man, whose Heart God has harden'd. Those Men, who have defended the Parliament from so many Dangers, will defend them therein with Fidelity and Courage against all Opposition. Teach them not, by neglecting your own and the Kingdom's Safety, in which their own is involv'd, to think themselves betray'd, and lest hereafter to the Rage and Malice of an irreconcilable Enemy, whom they have subdu'd for your Sake, and therefore are likely to find his future Government of them insupportable, and fuller of Revenge than Justice, lest Despair teach them to seek their Safety by some other Means than adhering to you, [Here he put his Hand on his Sword] who will not stick to your selves; and how destructive such a Resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge. Here's an Energy that's truly Roman. Yet the Lord *Clarendon* and *Echard* represent *Oliver's* Language as the Dregs of Enthusiasm and Cant. The Question being put, *That no farther Addresses should be**

A. D. 1647. *be made to the King, or any other Person, without the Leave of the House, and that if any presum'd so to do, they should incur the Guilt of High Treason.* The House divided upon it, and it was carry'd in the Affirmative, by just 50 Voices, *Yea's* 141, *Nay's* 91. The King's Condition was now worse than ever; for in the Midst of the last Despair he exasperated the Powers that had him in their Custody by Double-dealing, treating with the *Parliament* for Peace, and with the *Scots* for War, at the same Time. The Folly of which Counsels was as apparent as the Danger of them.

The same Day the House voted to revive the *Committee of Safety*, held at *Darby House*, by which Title it sometimes went. This Committee was first establish'd by an Ordinance the 7th of February, 1643. and *Scots* Commissioners were joynd with the *English*, to act as a *Council of State*, but under the Name of a *Committee of Safety*, which had been laid down for some Time, and was now reviv'd: The Members were, *Algernon Earl of Northumberland*, *Robert Earl of Warwick*, *Henry Earl of Kent*, *Edward Earl of Manchester*, *William Lord Say and Sele*, *Philip Lord Wharton*, *John Lord Roberts*, *William Pierrepont, Esq;* *Sir Henry Vane, sen. Nathaniel Fiennes, Esq;* *John Crew, Esq;* *Sir Gilbert Gerrard*, *Sir William Armine*, *Sir Arthur Haslegrigg*, *Sir Henry Vane, jun. Robert Wallop, Esq;* *Oliver St. John, Esq;* *Oliver Cromwel, Esq;* *Sir John Evelyn*, *Samuel Brown, Esq;*

When the Vote for *Non Addresses* was sent to the Lords it pass'd a hot Debate, and upon a Division there were 10 to 10; but the Majority on a second Thought gave it the Affirmative; and the Army sent a Declaration, *January* the 15th, to thank the Parliament for passing that Vote. The House of Commons wrote a Letter the Day before to *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, to send a convenient Number of Foot to garrison *White-hall*, and a Party of Horse to quarter in the *Mews*.

Several Counties sent *Addresses* of Thanks to the Parliament, for the Vote of *no Addresses* to the King, particularly *Somersetshire*, guided then by *Prideaux*, Post-master General, a very fierce *Republican*, who got a great Estate by his Zeal against the Church and Churchmen: *Prideaux* employ'd *Col. Pyne* in this Business, and the *Somersetshire* Address; after thanking the Parliament promis'd to live and die with them and the Army. But the Addressers were so ashamed of what they had done, that most of them retracted it in a counter Address.

About this Time the Parliament restor'd the *Earl of Pembroke* to an Office, of which he had been unjustly depriv'd. Upon the King's making a Garrison of *Oxford*, the *Marquis of Hertford* was remov'd, and the *Lord Pembroke* made Chancellor of that University. One cannot read what the *Earl of Clarendon* writes on this Occasion without Pity. The *Earl of Pembroke* was contented to be employ'd as Chancellor, who had taken an Oath to defend the Rights and Privileges of the University, notwithstanding which, out of the extream Weakness of his Understanding, and the miserable Compliance of his Nature, he suffer'd himself to be made a Property, &c. One can think no other by the History, but that the Author was as well born as *Hampden*, and as rich as *Northumberland*, by the Air that is given it from one End to the other. The great Quality of the *Earl of Pembroke* cannot defend him from Libel. This same *Earl of Pembroke* was regularly chosen Chancellor of the University seven Years before, on the Resignation of *Laud*, and most irregularly turn'd out of his

A. D. 1647. Office by the King's Command, two Years after. Thus it appears he was only now restor'd to what he had been unjustly deprived of; and the insolent and daring Opposition he met with from those very Doctors who had chosen him Chancellor, shows how devoted they were to Duty and Obedience, for which the *Earl of Clarendon* so much flatters them, or else for choosing himself their Chancellor some Years after; though he himself too was turn'd out in a few Years, being, as *A. Wood* says, accus'd of divers Crimes. In speaking of the University he speaks of the Covenant, against which he assures us the Convocation of *Oxford* publish'd Reasons so invincible, that no Man, no not the Assembly of Divines then sitting at Westminster, and forming a new Scheme of Religion, ever ventur'd to answer it. If this had been true, these Reasons would have had better Luck than any which were ever publish'd by Convocations. I have as much Contempt for the Covenant as the Historian or any of his Admirers, though not for the same Reasons: The Severity, Formality, and Subscription render it contemptible to me; so does the Force it puts upon the natural Liberty which every Man has and will have in the Way of Thinking. I would have Subscription abandon'd to those that never had any Thing on their Side but Coercion. The Falsity of the Assembly being then on a new Scheme of Religion, is as absurd as malicious; for that Synod made not the least Alteration in Matters of Faith and Doctrine which are only religious, though the Historian thinks that Discipline is only religious. He also assures us they were then sitting about a Catechism, which they had presented to the Parliament two or three Years before. The Truth is, the Covenant was establish'd by a Law; and the Legislators would have been greater Fools than their Enemies, if they had suffer'd the Assembly, or any one else to enter into Disputation about it with the Doctors of *Oxford*, who could not but have the last Abhorrence for a Law which would deprive them of all the Honours and Emoluments, to which their Doctorships intitled them, so they prov'd the Covenant to be full of Illegality, Wickedness and Perjury: They might as easily have prov'd it to be full of Brimstone and Fire. His Lordship telling us very gravely, that the Gates of Hell were never open'd wider than when *Bishop Wilkins* was made Warden of *Wadham*, and *Bishop Reynolds* Dean of *Christchurch*. *King Charles II.* solemnly took that Covenant no less than three Times. They plac'd in the Room of the learned, courageous and loyal Heads of Houses, Fellows and Scholars, *A. Wood* adds, *Trencher Scrapers*, factious Presbyterians, according to the *Lord Clarendon*. *A. Wood* draws their Pictures with more Likeness and as much Malice; *They had mortify'd Visages, puling Voices, Eyes lifted up, Hands lying on their Breasts, short Hair, quirpo Clothes, and Looks like Prentices.* This *Wood* is the wittiest of them all, as the Historian is the most florid. *A. Wood* too tells us, *Hell was broke loose.* Before they came to *Oxford*, there was no Place in England so happy in Observance of religious Ceremonies; but after the factious Presbyterians came, there appear'd nothing but Confusion and Darkness; there being nothing in the World so illuminating as Altars, Tapers, &c. The *Earl* proceeds, *These factious Presbyterians sow'd the Seeds of Ignorance, Prophanation, Atheism and Rebellion.*

Some of the first who took Degrees after the *Degree* *Earl of Pembroke* was restor'd to the Chancellorship, and the Covenant was establish'd, were, *Oxford*, *Charles Dormer*, *Earl of Carnarvon*, *James* and by *Her.* *whom.*

A. D. 1647. *Herbert, Esq;* *John Herbert, Esq;* the Lord *Pembroke's Sons, Sir William Cobbe, William Tipping, Esq;* *John Cartwright of Ayno in Northamptonshire, Esq;* *John Dolben,* afterwards Archbishop of *York;* *Dr. Ward,* afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury,* *Dr. Wallis, Sir Peter Pett, Sir William Petty, Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir John Baber, Dr. Benjamin Parry,* afterwards Bishop of *Offory,* *Sir Thomas Honeywood, Dr. Lewis Atterbury, Dr. Ironside,* afterwards Bishop of *Bristol, Dr. Cartwright,* afterwards Bishop of *Chester, Sir John Rotherham, Dr. Hopkins,* afterwards Bishop of *London Derry, Dr. Fowler,* afterwards Bishop of *Gloucester, Dr. Stratford,* afterwards Bishop of *Chester, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir Joseph Williamson, Dr. Hall,* afterwards Bishop of *Bristol, Dr. Isaac Barrow, Dr. Robert South, Sir Nathaniel Bond, Joseph Kelle, Esq;* *Dr. Ralph Bathurst, Dr. John Conant, Dr. John Mapletoft, Dr. Windebank, Sir Robert Southwell, John Locke, Esq;* *Dr. Williams,* afterwards Bishop of *Chichester, Dr. Lower, Sir Robert Sawyer, Sir William Glynne, Dr. Pettis, Dr. Woodford, Dr. Whitby, Dr. Hall,* afterwards Bishop of *Oxford, Dr. Huntington,* afterwards Bishop of *Kilmore, Dr. Sprat,* afterwards Bishop of *Rochester, Dr. Addison, Dr. Lamplugh,* afterwards Archbishop of *York, Dr. Tully, Dr. Cumberland,* afterwards Bishop of *Peterborough, Dr. Stillingfleet,* afterwards Bishop of *Worcester, Dr. Gauden,* afterwards Bishop of *Exeter, Dr. Meriton, Abraham Cowley, Dr. Pope, Dr. Cave, Dr. Crew,* afterwards Bishop of *Durham, Dr. Kidder,* afterwards Bishop of *Bath and Wells, Dr. Turner,* afterwards Bishop of *Ely, Dr. Parker,* afterwards Bishop of *Oxford, Sir William Trumbal, Sir Nicholas Staughton, Sir Thomas Millington, &c.* I might have swell'd this List to a great Bulk, if I would have remembered all the eminent Names that took the Covenant in the University of *Oxford;* but I chose rather to mention those that will be allow'd to be as good Churchmen as the Lord *Clarendon,* than those that may be thought to favour the reform'd Religion as profess, in *Scotland, France and Holland, &c.* There are not Men more eminent for Learning, Quality, Piety and Genius, in the History of that University; yet the Earl of *Clarendon* affirms, that *Ground was unskillfully cultivated that Weeds grew up, that poisonous Seeds were sown;* that all the Governments were tyrannical, and as his Lordship and *A. Wood* handsomely phrase it, *Hell was broke loose, and Hell Gate wide open'd.*

Now let us read some of the Names that took Degrees in this University, when King *Charles* the Ist. was there in Person, when the *Learned, Courageous, and Loyal,* were its Ornaments, and the full Observances of Ceremonies its Glory, according to our two most excellent Historians. *Edward Shireburn, Esq;* *Edward Windham, Esq;* *Capt. Roger Sanders, Mr. Anthony Lightfoot, Capt. John Miller, Sir Francis Chalk, Mr. William Jay, Charles Whittaker, Esq;* *Dr. Edward Buck, Dr. William Croot, Mr. John Gurgany, Sir Henry Moody, Sir Troylus Turberville a Papist, Capt. John Merrer, Dr. George Morley, Dr. Edward Wolley* Bishop of *Clonsfert, Mr. John Lakenby a Papist, Mr. John Douch, Mr. Martin Lewillyn, Mr. William Joyner* Papist, *Sir John Lamb, William*

Killingtree, Esq; and a greater Number more, Men of equal Worth and Eminence. The Truth is, every Word which the Earl of *Clarendon* and *A. Wood* say of the Ignorance and Confusion in the University, after the Earl of *Pembroke's* Visitation without Ground, may with good Ground be said of it before that Visitation; *A. Wood* himself owns as much: "Notwithstanding the chief Members of the University had put up a Petition to his Majesty against the promiscuous conferring of Degrees, and the Danger that the University was like to fall into; if some Remedy in that Matter was not taken; as namely, That the solemn Arts and Sciences would be destroy'd, the Fountains of the University dry'd up, hopeful Scholars be discourag'd, and the University dishonour'd; yet nevertheless his Majesty recommended the same Sort of Persons:" By which it appears, that even while the King was on the Spot, the Confusion and Darkness thicken'd; the Arts and Sciences were in Danger of being destroy'd, and the University was dishonour'd several Years before the *Pembrokeian* Visitation. So unhappy is the Lord *Clarendon* in his History, as to be most fierce against the Parliamentarians in those Cases, where his Friends themselves gave the most Offence. He takes no Manner of Notice that by the Articles for the Rendition of *Oxford;* that University was subjected to this Visitation, but goes on declaiming against the Injustice of it, when it was a Condition of their being taken to Mercy.

The University of *Cambridge* was all along within the Parliament's Jurisdiction, as being the Capital of the *Eastern Association;* and therefore they sent the Earl of *Manchester* thither, almost as soon as the Ordinance past for taking the *Covenant,* to tender it to the Heads, Fellows and Scholars of that University: He took with him his two Chaplains, *Mr. Ash,* and *Mr. Good,* who have very hard Words given them for accompanying him in that Mission, which was to administer the *Covenant* to the Members of the University, and to remove such as would not comply, many of whom were in Arms against the Powers that impos'd that Oath on them as the best Security they could take for their peaceable Behaviour. The Contest was left to the Decision of the Sword, between King and Parliament. His Majesty in the Beginning of the War bid very fair for the Success of it; and the Academicks were afraid that their taking the *Covenant* would hinder their Church Preferences, which are the Inducements to their very hard Studies; so most of the Masters, Fellows, and Scholars refus'd it; and some took it, as *Dr. Edward Rainbow,* afterwards Bishop of *Carlisle, Dr. Thomas Bamburg, Dr. Thomas Eden, Dr. Richard Love,* Master of *Bennet College;* And the Earl of *Manchester's* Behaviour is much commended for his Mildness; but the invincible Obstinacy of the Masters, such as *Cosens, Stern, Cumber,* was so well imitated by the Youngsters, that great Numbers refus'd to obey the Ordinance. Most of the Heads were outed of their Headships, and yet the Lord *Manchester's* two Chaplains, as we read in *Fuller,* were complain'd of, *That their over Remisness would obstruct Reformation both in Church and University.* The Alterations made on this Occasion are as follow;

Cavalier
Doctors.

Masters put out.
Dr. John Cosens,
Dr. Thomas Paske,
Dr. Benjamin Laney,
Dr. Thomas Badgroft,

Colleges.
1. Peterhouse,
2. Clare Hall,
3. Pembroke Hall,
4. Caius College,

Masters put in.
Dr. Lazarus Seaman,
Dr. Ralph Cudworth,
Mr. Richard Vines,
Mr. Dell,
R r r r

Mz.

A. D.

1647.

Masters put out.

Dr. Samuel Collins,
Dr. Edward Martin,
Dr. Ralph Broxrigg,
Dr. Richard Sterne,
Dr. William Beale,
Dr. Thomas Comber,
Dr. Richard Holdsworth,
Dr. Samuel Ward,

Colleges.

5. King's College,
6. Queen's College,
7. Katherine Hall,
8. Jesus College,
9. St. John's College,
10. Trinity College,
11. Emanuel College,
12. Sidney College,

Masters put in.

Dr. Benjamin Whichcot,
Dr. Herbert Palmer,
Dr. William Spurston,
Mr. Timothy Young,
Dr. John Arrowsmith,
Dr. Thomas Hill,
Dr. Anthony Tuckney,
Dr. Richard Minshall.

A. D.

1648.

If one could break in upon Decency with as much Pleasure as does the Author of the History of the *Rebellion*, one might offer the Comparison, and demand whether the University lost any Thing by the Exchange, in taking *Cudworth, Arrowsmith, Whichcot, Palmer, Tuckney, Minshall*: The Names of the other are before the Reader, and those of them whose Characters are most known, make up what is otherwise wanting in Bigotry and Zeal.

I do not enter into the Detail of Parliamentary Proceedings, having not Room for them within my Compass, especially considering what Sir *Simons D'Exes* says, *That the Orders and Ordinances of this Parliament, in Bulk and Number did not only equal, but exceed all the Laws and Statutes made since the Conquest*. I shall insert one of their Orders, because it shews us how impartial and upright the Earl of *Clarendon* is in representing this Parliament as a Company of *Neroes* and *Dioclesians*, who persecuted the Clergy of the Church as the *Pagans* did the *Christians*, and turn'd them out of their Livings to beg and starve; whereas by a Law they made Provision for the Wives and Families of such Clergymen who chose rather to quit their Benefices than worship God as the Protestants do abroad.

Die Jovis, Nov. 11, 1647.

Order'd,

THAT the Wives and Children of all such Persons as are, or have been, or shall be sequester'd, by Order of either House of Parliament, shall be comprehended within the Ordinance, that allows the fifth Part for Wives and Children, and shall have their fifth Part allow'd unto them; and the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestrations, and the Committee of plunder'd Ministers, are requir'd to take Notice hereof, and yield Obedience hereunto accordingly.

H. ELSING,
Cler. Dom. Com.

But when the Lord *Clarendon* procur'd that charitable Act, which turn'd out 2. or 3000 *pious, worthy Divines*, as Mr. *Locke* calls them, there was not one Penny allotted to them, their Wives and Children, nor any Allowance for any Layings out and Improvements, but they must all Starve or Subscribe; and I can very well remember, that great Numbers of Families, as well Laity as Clergy, were beggar'd by infamous Processes in Spiritual Courts, purely for Conscience sake, and presuming to have more Religion than their Neighbours.

A. D.

1648.

Levellers.

We have mention'd the Divisions and Disturbances in the Army, occasion'd by the *Agitators*, and now there grew out of them another Party, who were call'd *Levellers*, by Way of *Derision* only, for what is said of their being against all Degrees of Honour or Riches, and levelling the Count with the Cöbler is false. They were for a *Commonwealth*, and that not being to be accomplish'd without the Death of the King, and Renouncing all the Royal Family; those *Fanatics* first enter'd into those wicked Counsels,

which were afterwards so wickedly executed. Col. *Rainsborough*, Col. *Harrison*, Col. *Eyre*, Major *Scot*, Lieut. Col. *Libburn*, Capt. *Reynolds*, Capt. *Bray*, were the chief Movers in this Levelling Party, which had infected 9 Regiments of Horse, and 7 Regiments of Foot, who besides their Officers, had a Council of *Agents* to manage their Affairs, and they were so bold as to require the Parliament to dissolve themselves in a Year's Time, and to alter the Method of Elections to Biennial Parliaments, and otherwise, that it be declar'd, that the King's Consent is not necessary in passing of Laws, the first direct Attack upon the Royal Authority; that Liberty of Conscience be establish'd, Popery and Prelacy excepted; that Birth and Place do not confer any Exception to the Law; whence they were term'd *Levellers*, and not for their Hatred to Titles and Offices, Major General *Harrison*, and Col. *Rainsborough*, having as much Gallantry that way as *Waller* or *Hollis*. This Party publish'd two smart Pamphlets, one call'd, *The Case of the Army*, which was voted to be destructive to the Privileges of Parliament, and the fundamental Government of the Kingdom. The other entituled, *The Agreement of the People*. And at the general Rendezvous at *Ware*, several Regiments distinguish'd themselves by Papers in their Hats with that Inscription. General *Fairfax* spoke severely to those and the other Regiments; and to give a Check to this mutinous Spirit, order'd Col. *Eyre* and Major *Scot* to be committed. In *Libburn's* Regiment there was but one Captain left, all the rest being driven away by the Mutineers, and the remaining one, Capt. *Bray*, complied with them, for which General *Fairfax* order'd him to be seiz'd at the Head of the Regiment. He also call'd a Council of War, before which several of the Offenders were brought, of whom 3 were condemn'd to be shot, and one of them executed at the Head of *Libburn's* Regiment, which so terrify'd the rest, that they promis'd to be more obedient for the future; and Col. *Harrison* and Col. *Rainsborough's* Regiments saw their Errors and submitted. Col. *Rainsborough*, who had been order'd to command the Fleet as Vice-Admiral, was requir'd to clear himself of this Mutiny before he went to Sea, and Major *Scot* to give an Account of his Conduct. But this did not hinder a Representation to the General, under the Hands of Col. *Libburn* and his Officers, *Acknowledging and promising their Obedience due to him, and praying him to mind the Parliament of considering and resolving those Things which have been presented to them from the Army; and as soon as the necessary great Affairs first to be settled shall be transacted, that a Period may be set to this Parliament*. *Whitlocke* tells us, " 'Twas thought a Piece of high Assumption in the Army, so often and so earnestly to press the Dissolving of that Authority under which themselves had so highly acted. " But some of the Officers were suppos'd to have Hopes of coming in themselves to be Members of Parliament upon new Elections, and some were thought to act upon better Principles of the Nation's Freedom, by not being subject-

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A. D. 1648. " ed too long to the same Persons in Authority."

Cromwel's Art and Diffimulation.
 The Part that *Cromwel* acted at this Juncture was very artful; he had at first play'd behind the Curtain, and set on the *Agitators*, without appearing in their Agency; but when he was treating with the King he drop'd them as utter Enemies to that Treaty, and at the last mentioned Rendezvous declar'd himself so openly against them, that he rode up to one of the mutinous Regiments, accompany'd with his Officers, and seeing the Papers in their Hats, commanded them sternly to throw them away, which they not obeying, he immediately shot one of them dead on the Spot, and order'd others to be seiz'd and brought to Trial. When he return'd to the Parliament he valu'd himself much on this Service. He had not long before countenanc'd the Army in Opposition to the Parliament, who were about treating with the King; and now that Treaty is, as he thinks, in his own Hands, he oppos'd the Agency, and labour'd to obstruct it, pretending his so doing was only in order to keep the Army in Subjection to the Parliament, who being very desirous to have this Spirit suppress'd in the Army by any Means, not only approv'd what he had done, but gave him their Thanks for it. To which, says *Ludlow*, *I gave as loud a No as I could though single.* The King then was in Treaty with the *Scots* Commissioners, as has been related, which made him refuse the four Bills which *Cromwel's* Party in the House had promoted, as the Ground-work of the Agreement he was to make with the King, whom *Col. Hammond* prevail'd with to send Letters of Compliment to *Fairfax* and *Cromwel*, congratulating their Success against the *Agitators*, and conjuring them by their Engagements, their Honour and Conscience, to agree with him, and not expose themselves to the fantastick Giddiness of the Mutineers in the Army. *Sir John Berkeley* carry'd these Letters, and had Orders to explain his Majesty's Sentiments further *viva voce.* The Governor had before sent his Chaplain *Mr. Troughton* on the like Message to the Generals, and as *Sir John* was going to the Head Quarters, then at *Windsor*, he met *Troughton* about *Bagshot*, who acquainted him, he had no good News to carry to the King, the Army having taken new Resolutions touching his Person. Riding a little further he met with *Cornet Joyce*, who told him, he was astonish'd at his Design of going to *Windsor*, for that the general Council of *Agitators* there had declar'd for bringing the King to a Trial, and their Declaration was likely to succeed. *Sir John* coming to *Windsor* deliver'd his Letters to the General, who order'd him to withdraw, and after half an Hour's Attendance he was call'd in, and told in a stern Manner, *That they were the Parliament's Army, and therefore could say nothing to the King's Motion about Peace, but must refer those Matters and the King's Letters to their Consideration.* *Cromwel* and *Ireton* receiv'd him very coldly, and shew'd him the Letter which *Troughton* brought from *Col. Hammond* with a disdainful Smile. At Midnight he had a private Conference with another General Officer, suppos'd to be *Scout-Master-General Watson*, who said, *You know that I and my Friends engag'd our selves to you, that we were zealous for an Agreement, and if the rest were not so we were abus'd. That since the Tumults in the Army we did mistrust Cromwel and Ireton, of which I inform'd you, and come now to tell you that we mistrust neither, and that we are resolv'd, notwithstanding our Engagement, to destroy the King and his Posterity; to which End Ireton has made two*

Propositions this Afternoon; one, That you should be sent Prisoner to London. The other, That none should speak with you on Pain of Death; and I do now hazard my Life by doing it. The Way design'd to ruin the King is to send 800 of the most disaffected in the Army to secure his Person, and then to bring him to a Trial, and I dare think no further. This will be done in 10 Days, and therefore if the King can escape let him do it as he loves his Life. He then told him the Reason of this Change, which was, that notwithstanding the pretended Suppression of the *Mutineers*, the *Agitators* had still two Thirds of the Army in their Interest, and had told *Cromwel* and *Ireton* they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole Army to their Sense, and if all fail'd they would separate from the rest, and join with any who would assist them in the Destruction of those that should oppose them, upon which *Cromwel* and *Ireton* argu'd thus; if the Army divide the greater Part will join with the *Presbyterians*, and will in all likelihood prevail to our Ruin, by forcing us to make our Applications to the King, wherein we shall rather beg than offer any Assistance, which if the King shall give, and afterwards prevail, if he shall then pardon us, it will be all we can pretend, and more than we can certainly promise our selves. The Conclusion was, that in case they could not bring the Army to their Sense, it would be best to comply with them, a Schism being utterly destructive to both. In pursuance of this Resolution *Cromwel* bent all his Thoughts to make his Peace with the Party that was most opposite to the King, acknowledging, as he knew well how to do on such Occasions, *That the Glory of this World had so dazzled his Eyes, that he could not discern clearly the great Works that the Lord was doing.* He sent comfortable Letters to the Mutineers who were in Custody, assuring them nothing should be done to their Prejudice, and by these and the like Arts he perfected his Reconciliation.

His Majesty was well advis'd by *Berkley* to make his Escape as soon as possible, and the Queen had sent a Ship to lie off the *Ile of Wight* to that Purpose, which she earnestly press'd, but the King was determin'd to finish the Treaty with the *Scots* first, and that obliging him to deny the four Bills, *Col. Hammond* suspected he would not have done it without such Intentions, upon which he took so much Care of the Guard about him, that no Opportunity offer'd, and the *Scots Invasion*, and the *Insurrections of England*, in a word the second *Civil War* begun by the King's Agents, having not the least probability of ending otherwise than it did, in the Destruction of all that engag'd in it, the Death of the King is again chiefly to be imputed to rash and weak Counsellors, who put him upon appealing again to the Sword, which had before decided the Cause against him. In common Policy there were but two Ways to save his Life, after the fatal Resolution taken at *Windsor* was known, either frankly to pass the four Bills, and fall in with both Parliament and Army, or to make his Escape, which his evil Counsellors had render'd impracticable, by delaying his Agreement with the two Houses, who were so provok'd by his rejecting their Bills, that they came to the beforemention'd Vote, of making no further Addresses to him. *Coke* gives another Turn to the Alteration of *Cromwel's* Mind as to his concluding with the King, and that it was occasion'd by a Letter one of his Spies intercepted from his Majesty to the Queen, wherein he told her, *That tho' he as-*

King's Trial first propos'd.

A. D. 1648.

Cromwel and Ireton's Reasons for it.

His false Steps.

sented

A. D. 1648
 He dissem-
 bles with
 Cromwel.

Ech.

sented to the Army's Proposals, yet if by assenting to them he could procure Peace, it would be easier then to take off Cromwel, than now he was the Head that govern'd the Army; which is agreeable enough with what Oliver said in Parliament, That the King was so great a Disssembler, and so false a Man, that he was not to be trusted. He alledg'd many Particulars, and *Echard* very wisely tells them too, as if there was no Truth in them, "That while the King solemnly profess'd that he referr'd himself wholly to the Army, and depended only upon them for composing the Kingdom's Distractions, at the same Time he had secret Treaties with the Scots Commissioners how he might embroil the Nation in a new War, and destroy the Parliament, the Lords concurr'd with the Commons in the Vote of *No more Addresses*, on the 17th of *January*." *Echard* calls this a surprizing Vote, one of his insipid Epithets, there being no Surprize in it at all; and in the Declaration publish'd by the Parliament to justify that Vote, he tells us, They loaded the King with lending Ships to the French King to reduce Rochel, with a Design to bring over German Horse, with grinding the People by Loans, Privy Seals, Coat and Conduct Money, Patents, Monopolies, and that one Compendium of Slavery Ship Money; every Syllable of which is as true as Truth it self, and so is what follows; With torturing Mens Bodies by Whipping, sitting Noses, cutting off Ears, burning Cheeks, filthy Imprisonments, with lording it over Souls by the Oath ex Officio, Excommunications, Ceremonies, Articles, New Canons, and Canon Oaths; with a scandalous Declaration for dissolving the Parliament in 1640. with writing Letters to the Pope, with an unparallel'd Way of coming to the House of Commons, &c. Every one is by this Time satisfy'd what a very small Historian this same Mr. *Echard* is, and yet see how erect is the Look of his History! This Declaration, and their Grand Remonstrance, are the original mighty Libels from which the whole Swarm of little Libellers seem to have since copy'd. There is no need of appealing to him, because his Judgment and his Evidence will not be much minded; but I appeal to every the least Dabbler in History, even less than himself, whether every Tittle of that Declaration is not Fact, and whether the Parliament had not Reason to say, as they did, *We could give many Reasons more, why we will make no more Addresses*. He thinks he has something on his Side when he quotes Mr. *Hollis*, who hated *Cromwel* as much as Mr. *Hyde* did, and had been persecuted by the Independent Party more than Mr. *Hyde* had been by the Presbyterians, which gives one good Reason to suspect he had more Regard to Pique and Revenge than to Sincerity and Impartiality, and steer'd by such another Compass as the Lord *Clarendon* did. The above-mention'd Declaration was drawn up by Mr. *Fiennes* with much Asperity, 'tis true, but with as much Truth: It charges his Majesty with rejecting all Offers of Accommodation after six several Applications to him, and the Charge is well enough grounded. The Lords agreeing with the Commons in the Vote for no more Addresses, the Council of the Army declar'd, That they resolv'd to endeavour to preserve the Peerage, and the Rights of the Peerage of England, notwithstanding any Scandal upon them to the contrary. Among the rest who spoke against the surprizing Vote, according to the Earl of *Clarendon*, was Sir *John Maynard*, who was then a Prisoner in the Tower; Voted the 7th of *September*, 1647. That Sir

Whitl. p. 270, 271, John Maynard be discharg'd from being a Mem-
 277.

A. D. 1648:
 ber of the House, and be committed to the Tower during the Pleasure of the House; and further, That an Impeachment of High Treason be drawn up against him. On the 8th of *September* Sir *John Maynard* was sent to the Tower; and on the 28th of *October*, Impeachments against the 7 Lords were argu'd upon, and an Impeachment against Sir *John Maynard*. Thus we find him fall in the Tower, and under an Impeachment for High Treason. But granting that it was the Pleasure of the House that he should be at Liberty to practise the Law in *Westminster-Hall*, in Term-time, he had been expell'd the House of Commons four Months before the Vote for Non-Addressing past, on the 3d of *January*; and besides, he was remanded to the Tower before the Declaration past: Yet the Lord *Clarendon* has not only restor'd him to his Seat in the Parliament House, but made a Speech for him, and assures us he spoke it with Vehemence, and that his Argumentation made a great Impression upon all Men who had not prostituted themselves to *Cromwel*. Is it not great Pity that this good Argumentator was all the while in the Tower, and arguing with the Lords, by a Paper he sent them from thence, against their being competent Judges of him, who ought to be try'd by a Jury. But what is most pleasant in this Piece of History is; that his Lordship tells us, *Maynard*, a Prisoner in the Tower for High Treason, and expell'd the House, was so disgusted at the Parliament for not hearkening to him, that he withdrew, and came no more to the House in very many Months, nor could he come without Leave of the Lieutenant of the Tower, nor had he any Business there, having been discharg'd from being a Member of the House at the same Time that *Serjeant Glyn* was. I have digress'd the longer on this Passage in the History of the Rebellion, because it will convince every one, that the same Imagination which could take a Man out of Prison, place him in the Parliament House, and make a Speech for him, must work finely when it is giving Beauty or Deformity to a Picture. The Historian taught *Echard* to labour his Matters with Epithets, as this monstrous Declaration, this monstrous Determination, produc'd the Second War, the People were so generally offended with it; whereas the second War was produc'd by the King's Treaty with the Scots, and the Intrigues of the Presbyterians and Royalists, who were now alike afraid of the Army. The first Rumour of a Revolt from the Parliament came from *Wales*, where Major General *Langborn*, who had been very serviceable to them, was seduc'd from their Service by the Temptations and Offers of certain Agents for the King. The General having some Suspicion of his holding Correspondence with the Cavaliers, order'd Col. *Fleming* to relieve Col. *Poyer*, Governor of *Pembroke* Castle, who was in the Secret with *Langborn*; but *Poyer* refus'd to deliver it, and the Parliament pass'd on the 4th of *March* an Ordinance for reducing the Castle, and bringing *Poyer* and his Adherents to Justice. Orders were sent to Major General *Langborn* to disband his Forces, but the Soldiers would not obey them, suppos'd to be encourag'd in their Disobedience by *Langborn*, who soon after declar'd himself, and seiz'd the Parliament's Commissioners who were sent to disband his Army.

In the mean time there was a very dangerous Tumult in the City of *London*; it began in *Moorfields*, about Tipling and Gaming, on Sunday, April the 9th, contrary to that Ordinance which suppress'd the impious Book of Sports. The Rabble set upon and overpower'd the Train'd Bands about *Finsbury*, from thence they

A. D. 1648. they went to *White-Chapel*, where they seiz'd the Colours of a Company of Foot. Others went to *Smithfield*, and some to *Whitehall*, but the Horse-Guards dispers'd them. Next Day, the 10th of *April*, they increas'd, surpriz'd *Newgate* and *Ludgate*, took the Keys, went to the Lord Mayor's, and took thence a *Drake*, in which Action some of them were slain. They remov'd the *Drake* to *Ludgate*, and became so numerous, that the Lord Mayor left his House, and remov'd to the *Tower*. Their Number still increasing, they were very earnest to get Arms. They broke open a House in *Milk-street*, and other Houses, to arm themselves with the Weapons they found there. They possess'd themselves of the Magazine at *Leadenhall*, beat up Drums, and cry'd out, *For God and King Charles*. The General, now Lord *Fairfax* by the Death of his Father, call'd a Council of War, where the Question was put, Whether they should hazard the Two Regiments at the *Meuse* and *Whitehall*, or stay for more Force? And it was agreed, rather than delay the Business, which must needs be dangerous, and hazard much Blood, they would engage with those two Regiments only. Accordingly the next Morning the Two Regiments enter'd the City at *Aldersgate*, and march'd to *Leadenhall*, where they attack'd the Mutineers, who fir'd their *Drake*, wounded Capt. *Merriman* and his Lieutenant, and kill'd a Woman. The Soldiers wounded several of the Rabble, and a Waterman who shot off the *Drake* was kill'd. Many of the Rout were apprehended, and the rest dispers'd themselves. The City Gates were set open, and all Things quiet before Ten a Clock in the Morning. 'Tis very surprizing that a Person who has no greater Share of Common Sense than Mr. *Echard* has, should pretend to Wit as he does: *These young Persons with Stones and Clubs took the Colours from the Train'd Bands, and in a childish Bravery marching into the Street, frighted Warner the present Lord Mayor. Fairfax entering with some Regiments of Horse and Foot, easily dispers'd them, because no great Man would undertake to be their General. The Citizens were forc'd to raise 1000 Pounds for a Gratuity to the Two Regiments, just now it was several Regiments of Horse and Foot, their new Deliverers. There's nothing so ridiculous as a Man's pretending to be witty without Wit. These young Persons were other People and Malignants, as well as Apprentices, according to Whitlocke; and the several Regiments of Horse and Foot only a small Part of the Army, who behav'd themselves with much Gallantry and Resolution against a great Multitude of Men, not Boys and Girls, as in Echard; and it was no small Happiness to the Parliament that this Insurrection was well quieted, which in those Times of Discontent and Distraction, if it had not been so soon appeas'd and nipp'd in the Bud, might have prov'd of most dangerous Consequence to the Parliament and all their Friends. Whitlocke afterwards reflects thus gravely upon it: "We may take Notice of the Inconstancy of worldly Affairs: When that Parliament and their Army had subdu'd the Common Enemy, then they quarrell'd amongst themselves, the Army against the Parliament. When they were pretty well pieced together again, as upon the Votes for Non-Addressees, then the Apprentices and others make an Insurrection against the Parliament and Army." These are the Reasonings of a wife and sober Man, and instead of such Wisdom and Sobriety, the Archdeacon presents us with Drollery and Grimace. The City petition'd the Parliament for a Thanksgiving on Oc-*

casion of their Deliverance from the late Tumult. They humbly thank'd the General and the Committee of the *Militia* for their great Care and Pains in suppressing it. We have mention'd what the Earl of *Clarendon* says of the miraculous Effects of the Parliament's monstrous Declaration and monstrous Determination, that it made them universally detestable. The first Instance of it in true History, is the Address of the Gentlemen of the Grand Jury in *Hampshire*, where in they acknowledge the Goodness and Wisdom of the Parliament, in the Votes of no further Addressees to the King. The next is the Address which Sergeant *Weld* brought from the Gentlemen of the Grand Jury of the County of *Somerset*, where the Earl told us they were Cavaliers to a Man, excepting two Gentlemen, wherein they acknowledge the great Care and Pains of the Parliament for the Peace of the Nation, particularly in their late Votes touching the King, desiring the Judges to return their humble Thanks to the Parliament. This is the Universality of the People's Detestation of those Monstrosities which the Earl talks of. The *Somersetshire* Grand Jury complain of Malignants, Apostates, and Neutrals; of Alehouses, of Cavaliers being in Offices, and practising as Counsellors and Attornies. The Occasion of Complaint as to Persons in Offices, Counsellors and Attornies, has continu'd there ever since; and indeed it is a crying Grievance, as clothing Insolence and Oppression with the Robe of Authority and Law.

The Storm gathering in *Scotland* was soon perceiv'd. The Parliament's Commissioners at *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Ashurst*, Mr. *Stapleton*, and Colonel *Birch*, sent Information that the Parliament in *Scotland* had appointed a Committee of Danger preparatory to their Design of invading *England*, from whence came Capt. *Wogan*, a Revoltor from the Parliament, with about 400 Horse, and was follow'd by Sir *Thomas Glemham*, Sir *Philip Musgrave*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and other Delinquents, who staid in *Scotland* till the Scots Army march'd for *England*, against which the Earl of *Argyle* and several Lords protested. The Parliament's Commissioners demanded to have *Wogan* and the Delinquents deliver'd up, but the Scots gave no satisfactory Answer to them in that and all other Demands.

About this Time the Earl of *Kent* and the Commissioners *Grey*, Sir *Tho. Widdrington*, and *Bulstrode* Commissioners of *Whitlocke*, Esq; whose Memorials are so useful to me in detecting the Falsties in the History of the Rebellion, were appointed Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal. The Lord *Parvlet* was order'd to be try'd for killing one *Henry Illery*, on whose Widow the Parliament bestow'd 100 l. Dr. *Clark*, Dr. *Exton*, and Dr. *Doriflaus*, were made Judges of the Admiralty. Sir *Oliver Cromwel*'s Composition was remitted for his Kinsman Lieutenant General *Cromwel*'s sake; and the Lords acquainted the Commons at a Conference, that the Duke of *York*, with the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, being together playing in a Room after Supper by themselves, the Duke of *York* Duke of privately slip'd from them down the Back Stairs, *York* without Cloak or Coat, in his Shoes and *scapes*. Stockings, by Way of the Privy Garden, having got a Key of the Door, by which he escap'd thro' the Park, and could not be found, none of his Servants who attend'd him being missing. 'Twas suppos'd that he went off by private Instructions from his Father, tho' it is not easy to discern the Wisdom of it, the Duke having a Princely Allowance from the Parliament, who were better able to keep him than those he had recourse to;

Tumult in London.

Whitl. p. 298.

A. D. 1648.

Whitl. p. 290.

P. 300.

the Parliament.

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Lang-
horn,
Poyer, and
Powel.Langhorn
routed.Kentish
Insurre-
ction.

and as his Person was very safe, under the Care of the Noble Earl of Northumberland, so the Merit of conveying him away, which the Earl attributes to one Col. *Bampfild*, was not considerable enough to deserve so much Room in his History. In the mean while Col. *Poyer* increas'd in Strength: Col. *Powel* was come into him: Sir *Nicholas Keymis* had seized *Chepstow* Castle, with some *Welch* Gentry and Peasantry, whose Understandings were of the same Size with that valourous Knight's, of the same Order with him of *Mancha*. Major General *Langhorn* had put himself at the Head of a greater Parcel of ancient Britons, against whom Lieutenant General *Cromwel* was order'd to march with two Regiments of Horse and three Regiments of Foot. Col. *Horton*, who commanded the Parliament's Forces in *South Wales*, publish'd a Declaration to satisfy the Country People as to the Parliament's Proceedings in disbanding *Langhorn's* Forces, to ease them of free Quarter, and of the Danger *Poyer* had brought them into; but *Whitlocke* says the *Welchmen* did not understand what he said. *Keymis* had not been long possess'd of *Chepstow* Castle before he was besieged by Col. *Herbert* and Col. *Horton*, who with about 3000 Horse and Foot of the Parliament's Forces, met Major General *Langhorn*, Major General *Stradling*, Col. *Powel*, and other Revolters and Cavaliers, to the Number of 8000 Men, attack'd and routed them. *Stradling* was taken Prisoner, *Langhorn* wounded, many slain, 26 Captains and 100 Subalterns and 3000 Soldiers taken, with their Colours and Arms. The Parliament had bestow'd Lands to a good Value on the ungrateful *Langhorn*, which were now given to Col. *Horton*. Mr. *Elkenhead* and Mr. *Parker*, two Lawyers, were made Judges to try the Mutineers in *Wales*, and their Leaders were sent up to *London* to be try'd by a Council of War. Thus was another Civil War begun, and Blood spilt, with no more Prospect of Success, than if *Sacheverel's* Mob should have attack'd the Duke of *Marlborough's* Army; and every reasonable Man must with Indignation behold a Company of Desperadoes involving their Country in new Miseries out of Pique and Revenge. These Doings were not likely to make Men have more Compassion for the King's calamitous Condition. The *North Welchmen* were to have risen at the same Time with the *South*, and the Lord *Clarendon* vouches for the Lord *Byron*, that he had dispos'd all *North Wales* to be ready. How this agrees with *Whitlocke*? The Counties of *Flint*, *Denbigh*, and *Montgomery*, the best half of all *North Wales*, enter'd into an Association for securing those Counties against the Enemy, for which the Parliament order'd them hearty Thanks. The Earl of *Clarendon* musters those Mutineers every where to the greatest Advantage, tho' they are so soon to be reduc'd and ship'd off to *America*, where they liv'd better than ever they had done before. He gives a notable Account of a notable Insurrection in *Kent*, carry'd on by *Roger L'Estrange*, who made this Government this Requital for saving him from the Gallows. He was chief Counsellor to one *Hales*, who went by the Name of *Squire Hales*, and expected to be General to the *Kentish Gentlemen*, as the Lord *Clarendon* calls them; but *Whitlocke* calls them *Kentish Rioters*, whose Intention was to plunder, which they executed with the greatest Outrage where they had the Power: But upon General *Fairfax's* moving towards them with seven Regiments of Horse and Foot, the *Rioters* would have enter'd into a Treaty, which he refus'd, saying, he knew no Authority they had to appoint Commissioners; and truly the best Autho-

riety they had was *Roger L'Estrange's* Warrant, as the Lord *Clarendon* owns, and yet they became so formidable, that he assures us, they had Horse and Foot enough to meet any Army that was like to be brought against them, tho' as numerous as they were, these Gentry were then running away as fast as they could run from General *Fairfax*, who indeed had not so many Men, but those he had were old Soldiers, and the Rioters a Crew got together rather to rob than to fight. They barricaded a Bridge which led to *Gravesend*, but were driven from it by Major *Husbands*; and *Whitlocke* tells us of whom this Royal Army consisted, of Peasants, Farmers, and *London* Prentices, with some Knights, Gentlemen and Cavaliers. The General came up with them at *Maidstone*, and, after a very warm Engagement, forc'd his Way into the Town, kill'd 200 of the Mutineers, took 1400 Prisoners, and 400 Horse. Those of them that were left made towards *London* under their General the Lord *Goring*, now Earl of *Norwich*, for the Royalists could rise in Title, tho' they sunk in Fortune. Their main Hope was, that the City of *London* would have favour'd them, but the Citizens had been too lately mortify'd to venture again on such a rotten Bottom; and General *Fairfax* having order'd a Body of Horse to keep close to their Rear while he came after them slowly, the Lord *Goring* slip'd over to *Essex* Side with about 500 Rioters, or, as the Lord *Clarendon* words it, young Gentlemen grown up in Loyal Families, who had been too young to appear before, and now were not likely to grow much older. Sir *Richard Hardress*, with about 2000 more *Kentish* Rioters, had laid Siege to *Dover* Castle, and taken the Block Houses; but upon the Approach of Sir *Michael Livesey* and Col. *Rich*, he rais'd the Siege and fled. The first Action by which *Goring* and his Army distinguish'd themselves in *Essex*, was the seizing Sir *William Hicks* at *Bow*, and plundering some Gentlemens Houses. Sir *Charles Lucas* had been very active in that County, and the Lord *Capel* in *Hertfordshire*, and, with as many more Rioters as they could raise, they join'd *Goring*, whose Numbers, by the Junction of the *Suffolk* Men, exceeded General *Fairfax's*, who, not without much Trouble, pass'd over from *Gravesend* to *Essex*, having quieted the County of *Kent*; and *Goring* with his Company, got into *Colchester*, where *Fairfax* had Colchester them safe enough; and the boasted Defence of Siege that Town was occasion'd purely by that General's Humanity and good Conduct to save Mens Lives, and the Effusion of Blood. He knew they would be obliged to surrender without Storm for want of all Sorts of Provisions, and he was resolv'd it should be at Discretion, which spun out the Siege to a greater Length than was usual with that Army. There were so many of the *Rioters*, that *Fairfax* did not think fit to attack them before the Forces which were gathering in *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and the Associated Counties, came up. General *Ireton* compar'd the Town and those therein to a great Beehive, and the Parliament Army to a small Swarm of Bees sticking on the Outside of it. But the more the Enemy were, the sooner would the Provisions be spent, and Reinforcements came daily to *Fairfax*. The *Scots* being about to enter *England*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* seiz'd *Berwick*, and Sir *Thomas Glenham* and Sir *Philip Musgrave* took *Carlisle*. There was a Design to seize *York*, but it was prevented by the Folly and Rashness of some Cavaliers in that City, who mistaking a Troop of Parliament Horse for some of *Langdale's* Company, cry'd out, *King Charles*, and so were discover'd and suppress'd. Major

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A. D. Major General Lambert, and Sir Arthur Hasle-
1648. rigg had about 3000 Men in the North, on the
Borders of Scotland, which were scarce sufficient
to hinder the Countries joining with Langdale;
but being join'd by four Regiments of Foot,
and two of Horse, they shut up Langdale
and Musgrave in Berwick and Carlisle, and
dispers'd a Regiment of new rais'd Men; which
Langdale himself was marching to Carlisle.
While these Mutinies were transacting in these
Parts, Dr. Hudson, to serve the Cause in the
Field as well as the Pulpit, got a Company to-
gether in Lincolnshire. For these Doctors ha-
ving plac'd the Essence of Religion in Manors,
Titles, Prerogatives, Powers, and other world-
ly Matters, could with as much Decency fight
as preach for them. Col. Waite overtook Hud-
son and his Military Rabble near Stamford, fell
upon them, kill'd him and others of his Com-
pany, took some of the principal Mutineers to be
made Examples, and discharg'd the rest.

*Dr. Hud-
son killed.* Sir John Owen laid Siege to Carnarvon Cas-
tle, in North Wales, wherein were Col. Ma-
son and Col. Mitton. Owen hearing that Col.
Carter, and Lieut. Col. Twisselden were com-
ing from Chester, to the Relief of Mason and
Mitton, drew off from the Siege. The Num-
ber of his Men was about equal to that of Car-
ter's, and both Parties meeting, the Parliament's
Forlorn was forc'd to a disorderly Retreat. The
Enemy pursu'd with their whole Body upon the
Reserve of the Parliament's, who receiv'd their
Charge; and after a hot Dispute, routed them.
Capt. Taylor singly encounter'd Sir John Owen,
after he had broken his Sword upon his Head
clos'd with him, dismounted and took him Prisoner;
upon which his Party immediately fled. About
30 of them were kill'd, and 80 taken Prisoners,
several of them Persons of Distinction. After
the Rout of Langhorn, the Royalists retreated to
Pembroke, and defended it against Cromwel
himself for a few Days; but upon offer of Con-
ditions, the Soldiers oblig'd their Officers to sur-
render, and Langhorn, Poyer, Powel, Mat-
thews and Bowen were sent Prisoners to Lon-
don, to take their Trial, for the Blood they had
spilt in this chimerical Insurrection. Cromwel
was in haste to give the Scots a Meeting, or he
would not have given so good Terms to the
Welshmen, who were permitted to return to their
Homes.

*Earl of
Holland
rises.* There was another doughty Enterprize of the
Earl of Holland's, who had receiv'd a Commis-
sion from the King to be General of as many
Men as he could get together in so hopeful a
Cause. Indeed Whitlocke calls it a rash Acti-
on; and speaks of some Discourse between the
Earl of Holland and himself before he attempt-
ed it. His Lordship said, Peoples Hearts
were generally set on a Personal Treaty; and
he did believe if a considerable Party should
shew themselves in Arms for it, they would
soon rise to a great Body, and be able to bring
the Parliament to Reason. He was answer'd,
"The Parliament's Army is a fram'd Bo-
dy of old Soldiers, prosperous in their Acti-
ons, and well provided of all Things neces-
sary; and it will be a rash and desperate Ar-
tempt for any to imagine to make Head against
them, and raise a new Body. There is no Trust
to be given to Peoples Minds or Promises in
such Designs: They will not stir except they
see the Tide turning, and some precedent Suc-
cess, which cannot be in this Case; but those
who shall adventure upon such Business, will
certainly be lost in it. The Earl of Holland
argu'd earnestly to the contrary, and how
honourable, just and pious a Thing it would

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1648. "be to rescue our Country from the Misery and
"Slavery they are now under, especially if it
"were done by those who in the Beginning had,
"perhaps, too much Hand in the bringing these
"Streights upon us." The Reply was, "It would
"be worse in those Men than in any others;
"for that it would be look'd upon in them as
"Breach of Faith and Treachery to those who
"had before intrusted them." For he had engag'd
in it at first, and deserted the Parliament to
serve the King at Oxford, where he was soon
weary of the Management, and return'd a Peni-
tent to London, publishing a Declaration, that
he left the King because he saw Irish Rebels
so eminently favour'd by him. In this heroic
Action join'd the young Duke of Buckingham;
and his Brother, in Gratitude for the Parlia-
ment's taking off the Sequestration of the Duke's
Estate on Account of his Minority, when he
first engag'd with the King. The Discourse be-
tween the Earl of Holland and Mr. Whitlocke
confirms what I have observ'd of the Timidity and
Rashness of every one of these Undertak-
ings, which were no farther considerable to the
Parliament, than as they disturb'd the publick
Peace, and postpon'd the Settlement of the Na-
tion, and the Service of Ireland; yet the Earl
of Clarendon gives Importance to the least Stir on
the Side of his Party; and now he informs us,
that both the Parliament and Army were appre-
hensive of the Lord Holland's Motions, which
at the same Time they despis'd so much as to
know of the very Day and Hour of his setting
out with 100 Horse, and yet made no Attempt
to stop him in London. The Earl of Holland
intended to possess himself of Reygate in Surrey;
but Major Gibbon, and a Part of Col. Riches
Horse enter'd the Town the Day before, which
cut off his Communication with the Malecon-
tents in Kent. The Earl retreated towards
Kingston, and was pursu'd by the Parliament's
Forces, who took several of his Men Prisoners
between Ewel and Nonfuch; the rest hasten'd
their March towards Kingston; but being over-
taken by the Parliamentarians, a hot Skirmish
ensu'd, in which the Lord Francis Villiers,
Brother to the Duke of Buckingham, was slain,
and the Earl of Holland's Band routed; the Re-
mainder fled over Kingston Bridge to Harrow
on the Hill, and were hunted several Ways by
several Parties of the Parliament's Troops; the
greater Number of them kept with the Earl of
Holland, who got as far as St. Neots, intending
probably for Colchester or the North, if the En-
emy would have given him Time; but Col.
Scrope, who quarter'd at Hertford, and had In-
telligence of Holland's Flight, pursuing him, his
Forlorn came up with the Cavaliers, attack'd
and routed them, before the main Body enter'd
the Town. The Duke of Buckingham, with
60 Horse escap'd into Lincolnshire, and went
beyond Sea. The Earl of Holland was taken in his
Chamber; and the rest of his Followers were
made Prisoners, by which Scrope's Men were en-
rich'd with Plunder, there being many Gen-
tlemen in their Company, as the Earl of Peter-
borough, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Col. Skemister,
Col. Howard, Col. Legg, Lieut. Col. Goodwin,
Major Holland, Major Stepkin, and 100 others.
Col. Dalbier, who deserted the Parliament, and
Mr. Digby, Son to Sir Kenelm, were kill'd.
Pray mind how the Earl of Clarendon represents
the killing of them; Whether out of former
Grudges, or that they offer'd to defend them-
selves, was not known; whereas it was notoriously
known that they fought, and were routed accord-
ing to Sanderfon. The Lord Andover who was
in this Party, made his Escape, but was taken

A. D. 1648. as he was about transporting himself to *Holland*: And thus we have clear'd the Country of these Troopers.

Ships revolt to the Prince of Wales.

The Industry of the King's Friends had got them some Interest at Sea as well as at Land; and Col. *Rainsborough* being sent to command the Fleet in the Room of the Earl of *Warwick*, the Seamen taking Offence at it, and *Batten* Vice-Admiral offended also at *Rainsborough's* being put over his Head, revolted to the Prince of *Wales* with seven or eight Men of War. The Seamen having put *Rainsborough* ashore, sail'd with the revolted Ships to *Holland*, and the Parliament to humour the Revolters, voted that the Earl of *Warwick* should again be Lord High Admiral, upon which his Lordship going down to the Fleet, kept the other Ships from revolting, and oblig'd the Prince, who was in the *Downs*, to return with great Expedition to the Coasts of *Holland*, whether *Warwick* pursu'd him, it is thought, with too much Respect, considering the two Fleets were at War. The Earl of *Clarendon* makes the most of this Revolt of the Fleet, and throws the City of *London* into a terrible Panick on the Prince's coming into the *Downs*; though the Expedition amounts to no more than the taking a Cloth Ship, and a Sugar Ship, a Ransom of 12000 Pounds from *London*, and a Quarrel about dividing the Spoil.

Scots Invasion.

The Duke of *Hamilton*, who had been kept so long in Prison by the King's Order, without sufficient Proof of the Charge against him, and was discharg'd by the Parliament when their Forces took the *Mount* in *Cornwall*, having by his Interest and Intrigues in *Scotland*, prevail'd with the Convention of Estates to raise an Army and make him General of it, he undertook to redeem the King from his Captivity, as Knights of Romance were wont to go on Adventures to deliver Captives from enchanted Castles. This Army consisted of 20000 Foot, and 5000 Horse, well accommodated with all Necessaries. The *Kirk* did not approve of this Undertaking, and refus'd to give it their Blessing, as having no Prospect of a good Issue, when it was to protect such Men as *Langdale*, *Musgrave*, *Morris*, *Goring*, *L'Esrange*, *Keymis*, *Owen*, and others, the most inveterate Enemies to the true Reform'd Religion, as they term'd it in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Calendar* was made Lieutenant General of this Army, under whom commanded Major General *Middleton*, as General of the Foot, Gen. *Bayly*, Major Gen. *Maffey*, and other Officers, who had serv'd the Parliament well, came now on this Service, but their Success chang'd with the Cause; and Men who fought well out of Principle, seldom fight as well out of Pique or for Pay. *Monroe*, who had commanded the Protestant Forces in *Ulster*, was sent for to join Duke *Hamilton*, the reducing the *Irish* Rebels being not now judg'd so necessary a Work as the restoring of Episcopacy in *England*. The *Scots* Presbyterians must have been Mirrors of Stupidity, if they flatter'd themselves that the King and the Bishops would ever have establish'd the Presbytery in *England*, or if they did establish it, that such an Establishment would last a Minute longer than till it was in their Power to destroy it. I do not make use of the Earl of *Clarendon's* Observations on the ill Conduct of the *Scots* Army, nor shall I rack my Invention to find out Excuses for their being beaten; they might have seen, if they had had Eyes, that *Cromwel* and the Parliament Generals had either a very great Contempt of them, or intended to draw them as far forward into the Country as they could, that they might have the more Difficulty to get out of it again, and that in both Cases they made sure of beating

them whenever they could come at them, which was very mortifying to an Army, which the Arch-deacon's Bishop *Gutbry* says, *Was the greatest and best furnish'd that ever Scotland sent forth.*

A. D. 1648.

Cromwel, after the Reduction of *South Wales*, *Langdale* resolv'd to join *Lambert*, though 300 Miles off, and give Battle to those gallant Invaders. *Lambert* was therefore order'd to keep them in play till *Cromwel* came up, which he did very well, by skirmishing with the *Scots* daily; and sending timely Intelligence of their Advances, *Lambert* fell upon *Langdale*, who had join'd the *Scots* with 2000 *English*, within 2 Miles of *Preston*, and routed him, and *Cromwel* entering the Town, charg'd the *Scots* in the Streets, which the Parliament's Forces clear'd of the Enemy, who were put into Disorder, many slain, and many more taken Prisoners. Duke *Hamilton*, with most of the *Scots* Horse and Foot, retreated over the Bridge, and the Parliament's Horse and Foot following them, after a warm Engagement they were beaten from the Bridge. *Cromwel's* Men still pursuing the *Scots* possess'd the Bridge over *Darwent*, and a few Houses. The Enemy drew up within Musket Shot of them, but Night coming on they march'd off, having had about 1000 kill'd, and 4000 taken. The Duke retreated with 8000 Foot and 4000 Horse. *Cromwel* follow'd him with 3000 Foot, and 2500 Horse and Dragoons, and skirmishing with him at *Wiggan*, took Major General *Vandruske*, Col. *Hurrey*, and Lieut. Col. *Ennis* Prisoners. The Enemy march'd hastily towards *Warrington*, and made a Stand at a Pass, which was disputed with great Resolution on both Sides for 2 or 3 Hours, at last *Cromwel* beat them from their Post, kill'd 1000, and took 2000 Prisoners. The *Scots* possess'd the Bridge at *Warrington*, but upon *Cromwel's* Approach he receiv'd a Letter from Lieutenant General *Bayly* desiring to capitulate, which being agreed to, the Terms were for him and his whole Body to surrender themselves Prisoners of War; accordingly 4000 Men and Arms were taken, and Duke *Hamilton's* Infantry entirely ruin'd. The Duke with 3000 Horse made towards *Nantwich*, where the Gentlemen of the County took 500 of them, and Lieutenant General *Cromwel* sent an Express to the Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Edward Read*, to gather all the Strength they could and pursue the Enemy, which they did, and overtook the Duke at *Utoxeter* in *Staffordshire* with about 2000 Horse; who were fatigu'd and tir'd, and expecting *Cromwel* to be nearer at Hand than he was, deliver'd themselves up to the Lord *Gray*, Col. *Waite*, and the other Parliament Officers, who sent them Prisoners to *Abby de la Zouch*, and the other *Scots* Generals were elsewhere confin'd in order to be examin'd by whose Invitation they came into *England*, for now the Parliament Army was so near the End of their Business, it was rational to think that a Time of Payment was approaching, when those that had given them so much Trouble, and occasion'd a second Loss of so much Blood, was to be accountable for it. The evil Counsellors who hinder'd the Negotiations for a Peace, to save themselves and the Bishops, had been great Fomenters of the *New Civil War*, and when they are brought to Punishment the Parliament, according to *Clarendon* and *Echard*, were satiating their Thirst of Blood. The Committee of Safety which sat at *Derby House* to take Care of the Affairs of the Commonwealth, had Orders to make Inquisition for the chief Agents and Movers in the *Scots* Invasion, and the several Insurrections in *England*. To this Committee was given Power to suppress all

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all Tumults and Insurrections, and to that Purpose to raise Forces as they saw Occasion. Had the evil Counsellors consider'd the King's Danger as much as they did their own, or had their Considerings been as weighty as the Lord *Clarendon* would have us believe, such Attacks on the Supreme Power then in being, as was that of the *Committee of Safety*, would have pointed out to the last dreadful one on the Sovereign, and have soften'd their hard Hearts to a Compliance with the Parliament's Propositions of Peace. *Eckard* tells us, that after *Cromwel* had routed *Hamilton's* Army, he had *Carlise* and *Berwick* deliver'd up to him, and then he enter'd *Scotland*, whereas he enter'd *Scotland* at the Invitation of the Marquis of *Argyle* and his Party, and *Berwick* and *Carlise* were deliver'd, and *Monroe* transported himself into *Ireland*, by Command of that Marquis and the governing Power in *Scotland*, who came to an Agreement with *Cromwel* about settling the Government. Another Convention was call'd, who condemn'd the Proceedings of the last Assembly, and the Ministers declaim'd against the late Expedition as *sinful*. A Day of Humiliation was appointed to implore God's Pardon, and the chief Agents, particularly the Lord Chancellor *Loudon*, made his Recantation and Submission with Tears. There could not be a more monstrous Mixture than the *Kirk* Faction with the Cavaliers. What *Milton* says of the Generation between Sin and Death, has produc'd nothing more horrid and unnatural, yet *Eckard* took no Notice of it, and now the Birth is destroy'd, he only jests aukwardly on the Use of scriptural Phrases in the Language of those Presbyterians, who complimented *Cromwel* as their Deliverer, and he laying his Hand on his Breast, *Return'd as good Scripture*, says the Reverend Historian, *demurely looking on their grave Countenances, and smiling to see what Idiots he had made of these Politicians at their own sanctify'd Weapons*. Every Word of which is as false as it is profane and insipid; nor is what follows truer, that there the Marquis of *Argyle* and *Cromwel* concerted concerning the Ruin of the King, and Extirpation of Monarchy, and the very Form of the future Regicide. The most ancient and honourable House of *Argyle*, as illustrious for their Love and Services to their Country, as for their Nobility and Ancestry, have not been spar'd by *Eckard*, though at the Expence of Truth and good Manners. This Charge here is so notoriously false, that the Lord Marquis was at his Trial clear'd by his very Enemies of being concern'd in the King's Death, as we read in *Burnet*. Every one knows, and Sir *John Berkley* in his M.S. acknowledges, that the Ruin of the King was concerted at a Council of Officers at *Windsor*, several Months before *Cromwel* went to *Scotland*, and if there was no Respect among them to Truth, there should have been more Decency observ'd towards so great a Name as that of *Argyle*, but the Mischief of it is, the Marquis was a *Presbyterian*, and the Archdeacon observes Decorum and Truth alike, when he shews his laudable Zeal for the *Laudean* Prelacy, which he and his Heroes would have maintain'd at all Ventures, and matter not what Sacrifices they made to it. His Account of the Surrender of *Colchester* is worthy all his other Accounts, and has not one Blemish of Sincerity. I have taken Notice, that the Lord *Fairfax* being desirous to spare the Lives of the Soldiers both within and without the Town, made a Blockade of it, and there were few Actions as long as it lasted but Skirmishes and Picquerings. The Lord General was resolv'd to starve them, and this gave Occasion to

Eckard to extol the Bravery of the Cavaliers in eating Horses, Dogs, and Cats, rather than submit to be executed, they having no Hopes of better Conditions than at *Mercy*. The Behaviour of *Goring*, *Lucas*, &c. had been very barbarous and daring in this mad Enterprize. *Lucas* broke his Parole to the General in taking Arms against him, whose Prisoner he was, and therefore, as *Whitlocke* says, *not capable of Command or Trust in martial Affairs*, yet so sturdy, that when the Lord General having Intelligence that the Soldiers and Townsmen were hinder'd from surrendering purely by the Obstinacy of their chief Commanders, sent the latter a Summons; *Lucas* said, *If any more Letters came of that Kind they would hang up the Messenger*. But he was more sturdy when he put to Death with his own Hand some of the Parliament's Soldiers in cold Blood, as we read in *Whitlocke*. The Lord *Goring* when he first came to *Chelmsford*, seiz'd Sir *William Masham*, Mr. *Barnardiston*, and the Committee of *Essex* sitting there, carry'd them with them to *Colchester*, and made them Partakers of the Hardships of the Siege, notwithstanding the Parliament had offer'd the Lord *Capel's* Son, Col. *Legg*, and many other Gentlemen of like Quality, in Exchange for them, and had a hundred to one in their Custody for such Uses. But these Men of Wisdom and Honour wanted Discretion and Generosity, or they would not in their desperate Circumstances have carry'd away Members of Parliament, or if they had carry'd them away, they would not have us'd them unhandsonely, nor have refus'd to exchange them, when the Parliament had it in their Power to make Numbers suffer the like Extremities which the Committee Men suffer'd in *Colchester*, from whence *Goring* turn'd out the Women, and expos'd them to the Fire of *Fairfax's* Men, who spar'd them as much as they could, and the General let the Cavalier Commanders know, that if they did not take them in again, *they should be answerable for their Blood*. When at last they were compell'd by Famine to deliver up the Town, as was the Lord *Fairfax's* Intention, his Lordship would give them no other Terms than *Quarter for their Lives*, *Colchester* at the Entrance of the Parliament's Forces, *taken*. but not to exempt them from Execution by *Martial* or other Law. Accordingly General *Fairfax* being possess'd of the Town, held a Council of War, who condemn'd Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoyn*, to be shot, *for Satisfaction to Military Justice*, as the Lord General wrote the Parliament, *and in Part of Revenge, for the innocent Blood they had caus'd to be spilt, and the Trouble, Damage, and Mischief they had brought upon the Town, the County, and the Kingdom*. Instead of such Reasoning, the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Archdeacon launch out into Panegyrics on *Lucas*, *Lisle*, and *Gascoyn* an *Italian* Papist. Sir *Roger Manly*, as sober and judicious an Author as the best of them, assures us, *The Stone Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle fell upon, being sprinkled with their Blood, could not be cleansed of it, but continues still a Monument of this horrid Impiety*. What admirable Historians they be!

The Earl of *Clarendon* affirms, *the News of Lucas and this bloody Resolution reaching the Lord Goring, Lisle &c. the Lord Capel, the Lord Loughborough, and the other Prisoners of Quality, they wrote a Letter to the General that they might be shot with them, which is extremely probable. The two Knights being thus murder'd, and the bloody Sacrifice made, the Italian Papist Sir Bernard Gascoyn was sav'd, and the Earl gives us as notable a Reason*

A. D. 1648. son as is given in his History for many other Things: The Council of War were afraid as soon as they knew who he was, one of the Great Duke's Subjects, that the Great Duke would have suffer'd Reprizals on their *Friends and Children who travell'd into Italy, who might pay dear for it for many Generations.* The Marquis *Palcotti*, an Italian of much greater Quality, and Brother to an English Dutchess, was hang'd here a few Years ago, but No-body was afraid of travelling into *Italy* after it. Such Fact and such Argument tally to a Nicety. The Lord *Goring*, the Lord *Capel*, Lord *Loughborough*, Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Abraham Shipman*, Sir *John Watts*, Sir *Lodowick Dyer*, Sir *Henry Appleton*, Sir *Donart Strutt*, Sir *Hugh Onelly*, Sir *Richard Maleverer*, were put into several Prisons; and by this List we see what Force there is in another of the Earl of *Clarendon's* Reasons: The Council of War condemn'd Sir *Bernard Gascoyn*, only that being a Knight, it might make three of that Order Examples. We see there were Knights enough besides him; but the Truth is, he being a Papist, they thought it just that he should be an Example to the *Romanists*, and spar'd him only because he had done and could not do so much Mischiefe as *Lucas* and *Lisle*. The General having settled that Town, *Tarmouth* and all the County of *Suffolk*, which began to be in a little Motion on the late Appearance of the Prince's Fleet on that Coast, return'd to his Head Quarters at *St. Alban's*; and thus were all the Insurrections entirely suppress'd in about 4 Months Time, except *Pomfret* Castle, which, as has been observ'd, was surpriz'd by the Treachery of one *Morris*, formerly a Parliament Officer, and the Weakness of the Governor, who plac'd entire Confidence in *Morris*. That Deforter shew'd again how well he deserv'd the fine Character that is given him by *Echard*, in contriving and executing a Design to assassinate Col. *Rainsborough* in his Lodgings at *Doncaster*, one of the bravest Things the Cavaliers have to boast of in the first or second *Civil War*.

The last Commotions had given Spirit to the *Hollis* Party in the House of Commons. The Officers and Soldiers were busy in subduing their Enemies, and in their Absence Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sergeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Walter Long*, impeach'd Members, retook their Seats in the House of Commons, but were soon forc'd to quit them. Several Counties were put upon petitioning for a *Personal Treaty* with the King, as the only sure Method of curing the present Distempers. The City of *London*, who had a Set of Petitioners *Pro* or *Con* always ready, was not backward on this Occasion, but presented a Petition to the same Purpose. 1. *That the King may be free from Restraint.* 2. *Invited to a Treaty.* 3. *The Armies disbanded, and the Self-denying Ordinance be effectually observ'd,* every Article of it struck at the victorious *Cromwel*, his Party, and Principles. *Cromwel* had not then beaten the *Scots*, nor were the other Risings suppress'd, which embolden'd those that wish'd well to them to speak their Minds the more freely; and now the Two Houses resolve again, *That a Message be sent to the King, to acquaint him, that they desire a Treaty with his Majesty in what Place of the Isle of Wight he shall appoint.* The Lords chose the Earl of *Middlesex*, and the Commons Major *Bulkley* and Sir *John Hippesley* to go to the King on this Message.

His Majesty had liv'd in much Solitude since the last Commissioners left the Island; he expected great Things from the *Scots*, and from every one else that had undertaken to do any thing for

him; it being his Misfortune that his Counsellors and chief Agents were never deficient in Promises and Schemes, however they fail'd in Performances. It was now during his Confinement in *Carisbroke* Castle, according to *Echard*, that he finish'd *Eikon Basilike*. The Eikon Basileus Author does not say, *It is said, It is like.* *is thought*, but affirms positively, *Here he compleated his celebrated Book*, which he never began. There is not so good Evidence for any one historical Fact, as for Dr. *Gauden's* writing that *celebrated Book*, which I must confess I never read with those Emotions that are attributed to the Readers of it by certain Enthusiasts. For as I am well acquainted with this King's Reign, and have been taught by the Lord *Clarendon* that it was full of *Mis-Administration*, there would be some Penitence, some Sorrow for it, were the Author's Sentiments really so devout and pious as is there affected. The Language, as far at least as I am capable of judging, is entirely *Clerical*, and not in the least agreeable to King *Charles's* Manner in his Messages and Declarations, most of them drawn by himself, in a close succinct Stile; whereas that of *Eikon Basilike* is redundant and declamatory, and as little becoming the Majesty of a Prince, as a Cask would become a crown'd Head. To hint one Thing only; The most pious Prayer in the Book, stil'd a *Prayer in Time of Captivity*, is taken almost Word for Word from the Prayer of *Pamela*, to a *Pagan* Deity, in *Pembroke's Arcadia*, a *Romance*. Edit. 1647. p. 248. But there is no need of Conjecture where the Proof is so plain. Dr. *Walker*, a pious Divine of our Orthodox Church assures us, that Dr. *Gauden* gave him the original Book, in his own Hand Writing, to convey it to the Press, and that he actually gave it to one *Peacock*, who deliver'd it to *Royston*, the King's Printer. The Earl of *Anglesey* left a Writing sign'd by him, to undeceive the World, and inform them who it was that wrote *Eikon Basilike*.

" KING *Charles* II. and the Duke of *York*,
" did both (in the last Sessions of Parlia-
" ment, 1675. when I show'd them in the
" Lords House the written Copy of this Book,
" *Eikon Basilike*, wherein are some Corrections
" and Alterations written with the late King
" *Charles* the First's own Hand) assure me, that
" this was none of the said King's compiling,
" but made by Dr. *Gauden*, Bishop of *Exeter*;
" which I here insert for the undeceiving others
" in this Point, by attesting so much under my
" Hand,

ANGLESEY.

Dr. *Gauden*, as the Reverend Dr. *Walker* in-state forms us, acquainted him with the Design of *Tracts*, writing the Book before he wrote it, shew'd Vol. 3. p. him the Heads of several Chapters, and some of 755. and the Discourses, asking him his Opinion of it Seq. after Perusal; Dr. *Walker* reply'd, *It will be much for your Reputation, Honour and Safety; but I stick at the Lawfulness of it*, as a pious Divine must necessarily do, saying, *How can you satisfy your self in so imposing on the World: Gauden* answer'd, *Look on the Title, 'tis the Portraiture, &c. and no Man draws his own Picture.* *Walker* some Time after ask'd *Gauden*, *If the King had ever seen the Book*, which the Reverend Historian avers was *incontestably* prov'd to be his own writing by a Cloud of *Witnesses*. To which Dr. *Gauden* reply'd, " I know " it certainly no more than you, but I us'd my " Endeavours that he might; for I deliver'd a " Copy of it to the Marquis of *Hertford*, when " he went to the Treaty at the *Isle of Wight*, " and

London
Petition
against
Cromwel.

Parliament
sent to the
King to
treat.

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A. D. 1648. " and entreated his Lordship if he could obtain any private Opportunity, that he would deliver to his Majesty, and humbly desire to know his Pleasure concerning it : " But the Violence which threaten'd the King hastening so fast, *Gauden* ventur'd to print it, and never knew what was the Issue of his sending it. He told *Walker*, He could not certainly say King *Charles II.* knew that he wrote the Book, because he never took express Notice of it ; but added he, *I take it for granted he does know it, and am sure the Duke of York does, for he has often spoke of it to me, and own'd it as a seasonable and acceptable Service.* Dr. *Walker* concludes, " Mrs. *Gauden*, the Bishop's Wife, " Mr. *Gifford*, who transcrib'd the Copy that was sent to the *Ile of Wight*, and myself, believ'd " Dr. *Gauden* wrote it, as much as we could believe any Thing ; and when we spake of it in his Presence or in his Absence, did it without the least Doubt of his having wrote it, being as much assur'd of it as possible we could be of any Matter of Fact : And 'tis unaccountably strange that all we who had the best Reason and fairest Opportunites to know the Truth, should all be deceiv'd or impos'd upon, which we were to the highest Degree imaginable if Dr. *Gauden* wrote it nor. Then mentioning the Printing of it, he tells us, he had fix of the first Impression given him by Dr. *Gauden* for his Trouble in the Matter; one of which, to use his own Words, *I have still by me.* Fact is not capable of plainer Evidence, especially as it stands corroborated by Dr. *Burnet*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, who wrote thus of it ; " In the Year 1673. in which I had a great Share of Favour and free Conversation with the then Duke of *York* ; as he suffer'd me to talk very freely to him about Matters of Religion, and as I was urging him with somewhat out of his Father's Book, he told me; *That Book was not of his Father's writing* ; that the Letter to the Prince of *Wales* was never brought to him, and that Dr. *Gauden* writ it, who after the Restoration brought the Marquis of *Hertford*, then Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, to the King and the Duke, and both *Somerset* and *Southampton* affirm'd Dr. *Gauden* wrote it. That the Earl of *Southampton* shew'd it to the King at the *Ile of Wight* Treaty, who read it and approv'd of it as containing his Sense of Things ; upon this the Duke of *York* told Dr. *Burnet*, that though *Skeldon* and the other Bishops oppos'd *Gauden's* Promotion, because he had taken the *Covenant* ; yet the Merits of that Service carry'd it for him." The learned Prelate adds, *There has been a great deal of disputing about this Book ; some are so zealous for maintaining it to be the King's, that they think a Man false to the Church that denies it to be his : Dr. Burnet of the Charter-house* express'd to a Person of Honour, now living, his Suspicion, that the Book was not the King's writing, and *Lilly* besides saying, that he doubted it, a little after it came out, adds several Reasons for it, which I think are not wanted. The Bishop of *Salisbury* takes Notice with what View it was written, and why held in so much Adoration by the King's Friends *The Piety of the Prayers made all People cry out against the Murder of a Prince who thought so seriously of all his Affairs in his Meditations before God : And was it not very likely that such Piety and Meditations should co-operate with the Treaty with the Irish Rebels, with the Treaty with the Scots for the second Civil War, with the Variety of Insurrections in all Parts of*

A. D. 1648. the Kingdom, and the Blood that was spilt in them, and with his Majesty's arduous Desire, and frequent Contrivances to make his Escape from his Imprisonment : The latter miscarrying, and in Part by the Diligence of an Officer of the Garrison, one Major *Rolph*, an *Agitator*, the Royalists charg'd him with a Design to assassinate the King some how or other. I don't wonder that the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* exert themselves on this monstrous Plot, though there is not a Word of Truth in it ; nor that Sir *Roger Manly*, another fair Gentleman-like Author, call'd *Rolph*, *Parricide* and *Villain* ; but the Wonderment is, that the Lords should give so much Credit to *Osborn*, who inform'd against *Rolph* as to commit him to Prison ; *Osborn* was in the Depth of the Contrivance for the King's Escape : The Iron Bar of his Majesty's Window was fil'd through ; and *Larrey* says, the King had his Head out of the Window, when he heard a Noise, which oblig'd him to go to Bed again ; it was *Hammond* the Governor, who having had Notice of the Plot from *Rolph*, who had encourag'd *Osborn* to engage in it, ran thither to see what was doing : The King had not Time to clear himself of the Window, so he slip'd into Bed, where *Hammond* found him, and searching, perceiv'd the Bar of the Window was cut ; *Rolph* discovering it, gave Information, upon which *Hammond* chang'd and doubled the Watch, leaving no Hopes of escaping. *Lilly* bought the *Saw*, and sent it to the King as is said elsewhere more at large. However, *Osborn* turns the Plot against *Rolph*, and gives Evidence that the latter had concerted his Majesty's Escape with *Osborn*, that he might murder him when he attempted it. The Earl and Arch-deacon put on grave Faces to cry out against the Horror of this Conspiracy, and the Wickedness of the Parliament, who had no Mind to have the Matter examin'd, Hist. Reb. but the Clamour of the People was so great, that after many Delays, they voted *Rolph* should be tried at *Winchester*, and thither they sent their Serjeant *Wyld*, to be the sole Judge of that Criminal, before whom the major Part of the same Jury, who found *Capt. Burley* guilty, was impannel'd for the Trial of *Rolph*. This is a teeming Passage, and has many Births to deliver of the *Chimera* Kind. *Sanderson*, who will be allow'd to be as good a Churchman as the Earl or the Archdeacon, owns the King did not believe *Osborn's* Informations, which is confirm'd by *Whitlocke* : " His Majesty declar'd to divers of his Party, and wish'd them to declare it to others, that the Governor Col. *Hammond*, was a Man of Honour and Trust, and had carried himself civilly and respectfully to him ; that *Osborn* had unjustly and ungratefully aspers'd the Governor ; for Col. *Hammond* was charg'd by *Osborn*, as well as *Rolph*." And as touching the Preservation of his Person from Poison or any such horrid Design, the King said he was so confident of the Honesty and Faithfulness of the Governor, that he thought himself as safe in his Hands as if he were in the Custody of his own Son. I wish I could be as confident of the Honesty and Faithfulness of the Historians. It could not well be the same Jury that found *Burley* guilty, which was impannel'd for *Rolph* ; *Burley's* being a *Petty Jury*, and *Rolph's* the *Grand Jury*, who found the Bill against him *Ignoramus* ; and his Indictment never came to the *quitted Petty Jury* ; tho' the Earl remembers the Speech the infamous Judge *Wyld*, as he decently terms him, made to them. The Parliament was so far from endeavouring to sink the Matter as his Lordship avers that they order'd the Evidence *Osborn* had

A. D. 1648. had given against *Rolph*, to be immediately printed. Col. *Hammond* wrote to them, desiring that *Osborn's* Charge against *Rolph* may come to a speedy Hearing, it reflecting so highly upon the Army and upon him, and being an horrid Scandal, of which he clears himself, Mr. *Rolph*, and all the Officers; but instead of clearing them, the Lord *Clarendon* lays the Charge home against not only *Rolph*, but the House of Commons, who were sensible of the Plot, but would have screen'd the Plotter, and have prevented his being brought to a Trial, had it not been for the Clamour of the People, who really made no Clamour at all, nor believ'd a Word of the Charge given by *Osborn* against *Rolph*, who was committed by the Lords without any Cause, as the Commons said, and that they found Reason to clear him. They also order'd him 150 Pounds for his unjust Imprisonment. And so far was the King or *Hammond* from believing any Thing of the Charge against *Rolph*, that he was afterwards, as *Sanderson* himself acknowledges, appointed the chief Officer in the Guard of his Majesty's Person.

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1103.

It behov'd the Parliament to make what Dispatch they could with the Treaty, that it might be concluded before the Army was at Leisure to interpose in it; and it behov'd the King to issue it as fast as he could for the Safety of his Person and Government, both struck at by the Army; yet an unseasonable Debate about *Bishopricks* is started, and the Peace delay'd on that Account so long, that the Soldiery had Time to break off the Treaty, and bring their wicked Purposes to pass; for no farther can any good Englishman go with the Parliament in this Quarrel, than the last *Ile of Wight* Treaty; and no farther do I in the least justify the Proceedings of the Parliamentarians, than while they were free, especially from all Military Force. After the Soldiery had garbled the House, the Power was usurp'd, and illegal, and this illegal usurp'd Power, and no other proceeded against the King. However, the Author of the *History of the Rebellion* and *Echard's* Accounts of it are so full of Ribaldry and Falstity, that they make even this very bad Matter still worse than it was. The first Proposal of the Treaty came from the Lords, who sent down these Votes to the Commons. That the Vote against further Addresses be recalled. That such Persons and Servants as his Majesty shall send for, be admitted to wait on him. That the Place of Treaty be Newport, in the *Ile of Wight*. That the Instructions to Col. *Hammond* for safe keeping the King be recall'd. That five Lords and ten Commoners be nam'd Commissioners: To which the House of Commons concurr'd, and new Instructions were sent to *Hammond*, August the 25th. That the King be remov'd to Newport. That he be in the same Condition and Freedom as at *Hampton Court*. That no Person who had been in Arms against the Parliament, nor no excepted Person nor Foreigners be admitted to be near him. That his Majesty pass his Royal Word not to go out of the *Ile* during the Treaty, nor twenty Days after. The Parliament had the Fleet and the City of *London* on their Side; and the Scots would have given them what Assistance they could; but all that was little in the Ballance against a victorious Army, at the Disposal of two of the best Heads of those Times, *Cromwel* and *Irton*, which Consideration should have quicken'd the Counsels that tended to Peace. Col. *Hammond* gave his Majesty the Liberty of the *Ile* on his Parole; and the Parliament order'd a liberal Allowance for his Expence. His Chaplains were allow'd to attend him; and Sir *Peter Killegrew*

Treaty
voted.

was sent with a Letter, and the last Votes of *A. D.* 1648. both Houses inclos'd; to which his Majesty return'd the following Answer:

My Lord and Mr. Speaker,

I Have receiv'd your Letter of the 25th Present, and Votes, which though not so full as I could wish, for the perfecting of a Treaty; yet because I perceive by what you have done, that I am in some Measure fit to begin one; such is my incessant and earnest Desire to give a Peace to these my distracted Dominions, as I accept the Treaty, and therefore desire that such five Lords and ten Commons, as my Two Houses shall appoint, be speedily sent, fully authoriz'd and instructed to treat with me, not doubting what is now wanting, will at our Meeting, upon Debate, be fully supply'd, not only to the Furtherance of this Treaty, but also to the consummating of a safe and well grounded Peace;

So I rest, your Friend,

CHARLES REX.

With this Letter his Majesty sent a List of such Persons as he desired might attend him.

Sir *Fulk Grevill*, Colonel *Titus*, Capt. *Burroughs*, Mr. *Cresset*, Mr. *Firebrace*, Mr. *Anstie*.
George Kirke, Esq; *James Leviston*, Esq;
William Murray, Esq; *John Ashburnham*, Esq;
Col. *William Legg*, Grooms of the Bed-Chamber.
Mr. *Hugh Henn*, Mr. *Humphry Rogers*,
Equerries.

Mr. *William Levett*, Sir *Edward Sydenham*,
Mr. *Ro. Tercebit*, Mr. *John Housdon*, Pages of
the Back Stairs.

Mrs. *Wheeler* Landrefs, and Maid Servants.

Mr. *Richard Parsons* Groom of the Chamber.
Thomas Davis Barber.

Peter Newton and *Clement Kinnerley*, House-keepers.

To these were added,

Thomas Lewin, *George Murray*, Coachmen.

Alexander Skewee, *Edmund Foster*, Grooms.

George Karr, Sumpter of the Robes.

Francis Russel, Farrier.

William Morgan, Surveyor of the Stable.

Thomas Manley, Surveyor.

Dr. *Harvey*, Dr. *Wedderburne*, Physicians.

Mr. *Humphry Painter*, Chirurgeon.

Mr. *Blakestone*, Mr. *Pye*, Mr. *Bourne*, Messengers.

Of these the Parliament resolv'd, Sept. 2. that Mr. *John Ashburnham*, and Mr. *William Legg*, be not admitted to go to the King, to attend him during the Time of the Treaty, Mr. *John Ashburnham* standing in the first Exception from Pardon, and Mr. *William Legg* being under Restraint.

Though this Treaty was Personal, yet several Lords and Bishops were permitted to attend the King in it, as

Duke of *Richmond*, Earl of *Lindsey*, Earl of *Southampton*, the Archbishop of *Armagh*, the Bishop of *London*, Bishop of *Rochester*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, Bishop of *Exeter*, Bishop of *Worcester*.

And the following Divines,

Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*,
Dr. *Hobbsworth*, Dr. *Turner*, Dr. *Haywood*, Dr.
Ferer, Dr. *Morley*.

Civilians.

Sir *Thomas Ryves*, Dr. *Duck*.

Lawyers.

Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*,
Sir *Robert Holburn*, *Jeffrey Palmer*,
Esq;

A. D. 1648. Esq; John Vaughan, Esq; Thomas Cooke, Esq;

Clerks and Writers.

Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Philip Warwick, Mr. Nicholas Oudart, Mr. Charles Whittons.

The Commissioners appointed by the Parliament were,

Parliament's Commissioners.

The Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Middlesex, Earl of Northumberland, Lord Viscount Say, Lord Wenman, Denzil Hollis, Esq; William Pierrepont, Esq; Sir Henry Vane, jun. Sir Harbottle Grimston; Samuel Brown, Esq; John Glyn, Esq; Sir John Potts, John Crew, Esq; John Bulky, Esq;

Ministers.

Mr. Vines, Mr. Marshal, Dr. Seaman, Mr. Caryl.

Secretaries to the Commissioners.

Robert Blackbourn, Esq; Edmund Warcup, Esq;

The Place Newport in the Isle of Wight. Petition against King and Lords.

The House where the Treaty was carry'd on was Sir William Hodges's at Newport, but before the Parliament's Commissioners arriv'd there, a Petition was presented to the House of Commons from Thousands of well affected Persons in and near London, on the 12th of Sept. wherein they gave Reasons why they first assisted the two Houses, and set forth what they expected, *That the Parliament would have made good the Supremacy of the People from all Pretences of negative Voices either in King or Lords. That they would have done Justice upon the capital Authors and Promoters of the former or late Wars, &c.* They could hardly speak plainer against the King's Person, the Monarchy and Peccage. And it was apparent enough that these Thousands of well affected would have the Army to stand by them, so they were formally thank'd, and not due Care taken to close with the King before the Petitioners had a Strength to back their Petition, as was done 2 or 3 Months after.

On the 12th of Sept. the Parliament kept a Day of publick Humiliation, for a Blessing on the Treaty of Peace, and the King and his Household did the same on the 18th, his Majesty drawing up himself the Form of Prayer to be us'd on that Occasion, with the Common Divine Service. The King wrote to the Parliament for blank Passes to be sent by Richard Parsons to Scotland, for Commissioners from thence, which the two Houses would not grant. His Majesty's Letter ends thus, *From our Court at Newport in the Isle of Wight, this 8th of Sept. 1648.* so that he did not look upon himself as in a Prison but as in his own Palace; and certainly Matters might now have been happily accommodated, had the Laity been a greater Majority in his Counsels. The two Houses refus'd Passes to the Lord Carnegie and Sir Alexander Gibson, but granted one for Sir James Carmichel. After Sermon the Commissioners, who arriv'd at Newport the 15th of Sept. went to the King, the Earl of Northumberland told him *they were come to treat.* His Majesty said, *I am glad of it, and desire God to perfect this blessed Work. I profess I am in Charity with all of you, and not willing to seek Revenge against any, nor give Occasion of Delay.* Then the Commissioners presented three Bills to his Majesty, for Religion, the Militia, and Recalling his Majesty's Proclamations. In the Preamble of the latter the Parliament laid the Bloodshed upon him, which the King desir'd might be repited till the End of the Treaty. His Majesty agreed to recall all Declarati-

King's Concessions.

ons against the Parliament. To settle the Militia in the two Houses for 20 Years. To leave 37 Delinquents to be excepted out of the Act of Indemnity. To revoke all Commissions given to raise Men in Ireland, and leave the Management of that War to the Parliament. To abolish Archbishops; and that the Bishops, who remain provisionally should not exercise Authority, Jurisdiction, or Ordination, but with the Advice and Assistance of the Ministers. That the Presbyterian Government should be established for 3 Years, at the End of which the Assembly of Divines, his Majesty naming 20 more, should determine the Case of Church Government for the future. By which as much of Episcopacy was given up as any reasonable and honest Presbyterian ever did, or ever ought desire. And to say after all this, that the King was a Martyr for the Church, seems to be the most egregious Nonsense that ever was offer'd for Argument or Fact.

A. D. 1648.

Three Days after the opening of the Treaty the Commissioners wrote to Mr. Lenthall the Speaker for a Remittance of 4000 Pounds to Southampton; Mr. Crescet, who had the Care of the Household, having inform'd them, that he could not maintain his Majesty and their Officers at the usual Allowance, and they said, the Honour of the Parliament would suffer without it. The foot the Commissioners treated upon were the Propositions presented at Hampton Court. The Time allow'd for the Treaty was 40 Days. The Demands and Answers to be in writing, and nothing that was not so to be binding, nor till the whole Treaty was concluded. Scotland was not included in this Treaty.

On the 25th of Sept. a Week after the Opening of the Treaty, his Majesty consented to the first Proposition, to vacate all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations against the Parliament, and to indemnify all their Actions in the War, which the King acknowledges *they were necessitated to undertake in their just and lawful Defence.* His Majesty the 9th of October, confirm'd the Calling and Sitting of the Assembly of Divines, consented to the Directory of Worship instead of the Common Prayer, which he consented should be taken away out of all Churches and Chapels. He yielded up the Militia for 20 Years. He agreed to the Payment of the Parliament's Debts, to disable all the Lords he had made since the Lord Littleton carry'd away the Seal, to sit in the House of Peers.

During this Treaty the Parliament receiv'd Letters from Colonel Michael Jones in Ireland, giving an Account of the Arrival of the Marquis of Ormond in that Kingdom, with a Commission to conclude a Peace with the Rebels, at the very Time that the King was treating with the Parliament to carry on the War against them. There was also this Letter of Ormond's to the Chief of the Irish Massacrers intercepted.

AFTER our very hearty Commendations, being arriv'd in this Kingdom qualified with Power to treat and conclude a Peace with the Confederate Roman Catholics, or such as shall be deputed and authorised by them in that Behalf, we have thought fit by these our Letters to desire you, to make the same known to the Assembly now at Kilkenny; as also, that in pursuance of the Paper of the 13th of May last, deliver'd to their Commissioners at St. Germans, we expect to receive from them by Persons fully authorised to treat and conclude, such Propositions as they shall think fit, at our House at Carrick, whether we intend to remain for the better Accommodation, and more speedy Dispatch of this Affair, as soon as we shall be advertised.

U u u u

by

A. D. 1648. by you of the Time, when we shall expect them there, which we desire may be with all convenient Expedition. We remain at Cork, this 4th of October, 1648.

Your very loving Friend,

ORMOND.

To our loving Friend Sir Richard Blake, Chairman of the Assembly of the Confederate Roman Catholics at Kilkenny.

I desire the Reader to compare this Letter, wherein Ormond tells the Massacrers, he is qualified by the King's Commission to treat and conclude a Peace, with what the King told the Parliament's Commissioners at New-Port the 1st of November, about a Month after Ormond's Letter was written. He declar'd, That since the first Votes for the Treaty at the Isle of Wight, he hath not transacted any Affairs concerning Ireland but with those Commissioners. Now the Vote for that Treaty was the 29th of July, 1648. and Ormond communicated the Commission he had to treat with the Irish Rebels to their Chairman at Kilkenny about 9 Weeks after. It cannot be said the King did not treat, but Ormond treated, because whatever a Prince's Plenipotentiary does by his Warrant, the Prince in Effect does it himself. And notwithstanding the very great Encomiums on this King's Integrity, in Clarendon and Echard, it is certain there's great Reason to object to it. Lilly, who was not the more a Fool for his being a Conjurer, in the vulgar Acceptation of the Word, says of him, He had much of Self-ends in all he did, and a most difficult Thing it was to hold him close to his own Promise, so that some foreign Princes bestow'd on him the Character of a most false Prince, and one that never kept his Word, unless for his own Advantage. Again, Though in a Time of Parliament he often promis'd to redress any Grievances, yet the best Friend he hath cannot produce any one Act of Good for his Subjects done by him in the Vacancy of a Parliament. I wish there had been no Reason for him to say what he does a little too coarsely. How does this agree with that strict Piety and Devotion for which the Author of the History of the Rebellion and Echard pay this Prince so much Adoration.

The Author of the History of the Rebellion, with his wonted Simplicity and Sincerity, introduces two Divines, Dr. Spurstow and Fenkins, of whom neither was then present, or not authoris'd so to be, arguing with his Majesty about Episcopacy; They urg'd the common Allegations, that Bishops and Presbyters in the Scripture Language signify'd one and the same Thing, intimating, that the Argument was the worse for being common and scriptural; that if the Apostles exercised a larger Jurisdiction, it had been granted them as Apostles. The Presbyterians could not say that; for the Apostles could not exercise so large a Jurisdiction; they could not imprison, levy Money by distress, or have any temporal Jurisdiction under Pagan Emperors and Kings. The Earl and the Laudean Prelates, if they know any Thing at all of History Ecclesiastical and Civil, must know, that the Powers of the Earth were declar'd Enemies to Christianity, and made no Grant of temporal Authority to the Apostles or their Successors till the Roman Empire became Christian. The King, says the Historian, with exemplary Gravity, press'd them with those Texts of Scripture which have been constantly urg'd by those who maintain the Jus Divinum of Bishops, the Authority of the Fa-

thers, and the Government of all Christian Churches for fifteen Hundred Years. Did the King prove by Scripture, that Timothy and Titus were Archbishops or Bishops, had Chancellors, Spiritual Courts, Temporal Baronies, Palaces, Lordships, &c. when there was not one of them known, when one of them could not be known in the Christian Church. Indeed the Case is very different now, for those temporal Baronies, Palaces, Lordships, &c. are annexed to Dioceses by the Laws of the Land, and are as much the Diocesan's legal Possessions as Right can give legal Possession to any one. But this argues not that it was exactly so from the Beginning, which is all that is controverted. The Historian again as notably as before, The Government of all Christian Churches could not but be by themselves acknowledged to be by Bishops; yea such Bishops as Titus and Timothy, praying, preaching, ordaining, and superintending Bishops. Bishops then travell'd a foot from one Diocese to another in the Exercise of what the Historian terms their larger Jurisdictions. He proceeds, The Commissioners reliev'd their ill manner'd Clergy, which is spoken with a great deal of good Manners, considering it is not true, for their Clergy behav'd with as much Decency as their Opposites. Dr. Seaman, Master of Peter House, Cambridge, for nothing will go down with these dignify'd Persons but some Dignity, was the Divine who handled this Argument, and was a Divine of as great Eminence for Controversial Learning as any of that Age; his Majesty own'd his singular Ability in this Controversy. Yet the Earl adds, His Majesty with wonderful Acuteness fully answer'd all their Arguments; not answer'd, but fully answer'd, whereas he did not answer one of them, and it cannot be answer'd till those Men can prove Impossibilities, which they do as often attempt as any Men ever did. The King said, Calvin and Beza, and most learned Men of the Reform'd asserted Religion, approv'd of Episcopal Government, but the King did not say what Sort of Episcopal Government. They approv'd of praying, preaching, ordaining, and superintending, without temporal Prerogatives, Powers, Principalities, Dignities, &c. It was at this Time and Place that Archbishop Usher presented the King with his Reduction of Episcopacy, which fully answer'd every Argument made use of in favour of the Laudean Prelacy, by shewing how it was to be reduc'd to the Primitive, the Archbishop declares, That the Presbyters had a Hand not only in delivering the Doctrine and Sacraments, but also in the Administration of the Discipline of the Church with the Bishop, who was the chief President, still'd by Tertullian, Summus Sacerdos. The rest of the Dispensers of the Word and Sacraments were join'd in the common Government of the Church. Pope Cornelius, or Cornelius Bishop of Rome, always conferr'd with the Presbytery in the Exercise of Church Discipline; and the Presence of the Clergy was thought so requisite in Matters of Episcopal Audience, that it was concluded in the Council of Carthage, that the Bishop might hear no Man's Cause without the Presence of the Clergy, which was insert'd in the Canons of Egbert, Archbishop of York in the Saxon Times, and afterwards into the Body of the Canon Law it self. You see how fully the King answer'd all the Arguments of the Presbytery. Archbishop Usher then directs his Majesty how he might have proceeded in the Alteration of Church Government without wounding his Conscience. " True it is, " that in our Church this Kind of Presbyterian " Government has been long diffus'd, yet seeing " it

Observ.

P. 11.
K. Charles
keeps not
his Word.

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Seaman;

Episcopacy
asserted.

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“ it still professeth that every Pastor hath a Right to rule the Church, from whence the Name of *Rector* also was given at first to him, and to administer the Discipline of Christ as well as to dispense the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Restraint of the Exercise of that Right proceedeth only from the Custom now received in this Realm. *We remember what the Earl said, that it was not from Custom but Jure Divino prov'd by Texts of Scripture.* No Man can doubt but by another Law of the Land this Hindrance may be well remov'd; and how easily this ancient Form of Government, by the united Suffrages of the Clergy might be reviv'd again, and with what little shew of Alteration.” *He proceeds to set forth, &c.* which was the same Way of arguing us'd by the Parliament's Commissioners: *Whatever was not of divine Institution might be very lawfully alter'd; for it had its Original from Men, it might by Men be chang'd or revers'd. That Episcopacy, as it was establish'd in the Church of England, was not that Episcopacy that was mention'd in Scripture, and that therefore the Laws which supported it, might be justly taken away.* I do verily believe that the Archdeacon does not know this to be the true State of the Case, and that tho' he has written an *Ecclesiastical History*, he knows no more of it than he appears to know of the History of England during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart, tho' he has written that also. He tells us, 'tis no Matter after whom, since it is false, that the King was much better vers'd in the Argument of Church-Government than Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caryl*, Dr. *Seaman*, &c. That *Jenkins* and *Spurstow* were like a Couple of Bull-Dogs let loose upon his Majesty, when neither *Spurstow* nor *Jenkins* were Assitants to the Parliament's Commissioners; yet *Spurstow* very plainly and fiercely told the King, he would be damn'd if he did not abolish Episcopacy; which besides that Dr. *Spurstow* did not say it, is so contrary to the Character of that Divine, full of Meekness and Moderation, as to bear the Falsity in the Front of it. Dr. *Spurstow*, says Dr. *Calamy*, was a Man whose Conversation was innocent, chearful, and very acceptable, of a very peaceable Disposition. It is very pleasant to see how the rigid Ecclesiastical Writers endeavour to glew their temporal Honours and Emoluments to the spiritual Function, and how they strive to make those Things the Essence of Religion which have not the least Relation to the Doctrine of Christ. If they would say that the Laws of the Land give the Ecclesiasticks as good a Title to their Dignities and Revenues as the Laicks have to their Estates, they would, as I have often observ'd, talk reasonably, and nothing could be said to them but what Archbishop *Usher* says; but to pretend that they have a divine independent Right to their Prerogatives and Lordships, is an Insult on common Sense.

The rare History which *Echard* takes from two rare Historians, *Walker* and *Wagstaff*, whose Names I hardly ever before heard of, being all secret and suspected, I leave it where I found it; but this Saying of the King's is very orthodox and politick; *I will hold out till I make some Stone in this Building my Tomb-Stone, and so I will do by the Church of England;* and so is this other, which could not but endear him to the *Laudeans*; *The concurrent Opinion of the Clergy, as to Sacrilege, is a much better Information to my Conscience, than any Law of the Land can be;* which I do not believe the King ever said, it being so contrary to Reason and Justice. *Sacrilege*, if understood to be stealing the

Chalice or *Pulpit-cloth*, is doubtless to be abhor'd by all Men; but to alienate Lands from one Religious Use to put them to another, or from a particular to a general Interest by the Laws of the Land, may be as well call'd *Sodomy* as *Sacrilege*. These Men buttress up their Cause with Substantives and Adjectives, such as *Schism*, *Sacrilege*, *Rebellion*, *Sedition*, *Factions*, *Fanatical*, and the like. *Echard* tells us of a kind of a History of this Treaty, written by his Majesty for the Use of the Prince, and of several other Papers drawn up by the King with great Exactness; but neither himself, nor *Walker* his Original, could think justly enough to observe, as Bishop *Burnet* does, *King Charles I. minded little Things too much, and was more concern'd in the drawing of a Paper, than in fighting a Battle.* Had these Men been capable of thinking justly, they would not have written Histories, they would have better examin'd their Abilities and Intentions, and have left it to *Rushworth* and *Whitlocke* to convey the Truth to Posterity, and if they had so done, this History had been needless. While his Majesty and the Parliament's Commissioners were thus busied in Debates about Bishops and Bishops Lands, the Army were as busy in suppressing the Insurrections; and having done that Work, their Council took into Consideration who was the Author of the first and second War, and who was to be accountable for the innocent Blood which had been spilt. They consider'd it with great Formality, but *Cromwel* and *Iretton* had before determin'd that Matter among themselves and their Creatures. It must be confess'd that the Lord *Fairfax*, however he shew'd himself cool in the Affair afterwards, was now as warm in it as either of these two Generals; for the Commissioners of the Army having drawn up a Remonstrance, it was deliver'd to the House of Commons by Col. *Ewer* and seven other Officers; *That the King be brought to Justice, as the capital Cause of all;* and *Fairfax* wrote a Letter to the Parliament, desiring that Remonstrance might have a *Present Reading*. The Paper set forth the King's Miscarriages, his double and dilatory Proceedings in Treaties, particularly that now on foot. The Army desir'd, *He might no more come to Government, nor to London;* *That Delinquents be punish'd;* *That the Prince and Duke of York be summon'd in by a Day, and if they do not come, be declar'd Traitors.* The Duke of Gloucester not being nam'd, it gave occasion to surmise that the Army intended to choose him King, for the early Affection he shew'd to the Protestant Religion, which neither of his two elder Brothers did at that Time much care for, nor he himself afterwards; *That no King be hereafter admitted but upon Election.* This Petition was presented the 20th of November, and it was too visible that the Parliament would be oblig'd to comply with the Army; yet the Dispute about *Episcopacy* goes on still at the Isle of *Wight* with as much Alacrity as if his Majesty was in no Danger at all. There were so many Prelates and Doctors with him, that one would have hop'd some of them would have preferr'd his Preservation to that of their own Preferments, and have advis'd him to do as he was advis'd by Archbishop *Usher*. The Remonstrance occasion'd a high Debate, which was at last adjourn'd, to the great Dislike of the Army, and much more, when the further Consideration of it being put to the Vote, it was carry'd in the Negative by 90 Voices, which are the Number of the *Secluded Members*, so much talk'd of in History. The Army's Remonstrance having been presented to the Parliament, they dispatch'd Col.

A. D.
1648.

Council of
the Army's
Remon-
strance.

Ewer

A. D. 1648. *Ewer* to the Isle of *Wight* with Orders to Col. *Hammond* to give up that Government and the Custody of the King to *Ewer*, and himself to attend the General at his Head Quarters at *Windsor*. The Commons hearing of it, voted that *Hammond* should continue in both those Charges; but the late Governor thought it the wiser Way for him to obey his General; and so delivering up his Prisoner and his Government to Col. *Ewer*, he waited upon his Excellency, who, to prevent his Return to the Isle, put him under a Sort of Arrest, from which he was not immediately discharg'd, tho' the Parliament had written to him to suffer *Hammond* to return to the Isle of *Wight* in the same Quality as he left it. The Reverend Historians conceal the King's Attempt to escape from *Carisbroke* Castle, that there may be no Excuse for the Parliament's Officers confining him more strictly; but *Lilly*, who was the very Person that bought the Saw for him to cut the Iron Bars, at the Request of Mrs. *Whorwood* before-mention'd, writes thus: "His Majesty laid his Design to escape out of Prison by sawing the Iron Bars of his Chamber Window, a small Ship was provided and anchor'd not far from the Coast to bring him into *Suffex*; Horses were also provided to carry him through *Suffex* into *Kent*, that so he might be at the Head of the Army under *Goring*. Lady *Whorwood* came to me and acquainted me herewith. I got *G. Farmer*, an ingenious Lock-Smith in *Bow-Lane*, to make a Saw, which I sent, with some *Aqua-fortis* besides. His Majesty in a small Time did his Work. The Bars gave Liberty for him to go out. He was out with his Body till he came to his Breast, but then his Heart failing, he proceeded no farther. When this was discover'd, as soon after it was, he was narrowly look'd after, and no Opportunity could be devis'd to enlarge him." The Remonstrance was follow'd with a Declaration from the Army, complaining, *That they are wholly rejected; That they should rejoice if the Majority of the House of Commons would become sensible of the Destructiveness of the late War, and would exclude from Communication in their Councils all such corrupt and apostatiz'd Members as have obstructed Justice, &c. They desire that so many of them as God had kept upright, would by Protestation or otherwise acquit themselves from such a Breach of Trust, and would withdraw from such as persist in the Guilt thereof, as having materially the chief Justice of the Kingdom remaining in them, and they shall adhere to them, and be guided by them, and that they are drawing to London for these Ends, &c.* plainly intimating, that if they did not themselves exclude the Members against whom they had Exceptions, it should be done by the Army when they came to *Westminster*.

Oliver Cromwell continu'd still to act by his Instruments, and did not as yet publicly appear against the Person of the King more than *Fairfax* did. I find him at a Place call'd *Knottingley* at this very Time, as by the following Letter, which being under his own Hand, will be of Importance enough to excite the Reader's Curiosity.

S I R,

I Suppose it is not unknown to you how much the Country is in Arrear to the Garrison of *Hull*, as likewise how probable it is that the Garrison will break, unless some speedy Course be taken to get them Money, the Soldiers at this Present being ready to mutiny, as not having Money to

buy them Bread, and without Money the subboru Towns-People will not trust them for the Worth of a Penny. Sir, I must beg of you, that as you tender the Good of the Country, so far as the Security of that Garrison is mention'd, you would give your Assistance to the helping of them to their Money which the Country owes them. The Governor will apply himself to you either in Person or by Letter. I pray you do for him herein as in a Business of very high Consequence. I am the more earnest with you, as having a very deep Sense how dangerous the Event may be of their being neglected in the Matter of their Pay. I rest upon your Favour herein, and subscribe my self,

S I R,

Your very humble Servant,

Knottingley, Nov.
25. 1648.

O. CROMWELL.

For my Noble Friend *Thomas St. Nicholas, Esq;*

General *Fairfax* wrote to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, That he was marching to *London* in Pursuance of the late Remonstrance and Declaration, and for preventing Disorder, desir'd 40000 Pounds, Part of their Arrears due from the City, to be got ready, which the House of Commons desir'd also, but wrote to his Excellency, *That it was their Pleasure he do not remove the Army nearer to London*, which the General took no Notice of, but march'd directly thither, and took Quarters for himself and his Army in *Whitehall*, *St. James's*, *London*, the *Meuse*, *Tork House*, and other vacant Houses, and in the Villages near the City; and the Parliament receiv'd Letters from the Isle of *Wight*, that the King was remov'd to *Hurst Castle*, on the Neck of Land projecting from *Hampshire* to that Isle. The Parliament voted, *That the seizing upon the Person of the King, and carrying him Prisoner to Hurst Castle, was without the Advice and Consent of the House; and the next Day, after having debated it all Night, they voted, That his Majesty's Concessions to the Parliament's Propositions, are sufficient Grounds for settling the Peace of the Kingdom.* This Vote past the 5th of *December*. Three Days after the Army had taken Quarters all around them, yet such was the Spirit of the *Presbyterians* in the Two Houses, that, in Defiance of so great a military Power, they declar'd against the Violence of the Army with respect to the King's Imprisonment, and the threaten'd Proceedings against his Person. How ingrate, how infamous are the vile Reflections of those Ecclesiastical Writers and Preachers, who charge the *Presbyterians* with the Death of the King, which they clear'd themselves of in this so solemn and so dangerous a Manner? 'Tis probable most of the rural Priesthood do not know this, their Knowledge being not always too extensive; but the Archdeacon, and some historical Doctors that have intimated as much in their Writings and Preachments, do know this, and yet, contrary to their Knowledge, declaim against the *Presbyterians* as King-killers, which it is hop'd they did or will repent of before they give in their last Account at the tremendous Day of accounting.

On the next Day after this bold Vote, Col. *Force* on *Rich's* Regiment of Horse, and Col. *Pride's* Regiment of Foot were set as Guards on the Two Houses, and the City Train'd Bands discharg'd. Thus in Reality the Parliament were Prisoners to the Army, and whatever they did afterwards was by Constraint, and consequently null. *Pride* drew

King endeavours to escape from *Carisbroke*.

A. D. 1648.

Fairfax marches to *London*.
King's Concessions voted sufficient.

A. D. 1648. drew up some Companies of Foot in the Court of Requests, upon the Stairs, and in the Lobby, and as the Members stood to enter the House, the Colonel seiz'd upon those whose Names were written in a Paper he held in his Hand, and whom he was directed to sometimes by one of the Door-Keepers, and sometimes by the Lord Grey of Groby. As fast as he seiz'd them, they were carry'd away, some to the Queen's Court, some to the Court of Wards, and other Places, by Warrant from the General and the Council of Officers. The Members thus carry'd away were Sir Robert Harley, Col. Edward Harley, Sir William Waller, Sir Walter Earl, Sir Samuel Luke, Sir John Meyrick, Sir Martin Lister, Lord Wenman, Mr. Knightley, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Mr. Francis Gerard, Mr. Swinfin, Sir Edward Partridge, Mr. Crew, Sir Edward Stephens, Mr. Butler, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Mr. Bulkeley, Major General Massey, Mr. Walker, Mr. Robert Pye, Mr. Pelham, Col. Leigh, Sir Anthony Irby, Mr. Lane, Mr. Doderidge, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Drake, Mr. Green, Mr. Boughton, Mr. Prynne, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, Commissary Copley, Col. Strobe, Mr. Priestley, Sir Simonds D'Erwes, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Richard Onslow, Sir Thomas D'Acres, Sir Thomas Soam, Mr. Drake, Major General Browne, Mr. Clement Walker.

Col. Harrison and Sir Hardress Waller were very active in this Force put upon the Parliament, who had still a Majority sufficient to declare against it, and sent their Sergeant at Arms to acquaint those Members, *It was the Pleasure of the House that they should forthwith attend their Service*; but the Officers, who were plac'd as Guards upon them, took no Notice of it. A Committee was sent to the General, Sir John Evelyn, Col. Birch, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Mr. Pierrepoint, Mr. Ashurst, and Mr. St. John, to confer with him, and maintain a good Correspondence between them. The Lord Fairfax desir'd Time to advise with his Council of War about his Answer. The same Committee was order'd to attend the General again for it, but instead of an Answer, Col. Axtel and Col. Whalley brought to the House a Paper, entituled, *The Proposals and Desires of the Army*; wherein they complain, *That having formerly impeach'd Denzil Hollis, Esq; Lionel Copley, Esq; Major General Massey, and other Members, of Treason, who had been expell'd the House, and their Seats supply'd by new Elections; yet the Faction having taken Advantage of the Absence of several Members in the Publick Service during the late Insurrections, and others who through Tumults could not safely attend, those that were so impeach'd had been re-admitted to sit and vote as formerly; That Major General Browne, now Sheriff of London, had with the said impeach'd Members invited the Scots to invade this Kingdom, and they as Adherents to the Scots had been voted to be Traitors; yet these Confederates, and other treacherous Members, to the Number of 90 and odd, did by their Counsels and Votes endeavour to hinder the House from declaring against their confederate Invaders. They desire that Major General Browne be secur'd, and the rest of the ninety odd Persons excluded the House; and the Votes declaring the King's Concessions to be a sufficient Ground for Settlement of Peace, notwithstanding the Insufficiency and Defect of them, be recall'd.* Echard says, *The Soldiers deny'd Entrance into the House to 160 Members more, whereupon the rest of the Presbyterian Party being terrify'd with the Usage of their Fellow*

Members, declin'd the House, leaving it in the Possession of about 150. He has represented this House of Commons as a pack'd Assembly of about 150 Members in other Parts of his History, and there are now 50 seiz'd, 160 deny'd Entrance, 100 at least suppos'd to decline, and 150 left? So coherent is this exact Historian with his own as well as with other Histories. *Whitlocke* informs us, that several of the seclud'd Members offering to enter the House, they were forbidden, because some Matters were to be debated concerning themselves; and it has ever been the Practice for Persons to withdraw while what is in Debate concerns them. The Parliament voted to take the Army's Remonstrance and Proposals into Consideration. But that did not hinder the sending Col. Dean with two Regiments of Foot and some Troops of Horse into the City, to seize the Money in *Haberdaşer's Hall*, *Weaver's Hall*, and *Goldsmith's Hall*, of which his Excellency acquainted the Lord Mayor beforehand, and gave his Reasons for so doing; "Because they had not paid their Arrears of the Assessment, nor furnished the Money which he desir'd of them; and the Army had by Order of Parliament quarter'd in several Counties on those who did not pay the Assessment till the same was paid, that yet if the City would advance the 40000 Pounds, Part of their Arrears, the Soldiers should not be further trouble-some to them."

'Twas at this Time that the Scandal arose of turning *St. Paul's Church* into a Stable, according to *Sanderſon*; but tho' it can be prov'd that the Cavaliers turn'd several Churches to as beastly Purposes, if Slaughter and Blood may be so deem'd; yet *Whitlocke* assures us, *The Foot were quarter'd in private Houses, and the Horse in the Inns*, of which there were enough to take in the Horse without setting up Mangers in the Cathedral of *St. Paul*. A Party of these Soldiers by Mistake went to the *Excise-Office* to seize the Money there, for which having no Order, the General recall'd them, and wrote a Letter to the Commissioners of the Excise to excuse it, his Intention being only to oblige the City of *London* to pay the Arrears due from them to the Army, and not to take any Part of the Publick Treasure appropriated to other Uses. They took 28000 Pounds out of *Weaver's Hall*, and the Parliament repaid it. The General and Council of Officers had an Address presented them, of the Nature of the former, call'd *The Agreement of the People*, which was a Scheme of future Government suppos'd to be drawn up by *Ireton*, and put it entirely in a Representative of 300 Members, to be chosen after a new Method, and this Parliament to be dissolv'd in April next. Officers and Malignants to be incapable of electing or being elected, &c. The next Day the 12th of December the House voted, *That the Vote for revoking the Order of disabling the Eleven Members, and re-admitting them into the House when a Charge of so high a Nature lay against them, was unparliamentary, and of dangerous Consequence, and was now made null.* They also voted, *That the Vote of this House concurring with the Lords to take off the former Non-Ad-Vote, which forbid any more Addresses to the King, was highly dishonourable to the Proceedings of the Parliament; and apparently destructive to the Good of the Kingdom: Also, That the Vote of Non-Addresses shall stand; and that the Vote for Revocation of them, and that for a Personal Treaty with the King in the Isle of Wight, were highly dishonourable to the Proceedings in Parliament, and apparently destructive to the Good of the Kingdom.* In the mean Time,

A. L. Time the *secluded Members*, who were about 140, by Force or Voluntary in disgust for the Exclusion of their Brethren, publish'd a Pamphlet, entitled, *A solemn Declaration of the Members secluded the House by the Army, that all Acts, Ordinances, Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons since the Seclusion of the Members and Continuance of the Armies Force upon it, are no way Obligatory, but null and void.* The Parliament voted it "to be false, scandalous, and seditious, tending to destroy the Government; and that all who had a Hand in it shall be incapable of any Office or Trust, or to be a Member of Parliament, and that every absent Member before he sit shall disavow the same." Mr. *Prynn* was the suppos'd Author of it; but *Hollis*, *Brown* and the rest of them, approv'd of it. Lieutenant General *Cromwel* was now the visible Head of the Majority in Parliament, and Court was made to him accordingly. He took up his Lodging in *White-hall*, and lay in one of the King's richest Beds. The Lord *Fairfax* acquiesced in all his Counsels, insomuch that when the House sent to him that a Charge might be brought in concerning the secluded Members, he answer'd fully, *The Business is of great Concernment; and I believe the House will not expect a present Answer from me, but I will prepare it as speedily as I can; and in the mean Time desire the House not to trouble themselves to send any more to me about it:* But the same Day sixteen of the secluded Members were set at Liberty by his Order to sit again in the House if they pleas'd, and so might others of them have done, but they neglected their Duty, and gave *Cromwel's* Majority the better Opportunity to execute what he had most wickedly contriv'd, though as yet he did not appear in it, but seem'd to be as much *Republican* as *Vane* or *Ludlow*: Mr. *Lenthall* the Speaker, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and Mr. *Whitlocke* had a Meeting the next Day, *December* the 21st, to confer about the present Affairs, and particularly the Actions of the Army. *Cromwel* was very earnest for a Settlement of the Commonwealth, and desir'd Sir *Thomas Widdrington* and Mr. *Whitlocke*, to draw up a Form of that Settlement, to endeavour to bring the Army into some fitter Temper, and to have the secluded Members readmitted, which Form was to be presented to the House, and the Council of the Army. They with much difficulty undertook the Business, and at the Speaker's House three or four Days after met with several Gentlemen to consult further about the Settlement, *That all might not be left to the Sword*; but here they were left by *Cromwel*, whose Majority having voted to bring the King to a Trial, he resolv'd to terminate that bloody Affair first, and to talk of a Settlement afterwards. When it was debated the 23d of *December* to bring the King as *the greatest Delinquent to Justice*, 'twas objected even in this House of Commons, "That he was not capable of being so brought by his Subjects, but by God alone: That having subdu'd him and his Party, there was no need of any Thing further, than to secure the Parliament from their Enemies rising against them any more, and that might be done without bringing the King to any judicial Trial:" A Thing not read of in any History; whether that may be so or not, we will leave to *Milton*, who however has as much Heat as Argument on this Subject; but as the Parliament did not allow their entering into a War to be *Rebellion*, so surely the King's taking Arms against Tumults and Insurrections could not be *Treason*. Both King and Parliament stren-

uously deny'd that either of them began the War. If it was not the King, the Guilt of the Blood lay not at his Door; If it was the King, which his Majesty and all his Historians do utterly deny; yet what Judicatory could call him to Account? The Lords rejected the Ordinance for his Trial with Indignation, and even that Ordinance was irregularly obtain'd by unheard of Force put upon the Parliament, under the Power of the Soldiery. The Lords *Negative* is as *illegal*. Fundamental a Part of the Laws of *England* as the Commons *Affirmative*; and there can be no Law without their joint Consent; therefore every Act of the governing Powers, from *Pride's* Purge to the Death of the King, is illegal, barbarous and tyrannical, and well deserves an Anniversary of *Humiliation*, if so many of the smaller Clergy did not make such a scandalous Use of it, as to assert Falsities for Truths in the most solemn Places, and defile Divine Service with Invectives against the *Presbyterians*, whom they injuriously charge with the Death of the King; where-as they only in Form and in a Body protested the *Presboldly* against it, as will be prov'd hereafter; and I leave it to the Reader whether Ignorance is an Excuse for so much Malice and Injustice, and they have nothing else to plead for it.

William Lilly, who kept a Sort of Correspondence with the King by Means of Mrs. *Whorwood*, informs us, "That about *September* the Parliament sent their Commissioners with *Isle of* Propositions unto him into the *Isle of Wight*, *Wight* the Lord *William Say* being one. The *Lady* *Whorwood* comes again to me from the King, *Treaty* or by his Consent to be directed: After *Perusal* of my Figure, I told her the Commissioners would be there such a Day; I selected a Day and Hour when to receive the Commissioners and Propositions, and as soon as the Propositions were read to sign them, and make haste to come up to *London*, the Army being then far distant, and the City enrag'd against them. He promis'd he would so do. That Night the Commissioners came, and old *Say* and his Majesty had private Conference till One in the Morning. The King acquaints *Say* with his Intention, who clearly dissuaded him from signing the Propositions, telling him they were not fit for him to sign; that he had many Friends in the House of Lords, and some in the House of Commons; that he would procure more, and that they would frame more easy Propositions. This Flattery of this unfortunate Lord occasion'd his Majesty to wave the Advice I and some others that wish'd his Prosperity had given, in Expectation of that which afterwards could never be gain'd. The Army having some Notice hereof, from one who had an Eye upon old *Say*, hastened unto *London*, and made the Citizens very quiet; and besides the Parliament and Army kept a better Correspondency afterwards with each other." King *Charles* said of this *William Lilly*, *That he understood Astrology as well as any Man in Europe*, and never the fitter for that to make him a Counsellor. *Say* was to have been Lord Treasurer, and his Son *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Secretary of State, if his Scheme had succeeded. If this Account be true then as has been already hinted, his Majesty was not so entirely devoted to Prelacy, as to be a Sacrifice for it; and 'twas in Expectation of what Lord *Say* would do for him, that he defer'd closing with the Parliament till the Army interpos'd and would not let him.

While the Treaty was going forward at the *Isle of Wight*, the *Cavaliers*, as if under a Fatality to destroy themselves and their Master, gave

Secluded Members Protestation against the Parliament.

Fairfax against them.

Trial of the King debated.

A. D. 1648.

Clergy misrepresent the Presbyterians:

How the

Treaty miscarry'd.

P. 63.

A. D. 1648. gave new Provocations by the most execrable and bloody Attempt that ever happen'd in a Christian Country, if such Assassins deserve the Name of Christians. Col. *Rainsborough* had been order'd to command the Blockade of *Pomfret Castle*, surpriz'd by the Traytor *Morris*; and Sir *Henry Cholmley*, who had that Commission from the Committee of *Yorkshire*, thinking himself injur'd, complain'd to the Parliament, who had in Consideration some Means to save the Honour of Sir *Henry*, and content Col. *Rainsborough*; the Latter, while the Affair was in Dispute, took up his Quarters at *Doncaster*, and having no Enemy nearer than *Pomfret*, he thought himself so secure that there was not so strict Guard kept as was convenient: *Morris* having Notice of it sent 40 Horse in the Night from *Pomfret* to *Doncaster*, where they kill'd the Centinel, and three of the *Braves* advancing into the Town, ask'd for Col. *Rainsborough's* Lodgings, which being directed to, they went up Stairs to his Chamber Door, the Colonel a Bed, and said they had a Letter from Lieutenant General *Cromwel*; Col. *Rainsborough* rose, and open'd the Door to them, expecting such a Letter that Morning, and presently the three *Pomfret* Soldiers fell upon him, shot him into the Neck, into the Heart, and gave him other Wounds, tho' one of them had been sufficient to murder him, leaving him dead upon the Place, and making their Escape without any Alarm given. Thus *Whitlocke* tells the Story, and as he is us'd to speak Truth, one may believe him sooner than the Author of the History of the Rebellion, who is us'd to speak the contrary. The Parliament highly resent'd this barbarous Act; and every generous Mind detested it, and the Doers of it. Lieutenant General *Cromwel* was directed to take special Care that the Murder of Col. *Rainsborough* be strictly examin'd into. This detestable Murder is represented in the History as a gallant Action, and the Author is in great Pain for the Murderer *Morris*, who had deserted the Parliament Service, and by Treachery got Possession of *Pomfret Castle*, abusing the Confidence the Parliament's Governor, Col. *Cotterel* had in him, so far as to let him lye in the same Bed, by which Means he got an Opportunity to seize both him and the Castle; *Morris* telling him he should take Courage, for he would get him the King's Pardon. A pretty Fellow to get Pardon for others, who was so near the Gallows himself. This Deserter is a Man of Gallantry, Honour, Loyalty and Trust in the History of the Rebellion; and 'tis to be suppos'd the Reader will judge of the other Characters there by *Morris's*, whom *Lambert* soon after besieg'd, with particular Instructions to secure the Murderers, if possible, that they might have the Reward due to such Criminals. The Historian then tells us a Romantick Story of the Defence those Assassins made, how many of them fought their Way through *Lambert's* Army, and that of the six who were to be deliver'd up to Punishment by the Articles of Surrender, every one made his Escape, as it was permitted them to do, by Battle or otherwise, in so many Days, all which is Invention to honour the Memory of those Cavalier Worthies, who did indeed make their Escape some how or other; but poor *Morris*, as the same Author stiles him, being afterwards taken in *Lancashire*, was hang'd for the Murder, with one Cornet *Blackburn*, another of the Murderers, whom for that Merit the Historian makes a Lieutenant Colonel. There is a Judgment attach'd to the Death of *Morris*; they hung him in the Place where he had before done good Service for the REBELS.

About the same Time a Petition was deliver'd

to the General at St. *Alban's* for Justice upon the principal Invaders of their Liberties, namely the King: 'Twas sign'd by the Officers of Col. *Ingoldsby's* Regiment, and is the first that spoke so plain, which is the more remarkable, because *Col. Ingoldsby* is excus'd by the Lord *Clarendon* as to the Guilt of the King's Death. The Persons to be excepted out of the Indemnity Act, had the Treaty been accomplish'd, were at last reduc'd to seven only; the Lord *Digby*, the Earl of *Newcastle*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Richard Greenvile*, Judge *Jenkins*, Sir *John Winter*, and Sir *Francis Dodington*; Sir *John Winter* was afterwards chang'd for Sir *John Byron*; this small Exception was another Provocation to the Army, who had demanded Justice against a very great Number of Delinquents, that the Confiscations might go to discharge the Arrears due to them. The County of *Somerset* sent up such a Petition as that of *Ingoldsby's* Regiment, which was deliver'd by Sir *Thomas Wroth*; whom *Richard* contemptuously calls one *Wroth*. True it is, the fierce Party in the House of Commons prosecuted their Design against the King with great Eagerness, and those of a contrary Opinion, as *Widdrington*, *Whitlocke*, *Pierrepont*, *Popham*, &c. durst not oppose the others, knowing that they should be presently secluded the House if they did so, or that any Opposition would be to no Purpose. Thus they remain'd passive till the odious Business was over. The fierce Party in the House were so conscious of the Foulness of it, that they endeavour'd to throw it upon the Army, as most proper for such Workmen to do such unheard of unwarrantable Work, and for irregular Men to do an irregular Thing: But the Officers saw through their Design, and resolv'd they should openly avow and share in it at least, if they would not take it all to themselves; and in truth they found too many forward enough to engage in it, insomuch that it was carry'd by Vote in the House of Commons, to name a Committee of thirty eight Persons, to consider of drawing up a Charge, and for that Purpose to receive all Informations and Examinations of all Witnesses for Matters of Fact against the King, and all other Delinquents that may be thought fit to be brought to condign Punishment. The House now did not consist of above 200, and there were hardly so many present when this Vote pass'd; yet the Majority for it was not great, about 20; the rest of the Members, though they were Republicans, not being for proceeding judicially against the King, but for confining him in some safe Place, and taking the Government to themselves as a Commonwealth. This terrible Vote pass'd the 23d of *December*, and two Days after the formidable Committee was appointed, Mr. *Smith* their Clerk came to Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and Mr. *Whitlocke*, Commissioners in *Chancery*, with a Message requiring both of them to attend the Committee that Day, to give them Advice in some Matters of Importance; they both knew what the Business was; and *Whitlocke* said, He was resolv'd not to meddle in the Trial of the King, it being contrary to his Judgment as he had declar'd in the House. Sir *Thomas Widdrington* told *Smith*, he was of the same Opinion, and would have no Hand in it; but he knew not whether to go to be out of the Way, that the Committee might not know whether to send to him. When *Smith* was gone, *Whitlocke* said to *Widdrington*, My Coach is ready, and I was this Morning going out of Town, purposely to avoid this Business, if you please to go with me you may be quiet at my House in the Country till all is over, and I shall be glad of your Company, so they both went

Col. Rainsborough murder'd.

A. D. 1648.

ment demand Justice against the King.

So does the three Addresses.

A Committee to draw up a Charge, and for that Purpose to receive all Informations and Examinations of all Witnesses for Matters of Fact against the King, and all other Delinquents that may be thought fit to be brought to condign Punishment.

Whitlocke and Widdrington refuse to be concern'd in it.

A. D. 1648. went accordingly. The Committee having prepar'd the Charge reported it to the House, *That Charles Stuart had acted contrary to his Trust in departing from the Parliament, setting up his Standard, making War against them, and thereby been the Occasion of much Bloodshed and Misery to the People, whom he was set over for good, that he gave Commissions to Irish Rebels, and since was the Occasion of a second War, and had done contrary to the Liberties of the Subjects, tending to the Destruction of the fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.* This strange Experiment was introduc'd, as most Things were in those precious Times, with a Day of Fasting and Humiliation, when Mr. *Watson* a Presbyterian Minister whom I well remember in the Reign of King *James II.* to be under a severe Prosecution for his Religion, preach'd before the House of Commons, and when the Question was put, Whether he should have their Thanks for it, 'twas carry'd in the Negative, because he did not acknowledge the Parliament. Does not the Reader perceive what *King Killers* the *Presbyterians* then were? And how honest those Writers and Preachers are, who represent them, and inveigh against them as such. *Cromwel's* Majority was so angry with Mr. *Watson*, that it was put to the Vote, Whether there should be any more *set Fasts*? But it drop'd for the sake of Mr. *Brook* and Dr. *Owen*, two other Ministers, who were more grateful to the Army, as the Army was more grateful to them.

While Preparations were making for his Trial, his Majesty was remov'd from *Hurst Castle*, where he liv'd in a most disconsolate Condition, and wrote this Verse of *Ovid* with his Diamond in one of the Windows;

Qui decumbit Humi non habet unde cadet.

Fall'n to the Ground he can no lower fall.

a reasonable Reflection, unaffected and natural, short, like the Reflections of Misery, and not wordy, like the Sentiments in *Eikon Basilike*, which are the more Suspicious, because Passion is an Enemy to Words. Grief never declaims, though it is always complaining, and *Sighs*, as 'tis said that Book was intended to be call'd, cannot be breath'd out in round Periods of 10 and 12 Folio Lines. Col. *Exwer*, who brought the King from *Carisbrook* to *Hurst Castle*, continu'd Governor there with the Charge of his Majesty's Person, and though there is a mighty Clamour made about the *Insalubrity of the Air*, yet *Whitlocke* very particularly observes, *that his Majesty had his Health there*, and all good Accommodations, till he was again remov'd to *Windsor Castle*. Col. *Harrison* came to *Hurst Castle* for him with his Regiment of Horse, and having receiv'd him of Col. *Exwer*, he went into his Majesty's Coach, and rode with him all the Way to the greater Grief of the Earl of *Clarendon*, because he did not keep off his Hat, after the Parliament had voted, that the *Knee and other Ceremonies to the King should be forborn*. On the 21st of *December* they came to *Winchester*, where as *Sanderfon* and *Echard* tells us, the *Honourable Mayor* and *Aldermen* met him at the *Town's End*, and after a Speech presented him with their Mace. Col. *Harrison* gave the honourable Mayor to understand, *That by the Act of no Address to the King their Worships were all Traytors*, which threw them into such a Panick, that though they promis'd never to do so any more in Terms moving enough to create Pity, yet they could not get out of their Heads the Punishment which is due to Treason. The Lord *Clarendon* informs us, that Col. *Har-*

rison was much given to *praying and preaching*, which being such merry Things with him, I wonder his Lordship should give way to them when his Majesty was leading to Destruction. Another Remark is, that though he was a Butcher's Son, yet as a Colonel of Horse and Major General, he was very respectful to the King, and kept himself bare, which contradicts what I said of his keeping on his Hat; but as I took it from Sir *Roger Manly*, and think one Authority as good as the other, the Matter must be left to the Reader. As the King and the Major General rode together in the Coach, his Majesty express'd himself apprehensive of some ill Design against him, by hurrying him away thus from the *Ile of Wight*, and from one Place to another. But the Major General assur'd him the Parliament abhor'd any Thoughts of Proceeding against him otherwise than in an open Manner, which had been intimated to the King before, and made him very desirous to make his Escape when 'twas too late to attempt it, which Col. *Harrison* shew'd he was apprehensive of, and was the more diligent to prevent it. The Lady *D'Aubigny* had brought herself into Trouble by her corresponding with the Cavaliers at *Oxford*, during her Residence at *London* in the first War; and 'twas talk'd that she should be try'd for it. She had lately marry'd the Lord *Newburgh*, who liv'd in the little Park at *Bagshot*, which his Majesty was wont to take great Delight in, and now express'd a great Desire to dine with that Lord and Lady at the *Lodge* there. *Harrison* did not at all like it, but the King shewing he would not be hinder'd, unless it was by force, the Colonel gave way to it, and confented that his Majesty should send a Servant to let the Lady *Newburgh* know he would dine with her; for that Lord and Lady held private Correspondence with him by a Cypher concerted between them, and had given him Notice, that he would be sent for from *Hurst Castle*, advising him to find some Way that he might dine at the *Lodge*, and if he could, to lame his Horse, that he might take another out of the Lord *Newburgh's* Stables, where was kept one of the fleetest in *England*, on which he might mount, and if he could get out of the Company that encompass'd him, he might possibly, by the Swiftness of his Horse, and his own Skill in the most obscure Ways in that Forest, convey himself to another Place, and so to others, where good Horses were laid for him. But Colonel *Harrison* was the most improper Man in the World to be impos'd upon by a small Design; he order'd a Party of Horse to get to *Bagshot* before them, and search all the *Lodge*, and all the Avenues, and the fleet Horse being just then lam'd by a Stroke, the King would not venture upon another, so this hopeful Project came to nothing.

The Lord *Clarendon* beats the *Drum Ecclesiastick* very often, and now he informs us, *That the Preachers*, who had at first been most furious for the War, now preach'd as furiously against all wicked Attempts and Violence against the Person of the King, and foolishly urged the Obligation of the Covenant, there is so much Wisdom in his Lordship's History, that one may be sure when he says a Thing is foolish, that it is so, for the Security of his Person. All the Reason they had to be such Fools was in the Words of the Covenant it self, Article 3d, *We shall with the same Sincerity, Reality and Constancy, in our several Vocations, endeavour with our Estates and Lives, mutually to defend the King's Majesty's Person and Authority.* The other Articles of the Covenant had been obtain'd

by

Charge against the King.

The King remov'd to Windsor Castle.

Mayor of Winchester frighted.

A. D. 1648. by the King's Concessions to the Scots, and at the *Ile of Wight*. The War he had begun was ended, the Causes of it remov'd by those Concessions; and that War to bring Delinquents to Justice, and defend their just Rights, is declar'd to be lawful by the Parliament, which brought in this King's Son, therefore there remain'd no Obligation so strong upon them by the Covenant, as the *Preservation of the King's Person*; for though the *Resistance* they gave him was a main Cause of his present Calamity, yet it cannot be said so much to have involv'd him in it, as the evil Counsels of those evil Counsellors, whom to the last he so obstinately protected against Justice.

A. D. 1648. On *New Years Day* the Names of the Commissioners for the Trial of the King were reported to the House. *Whitlocke* informs us, "They were some of the Lords and Commons, Officers of the Army, Aldermen, and Commanders in *London*, and some Gentlemen from the Counties, in all 150 Persons." But they could not get above 70 or 80 to go through the Drudgery of this wicked Work, and not one of the Peers who were named did meddle in it. These Proceedings were founded on this Vote, *That the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament do declare and adjudge, That by the fundamental Laws of this Realm, it is Treason in the King of England, for the Time to come, to levy War against the Parliament and Kingdom of England.* 'Tis strange they should put in for the future, when their Army could as well have supported the Vote, had they said, *it always was, is, and ever shall be, Treason.* There would have been as much Law in it as in their wording of it. This Vote being sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence by the Lord *Grey of Groby*, they rejected it *Nemine Contradicente*, 17 Lords being present, unless some Hesitation in the Lord *Say* may be term'd Opposition. The Earl of *Pembroke* hearing his Name was inserted in the List of Commissioners for the King's Trial, he loudly exclaimed against it, and refused to act, as did the Lord *Fairfax*, though I can see no manner of Reason for it, after he had contributed so much to that Trial, by suffering *Pride's* Purge to pass, and recommending the Army's Remonstrance to the speedy Consideration of the Parliament, wherein they desir'd, that the capital Delinquent might be brought to Justice. If he could not have hinder'd *Cromwel's* acting as he did, he might have let him act by himself, and his discountenancing the Force put upon the Parliament would have gone a great way in preventing it, considering what a great Majority the *Presbyterians* had in the House before the *Purge*. The Lords adjourn'd for 10 Days, to perplex the Matter as much as lay in their Power, but the Commons voted, *That all their Members, and others appointed to act in any Ordinance, wherein the Lords are join'd with them, shall be empower'd and injoin'd to sit, act, and execute in the said several Committees, notwithstanding the House of Peers join not with them.* They order'd, *That the Ordinance for the Trial of the King, and the declaratory Vote from which the Lords dissented, and which was intended for both Houses, shall now be by the Commons only;* and turning themselves into a grand Committee, they resolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente,*

Vote for Treason in the King.

Vote against the Peers.

Republican Votes.

1. "That the People, under God, are the Original of all just Power.
2. "That the Commons of England assembled in Parliament being chosen by, and representing the People, have the supreme Authority of the Nation.
3. "That whatsoever is enacted, and declar'd

for Law by the Commons in Parliament, hath the Force of Law, and all the People of this Nation are included thereby, although the Consent and Concurrence of the King, and House of Peers, be not had thereunto.

Thus was kingly Government abolish'd before the King was put to Death, for which only Forms were wanting, but such Forms as turn'd Justice into Farce. On the 6th of *January* the Ordinance for the Trial of the King pass'd, and the Scots Commissioners sent a Letter to the Parliament, pressing for *Unity of Counsels between the two Kingdoms, and that they would not proceed to try and execute the King till the Advice of that Nation was had.* But it is not strange that neither the Parliament or Army paid any Defiance to their Interposition, which they so ill deserv'd of them by their late invading the Kingdom in a hostile Manner; and it was not likely their Arguments would succeed, when they had before try'd their Arms in vain.

The King being brought to *Windsor* was delivered to the Governor, Colonel *Whitchcor*, by Colonel *Tomlinson*, who commanded the Troop that guarded him after Colonel *Harrison* left them. The King appear'd to be pretty well satisfy'd with his Removal from *Hurst* thither; he liv'd more at ease, and was more chearful, having so little Intelligence, or Apprehension of what was doing against him, a few Days before his Removal thence to the last Stage of his Life, that he said, *He doubted not but within 6 Months to see Peace in England, and in case he was not restor'd by his Subjects in England, he should be righted from Ireland, Denmark, and other Places.* A very unseasonable Discourse in such a Place, and before such Company.

I can't imagine what Occasion there was for this Falsity in the History of the Rebellion, it gives no Strength to the Party the Author espoues, nor Credit to his Cause: *When the Day came to which the House of Lords adjourn'd, they found their Doors all lock'd.* That was not all, *They found their Doors fasten'd with Padlocks;* when in truth, their Doors were as they us'd to be, and when the Day came they enter'd their House, according to *Whitlocke*, and pass'd several Ordinances. *They debated the last Votes about the Trial of the King, and the publishing something to satisfy the People, upon what Grounds they rejected the Ordinance for his Trial.* But they had enough offended the Parliament and Army already, and so they came to no Resolution. The same Day Sergeant *Dendy*, Sergeant at Arms to the House of Commons, and now acting as such to the Commissioners for trying the King, rode into *Westminster Hall* with the Mace on his Shoulder, Officers attending, and six Trumpets, all on Horseback, and Guards of Horse and Foot in the *Palace Yard*. The Trumpets sounded in the middle of the Hall, and the Drums beat in the *Palace Yard*, after which Proclamation was made, to give Notice, *That the Commissioners for Trial of the King's King would sit to Morrow, the 10th of January, and that all those that had any Thing to say against him might then be heard.* Sergeant *Dendy* made the same Proclamation at the *Old Exchange*, and in *Cheapside*. The Parliament voted, *That the Style of any one particular Person, should not be inserted as the Style of any common Writ, or otherwise, for the Time to come. That the present Great Seal should be broken, and a new one forthwith made. That the Arms of England and of Ireland shall be engraven on one Side of the new Great Seal, with this Inscription; The Great Seal of England. That on the other Side of the Seal shall be the*

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A. D. 1645. *Sculpture of the House of Commons, with these Words engraven on that Side.* In the first Year of Freedom, by God's Blessing restor'd, 1648. The Figures and Inscriptions were the Contrivance of Mr. Henry Marten, a famous Member of this Assembly. At the next Meeting of the Commissioners for the King's Trial, they chose Sergeant Bradshaw to be their President, Mr. Steel to be their Attorney General, Mr. Cook their Solicitor General, and appointed Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Ask to draw up and manage the Charge. They also took to themselves the Name of

The High Court of Justice.

John Bradshaw, Esq; President; the Lord Grey of Groby, the Lord Mounson, Sir John Danvers, Sir Thomas Maleverer, Sir John Bowcher, Sir James Harrington, Sir William Constable, Sir Gregory Norton, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Hardress Waller, Sir Michael Livesey, Sir Henry Mildmay, Lieutenant General Cromwell, Commissary General Ireton, Colonel Ingoldsby, Col. Ludlow, Col. Purefoy, Col. Harvey, Col. Fleetwood, Col. Horton, Col. Hammond, Col. Scroop, Col. Harrison, Col. Pride, Col. Whalley, Col. Hewson, Col. Excer, Col. Stapely, Col. Downs, Col. Dean, Col. Goffe, Col. Lillburn, Col. Walton, Col. Wayte, Col. J. Temple, Col. Peter Temple, Col. Tomlinson, Col. Venn, Col. Moore, Col. Roe, Col. Lassells, Col. Titchburne, Col. Berkstead, Col. Okey, Col. Hutchinson, Alderman Pennington, Alderman Andrews, Alderman Scot, Peregrine Pelham, Esq; John Lisle, Esq; Miles Corbet, Esq; Cornelius Holland, Esq; Mr. Francis Allen, Thomas Challoner, Esq; John Challoner, Esq; John Allured, Esq; Henry Smith, Esq; Mr. Humphry Edwards, Mr. John Fry, William Careley, Esq; Gregory Clement, Esq; Henry Wallop, Esq; Mr. Nicholas Love, Mr. Vincent Potter, John Carew, Esq; William Say, Esq; Simon Mayne, Esq; Daniel Blagrove, Esq; John Dixwell, Esq; Thomas Wogan, Esq; Mr. John Blakeston, Mr. Gilbert Millington, William Heveningham, Esq; Henry Marten, Esq; Mr. — Dove, Augustine Garland, Esq; John Jones, Esq;

Officers attending the Court.

Mr. Recorder Steel, Attorney General.
Mr. John Cook, Solicitor General.
Dr. Dorislaus, Sergeant Ask, to draw up the Charge, and manage it.
Col. Humphrey Sword Bearer.
Col. Fox, Captain of the Guard of Partizans.
Mr. Phelps, Mr. Broughton, Clerks to the Court.
Mr. Dendy, Sergeant at Arms.
Wolfred Payne, Radley Powell, — Hull, Messengers.
Israel King, Cryer.

There were many others nam'd in the Commission who refus'd to act, and sit in Judgment, though they are crowded into some Lists.

William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker, Lord Fairfax, General, Major General Skippon, Colonel Desborough, Col. Duckenfield, Col. Lambert, Col. Maynwaring, Col. Overton, Col. Rigby, Col. Sydney, Col. Rowland Wilson, Col. Fenwick, Sir William Allison, Sir William Armyn, Sir William Brereton, Sir Godfrey Bosvile, Sir Edward Baynton, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Sir Thomas Honeywood, Sir Peter Wentworth, Sir William Roberts, Sir Peter Temple, Sir John Barrington, Sir William Maffam, Phil. Lord Lisle, Alderman Forwkes, Alderman Atkins, Mr. Ber-

ners, Sergeant Thorp, Mr. Bond, Mr. Boon, Mr. Corbet, Mr. Fagg, Sergeant Nicholas, Mr. Hill, Mr. Skinner, Mr. Trenchard, Mr. Nelthorp, Mr. Nutt, Mr. R. Salway, Mr. H. Salway, Mr. Weaver, Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Lavery, Mr. Gourdon, Mr. Darley, Mr. Burrel, Mr. Aislaby, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Gratzwick.

A. D. 1645.

Some there were who sat a Day or two out of Curiosity, or as one would hope, with good Intention to do the King Service, for as soon as they found that their Fellow-Commissioners were resolv'd Men, and that there was no going back if they sat longer, they deserted the Commission, and appear'd no more among the Commissioners, as the Lord Mounson, Lord Grey, Sir John Danvers, Col. Lassells, Col. Harvey, Sir James Harrington, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Henry Mildmay, Henry Wallop, Esq; Thomas Challoner, Esq; Mr. Fry, Mr. Dove; though Echard assures us, the Lord Grey of Groby, Sir John Danvers, and both of the Temples, stay'd to the last of the Trial, and sat when Sentence was given.

On the 13th of January the High Court of Justice sat for the Trial of the King. The Names of the Commissioners being call'd over, *High Court* those that were absent were summon'd to make of *Justice.* their Appearance, which some of them evaded, and others, particularly Col. Rowland Wilson, positively deny'd. They agreed that the Place of Trial should be Westminster Hall, at the End where the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench are kept, both which were thrown into one, and the Term was adjourn'd 14 Days on account of the Preparation for the Trial. Some Members of the House of Commons mov'd, that the Ordinance for Adjournment of the Term should be sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence, but the Majority oppos'd it, as a waving of their own Authority, they having pass'd an Act for it without the Lords, who on the 18th of January sent down an Ordinance which they had pass'd, notwithstanding the Earl of Clarendon had put Locks and Padlocks on their Doors to shut them out of their House, to the Commons for their Concurrence. It was to the same Effect as to the Adjournment of the Term, but the Commons laid it aside; as this Ordinance was to forward the Trial of the King; and as the Lords sat after the High Court of Justice was at work, it shews that their Lordships would have continu'd to sit if the Commons would have let them, tho' they abhor'd all the Steps that were taken for putting the King to Death.

On the 19th of January the King was brought from Windsor to St. James's, by Order of the High Court, where Mr. Hugh Peters waited upon him; and his Majesty desiring one of his Chaplains might attend for his Satisfaction in some Scruples of Conscience, Dr. Fuxon, Bishop of London, was order'd to go to him the next Day. Col. Tomlinson continu'd to command the Guard about his Majesty, who, as Echard writes, was a Man of better Breeding than Colonel Harrison, but behav'd with greater Rudeness and Barbarity. The Earl of Clarendon and the Archdeacon's Histories of the ensuing Tragedy, are so larded with Untruth and Libel, that it takes off much of the Horror which the bloody Action naturally excites. Echard introduces it with a State of the Nation, written by a considerable Writer, whose Name however he is asham'd of, and ought to have been asham'd of his Writing, made up of Presbyterians, Rebellion, Malignants, Rebels, Episcopacy, Rebellions, vilest Instruments, rotten Members, Traytors, Essex, Tower Hill, Coven-

A. D. 1642. *nant, Stalking Horse, Almanacks, Blasphemy, Sedition, Madness, City of London, Calvinism, Levites, Rabbskahs, Caterpillars, Locusts, &c.* He says he writes down all these peaceable Things that he may take a little rest, though a sensible Man might as well sleep in a Hurricane.

Whitlocke.

On Saturday the 20th of January, the Commissioners of the High Court of Justice met in the Painted Chamber, and proceeded thence to the Court erected for them in Westminster Hall; the President, Sergeant Bradshaw, had the Sword carry'd before him by Col. Humphry, the Mace by Sergeant Dendy, and 20 Gentlemen attended as his Guard of Partizans, commanded by Col. Fox. After an O Yes, and Silence made, the Act of the Commons for sitting of the Court was read, an Act of no more Validity than if it had been made by the Clerk who read it, for those Commons were not the Parliament of England, no, not the House of Commons of England, the much greater Number of the Members being driven out, and kept out by the Soldiers. When the Court was call'd, 60 of the 150 Commissioners appear'd and answer'd to their Names. The King was brought from St. James's to Whitehall, and from thence by Water, guarded by Musketeers in Boats, to Sir Robert Cotton's House near Westminster Hall, and from thence to the Bar of the Court, attended by Col. Tomlinson and Col. Hacker, the former afterwards knighted, and the latter hang'd in the next Reign. Thirty Officers and Gentlemen waited with Halberts behind his Majesty's Chair of Crimson Velvet within the Bar. The Commissioners were all cover'd, and so remain'd. The King also kept his Hat on, and paid no Reverence to these pretended Judges, most of whom, as Soldiers, were wont to wear Helmets and Head-pieces, but now they charg'd their Sovereign bare fac'd, arm'd with the Civil and Military Power of England, which they so highly abus'd and dishonour'd, putting the most daring Affront on the very Name of Justice. Echard assures us, that the President Bradshaw was so afraid of being knock'd on the Head, notwithstanding his two Guards of Partizans, and Halberdiers, and 3 or 4000 Horse and Foot surrounding the Hall of Justice, that he wore a thick high Crown'd Beaver Hat, lin'd with plated Steel, to ward off Blows, and that this Hat, as much a Nonentity as it apparently is, is kept as a Rarity in the Museum in Oxford, as well to shew the Sagacity as the Loyalty of that famous University. This high crown'd Hat did not at all become his scarlet Robe, his crimson Velvet Chair of State, his Desk before it with a crimson Velvet Cushion, prepar'd for his judicious Loll, the like of which I have seen in other Places, as Emblems of Authority and Gravity. The Judges knew full well that the King would not submit to such an illegal Tribunal. They knew if he had submitted it would have been of no use to him; for if he had escap'd with Life, that insolent and tyrannical Attempt to try him for it, could not have gone off with Impunity. They had, it is true, got Witnesses enough to prove the King had been in several Actions where much Blood was spilt, and no doubt there were Thousands who could prove, that they had seen him in Arms at Edgehill, Brentford, Newbury, Naseby, &c. But that was not the Case, if the King began the War, of which they were not, and could not be proper Judges, being all of them Parties; he was not then accountable to that Court. If he did not begin the War, every Action which he was in was in his own Defence, and the Blood shed not to be laid at his Door. Instead of talking reasonably upon it, the Earl of Clarendon, Sir Roger Manly,

and Archdeacon Echard, declaim in the Stile of the Fish-Market, Rogues, Rebels, Hellish Rogues, Incarnate Devils, Pettifoggers, Brewers, Carmen, Coblers, Goldsmiths, Impudent, Execrable, Impious, Nonsense, Imperious, Impiously Impious, Barbarians, Miscreants, Butchers, Bloody Keepers and Slaughterers, Enthusiasticks, Fanaticks, and a great deal more of it, with such a Confusion of Rage and Ribaldry, as turn this truly tragical Scene, which plainly told dissolves the most obdurate Mind with Compassion and Tenderness, into railing and raving. To shew a just Resentment is natural, but to bellow and foam at the Mouth shews that these Men had some other Wound besides that which was given the Publick. I shall follow Whitlocke's Relation of the King's Trial, who must be better acquainted with it than any one of these Historians.

The President made a short Speech to the King, acquainting him with the Cause of his bringing thither in order to his Trial, upon a Charge against him by the Commons of England, which was then to be read, and his Majesty to give his Answer to it. The King offer'd to speak before reading of the Charge. And when Mr. Broughton the Clerk began to read it, his Majesty interrupted him, saying, *I am not intrusted by my People, they are mine by Inheritance*, as Ludlow words it, who was present, but it is an odd way of wording it; and if one was Heir to Cattle or Swine it could not be more coarsely worded. After this Interruption the Charge was read, by which he was charg'd by the "Name of Charles Stuart, King of England, as guilty of all the Blood that had been shed at Keinton, Brentford, Newbury, and other Places where he had been present in Arms against the Parliament, and other Particulars very large." The King paus'd at the Reading of the Charge, and after it was read, demanded of the President, "By what lawful Authority he was brought thither." He was answer'd, as Harry Marten now directed, "In the Name and Authority of the Commons in Parliament assembled, and the good People of England." Cromwel had told the Commissioners, that the King would certainly make that Demand, and Marten immediately help'd them to that Answer. The King reply'd, "He saw no Lords there, which should make a Parliament, including the King." He agreed, "That the Kingdom of England was Hereditary and Successive, and he should betray his Trust if he acknowledg'd or made Answer to them, for that he was not convinc'd that they were a lawful Authority." As most true it is, they were not, and the King could not acknowledge them without betraying his Trust. Besides, he had as good have pleaded Guilty as have pleaded at all, for plead or not plead he was sure to be condemn'd and to suffer, and this Formality of a Trial was an Aggravation of the Injustice and Barbarity. The President having requir'd his Majesty again and again to answer, and being always refus'd, as the Court expected, the King was remanded to Sir Robert Cotton's House, and thence to St. James's; while Cromwel and his Companions went to Whitehall to keep a Fast together, which most of them must do with the greatest Impiety and Hypocrisy; for though probably Ludlow, Scroop, and other Republicans, might really believe what they had voted to be true, that the Original of just Power was in the People, and that the Arguments us'd by Milton were sufficient to satisfy their Consciences, I say, tho' in this case Commonwealth's Men might be so far deluded, as to think they were

A. D. 1647. were doing a solemn Act of Justice, and that it was their Duty to implore the Assistance and Blessing of the Almighty, yet *Cromwell* and his Emissaries, who were no *Commonwealth's Men*, must be the greatest Hypocrites that ever dissembled with God and Man, in praying for the abolishing of what they call'd one Tyranny, on Purpose to set up a worse in the Place of it.

Before *Cook* the Solicitor began to read the Charge, the King held up his Cane, and laid it softly upon *Cook's* Shoulder three Times, bidding him *Hold*; and before that, when the Names of the Commissioners were to be call'd over, the First in the Act being the Lord *Fairfax*, and no Answer made, he was call'd again, when a shrill Voice from one of the Boxes where the Ladies were, was heard, saying, *He has more Wit than to be here*; and afterwards when the Charge was read, *In the Name of all the good People of England*, the same Voice cry'd, *No not the tenth Part of them*, which I believe was true. This surpriz'd and offended both the Court and Officers, who order'd Inquisition to be made whence and from whom was that Voice, threatening to shew their Resentment, but not to let fly at the Lady, as *Echard* and other such Writers affirm. Upon Inquiry, it was found to be the General's Wife, the Lady *Fairfax*, who spoke thus, and she was perswaded to leave the Place after having given such Offence. *Manly* informs us she said the tenth Part only, *Echard* that it was the hundredth. He cannot help magnifying and diminishing, as he fancies it is for the Glory of his Cause. The King leaning on his Cane, the Head made of Gold fell off on a sudden, which it might very well do by his Majesty's leaning upon it with more Weight than usual, considering what Attention he might give to the Proceedings of the Court; and yet *Echard* tells us that Incident made so great Impression on the King's Mind, that he could not help discovering it to *Bishop Juxon*, and neither he nor the *Bishop* could discover how it happen'd, tho' methinks the Discovery was not very difficult. The Reverend Historians take Notice of the falling off of the Top of his Majesty's Cane, and tell us that the Commonwealth's Men were so brutal, none of 'em would stir to take it up, which he was forced to do himself. Another notorious Falshity! For *Lilly*, who was then present, says, *I saw the Top of his Staff unexpectedly fall off to the Ground, which was taken up by Mr. Rushworth*. It was urged to the King, when he insisted so much on the Authority of the Court, "That the Commons assembled in Parliament could acknowledge no other Sovereign but God, for that upon his and the People's Appeal to the Sword for the Decision of their respective Pretensions, Judgment had been given for the People, who conceiv'd it to be their Duty not to bear the Sword in vain, and had appointed this Court to make Inquisition for the Blood that had been shed in this Dispute."

On Monday the 22^d of January the Court met again, and Mr. *Cook*, Solicitor General, mov'd, "That whereas the Prisoner had refus'd to make Answer to the Charge against him; That now he might be directed to make a positive Answer, either by Way of Confession or Negation; which if he shall refuse to do, That the Matter of the Charge might be taken pro Confesso, and the Court might proceed according to Justice." The President then requir'd the King to answer to the Charge against him by the Commons of England. The King confess'd, "When he was last here he made Question of their Authority, and should have

A. D. 1647. satisfy'd himself with the Protestation he then made against the Legality of the Court." But he said, "It was not his Case alone that he stood for, but the Freedom of all the People of England; for if they without Law may make or alter Law, no Subject can be safe for his Life, or any thing that he calls his own." Then he said, "He would give his Reasons why in Conscience, and the Duty he ow'd to God first, and his People next, for the Preservation of their Lives, Liberties, and Estates, he conceiv'd he could not answer, till he were satisfy'd of the Legality of it."

President "Sir, I must interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you say is not agreeable to the Proceedings of any Court: You appear as a Prisoner before this Court, and are not to dispute their Authority, but to give a punctual Answer to the Charge."

King. "Sir, By your Favour, I do not know the Forms of Law; I do know Law and Reason: Though I am no Lawyer profess'd, but I know as much Law as any Gentleman in England; and therefore, under Favour, I do plead for the Liberties of the whole People of England more than you do; and therefore if I should impose a Belief upon any without Reasons given for it, it were unreasonable; but I must tell you, that by the Reason that I have, as thus informed, I cannot yield unto it."

President. "Sir, I must interrupt you; you may not be permitted: You speak of Law and Reason, it is fit there should be Law and Reason, and there is both against you. Sir, the Vote of the House of Commons in Parliament is the Reason of the Kingdom, by Law you should have rul'd and reign'd. Sir, you are not to dispute our Authority: You are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken Notice of that you stand in Contempt, and your Contempt will be recorded."

King. "I do not know a King can be a Delinquent; let me tell you they may put in Demurrers against any Proceedings as legal; and I demand that, and to be heard with my Reasons. If you deny that, you deny Reason."

President. Sir, you have offer'd nothing to the Court. I shall speak something to you, the Sense of the Court. Sir, neither you, nor any Man, are permitted to dispute that Point: You are concluded, you must not demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court: If you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer. They sit here by the Authority of the Commons of England, and all your Predecessors and you are responsible to them."

King. "I deny that, shew me one Precedent."

President. "You ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you. This Point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it. If you offer it by Way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have consider'd of their Jurisdiction, and do affirm their own Jurisdiction."

King. "I say, by your Favour, that the Commons of England were never a Court of Judicature: I would know how they came to be so."

President. "Sir, You are not permitted to go on in that Speech and these Discourses."

Then the Clerk of the Court read this aloud:

"Charles Stuart, King of England, you have been accus'd on the Behalf of the People of England

A. D. 1647. " England of High Treason, and other Crimes ;
" the Court have determin'd that you ought to
" answer the same.

A. D. 1647. to answer, the King perpetually refuses it.
Bradshaw knew his Majesty would not and could
not own the Authority of an unlawful Court,
and the King knew it would signify nothing as to
his Safety if he had own'd it.

King. " I will answer the same as soon as I
know by what Authority you do this.

President. " If this be all you will say, then
Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner,
take Charge of him back again.

King. " I do require that I may give in my
Reasons why I do not answer, and give me
Time for that.

President. " 'Tis not for Prisoners to re-
quire.

King. " Prisoners, Sir, I am not an ordinary
Prisoner.

President. " The Court hath consider'd of
their Jurisdiction, and they have already af-
firm'd their Jurisdiction. If you will not an-
swer, we shall give Order to record your De-
fault.

King. " You never heard my Reasons yet.

President. " Sir, your Reasons are not to be
heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

King. " Shew me what Jurisdiction, where
Reason is not to be heard ?

President. " We shew it you here, The Com-
mons of England ; and the next Time you are
brought you will know more of the Pleasure
of the Court, and it may be their final Deter-
mination.

King. " Shew me wherever the House of
Commons were a Court of Judicature of that
kind ?

President. " Serjeant, take away the Pri-
soner.

King. " Well, Sir, remember that the King
is not suffer'd to give in his Reasons for the
Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.

President. " Sir, you are not to have Liberty
to use this Language. How great a Friend
you have been to the Laws and Liberties of
the People, let all England and the World
judge.

King. " Sir, under Favour, it was for the Li-
berty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject,
that ever I took to defend my self with Arms ;
I never took up Arms against the People, but
for the Laws.

President. " The Command of the Court
must be obey'd ; no Answer will be given to
the Charge.

King. " Well, Sir.

Then the Officers guarded the King back again
to Sir Robert Cotton's House.

As he went out of the Court down the Stairs,
he said, *He was not so much troubled for any of
the Blood that had been shed, as for the Blood
of one innocent Man, the Earl of Strafford.*
Indeed his Majesty had not so great Concern up-
on him on that score as he gave out, especially
if what we are told is true, that having receiv'd
a List of the Slain at *Edgehill* Fight, some Days
after at *Oxford* he call'd for a Comedy of *Ben-
Johnson's*.

Westminster-Hall was very much crowded every
Day of the King's Trial, and some who sat
on the Scaffolds did not forbear to exclaim aloud
at the Proceedings of the Court, and the irreve-
rent Usage of the King by his Subjects, insomuch
that the Court was interrupted, and the Officers
and Soldiers had much to do to quiet the Ladies
and others. It was indeed a preposterous Bu-
siness, which could not be seen without Indigna-
tion, *Bradshaw* perpetually commands the King

The next Day, *January 23.* the *High Court
of Justice* sat again, and Mr. *Cook* the Solicitor
mov'd, " That whereas the Prisoner, instead of
giving Answer to the Charge against him, did
still dispute the Authority of the Court ; That
according to Law, if a Prisoner shall stand as
contumacious in Contempt, and shall not give
an issuable Plea, Guilty or Not Guilty, where-
by he may come to a fair Trial, that as by
an implicit Confession it may be taken *pro
Confesso*, as it hath been done to those who
deserved more Favour than the Prisoner, and
that therefore speedy Judgment be pronounced
against him.

President. " Sir, you have heard what is mo-
ved by the Council in Behalf of the Kingdom
against you. Sir, you may well remember ;
and if you do not, the Court cannot forget,
what dilatory Dealing the Court hath found at
your Hands. You were to propound some
Questions ; you had our Resolution upon
them. You were told over and over again,
that the Court did affirm their own Jurisdi-
ction ; that it was not fit for you, nor for
any other Man, to dispute the Jurisdiction of
the supreme and highest Authority of *Eng-
land*, from which there is no Appeal, and
touching which there must be no Dispute ;
yet you did persist in such Carriage as you gave
no manner of Obedience, nor did you acknow-
ledge any Authority in them, nor the high
Court that constituted this Court of Justice.
Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that
they are very sensible of these Delays of yours,
and that they ought not, being thus authoriz'd
by the supreme Court of *England*, to be thus
trifled withal ; and that they might in Justice,
if they pleas'd, and according to the Rules of
Justice, take Advantage of these Delays, and
proceed to pronounce Judgment against you.
Yet nevertheless they are pleas'd to give Di-
rections, and on their Behalf I do require you,
that you make a positive Answer to this Charge
that is against you. Sir, in plain Terms, (for
Justice knows no Respect of Persons) you are
to give your positive and final Answer in plain
English, whether you are guilty or not
guilty of these Treasons laid to your
Charge.

King. (*After a little Pause*) " When I was
here Yesterday, I desir'd to speak for the Li-
berties of the People of *England* ; I was in-
terrupted : I desire to know yet whether I
may speak freely or not ?

President. " You have had the Resolution of
the Court upon the like Question the last Day,
and you were told, that having such a Charge
of so high a Nature against you, your Work
was, that you ought to acknowledge the Juris-
diction of the Court, and to answer your
Charge. Sir, if you answer to your Charge,
which the Court gives you leave now to do,
tho' they might have taken Advantage of your
Contempt, yet if you be able to answer your
Charge, when you have once answer'd, you
shall be heard at large, make the best Defence
you can. But, Sir, I must let you know from
the Court as their Command, that you are not
to be permitted to issue out into any other Dis-
courses till such Time as you have given a po-
sitive Answer concerning the Matter that is
charg'd upon you.

A. D.
1648.

King. " For the Charge, I value it not a Rush: It is the Liberty of the People of *England* that I stand for; for me to acknowledge new Laws that I never heard of before. I that am your King, that should be an Example to all the People of *England*, to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws: Indeed I do not know how to do it. You spoke very well the first Day I came here on *Saturday*, of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God to the Maintenance of the Liberties of my People; the same Obligation you spoke of, I do acknowledge to God that I owe to him and to my People, to defend, as much as in me lies, the ancient Laws. Therefore until that I may know that this is not against the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by your Favour, I can put in no particular Answer. If you will give me Time, I will shew you my Reasons why I cannot do it, and thus ———

Here being interrupted, he said,

" By your Favour, you ought not to interrupt me. How I came here I know not, there's no Law for it, to make your King your Prisoner. I was in a Treaty upon the publick Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known ——— Two Houses of Parliament, that was the Representative of the Kingdom; and when that I had almost made an End of the Treaty, then I was hurried away, and brought hither, and therefore ———

Here the President said,

" Sir, you must know the Pleasure of the Court.

King. " By your Favour, Sir ———

President. " Nay, Sir, by your Favour, you must not be permitted to fall into these Discourses, you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledg'd the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you; but once more they command you to give your positive Answer. Clerk, do your Duty.

King. " Duty, Sir! ———

Then the Clerk read a Paper, requiring the King to give a positive and final Answer, by Way of Confession or Denial of the Charge.

King. " Sir, I say again to you, so that I might give Satisfaction to the People of *England* of the Clearness of my Proceedings, not by Way of Answer, nor in this Way, but to satisfy them that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a new Court against their Privileges, to alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, Sir, you must excuse me.

President. " This is the third Time that you have publickly disavow'd this Court, and put an Affront upon it; but how far you have preserv'd the Liberties of the People, your Actions have spoke it: But truly, Sir, Mens Intentions ought to be known by their Actions, you have written your Meaning in bloody Characters throughout the Kingdom. But, Sir, you understand the Pleasure of the Court. Clerk, record the Default. And, Gentlemen, you that took the Charge of the Prisoner, take him back again.

King. " I will say this one Word more to you: If it were my own Particular, I would not say any more to interrupt you.

President. " Sir, you have heard the Pleasure of the Court, and you are (notwithstanding you will not understand it) to find that you are before a Court of Justice.

A. D.
1648.

Then the King went forth with his Guards, the People crying *Justice, Justice*, to Sir Robert Cotton's House, where he lay, and the Commissioners adjourn'd to the Painted Chamber, which was their usual Place of Meeting.

On the 24th of *January* the High Court of Justice meeting again in the Painted Chamber, sent an Usher to *Westminster-Hall* to tell the People there assembled, that the Court was busied in examining Witnesses relating to the Charge against the King, and should not fit in *Westminster-Hall* that Day, but that all Persons appointed to be there were to appear on further Summons. *Echard* very merrily describes the Witnesses, *Wretched impertinent Fellows, of mean Condition and profligate Lives, scarce one of them a Gentleman.* As for Instance, after his own List:

William Cuthbert of *Pottrington* in *Holderness*, Gent. *William Brayne* of *Wixall* in the County of *Salop*, Gent. *Gyles Joyce* of *Wellington* in the County of *Salop*, Gent. *John Unison* of *Damorbham* in the County of *Wilts*, Gent. *John Moore* of *Cork* in *Ireland*, Gent. *Thomas Rawlins* of *Hanslope* in the County of *Bucks*, Gent. *Samuel Burden* of *Lincolne* in the County of *Wilts*, Gent. *Henry Gooche* of *Gray's-Inn*, Gent. &c.

But as the Facts to be prov'd were the King's being in Arms, does that wise Historian think the High Court of Justice could want Witnesses of all Qualities to prove them, after so many Battles and Sieges, wherein above 200000 Men were at several Times engag'd with him. No doubt they took the first that offer'd, and it was not a Work that Men of the most Honour would be forward in.

On the 25th of *January* the Court met again in the Painted Chamber, and examin'd Witnesses to prove the Setting up of the Standard by the King at *Nottingham*. The Witnesses were *Robert Lacy* Painter, *Samuel Lawson* Malster, *Thomas Whittington* Cordwainer, all of the Town of *Nottingham*; and several others swore, *They saw the King in several Fights with his Sword drawn.* What *Echard* tells us of the Consultation about the Manner of the King's Death, is both false and incredible: *Some were for hanging, drawing, and quartering; some for hanging him in his Crown and Robes.* I can't imagine where he pick'd up such pitiful Materials for his *Historiography*. His Invention is too poor to furnish it, as wretched as it is, and there is not a Word of it in all the Writers I have met with.

On the 26th of *January* the Council publish'd the Heads of the Charge against the King, to prepare People to receive the Sentence they had resolv'd to pronounce the next Day. 'Twas express'd thus:

" That *Charles Stuart* being admitted King of *England*, and therein intrusted with a limited Power to govern by and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise; and by his Trust being obliged, as also by his Oath and Office, to use the Power committed to him for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the Preservation of their Rights and Privileges;

" Yet nevertheless, out of a wicked Design to erect and uphold himself in an unlimited tyrannical Power to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, yea, to take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all Remedies and Remedy of Misgovernment, which

" by

A. D. 1648. " by the fundamental Constitution of this Kingdom, were reserved on the People's Behalf; in the Right and Powers of frequent and successive Parliaments as national Meetings in Council.

" He the said Charles Stuart, for Accomplishment of his Designs, and for the protecting of himself and his Adherents in his and their wicked Practices, to the same Ends hath traiterously and maliciously levy'd War against the present Parliament, and the People therein represented, then they nam'd Nottingham, Beverley, and other Places where Fights were. And then go on;

" That he hath caused and procur'd many Thousands of the free People of the Nation to be slain, and by Divisions, Parties and Insurrections within this Land, and by Invasions from foreign Parts endeavour'd and procur'd by him, and by many other evil Ways and Means. His giving Commissions to his Son the Prince, and other REBELS and Revolters both English and Foreigners, and to the Earl of Ormond, and to the Irish REBELS and Revolters associated with him, from whence further Invasions upon this Land are threaten'd, upon the Procurement, and on the Behalf of the said Charles Stuart.

" All which wicked Designs; and evil Practices of him the said Charles Stuart, have been, and are carry'd on for the advancing and upholding of the personal Interest of his Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to himself and Family, against the publick Interest; common Right, Liberty, Justice and Peace; of the People of this Nation, by and for whom he was entrusted as aforesaid; by all which it appeareth, that he the said Charles Stuart hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author and Contriver of the said unnatural, cruel and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Defolations, Damages and Mischiefs to this Nation, acted or committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby.

Upon this Charge; and the King's Default of Plea being recorded, Solicitor Cook demanded of the Court, that they would proceed to Judgment, accordingly the Matter came into Debate in the Painted Chamber, and after some Arguments pro and con, it was resolv'd there, *That the King as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a publick Enemy, should be condemn'd to Death, by severing his Head from his Body;* and this Sentence was order'd to be engros'd, that it might be read the next and last Day of the Trial.

King condemn'd.

On the 27th of January the High Court of Justice sat in Westminster Hall; the President, for the greater State of the Business array'd in Scarlet. *Eckard*, and the common Writers take the Robe to be put on as a Symbol of the bloody Sentence, as if *Bradshaw* had been honest enough to have thought there was more Blood in it than in other Sentences of Death; the Commissioners were for the most part in their best Array, and after they were call'd over, about 68 then present, the King came in with his former Attendance, and in his wonted Posture, with his Hat on. As he pass'd by into the Hall a Cry was made, *Justice, Justice, Execution, Execution*, by some Soldiers and others of the Rabble. *His Majesty desir'd to be heard.* The President answer'd, *that he must hear the Court*, and then declar'd their Intentions to proceed against the Prisoner, but offer'd what he might speak so it were not Matter of

Debate. The King said, *A hasty Judgment was not soon recall'd.* The President enumerated the Prisoner's several Contempts and Defaults. Yet notwithstanding they did allow he should be heard what he had to say in defence of himself, as to the Charge against him; his Majesty reply'd, " If he had any Respect to his Life more than to the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, he certainly should have made a particular Defence, for by that at least he might have delay'd an ugly Sentence which he believ'd would pass upon him. But now having something to say that concerns both, he desir'd before Sentence to be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons: He insisted that this Delay could not be prejudicial to them. And if they refus'd this he protested, that those fair Shews of Liberty and Peace were pure Shews, and that they would not hear their King. *Bradshaw* told him, That this was declining the Jurisdiction of the Court which was supreme, and tending to set up another, or a co-ordinate Jurisdiction, in Derogation of the Power whereby the Court sat, and to the manifest Delay of their Justice." The King answer'd, That " if he did not say any Thing before the Houses, but what was for the Peace of the Kingdom, and Liberty of the Subject, then the Shame should be his." The King's vehement urging of this Point, which *Ludlow* intimates, was with Design to resign his Kingdom to his Son, had such effect upon the Court, particularly *Colonel Downs*, *Col. Harvey*, *Col. Walton*, and *Mr. Carewey*, that they prevail'd with them to adjourn to the Court of Wards, and consider his Majesty's Proposal. *Col. Downs* there objected against the Validity of the Witnesses; according to *Eckard's* most authentick Memoirs, as if Witnesses could possibly be wanting for Facts done in the Face of 20 or 30000 Men; but *Cromwel* brow-beats him, and threaten'd him with favouring his old Master. Several of the Commissioners press'd to satisfy the King's Desire, and give him a Hearing in the Painted Chamber, but it was carry'd in the Negative by the major Vote; upon which *Col. Harvey*, *Lord Mounson*, and others before-mentioned, went away in discontent, and never sat with them afterwards. When the Commissioners return'd to the Court in Westminster Hall, the King was told, that they could not agree to his Demand. " That they were met there as a Court of Justice commissioned by the Parliament, of whose Authority they were fully satisfy'd, that by their Commission they were not authoris'd to receive any Proposals from him, but to proceed to the Trial of him. That in order thereto his Charge had been read to him, to which if he had pleaded, the Council for the Commonwealth were ready to prove it against him. That he had thrice demurr'd to the Jurisdiction of the Court, which Demurrer the Court had over-rul'd and register'd, in order to proceed against him as if he had confess'd the Charge, and that if he had any Propositions to make, it was proper for him to address to the Parliament, and not to them." His Majesty insisted on his former Desire. " He confess'd it was a Delay; but a Delay of very great Importance for the Peace of the Kingdom, which he look'd upon as much as his own Person, therefore he requir'd them, as they would answer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, that they would consider it once again." *Bradshaw* reply'd, " They had consider'd it fully already, and were ready to proceed to Sentence if he had nothing more to say."

A. D. 1648.

A. D. 1643. "say." The King answer'd, *That he had nothing more to say, and desir'd what he said might be enter'd.* I have by me the Argument which Cook the Solicitor had prepar'd in case the King had pleaded; and though I know little of Law Matters, yet I can see plain enough there is as much Law Learning in it as the Subject would bear, and as much forcible Eloquence as in any of the Speeches in the *History of the Grand Rebellion*, which was made by the Historian, who speaks very contemptibly of Cook not only as he was the Parliament's Lawyer, but as he was a Lawyer. The Subject is indeed shocking and terrifying to the last Degree, but it will serve to shew how wicked Men may become, even in Judgment as well as Interest and Passion.

It begins thus,

Coke's
Answer to
the King's
Plea.

May it please your Lordship,
MY Lord President, and this High Court, erected for the most comprehensive, impartial, and glorious Piece of Justice, that ever was acted and executed on the Theatre of England, for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart, whom God in his Wrath gave to be a King to this Nation, and will, I trust, in great Love, for his notorious Prevarications and Blood-guiltiness, take him away from us.

The horrid Impiety of it makes one tremble, and there is nothing can reconcile one to the hearing of it, but the reflecting that in a few Pages more we shall find the Man who speaks it brought to Account himself for this Wickedness, and receiving his Reward.

As this must be far from a delightful Subject to moderate Persons, so I shall insert but little of it. He proceeds,

Before I speak of the War it will be necessary for the Satisfaction of rational Men, to open and prove the King's wicked Design, wherewith he stands charged. Now that he had from the Beginning of his Reign such a Design and Endeavour so to tear up the Foundations of Government, that Law should be no Protection to any Man's Person or Estate will clearly appear by what follows.

By his not taking the Oath so fully as his Predecessors did, that so when the Parliament should tender good Laws to him for the Royal Assent, he might readily answer, that he was not oblig'd by Oath to confirm, or corroborate the same.

By his dishonourable and perfidious Dealing with his People at his Coronation, when he set forth a Proclamation, that in Regard of the Infection then spread through the Kingdom, he promis'd to dispense with those Knights that by an old Statute were to attend at the Coronation, who were thereby requir'd not to attend, but did notwithstanding in a few Months after take the Advantage of their Absence, and rais'd a vast Sum of Money out of their Estates at the Council Table, where they pleading the said Proclamations for their Justification, they were answer'd, that the Law of the Land was above any Proclamation, like that Tyrant, who when he could not by Law execute a Virgin, commanded her to be deflower'd and then put to Death.

By his altering the Commissions and Patents to the Judges, who having heretofore had their Places granted to them so long as they should well behave themselves therein; he made them but during Pleasure, that so if the Judges should not declare the Law to be as he would have it, he might remove them, and put in

such as should not only say but swear, if need were, that the Law was as the King would have it. A. D. 1643.

At the Clofe he says,

Upon all which Premises, May it please your Lordship, I do humbly demand and pray the Justice of the High Court; and yet not I, but the innocent Blood that hath been shed in the three Kingdoms demands Justice against him. The Blood is vocal, and cries aloud, &c.

For my self, I bless God, I have not so much Fear as comes to the thousandth Part of a Grain. It is for a Cain to be afraid, that every Man that meets him will slay him. I am not much solicitous whether I die of a Consumption or by the Hand of Ravilliac's, I leave that to my heavenly Father; If it be his Will that I shall fall by the Hands of Violence, it is the Lord, let him do what he pleaseth. If my Indentures be given in before the Time of my Apprenticeship be expir'd, and I be at my Father's House before it be Night, I am sure there is no Hurt in all this. If I have but so much Time left, I shall pray my Father to forgive the Murderer; the Blood of Christ can wash away Sins of the deepest Stain: But know this, ye that have contriv'd any desperate Intentions against those honourable Justices, who have made you Free-men, unless you will return to Egypt; if God in Wrath to you and Love to any of his People should suffer you to imbrue your Hands in any of their innocent Blood, either you will repent or not; if you repent, it will cost you ten Times more Anguish and Grief of Heart than the Pleasure of the Sin can cause Delight; if you repent not, it had been better for you, you had never been born, &c.

The President as usual made a Speech before passing Sentence, which Echard, so good a Judge of such Things, says, *was long and insolent, that he misapply'd Law and History, taking up and wresting whatever he thought fit for his Purpose.* I do verily believe he has so done, but I do say the Archdeacon knows too little of History or Law to be a proper Judge of it. Ludlow, who heard the Speech, writes thus of it.

"Then the President enlarg'd upon the horrid President Nature of those Crimes of which he had been Brad-accus'd, and was now convicted, declaring shaw's that the only just Power of Kings was deriv'd from the Consent of the People, that whereas the People had invited him to see their Laws put in Execution, he had endeavour'd throughout the whole Course of his Reign, to subvert those good Laws, and to introduce an arbitrary, tyrannical Government in the Room of them; That to cut off all Hopes of Redress, he had attempted from the Beginning of his Reign, either wholly to destroy Parliaments, or to render them only subservient to his own corrupt Designs; that though he had consented, the publick Necessities so requiring, that this Parliament should not be dissolv'd, but by an Act of themselves, he had levied War against them, that he might not only dissolve them, but by the Terror of his Power for ever discourage such Assemblies from doing their Duty. That in this War many Thousands of the good People of England had lost their Lives; that in Obedience to what God commanded, and the Nation expected, the Parliament had appointed this Court to make Inquisition for this Blood, and to try him for the same: That

"this

A. D. 1647. "his Charge had been read to him, and he requir'd to give an Answer to it, which he having thrice refus'd to do, he acquainted him that the Court would proceed to Sentence." The President said further in his Speech, "That by Law Kings were accountable to their People, and to the Law, which was their Superior; and he instanc'd in several Kings who had been depos'd and imprison'd by their Subjects, especially in the King's native Country, where, of 109 Kings, most were depos'd, imprison'd or proceeded against for Mis-government; and his own Grandmother remov'd, and his Father, an Infant, Crown'd. He exhorted him to think seriously of the Crimes of which he had been guilty, and to purge himself of them by Repentance." At the End of his Speech he commanded the Clerk, Mr. Phelps, to read the Sentence, which recited the Charge; for all which Treasons and Crimes, the Court does adjudge that he the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy, shall be put to Death by severing of his Head from his Body. Echard says, While the President was pronouncing this, which by the way he did not pronounce, the King was observ'd, with a sort of Smile, to lift up his Eyes to Heaven, as appealing to the Divine Majesty. He desir'd to be heard, but it would not be permitted, being after Sentence; and as he return'd through the Hall, there was another Cry, Justice and Execution. 'Tis very probable the Soldiers were set on by Lieutenant Colonel Axell, and other fierce Officers to make this Clamour, and that a Rabble was plac'd there on purpose; for 'tis most certain that the Nation in general abhorr'd this Action and the Actors; and I cannot write of it without Tremour; but it always naturally leads me to the melancholy Reflection on those proud avaritious Counsellors, who kept the King so many Days in contesting the Point of Bishops and Bishopricks at the Isle of Wight, as gave the Army Time to draw to a Rendezvous, and break off a Treaty, which if it had not been for that Contest, might have ended happily, long enough before Cromwel was at Leisure to interpose in it, and King and Parliament having come to an Agreement, and the Army it self being divided, the Soldiery must have comply'd with it. I detest this Injustice and Cruelty so much, that I can almost fall in with the Ribaldry and Rage of Echard, Manly, Sanderson, and other such Writers; and tho' they talk with equal Nonsense and Fury I can bear it at this Time, and throw aside Milton against Saumaise, as hating to hear even a Pretence to Sense and Reason upon a Subject which I think is not capable of it, a Way of judging which I will not observe in any other Case, and cannot indeed be allowable in any other. This is most true, that the most publick, earnest and unfeign'd Endeavours were us'd by the Presbyterians, and especially by their Ministers, to prevent the King's Trial and Death; and as Echard had the following History before him, in Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, he shew'd his very great Candor and Sincerity in sinking of it, and is there in all Pagan History a Parellel for the Baseness, Ignorance and Ingratitude of those of his Brethren, who on the Anniversary for the King's Death, in Cathedrals and other Churches, charge the whole Body of the Presbyterians with the Guilt of it? Mr. Calamy and other Ministers waited on the Lord Fairfax, and earnestly sollicitated him to declare himself, and rescue the King; but his Trouble had so discompos'd him that he could not be argu'd with; and the Army carrying every Thing

The Presbyterians earnestly endeavour so save the King.

before them, the Ministers publish'd a Declaration, wherein they set forth,

A. D. 1647.

"That they appear'd at first for the Parliament, on the Propositions and Orders of the Lords and Commons, June the 10th, 1642, for bringing in of Money and Plate, wherein they were assur'd it should be no otherwise employ'd than to maintain the Protestant Religion, the King's Authority, his Person in his royal Dignity, the free Course of Justice, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, against any Force which should oppose them. That they were wholly unsatisfy'd with the Proceedings, since the Exclusion and Imprisonment of the Members of the House of Commons, and held themselves bound in Duty to God and Religion, the King, Parliament and Kingdom, to profess before God, Angels and Men, that they verily believ'd the taking away the Life of the King in the Way of Trial, then depending, was not only not agreeable to any Word of God, the Principles of the Protestant Religion (never yet stain'd with the least Drop of the Blood of a King) or the fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom, but contrary to them; as also to the Oath of Allegiance, the Protestation of May 5, 1641. and the solemn League and Covenant; from all which or any of which Engagements, they knew not any Power on Earth able to absolve them or others. At last they warn'd and exhorted, in the Name of the great God, all that belong to their Charges and Ministry, to keep close to the Ways of God, the Rules of Religion, the fundamental Constitution, and Government of the Kingdom, not suffering themselves to be seduc'd from it, by being drawn to subscribe the late Models or Agreement of the People, which directly tended to subvert the fundamental Government, and to mourn bitterly for the Sins of all Degrees of Men, and beg of God that he would restrain the Violence of Men, that they might not dare to draw upon themselves and the Kingdom the Blood of their Sovereign." This was subscrib'd by; Cornelius Burges, D. D. William Gouge, D. D. Edmund Stanton, D. D. Thomas Temple, D. D. George Walker, Edmund Calamy, B. D. Jeremy Whitaker, Daniel Cardrey, William Spurstow, D. D. Lazarus Seaman, D. D. Simeon Ash, Thomas Case, Nicholas Proffet, Thomas Thorowgood, Edward Corbet, Henry Roborough, John Downham, Arthur Jackson, James Nalton, Thomas Carwton, Charles Oshings, Samuel Clark, Joseph Wall, Francis Roberts, Matthew Haviland, Samuel Bolton, John Sheffield, William Harrison, William Fenkyn, John Viner, Elidad Blackwell, John Crosse, John Fuller, William Taylor, Peter Wirham, Francis Peck, Christopher Love, John Wallis, D. D. Thomas Watson, William Wickins, Thomas Mannton, D. D. Thomas Gouge, William Blackmore, Robert Mercer, Ra. Robinson, John Wells, Jacob Tice, Paul Ruffel, John Glascock, Benjamin Needler, John Stileman, Joshua Kirby, Thomas Whately, Nathaniel Staniforth, Josias Bull, Arthur Barham, Jonathan Lloyd, Steven Watkins, John Devereux.

Their Ministers Declaration against his Death.

Of these all that are in Italick were turn'd out of their Livings as soon as this King's Son, Charles II. was restor'd; only for being Presbyterians, and most of the others were dead before it, or they had also met with the same Gratitude and Justice. One of them, Mr. Christopher Love, suffer'd Death for endeavouring that King's

A. D. 1649. Restoration; and another of them, Mr. *William Jenkyns*, was condemn'd for the same Endeavours, but repriev'd to die in *Newgate* afterwards, only for being a *Presbyterian*. And let us make our solemn Appeal to Posterity, what Sort of Mortals these must be, as to Sense, Charity and Humanity; for as to Religion, they can apparently be of none, that have past Sentence of Damnation in their Sermons, on all these Ministers and their Brethren, for killing this very King, whom with so much Boldness and Truth they labour'd to save: Here they publicly protested against the *King's Trial*, against the *Agreement of the People*, in Defiance of that victorious Army, who were Authors of both; and how they are thank'd for it we may hear every *Thirtieth of January*, not from Vicars and Curates only, in obscure Villages, but from Doctors and Dignitaries, in Cities and Universities, whose Knowledge or whose Conscience must be very extraordinary.

Whitlocke makes a judicious Reflection on the Behaviour of some Persons towards the King after Sentence. "Here we may take Notice of the abject Baseness of some vulgar Spirits, who seeing their King in that Condition, endeavour'd in their small Capacity, further to promote his Misery, that they might a little curry Favour with the present Powers:" Some of the very same Persons were afterwards as clamorous for Justice against those that were the King's Judges, as his Majesty foretold they would be, when they cry'd *Justice and Execution*. The Judges of the High Court of Justice, who were present and stood up to shew their Assent, when Sentence past on the King, were:

Serjeant *Bradshaw* President, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Commissary General *Iretton*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, *John Lisle*, Esq; Sir *John Borwickier*, *William Say*, Esq; *William Heveningham*, Esq; Alderman *Pennington*, *Henry Marten*, Esq; Col. *Puresoy*, Col. *Barkstead*, Col. *Thomlinson*, *John Blakiston*, Esq; *Gilbert Millington*, Esq; Sir *William Constable*, Col. *Ludlow*, Col. *Hutchinson*, Sir *Michael Livesey*, Col. *Titchburn*, Col. *Roe*, Col. *Scroop*, Col. *Dean*, Col. *Okey*, Col. *Hereson*, Col. *Goffe*, *Cornelius Holland*, Esq; Col. *Ingoldsby*, *John Carew*, Esq; *John Jones*, Esq; *Miles Corbet*, Esq; *Francis Allen*, Esq; *Peregrine Pelham*, Esq; *Daniel Blagrove*, Esq; Col. *Walton*, Col. *Harrison*, Col. *Whalley*, Col. *Pride*, Col. *Ewers*, Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Col. *More*, *John Alured*, Esq; *Henry Smith*, Esq; *Humphry Edwards*, Esq; *Gregory Clement*, Esq; *Thomas Wogan*, Esq; Sir *Gregory Norton*, Col. *Ven*, Alderman *Scot*, Alderman *Andrewes*, *William Carewey*, Esq; Col. *Stapely*, Col. *Dorven*, Col. *Horton*, Col. *Hammond*, *Nicholas Love*, Esq; *Vincent Potter*, Esq; *Augustus Garland*, Esq; *John Dixswell*, Esq; *Symon Mayne*, Esq; Col. *Fleetwood*, Col. *J. Temple*, Col. *P. Temple*, Col. *Waytes*, Col. *Libburn*, *Thomas Chaloner*, Esq;

Echard.

The Author of the History of the *Rebellion*, to make these poor Wretches poorer than they were, upbraids them with their Obscurity, and says the King knew but two of all his Judges before the Troubles, Sir *John Danvers*, and Sir *Henry Mildmay*. He cannot help it, though the Speaking Truth here could not much mend the Matter. The Lord *Mounson* and Mr. *Holland* were his Domestick Servants before the Troubles: And *Larry* tells us, that *Mounson*, the Lord *Grey of Groby*, and *Danvers*, did not sit the last Day of the Trial.

A. D. 1649. I have often wonder'd why it was that his Majesty made Choice of Dr. *Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, to assist him in his Devotions, when he was preparing for Death, having such able Men as Dr. *Sanderfon* and Dr. *Hammond* among his Chaplains. Whatever Discourses I have met with of Dr. *Juxon's*, seem to me the most cold and lifeless; and in the last Hours there could not be too much Piety and Fervour. The Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* do not overabound in such Sort of Sensibility, and therefore they speak as well of this Bishop's Devotion as of Bishop *Usher's*, or Bishop *Hall's*. But many Years after I had made this Observation; the Bishop of *Salisbury's* Memoirs told us, *Juxon did the Duty of his Function with a dry Coldness, which could not raise the King's Thoughts*; and *Ludlow* relates it still with more Contempt. *Adjutant General Allen* was sent to acquaint Dr. *Juxon* with the King's Condition, and Desires that he might attend him. *The Doctor being altogether unprepar'd for such a Work, broke out into these Expressions*; God save us, What a Trick is this, that I should have no more Warning, and I have nothing ready; but recollecting himself a little, he put on his Scarfe and his other Furniture, and went with him to the King, where having read the Common Prayer, and one of his old Sermons, Bishop *Juxon* administered the Sacrament to him, not for-on's Degetting to use the Words of the Confession set down in the Liturgy, inviting all those that with the truly repent to make their Confessions before the King. *Congregation, tho' there was none present but the King and himself*. If any Thing could give one Offence against the Use of that excellent Form, it would be this miserable Instance; that a grave Doctor and Bishop should have Recourse to the ordinary Form in the most extraordinary Case that ever happen'd in divine Worship, and when it was hardly possible for a thinking Man to consider the Condition his Majesty was in without pouring out his Soul to Almighty God in his Behalf. If General *Ludlow* tells us the Truth, this is the saddest Effect which the too common Use of a holy Thing ever produc'd.

The High Court of Justice appointed a Committee, Commissary General *Iretton*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, Col. *Harrison*, Col. *Dean*, and Col. *Okey*, to inspect the Posts about *Whitehall*, for a convenient Place for the Execution of the King, who having made their Report to them, it was agreed that a Scaffold should be erected for that Purpose near the *Banqueting-House*, and Orders given to cover it with Black. The same Day that Sentence past, Dr. *Juxon* preach'd the old Sermon *Ludlow* mentions, in the King's private Lodgings at *Whitehall*; and his Majesty would not admit any one to his Presence, except his Children, that he might not be disturb'd in his Contemplations. His Electoral Highness, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, and Earl of *Southampton*, having got Leave, desir'd to see him, and came to his Bed-chamber Door, but was told by Mr. *Herbert*, his Groom, that his Majesty desir'd them not to take it ill, but he could not then see them. Two or three Historiographers inform us, that these noble Lords offer'd to lay down their Lives to save the King's; and I do verily believe these Lords would cheerfully have done it; though I cannot believe they ever offer'd it, as being too absurd for such Noblemen to offer what could not be accepted according to the Sense of the Men in Power; for the Death of an innocent cannot satisfy for the Crimes of a guilty Person, as they impudently and injuriously stil'd his Majesty.

A. D. 1648. The Barbarity of the Treatment his Majesty met with is a Scandal to Christianity, and one would think 'twas impossible to make it worse than it was; yet the Writers on the same Side with *Eckard* have so done, at the Expence of Truth and Credibility. For some Nights, says one of 'em, a Guard of Soldiers was kept within his Chamber, who with talking, clinking of Pots, opening and shutting of the Door, and taking Tobacco there, (a Thing very offensive to the King's Nature) should keep him watching, that so by distemp'ring and amazing him with want of Sleep, they might the easier bring him to their Terms. From this worthy Author *Eckard* borrows the pretended Proposal of the *Grande'es of the Army*, who are feign'd to tender to the King a Paper Book on the 28th of January, with Promise of Life, and some Shadow of Regality, if he would subscribe it, and agree to Pass an Act of Parliament for keeping on foot this Army, with Power to recruit and increase it to 40000 Horse and Foot, &c. which being really never propos'd to him, there is no Need of repeating his Majesty's Answer. This faithful Historian says, *The King lay at Whitehall the Day on which Sentence pass'd, and Sunday Night so near the Place appointed for the Separation of his Soul and Body, that he might hear every Stroke the Workmen gave on the Scaffold, where they wrought all Night. This was a new Device to mortify him; and this is the honest Way of Writing in the History of the Rebellion, Manley, &c.* Whereas, in Truth, the King, as *Eckard* tells us, was remov'd to *St. James's* two or three Hours after Sentence; and *Ludlow* assures us, that the *Banqueting House* was not appointed for the Place where the Scaffold should be erected till the next Day, Monday the 29th of January. These Historiographers matter not either Probability nor Credibility, and the Archdeacon is Master of their Manner. Himself owns that the King and the Bishop of *London* were left by themselves in Acts of Devotion; but the Historian he copies from tells us, *The Parliament appointed John Goodwin of Coleman-street, the Balaam of the Army, that curseth and blesteth for Hire, to be Superintendent both over King and Bishop, so that they could hardly speak a Word together without being overheard by the long schismatical Ears of black-mouth'd John.* Tho' every Word of this too is false, yet the Politeness and Eloquence carries it off, and there being such a History written by so exact, so fine, and so orthodox an Author, there was no need of the *History of the Rebellion*, and but little of the Archdeacon's, whose Story about Col. *John Cromwel's* bringing another Paper-Book to Lieutenant General *Oliver Cromwel* from the States of *Holland*, to write what he would in it, to be confirm'd by King and Prince, if he would save his Majesty's Life, having no better Authority than the other Paper Book to the King, and being not within the Bounds of the *Probable* and *Credible*, shall be left where it is. The King's refusing the Prayers of Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caryl*, Mr. *Dell*, and Mr. *Goodwin*, all whom he dismiss'd according to *Eckard*, is very grateful to him; and the laying the Burthen of his Conscience on Bishop *Fuxon* only, is recommended as a Piece of Christian Heroism. However, those Ministers, and all the *Presbyterian* Ministers, did pray for him, as they were in Duty bound, and particularly one Mr. *Cawton*, a *Presbyterian* Minister, pray'd for him so heartily, that the *Grande'es* threw him into Prison, and he has no Thanks for it from the Archdeacon.

The Interview between the King and his

Children the Day before Execution is so moving, that there is not a tragick Scene in any Drama which can affect one like it. The Tenderness of it is exquisite, and much easier to be conceiv'd, or to be felt, than to be express'd. They were not long together, but long enough to be near Dissolution in Grief and Tears. His Majesty King's Dis- kifs'd the Princess *Elizabeth*, and bad her re- course with member to tell her Brother *James*, whenever she bis Chil- dren. saw him, 'twas his Father's last Command, *That he should no more look upon Charles as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient to him as his Sovereign; That they should love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies.* The King added, *Sweetheart, you'll forget this.* She reply'd, *No never while I live shall I forget it;* and pouring forth a Deluge of Tears, promis'd to write down the Particulars. The King took the Duke of *Gloucester*, then in the ninth Year of his Age, upon his Kneec, saying, *Sweetheart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head.* Upon which Words the young Prince look'd very stedfastly on him: *Mark, Child, what I say, they will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee King; but, mark what I say! you must not be a King so long as your Brothers Charles and James do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads when they can catch them, and cut off thy Head too at last; and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them.* The young Prince with a Sigh said, *I will be torn to Pieces first.* Which falling so unexpectedly from a Lad, made his Majesty rejoice exceedingly. The following Relation is what the Princess *Elizabeth*, then in the 14th Year of her Age, wrote down as she promis'd.

“ What the King said to me the 29th of January, 1648. being the last Time I had the Happiness to see him. He was glad I was come, and altho' he had not Time to say much, yet somewhat he had to say to me which he had not to another, nor did he leave in Writing, because he fear'd their Cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wish'd me not to grieve and torment my self for him, for that would be a glorious Death that he should die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop *Andrewes's* Sermons, *Hooker's* Ecclesiastical Polity, Bishop *Laud's* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground me against Popery. He told me he had forgiven all his Enemies, and hop'd God would forgive them also, and commanded me and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother that his Thoughts had never stray'd from her, and that his Love should be the same to the last. Withal, he commanded me and my Brothers to be obedient to her, and bid me fend his Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendations to all his Friends. So after he had given me his Blessing, I took my Leave. Further, he commanded us all to forgive those People, but never to trust them, for they had been most false to him, and to those that gave them Power, and fear'd also to their own Souls, and desir'd me not to grieve for him, for he should die a Martyr, and that he doubted not but the Lord would settle his Throne upon his Son, and that we should be all happier than we could have expected to have been if he had liv'd; with many other Things which at present I cannot remember.

ELIZABETH.
His

A. D. 1647. His Majesty said to the Duke of Gloucester as before, and commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him. He then gave them all his Jewels except the George he wore, kiss'd them, embrac'd them, and parted from them in an Emotion, which must affect every one with Sorrow something like it.

Warrant for Execution.

Fifty-nine or sixty of the Judges sign'd the Warrant for the King's Execution. They are the same who sat when Sentence pass'd, excepting William Heveningham, Esq; Alderman Pennington, Col. Thomlinson, Cornelius Holland, Esq; Francis Allen, Esq; Alderman Andrewes, Col. Hammond, Nicholas Love, Esq; who were either absent, or refus'd to sign it. The Warrant was directed to Col. Francis Hacker, Col. Huncks, and Lieutenant Colonel Phayer, and to every of them. This Tragedy is interrupted in Echar'd with an idle Story told to him by a Yorkshire Woman, the Forgery of which is naked and undisguis'd. There was a Cabal of Papists and Anabaptists who met at one Wandesford's House in the City of London, to consult about the King's Execution. Rusworth the Historian and Lilly the Almanack-maker are the Heads of this Cabal, and they also sent a Paper Book to the King for him to subscribe, taking upon himself the Guilt of all the Bloodshed in the War; in which Case they, Lilly the Almanack-maker, Rusworth the Historian, and the Lord Baltimore more a Papist, would set him upon his Throne again. Tho' this Story is so very foolish, yet it is related by him with as much Gravity as if it was true. Is it not very likely that Lilly the Conjuror should be so weak as to pick out Wandesford's House, who was a Cavalier, to carry on such a Cabal in? And had not Rusworth 100 Friends in the City in whom they could confide, and in whose Houses they might have met? The Gentlewoman from whom he had this lamentable Tale dy'd in the Year 1705. and his Chronology is to confirm it.

Lilly the Almanack-maker calls for the King.

The Execution of the King.

On the Morning of the dreadful Day, January the 30th, the King rose very early, and call'd up Mr. Herbert, who lay by his Bed-side on a Pallat. Bishop Juxon came to him some Time after, and perform'd Divine Service, reading the 27th of St. Matthew, the History of our Saviour's Passion. The King supposing it had been selected on Purpose, as his Majesty might well think, and not that the Bishop would take the Run of the Day on so extraordinary an Occasion, thank'd the Bishop for his seasonable Choice, but that Prelate undeceiv'd him; It was the Lesson appointed by the Calendar for the 30th of January. Having taken the blessed Sacrament, and had Notice by Col. Hacker, That it was Time to go to Whitehall, where his Majesty might have some further Time to rest, the King came out with the Bishop and Mr. Herbert about Ten a Clock. He walk'd thro' the Gardens into the Park, guarded with a Regiment of Foot and Partizans to Whitehall, several Gentlemen walking bare before him; Dr. Juxon follow'd next to him, and Col. Thomlinson had the Charge of him. They brought him to the Cabinet Chamber at Whitehall, where he remain'd some Time at his Devotion. There were two or three Dishes of Meat provided, if he had thought fit to have din'd, but he refus'd, having communicated just before, and about Twelve a Clock eat half a Manchet and drank a Glas of Claret. From thence he went with Dr. Juxon, Col. Thomlinson, Col. Hacker, and the Guards, through the Banqueting House, adjoining to which the Scaffold was erected. It was hung round with Black, the Floor cover'd with Black, and the Ax and Block laid in the Middle of it. Several

Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot were posted on each Side of the Scaffold, and great Multitudes of People came to be Spectators. His Majesty look'd earnestly on the Block, and ask'd, If there was no Place higher, and, directing his Speech to Col. Thomlinson, and the Gentlemen on the Scaffold, spoke to this Effect: I shall be very little heard of any Body here, I shall therefore speak a Word or two to you here. Indeed I could hold my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace would make some Men think that I did submit to the Guilt as well as to the Punishment; but I think it is my Duty to God first, and to my Country, for to clear my self, both as an honest Man, and a good King, and a good Christian.

A. D. 1647.

I shall begin first with my Innocency: In Troth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the Two Houses of Parliament; and I call God to Witness, to whom I must shortly make an Account, that I did never intend for to incroach upon their Privileges.

They began upon me: It is the Militia they began upon. They confess'd that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me; and to be short, if any Body will look to the Dates of Commissions, theirs and mine, and likewise to the Declarations, they will see clearly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I.

So that as to the Guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope in God that God will clear me of it; I will not, I am in Charity, God forbid that I should lay it upon the Two Houses of Parliament. There is no Necessity of either.

I hope they are free of this Guilt, for I do believe that all Instruments between them and me have been the chief Cause of this Bloodshed; so that by Way of Speaking, as I find my self clear of this, I hope and pray God that they may too.

Yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say that God's Judgments are just upon me. Many Times he does pay Justice by an unjust Sentence, that is ordinary. I only say this, that one unjust Sentence that I suffer'd for to take Effect, is now punished by an unjust Sentence upon me; that is, so far I have said to shew you that I am an innocent Man.

Now, for to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is a good Man [Pointing to Dr. Juxon] that will bear me Witness that I have forgiven all the World, and even those too in particular that have been the chief Causers of my Death. Who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know. I pray God forgive them.

But this is not all, my Charity must go farther; I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that Particular. I pray God with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their Charge; nay, not only so, but that they may take the right Way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for Charity commands me not only to forgive particular Men, but to endeavour to the last Gasp the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish with all my Soul; and I do hope there is some here that will carry it further, that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.

Now, Sirs, I must shew you how you are out of the Way, and will put you in a Way. First, you are out of the Way, for certainly all the Way you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the Way of Conquest.

Certainly

A. D. 1648. Certainly this is an ill Way, for Conquest, Sirs, in my Opinion, is ever just, either for Matter of Wrong, or just Title, and then if you go beyond it, the first Quarrel that you have to it, that makes it unjust at the End that was just at first.

But if it be only Matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate said to Alexander, That he was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber; and so, Sirs, do, I think, the Way that you are in is much out of the Way.

Now, Sirs, to put you in the Way, believe it, you will never do right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give Him his Due, the King his Due (that is my Successors) and the People their Due. I am as much for them as any of you can be. You must give God his Due, by regulating rightly his Church according to his Scripture, which is now out of Order. For to set you in a Way particularly now I cannot, but only this, a National Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not.

Then turning to a Gentleman that touch'd the Ax, he said, Hurt not the Ax that may hurt me.

For the King, the Lawes of the Land will clearly instruct you, for that therefore because it concerns my own particular I only give you a Touch of it.

For the People, and truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any Body whomsoever, but I must tell you, that their Liberty and their Freedom consists in having of Government, those Lawes by which their Life and their Goods may be most their own.

It is not for having Share in Government, Sirs, that is nothing pertaining to them, a Subject and a Sovereign are clean different Things, and therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty, as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, It was for this that now I come here, if I would have given way to an arbitrary Way, for to have all Lawes changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you, and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge, that I am the Martyr of the People.

In truth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer, for I will only say this to you, that in troth I could have desir'd some little longer Time, because that I would have put this that I have said in a little more Order, and a little better digested it than I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuse me. I have delivered my Conscience. I pray God that you do take those Courses that are best, for the good of the Kingdom and your own Salvation.

Then Dr. Juxon spoke, Though it be very well known what your Majesty's Affections are to Religion, yet it may be expected that you should say somewhat for the World's Satisfaction in that Particular.

King. I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my Conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known to the World, and therefore before you all I declare, That I die a Christian according to the Profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Fathers, and this honest Man I think will witness it.

Then turning to the Officers he said,

Sirs, excuse me for this Time, I have a good

Cause, and I have a gracious God. I will say A. D. no more. 1648.

Then turning to Col. Hacker, he said, Take Care that they do not put me to pain, and, Sir thus, and it please you.

Then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King said, Take heed of the Ax. Pray take heed of the Ax.

He then said to the Executioner. I shall say but very short Prayers, and then thrust out my Hand.

Two Men in Disguises and Vizors stood upon the Scaffold for Executioners, then the King call'd to Dr. Juxon for his Night Cap, and having put it on he said to the Executioner, Does my Hair trouble you? He desir'd it might all be put under the Cap, which the King did accordingly, with the Help of the Executioner and the Bishop.

Then the King turning to Dr. Juxon, said, I have a good Cause and a gracious God on my Side.

Dr. Juxon. There is but one Stage more. This Stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one, but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great Way, from Earth to Heaven, and there you will find a deal of cordial Joy and Comfort.

King. I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no Disturbance can be.

Dr. Juxon. You are exchang'd from a temporal to an eternal Crown. A good Exchange.

Then the King took off his Cloak and his George, which he gave to Dr. Juxon, saying, Remember. Being undress'd to his sky Colour Satten Waste-Coat, he had the Executioner fasten the Block, and after a few Words of Ejaculation he laid his Neck down upon it, bidding him stay for the Sign, which was the stretching out his Hand, and that being given, his Head was at one Blow sever'd from his Body, the Executioner holding it up, the Soldiers and Rabble gave a great Shout, but all sober People that saw it wept bitterly, and the Lamentation over the whole Kingdom was deep and universal, excepting the Actors in this Tragedy, and their Adherents. Some Remarks might be made on his Majesty's insisting so much upon his dying a Martyr for the Lawes, which no King of England had ever broken more than he had done; a Martyr for the People, who had labour'd under a heavier and longer Oppression in the first fifteen Years of his Reign than they had suffer'd in 150 Years before. But I am too much mov'd with writing this tragical Scene to have any such ungenerous Sentiments towards a suffering Prince, and shall leave the last Speech as it is left in Whitlocke to the Reader's own candid Reflections.

The Council of State after the King was beheaded, was willing to know the Meaning of his last Expression, Remember, and call'd Dr. Juxon before them, to give an Account of it, who told them, That the King immediately before his coming out to the Place of Execution, had charg'd him to carry to the Prince his George, with these his two last Commands, That he should forgive his Murtherers; and that if ever he came to the Crown he should so govern his Subjects, as not to force them upon Extremities.

Echard always over does every Thing that he has a mind to praise or dispraise; he has not Judgment to know and stop at a Medium. The King's Death struck all reasonable Minds with Horror. But that Women, and particularly a Dutch Commonwealth Woman should miscarry at the News only, is no more credible than what

A. D. 1647. *Sanderfon*, another such Historian says of it, that a Relique of the Block or Sand being apply'd to a blind Woman's Eyes at *Deptford* she was immediately restor'd to fight.

As to this King's Character, 'tis seen best in his History; for what the Lord *Clarendon* and *Echard* after him, say of it, is no more his Picture than it is their own. If *Bishop Burnet* has any Likeness, he died greater than he liv'd, and shew'd, that which has been said of the whole Race of the *Stuarts*, that they bear Misfortune better than Prosperity. "His Reign, both in Peace and War, was a continual Series of Errors, so that it does not appear that he had a true Judgment of Things: He was out of measure set on following his Humour, but unreasonably complying to those whom he trusted, chiefly the Queen. He had too high a Notion of the Regal Power, and thought that every Opposition to it was *Rebellion*. He minded little Things too much, and was more concern'd in the Drawing of a Paper, than in fighting of a Battle. He was too much inclin'd to the middle Way between a Protestant and Papist. He engag'd the Duke of *Rohan* in the War of *Rochelle*, and then forsook him. He was the Occasion of the Loss of the Liberty of the *Spanish Netherlands*, &c." For there is too much of it to be taken entire, and every Word diametrically opposite to the Earl of *Clarendon* and Archdeacon *Echard's* Harangues. I take no Notice of what the latter tells us, of the Papists being concern'd in the King's Death, though I read it in a more faithful History, *Calamy's Life of Baxter*, for there is not the least likelihood that the *Romanists*, who had been so highly favour'd, and had fought and suffer'd so much for him, should be so solicitous to have his Head off, to make room for a Puritan Republick, who they might be sure would not fail to suppress, if not to extirpate them. All his Authorities have no Weight in the Scale against this simple and plain Argument. The Archdeacon, that he might go beyond all Historians in the Perfection of this King's Character, assures us there was nothing wanting towards it, but that he should have been *more resolute and more imperious*. Two Qualities which all the World agree to be his chief Characteristicks. I do not mention the pious Endeavours of the Queen, the Prince, and the States of *Holland*, to save the King's Life, they all having been unsuccessful, as they had never any likelihood of Success, for after the Parliament had pass'd an Act for the Trial of the King, and he had been try'd and condemn'd, the Issue could not be other

Papists not concern'd in his Death.

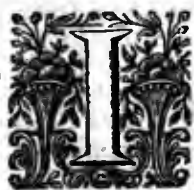
than it was with any manner of Safety to all that were concern'd in it. The Head and Trunk were put into a Coffin cover'd with black Velter, and convey'd into the Lodgings at *Whitehall*, where the Body was embowell'd by the Army's Surgeon, and thence carry'd to St. *James's*, and put into a Lead Coffin, with this plain Epitaph, KING CHARLES, 1648. About a Fortnight after some of the King's Friends, the Duke of *Lennox*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *London*, obtain'd leave to bury it; accordingly they remov'd it to *Windsor Chapel*, and bury'd it in the Vault of King *Henry VIII.* without the Form in the *Common Prayer Book*, the Governor, Col. *Whicheot*, not permitting it, it being put dozen, and therefore should not be us'd in that Garrison where he commanded; for which the Colonel shew'd no better Judgment than the Archdeacon does in making so much ado about it.

The High Court of Justice having reported their Proceedings to the Parliament, the latter declar'd, *That the Persons employ'd in that important Service had discharg'd their Trust with Courage and Fidelity. That the Parliament was well satisfy'd with the Account of their Proceedings, ordering it to be engross'd and recorded among the Parliament Rolls, in order to transmit the Memory thereof to Posterity. And resolv'd, That the Commissioners of the Great Seal should issue a Certiorari to their Clerks, to record those Proceedings in the Chancery, and that the same should be sent to the other Courts in Westminster Hall, and to the Custos Rotulorum in each County.* So very desirous were both the Parliament and the High Court of Justice to have this Matter remember'd, yet *Echard* thinks he has taken sufficient Revenge of them, by printing their Names in his noble History with his Mark of Infamy, though it is most certain, that those Judges were so far from thinking their Judgment infamous, that they glory'd in it ever after. And one of them, Mr. *Scot*, desir'd his Part in it might be inscrib'd on his Tomb. Neither did the bloody Vengeance taken on them in the next Reign ever extort one Word of Remorse or Repentance, but even these deluded Men pretended to Martyrdom for the Laws of the Land and the Liberties of the People, though by what Law, and what Logick they argu'd thus, I cannot imagine. For it is most certain, that all their Proceedings in the Trial and Death of the King were as unjust as they were cruel, and as illegal as they were sanguinary.



THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D,
DURING THE
C O M M O N W E A L T H.

A. D.
1649.



I AM sensible how difficult it is to write the History of this Period with the least Hope of Success. The Friends of the late King and his Posterity represent the Parliament, who had assum'd the Power, as so many Monsters and Devils: Their Friends speak of them as of a Senate the nearest to the Glory and Majesty of the Roman; of any Assembly since the Triumvirates.

Is there no middle Way between these two Extreams? Or rather, may not we grant that they acquir'd their Power by Violence and Usurpation, and yet endeavour to prove that they exercis'd it with Wisdom and Honour?

I must lay by the Lord Clarendon and Echard's Histories when I enter on the New Government, for there is not one Feature like the Original in the Picture the one has drawn of it, and the other has slavishly copy'd.

The same Day on which King Charles the First was beheaded the Parliament pass'd an Act, *Prohibiting any to proclaim the Prince of Wales, or any other, to be King or chief Magistrate of England, or Ireland, without Consent of Parliament, on pain of High Treason*; which Act was sent to the Sheriffs of all the Counties of England to be proclaim'd there. The same Day Duke Hamilton and the Lord Loughborough escap'd out of Windsor Castle. Sir Lewis Dives got through a Necessary House in Whitehall, standing over the Thames, and on February the 1st, the Lord Capel, by a desperate Attempt, made his Escape over the Tower Moat. The Duke was soon retaken by some Troopers in Southwark, who knew him disguis'd as he was, and knocking at an Inn Door, and Lord Capel was discover'd by a Waterman as he cross'd the Thames, and seiz'd in a House at Lambeth. Col. Middleton, who was a Prisoner at Newcastle, ran away to Scotland, and being requir'd to re-

An Act
against
proclaim-
ing the P.
of Wales
King.

Prisoners
escape.

turn, answer'd *Cavalierment, my Life is dearer to me than my Honour*. Sir Marmaduke Langdale made also his Escape, for they could not stand the Terrors of the High Court of Justice, which humbled Judge Jenkins and Sir John Starvel, who, says Ludlow, had carry'd themselves very insolently, but now finding the Parliament to be in earnest began to come to a better Temper. Mr. Holder, the Prince of Wales's Agent, a Prisoner in Whitehall, got out as Sir Lewis Dives had done, and it was the Escape of these Persons that put the House on a Debate to bring Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, Langborn, Poyer and Powell, to a speedy Trial; in order to which they pass'd an Act for Constituting a new Court of Justice, who chose John Bradshaw, Esq; to be President of it, and the Officers to be the same as in the first High Court.

On the 1st of February the Parliament pass'd *Members* an Act, *That such Members as had voted 5th of Dec. last, that the late King's Concessions to these Propositions were a sufficient Ground for Settling a Peace in this Nation, should not be re-admitted to sit as Members of this Parliament*. And, *That such Members as were then in the House, and gave their Votes in the Negative, should enter their Dissent to the said Vote, and such as were absent should declare their disapproving thereof before they be admitted as Members*. This Step was taken to embark all the Members on the same Bottom, and found their new State on Agreement and Union. Several Members obey'd this Order, and had Admittance, as John Lenthal, Esq; the Speaker's Son, Sir John Trevor, Sir Henry Hayman, Philip Herbert, Esq; William Herbert, Esq; two Sons of the Earl of Pembroke; Henry Darley, Esq; — Andrews, Esq; Mr. Francis Pierrepont, Col. Russel, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Fr. Gourdon, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Ellis.

It is very apparent, that as resolute as the Lords appear'd in rejecting the Bill to attain the

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A. D. 1649. *House of Lords abolished and Kingly Government.* late King, they were, now he was dead, willing enough to come in for a Share of the Government, and would have agreed to have made it Republican. On the 1st of February they sent a Message to the House of Commons, That a Committee of 9 Lords and 18 Commoners might be named to consider of a Way to settle the Nation. The House adjourned the Consideration of the Message to the next Day, and it was then debated, Whether any Notice at all should be taken of their Message; Lieutenant General Cromwell was for the Affirmative, and it was even then suspected that he appear'd for the Lords, in an Opinion that they were more Monarchical than the Commons, and would be more ready to join in with a single Person, if an Attempt for such a Government should ever be made. The Lords adjourning themselves after they had order'd this Message, and not meeting again at the Time to which they had adjourn'd, much facilitated their Removal. On the 5th of February this Message was warmly debated, and the Republicans carrying the Point, it was resolv'd, *That the House of Peers in Parliament is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished,* and an Act was order'd to be brought in by Mr. Whitlocke accordingly, which pass'd without much Opposition. After this the Earl of Pembroke sat in the House of Commons, as Knight of the Shire for Berkshire, that Privilege being allow'd the Peers if they were elected Knights, Citizens, or Burgeses. The Lord Howard of Esrick was chosen Citizen for Carlisle, and the Earl of Salisbury sat also in the House of Commons as Burgeses for Lynne.

The next Day the Debate concerning kingly Government ended in this Resolution upon the Question, *That it hath been found by Experience, and this House doth declare, That the Office of a King in this Nation, and to have the Power thereof in any single Person is unnecessary, burthensome and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, and publick Interest of the People of this Nation, and therefore ought to be abolished, and that an Act be brought in to that Purpose,* which was not long passing.

Commissioners of the Great Seal. On the 9th of February the Parliament pass'd an Act, appointing *Bulstrode Whitlocke, Esq;* *Richard Keeble, Esq;* and *John Lisle, Esq;* Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal. The former Seal, and all other publick Seals which had the Image of King Charles on them, were order'd to be defac'd, and a new Great Seal to be made, with the Stamp of the House of Commons on one Side, accompany'd with this Inscription, *the Great Seal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England;* and on the other Side was engraven the Cross and the Harp, being the Arms of England and Ireland, with this Inscription, *God with us.* The Judges made some Difficulty of Acting on Account of the Alteration in their Oath, and the Test of the Writs, which were not to run in the King's Name, but in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England. *Bacon, Brown, Bedingfield, Trevor and Atkins,* Judges, laid down their Commissions upon it. But the following six old, and six new, discharg'd that Duty. *King's Bench,* Lord Chief Justice, *Rolls* *Fermin, Nicholas and Ask;* Common Pleas, Lord Chief Justice, *St. John Pheasant, Puleston and Warburton;* Exchequer, Lord Chief Baron *Wylde, Yates, Thorp, Rigby;* and instead of the old Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, a new Engagement was appointed to be taken by all in Office or Benefice, *to be true and faithful to the Government established without King or House of Peers.*

The new Republick had not this Establish-

ment without Opposition and great Murmurs; *A. D. 1649.* Sir *Abraham Reynardson,* the Lord Mayor of London, and Major General *Browne,* one of the Sheriffs, kept up a Party against them in the City. The Lord Mayor refus'd to proclaim the Act for abolishing kingly Government, for which he was fin'd 2000 Pounds, and committed to the Tower for two Months; 500 Pounds of that 2000 Pounds was given to the Poor of the City, 500 Pounds to Westminster, 500 Pounds to Southwark, and 500 Pounds to the Poor of the Tower Hamlets. *Reynardson* pleaded Scruple of Conscience at the Bar of the House, by his Oath taken in the Exchequer, and that he conceiv'd it was the Sheriffs Business; and one *Andrews,* says *Echard,* was made Mayor, as it was his Turn to be, he having serv'd Sheriff but two Years after *Reynardson.* The Lord Mayor, *Andrews,* assisted by Alderman *Pennington,* Sir *John Wollaston,* Alderman *Atkins,* Alderman *Viner,* Alderman *Foulke,* Alderman *Edmonds,* Alderman *Pack,* Alderman *Byde,* Alderman *Avery,* Alderman *Wilson,* Alderman *Detbick,* Alderman *Bateman,* Alderman *Foot,* and other principal Citizens proclaim'd the Act in several Parts of the City. The Parliament order'd the late King's Effigies at the Royal Exchange to be remov'd, and this Inscription put up in its Place.

EXIT TYRANNUS REGUM ULTIMUS ANNO,
LIBERTATIS ANGLIÆ RESTITUTÆ, PRIMO
ANNO 1649. 30 JANUARIÏ.

But this did not hinder several Persons from proclaiming King Charles the Second in several Places, though it was generally done on a suddain, and in the dark. The Parliament took no Notice of these tumultuary Proclamations, and where they were affix'd to Posts or Doors, the Magistrates order'd them to be taken down.

Four Days after the King's Death the new Commonwealth wrote Letters of Notification, that they had assum'd the Government to foreign Potentates and Powers, and order'd their Secretaries to notify to the foreign Ministers in England, the Death of the King, and the Establishment of the Republick, which those Ministers knew not how to take. They had been Witnesses of King Charles's Death, and were sensible that there was no other Government but that of the Parliament; yet they were imbaras'd, whether to receive these Notifications in good or ill Part; if the latter, they might offend the Commonwealth, if the former, their Masters; so they generally reply'd, They must wait for Orders.

For the executive Part of the Government, the Parliament appointed a Council of State, who were nominated by a Committee, *Mr. Lisse,* *Mr. Holland,* *Mr. Ludlow,* *Mr. Robinson,* *Mr. Scot,* who named 35, and the Parliament added those 5 and confirm'd the others.

John Bradshaw, Esq; President, Earl of *Denbigh,* Earl of *Mulgrave,* Earl of *Pembroke,* Earl of *Salisbury,* Lord *Grey,* Lord *Grey of Groby,* Lord *Fairfax,* *John Lisse, Esq;* — *Rolles, Esq;* *Oliver St. John, Esq;* *John Wild, Esq;* *Bulstrode Whitlocke, Esq;* Lieutenant General *Cromwel,* Major General *Skippon,* Sir *Gilbert Pickering,* Sir *William Massam,* Sir *Arthur Haslerigg,* Sir *James Harrington,* Sir *Henry Vane, jun.* Sir *John Danvers,* Sir *William Armine,* Sir *Henry Mildmay,* Sir *William Constable,* *Alexander Popham, Esq;* *William Purefoy, Esq;* *Isaac Pennington, Esq;* *Roxland Wilson, Esq;* *Edmund Ludlow, Esq;* *William Heceningham, Esq;* *Robert Wallop, Esq;* *Henry Marten, Esq;* *Anthony Stapley, Esq;* *John Hutchinson, Esq;*

A. D. Valentine Walton, Esq; Thomas Scot, Esq; 1649. Dennis Bond, Esq; Luke Robinson, Esq; John Jones, Esq; Cornelius Holland, Esq;

he did was as a Servant to that Kingdom, and not as a Contriver of it. Neither was he ever naturaliz'd Earl of Cambridge, that he knew of, That he was a Prisoner of War, and had Articles given him.

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They kept their Office at *Whitehall*, and those Members who desir'd it had Lodgings there. They were by their Commission to dispose of the Militia of *England* and *Ireland*, of the Fleet, Magazines, and Stores for one Year only. The Committee of Five, who nominated the Council of State, were empower'd also to see that all re-admitted Members comply'd with the Order about the Vote of the 5th of *December*.

Admiralty. As for the Navy they appointed *Edward Popham*, Esq; *Robert Blake*, Esq; and *Richard Dean*, Esq; joint Admirals, and *Sir Henry Vane*, Treasurer of the Navy; a Place of so very great Profit, that *Sir Henry Vane* thought it rather burdensome than useful to the Commonwealth, and would accept only of 1000 Pounds per Annum, for his Clerks and the Expence of his Office. The Admirals had no more than three Pounds a Day.

The new High Court of Justice being establish'd, their Session was like that of the First in *Westminster Hall*, and the Prisoners were brought before them.

It is necessary here to remind the Reader, that the two Parties, *King* and *Parliament* had suspended the regular Course of the Law, and made their Appeal to the Sword: That in this Appeal the Controversy was decided on the Side of the Parliament, the Consequence of which was, that they must either abandon at once all their Conquests, and throw themselves on the Mercy of their most cruel and implacable Enemies, or support themselves by good Armies and good Laws, which go always with the Powers, for their Preservation. That those Laws were well known to those who broke them, as also the Penalties of breaking them; and nothing could be more impertinent and ridiculous, than to talk of *old Laws*, *old known Laws*, in the Time of a Monarchy, which was first interrupted, and then dissolv'd, to a State governing by Laws of their own making, and by a Power able to support them. Yet thus it is throughout the *History of the Rebellion*; I need not add *Echard's History*, because it is only a poor Copy of the other, which indeed has Poverty enough in it, when it is stripp'd of the Embroidery: I shall therefore lay them both aside now I am come to this Court of Justice, they having left me no sure footing, either in Fact or Character. I shall follow *Whitlocke*, and I am then safe, and so is the Reader.

High Court of Justice. On the 10th of *February* the High Court of Justice sat in *Westminster Hall*; about fifty of the Members, all new ones, Present. *Duke Hamilton*, as Earl of *Cambridge*, the Lord *Goring*, created Earl of *Norwich* four Years before the Lord *Capel* and *Sir John Owen* were brought before them, and *Sergeant Bradshaw*, the President, made a Speech to them of the Occasion of their coming thither, to be try'd for High Treason and other Crimes, after which they were all commanded to withdraw, except the Earl of *Cambridge*.

Duke Hamilton or Earl of Cambridge his Trial. Then *Mr. Steel*, Attorney General for the Commonwealth, set forth the Notoriousness of the Facts of the Prisoner at the Bar, by his invading the Kingdom, committing many Murders and Rapines, and all under Pretence of the Covenant. That as the War was call'd Hypocritarium Bellum, so he might be call'd Hypocritarium Princeps. He desir'd the Charge might be read, and that the Earl might make Answer to it. After the Charge, the Earl of *Cambridge* pleaded, *He was of another Nation, and what*

The Court order'd the Act to be read for Naturalization of his Father, and consequently of him, being his Heir. He was then remanded to Prison till the next Day, when being brought to the Bar, the Attorney General, *Mr. Steel*, mov'd that he might answer the Charge; which the President requir'd him to do. The Earl desir'd Time that he might put Things in Order, and send to Major General *Lambert*, by whom he had Articles given him. The Court gave him two Days to answer; and upon his Motion for Counsel, he had Liberty to name them; which he said he could not do, not knowing any one Counsellor in England; though he had liv'd above twenty Years in the Kingdom. However, at the two Days End, when he was again brought to the Bar, he thank'd the Court for the Time they had given him; but he said it was so short that he could not be provided; and upon his Desire, *Mr. Chute*, *Mr. Hale*, and *Dr. Parsons*, were assign'd him for Council. The Earl desir'd Leave to send to *Scotland*; it was answer'd, That it was for Prisoners to prepare their Proofs against the Trial, he having been in Prison so long. He reply'd, That during his six Months Imprisonment, he never sent about any private Business, but only to get Monies to maintain him: He pray'd the Mercy of the Court, that if they would spare him he might be useful. The Court gave him two Days Time longer to prepare, and the Counsel refusing to plead for him, others were assign'd. Two Days after, the 17th of *February*, he was again brought to the Bar, and urg'd that the last Counsel were not ready for want of Time, and held it not proper for them to plead in Matter of Law till the Fact was first prov'd.

The Court declar'd he had been often mov'd to make his Defence, and it was insisted upon, that he should then do it: So he produc'd his Commissions from the Parliament of *Scotland*, to command all their Forces, and the Order of the Committee of Estates there for him to advance into *England*, as also the large Declaration from *Scotland*. He pleaded, That the Ends thereof were for his Majesty's Honour, and the Settling of Religion and the Covenant. He then urg'd the Articles agreed unto by General *Lambert*, when he yielded himself Prisoner, by which he was assur'd of Quarter and Life, to prove it he produc'd the Lord *Grey of Groby*, Col. *Lilburn*, and *Mr. Peters*.

Concerning the Point of Naturalization: He pleaded, That his Father being naturaliz'd, could not make him a Subject of England, no more than the Son of an Englishman, born in any foreign Parts, was intitled thereby to any Inheritance here. That he had a Petition and Bill prepared for his Naturalization, but it pass'd not.

The Proof against this was, "That he was call'd by the late King's Writ to sit in Parliament in the Lords House, by the Name of Earl of Cambridge, and appear'd as Earl of Cambridge, and acted as a Peer of England sitting in the Lords House, and in divers Committees. That as a Peer of England he took the National Covenant, and subscribed to it Cambridge in the House of Peers, and took the Negative Oath before the Commissioners of the Great Seal, as a Peer of England." As to his surrendering to *Lambert* upon Articles, it was prov'd, that he was a Prisoner to the Lord *Grey of Groby* before Major

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Major General Lambert could come up to conclude any Articles with him, which was prov'd by Col. Wayte; and a very furious Cavalier Writer owns this Plea was but a pretended one. Letters under his own Hand to Sir Marmaduke Langdale were produc'd, touching the carrying on of the Design in England, and Passages concerning his Friends in Colchester.

Col. Whitchcot Governor, and the Marshal of Windsor Castle, prov'd the Earl's Escape, after he had pass'd his Word to the Governor to be a true Prisoner. The Earl earnestly deny'd this, and offer'd upon it a Challenge to the Governor, were he not in his present Capacity; but it was left to the Judgment of the Court.

The Witnesses against the Earl having been heard, he produc'd the Witnesses for him, some of whom were disallow'd, being Officers under him, and so *Participes Crimini*. He pleaded, *That he had not broken the Negative Oath, for he had not engag'd against the Parliament, but for the Ends in the Scots Declaration.*

His Council mov'd, that they might, with the Council of the Commonwealth, state the Case of the Earl; but this was deny'd, being a Case of High Treason, and the Earl's Council could only declare their Opinions in Point of Law.

The Trial had lasted on and off 16 Days, when the Earl of Cambridge's Council were heard by the Court, and pleaded, *That the Earl was no free Denizon; and tho' his Father was naturaliz'd, and his Heirs, yet he not being born in the Kingdom, could receive no Benefit thereof: That if he had been a free Denizon, yet it was not prejudicial to him, because he acted by Command and Authority of the Parliament of another Nation, (and not of himself) who was govern'd by another distinct Law.*

The Earl pleaded again the Articles given him by Major General Lambert, who had Power to do it, and who secur'd him by a Party of his Forces; as also, that he was order'd to be banish'd by Parliament, paying One Hundred Thousand Pounds.

He was not brought again before the Court till five Days after, March the 3d, when he made an additional Defence, not much varying from what he had said before. He did the same when he was two Days after ask'd what he had further to say, upon which the Court proceeded to Conviction and Sentence. The Cavalier Author above cited affirms, that Hamilton not only offer'd the 100000 Pounds before mention'd, but to join with the Marquis of Argyle in Scotland to serve the Parliament's Friends there. Notwithstanding this fair and reasonable Trial, on a Supposition that the Powers in being can try Persons for Treason against them, the Earl of Clarendon affirms as positively as a Man can affirm any thing, he was not liable to Trial, being a Prisoner of War; which is not only contrary to all Accounts of his surrendering himself, but to Col. Wayte's positive Affirmation before the House of Commons, when he acquainted them with Hamilton's being taken, *That he yielded at Discretion, and Lambert was not then near him, and to his Oath before the high Court of Justice.*

The Trials of the other Lords continu'd at the same Time, and we shall take them in the Order we find them in Whitlocke.

The next who was brought to the Bar was the Lord Goring, Earl of Norwich, who pleaded Not guilty, and was dismiss'd for that Time, behaving himself with great Respect to the Court, in which he behav'd like a wise Man, who knew that Rudeness and Scorn are seldom successful in Prosperity, and much more in such

Adversity as his was, the Peril of his Life. The same Wisdom would have produc'd the same Effects in Lord Capel.

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Six Days after, February the 16th, he was brought again to the Bar, and Mr. Cook, Solicitor General, set forth the Heinousness of his Crimes at Colchester, in Kent, Essex, &c. He said, *He could not deny the Matter of Fact, but should clear himself of some Particulars.*

Several Witnesses were produc'd *visâ voce*, who prov'd the Death of divers of the Parliament Party. The shooting of poyson'd Bullets boiled in Copperas from the Town, the cruel Usage of the Prisoners in Colchester, the Lord Goring's reviling them, calling them *Rebellious Rogues*, the burning of 600 Houses in that Town, and many other Particulars.

The Lord Goring, by Way of Defence, made a Narrative of his Proceedings since his last coming into England, acknowledg'd his receiving a Commission from the Prince, and his giving Commissions to others: *That what he did was out of a good Intention for Peace: That Treason not being in the Intention, he could not be guilty of it: That he intended not to raise Forces against the Parliament.* He pleaded his Peerage, and the Articles of Colchester, by which Quarter was given him.

To this the Council for the Commonwealth reply'd, *That a Man's Actions did best expound his Intentions: That the Lord Goring's Actions spake him guilty of Murder, Treason, &c. That as to his Peerage, the Power by which the Court sat was an Answer; That for the Articles of Colchester, though he had at first wav'd them, yet he should have as full a Benefit of them as the Lord Capel, who had largely plead- ed for them.*

The next that was brought to the Bar, and on the same Day with Hamilton and Goring, was the Lord Capel, who pleaded, *He was a Prisoner to the Lord General, and had Conditions given him, and his Life promis'd him; and if all the Magistrates in Christendom were combin'd together, they could not call him in Question.* Mr. Whitlocke tells us, *He never minded nor look'd upon the Court, but upon the People on all Sides, and with an austere Countenance.* This is the Majesty that is boasted of, and so much extoll'd, that one would take the Lord Capel rather to be a General at the Head of an Army than a Prisoner at the Bar. If Sullenness and Austerity could have serv'd him or his Cause, there had been Heroism in it; but as it was of no other Use than to hasten the Execution of an ugly Sentence, which the Lord Goring by his wiser Conduct escap'd, it will never meet with Applause in sober History.

The Lord Capel was required the next Day to plead in Chief. He again insisted on the Colchester Articles, saying, *He had fair Quarter given him, and all the Gowns in the World had nothing to do with him.* It is great Pity that Dr. Morley, who assisted him in his Devotions, did not or could not bring his Mind into better Temper, even when Death star'd him in the Face. Punctilio's of Honour are not at such an Hour the Sentiments of Minds truly great, but Calmness, Serenity, and the sweet Workings of Moderation and Charity.

He was the next Day again brought to the Bar, and the Attorney General mov'd, *That the Prisoner might make good his Plea.* Upon which the President told him, *That he had put in a Plea concerning Articles, for Proof whereof the Lord General was by Order of the Court there present; That he had Liberty to ask any thing of him: If not, then the Council of the Common-*

wealth

He is con-
witted.Goring
Earl of
Norwich
his Trial.

A. D. 1649. wealth were to offer what they could in Proof of it. So the Attorney General went on and produc'd the General's Letter to the Parliament, upon the Rendition of Colchester, and the Articles and the Explanation of them, whereby, and upon the Testimony of the Lord General and General Ireton, Col. Whaley and Col. Barkstead, all present by Order of Court, it appear'd, says Whitlocke, That the Lord Capel was to have fair Quarter for his Life, which was explain'd to be, a Freedom from any Execution of the Sword, but not any Protection from the Judicial Proceedings of a Civil Court; and Mercy was explain'd to be only from the promiscuous Execution of the Sword, but that he might be tried by a Council of War. "It was clearly prov'd, adds Mr. Whitlocke, that the Articles were only to free him from the present Power of the Sword to take away his Life; and Col. Barkstead swore, That he told him the Day after the Articles, that he believ'd the Parliament would proceed against them that were taken at Colchester as Traytors.

As often as I have charg'd the Author or Authors of the History of the Rebellion with Falsification and Misrepresentation, if my Patience would have held out, I could have done it twenty Times as often; and I beg the Reader to mind how it is insinuated, that the Court order'd the General to be present against their Will, and out of meer Shame. They knew not how to deny it, as if they were afraid of his Evidence. But what follows is false to a Degree that admits of no Epithet; and the Author who was capable of such a Falsity, is not to be nam'd by Persons who make any Conscience of Truth and Sincerity.

Hist. Reb. p. 267. Whether the Question was well stated to Fairfax, or what was else said to him to dissuade him from owning his Declaration and Promise, he boggled so much in his Answer, that they would be of Opinion, that he had not made such direct and positive Promise, and that the same was never transmitted to Parliament. Whereas he never did promise him his Life, otherwise than to exempt him from present military Execution,

Short Memorial, p. 123. as we can prove from the Lord Fairfax's own Words. "After our Entrance into Colchester, a Council of War was call'd, and those before-nam'd Persons were sentenc'd to die, the rest to be acquitted. This being so resolv'd, I thought fit notwithstanding to transmit the Lord Capel, &c. over to the Parliament, being the Civil Judicature of the Kingdom, &c." What need was there of his boggling then? Which he did not do; he had before referr'd him to the Parliament to do Justice on him; and his huffing the Court in such Circumstances, made him indeed a fit Subject for the Earl of Clarendon's Eulogy, but will not heighten his Character with Men who think reasonably.

The Council for the Commonwealth mov'd for Judgment against the Lord Capel, That he should be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, at which he seem'd to startle, and after a short Speech to the Court, he concluded, That however he was dealt with here, he hop'd for a better Resurrection hereafter.

The next Time he was brought before the Court, their Order was read to him, That they would hear what he had to say that Day, and then proceed to Judgment.

He said, He was to be comprehended wholly in the Martial Law, and urg'd the Articles again, which excepted Trial after by Parliament; That divers who were in Colchester in his Condition had compounded; That breaking Prison for Treason by Common Law was but Felony; and if he must be judg'd by the Common Law,

he hop'd he might have the full Benefit of it. He urg'd for it the late Act, which says, Though King and Lords be laid aside, yet the fundamental Laws shall be in Force. He recommended Magna Charta to the Court, and the Petition of Right, and press'd the Consideration of the Act made in Favour of those who assist King Henry VII. and the Exception in the Acts touching the Lord Strafford and Canterbury. He desired to see his Jury, and that they might see him, and to be try'd by his Peers, saying, He believ'd a Precedent could not be given of a Subject try'd for Life, but either by Bill in Parliament, or by a Jury. This was a new Government, who were to make Precedents, and not to follow those that were made, unless they were agreeable to the Constitution. All he said about Peers and Jury could be of no Help to him, and Magna Charta was not to be plead'd against an Act of Parliament, which was the Authority this Court pretended to.

At the last Hearing, he briefly repeated what he had said formerly, and further observ'd an Ordinance of Parliament, That Quarter for Life should not be given to Irish REBELS; which imply'd, That Quarter for Life given to others should be inviolable. But he had had no such Quarter given him, otherwise than to exempt him from immediate military Execution.

Sir John Owen was brought to the Bar at the same Time with the Lords Hamilton, Norwich, Owen's and Capel. He pleaded Not guilty. But the Witnesses prov'd against him, that he had not only rais'd Forces against the Parliament, but had kill'd the High Sheriff of Carnarvonshire. The Lord Clarendon assures us he said, He had always been taught to obey the King. Whitlocke, that he alledg'd what he did was to free himself from Plunder. As to the killing the High Sheriff, the Lord Clarendon makes the Welch Knight so foolish as to say, If the Sheriff had not been there he had not been kill'd; but what he adds is still more ridiculous, He concluded like a Man who did not much care what they resolv'd concerning him, but would not let us know that this bold Briton, as loyal as he was, had taken the Covenant and Negative Oath, and was guilty of Perjury in the very Act for which his Lordship or the Doctors of Christ-Church give him such extravagant Praise. Owen pleaded Quarter as well as the rest, and with the same Reason and the same Success. If the Soldiers had knock'd them on the Head when they took them, it had been no more than they deserv'd with Respect to the Parliament, who having them in their Power, might proceed against them as they pleas'd, for they had not parted with their Power over them when they sent their General to reduce them. General Ludlow observes very justly, "If there had been any Promise made to any of them, either implicitly or by Word of Mouth, it could only extend to protect them from the Military, not the Civil Sword.

The Earl of Holland was sick in Warwick Castle when the other Prisoners were first brought to the Bar, as he was himself 17 Days after, February the 27th, when the Charge of High Treason was read against him, and aggravated by the Solicitor General; That the Earl was an eminent Courtier, and probably did ill Offices, and perswaded the King to go from the Parliament, and went afterwards himself to Oxford; That he return'd from thence, had his Sequestration taken off; That he publish'd a Declaration, promising, in the Word of a Gentleman and a Christian, that he would stand by the Parliament; That

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A. D. 1649. *That he had taken the Negative Oath, and the Covenant; yet the last Year he engag'd in, and probably contriv'd the Insurrection wherein the Duke of Bucks, and his Brother and others were drawn in, and he boasted he should shortly be strong, and master the Parliament and restore the King.*

The Earl pleaded, *That his Fact was not Capital but Criminal: That he had Quarter given him when he was taken at St. Neots; and that both Houses had past an Order since for his Banishment, which excus'd the Aggravations, especially in his last Action.* He desir'd Council, but it was deny'd him.

On the 6th of March, Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, were brought to the Bar of the High Court of Justice, where Serjeant Bradshaw, the President, sat in his Scarlet Robes; and having ask'd them what further they had to say, why Sentence should not be pronounc'd against them? They all spoke to the same Effect as formerly; only the Earls of Holland and Norwich extenuated their Offences as well as they could, as *being rash, not much hurtful, &c.* Then the President made a Speech of some Hours in Length, in Answer to the several Pleas of the Prisoners, and at last Sentence was given against them all; That their Heads should be sever'd from their Bodies; yet with Relation to the Mercy of the Parliament.

The next Day the Earl of Warwick and the Countess of Holland presented a Petition for the Life of the Earl of Holland: The Earl of Denbigh solicited for Duke Hamilton; and others for the Earl of Norwich and the Lord Capel. After some Hours Debate upon these Petitions, it was resolv'd upon the Question, not to proceed any further upon these Petitions; but to leave the Prisoners to the Justice of the Court that sentenc'd them.

Several Ladies petition'd that Court for them, but only got the Execution to be put off two Days.

The condemn'd Lords petition'd the House again; and the General wrote a Letter concerning the Articles, much to the same Purpose as he said before; and after a long Debate, the Question was put of them severally, and voted,

That the Lord Capel should not be repriev'd.

Which Vote pass'd the more easily on Account of his indecent Behaviour before the Court.

The Earl of Norwich's Reprieve was carry'd by one Vote, which was the Speaker's, they being equally divided, 24 and 24 of each Part. The Speaker said he did it because he had formerly receiv'd some Civilities from the Lord Goring.

The House was also divided upon the Question, Whether the Earl of Holland should be repriev'd or not; and the Speaker gave his Voice against him.

The Resolution touching Duke Hamilton's Reprieve pass'd in the Negative, and for Sir John Owen in the Affirmative, by Means of Commissary General Ireton, who observing there had been no Application made, nor a Word said in Behalf of Owen, spoke for him thus, as the Lord Clarendon confesses, "There have been great Endeavours and Sollicitations us'd to save all those Lords; but there's a Commoner, another condemn'd Person, for whom no Man has said a Word, nor has he himself so much as Petition'd; therefore I desire that Sir John Owen may be preserv'd by the meer Motive and Goodness of the House;" which was assented to. This very generous, human Act came from the same Man of whom Warwick, and after him

as judicious an Historian, Echard, says that on his Death Bed, and even in the Agony, he cry'd out, *Blood, Blood, Blood.* *A. D.* 1649.

On the 9th of March, Duke Hamilton was brought to the Scaffold, erected before Sir Robert Cotton's House in Palace Yard, Westminster; and after some Discourse with Dr. Sibbalds, a Minister, who came with him, he turn'd to the People, and seeing them so great a Multitude, he said, his Voice would not serve for them to hear him, and therefore he directed his Speech to those upon the Scaffold.

He confess'd his Religion to be according to that of the Kirk of Scotland; and therefore the very impartial Clarendon says not one Word of it. *That he had ever been loyal to the late King, and wish'd well to his Posterity, and that none more desir'd the Peace and Happiness of this and the other Kingdoms than himself. That his coming into England with the late Army, was out of no treasonable ill Intent, but for the Ends contain'd in the Scots Declaration, and what he did was as a Servant to that Parliament and Kingdom: That in that Employment next to settling of Religion, the establishing of the King was his greatest Aim: And he wish'd his Blood, in Order to the Kingdom's Settlement, might be the last that should be spilt.*

Having said this, he made a short Prayer, Dr. Sibbalds kneeling with him, and being risen, he cast off his Cloak and Doublet, put on a little white Sattin Cap, forgave the Executioner, and gave him ten Pounds. A little after he spoke a while in private to his Servants, and again made a short Prayer.

His Countenance was chearful, and all the Time of his being on the Scaffold, there appear'd in him no Fear, Disorder, Change of Look, or Discomposure. He took his Leave of Dr. Sibbalds, embracing him, and of his Servants, whom he commended, particularly Mr. Lewis his Secretary.

He laid down his Head upon the Block, and after a short Prayer gave the Signal by stretching out his Hand; and the Executioner struck off his Head at one Blow, which was wrapp'd in a red Sarcenet Scarfe, and with his Body put into a Coffin and carry'd away.

The Lord Clarendon's Characters have so surfeited me with every Thing of that Kind, that I should never succeed in it if I attempted it; I shall therefore proceed in this tragical Part of my History.

The Earl of Holland came next upon the Scaffold, accompany'd by Mr. Hodges and Mr. Bol-Holland, two Presbyterian Ministers, six of his Servants and other Gentlemen. What follows is Mr. Hodges's own Relation.

"Between the Time of his Sentence and Execution, I only lay in the Earl's Bed-chamber to discourse with him, and to comfort him, being admitted and desir'd by him to that Freedom, when he would not see his Lady nor any of his Children, which, he said, would add too much to his Sorrow, and discompose his Thoughts, which were now to be set only upon another World: For some Time after his Sentence he was in great Perplexity and Agonies, saying, *He had no Assurance of Pardon of his Sins, and of the Love of God to him: That he was not prepar'd to die; That Christ would be no Advantage to him.* I endeavour'd to allay these Doubts, and to comfort the Earl with declaring to him the Infiniteness of God's Mercies, and his Willingness to pardon all poor Sinners that come to him through Christ: *That never any who sought the Love of God in Christ, with a true Faith*

A. D. in Christ, did ever fail to obtain the Assurance of it to his distressed Soul.

1649. "The Earl desir'd me to pray with him, to seek God for his Mercy, which I did, and upon this Subject, with as earnest a seeking the Lord for it, as I could express; and the Earl himself frequently pray'd to the same Effect, and with wonderful Fervency of Expression; yet he still continu'd in a desponding Condition till the Day before his suffering, when immediately after Prayer, he said to me, rejoicing, *God has heard our Prayers, and his Spirit is come in to comfort me; I have prevail'd thro' the Strength of Christ over Satan and all my spiritual Enemies, and all Temptations. The Lord has given into me an Assurance of his Love in Christ, and I am now both ready and willing to die.*

"I was much joy'd at this, and we went to Prayer together to bless God for this great Mercy, and to beg the Continuance of this Frame of Spirit to the last, and God heard us in this also.

"The Earl, who had not slept several Nights before, nor eat his Meat, now supp'd and went to Bed with no more Disturbance in his Spirits than in his best Health, and slept so sound all Night, and the Morning when he was to suffer, that we were much troubled to awaken him.

"He went to the Scaffold without being any whit daunted, and after some Discourse to the Gentlemen, he shew'd himself to the People, who were generally mov'd with Sorrow for the Suffering of so gallant a Person, whose Mien and Comeliness could not but excite Compassion.

"He directed his Speech to the Multitude at the Front of the Scaffold, towards *Westminster-Hall*, made a large Profession of his Religion as a Protestant, mention'd his Birth and Education, excus'd his going to the King from the Parliament, and Return to the Parliament, and extenuated his late Insurrection.

"After he had ended his Speech, he turned to the other Side of the Scaffold, and kneel'd down to his private Prayers, after which he had Conference with Mr. Bolton and me.

"Then he pull'd off his Gown and Doublet, having on him a white Sattin Waistcoat, and put on a white Sattin Cap, and prepar'd himself for the Block, took his Leave and embrac'd with much Affection Mr. Bolton and me, his Servants and others, forgave the Executioner, and gave him ten Pounds.

"He then laid himself down on the Block, pray'd a while, and gave the Sign by stretching forth his Arms; upon which the Executioner sever'd his Head from his Shoulders at one Blow, which with his Body was put into a Coffin and carry'd away.

The Lord Capel.

We shall see the Difference between Mr. Hodges's holy Conferences with his devout Penitent, and Dr. Morley's with the Lord Capel. There is a Coldness in the latter which deadens even our Compassion for the Sufferer. The Conversation between them in the Tower, is, as *Echard* says, worthy Remembrance.

Lord Capel. *I have chosen you to be my Confessor, I have strictly recollected the whole Course of my Life, to the best of my Remembrance, and am resolv'd to confess all the Misdoings of it, in order to receive Absolution, if you think me worthy of it; and then he made his Confession.*

Dr. Morley. "I cannot give you Absolution, because you have omitted one Sin greater than all you have confess'd.

Lord Capel. (Clapping his Hand on his Breast in a Surprize) *What Sin is that?*

Dr. Morley. "The Blood of the Earl of *Strafford* lies upon your Head, of which you were highly guilty with his other Enemies.

Lord Capel. *I beg God's and your Pardon for omitting this great Sin, for which I have often ask'd Forgiveness of God, as a Man guilty of innocent Blood; but my Mind was so intent upon my private Sins; that I forgot mentioning of this, and I will do any thing you will have me to receive Absolution from it.*

Good God! Are these the Sighings of a pious Soul! These the Words of a dying Man to a Divine, who has nothing to say to him almost in the last Agony, but the Death of the Earl of *Strafford*. There is still more of it.

Dr. Morley. "My Lord, Your private Confession of this heinous Sin is not sufficient for Absolution, nor ought I to give it you, unless your Lordship will promise me to make your Confession as publick as your Crime.

Lord Capel. *I will do it with all my Heart; if you will tell me how.*

Dr. Morley. "There is but one Way, and that is to confess it in your last Speech at the Place of Execution; and then your Repentance will be as publick as your Sin.

Lord Capel. (Embracing him after so much Edification) *I heartily thank you, Doctor, and I do promise you I will do it; and I would not for all the World have dy'd without a publick Confession of this Sin, and making the best Satisfaction I can to the Memory of my Lord *Strafford*, before God and Men, for having my Hands dip'd in his Blood.*

Echard says, Dr. Morley gave the Lord Capel special Assistance in his last Extremity, and then he instances it in this divine Dialogue. I heartily thank him for giving me an Opportunity to preserve it in my History, that the Reader, by comparing Dr. Morley's Conversation with Mr. Hodges's, may form a just Idea of the Religion of the one and the other, and which of them it is that's most likely to make Martyrs: The Lord Capel being thus prepar'd for Death, was brought to the Scaffold, much after the manner of a stout Roman, according to *Whitlocke*. "He had no Minister with him, nor shew'd any Sense of Death approaching, but carried himself all the Time he was on the Scaffold with that Boldness and Resolution, as was to be admired: "He wore a sad-colour'd Suit, his Hat cock'd up, and his Cloak under one Arm." *Are these the Emblems of Christian Humility and Charity!* "He look'd towards the People at his first coming up, and put off his Hat in manner of a Salute. He had a little Discourse with some Gentlemen upon the Scaffold, but had no Minister with him, and pass'd up and down in a careless Posture. He went to the Front of the Scaffold, and leaning over, made a Speech to the People, *I die a Protestant according to the Religion profess'd in the 39 Articles, the best I know of. I was condemn'd for keeping the Fifth Commandment, written by God's own Finger, which commands to obey Magistrates, and I die for obeying my King, the most religious of all Princes, and his Son Prince Charles, who is King, and the rest of the King's Children, Heirs to the Crown.* He concluded with a Desire to the People to pray for him. When he had done his Speech, he call'd the Executioner to him, gave him five Pounds, pray'd him not to strip his Body, but to let his Servants have it, and his Cloaths, for which he order'd them to pay him. He then kneel'd down and made a short Prayer, and his Servants throwing

A. D. 1649. themselves at his Feet all in Tears, he without any Emotion said, *Rise, you hinder the Executioner*; to whom he turn'd and said, *Friend, when I stretch out my Right Hand, strike immediately.* He then put off his Cloak and Doublet with much Confidence, put on a white Cap, took Leave of the Gentlemen on the Scaffold, and prepar'd for the Block, where laying himself down with Hands and Eyes lifted up, he pray'd a while, then fitted his Head to it, and on the Signal given, the Executioner sever'd his Head from his Body at one Blow, both which were coffin'd up, and carry'd away.

Col. Poyer
sol.

Major General Langhorn, Col. Powell, and Col. Poyer, were order'd to be try'd by a Court Martial, by whom they were condemn'd to cast Lots for their Lives, and he on whom the fatal Lot fell was to be shot to Death, as was Colonel Poyer in Covent-Garden, as also one Mr. Munday an Irish Rebel.

We have mention'd the Murder of Col. Rainsborough by certain Ruffians who were sent by Morrice, Governor of Pomfret Castle, which he had surpriz'd by Treachery, to assassinate Rainsborough at Doncaster. The Parliament order'd Lieutenant General Cromwel to inquire into that execrable Act, and give Directions to Major General Lambert, who besieg'd Pomfret, to take Vengeance on those Assassins, in whose Praise the Author of *Hist. Reb.* is lavish of all the Powers of his Eloquence. Lambert block'd up Pomfret Castle so close, that those within it had no Hopes of Relief, and offer'd to surrender on honourable Terms; but Lambert would have Morrice and the Murderers of Rainsborough deliver'd up to him. Echard tells us a romantick Story of the Escape of Morrice and his Ruffians. Whitlocke says three only of them escap'd. Morrice was re-taken, and try'd by Judge Thorp and Judge Puleston at York Assizes, for Levying War against the Parliament. This Assassin had not so much as a Commission from the King, but urg'd that he had one from the Prince of Wales. The Judges told him the Prince was a Subject as well as himself, and if he were present, must be try'd as he was. Morrice desir'd his Trial might be by a Council of War, and Col. Bethel, after he was condemn'd, wrote to General Fairfax and his Council of War for a Reprieve; but as he had been guilty of so barbarous a Murder, as well as of levying War, 'twas not thought proper to spare so notorious a Criminal.

Mr. Cawton the
Minister
try'd.

Mr. Thomas Careton, Minister of St. Bartholomew's behind the Royal Exchange, in his Prayer before the Lord Mayor, having pray'd for K. Charles II. as lawful King, the Attorney and Solicitor General, Mr. Steel and Mr. Cook, were order'd to prosecute him for High Treason. He was a Presbyterian, and how King Charles II. rewarded the Presbyterians for their Loyalty and Services, we shall see hereafter. This bold Offence, and many others of the like Nature, oblig'd the Commonwealth, for their own Security, to hearken to the Advice of Mynheer Paw, one of the Dutch Ambassadors, and make a Law as was in Holland, *To forbid all Ministers meddling with State-Affairs in the Pulpit.* They order'd Mr. Whitlocke to draw up a Declaration to justify their Proceedings, and it was publish'd in English, Latin, French, and Dutch; and about the same Time, March the 20th, the Acts for abolishing Kingly Government and the House of Peers pass'd in Form.

The Countess of Carlisle, as famous for Intrigues of State as those of Amour, having been in the Secret of the last Summer's Insurrections, was examin'd by the Council of State several Times, and giving them but little Satisfaction,

they committed her to the Tower, as they did also Licut. Col. John Lilburn, who had too much encourag'd the Party of the Levellers, and been too busy with his Tongue and his Pen. The Room he was confin'd in being over against that of the Countess's Confinement, Sir Henry Mildmay, who had observ'd it, made a Motion in the House, that it was dangerous, and they might have unjustifiable Correspondence by Signs, in which he was thought more cautious than wise, and the House hearken'd to him accordingly.

A seditious Libel, entitul'd *England's New England's Chains*, made a great Noise at this Time. The New Parliament voted, *That it was false, scandalous, mutinous, tending to raise a new War; That the Authors and Publishers of it were guilty of High Treason*, and refer'd it to the Council to find them out. This Book is mightily cry'd up by the Author of the *History of Independency*, who has endeavour'd to abuse Milton in the same Treatise, where he furnishes the Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Echard with much Matter to set off their Heroes. The Reader will not be displeas'd to see the Manner of Writing in Use among the Parliament's Enemies, which has since been improv'd by L'Estrange, Leslie, Sacheverel, Swift, Trapp, Hickee, Hill, Oldsworth, &c. The Author is speaking of an Independent Minister; *He is Chaplain in Ordinary to the Devil and Oliver Cromwel; he keeps the Keys of our Hell and our Grandees Consciences; he is Confessor to Tyburn, and hath a great Power over damn'd Spirits; so prostituted a Villain, that he practises Impudence amongst common Whores, and his Pulpit is more shameful than another Man's Pillory, &c.* This Stile is happily imitated in the Oxford Address, and other Pieces coin'd in the same Mint.

The Commonwealth having settled their Government at home as well as the Circumstances they were in would admit, sent Ministers abroad to take Care of their Affairs, and be their Agents, in several Parts of Europe, as Dr. Dorilaus, a Civilian, Judge Advocate, and one of the Council to the Republick, was appointed their Resident in Holland, Richard Bradshaw, Esq; their Agent at Hamburgh, Mr. Vane was dispatch'd to Portugal, and Mr. Ascham to Spain, with the Character of Envoys. The Letter they wrote the King of Portugal runs thus:

Serenissimo Principi JOANNI Quarto Lusitanæ Regi, Senatus Populusq; Anglicanus salutem: To the most serene JOHN the Fourth King of Portugal, the Senate and People of England send Greeting.

The Subject of it is to desire the King of Portugal not to shelter the Fugitives, Pirates, and revolted Ships in his Ports and Dominions, nor receive any Ambassador from Charles Stuart, since the Parliament, in whose Hands is the whole Power of the State, has only Right to send Ambassadors.

They wrote to the Archduke, Governor of the Netherlands:

LEOPOLDO AUSTRIÆ Archduci Provinciarum in Belgio sub Philippo Rege Presidi Salutem, Parliamentum Reipub. Angliæ: To Leopold Archduke of Austria, Governor of the Belgian Provinces under King Philip, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England send Greeting.

This Letter was to demand the Delivery of one Walsh, who had run away with Mrs. Puckering, a young Lady of a great Fortune, and kept her by Force in Flanders.

They

A. D. 1649. They address'd their Letter to the City of Hamburg thus: *AMPLISSIMO Civitatis Hamburgensis Senatui, Senarus Populusq; Anglicanus: To the MAGNIFICENT Senatè of the City of Hamburg, the Senate and People of England send Greeting.*

They say among other Things: " They have receiv'd Information, that since the Arrival of one Cockran, Ambassador, as he gives out, from Charles, Son of the late King of England, the English Merchants in their City are terribly disquieted, their Lives are in Danger, they are often expos'd to the Fury of Assassins, and there's no Justice for them: They desire that the Faith of former Treaties may be preserv'd; that, pursuant thereto, they will protect the Merchants of England, and see that Justice be done them. They require that Cockran be forbidden the City, and the Territory of the Senate, and exhort them not to prefer the Friendship of banish'd Tarquins to that of the People of England.

They had good Reason to complain of Ruffians and Assassins. The scatter'd Remains of such Armies as Goring's, Greenville's, and Montrose's, must fill Europe with them, and the first Exploit was the Murder of Dr. Dorislaus at the Hague, where he arriv'd in good Equipage about the latter End of April, King Charles II. being there in his Exile; and he had not been there many Days before twelve of those fugitive Ruffians came to his Lodgings disguis'd, and finding him at Supper, stabb'd him in several Places, cut his Throat, and a Cavalier Colonel, one Walter Whitford, Son of a Scots Episcopal Clergyman, clove his Head asunder with a Broad Sword, saying, *Thus dies one of the King's Judges.* The Lord Clarendon complements these Assassins with the Title of a dozen Gentlemen who boasted of what they had done, and believ'd it an heroic Act: They put up their Swords, walk'd leisurely away, and went quietly out of the Town, as if no Harm had been done. A. Wood calls it a generous Action, and such are the Heroes of their Histories. Some Falsities there must be in every Incident to make it all of a Piece. Instead of twelve Men, another Cavalier Writer affirms there were eighteen Scotsmen: Instead of being Friends to Montrose, as Clarendon says, that other Historian assures us they were Friends to Hamilton; and instead of murdering Dorislaus to revenge the King's Death, the latter Historian writes, *They expostulated with the Doctor concerning the unjust Condemnation and Execution of the Duke.* A. Wood the Oxonian, who has hardly one Page without a dozen Falsities, informs us, the Parliament, as soon as they heard of the Murder of Dorislaus, resolv'd to sacrifice a certain Royalist, Sir Lewis Dives, then in their Custody, had he not made a timely Escape two Months before thro' a House of Office in Whitehall. The Earl of Clarendon and Mr. E-

chard would make us believe that the States of Holland and the Dutch were at no Pains to hinder the Ruffians walking off leisurely, and running away quietly, as if they at the bottom approv'd of so generous an Act. The contrary is the Truth. The States were in a terrible Panic, and immediately order'd Notice to be given King Charles, that his Abode in their Territories was not convenient for them, and that they desir'd him to remove, and take his Followers with him. They made earnest Inquisition after the Murderers, promis'd a thousand Guilders to him that brought any one of them, and made it Death by Proclamation to harbour them. The Author of *Hist. Reb.* to be as far from Truth

as may be, says, *Whitlocke's earnest Inquisition* was a slow Inquisition. One Col. Bard, a Baronet, was apprehended by Order of the States, and Montrose himself and the Lord Hopton questioned for the Murder of Dorislaus. They presently dispatch'd Adrian Paer, who had been their Minister at the Treaty of Westphalia, to England, to satisfy the Parliament and Council of the State of their Proceedings upon it, and the former declar'd their Sense of the Care of the States of Holland to find out the Authors of the horrid Murder of Dr. Dorislaus, and hop'd the States would be careful of their Agent Mr. Strickland, now there. They further declar'd, *That the Lives of those Persons of the King's Party who were excepted from Pardon, should answer for the Life of Dr. Dorislaus.*

Having mention'd the Treaty of Westphalia, it is fit to take Notice, that what neither King James nor King Charles could effect in behalf of the Queen of Bohemia and her Children, was by that Treaty effected in Part, and the Prince Elector restor'd to the Palatinate, but not the Electorate, nor to those Territories given the Elector of Bavaria, with the Electoral Dignity held by the Palatine of the Rhine, who was made an Elector, and the last in Place. On that Score, his Highness wrote a Letter to the Parliament, notifying his Return to his own Country, giving them humble Thanks for their Favour, and desiring the Continuance of his Stipend and the Payment of his Arrears, which was order'd, as also a Pass for himself and his Attendants 40 Horse, but none other to go over with him.

On the 23d of March, the Parliament resolv'd on an Act for an Assessment of 90000 Pounds a Month to maintain the Army and Fleet. The Commissioners for this Act were the Justices of Peace in the several Counties, and the Lord Mayor Andrews, Alderman Wollaston, Alderman Detbick, and Mr. Francis Allen, were appointed Treasurers for this Assessment. The House took into serious Consideration the Relief of Ireland, which, after some Hesitation, Licut. Gen. Cromwel undertook in Person, and eight Days after the House voted, *That they approve of Lieutenant General Cromwel to be Commander in Chief of all the Forces sent into Ireland; and to take off any Reflection upon the General, or Dislike by him, they also voted, That the Lord Fairfax be General of all the Forces in England and Ireland.*

In the mean Time, a mutinous Spirit was working in the Army, and the Disaffected, who express'd their ill Humour in Libels, such as *Libburn* and *Walwyn*, *Prince* and *Overton*, were so strongly abetted, that a Petition was presented to the Parliament from divers Citizens of London and Westminster, in behalf of those Offenders, then in Prison.

On the 12th, the Lord General Fairfax, Lieutenant General Cromwel, *Bulstrode Whitlocke*, Esq; *John Lisle*, Esq; *Sir Henry Vane*, jun. Lord Chief Justice *Rolls*, Lord Chief Baron *Wild*, Alderman *Wilson*, and many Members of Parliament, went to the Common Council of London to borrow 120000 Pounds for the Use of the Army intended for Ireland, and it was lent according to their Desire.

The House made an excellent Order, That the Commissioners of the Great Seal and the Judges, shall receive Complaints against any disaffected Justices of the Peace, and upon Proof of the Charges against them, shall remove them, and put other well affected Persons into Commission. They also agreed on the Form of the new Coin to be thus: On the one Side to

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Dr. Dorislaus murder'd.

293.

Hist. Indep. p. 171.

Whitl.

Whitl. 390.

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Elektor Palatine restor'd.

Libellers rag'd.

Peace turn'd out.

A. D.
1649.

be the Arms of England, and a Lawrel and a Palm on each Side, with this Inscription about it, *The Commonwealth of England*. On the other Side to be the Arms of England and Ireland, with this Inscription, *God with us*.

Levellers.

The Levellers were privately encourag'd by the Royalists, tho' their Principles, if they were real in their Professions, were the very Antipodes of Tyranny and Superstition. This Faction grew out of that of the Agitators, and were made use of by Cromwel to bring about the Death of the King, which he had no sooner accomplish'd than he would fain have rid himself of the Levellers. But the latter were aware of his Design, and being afraid of his Power, they flew out into Rebellion against him and his Masters, provok'd to it especially by the Death of one Lockyer a Trooper, who, with five more Mutineers, was sentenc'd by the Council of War to be shot for Mutiny. The five found Mercy, but the Sentence was executed on Lockyer; and the Multitude, to shew that the Fire was not quench'd by it, attended him to his Grave with as much Pomp as a Multitude could think of. They were led by 100 Troopers, five and six in a File preceding the Corpse, before which march'd six Trumpeters founding a Soldier's Knell; then came Lockyer the Trooper's Horse cloath'd all over in Mourning, and led by a Footman. The Corpse was adorn'd with Bundles of Rosemary, one half stain'd with Blood, and the Sword of the Deceas'd with them. After these march'd some Thousands in Ranks and Files. All had Seagreen and Black Ribbons ty'd in their Hats, and to their Breasts, and the Women brought up the Rear. At the new Church-yard in Westminster some Thousands more of the better Sort met them, but these thought not fit to go thorough with the Procession, and march through the City.

Whitlocke observes that this was look'd upon as an Affront to the Parliament and Army, and it was owing chiefly to the Ferment which the Cavaliers, who could do nothing else, kept up with great Industry in the Minds of the Malecontents, who by their Leaders Lieut. Col. John Lilburn, Mr. William Wakwyn, Mr. Thomas Prince, and Mr. Richard Overton, form'd a new Model of Government, and publish'd a Draught of it, consisting of Thirty Articles, for which, notwithstanding various Petitions in their Favour, these Mutineers were order'd to be prosecuted capitally. The Royalists were extremely delighted with these Disturbances, and one of their chief Historians terms this factious Crew the *Honest Levellers*; and Lilburn, whom Laud caus'd to be so bloodily dealt with during his Tyranny, *the honest Lieutenant Colonel*, so courtous are they now he is in Danger of being hang'd for them by his Frenzy or Folly. The Levellers about a Fortnight after Lockyer was shot broke out into open Rebellion under one William Thompson, who having been condemn'd to be shot, was pardon'd, and now appointed a Rendezvous for all their Party near Banbury in Oxfordshire, where he publish'd his Declaration, inviting People to join with him to establish the above-mention'd Form of Government, and to demand Justice for the Death of Mr. Arnold, an Agitator formerly shot at Ware, and for the Blood of Mr. Robert Lockyer, murdered at London by Martial Law. Into this Party fell all Officers and Soldiers who thought themselves disoblig'd by the Parliament or Council of State. There had been several Regiments order'd for Ireland, and to prevent any Disgust, those Regiments were drawn by Lots.

Levellers
under
Thomp-
son.

Horse.

Commissary General Ireton's, Col. Scrope's,
Col. Horton's, Col. Lambert's.A. D.
1642.

Foot.

Col. Exer's, Col. Cooke's, Col. Hewson's,
Col. Deane's, Col. Reynolds's, Col. Venable's.

The Troopers of Col. Scrope's Regiment quarter'd in and about Salisbury, declar'd against this Service, and having corrupted some of Ireton's and other Soldiers, twelve Troops left their Officers, and endeavour'd to join the Mutineers under Thompson, but were intercepted near Abingdon by the Generals Fairfax and Cromwel, to whom they submitted, and the Generals detach'd Col. Reynolds to pursue Thompson, who fled at his Approach into the Town of Banbury; but finding he could not defend it, he order'd a Party to make a Stand at a Lane's End while the rest drew off towards Burford. Col. Reynolds met them at Nenebridge, which he made good against them while the Generals advanc'd with a Body of the Army. The Mutineers forded the River and got into Burford. General Fairfax came up with them the 14th of May, about Twelve at Night, having sent a Forlorn under Capt. Okey to assist Reynolds. Okey met Thompson's Scouts, drove them into the Town, which the General's Regiment of Horse and other Forces enter'd. The Mutineers made some Resistance by firing out at the Windows; but the General, to prevent their Destruction, and that of the Town, offering them Quarter, they yielded. There were taken in the Place 900 Horse and Arms, 400 Prisoners, and 12 Colours. The Prisoners were most of them Troopers, seduc'd into this Mutiny, many of the Multitude ran away at Banbury, and not above 40 that were in Burford escap'd, among them was Thompson, who being join'd by other Desperadoes, possess'd himself of Northampton, of the Ordnance, Ammunition, Provisions and Money there. From thence he went to Wellingborough, and was pursu'd by Capt. Butler with a Party of Horse, who fell into his Quarters, took most of his Men, and Thompson made his Escape into a Wood, which Butler beset, and found him there. He was well mounted, and tho' alone, rode desperately up to Butler's Party, shot a Cornet, wounded another, and retreated to a Bush, having himself receiv'd two Wounds. As Butler's Men approach'd near him, he charg'd again with his Pistol, receiv'd another Shot, and retreated again. He came up a third Time, crying, *I scorn to take Quarter*, and then a Corporal with a Carabine loaden with seven Bullets shot him dead, and with him dy'd a wretched Cause, in which the Royalists had founded all their Hopes. His Brother, one Cornet Deane, and some other Ringleaders were try'd by a Council of War, condemn'd, and shot to Death.

Routed.

and kill'd.

Treason
declar'd.

These Mutinies caus'd the passing of an Act to declare Treasons, and to serve in the same Cases as the Statute of 25 Edw. III. *To affirm that the present Government was tyrannical, usurp'd or unlawful, or that the Commons in Parliament are not the supreme Authority, or to endeavour to alter the present Government, was declar'd High Treason; the like to affirm the same of the Council of State; the like to contrive the Death of the General or Lieutenant General of the Army. To raise Mutinies amongst the Soldiers, to join with those that invade England or Ireland, to levy War against the Parliament, to counterfeit the Great Seal, to kill any Member of Parliament, Judge, or Minister of Justice*

in

A. D. 1649. *in that Duty.* This Act, and all Acts of the Commonwealth pass'd in Parliament, were proclaim'd by the Sheriffs and Magistrates all over England.

The Generals Fairfax and Cromwell at Oxford.

After the General and Lieutenant General had suppress'd the Mutineers in *Oxfordshire*, they both went to *Oxford*, attended with several Officers of the Army; the University having sent a Deputation to invite them to that City, Colonel *Zanby* being then one of the *Proctors*, as Fellow of *All-Souls* College. Having been nobly entertain'd, they were created *Doctors* of the *Civil Law*, and the following made *Masters of Art*; Sir *Hardress Waller*, Major General *Harrison*, Col. *Richard Ingoldsby*, Col. *John Hewson*, Col. *John Okey*, Major *Blackmore*, *John Rusworth*, Esq; *Edmund Scrope*, Esq; *George Sedescue*, Esq; Adjutant General, Col. *Edward Grosvenour*, Col. *William Goffe*, Col. *Owen Roe*, *Francis Buller*, Esq; Major *Browne*, Col. *Cobbet*, &c.

Whitlocke, a much better Scholar than the *Oxonians* have to produce against him, informs us, divers learned and congratulatory Speeches were made to the Generals by the *Vice-Chancellor*, Dr. *Reynolds*, afterwards Bishop of *Norwich*, the *Proctors*, and other Heads and Officers of the University. From *Oxford* the Lord General went to the *Ile of Wight* to view the Ports there, thence to *Southampton*, *Portsmouth*, and as he drew near *London* he had a Rendezvous of the Army. The next Day, *May* the 31st, he arriv'd at *London*, as did also Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, and both having made Report of their suppressing the Mutineers, and quieting the Army and Country, they had the solemn Thanks of the House, and a Day of Thanksgiving being appointed for it, some of the Common-Council of *London* brought a Message to the Parliament, to invite them to dine that Day with the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, at *Grocers Hall*, and to desire that they might have the Favour to solemnize that Day with the House at what Church they pleas'd. The House voted *Christ-Church* should be the Place, and return'd the City their hearty Thanks for their Invitation, as did also the General and the Officers of the Army, who were also invited. The Council of State took the Ceremonial of this Feast into Consideration, and having made their Report to the Parliament, it was order'd, That when the Speaker with the House came into the City, the Lord-Mayor should deliver up to him the Sword, as he us'd to do to the King, and that at the Feast the Speaker should sit above the Lord-Mayor. On the 7th of *June* the Speaker, with the House of Commons, the Lord General, with the Officers of the Army, the Lord President, with the Council of State, after having heard two Sermons preach'd by Mr. *Goodwin* and Dr. *Owen*, went to *Grocers Hall* to Dinner. The Speaker sat first, next to him the Lord-Mayor, then the Lord General: Then the Earl of *Pembroke* call'd to the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* to sit down, as the eldest Commissioner of the Great Seal; *Whitlocke* excus'd it, desiring the Earl to sit down first; but he spoke aloud, *What do you think I will sit down before you? I have given Place heretofore to Bishop Williams, to my Lord Coventry, and to my Lord Littleton, and you have the same Place they had, and as much Honour belongs to the Place under a Commonwealth as under a King, and you are a Gentleman as well born and bred as any of them.* The Earl oblig'd Mr. *Whitlocke* to take Precedence of him, sitting down himself next to him: Then the Lord President of the Council, and the other Commissioners of

Parliament and Generals feasted by the City.

the Great Seal, then the Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Howard*, then Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, and other Members of Parliament, and of the Council of State. At two Tables on each Side of the Hall sat other Members, and at a Table in the Middle of the Hall sat Major General *Lambert*, and other Officers of the Army. The Judges sat in a Room over the Parlour, which was very large; the Aldermen and some Common Council Men at another Table in the same Room. The Musick was only Drums and Trumpets. The Feast was very sumptuous. No Healths were drunk, nor any Incivility pass'd. Besides the Overplus of the Meats left at Dinner, 400*l.* was given to the Poor of *London*.

The next Day some Members of the House and of the City were order'd to return the Parliament's hearty Thanks to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, for their great Love and Civilities Yesterday express'd to the Parliament and Army; and a Committee having consider'd what Mark of Honour and Favour should be bestow'd upon the City for their real Affection to the Commonwealth, 'twas reported and resolv'd, That *New Park* near *Richmond*, and all the Deer in it, should be given them; and the City presented the Lord General with a large and weighty Bason and Ewer of beaten Gold, and Lieutenant General *Cromwell* with 300 Pounds in Plate and 200 Pieces of Gold; but *Echard*, after such another History Writer, affirms, the City Cooks were forc'd to take an Oath that they would not poison the Lord Mayor's Guests. I wonder he left out what the same Historian said after, *The Saints were too full of the Creature, Anglice, drunk.* I have sometimes made use of this Author my self; but it was not out of choice, or for his Excellence; but when I thought his Authority would be prefer'd to *Whitlocke* or *Rusworth*, as it is by all the Admirers of the Lord *Clarendon*, and Mr. *Echard*'s Sincerity and Impartiality for this Historian does certainly as well deserve to be admir'd as they do.

The Commonwealth being pretty well settled at home, they took into Consideration the State of their Affairs abroad. Prince *Rupert* had got together almost twenty Sail of Ships, with which he made some Attempts against the Parliament's Friends on the Coast of *Ireland*. Admiral *Blake* and Admiral *Dean*, with a Squadron of Men of War, were order'd for that Coast to watch his Motions, and Admiral *Popham* to cruize off *Portugal*, and hinder his sheltering in any of the Ports of that Kingdom. *Blake* and *Dean* having block'd up Prince *Rupert* in *Kinsale*, the latter was order'd to lie with his Squadron off *Ireland*, between that and *England*; and Admiral *Popham*, when he return'd from the Coast of *Portugal*, where he intercepted Part of the *Brazil* Fleet, which he sent home to *England*, had Orders to guard the Coast between the *Downs* and *Portsmouth*, Sir *George Ayscue* lay in *Dublin* Road. Thus was *England* secur'd against any Enemy from without, and had none to fear from within but a restless Party, who were instigating the *Scots* to raise new Troubles, tho' they had paid so dearly for the like Enterprizes the last Year, and are like to pay as dearly again the next.

The Affairs of *Ireland* were almost at the Extremity when the Parliament proceeded against the late King in the manner we have related. The Earl of *Inchiquin*, disgusted at some Sights which he thought the Lord *Liste*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, had put upon him, and at the Parliament's taking no more Notice of him, which was occasion'd in a great measure by their

A. D. 1649. Divisions in *England*, resolv'd to be reveng'd, and sacrifice his Country and Religion to his Resentment; and tho' Col. *Temple* had oblig'd him against his Will to fall upon the *Irish*, whom the *English* had taken at a Disadvantage, and routed them, with the Slaughter of some Thousands, yet he soon after declar'd against the Parliament, and join'd with the *Irish* Rebels, with whom *Ormond*, return'd to *Ireland* from *France*, join'd again; and they altogether would have utterly destroy'd the *English* Interest in that Kingdom, had not the Discontent of one of the most inveterate of those Rebels, *Owen Roe O'Neal*, their General in *Ulster*, hinder'd their accomplishing their Design before the Army arriv'd from *England*, and put an End to them all by Conquest and Chastisement. Not only the Earl of *Inchiquin* had deserted the Parliament's Service, the Lord *Brogbill*, who had serv'd them very faithfully and successfully, had form'd the same Design; and having procur'd a Pass, by Means of the Earl of *Warwick*, under Pretence of going to *Aix la Chapelle* to drink the Waters, he came privately to *London*, intending to wait upon the King in *France*. He was no sooner arriv'd at *London*, but there came to him a Gentleman from *Oliver*, lately made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to acquaint him that the Lord General *Cromwel* would pay him a Visit if he knew when he would be at Leisure to receive him, which very much surpriz'd *Brogbill*, who had never had any Acquaintance with him; wherefore he told the Gentleman he suppos'd he was mistaken in the Person to whom he was sent; which the Messenger convincing him that he was not, the Lord *Brogbill* own'd who he was, and said he would not give his Excellency the Trouble, but would wait upon him. The Gentleman had not been long gone before *Cromwel* came himself, and after the first Salutations, desir'd to speak with his Lordship in private, when he told him he had a great Respect for him, and was therefore come to acquaint him with something that very nearly concern'd him, and to give him Advice upon it. He then let him know that the Council of State had Information of his Design in crossing the Water, which the Lord *Brogbill* had communicated to two or three trusty Friends only, that instead of going to the *Spaw* he intended to go to the King, and take a Commission from him to act against the Parliament in *Ireland*: That the Council had good Proof of what he said, and could produce Copies of his Letters to that Purpose, upon which it was resolv'd to send him Prisoner to the Tower, which had been done if himself had not prevented it, and obtain'd Time for him to confer with his Lordship, to see whether he might not be prevail'd with to alter his Purpose. The Lord *Brogbill*, seeing it would signify nothing to evade the Matter, begg'd *Cromwel's* Pardon, thank'd him for his good Offices, and desir'd him to advise him. *Cromwel* return'd his Compliment, and said, the Council of State and he were no Strangers to his Actions in *Ireland*, and the subduing of the *Rebels* being committed to him, he was impower'd by the Council to offer him a General Command if he would serve in that War. This Offer was made so frankly, and the Necessity of that Service so well explain'd, that *Brogbill* accepted it, and gave his Word and Honour that he would be faithful to the Parliament. *Cromwel* was very well pleas'd with having engag'd him in their Interest; and the Lord *Brogbill* having receiv'd a Commission to be Master of the Ordnance, and to command in *Munster*, repair'd to *Bristol*, where he embark'd for *Ireland*, and was no sooner arriv'd in that King-

dom, than several Gentlemen who had serv'd under him in those Wars, join'd him, with whom and their Followers he form'd a Troop of Horse, and in a little Time rais'd a Regiment of 1500 Foot, which were in a Readiness to join *Cromwel* at his Landing. Till then he was forc'd to stand on the Defensive, and indeed he would not have been able to have made his Levies, if *Ormond* and *Inchiquin*, with their *Irish* Rebels, Papists and Cavaliers, had not been employ'd in the Siege of *Dublin*, which they had much streighten'd. Col. *Monk* had deliver'd up *Dundalk* to *Inchiquin*, and *Tredah* was surrender'd to *Ormond* and the *Irish* Rebels. *Monk* pretended the *Scots* had deserted him, and going over to *England*, he was question'd for corresponding with *O'Neal*. *Ormond's* Forces took *Rathfarnam* near *Dublin*, and 1500 of them were sent to fortify *Baginbun*. In order to hinder the *English* Army from landing at *Ringsend*, *Baginbun* had a Rampart of Earth about it, and the Enemy had wrought upon it a whole Night to augment its Strength. The next Morning Col. *Jones*, Governor of *Dublin*, perceiving their Design, thought it absolutely necessary to remove them from thence before their Work was finish'd. To that End he drew all his Forces, both Horse and Foot, to the Works that fac'd the Enemy, and leaving a sufficient Body of Men in the Town to defend it, he sall'y'd out, August the 2d, with about 1200 Horse and 4000 Foot, who soon enter'd the Enemy's new Works, and slew most of the 1500 Men who were employ'd in it, their Horse deserting them at the first Charge. Sir *William Vaughan*, who commanded them, was kill'd. Those that escap'd fled to their Main Body, and brought News of their Defeat to *Ormond*, who was at *Cards*, and cry'd, *I wish the Rebels would come, that we may have some Sport with them*. But the Words were hardly out of his Mouth before the *English* were come indeed, and falling into his Camp, upon which he flung down his *Cards* and got two or three Regiments to engage, but they were soon routed, and himself, with the Remnants of his Royal Army, as 'twas call'd, fled in great Confusion to *Rathmims*. Col. *Jones* follow'd him closely, finding little Opposition except from a Party of *Inchiquin's* Horse that had formerly serv'd the Parliament, who defended a Pass for some Time, *Ormond* and whom having defeated and dispers'd, he march'd with all Diligence up to the Walls of *Dublin*. *Rathmims*, which the *Irish* Rebels expected he would storm, and threw down their Arms, *Ormond* not staying there for his coming. The Popish and Cavalier Army were 19000, and Col. *Jones's* not much above 5000; yet they slew 4000, took almost 3000 Prisoners, besides 2000 that surrender'd in a Body, voluntarily offering to serve the Parliament, of whose Forces not above twenty were missing, but many wounded. This glorious Action would scarce be credible, if it was not confirm'd even by the Report of the Royalists, and it is a particular Happiness their Historians have to pass off their Generals as Heroes even in the Midst of the most shameful Rout and utter Ruin. *Ormond's* Brother was taken by Col. *Reynolds*, who threaten'd to pistol him unless he shew'd which way his Brother fled. The Colonel pursu'd him, and came so near as to take one of his Company. But *Ormond* himself was too nimble for all Pursuit, tho' he hang'd a great Number for flying. The Plunder of the Field was very great, 4000 Pounds in Cash was found in *Rathfarnam*. The Papists and Royalists abandon'd all their little Garrisons near *Dublin*, and a Week after they rais'd the Siege of *Londonderry*, which had been gallantly

A. D. 1649. lantly defended by Sir Charles Coote. Thus were the Affairs of Ireland in a very promising Condition, when Lieutenant General Cromwel arriv'd there about the 20th of August, with an Army of 12000 Horse and Foot, which with the Forces in and about Dublin made 16 or 17000 Men. As his Departure from London was with Princely Pomp, so was his Reception at Dublin, where he made a smooth Speech to the Officers, Civil and Military, and others who waited to receive him at his Landing. Ormond soon after sent Trumpets to Col. Jones on several Errands, but Cromwel would give them no Hearing, saying, *All Addresses must be made to himself, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.* He staid not many Days at Dublin, but took the Field; and Ormond shutting up his Men in garrison'd Towns, Cromwel besieg'd Drogheda, where were between 3 and 4000 Men under Sir Arthur Aston, the Popish Governor of Reading. The English, after they had batter'd the Town a while, enter'd at a Breach, and were forc'd out again, but at the second Attack they drove the Papists and Cavaliers into the Upper Town, which they enter'd with them, and put all they met in Arms to the Sword. Sir Arthur Aston the Governor, and some of the chief Officers, as Col. Walton a Papist, Col. Castles, and Col. Symonds, got into the Mill-mount, a strong Fort in the Town, but Cromwel's Men storm'd it, master'd it, and slew them all. 140 of these Desperadoes got into a Tower, and being summon'd, would not yield, but kill'd and wounded some of the Protestant Soldiers, till seeing the English about to enter, they flung down their Arms. The Officers were knock'd on the Head, the Men decimated, and the rest ship'd for Barbadoes. The Author of the *History of the Rebellion* here is very merry: *Sir Arthur Aston made no doubt of defending the Place; the Marquis of Ormond made less doubt of relieving it; and then comes a Passage, the Mirth of which is taken off by the Falstity: He put every Man, Governor and Officers, to the Sword; he put all the Citizens who were Irish, Man, Woman and Child, to the Sword; which is so scandalously false, that I ought not to take any Notice of his History, till some of his Adorers and Copiers have given the World Satisfaction in it. Ludlow assures us, Cromwel's Command about Quarter related to the Soldiers only, and Whitlocke, after Cromwel himself, that a Lieutenant of the Garrison of Drogheda carry'd the News of its being taken to Ormond, which shews they were not all kill'd.*

And Wexford.

After this Success the Lord Lieutenant march'd to Wexford, from thence Commissioners came to treat; but no Cessation of Arms having been agreed upon, Cromwel's Men batter'd the Castle, made a Breach, enter'd it, and set up their Colours; at Sight of which the Enemy left their Station in all Parts, and the Town was taken without further Opposition. Here the Slaughter was not great, and many more of the Irish Rebels and Cavaliers perish'd by crowding into and oversetting Boats in the Harbour than by the Sword. After these Successes the Army grew sickly, but the Parliament took care to send Recruits in time, which enabled the Lord Lieutenant to reduce Ross and Goran, the latter surrendering at Discretion, and delivering up the Officers, Cromwel order'd them to be shot to Death. Kilkenny made some small Resistance, but yielded on what Terms the Lord Lieutenant thought fit to give them. Youghall, Cork and Kinsale were deliver'd to the Parliament's Forces by the Contrivance and Diligence of some Officers, and well affected Persons in those

Places. The Lord Broghill came to the General at Wexford with 200 Horse and about 2000 Foot, to which were join'd a Body of the English Army, and his Lordship was order'd to watch the Motions of Inchiquin, while the Lord Lieutenant laid Siege to Clonmel; in his March thither he was met by the Corporation of Feather with a Tender of their Submission, which he accepted, left his sick Men there, and then sat down before Clonmel, the Garrison of which Town, with their Governor Colonel Hugh O Neale, an Irish Massacrer at their Head, march'd out in the Night, after Commissioners, whom they had sent to treat had sign'd an Agreement to surrender the Town the next Day. Dungarvon and Carrick were next reduc'd, and then the Lord Lieutenant march'd to Waterford, having sent Orders to the Forces about Dublin, which were in better Health to join his Army. The latter, 1500 Foot and 500 Horse were attack'd by the Lord Inchiquin between Ardo and Wexford, who had some Advantage at the first Charge, but Cromwel's Men, though miserably afflicted with the Flux, rally'd very resolutely, attack'd and broke a Body of Inchiquin's Horse, upon which the rest drew off, and permitted Cromwel's Soldiers to continue their March. Inchiquin's Men had serv'd under him, when he was in the Parliament's Service, and General Ludlow reflects upon it thus, *By which it eminently appear'd of what Importance it is towards Success to fight in the Cause of our Country, for these very Men, as long as they were engag'd with us perform'd Wonders against the Rebels, and now being engag'd with them were almost as easily overcome, as they had beaten the Irish before.* In Clarendon and Eckard we are fed with Hopes and Expectations of Miracles to be done by Ormond and Inchiquin, whose Achievements are not worth remembrance, since they leagu'd with the Irish Massacrers. The latter had a mean Opinion of them, and their Performances witness what one of their Leaders, the Lord of Glenmaleiro, said at a Consultation how to destroy the English Army; some advis'd to draw all their Forces together to give Battle, others to betake themselves to the Woods and Bogs, and from thence break Cromwel's Forces by Parties, but that Lord assur'd them of a Way, which if taken would certainly effect it, and that is, said he, *Induce them to make Peace with us, for they are a successful Army, and our Men are dispirited, and not likely to get any Thing by fighting with them, and to weary them out by our Surprises and Depredations, is impossible, as long as the Way from England is open for their Supplies. But the other Way I propose will infallibly ruin them. For did not our Ancestors by the same Means render the Conquests of Queen Elizabeth fruitless to the English, and have we not thereby ruined the Earl of Ormond and Inchiquin already, who having been always successful when against us, have been famous for nothing since their Conjunction with us, but the Losses and Repulses which they have sustain'd.* Yet the Earl of Clarendon leads this same Ormond through his History, driving his Enemies every where before him, and makes his very Name to be as terrible to the Roundheads as Cromwel's was to the Irish Rebels, and their Confederates the Royalists.

A. D. 1649.

The Irish have a mean Opinion of Ormond.

While Cromwel was preparing for the Siege of Waterford, he received a Letter from the Parliament of England, requiring his Attendance there, to concert with him the Management of their intended War with the Scots, who had invited King Charles the Second to take Possession of that Kingdom, which was to help him to recover England;

A. D. 1649. *England*; and how they help'd him, and how they paid for it, will be seen in the following Pages. But we must first inquire into the Fortune of Prince *Rupert*, who was in *Ireland* with a Squadron of Ships to assist *Ormond* and the *Irish* Rebels as far as he himself had Assistance.

Prince Rupert.

The Winter approaching, General *Blake* was oblig'd to enter into Harbour, by which Means Prince *Rupert* with the Ships then in *Irish* Ports, had an Opportunity to escape and sail to *Lisbon*, where they were relieved and protected. General *Popham* follow'd him, and was order'd to declare War with that King, if he did not forbid the *English* revolted Ships his Ports, which he refusing to do, the Parliament order'd their Admirals to take all *Portugal* Ships that came in their Way. The *English* Admiral kept Prince *Rupert* in the River of *Lisbon* as long as his Provisions lasted, but being oblig'd to remove for Supplies, the Prince made his Escape, and sail'd to *Malaga*, but his Fleet were separated in a Storm. The Parliament's Ships observ'd and pursu'd the Prince very narrowly. The latter lost all his Ships but two, which his Pursuers looking upon as inconsiderable, and not worth their Time and Pains to hunt after them, return'd and left him Sea-Room to come with them into *France*.

King Charles II.

It is Time to take some Notice of the Proceedings of the young King *Charles II.* who was at the *Hague* when his Father was beheaded, and in a very poor Condition, insomuch that his Credit would not pass for 200 Pounds, as appears by the following Note of his Hand to Mr. *L'Empereur*, a Banker at the *Hague*, which I transcrib'd from the Original.

The Hage, 4th Dec. 1648.

Charles P.

Received of Mr. Emperor for my Service the Som of two hundred Pounds, which I oblige my self to see repay'd within three Months after the Date hereof. And I assure you it is a Kindness I am very sensible of, and in return of it I shall be ready to appear,

Your affectionate,

C. P.

Mr. *L'Empereur* refus'd to lend this Money, though the Duke of *York* did some Time after offer to be bound for it, as by this Letter. I give the original Spelling, to shew what Scribes their Royal Highnesses, or their Secretaries were,

Mr. Emperore,

My Brother hath desired you to lend 200 Pounds, and it is my Desire also that you would lend it him, which if you, or any of your Friends do I shall take it as a great Kindness, and I promise to see it payed in 6 Monthes. I rest,

Your Friend,

Yorke.

But lest both these Letters and Securities should not succeed, the Duke of *York* writes to Mr. ——— a Servant of his, to try what he could do on his own Credit.

I Used all my Power to procure two Hundred Pounds, but I cannot yet compass it, els truly you should have had it payed you. I have sent a Blank with my Hand to it, pray they if any Body will be so much my Friend as to lend it, and assure them, upon the Word of a Prince, I will most faithfully repay it. Methinkes you should find some Body so kind to me as to trust

me for such a Sum as two Hundred Pounds. I am sure I have never broke my Word with any Body yet, nor never will, and whoever doth me this Kindness I shall always remember as my Friend; and if ever it lieth in my Power he shall find how kindly I take it. I am always,

Your affectionate,

Yorke.

A. D. 1649.

Neither of these Letters had any Success with *L'Empereur*, but the Gentleman to whom they were address'd joining his own Security with theirs, in about 8 Month's Time got another Banker, one *Boyer*, to advance the Money. One may easily conceive to what Want and Misery these two unhappy Princes were reduc'd, by the numerous Crowd of Fugitives who hung upon them for Bread, and the small Supplies the ruin'd Cavaliers could furnish them with. The Gentleman to whom these Letters were address'd, was sent to *Venice* to try what the Senate would do for the late King in his Life-time, but he had cold Entertainment there. The Lord *Crofts* and Sir *John Denham* had the Character of Ambassadors to the King of *Poland*, and they borrow'd of the *English* Merchants in his Dominions 10000 Pounds, which had but small neat Produce after the Charge of the Embassy was deducted. The Czar of *Muscovy* sent no Money, but to oblige King *Charles* the Second he drove all the *English* Traders out of his Country. And though the Queen very much magnify'd the Assistance King *Charles* might expect from *France*, yet she her self found so little when she retir'd thither for Subsistence, that she was allow'd but 12000 Crowns a Year, and 6 Months after the King her Husband's Death that Pension was reduc'd to 7000 Crowns a Year, and so far was she from being in any Condition to support her Sons, that she could not maintain her self and her Daughter the Princess *Henrietta Maria* in the Plight of a rich Citizen's Wife. Cardinal *Retz* speaks of it thus in his Memoirs. "A few Days before the

Whitlocke

De Retz, p. 142.

King left *Paris* I visited the Queen of *England*, whom I found in the Apartment of her Daughter, since Madam *D'Orleans*, You see Sir, said the Queen, I come to keep *Henrietta* Company. The poor Child has lain in Bed all Day for want of a Fire. The Truth is, Cardinal *Mazarine* having stopp'd the Queen's Pension 6 Months, Tradesmen were unwilling to give her Credit, and there was not a Chip of Wood in the House. You may be sure I took Care that a Princess of Great Britain should not be confin'd to her Bed next Day for want of a Faggot. And a few Days after I exaggerated the Scandal of this Neglect, and the Parliament sent the Queen a Present of 40000 Livres. Posterity will hardly believe, that the Queen of *England*'s Daughter, and the Grand-daughter to *Henry the Great*, wanted a Faggot to get out of Bed in the Month of *January* in the *Louvre*, and at the Court of *France*." *De Retz* adds, Her Condition made little Impression on the Minds of the People at that Time. For though the Earl of *Clarendon* would fain have you believe that the King and his Followers were received by Foreigners as if they had not been Exiles, but were travelling for their Glory or Pleasure, yet it is most certain, they were no where Welcome, and where-ever they were suffer'd 'twas out of Decency more than Choice, unless any foreign Power took Occasion to quarrel with *England*, and then the Exiles were caref'd, and flatter'd with golden Hopes, till a Peace was made again, which never fail'd to banish them out of the Territories they had shelter'd in.

The

A. D.
1649.The King's
Ambassadors in
Spain.Whitlocke
P. 414.

The Earl of Clarendon gives us a very splendid and wordy Account of his and the Lord Cottington's Embassy to the Court of Spain, from whence they brought not a Penny of Money for their Master, and where they often wanted a Penny for themselves. When these Lords Ambassadors arriv'd in Spain, they inform'd the Catholick King and his Ministers, *That the Parliament of England had been in Arms against their Master's Father, had prevail'd against him, and caus'd him to be put to Death*, which was stale News to them; their Minister in England, *Don Cardenas*, a Grandee of Spain, having been one of the first who congratulated the Commonwealth, who accepted not of his Compliment at first, on Account of some Failure in the Address, which the Don soon mended, and the Earl of Clarendon knew this. He knew that the Spaniards courted the Friendship of the Parliament more than that of any Monarch, Prince or State in the World, yet his Brother Cottington and he were at the Pains to cross the Country from *Brussels to Madrid* to tell the King of Spain, *That their Master, Son and Heir to the late King, was kept out of his Kingdom by the aforesaid Parliament*, which indeed was very true, but so well known that it was hardly worth telling; and that *he desir'd the King of Spain's neighbourly Assistance to establish him into his Rights and Dignities*: A hopeful Errand these Lord Ambassadors, for so Sir Edward Hyde always calls himself and his Brother Cottington, went upon, and they had as hopeful an Answer. *The King of Spain was sorry for his Father's ill Success, wishing he had been more Prosperous: That he condol'd with him for his Father's Death, and was much affected with sorrow at the Manner of it: That concerning the Difference between him and the Parliament, and the Rights on the one or the other Side, they being Matters out of his Territories and Jurisdictions, he could not take Cognizance of them, nor should he meddle therein*: Such was the Success of the Lord Ambassador Hyde's Magnificent Embassy, the Pumps and Vanities of which, whoever has a Mind to see, will find abundant Satisfaction in his Detail of the Embassy in near 100 Pages of the History of the Rebellion; only Sir Edward Hyde had the Misfortune to drop his Brother Ambassador, who staid behind him in Spain, and openly profess'd the Popish Religion, which his Places would not let him do in England.

An Accident happen'd while these Ambassadors were in Spain, which might have prov'd fatal to them, had the Friendship between England and Spain been better fix'd, and that was the before mention'd Murder of Mr. *Ascham* the English Minister at Madrid, who arriv'd there with Credentials from the Parliament, after which no Body could think the two other Ambassadors would have any Notice taken of them. One of the Assassins who murder'd the Envoy Mr. *Ascham* and his Interpreter *Ripa*, a Spanish Priest, was *Progers*, a Servant of the Lord Ambassador Hyde's, whose Account of the Murder represents it as a gallant Action, which a little Discretion would have hinder'd, for it was neither discreet nor decent to talk libellously of an Assassination, which rid him of a Rival he was in no Capacity to cope with in Show, Expense or Interest. Twice does the well bred Historian call Mr. *Ascham*, this Fellow, out of burning Envy, at the Magnificence of his Appearance, and the Largeness of his Appointments, a French Author says, *On assignat a Ascham deplus gages qu' aux autres afin qu' il put faire un depense qui repondit au faste de la Cour d'*

Espagne, le Ministre fit a Madrid une des entrees les plus superbes qu' on eut jamais veu faire ades Ambassadeurs de tetes Couronnees. "He had a greater Salary than ordinary, that his Expence might be answerable to the Splendor of the Court of Spain. He made one of the most pompous Entries into Madrid that Ambassadors of crown'd Heads had ever been seen to make." The King of Spain sent an Agent express to give an Account to the Parliament of England of the great Industry of his Ministers to discover the Murderers, whom the Earl of Clarendon stiles the *poor Gentlemen*. The Council of State was for resenting the Murder, as became the Dignity of so potent a Republick, and for making Representations accordingly to the Parliament; but *Oliver* hinder'd it, saying, *All in good Time*; and the Commonwealth had not yet determin'd which Scale to put their Weight into, that of France or Spain: However he spoke to the Spanish Ambassador *Cardenas*, in a Tone that gave him Reason to fear the Consequences, if Satisfaction was not given the Parliament, who wrote to the Catholick King; thus,

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England to the most serene and most potent Prince, Philip IV. King of Spain.

"HAving to our great Grief, been inform'd of the Murder of our Minister, Mr. *Ascham*, in your capital City, by an infamous Parricide, we earnestly entreat your Majesty to punish those Assassins as they deserve, &c.

They all made their Escape but one, and he was hang'd, to the great Mortification of the Lord Ambassadors, *Hyde and Cottington*.

The King was at the Hague, when his Ambassadors set out for Spain; but the Assassination of *Dorisslaus* made that Place uneasy to him; so he remov'd to *Breda*, leaving his Train to come after him; thence he went to *Antwerp*; thence to *Brussels*; and thence to *St. Germain* in France, where his Mother resided, and where there was some Difference among his Followers, concerning Col. *Windham*, Governor of *Bridgewater*, when *Fairfax* took it, whom the King had a great Mind to make Secretary, for which, as little Business as there was for one, Sir Edward Hyde assures us he was not at all fit, and it is one of the truest Characters in the History. From *St. Germain*, the King went to *Fersey*, from whence he intended to go to *Ireland*, but was prevented by the Rapidity of *Cromwel's* Conquests there: To *Fersey* came Commissioners from the Parliament of Scotland to invite him to that Kingdom, and how that Affair succeeded will be told in the next Year's Transactions: In the mean Time he was proclaim'd King in *Fersey*, and about 300 Royalists came with, and repair'd to him there, but brought small Effects with them; and one may see how unmercifully the banish'd Cavaliers plunder'd this unfortunate Prince; for *Whitlocke* informs us *Mazarine* sent him 100000 Crowns, when he was going to *Fersey*; and *Echard* says, he had but 300 Pounds when he landed on that Island.

I have before me a Letter written by the Duke of York, to the Envoy at Venice, who was also commission'd to go to Savoy, and several Princes of Italy, but had no better Success than what we read in it.

I Have receiv'd both your Letters, and am very glad you have done so well in
5 P ger-

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1649.

A. D. getting us the Freedom of Villa Franca for our
1649. *Ships.*

Jersey,
Jan. 13.

Yours, &c.

JAMES.

Prince *Rupert* had it seems got some more Ships, and being doubtful whether the *Portuguese* would admit him into their Harbours, which the *Spaniards* had refus'd, the King was desirous to secure a Retreat for them on the Coast of *Italy*.

Council of
the Army.

Besides, the Council of State, whose Powers we have already mention'd, there was a Council of the Army, of whom we shall have too much Occasion to speak in the Sequel of this History. They were now a little too assuming, but as yet they kept within Bounds; though they presented a Petition to the Parliament, which was sign'd by the Lord General *Fairfax*, and the Council of Officers, That all *Laws which restrain'd Liberty of Conscience should be remov'd*, especially those that enjoy'd *Popery, Prelacy, and the Common Prayer Book*: They also desir'd new Laws against *Profaneness, Drunkenness, Swearing, Uncleaness*; That the *Course of the Law may be made more easy and less expensive*, &c. Col. *Goffe*, and Col. *Pride*, who presented this Petition, were call'd into the House, and had their Thanks for it. *Cromwell* also wrote to them for Liberty of Conscience to all but *Papists* and *Prelatists*, which was intended in Favour of *Independents* and *Baptists*, who had the greatest Interest in the *Soldiery*; but the Government, if the Army had not interpos'd, inclin'd rather to *Presbyterian* Discipline.

Sir Ken-
nelm Dig-
by.

Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and Mr. *Walter Montagu* lurking about *London*, the Parliament order'd them to depart the Commonwealth within 40 Days upon Pain of Death and Confiscation of their Estates; and if any one harbour'd either of them afterwards, his Estate was to be sequestred. Sir *John Winter*, another busy *Papist*, having staid beyond the Time formerly granted him, the Council of State were directed to take Care for the apprehending of him; upon which he surrender'd himself, disclaim'd the *Pope*, and all foreign Power, and put himself upon the Mercy of the Parliament.

Endeavours were us'd to bring over the restless Party of *Levellers*, who though humbled were not suppress'd; and to please them, *Walceyn, Prince*, and *Overton*, who had been closely confin'd, had the Liberty of the *Tower* given them. Some of the *Grandees* had also a Meeting with some of the principal *Levellers*, to confer about a good Understanding and Agreement between all Interests. For the *Cavaliers* continu'd their Intrigues to raise Disturbances under the Name of that Party; intercepted Letters address'd to the Lord *Cottington*, advis'd the King to comply with the *Levellers*; and that the best Service his Friends could do him, was to set them on against the Parliament; accordingly some Soldiers of that Faction seiz'd their Officers at *Oxford*, fortify'd *New College*, from whence those Officers made their Escape to Col. *Ingoldsby* the Governor; who going out into the Town with a few Officers only, and commanding the mutinous Soldiers to march, pass'd on to *New College*, the Gates of which were open'd to him, and the Chief of the Mutineers were apprehended; the Soldiers differing among themselves, and as many being for yielding as for fighting: The Mutiny had no other ill Effects than the Death of one Centinel, shot by a *Levelling Trooper*, and the Punishment of the Mutineers,

who had now declar'd openly that Prince *Charles* should be brought in; and it is strange what a Spirit there was in some Men who had been embark'd in that Cause: For *Whitlocke* tells, one Captain *Reynolds*, a Cavalier, being together with 17 more Robbers, Burglars and Murderers hang'd at *Tyburn*, as he was going to be turn'd off the Ladder with the Rope about his Neck, cry'd out twice, *God bless the King, & Vive le Roy*. The *Levellers* were so numerous in the City, that Lieutenant Colonel *Lilburne* was chosen a Common Council Man, as was also Colonel *Pride*; but the House vacated the Election of *Lilburne*, as against the disabling Act, upon which *Lilburne* took the Engagement as that Act directed, but with a Declaration of his own Sense upon it. Mr. *Chetwyn*, who procur'd his Election to be a Common Council-Man, was upon some Complaint made against him, imprison'd, and afterwards by Order of Parliament committed to *Warwick Castle*, and discharg'd from being a Freeman of *London*, by a particular Act of Parliament. Some Votes pass'd against other Citizens upon the same Business. It is no hard Matter to trace the Practices of the Disaffected in our Times from the Example of the Royalists in the Time of the Republick. They both use the same Artifices to alienate the Peoples Minds from the Government; *Complaints of Taxes, of Standing Forces, of Sectaries, of cruel Prosecutions, and Injustice to the right Heir*, who has in Store for them the Blessings of the golden Age; but when the People after various Changes and Revolutions, made Experiment of that Age of Gold, it was just such another Present as *Jupiter* sent to *Epimetheus* by the Lady *Pandora*.

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We left the young King at *Jersey*, flatter'd with Hopes of making his Way to *England* through *Scotland*, where the bigotted *Kirkmen* were so out of Humour with the new Commonwealth of *England*, for the Scorn they put upon their Covenant, that they then prefer'd Subjection to the Son of a King whom they had dethron'd, to the Friendship of a State who would not subject their Consciences and Interests to the Biggotry and Enthusiasm of *Scots Ecclesiasticks*. There were three Parties in that Kingdom, who all seem'd to be reconcil'd in the Establishing King *Charles* the Second on the Throne of *Scotland*.

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One Party was that of *Argyle*, consisting of the most zealous of the *Kirk* Assembly who abhor'd *Popery, Prelacy, and Independency*, and had no Objection to the Commonwealth of *England*; but as they were afraid of its Power and its Favour to the *Independents*.

The other Party was that of *Hamilton*, who hated *Popery* and *Prelacy*, but had rather be *Prelatists* than *Independents*, and as *Presbyterians* were fond of *Monarchical Government*.

The third Party was that of *Montrose*, and consisted of the rank *Papists* and rigid *Episcopalians*, who matter'd not how Absolute and Arbitrary the King was over his Kingdom, if they might be Arbitrary and Absolute under him, and who were eager to venture their desperate Lives and little Fortunes in the King's Cause, only in hopes of being Masters of the Lives and Fortunes of others.

It was plain *Argyle* and *Montrose's* Parties could come no nearer one another than the two Poles; and that *Hamilton's* and *Argyle's* could only be reconcil'd while the Affair of the King's Establishment was transacting in the Manner *Argyle's* Party would have it.

Hamilton's and *Montrose's* Parties were not much nearer one another; for the *Papists* in
Mon-

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Montrose's Party could never come to a hearty Agreement with the Presbyterians in Hamilton's; and 'twas obvious they must fall to Pieces when they were at Leisure to think of their separate Interests, which were now precariously jumbled together; both of them in Appearance submitting to Argyle's Party as having the Kirk on their Side, though they both heartily hated them.

After this fair, though general Representation of the State of Scotland, how vain, how visionary will all the Lord Clarendon's Refinements of the King's Council appear to be, when nothing can be plainer, than that he had no Place to go to with his Train but Scotland, and that he must go thither on what Terms the Scots of Argyle's Party please to send him, which no doubt will be drawn up with little Regard to his Majesty or Honour. Those of his Counsellors who advis'd him to adhere steadily to his Father's Maxims, could not tell him where to get Money for his and their Subsistence, but being Delinquents, and liable to publick Justice at home, they valu'd not what their Master suffer'd abroad, if their Persons were by that Means kept any how out of Danger. The Scots having caus'd their King to be proclaim'd, they sent Sir George Windram, Laird of Libberton, though not very fond of the Errand, to him in Jersey with their Propositions,

Scots Propositions.

1. To sign and ratify the Covenant. 2. To pass an Act disclaiming Duke Hamilton's Enterprize in England. 3. To take away the King's negative Voice in Parliament. 4. To forbid Montrose's levying any Forces. 5. To put away all Papists, and appoint Commissioners to treat with Commissioners from Scotland about a Settlement of that Kingdom. Which the King consented to, and appointed the Hague for the Place of Treaty, in which 'tis suppos'd the Counsel he had from his Mother prevail'd more than that of his Counsellors. Windram return'd to Edinburgh with this Answer, and Sir William Fleming accompany'd him, to reside there as the King's Agent, who was instructed to demand on his Master's Part, that all should be exempted from the Benefit of their Agreement, as should be found to have had a Hand in the Death of his Father, without mentioning whom, which rais'd a Jealousy that it might reach to all who concerted to the giving up the King at Newcastle, and for that Reason it was not approv'd of. The King would have had the Marquis of Argyle to come and treat with him in Person, but the Kirk would not trust that Lord in the Company that was about him. However, the Scots supply'd their King with Money to carry him from Jersey to Holland, where soon after the Commissioners from Scotland arriv'd, all Friends to the Lord Argyle.

For the States,

Their Commissioners to treat with the King.

The Earl of Cassels, the Earl of Lothian, the Lord Burley, Sir George Windram, Sir John Smith, Mr. Jefferies.

For the Kirk.

Mr. Broady, Mr. Leviston, Mr. Wood.

The King goes to Scotland.

The Treaty, as Bishop Burnet observes, was quickly concluded. The King was in no Condition to struggle, but yielded to all their Demands, of taking the Covenant himself, and suffering others to take it. "All excommunicated Persons were to be forbidden his Court; Presbytery, the Directory of Worship, and the Assembly's Confession of Faith and Catechism, to be by Law establish'd and us'd in his own Family, &c." These Conditions being solemnly sign'd, the King and his Train embark'd for

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Scotland on board some Ships furnish'd him by the Prince of Orange, who not being in a Condition to do it, without at least the Privy of the States, the latter were next Year brought to a Reckoning for it.

In the mean Time the Marquis of Montrose had pick'd up between 2 and 3000 Men in Denmark and Holstein, with Intention to prepare the Way for the King's safe Reception in Scotland. Part of those Troops landed first in Orkney, and the rest at Cathness. With him came the Lord Frendrick, Sir John Hurrey, a Defeser from the Parliament to the King, Col. Johnson, Col. Gray, Sir Francis Hay, Col. James Hay, and Mr. Drummond. When all Montrose's Forces were join'd they made a Body of 2 or 3000 Men, against whom the States order'd David Lesley to march, but before he could come up Lieutenant Col. Straughan fell upon Montrose's Danes, Holsteiners, and Highlanders, and entirely defeated them, after a very warm Engagement slew 300 of them, and took 500 Prisoners; among whom were Hurrey, Frendrick, Napier, and other Persons of Note. Montrose threw himself upon the Lord Aston, but he would not protect him; on the contrary, he sent him under a strong Guard to David Lesley, who sent him to the Parliament at Edinburgh, where he was condemn'd to be hang'd on a Gibbet 30 Foot high, to be drawn and quarter'd, which Sentence was executed upon him the 21st of May; Sir John Hurrey, Col. Spotwood, Sir Francis Hay, and other of his Accomplices, were also hang'd, the Lord Frenderick starv'd himself to Death, and the Earl of Kinnoul was starv'd.

On the 16th of June the King landed in Scotland, but so privately, that it was not known till the 24th. The Beginning of his Reign, if it may be call'd a Reign, was very promising, he not only took the Solemn League and Covenant three Times, but sign'd this Declaration; He thank'd God for perswading him of the Justice of the Covenant which he had taken and subscrib'd, and resolv'd to maintain. He desir'd to be deeply humbled for his Father's bloody Actions and his Mother's Idolatry. He acknowledg'd all his own Sins, and the Sins of his Father's House; and would look upon them as Enemies who oppos'd the Covenant, which he took without any sinister End; and abhor'd all Popery, Superstition, Idolatry and Prelacy, declaring his Sorrow for his sinfulness in making Peace with the Irish REBELS. This, and a great deal more did the King set his Hand to, and the Archdeacon repeats it gravely, as if there had been nothing at all in it, though he was solemnly sworn to every Word of the Covenant, and not a Word of it was kept by him. Such plain Dealing and Sincerity cannot but recommend this Prince to two such Historians as the Author of the History of the Rebellion and Echar'd. Argyle behav'd towards the King with great Respect, and so did all his Party in Appearance, but they govern'd all without his Participation. The Chief of them were, the Marquis of Argyle, the Earl of Cassels, the Earl of Buccleugh, the Earl of Weymis, Sir Archibald Johnston, and Sir John Cheesley. Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Calendar, and the Earl of Lauderdale, were not suffer'd to come to Court, nor hardly any English Man who attended the King from Holland, except the Duke of Buckingham. An Army of 16000 Foot and 6000 Horse was rais'd to invade England, where they flatter'd themselves they should find the whole Nation ready to receive their King and them with open Arms, and it was given out in Scotland, that Cromwel would destroy the Kingdom with Fire and Sword, to incense the Scots against the

K. Charles II. takes the Covenant three Times in Scotland.

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the English, and to encourage them 'twas reported afterwards, he was routed in Ireland, and with four broken Troops only escap'd to Dublin. False News was one of the main Supports of the Cavalier Cause when it was in contest, as false History has been since the Dispute was over. I have seen a Letter from the Duke of York to a Servant of his dated in Jersey the 17th of August, a Fortnight before the Scots were routed at Dunbar, whercin he says,

The King is in Scotland in a good Condition, their being a great Army upon their Borders to meet with Cromwel, who is now very near them. We expect every Day to hear some good Newse from thence, and there is some good Newse come hither by several Ways, that Cromwel hath received some considerable Loss. To Morrow I go hence for Holland,

Your very affectionate Friend,
James.

Whitlocke

As soon as the Parliament of England had received certain Intelligence of the Scots Agreement with the King, and of their raising Forces to augment their Army, and support that Agreement, a Committee was appointed to confer with the Lord General Fairfax on that Matter, and represent to his Excellency how requisite it would be to send an Army into Scotland to divert the War from England. But they found his Lordship averse to it, influenced, as was suppos'd, by his Lady, a rigid Presbyterian, and more a Friend to the Scots than they wish'd, wherefore they thought this a fit Time to recal the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which was done by a Letter from the Speaker in January.

On the 12th of February the House nam'd these Persons to be of the Council of State for the Year following,

Council of State.

Earl of Denbigh, Lord Chief Justice St. John, President Bradshaw, Lord Commissioner Whitlocke, Lord Chief Justice Rolles, Lord Chief Baron Wyld, Lord General Fairfax, Lord Commissioner Lisle, Lieutenant General Cromwel, Major General Skippon, Lord Grey of Groby, Earl of Salisbury, Lieutenant General Ludlow, Henry Marten, Esq; Col. Purefoy, Col. Hutchinson, Sir William Masham, Sir James Harrington, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Henry Vane, jun. Sir William Armyne, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir William Constable, Alexander Popham, Esq; Robert Wallop, Esq; William Heveningham, Esq; Alderman Pennington, Sheriff Wilson, Cornelius Holland, Esq; Thomas Scot, Esq; Luke Robinson, Esq; John Jones, Esq; Mr. Wanton.

Prince Rupert.

We have mention'd Prince Rupert's having got a Squadron of Ships to Sea again, and we find him again at Lisbon in April, pursu'd thither by General Blake, who sent to the King of Portugal for leave to fall upon him, and coming near with his Ships the Governor of the Castle fir'd at him. Blake requir'd to know the Reason, and the Governor said, *He had no Order from the King to let him pass.* However, the King sent one of the greatest Lords of his Court to congratulate the English Admiral's Arrival on that Coast, and to desire him not to come into the River unless the Weather prov'd bad, and he cou'd not ride where he was, his Portuguese Majesty being afraid Prince Rupert and he might fight in his Harbour. The Weather beginning to grow foul Blake put into the Bay of Wiers, in the River of Lisbon, two Miles from Prince Rupert, whose Men came daily over to him, and

General Blake.

the Swallow, one of his Ships, was running away, but the Boatswain, who had plotted the bringing her off, was discover'd, and the Plot prevented. Blake took five of the Brasil Fleet, and sent the King of Portugal Word, that if he did not command Prince Rupert from his River he would endeavour to seize all the rest of that Fleet, he also desir'd Justice for the Damages the English Merchants had suffer'd by the Prince's being shelter'd in his Harbour. The Parliament in their Letter to the King of Portugal desires the King to arm against Rupert, by Sea and Land, to treat him and those Wretches with him not as Enemies, but as Pyrates, not as Merchants, but as the Pests of Commerce, and to punish them as Thieves and Rebels. This is the Fleet of which the Earl of Clarendon speaks as the Terror of Spain.

On the first of June, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland having left his Son in Law, Commissary General Ireton, Lord Deputy in that Kingdom, arriv'd at London, attended from Hounslow Heath to the City by many Members of Parliament and Officers of the Army, and receiv'd there with very great Ceremony and Appearance of Joy. Three Days after he took his Seat in Parliament, and had the hearty Thanks of the House for his great and faithful Services in Ireland. Two or three Days after it was resolv'd, *That having a form'd Army well provided and experienc'd, they would march it forthwith into Scotland, to prevent the Scots marching into England, and the Miseries accompanying their Forces to our Countrymen.* General Fairfax approv'd of it at first, but afterwards fell off, as has been hinted by the Perswasion of his Wife, and declaring himself unsatisfy'd to invade Scotland; he declar'd also he would engage against the Scots, if they invaded England. Upon this the Council of State appointed Lieutenant General Cromwel, Major General Lambert, Major General Harrison, Lord Chief Justice St. John, Lord Commissary Whitlocke, to confer with him; and the Conference which is at large in Whitlocke was very long. It is plain, that Oliver at that Time earnestly entreated the Lord General to continue his Command, which if he had continu'd, all his ambitious Schemes had been frustrated; wherefore I see no Reason to think he then thought of setting up himself above the Parliament, though some half witted Politicians pretend he got Fairfax to be set aside on purpose to make Room for himself.

The Lord Fairfax, says Ludlow, was unwilling to alter his Resolution, in Consideration of any Thing that had been said: Upon this, Lieutenant General Cromwel press'd, that notwithstanding this Unwillingness of his, he might be still Generalissimo of the Army, professing for himself he would rather chuse to serve under him in his Post than to command the greatest Army in Europe: But the Council of State not approving that Advice, reported the ill Success of the Conference with the Lord General to the Parliament, who would doubtless have pass'd a Vote for his delivering up his Commission, to prevent which, the Lord General sent his Secretary with it to them; and some of his Friends informing the House that the Secretary was at the Door, he was call'd in, and he deliver'd the Commission, which the House receiv'd; and having voted him a Revenue of 5000 Pounds per Ann. they resolv'd, *That Oliver Cromwel, Esq; should be Captain General of all their made Land Forces, and an Act pass'd accordingly, about a Week after King Charles arriv'd in Scotland; a very sure Presage that his Stay there would not*

A. D.
1650.Cromwel
returning
to Eng-
land.

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Cromwel
made Cap-
tain Gene-
ral.

A. D. 1650. be long. In the mean Time the Forces march'd Northwards, and when they rendezvous'd were 20000 Horse and Foot, which threw the Scots Nation into a terrible Consternation, though they had a gallant Army ready to oppose them, much superior in Number to the *English*, who enter'd Scotland at the latter End of July. In this Army Monk had a Regiment made up of six Companies out of Sir *Arthur Haslerigg's*, and six out of Col. *Fenwick's*. He had given himself intirely to *Cromwel*, whose Fortune he saw was the surest Way to make his own; and *Oliver* finding him a Person that would make a fit Tool for him, one who would be resolute in Action and docible in Council, from this Time admitted him into his Favour, which the other slavishly courted. The Scots fir'd their Beacons upon the Entrance of the *English* Army, which advanc'd without Opposition as far as in Sight of *Edinburgh*: The Country all along as they march'd was deserted, and the People fled to the Capital, which Major General *Lambert* fac'd with 1500 Horse. The Scots would not hazard all by a decisive Battle, hoping to tire out *Cromwel's* Men with frequent Skirmishes, and harrasing them, and relying much on the Climates disagreeing with *English* Constitutions, in which they were not mistaken, as appear'd by the Sicknels that carry'd off many of his Army, insomuch that for want of Health and Provision, the Scots having intercepted all Supplies from *England* nearer than *Dunbar*, 20 Miles from *Edinburg*, he was forc'd to retreat thither. The Enemy follow'd them close, attack'd the *English* Rear Guard of Horse in the Night, and put them to some Disorder. But Major General *Lambert* and Col. *Whaley* coming to their Relief, beat back the Scots to their Trenches, and by the Help of a Mist the next Day, the *English* got safe to *Dunbar*, where they intended to ship their Sick and heavy Baggage, and return into *England*: But the Scots, on Confidence of Success by the Advantage of their Numbers, near three to one of the *English*, advanc'd still, and possess'd themselves of all the Passes, leaving *Cromwel's* Men no Way to clear themselves but by fighting on those unequal Terms. In this Extremity a Council of War was call'd, and after some Dispute, it was agreed to fall upon the Enemy next Morning, September the Third, about an Hour before Day; and accordingly the several Regiments were order'd to their respective Posts: Upon the first Shock *Cromwel's* Forlorn of Horse was somewhat disorder'd by their Lancers; but two of his Regiments of Foot that were in the Van, behav'd so well that they not only sustain'd the Charge of the Scots Horse, but beat them back upon their own Foot, and following them close, forc'd both Horse and Foot to retreat up the Hill, from whence they had descended to attack them. The Body of the Enemy's Army finding their Van Guard, which consisted chiefly of their choicest Men, thus driven back upon them, began to shift for themselves, which they did with such Precipitation and Disorder, that few of them ventur'd to look behind them till they arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, taking no Care of their King, who, says *Ludlow*, made Use of the same Means to secure himself as his new Subjects had done. One Party of the Scots Horse made a Stand till the *English* came up to them, and then ran away after the rest of their Companions. The *English* had the Pursuir of them beyond *Haddington*; they kill'd 4000 and took 10000 Prisoners, which were half of their Army; among the latter were the Laird of *Liberton*, Lieutenant General, Sir *John Lunsdon*, Col.

Sir *William Douglas*, the Lord *Grandison*, Sir *John Brown*, Col. *Gourdon*, &c. Of the Parliament Army not above 40 private Men were kill'd, and only Major *Rooksby* mortally wounded. The General sent 5000 of the Prisoners who were wounded home on their Paroles, and 5000 more to *Berwick*. *Cromwel* after this Victory march'd to *Edinburgh*; the Gates of the City were open'd, but the Castle stood out two or three Months.

Great was the Joy in *England* on News of *Oliver's* Success in *Scotland*, which was brought by Sir *John Hipsley*. The Parliament order'd the Scots Colours, taken in *Lancashire* and *Dunbar*, to be hung up in *Westminster-Hall*, and that Medals of Gold and Silver should be given to the Soldiery. I have seen the Print of a Medal of *Oliver* struck on this Occasion by some of his Flatterers. On one Side was the Impression of his Buste, with the *English* and Scots Armies at a Distance, and round it the Word at the Battle of *Dunbar*, the LORD OF HOSTS, September 3, 1650. On the Reverse, a Representation of the Parliament. It is said, that when this Medal was presented to *Cromwel*, he flung it away, saying, The Title of Lord of Hosts belongs to God only.

The Remains of the Scots Army retreated with their King to *Sterling*. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us, the King got a great Advantage by being routed at *Dunbar*, and took Heart so much that he left his Court and Courtiers, and went to the Highlands, without communicating his Design to the Marquis of *Argyle*, nor even to the Duke of *Buckingham*, in hopes that the Highlanders joining with *Hamilton's* Party, would let him enjoy his Kingship a little more than *Argyle* did: And this he informs us was call'd the *Start*; for they have a Language peculiar to themselves, and could do nothing without it; as for Instance, take away from them *Rebels*, *Rebellion*, *Seditious*, *Sedition*, *Schism*, *Schismaticks*, and their Opposites, you leave their Cause and their History as naked as a Skeleton. The Difference here between his History and *Whitlocke's*, is chiefly in the Lord *Clarendon's* averring the King did not let the Duke of *Bucks* know any Thing of that *Start*, and *Whitlocke* affirms he took the Duke of *Bucks* with him. He adds, He was soon brought back again, and the Scots to please him and his Followers, order'd Preparations to be made for crowning him at *Scone*, and another Army to be rais'd to come to the same End as those at *Preston* and *Dunbar*.

We cannot close this Year without looking a little into the Affairs of *Ireland*, where we left the Lord *Brogbill*, Commander of a separate Body employ'd to watch *Inchiquin*; and he suppress'd an Insurrection of the *Irish*, intended to cut off Provisions from *Cromwel's* Army, then before *Waterford*, and the great Interest he had in *Ireland*, created a Jealousy of him in *Cromwel*, that he might be an Obstacle to him. His Friends perceiving it, perswaded the Lord *Brogbill* to keep at a Distance, and act always with a separate Army; but the Service would not admit of it, and rather than obstruct it he clos'd heartily with *Cromwel*, whom he join'd in his Camp, before *Waterford*; in which was a Water-Garrison of 4000 Foot and 1000 Horse: But the Parliament being Masters of the Sea, and their Ships having free Entrance into the Harbour, plentifully supply'd the *English* Army. The Place was not reduc'd when *Cromwel* return'd to *England*; and the Author of the Memoirs of the Lord *Brogbill* relates the taking of it in a Manner different from all other Authors. There was in

Monk.

English Army in Scotland.

Dunbar Fight.

P. 328.

P. 455.

A. D. 1650. that Lord's Regiment a Lieutenant nam'd Crocker, who with his Brother, Serjeant Crocker, and about 30 Musketeers, were order'd to fire the Suburbs, that the Besiegers might be enabled the better to push on their Attacks. The two Crockers and their Party fir'd all the Houses and Stacks of Corn near the City, the Smoke of which was by a Westerly Wind spread all over it, to the great Terror of the Besieg'd, who thought the *English* were enter'd, and had set Fire to the Town, and in this Fright they ran out at the Eastern Gate, and under Covert of the Smoke got out of the Besiegers Reach, who little dreamt of what had happen'd. This shameful Flight was occasion'd by a desperate Attempt of the two Crockers and their Party; one of whom while the Suburbs were a Fire, spy'd two Ladders near the Town Wall, and Lieutenant Crocker being shewn the Ladders, said, 'T would be a brave Thing if they mounted the Walls and enter'd the Town, which they all agreed to, thinking they might do it unperceiv'd by Help of the Smoke. They got upon the Walls, slew the Centinel that was posted there, and hearing a great Noise and Uproar in the Town, they resolv'd to take Advantage of the Disorder and Darkness, and march'd forward to the main Guard, killing all they met. The *Irish* could not see what their Number was, and concluding the *English* Army were enter'd, they immediately fled. So Lieutenant Crocker siezing their Guns at the Guard, and turning them against them, if they should rally, march'd to the West Gate, and open'd it, which a Centinel perceiving ran to the Lord Broghill, whose Regiment was posted on that Side, and told him of it. His Lordship rode towards the Gate and saw Crocker coming out, brandishing his Sword, and crying, *The Town is ours, The Town is ours*, as it prov'd to be when the *English* enter'd and found no Enemy to oppose them. The Castle held out some Days, but yielded upon Articles.

Cromwel's Discourse with Lord Broghill about the King's Death.

My Author informs us, that the Lord Broghill being about this Time in Discourse with Cromwel and Ireton, fell upon the Subject of the King's Death. Oliver said, *If he had follow'd his own Mind, and had had trusty Servants about him, he had fool'd them all.* He added, *We had once an Inclination to have come to Terms with him, but something that happen'd drew us off from it.* The Lord Broghill finding they were both in a good Humour, ask'd them, *Why, if they were inclin'd to close with him, they had not done it?* Cromwel reply'd frankly, *The Reason of our Inclination to come to Terms with him was, We found the Scots and Presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were strenuously endeavouring to strike up an Agreement with the King, and leave us in the Lurch; wherefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reasonable Conditions; but while we were busy'd with these Thoughts, there came a Letter to us from one of our Spies, who was of the King's Bed-Chamber, acquainting us, that our final Doom was decreed that Day: What it was he could not tell; but a Letter was gone to the Queen with the Contents of it, which Letter was sown up in the Skirt of a Saddle, and the Bearer of it would come with the Saddle upon his Head about Ten a Clock the following Night to the Blue Boar Inn in Holborn, where he was to take Horse for Dover. The Messenger knew nothing of the Letter in the Saddle, but some one in Dover did. We were then at Windsor, and immediately upon Receipt of the Letter from our Spy, Ireton and I resolv'd to take a trusty Fellow with us, and in Troopers Habits*

to go to the Inn, which accordingly we did, and set our Man at the Gate of the Inn to watch. The Gate was shut, but the Wicket open, and our Man stay'd to give us Notice when any one came with a Saddle upon his Head. Ireton and I sat in a Box near the Wicket, and call'd for a Can of Beer, and then another, drinking in that Disguise till Ten a Clock, when our Centinel gave us Notice that the Man with the Saddle was come, upon which we immediately rose; and when the Man was leading out his Horse saddled, we came up to him with our Swords drawn, and told him we were to search all who went in and out there; but as he look'd like an honest Fellow, we would only search his Saddle, which we did, and found the Letter we look'd for, and opening it, read the Contents, in which the King acquainted the Queen, "He was now courted by both the Factions, the Scots Presbyterians and the Army; that which of them bid fairest for him should have him; that he thought he should close sooner with the Scots than the other:" Upon which we speeded to Windsor, and finding we were not likely to have any tolerable Terms from the King, we immediately resolv'd to ruin him.

The brave Colonel Jones, who routed the Marquis of Ormond, and drove him from before Dublin, being disgusted at some Proceedings of Cromwel's, or probably jealous of his Successes, desir'd the Lord Broghill to have a Conference with him as he lay at Dungarvon. Broghill, who knew of Jones's Disguise or Jealousy, and that both of them were suspected by Cromwel and Ireton, communicated to them that Col. Jones desir'd to speak with him, which he was not willing to do till he had consulted them who were his General Officers. They both readily consented to it, but would needs have that Lord to take a Captain with him to wait upon him, under Pretence of doing him Honour, but indeed to be a Spy upon him. When he came to Jones he found him very ill, and very much exasperated against Cromwel and Ireton. He told the Captain he had something to say to my Lord which related to himself, and desir'd him to withdraw, which the Captain could not refuse. He then fell into Invectives against the two Generals, and would have engag'd Broghill to join Forces with him, and they would drive them both out of Ireland, and take the Command of that Kingdom and Army on themselves. This Scheme was the Effect of a sick Frenzy, and the Lord Broghill look'd upon it as such, representing to him, that the dividing the Forces before the *Irish* Rebels were entirely subdu'd, would endanger the Ruin of all. As to himself, he thought his Illness to be too great to admit of any Perturbation of Mind, and desiring him to repose himself, he took his Leave, being told by a Physician that Col. Jones could not live two Days, having all the Symptoms of the Plague, of which the next Day he dy'd. Cromwel having left Ireton to command in Ireland, the latter, assisted by the Lord Broghill, besieg'd and took the strong City of Limerick, where he dy'd of the Plague. It has been mention'd that Monk had surrender'd Dundalk, and was gr'e for England. He pretended his Men would not stand by him, and they gave a good Reason why, for that he had confederated with Owen Roe O'Neal, Head of the *Irish* REBELS, of which the Council of State having Notice, they disapprov'd of it, and Monk was examin'd at the Bar of the House, who receiv'd so little Satisfaction by his Examination, that they voted, *To disapprove of what Major General Monk had done, in concluding a Peace with the grand and bloody Irish*

Monk.

Whitel. p. 403.

A. D. 1650. Irish Rebel Owen Roe O Neal, and that they did abhor to have anything to do with him therein; which Vote was order'd to be printed. In the Debate of it, several Reflections pass'd on his Honour and Fidelity; and *Whitlocke* observes, "It was the Opinion of divers, either not at all to have question'd this Business, or having once question'd it, not to have employ'd him any more in their Service;" which was very good Reasoning, and probably it was owing chiefly to *Cromwel* that he was afterwards trusted.

The Parliament pass'd an Act for a new High Court of Justice for the Trial of *Sir John Stawel*, *David Jenkins*, *Walter Slingsby*, *Browne Busbel*, *William Davenant*, *C. Garrard*, *Euseby Andrezes*, and others; the latter was a Lawyer, but had serv'd in the King's Army as a Lieutenant Colonel, and having offend'd against the Act which the Parliament had pass'd, declaring Treasons, he was found guilty, condemn'd to be beheaded, and executed on Tower-Hill, where he dy'd very resolutely. This Court were impower'd to hear and determine of any Misprision or Concealment of Treason. *Capt. Ashley* was sentenc'd to be beheaded, and one *Benson* to be hang'd, for conspiring against the Commonwealth in the treasonable Engagement of Colonel *Andrezes*. *Benson* was executed at *Tyburn*, but *Ashley* found Mercy from the Parliament.

Andrews the Lawyer executed.

About this Time dy'd the Princess *Elizabeth* in the *Ile of Wight*. 'Tis suppos'd that she took very much to Heart the Loss of her Brother's Company, the Duke of *Gloucester*, for whose Liberty the Emperor and the King of *Denmark* having earnestly sollicit'd the Parliament, they permitted his being convey'd to *Holland*, from whence he went to his Mother in *France*.

In the mean Time, Admiral *Blake* and Admiral *Popham* watch'd Prince *Rupert's* Fleet in *Lisbon* River, and having intercepted the *Portugal* Fleet from *Brazil*, took eleven of them, with 8000 Hogsheads of Sugar, and other rich Goods; which so frighten'd the King of *Portugal*, that he came down in Person, and caus'd Prince *Rupert* and his Fleet, 18 in all, to leave the River, which he did; and the Parliament's Ships being in Pursuit of the scatter'd Fleet from *Brazil*, gave him an Opportunity to get out in *September*. After this the King of *Portugal* admitted him no more into his Harbours, but sent an Ambassador to make his Peace with the Commonwealth of *England*, who about the latter End of *October* pass'd an Act for turning the Law-Books and the Procefs and Proceedings in the Courts of Justice into *English*; as also an Act for an Assessment of 120000 Pounds *per Menssem* for maintaining their Armies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, they having now above 60000 Soldiers in Pay, besides Seamen.

A. D. 1651. We cannot open the following Year with a more remarkable Incident than that of the Coronation of King *Charles II.* at *Scone* in *Scotland*, which was perform'd with as much Ceremony and Splendor as the Times and Treasure would permit, on the First of *January*. The Coronation Sermon was preach'd by Mr. *Robert Douglas*, who, addressing himself to the King, said, "The chief Cause of the Judgment upon his House, had been his Grandfather's Breach of Covenant with God, and his Father's following his Steps, in opposing the Work of God and his Kirk, within these Kingdoms; he therefore admonish'd him to adhere to the Covenant; and let him know, that he was oblig'd not only to maintain Religion as it is esta-

blish'd in *Scotland*, but, if it should please God to restore him, likewise to endeavour the same Reformation in his other Kingdoms, and not to tolerate any false Religion within his Dominions." Sermon done, the *National Covenant* of *Scotland*, and the *Solemn League and Covenant* were distinctly read, and an Oath administer'd to the King in these Words: *I Charles King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare by my solemn Oath, in the Presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, my Allowance and Approbation of the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant, and faithfully oblige my self to prosecute the Ends thereof in my Station and Calling; and that I my self, and Successors, do and shall consent and agree to all Acts of Parliament enjoining the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, and fully establish Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith, and Catechisins in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are approv'd of by the General Assembly of this Kirk, and Parliament of this Kingdom; and that I will give my Royal Assent to Acts and Ordinances of this Parliament, pass'd or to be pass'd, enjoining the same in my other Dominions; and that I shall observe these in mine own Practice and Family, and shall never make Opposition to any any of these, or endeavour any Change thereof.* This done, the *National Covenant*, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and the King's Oath subjoin'd to both, being drawn up in a fair Parchment, the King, in the Presence of all, subscrib'd the same. Which is fit to be remember'd, when we find him ten Years hence abjuring these Covenants, and passing Acts to persecute and ruin all those that adher'd to them. If such Practices are consistent, I will not say with the Christian Religion, but with the Principles of any Religion that ever was taught Mankind, I shall on the Proof of it readily subscribe to all the Lord *Clarendon's* Panegyrics on this King of the Covenant. The Form of his taking the Coronation Oath was this, *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this Oath.* When the Marquis of *Argyle* put the Crown, which was Silver double gilt, on his Head, the Minister pray'd, *That the Lord would purge the Crown from the Sins of them that reign'd before him.* After the King was crown'd the *Hamiltonian* Party got Ground daily, and making an odious Mixture with that of *Montrose* and the Highland Papists, gave great Discontent to the Marquis of *Argyle* and his Friends, who grew soon weary of their present Work, but could not help the *Scots* Parliament voting Duke *Hamilton* to command the Army under the King, *David Lesley* to be Lieutenant General, *Middleton* to be Major General of the Horse, and *Massej* General of the *English*. *Cromwel* march'd his Army towards *Sterling*, near which Place the King's Forces, almost double his Number, were encamp'd. He order'd Colonel *Overton*, with 1600 Foot and 300 Horse, to pass in flat-bottom'd Boats over to *North Ferry* in *Fife*, which was done in Spight of all Opposition, *Cromwel* keeping still close to the *Scots* Army to fall on their Rear in Case they mov'd to disturb his Enterprize. However, Major General *Holburn* and Sir *John Brown* were dispatch'd with 4000 Men to drive the *English* out of *Fife*, but before they could come up, Major General *Lambert* and Col. *Okey* got over the *Forth* and join'd *Overton* with 1500 Foot and 800 Horse. The *English* fell upon *Brown* and *Holburn*,

A. D. 1651.

A. D. *Holburn*, entirely defeated them, kill'd 2000 on the Spot, and took 1200 Prisoners, among whom was *Brown*, who dy'd soon after. This Defeat was about the latter End of *July*, and it was follow'd by the Surrender of almost all the Garrisons on both Sides of the *Forth*. *Brunt Island*, and the *Innesgary Fort*, were reduc'd by *Lambert*, and *Cromwel* took in *St. Johnston*. On this ill Success the King, for several political Reasons, enlarg'd upon by the Earl of *Clarendon*, resolv'd to enter *England*; but Bishop *Burnet* gives one short Reason for it much better than all of them, *He took a desperate Resolution to march into England, there being nothing else to be done.* Most of the Lord *Clarendon's* Reasons are liable to the like Explanation. This had been long the Design of the *Scots*, encourag'd to it by fair but false Representations from the *English* Presbyterians, who were now very busy in Projects and Cabals for restoring that very Prince, who when he was restor'd, deliver'd them up, without Mercy, to a revengeful implacable Enemy.

The Parliament pass'd an Act on the 11th of *February*, by Balloting, for the following Persons to be the Council of State for the Year ensuing.

Council of State.

Lord General *Cromwel*, Lord President *Bradshaw*, Lord Chief Justice *Rolles*, Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*, Lord Commissioner *Lisle*, Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Major General *Skippon*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigge*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Henry Vane, jun.* Sir *William Masham*, Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *James Harrington*, Lord *Grey of Groby*, Col. *Puresfoy*, *Thomas Scot*, Esq; *James Chaboner*, Esq; *Valentine Walton*, Esq; *Humphry Salway*, Esq;

New Members.

Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Edmund Prideaux*, Esq; Major General *Harrison*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, *Walter Strickland*, Esq; Sir *John Trevor*, Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *John Bouchier*, *John Carew*, Esq; *Nicholas Love*, Esq; *Francis Allen*, Esq; — *Lister*, Esq; — *Thomson*, Esq; — *Fielder*, Esq; *Henry Darley*, Esq; *William Say*, Esq; *William Caveley*, Esq; — *Goodwyn*, Esq; — *Lenman*, Esq; *Dennis Bond*, Esq; *John Gourdon*, Esq;

They order'd the King's Arms to be every where taken down, and the Arms of the Commonwealth set up in their Room. A Court of Justice was erected in *Norfolk* for trying some People that had appear'd there in Arms for the King: But Col. *Rich's* Regiment soon dispers'd them, and the Prisoners taken by them were try'd by that Court, of which the Lord Commissioner *Keeble*, whom *Coke* calls an ignorant pettifogging Lawyer, was President, and they condemn'd 24, of whom 20 were executed at *Norwich* and other Places. One of their Chiefs, Mr. *Hobart*, nearly related to Sir *John Hobart*, was pardon'd, and he afterwards marry'd *Cromwel's* Niece, Widow of Col. *Hammond*.

General Blake.

General *Blake* continuing to observe the Motions of Prince *Rupert's* Fleet, pursu'd him to *Malaga*, where that Prince, with a true Cavalier Spirit, sunk several *English* Merchant Ships, and demanded the Master of a *Londoner*, who had sign'd the Petition against a *Personal Treaty*, saying he would boil him in Pitch; but the Governor refus'd to deliver him, and we shall soon see an End put to the Exploits of this Royal Rover; for a Day or two after General *Blake* came up with him, fell upon him in the Road of *Malaga*, sunk three of his Ships, and drove all the rest ashoar except two, in one of which was

Prince *Maurice*, who made Sail towards the *West Indies*, but was never heard of more. Prince *Rupert* escap'd in the other. General *Blake* in his Passage to *Malaga* met with a *French* Man of War, and having commanded the Captain on board, ask'd him, *If he was willing to deliver up his Sword?* The *Frenchman* boldly said, *No.* Then *Blake* bid him return to his Ship and fight it out as long as he was able, which he did, and after two Hours Fight, struck and submitted; and coming on board the General's Ship, kiss'd his Sword and deliver'd it to *Blake*, who sent him and his Ship, with 3 other *French* Prizes, to *England*, whether he soon after return'd himself, having clear'd the *Mediterranean* and *British* Seas of all Enemies to the Commonwealth, secur'd the Navigation, and vindicated the Honour of *England* beyond whatever was known of its naval Glory. The Parliament order'd him Thanks for his great and faithful Service, which was all this great Man desir'd. He contended for nothing but the good of his Country: He trod all other Interests under Foot when that was in Question. He despis'd the Dignities and Treasures to which we have known the Commonwealth to be often sacrific'd; and though he did more than all those who have done most in our Times, he got not a tenth Part of what some Sea-Officers under a Flag, have heap'd up in a Summer's Cruise, not to go higher, and lose our selves in a Comparison which would be as glorious for Admiral *Blake's* Memory, as it would reflect on the Reputation of others. I write this very near the House where that renown'd General was born, and the Reader will excuse the Digression.

The Presbyterians in *England* were in strong Expectation of the King, and the *Scots* Army's entering *England*, and making Preparations to join them. The *Cavaliers* were a broken, ruin'd Party, so impotent and contemptible, that the Republick was in no more Concern about them, than to see that they paid their Compositions and Sequestrations; and though hardly one of them durst lift up his Hand, and much less his Arm, against the Parliament, and the King had not a Hope but in the Presbyterians, yet after the Restoration the Royalists dinn'd his Ears eternally with their Services and Merits, and rav'd against, and preach'd against the Presbyterians, as King-Killers and Republicans. The King indeed did not always give Ear to the Pretensions of the Cavaliers, who starv'd as much after the Restoration as before it, excepting a few Instances, but he did what he could to please them in oppressing the Presbyterians, who are now running all Hazards to serve him. The Vigilance of the Government in the Time of the Republick was such, that no Conspiracy could escape it, and that now form'd in *London* by the Chief of the Presbytery for the King's Restoration was discover'd, perhaps while it was in Embrio only, though the Parliament suffer'd it to increase almost to a Birth.

The following Ministers were engag'd in this Conspiracy.

Mr. *Arthur Jackson* of *St. Michaels, Woodstreet*. Dr. *Roger Drake* of *St. Peter's, Cheap*. Mr. *Thomas Watson* of *St. Stephens, Walbroke*. Mr. *Christopher Love* of *St. Anns, Aldersgate*. Mr. *Ralph Robinson* of *St. Mary Wolnot*. Mr. *James Nalton* of *St. Leonards, Foster-lane*. Mr. *Thomas Careton* of *St. Bartholomew, Exchange*. Mr. *Thomas Case* of *St. Margarer's, Milk-street*. Mr. *William Jenkin* of *Christ-Church*, and Lecturer of *St. Anns, Black-fryers*. Mr. *Richard Heyrick*. Mr. *Matthew Haviland*, of *Trinity College*. Mr. *Drake*, and others, as Col. *Sow-*

A. D. 1651. *ton, Col. Vaughan, Col. Barton, Major Huntington, Captain Massey, Major Adams, Captain Farr, Captain Potter, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Sterkes, Mr. Jaquel, Lieutenant Colonel Jackson, who were very zealous for carrying on the Cause, made Treason by an Act of this Parliament. Dr. Drake, Mr. Love, &c. were order'd to be prosecuted in the High Court of Justice. Mr. Nalton and Mr. Carwton fled to Holland, and were made Pastors of the English Church at Rotterdam. I should be more concern'd, while I am telling this Story, for the Sufferings of these Ministers, and their Adherents, if their Folly had not been equal with their Zeal, to venture their Lives for a Party who never once show'd they were sensible of any other Sentiments of Honour and Gratitude, than what bound them down to a slavish Subjection to the Power that favour'd or fed them.*

The Earl of Clarendon speaking of Mr. Love, calls him that *Fellow*, though he is about to lose his Head for the same Cause which made a Lord of the Historian. The Decency and good Manners of that Expression is indeed another Proof that it was inserted at *Christ Church*. A Gentleman could hardly have thought of it when he was speaking of a dying Minister. *Echard* mimicks those *Christ Church* Men, or that Historian, and calls him the *Incendiary*, the *poor Man*, the *Traitor*, the *Rebel*, though the Rebellion and Treason for which he was about to suffer was against the *Rebels* and *Traitors*, as they term them, to restore the King. Mr. Love being brought before the High Court of Justice, *Edmund Prideaux*, Esq; Solicitor for the Commonwealth, charg'd him with *holding Correspondence with the King and his Party, and supplying them with Arms and Money, contrary to the above-mention'd Act*. Mr. Jackson was tamper'd with to be Evidence against him, but he refus'd it, for which he was fin'd 500 Pounds, and committed to the *Fleet*, where he continu'd about 17 Weeks. Mr. Love disputed the Authority of the Court, which none could think would be of any Service to him. The Trial began the 21st of *June*, and many Witnesses were produced to prove the Charge against him. At the next Hearing, *July* the 2d, Mr. *Matthew Hale* was assign'd him for Counsel, but the Fact being prov'd, Counsel signify'd no more than his frivolous Pleas, *That he did not do it himself. That he did not personally act*, and the like. Two Days after he was sentenc'd to be beheaded. On the 15th of *July* Mr. Love petition'd the Parliament, and several other Petitions were presented on his Behalf for Pardon of his Life, but after much Debate upon the Question it pass'd in the *Negative*. On the Day appointed for his Execution divers Ministers in and about *London* presented a Petition to the House, earnestly, and in the *Bowels of Jesus Christ, who when we were Sinners died for us, if not totally to spare the Life of our dear Brother, that yet you would say of him, as Solomon of Abiather, At this Time he shall not be put to Death*. Upon this Petition the Parliament respited the Execution a Month, and on the 22d of *August* he was beheaded on *Tower Hill*. He dy'd *raving*, says *Echard*, he has no Conscience in his Expression. *He dy'd with a fearless Quietness, as if he had been going to Bed*. It is not to be doubted, but the chief Reason for his falsifying the Fact to abuse this Minister of the Gospel in the last Moments of his Life, was for his then bearing Testimony against *Episcopacy*. But what Religion are these Men of, who, when natural Compassion melts the Mind towards a dying Christian, are so far from pitying, that they insult him. It is no Excuse, that this In-

solence and Falshood are copy'd after the History of the *Rebellion*, for if he had not been enamour'd with those Falsties in it, he would have been asham'd of them, and have avoided them, as well as I have done. At the same Time, and for the same Crime, was executed Mr. *Gibbons*, who had been a Servant to *Denzil Hollis*, Esq; He agreed with the Keeper for 200 *l.* to let him escape, of which 100 Pounds was paid, and a Bond given for the other 100 *l.* but that Wretch, and what better can be expected from such infamous Wretches, betray'd this worthy Gentleman, took his Money, and discover'd the Bargain.

'Tis fit to say something of Mr. *William Jenkins*, another Minister and Conspirator, not only for what he suffer'd for the King, but for his Sufferings after the Restoration for his Religion, the latter being the only Reward he had for the former. He was imprison'd for this Conspiracy, and thought to be in as great Danger as Mr. *Love*, he having lost his Benefices in the City for refusing to observe the Parliament's Day of *Thanksgiving*. His Friends, Dr. *Seaman*, Dr. *Arthur*, and others, earnestly perswaded him to petition the Parliament, and Dr. *Arthur* drew up a Petition for him, wherein he acknowledg'd them under all their Titles. Mr. *Jenkins*, tho' his Life lay at stake, made great Difficulty of signing it, and indeed of accepting a Pardon, if Mr. *Love* was not also pardon'd, which being refus'd, he was at last prevail'd with to sign the Petition, and the Parliament were so well satisfy'd with his Submission to them, that they voted him a Pardon, and an immediate Discharge from Prison and Sequestrations. After he had done and suffer'd all this, and contributed more than any one of the *Laudean* Clergy to the King's Restoration, he was one of the first Ministers who was persecuted for scruple of Conscience, and at last thrown into *Newgate* for no other Crime than spending some Hours in Prayer with three other Ministers, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Flavel*, and Mr. *Keeling*, where he lay so long that he was kill'd with the noxious Air of the Goal, as appears by this Inscription on his Monument.

IN DOM. GUIL. JENKIN. M.D.V. LOND. CUIUS GRAA INTER GRAVES Ecclesie Procellas *Novo pylo* i. e. *Newgate*, Incarceratus, Martyr obiit.

Dr. *Roger Drake*, another of these Conspirators, was turn'd out of his Parish of *St. Peter Cheap*, as soon as the King's Crown was settled on his Head in *England*. Another of them, Mr. *Thomas Watson*, had his Church of *St. Stephen Walbroke* taken from him, and himself was sent to seek his Bread where he could get it. Mr. *Arthur Jackson* was turn'd out of his Parish of *St. Faiths*. Mr. *James Nalton*, another of these Conspirators, who had been an Exile in *Holland* for his Endeavours to serve the King, had his Benefice of *St. Leonard's Fester-lane* taken from him as soon as the King had leisure, from the Triumphs of his Restoration, to think of persecuting his Restorers. Mr. *Thomas Case*, another Conspirator, was driven out of his Parish of *St. Giles's*, which he held at the Restoration, to which he had very much contributed. So generous, and so grateful was this King to those conscientious Persons, who had ventur'd their Lives and Fortunes to restore him to that Power which enabled him to ruin them, and their Religion, as far as Truth is to be ruin'd by Power.

The Discovery of this and other Plots was a great Disheartning to the *Scots*, who expected great Matters from the Promises of their Friends in *England*, but *Desperation* and *Fear*, as *Oli-*

A. D. 1651. *ver* says, drove them out of their own Kingdom to try their Fortune in this. The Lord General *Cromwel* being taken ill in *Scotland*, the Parliament order'd *Dr. Wright* and *Dr. Bates* to go and attend him, they being his Physicians, and well esteem'd by him, says *Whitlocke*. For which the latter, in his dull, dry History, intituled *Elenchus*, &c. calls him *Traytor, Tyrant, Fanatick, Hypocrite*, and whatever coarse Names he could think of, to please his Patron the Earl of *Clarendon*. The *Scots* Enterprize, at a Time when the Commonwealth was become terrible to all Nations that were not in Friendship with her, could not, according to the least Degree of humane Reason, have any other End than it had, Disgrace and Destruction. The Council of State had almost hourly Messengers going to, and returning from the several Bodies of Forces in *England* and *Scotland*, carrying Advice and Directions to them, and bringing Informations from them. No Affair of this Nature could be manag'd with more Diligence, Courage and Prudence, than this was, nor perhaps was there ever so great a Body of Men so well arm'd and provided got together in so short a Time, as were now rais'd, and sent away under Major General *Harrison*, Col. *Rich*, and other gallant Officers, to join with the rest of the Forces attending the King, who has *Cromwel* and *Lambert* behind him, *Harrison*, *Rich*, and one may say, the *Militia* of *England* before him, yet the Lord *Clarendon* and the Archdeacon march along with his Army as if there had been a Chance for avoiding the Misery they met with.

The Dutch offend the English.

The Commonwealth of *England* had for some Time, and with good Reason conceiv'd a Jealousy of her Sister the Republick of *Holland*, who 'twas evident had shelter'd the Princes of *England*, and conniv'd at the Assistance the Prince of *Orange* had given the King. The Death of *Dorislaus* had not been sufficiently inquir'd into, and now another Incident happens to give new Provocation. The Parliament had sent the Lord Chief Justice *St. John* to the *Hague*, to join with the Minister Resident, Mr. *Strickland*, in a Negotiation for a Coalition between the two Republicks, where he had not been arriv'd above a Fortnight before he was insulted by Prince *Edward*, Brother to the Elector *Palatine*, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*. *Gregorio Leti* mistakes the Person, and tells us, it was the Duke of *York* who affronted the Lord Ambassador *St. John*, or rather *Saint John* who affronted the Duke of *York*; but tho' he mistakes the Person, he is probably right in some Circumstances of the Thing. "The Duke of *York* being at the *Vorhout* taking the Air in the Shade of a Summer's Evening, *St. John* resolv'd to do the like. The Walks there are all rail'd in, with Turnpikes to admit the Company at certain Places and keep out Coaches and Horses. The Ambassador so contriv'd it, that as the Duke was about to pass one of those Turnpikes he endeavour'd to do the same, and the Passage being thus stopp'd they look'd on each other very sternly a Moment or two, at last the Duke of *York* losing all Patience, thrust the Turnpike round, pull'd off *St. John's* Hat, flung it at his Feet, and said, *Learn, Traytor, to respect the Brother of the King, thy Lord.* *St. John* reply'd with an Air of Contempt and Anger, *I regard neither thee nor the Person thou speak'st of, but as a Race Fugitive and Vagabond.*" Upon which the Duke put his Hand to his Sword and prepar'd to draw; the Ambassador was as ready as he, and they would have fought had not the Company hinder'd them.

Life of Cromwel, p. 247.

Duke of York and Lord Ambassador *St. John* quarrel.

As soon as the States heard of it, they sent to the Duke, desiring he would absent himself and retire to *Housterdyke*, a Palace of the Prince of *Orange's*, and sent Deputies to the Lord Ambassador to acquaint him with it; but the latter demanded, That they should either cause the Duke to be seiz'd and imprison'd, as one attainted and condemn'd to Death by the Republick of *England*, or that he should be banish'd out of all the Territories within their Jurisdiction. *Whitlocke*, who assures us it was Prince *Edward* who affronted the Lord Ambassador, adds, he was summon'd to appear at the *Hague*, to answer his Misdemeanor against the Lord *St. John*, and that the States sent to the Princess of *Orange*, to the Duke of *York*, and to the Queen of *Bohemia*, to desire that none of their Trains might be suffer'd to offer any Affront to the *English* Ambassadors or their Attendants, whom the States had taken into their Protection, and would not regard any great Person who should affront them. They all promis'd to conform to the States Desire, and the latter caus'd a Court of Guard to be built at the Door of the Ambassadors. It is not to be question'd that the *Hollanders* would have given the Parliament whatever Satisfaction they requir'd, without any Regard to the Duke of *York* or his Family, if the latter would have admitted them to a Coalition on easier Terms, than a Disunion from their other Allies for a Union with *England*, but those of the Parliament who were for humbling the *Dutch*, and resenting past Sights and Offences, of whom *St. John* himself was one, would hear of no other Agreement than what the Ambassador offer'd, and aggravating very much the Affront the Ambassador either gave or receiv'd, the *Dutch* found there would be no Accommodation without Submission, and the *English* Ambassadors were recall'd, but follow'd immediately by Ambassadors from *Holland* to endeavour to prevent a Rupture, which they were more afraid of than they had been careful to prevent.

A. D. 1651.

We have mention'd the Death of Lieutenant *Ireland*, General *Ireton* of the Plague at *Limerick*, and shall take a cursory View of the Affairs of that Kingdom in this Year. Col. *Ludlow* was appointed to command there as General of the Horse, and General *Cromwel*, Major General *Ireton*, not then dead, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Col. *John Jones*, and *Miles Corbet*, Esq; were appointed Commissioners for the Civil Government, who appointed Commissioners under them for levying the extraordinary Taxes, Excise and Customs.

For *Dublin*, Col. *Hewetson*, Governor. For *Ulster*, Sir *Charles Coote* and Col. *Venables*. For *Kilkenny*, Col. *Daniel Axtell*. For *Clonmel*, Col. *Zancky*. For *Cork*, Col. *Phaier*. For *Waterford*, Col. *Laurence*.

To whom were added other Commissioners in their several Precincts, and Col. *Thomas Herbert*, and Col. *Markham*, were made Inspectors over the rest. Other Commissioners were appointed for Distribution of Justice in these Precincts.

While the Army lay before *Limerick*, the Lord *Brogbill* was order'd to prevent the Lord *Muskerry's* joining the Forces that were preparing to march to its Relief under the Pope's Nuncio, who had already got above 8000 Men together. The Lord *Brogbill* had but 600 Foot and 400 Horse, and *Muskerry* 1000 Horse and Dragoons, and near 2000 Foot. The Charge was very desperate on both Sides, the Lord *Brogbill* had 120 Horsemen shot, and 30 kill'd, but notwithstanding

A. D. 1651. standing the *Irish* were three to one, the *Eng-lish* routed them and slew 600. The Enemy had in this Engagement surrounded the *English*, and the Lord *Brogbill* himself was in so great Danger that the *Irish* offer'd him Quarter, which he refusing, they cry'd, *Kill the Fellow in the Gold Lace Coat*, which in all probability had been done, if a Reformed Lieutenant of his Troop had not come in to his Rescue, whose Horse was kill'd under him, and himself twice shot. The Manuscript Memoirs of the Lord *Brogbill* mentions an Archbishop who was taken in the Rout and hang'd, but I suppose he means the Bishop of *Rosse*, whom this Lord had taken in a former Engagement, and order'd him to be executed, or mistakes this Archbishop for that of *Tuan*, slain at *Sligo*. Another Prelate, Bishop of *Emmene* was shot to Death after the taking of *Limerick*. Another, the Bishop of *Clogher*, was, as has been hinted, serv'd by Sir *Charles Coote*, who with Col. *Venables*, had reduc'd all *Ulster* by the Time that *Limerick* was taken. The *Irish* Generals, *Ormond*, *Inchiquin*, *Preston*, and others, had shipp'd themselves for foreign Parts. *Gal- loway*, and a few petty Garrisons that held out, despair'd of Relief, and surrender'd one after another, as the Generals thought fit to attack them. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* commanded the Army in chief, which consisted of between 7 and 8000 Horse and Dragoons, and above 22000 Foot.

Great Army in Ireland.

Cromwel by possessing himself of *Fife* in *Scotland*, and cutting off the Communication between the *Royal Army*, as it is call'd, and the Country beyond the *Forth*, had put a Force upon the King to break up his Camp, and begin a hasty March for *England*. The Lord *Clarendon* applauds this Step as the Effect of his Courage and admirable Conduct. *The Northern Parts of England had given him Cause to believe they were well affected to his Service. His Army was numerous enough, and might thereby be increas'd. Cromwel could not comprehend the Meaning of his Councils. It was no small Surprise to him, and he knew not what to do, and so forth.* All which is a Dream of the Historians, for *Cromwel* knew full well what he had to do, and so early as *April*, *Whitlocke* observes, that the *Royal Army* intended to give the *Parliament's* the Slip, and get into *England*. *Warwick* owns the King's March was upon Necessity not Choice, and *Argyle* was so asham'd of the Madness of such Counsels, that he left the Army, retir'd to his House, and acted no more with such rash and inconsiderate Counsellors. Lord *Clarendon*, or the *Oxford* Doctors, oblige one to offend often against the Decorum of History, by giving the Air of Wisdom to Actions which are the pure Effect of Weakness or Despair. Among Duke *Hamilton's* Papers, after the Rout at *Worcester*, was found the following Letter, which turns all the Reasonings in the *History of the Rebellion* into Ridicule. 'Twas address'd to Mr. *William Crofts* a Retainer of the Courts.

King's March into England.

Duke Hamilton's Letter about it.

WE are laughing at the Ridiculousness of our Condition, who having quit *Scotland*, being scarce able to maintain it; yet we grasp at all, and nothing but all will satisfy us, or to lose all. I confess I cannot tell, whether our Hopes or Fears are greatest, but we have one stout Argument, and that is Despair, for we must now either shortly fight or die. All the Rogues have left us, I will not say whether for Fear or *Disloyalty*, but all now with his Majesty are such as will not dispute his Commands.

Brit. Triump. p. 119.

This is the Story which the Lord *Clarendon*

treats of as gravely, with as many sage Remarks and political Reflections as if it had not been what the same Author from whom I took the Letter says; so that you see *this Undertaking was not the Product of a mature and deliberate Counsel, but of Necessity and Desperation.* On the 6th of *August* the King pass'd the *Tweed*, near *Carlisle*, with an Army of about 16000 Horse and Foot; and *Cromwel*, who had caus'd Instructions to be sent to Major General *Lambert*, to advance towards their Van, order'd Major General *Harrison*, with 3000 Horse and Dragoons to keep as close to their Rear as he could conveniently; himself having left 7000 Horse and Foot with Lieutenant General *Monk*, in *Scotland*, and given him Directions how to behave in his Absence, follow'd the King with the rest of the *English* Army.

A. D. 1651.

The Earl of *Derby* had kept himself on the Defensive in the *Iste of Man* ever since the End of the former War, and pursuant to the Commands he receiv'd from the King, he now landed at *Wyrewater* in *Lancashire*, with about 300 Gentlemen and others, with Intention to raise the Country, tho' he could not get above 1500 Horse and Foot together. Major General *Harrison*, with about 4000 Horse and Foot, somewhat obstructed the March of the *Scots*, tho' he was not considerable enough to fight them, and being join'd by Major General *Lambert*, they observ'd the Enemy so closely as to keep them from Excursions, and prevent others from joining them. The *Scots*, who were in great Expectation of Assistance from *Wales*, and relied much upon Col. *Massey's* Interest in *Gloucestershire*, advanced that Way. Few of the Country came in to them, but on the other Side, so affectionate were the People to the Commonwealth, that they brought in Horse and Foot from all Parts to assist the Parliament. The Regiments of *London*, *Surrey*, *Berkshire*, and *Oxfordshire* Militia, the Militia of *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*, march'd to the Rendezvous against the *Scots* Army; nay the Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, and the Heads of the Colleges rais'd 120 Horse and a Regiment of Foot for the same Service. The Lord *Fairfax*, and some even of the excluded Members, appear'd in Arms on this Occasion, for the Republick was now so potent and renown'd, that all Opposition to it was imputed to Frenzy or Desperation; and till they were betray'd by their Servant *Cromwel*, and till his Son was betray'd by his Relations, the *Fifth Monarchy* was more likely to take Place than that of King *Charles II.* Col. *Lilburn* was left with 1000 Horse in *Lancashire* to hinder the Earl of *Derby's* raising Forces there, or joining the King with what he had rais'd, and the Lord General kept always within two or three Days March of the King, who sent to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, a Parliamentarian Colonel, to raise the *Welshmen*, and to Col. *Mackworth* to do the same for him in *Shropshire* and *Shrewsbury*, but neither of them took any Notice of his Letters. He was proclaim'd King in all Places where he came, as *Echard* remembers with great Satisfaction, tho', as my Author says, *It was a Blast of Honour which, like Jonah's Gourd, quickly vanish'd; for, alas, by this Project of the Scots they ran themselves into inevitable Danger, as the Poet has it,*

Decidit in Syllam, qui vult vitare Charybdim,

Who scapes Charybdis into Sylla falls,

being environ'd on all Sides with the Militia Forces of the several Counties of the Nation; which

A. D. 1651. which *Ludlow* tells us were thought sufficient to have cut the King's Army to Pieces, without the Help of a Regiment of the Parliament's regular Troops. But Mr. Archdeacon assures us, that after *Cromwel*, *Lambert*, *Harrison*, and 50000 of the Militia of *England*, were join'd, *Oliver* was so afraid of his Majesty, that he desir'd a Meeting with the Devil in a Wood near *Worcester*, and sold his Soul to him for the Bargain of beating the King, who had scarce one Man to his four, and whose Men were fatigu'd by a March of 22 Days from *Sterling* in *Scotland* to the City of *Worcester* in *England*. *Echard*, after *Warwick*, blames the King for taking to that City: They would have had him to have taken *London*, where his Letter had been burnt by the common Hangman; for, according to *Warwick*, his Army could but have been knock'd on the Head there if the worst happen'd, and if the best, then they had done the Business. But these excellent Politicians never observ'd that the King was driven to *Worcester* as into a Net, and that the Parliament's Forces had not left him at Liberty to march where it pleas'd him. Before the Devil and *Cromwel* had the Conference, Mr. *Echard* has so finely describ'd in the Wood near *Worcester*, one of *Oliver*'s Colonels had made the Bargain much the better for him by beating the Earl of *Derby*'s Party at *Wigan* in *Lancashire*. The latter was superior in Number to Col. *Lilburn*'s, who however attack'd them with such Vigour, that after a warm Dispute of an Hour's Length, the Lord *Derby*'s Men were totally routed. The Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Thomas Tidestey*, Col. *Trollop*, all three Papists, were slain. 'Tis the same Work still, and the same Workmen. There were slain also Col. *Boynnton*, Sir *William Throgmorton*, Sir *Francis Gamul*, many inferior Officers and Soldiers. Among the Prisoners, 500 in Number, were Sir *Timothy Felberstonhaugh*, Col. *Legg*, Col. *Robinson*, Col. *Bayns*, Col. *Gerard*, Col. *Ratcliff*, all their Baggage, Sumpters, Arms and Ammunition, were taken, as were the Earl of *Derby*'s George and Garter, himself much wounded, and about 30 more got to *Worcester*, at the Sight of whom the Citizens heartily repented they had open'd their Gates to the King, who had promis'd them an Army under this defeated Lord. The King seeing his Hopes lost in the Lord *Derby*'s Defeat, would have march'd off with his Horse, upon which his Foot were ready to mutiny, saying, *We will both endure the same Fortune*, and the King and his Officers had much ado by fair Words to appease them, and satisfy them that they would not leave them.

Battle of Worcester. The *Scots* finding they were like to be shut up with their King and starv'd in *Worcester*, thought it their best Way to attempt to force a Passage before *Cromwel*'s Forces were all come up, tho' he had more than enough to encompass the City. They were posted on each Side of the *Severne*, ready to receive the Enemy, if in their desperate Condition they should attempt to escape by Sallies. Their first Attack was made upon Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*'s Quarters at *Upton*, who, with some Forces of the Army and some *Militia* Regiments, made a vigorous Resistance; but the *Cavaliers* pressing these Troops very hard, the General dispatch'd some Troops to his Assistance by a Bridge laid over the River, commanding Major General *Lambert* to send another Detachment to the same Purpose; but he desir'd to be excus'd, alledging, that if the Enemy should alter their Course, and fall upon those on this Side the *Severne*, they might probably cut off all that remain'd; which was not unlikely, for soon after

most of the Enemy's Strength fell upon that Part of the Army where the General and Major General *Lambert* were. The Battle was fought with various Success on both Sides for a considerable Time, tho' still hopeful on that of the Parliament; but at length the *Scots* Army was broken, and quitting their Ground, retreated in great Disorder to the Town, where they endeavour'd to defend themselves. But Major General *Harrison* and Col. *Croston*, with the *Cheshire* Militia, enter'd it at their Heels. *Lesley*'s Brigade was then in the City unbroken. The King, who had seen the Beginning of the Fight from the Top of the Cathedral Tower, and had afterwards charg'd the Parliamentarians in Person, earnestly begg'd those *Scots* and the flying Soldiers to make one Charge more, and rather kill him on the Place, than expose him to the Calamity and Misery that must attend the Loss of that Day. But nothing could bring them on again, and *Lesley*'s Brigade running with the rest, *Cromwel*'s Men soon became Masters of the City: Upon which there was a doleful Cry among the Citizens, *O save the King, Save the King*, who however had not much consider'd their Safety, by imposing himself upon them, and exposing them to the Resentment and Chastisement of a victorious Republick. The King fled with the first, which the Earl of *Clarendon* expresses so much like a Cavalier, that one can hardly read it without a Horse-laugh; *His Majesty was perswaded to withdraw himself*. A Writer of the same Kidney tells us frankly, *The King seeing how the Case stood, presently fled out of the Town*; and *Whitlocke*, *They rode away Post in great Confusion, their King being the foremost*; and sure there needed not much Perswasion to run out of the Danger he was in, when *Cromwel*'s Men had Possession of Part of the City, and in a few Minutes must have the whole. There fled with him the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, the Lord *Wilmot*, the Lord *Wentworth*, and about eighty Gentlemen of Distinction, whom we must leave for a while shifting for themselves as well as they could.

Of the King's Army near 4000 were kill'd, Brit. Tri; and near 10000 taken Prisoners. Among the umph. Slain were General *Forbes* and Duke *Hamilton*, tho' he dy'd not till next Day, and the Lord General sent his own Surgeons to see if his Wounds were curable, and to do their utmost for him; but all their Care and Skill were in vain. Among the Prisoners were, tho' not taken all at one Place or Time, the Earl of *Derby*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Carnwarth*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, the Earl of *Kelly*, the Earl of *Rothes*, the Lord *Grandison*, the Lord *St. Claire*, the Lord *Spine*, the Lord *Kenmure*, General *David Lesley*, Lieutenant General *Middleton*, Major General *Piscotty*, Col. *Graves*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*, Sir *Richard Fanshawe*, Secretary, Col. *Blague*, and a great Number of Colonels, Lieutenants, Majors, and Subalterns, with Standards, Colours, Baggage, the *Standard Royal*, the King's Coach, his Collier of SS, Bag and Baggage, Arms, Ammunition, and all the Trophies of a most glorious Victory: And it is to be observ'd, that whatever Advantages the Parliament and their Friends got, it was always by Arms, and with Glory, agreeable to the Dignity of the Cause for which they fought, Religion and Liberty; and that whatever Advantages their beaten and baffled Enemies got afterwards, were owing to Perfidy and Perjury, and to a Baseness which is scandalous

Oliver sells his Soul to the Devil, according to Echard.

Earl of Derby routed.

Whitl. 482.

Battle of Worcester.

A. D. 1651.

Comm. War, p. 110.

Ib. 110.

The King's Army entirely defeated.

Prisoners.

A. D. 1651. *ious to human Nature.* According to the Goodness of the Cause was the Success, and the generous Use the Parliamentarians made of it; for even the Lord *Clarendon* is oblig'd to acknowledge that they treated their vanquish'd Enemies after this Victory with Humanity: *There was not much Cruelty us'd to the Prisoners. Towards the King's Servants there was nothing of Severity, they were in a few Days all discharged.* But after, by the Perjury and Perfidy of those the Parliament employ'd, the Cavaliers, without striking a Blow, nay, without creeping out of the Holes and Corners in which they had hid themselves, had got the Parliament's Friends in their Power, what Havock was made of them by Executions and Persecutions, will be seen when we come to that Period in which the Author of the *History of the Rebellion* was Prime Minister, and laid about him with the Civil Sword as much as he has done with his Pen, and it is an eternal Truth, that the Effects will always smell of the Cause.

On the Side of the Parliament 100 Soldiers were slain, 300 wounded. Quarter-Master General *Moseley* and Capt. *Jones* were the only Officers of Note who were kill'd, and only Capt. *Howard* wounded.

Whitlocke takes Notice, that Sir *Richard Onslow*, with the *Surrey* Regiment, march'd hard to come up to the Engagement, so did Capt. *Walter St. John* with the *Surrey* Troop. I mention the latter, to be Matter of Comfort to him whom I take to be his Grandson, and whose Attainder for Treason was lately forgiven him, that he may with Pleasure look back on the worthy Behaviour of his Ancestor, in asserting the Liberty of his Country, whose Glory and Interest himself so basely betray'd by his dark Cabals and ruinous Negotiations, when he thrust himself into the Management at the latter End of *Queen Anne's* Reign, when he labour'd to break the grand Confederacy to restore *France* to the exorbitant Power the Confederates had ravish'd from her, and the Enemies of *England* to a Capacity of giving her all the Trouble and Disturbance she has since met with. It must, one would think, be some Comfort to him, amidst so much Guilt and Disgrace, to read that the Cause of Liberty always found Assertors in his Family, till he endeavour'd to throw down all its Defences, and that their Merit will, with generous Minds, be some Atonement for his Offences, especially if he offends no more, but behaves with the Duty and Gratitude which are due from one who owes his Life to the Clemency of his King and Country.

I should not have written this History, had it not been to have made such Reflections, when they were naturally produc'd by the Subject.

Whitl. p. 484. About 3000 of the King's Horse got out of *Worcester*, the greatest Body was under *David Lesley*, whom Col. *Lilburn* intercepted, and took 1000 of them, with their General, passing thro' *Sancbarch* in *Cheeshire* on a Fair-Day. The Townsmen and Countrymen fell upon them with Clubs and Staves, and with the Poles of their Stalls as they pass'd by knock'd them down, and took about 100 of them. Col. *Barton's* Regiment pick'd up the rest. *Massej* had been wounded at the taking a Pass near *Upton* before the Fight, and could get no farther than *Leicestershire*, where he surrender'd himself to the Countess of *Stamford*, who caus'd his Wounds to be well look'd after, and gave the Parliament Notice of it. He was soon after sent to the Tower, as were most of the *Scots* Prisoners of Quality. This famous Battle was fought on the 3d of *September*, just a Twelvemonth after that at *Dun-*

bar. *Cromwel's* Word was the same, *The Lord of Hosts*; and in his Letter to the Parliament he stiles it a *Crowning Mercy*, not in the Construction which weak Authors ridiculously put upon it, as if it should intimate to the Parliament that it prepar'd the Way for his turning them off and taking the *Crown*, but in the common Sense, that by ending their Wars it crown'd all their other Victories.

The Earl of *Derby* fell again into the Hands of Col. *Lilburn*; as did the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and the former had been so inveterate and dangerous an Enemy to the Commonwealth, that he could expect no Mercy; but though *Cromwel* wrote in his Letter to the House, that some of the Prisoners would be fit Subjects of their Justice, I find few that suffer'd. The Parliament order'd the 3d of *September* to be kept yearly in all the three Kingdoms; and *Cromwel* returning to *London* was receiv'd with as much Magnificence and Ceremony as a General could expect, who in the Opinion of the People was the Deliverer of his Country; but it was observ'd that after this Action, so shining and so important, he took upon him a more stately Behaviour, and chose new Friends. Neither must it be omitted, that instead of acknowledging the Services of those who came from all Parts to assist him against the common Enemy, though he knew they had deserv'd as much Honour as himself and the standing Army, he frown'd upon them, and the very next Day after the Fight dismiss'd them and sent them home, well knowing that a useful experienc'd Militia was more likely to obstruct than to second him in his ambitious Designs, which the Parliament did not seem to be at all apprehensive of at that Time. They caref'd him in an extraordinary Manner, and deputed the Lord Chief Justice *Saint John*, and three other of their Members to attend him on the Road from *Worcester*; as did great Numbers, not only of Members but of Persons of Quality and Citizens, some Miles before he arriv'd at *London*, which was nine Days after the Fight, and there he was spendidly treated by the City. Every Body paid their Court to him as the Head of the Commonwealth; and it is doubtless from this Time that he thought of making himself in Fact what he was now in Appearance.

This great News from *Worcester* was accompany'd with very good from *Scotland*, where Lieutenant General *Monk*, about a Fortnight after *Cromwel* left him, took *Sterling* Castle, one of the strongest in *Scotland*, of which King *James* boasted that it had never been taken in the Reigns of 106 Kings, as by this Inscription which *Monk* defac'd;

— Nobis hæc invicta dedere
Centum sex Proavi.—

It was surrender'd upon Articles; and besides *Scotland*, 40 Pieces of Cannon, 5000 Arms, Ammunition, &c. there were found Money, Jewels, the Records of *Scotland*, the Chair and Cloth of State, the Royal Sword, the Earl of *Mar's* Coronet, Parliament Robes, and other rich Goods. *Cromwel's* Absence so encourag'd the *Scots*, that the Earl of *Leven* and other Lords set about raising another Army in *Perthshire*; for which Purpose they had a Meeting at *Eller*, seven Miles from *Dundee*; and *Monk* hearing of it, sent Col. *Morgan* and Col. *Alured*, to surprize them, which they effected, and seiz'd old General *Lesly*, Earl of *Leven*, the Earl *Marshall*, the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Keith*, the Lord *Ogilvy*, the Lord *Burgenny*, the Lord *Huntley*,
5 J the

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Cavalier
Insolence
and Folly.

the Lord *Lea*, with about 300 Knights, Gentlemen, and Ministers. This Assembly met with Intention to levy what Forces they could, and attempt the Relief of *Dundee*, besieg'd by *Monk*, who having summon'd the Cavaliers, they with their wonted Modesty and Discretion sent Answer; That whoever of the *Parliament Army* would lay down their Arms, and come in to them, should have Mercy; but as stout as their Answer was, they stood not the Storm above a Quarter of an Hour: *Monk's* Soldiers enter'd the Place, and put all the King's Men to the Sword; nay, *Ludlow* assures us he commanded the Governor, Lieutenant General *Lumsdain*, with several others to be kill'd in cold Blood. This is the Man of whom the Earl of *Clarendon* says he pleas'd himself with an Opinion that he was not serving against the King, while he commanded for the Parliament, which is some of the best Reasoning in his Characteristicks. In *Dundee* were taken 50 Sail of Ships, and Plunder to an incredible Value, which so enrich'd the Parliament's Soldiers, that as *Whitlocke* writes, a Centinel could hardly be known from an Officer. *Aberdeen* sent her Keys to *Monk*, *Dunbarton*, *Dunotter* Castles, and *Abernethy* surrender'd at Summons; thus in about a Month's Time after the King enter'd *England*, was all *Scotland*, except two or three Fastnesses in the *Highlands*, reduc'd with little or no Difficulty. *Monk* had a very easy Task to finish the Work, which *Oliver* found so difficult in the Beginning; and if the Task had not been so easy, it is very likely that *Lambert*, or some other General than *Monk*, would have been left in *Scotland* to go through with it.

The King's
Flight.

We are now to wander with the King in his Flight after the Rout at *Worcester*; but there's no need of circumstantiating the Story as the Lord *Clarendon* and the Archdeacon do; for with them King *Charles* the Second in the Oak, near *Boscobel*, makes as heroical a Figure as in any Part of his Reign, which I have no Mind to dispute with them. We have observ'd that his Majesty made very great Dispatch in his Journeys after *Worcester* Fight; but neither Horse or Men could keep travelling without Refreshment and Rest: Wherefore the King, by Advice of the Earl of *Derby* who had hid there after his Rout at *Wiggan*, made towards *Boscobel* in *Staffordshire*, belonging to one *Pendrel* a Papist, where he hop'd to hide till the Search for him was over. His Company had all left him but the Lord *Wilmot*, who kept near him, one Mr. *Giffard* a Papist and his Servant *Francis Yates*, another Papist, both whom had serv'd in *Worcester*, under a Popish Colonel, one *Careless*, whom according to Lord *Clarendon*, they found on an Oak in a Wood, not far from *Boscobel*; and the Colonel coming down, his Majesty got up and hid in it as *Careless* had done. The King was conducted to *White Ladies*, in the Parish of *Tong* in *Shropshire*, where one of the *Pendrels* dwelt, and there he stripp'd himself of his own Cloaths, put on the Garb of a Peasant, and rounded his Hair *Alamode de Roundhead*. He lay in the Oak by Day, and in the House by Night; from thence they went to *Boscobel*, and thence to Mr. *Whitegrove's* of *Mosely*, where they found the Lord *Wilmot*, the King travelling like a Woodman with a Bill in his Hand. In these Travels he was much help'd by *Huddleston* a Benedictine Monk; and from his Departure from *Worcester* to his coming to Mr. *Lane's* in *Staffordshire*, he had trusted himself with none but Papists; tho' there is a very particular Account of his Majesty's being made Welcome by every one of these Papists, and his Concealment

Com. War.
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of 5 or 6 Days in the Hollow of a Tree, the Hay-mow, the Barn, which takes up four or five Pages; yet the Lord *Clarendon* introduces it thus, *It is great Pity that there was never a Journal made of that miraculous Concealment; in which there might be seen so many visible Impressions of the immediate Hand of God.* I cannot make Reflections on such Passages without treading too closely on the Heels of Establishments, into which some have endeavour'd to weave the Cause they engag'd in. From Mr. *Lane's* House the King disguis'd like a Servant rode before Mrs. *Lane*, his Daughter, to *Leigh* in *Somersetshire*, five Miles from *Bristol*, which was then the Seat of Mr. *Norton*, who had marry'd her Sister, and is now the Seat of Mrs. *Trenchard*, Widow to the famous Mr. *Trenchard*, better known by the feign'd Name of *Cato*, which he put to some of his Writings. Here he left Mrs. *Lane*, whose decent Behaviour is highly commended by the Earl of *Clarendon*; and from thence went to Col. *Francis Windham's* at *Trent*, not far from *Shirburn*, intending to take Shipping for *France* at *Lyme*; but being balk'd there, he rode before another young Gentlewoman from *Trent* to *Salisbury Plain*, where he was met by Dr. *Henchman*, afterwards Bishop, and by him conducted to *Heal*, belonging to Serjeant *Hyde*, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, three Miles from *Salisbury*; and the Earl of *Clarendon*, who was of the same Family, does it Honour on this Occasion, which to shew my Impartiality I shall not forget: *This Seat*, says he, *always belong'd to Malignants.* From *Heal* he was conducted by Mrs. *Hyde* to *Stonehenge*, where he met Dr. *Henchman* again, who the next Day deliver'd him to the Lord *Wilmot*, who conducted him to *Suffex*, where Col. *Gunter* had provided a Vessel at *Brightholmsted*, to transport him to *Normandy*, where he landed in *November*. The Court of *France* was not at all pleas'd with his coming into that Kingdom; from *Normandy* the King went to *Paris*, where the Marquis of *Ormond* came to him about *Christmas*; and the Lord *Clarendon* informs us there was a Friendship between him and the Marquis, with which he concludes the Transactions of this Year, except the Quarrel amongst the King's Ministers about the *Mastership* of the *Wards* in *England*, which would not be worth a Penny to either of them, fell out within this Year.

In the mean Time a Court Marshal sat at *Earl of Chester*, where were present Major General *Derby*, *Mitton*, Col. *Mackworth*, and 20 Officers, Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels and Captains, who chose Col. *Mackworth* President, and the Earl of *Derby* and Sir *Timothy Featherstonhaugh*, were brought before them. The Earl being charg'd with conspiring a general Rising for the King in *Lancashire*, confess'd there was such a Plot; but it was disappointed by the apprehending of Mr. *Birkenhead*. That Major *Asburs* and Major Gen. *Masse* were principal Actors in this Conspiracy. He submitted himself to the Mercy of the Parliament, but allcdg'd he had Quarters given him, and therefore was not to be try'd by a Court Martial for Life. He pleaded Ignorance of the Acts of Treason set forth by the Parliament: But he was over-ru'd, and the Court sentenc'd him to be beheaded for his Treasons at *Bolton*, where *Whitlocke* tells us, he had kill'd a Man in cold Blood, and that he seem'd very desirous of Life, of which there is not a Syllable in the Earl or Archdeacon's History. Sir *Timothy Featherstonhaugh* had the same Sentence pass upon him, and Capt. *Benbow* was shot to Death, which was the greatest Part of the

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Beheaded.

A. D. 1651. the Executions for this new War against the Commonwealth.

The Islands of *Scilly*, *Guernsey*, and *Jersey*, held out for the King, after the Parliament had reduc'd all *England* and *Wales*, and all *Scotland* and *Ireland*, except a few Castles in the most remote Parts of it.

Sir *John Greenville* was Governor of *Scilly* Islands; and though the Men he had with him did little good to themselves, yet acting like a Nest of Pirates they did a great deal of Mischiefe to others by their Piracies. The Navigation was interrupted, and many Merchant Ships made Prize by the Pirates of *Scilly*, and the other Islands. The Parliament order'd Sir *George Ayscue* to reduce *Scilly*, who came on that Coast in *April*, and summon'd the Governor, who immediately desir'd a Treaty; but it took no Effect, and General *Blake* order'd the Troops to land, and they soon drove all that oppos'd them into *St. Mary's* Castle, upon which the Men of War play'd their Cannon; and Sir *John Greenville* surrender'd it a Month after, on Condition that he and his Garrison should be Prisoners of War: Some of his Soldiers were ship'd for *Ireland*; and some sent to *Scotland*. He had 800 Men, and *St. Mary's* was very strong; but it is said he wanted Water; though if he had as much Water as runs in the *New River* he must have done what he did. Sir *George Ayscue* carry'd him and Part of his Garrison Prisoners to *Plymouth*, and then proceeded to *Barbadoes*. The Parliament made Col. *Hunkin* Governor of *Scilly* Islands.

From *Scilly*, General *Blake* sail'd to the Isle of *Jersey*, of which Sir *George Carteret* was Governor, and had with him 3 or 4000 Men. *Blake* took on Board Col. *Haynes's* Regiment, and two other Regiments of Foot, and 4 Troops of Horse. He came to an Anchor under the Island about the latter End of *October*: The General landed his Men in Boats, and then ran the Boats a Ground, the Soldiers leaping into the Sea Neck high. They were at their Landing desperately charg'd by a Body of Horse for about half an Hour, and then the Enemy fled: The Parliament's Forces pursu'd them a Mile into the Island, and the next Morning march'd to several Forts, and found in them Guns and Colours, but no Men. The next Day Col. *Haynes* drew up his Men on a Hill in Sight of *Elizabeth* Castle. The Enemy had a Fort under the Hill, which they quitted, and another Fort nearer to *Elizabeth* Castle. Thus in three Days was all the Island reduc'd except *Orgeuil* and *Elizabeth* Castles: Of this says the Author of the *History of the Rebellion*, Sir *George Carteret* having well defend'd *Jersey* as long as he could, and being so over-power'd that he could no longer defend the Island, he retir'd into *Elizabeth* Castle, which he had fortify'd and provided with all Things necessary for a Siege, presuming that by the Care and Diligence of the Lord *Jermyn*, who was Governor of the Castle, he should receive Supplies of Men and Provision, as he might easily have done, in spite of any Power of the Parliament by Sea or Land; which is every Word false in Fact and Politicks. "But it had been the principal Reason that *Cromwel* had hitherto kept the better Quarter with the Cardinal, lest the Bait of these two Islands, which the King could have put into his Hands when he would, should tempt him to give his Majesty any Assistance; but the King was so strict and punctual in his Care of the Interest of *England*, when he seem'd to be abandon'd by it, that he chose rather to suffer those Places of great Importance to fall into *Cromwel's* Pow-

er, than to deposit them upon any Conditions into the *French* Hands. When the Castle had been besieg'd three Months, and the Enemy could not approach nearer to plant their Ordnance than at least half an *English* Mile, the Sea encompassing it round more than so far from any Land, and it not being possible for any of their Ships to come within such a Distance; they brought notwithstanding Mortar Pieces of such incredible Greatness, and such as had never been before seen in this Part of the World, that from the highest Point of the Hill near *St. Hilary*, they shot Granados of a vast Bigness into the Castle, and beat down many Houses, and at last blow'd up a great Magazine, where most of the Provisions of Victuals lay, and kill'd many Men. Upon which Sir *George Carteret* sent an Express to give the King an Account of the Condition he was in, who desir'd a Supply of Men and Provisions, which it being impossible for his Majesty to procure, he sent him Orders to make the best Conditions he could." Such from one end to the other is that History; if it is not worse in many Places.

Whitlocke informs us that Col. *Haynes* lost but *Whitlocke* four Men in taking this Island; and that as soon as Sir *George Carteret* was got into *Elizabeth* Castle, General *Blake* block'd it up on all Sides; yet the Lord *Clarendon* asserts it might have been reliev'd in spite of all the Power of the Parliament by Sea and Land. General *Blake* and Colonel *Haynes* laid Siege to it about the Beginning of *November*; and before the 15th the Governor desir'd a Treaty, which did not then take Effect. *Orgeuil* Castle surrender'd in 10 or 12 Days, and in it were found 20 Brass and Iron Guns, and 20 Barrels of Powder, 1000 Arms, and two Months Provisions for 70 Men. As soon as *Monk*, who was in *Scotland*, heard of the taking of this Castle, he wrote a Congratulatory Letter to the Parliament, of such Importance did he think it; and so much did he rejoice at any Losses and Disgraces which befel the King and his Adherents. The House order'd Thanks to General *Blake* and Colonel *Haynes* for their good Service in the Reduction of *Jersey*. The third Shot at *Elizabeth* Castle fell upon the old Church, kill'd and wounded 30 Persons, and indanger'd the Governor and his Lady, which so frighten'd the latter, that she embark'd the next Night for *France*, with other Ladies, and some few Gentlemen. Upon this also several of the Garrison made their Escape; and others who attempted, and were taken, were hang'd up immediately. Sir *George Carteret* made a gallant Defence till about the middle of *December*, when he surrender'd: So that the Siege held fifty Days, which the Earl of *Clarendon* calls three Months. In it were,

17 Pieces of Brass Cannon, 36 Iron, 450 Muskets, 64 Barrels of Powder, 5000 Pounds Weight of Match, 1000 great Shot, 100 Weight of Muskets Shot, 4 Ton of Lead, 2 Ton of Iron, 60 Hogheads of Biskets, 48 Bushels of Wheat, 32 Bushels of Barley, 160 Bushels of Malt, 36 Bushels of Pease, 50 Sides of Pork, 60000 Weight of Poor John, 3 Hogheads of *French* Brandy, 4 Pipes of *Spanish* Wine, 10 Hogheads of *French* Wine, 16 Hogheads of Beer, 60 Quarter of Salt, 6 Hogheads of Beef; with great Store of other Provisions for a Garrison of 380 Men, to which Number they were reduc'd. And it appears by this Account in *Whitlocke*, that the Castle might have held out longer, if holding out at all had not been downright Madness; for what Relief could

General Blake.

Scilly. Jersey.

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A. D. 1651. could be expected from a Prince, who when he landed in France had not Money enough to carry him to Paris, and as to Cromwel's keeping the better Quarter with Mazarine, lest the Bait of Guernsey and Jersey should have tempted him to give Charles II. Assistance, 'tis like the rest of the Chimera's in the History of the Rebellion, for besides that the intestine Broils then in France, took Mazarine's Thoughts entirely off from foreign Affairs. The Cardinal was so afraid of Cromwel, that he would not have accepted of those two Islands from King Charles, lest he should have drawn upon him the whole Power of the Commonwealth of England, which would soon have recover'd them. There is, I think, not many more Faults as to Fact in this Scrap of that History, but it is one, where the Author says Cornet Castle in Guernsey was taken in the Beginning of September, whereas it was not surrender'd till a little before or a little after Elizabeth Castle. I should not have made so petty a Remark as this, but that there are some ignorant People who take this most inaccurate and irregular History to be the most exact and complete. Col. Philip Carteret, Governour of Mount Orgueil, stipulated, when he surrender'd that Castle, that he and his Officers should have an Act of Oblivion, and the Parliament pass'd such an Act in their Favour. Sir George Carteret and his Officers were transported to St. Maloes in France, where, according to Whitlocke, they had coarse Entertainment, only himself and 9 more being suffer'd to come into the Town. During these Transactions Orders were sent to Col. Duckenfield and Col. Bird, to reduce the Isle of Man, which had been a Place of Refuge for those of the King's Party, who supported themselves by Piracy, and were very welcome to the Earl of Derby, the Lord of it; and his Countess, after the Earl left the Island, stood out with as good Reason, and as great Courage, as any of those who held Places for the King, after he had himself no Place to go to which he could depend upon for his Abode there. Duckenfield took with him General Cromwel's Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Col. Worsley, Major General Dean's, commanded by Lieutenant Col. Mitchel, and his own Regiment, with two Troops of Horse. He sail'd from Chester the 18th of October, but was driven back to Beaumaris in Anglesey, and came not to Man till the 25th, when Capt. Young, Commander of the President Frigate, was sent with a Summons to the Countess of Derby, then in Rusben Castle, who return'd Answer, That she was to keep it by her Lord's Command, and without his Order she would not deliver it up. The next Day, October the 26th, a Deputy came from the Island to assure the Parliament's Officers, that they should meet with no Opposition, and might safely come under Derby Fort, Douglas Fort, and any Fort in the Island, except Rusben and Peele Fort; but having nothing in Writing to vouch for him, Major Fox was sent back with him to inquire into the Truth of his Report, which was confirm'd to him by the Islanders, and Commissioners came aboard the Fleet, to desire that only one Regiment might land, and they would supply them, as also the Forces on board, with Provisions at the Market Price, which Col. Duckenfield consented to. The Islanders deliver'd up one Bartlet, a notorious Pirare, and did every Thing they promis'd. The Countess of Derby finding her self deserted by the Islanders, and the Parliament's Soldiers in Possession of all the Forts, except Rusben and Peele Castles, she surrender'd them, and the Parliament order'd the Council of State to consider of preserving that

Island for the Benefit of the Commonwealth. The Histories of those Times speak of these Islands as Nests of Pirates, but the Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Echard represent them as the Retreats of Heroes, who disdain'd to submit to that Power which made all Europe tremble. James Hind the Highwayman deserves also a Place in the same Records, for being examin'd by the Council of State, Whitlocke tells us, he confess'd he had been employ'd by the King in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and when afterwards he was hang'd for his Robberies, the Cavaliers pretended he was as much murder'd as Mr. Love or Mr. Gibbons.

The Island of Barbadoes, in America, was seiz'd by the Lord Willoughby of Parham in the Name of the King. Several Royalists had secur'd themselves and their Effects there, particularly Col. Walrond and Col. Colliton, but not with any Design to throw off their Dependance upon England, or to involve themselves in new Troubles and Dangers to shelter such as had no where else to go to. But the Lord Willoughby having the King's Commission they submitted to it, and the other Islanders did not think fit or safe to make Opposition by Arms. Willoughby the Governour, Col. Walrond, Col. Codrington, and Col. Muddiford, had a Design to banish the Parliament's Friends out of the Island, but it being discover'd by Codrington when he was tipsy, Col. Drax and Col. Allen made such a Party against it, that the Governour let it drop, and as soon as Sir George Ayscue arriv'd with his Squadron of Men of War, and his Guns began to play upon the chief Fort at Bridge Town, the chief Islanders shew'd a good Disposition to return to their Obedience to the Government of England. Sir George sent a Summons to the Lord Willoughby, and a Declaration to the Inhabitants, inviting them to submit to the Parliament. Willoughby, who was himself a Defertor from the Parliament, answer'd, He would keep the Place for the King. Upon which Sir George form'd a Regiment of 600 Men out of the Ships Crews, to assist the Friends to the Commonwealth, and putting them ashore under Captain Morrice, they were charg'd by 9 Companies of Foot and 3 Troops of Horse, but it being in the Night, and the Islanders not knowing the Number of the Enemy, were discourag'd by the repeated Shouts of the Sailors, which made them seem to be more than they were, and they ran away in a Sort of Amazement, and quitted a Fort in which were 4 Guns. Lieutenant Col. Allen, a Planter of Barbadoes, who had got Aboard the Fleet, and seven Men were all the Loss on the Parliament's Side. On Willoughby's, 100 Men were kill'd, and 80 taken. But as Whitlocke observes, this Success was nothing towards the gaining of the whole Island, the Enemy having about 5000 Horse and Foot in Arms. Sir George Ayscue made particular Application to Col. Muddiford of Barbadoes, whom he understood to be a Man of the best Interest in the Island, and by offering him and his Friends honourable Conditions, he prevail'd with him to join him, which increas'd his Forces to 2000 Foot and 100 Horse. He also sent the Lord Willoughby a Letter from his Lady, advising him to surrender, for that the King was utterly routed at Worcester; the contrary of which he had reported to his Party in that Island, and hop'd, if not believ'd himself. This Lord hearing of Muddiford's Junction with Ayscue, march'd up to them with all the Force he could make, but in the Night retreated 2 Miles. Sir George intended to attack him the next Day, and he had done it if extraordinary Rains had not fallen. Willoughby much disturb'd

Guernsey would soon have recover'd them. There is, I think, not many more Faults as to Fact in this

Isle of Man.

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Hind the Robber.

Barbadoes

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sturb'd by his Lady's Letter sent to him for a Treaty, in regard his Strength was much the greater, and to prevent the Destruction of that goodly Island, which was already wasted. Sir George Ayscue consented to it, and appointed Commissioners to treat with such as he should appoint. For Ayscue were, Col. Colliton and Col. Muddiford, Mr. Scarl and Captain Pack. For the Lord Willoughby were Sir Richard Meriel, Mr. Charles Pym, Col. Ellis, and Major Byam. And they soon agreed upon Articles, for the Lord Willoughby knew his Men would not stand by him. His Lordship, Col. Walround, and all those Royalists who had Estates in England were to enjoy them. The Islanders were to have Protection for their Persons, Houses and Goods, and on these Terms were Barbadoes, and all the other Islands, deliver'd up to the Commonwealth.

Virginia
surrender'd

After this Sir George sail'd to Virginia, having on Board Col. Poyntz Governor of St. Christophers, where the Inhabitants were ready to receive them, so far is it from being true, that the Virginians would have had the King come amongst them, as the Lord Clarendon affirms, and that Sir William Berkley the Governor could defend it against any Attempt, which is no more true, than that they had once any Thoughts of resisting the Commonwealth when a Force came to support them in their Submission to it, for Mr. George Ludlow, a Relation of General Ludlow's, had a Party ready to declare for the Parliament, and join their Forces with those that came to their Assistance against Berkley, who was in no Condition to oppose them. But the Earl of Clarendon can't help it. The Inhabitants of all the Plantations in America depended upon Trade, which is as inconsistent with arbitrary Power and Bigotry as Honesty with Injustice. Poyntz was made Governor in the Room of Berkley, and the Name of Poyntz shows how groundless as well as vain is that Reproach of the Lord Clarendon's, that the Parliament made Tradesmen Governors instead of Gentlemen.

Dutch.

The Commonwealth of England having now reduc'd the whole British Empire to her Obedience, except a few Banditti in Ireland, not of so much Consequence as the Thieves that generally infest the Roads, cast their Eyes abroad, and the first Object which requir'd their Consideration, was the Republick of the United Provinces, whose Conduct, since the Establishment of the Republick of England, had been very impolitick and unjustifiable. In Effect, the true Interests of the two States were inseparable, as they were a Free and a Protestant People; and it was very unworthy the Character of the Dutch Nation, for Wisdom and Wariness, to give the Parliament so many just Occasions of Offence: 'Twas no Excuse, that the Princess of Orange, their Stadtholder's Consort, was a Princess of England, and on her Account they were obliged to suffer the Residence of her Brothers, and their desperate Attendants at the Hague, after the Ministers of England had been murder'd and insulted there. The States General had no Relation to her, and if Princes have no Concern for Kindred when Interest is in Question, much less should Republicks have. The Assistance they had given the King in many Cases was well known to the Commonwealth of England, and Power crown'd with Victory is not wont to put up such Affronts. Add to this, that the Encroachments of the Dutch in Commerce were not likely to be past over by a wise and potent Republick, great in Counsels and in Arms, tho' the Business of the two former Reigns ran so

much in favour of Spiritual Courts, as would not admit of any Interruption by Trade, Interest, or Glory.

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The Lord Ambassador St. John being recall'd, and return'd from Holland, got himself to be nam'd one of the four Commissioners who were appointed by Parliament to attend the Lord General in his Way from Worcester to London, and it was observ'd that St. John had long and private Conferences with Cromwel on the Road, in which he probably confirm'd Oliver in his Resolution to break with the Dutch. Cromwel's Quarrel was their Regard for the House of Stuart, whom he mortally hated as Impediments to his own ambitious Views, and the Jealousy the States General had conceiv'd of the Growth of the Maritime Power of England, made them too careless and dilatory in giving the Parliament the Satisfaction they demanded; and the Commonwealth of England taking into Consideration the great Advantages the Hollanders made of their Navigation, by being the common Carriers, thought it convenient to take off the English Branch from them, by passing the famous Act of Navigation, which was not repeal'd after the Restoration, as it might have been, for the same Reason as Dunkirk was sold, it passing in the Times of Usurpation, the best Argument they had for any Thing of that Kind. By this Act, the most advantageous one to England that ever pass'd in Parliament, No Commodity whatsoever, of the Growth or Manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, as well of the English Plantations as others, shall be imported into England, Ireland, or any the Territories thereof, in any Ships or Vessels, but in such as do truly belong to this Commonwealth, or the Plantations thereof, under Penalty of the Forfeiture of Goods and Vessels. And of Europe the like, That no Commodities whatsoever of foreign Growth or Manufacture, which are to be brought into this Commonwealth in Ships belonging to the People thereof, shall be by them shipp'd from any Places, but only from those of the said Growth, Production or Manufacture, or from those Parts where the said Commodities can only be, or usually have been shipp'd for Transportation. Instead of such useful Laws as this, by which England has got, and sav'd more Money than all the Charge of her Wars from 1640 to 1660 amounted to, we shall see what rare Acts pass'd after the Restoration of the King and the Earl of Clarendon. The Act of Navigation being a terrible Blow to the Dutch Traffick, they were not so forward in concluding the Treaty they desir'd, as they had been to desire it, however, as it did but too plainly presage an approaching Rupture, they dispatch'd away three or four of the most Noble of their Deputies as Ambassadors to the Parliament, Mynheer Scappe, Mynheer Parre, Mynheer Catz, the latter a Poet, which is an extraordinary Thing in Holland, who arriv'd at Gravesend in December, and were brought to London by the Master of the Ceremonies, in the States Coaches, and three Days after had their Audience in Parliament, introduc'd by the Earl of Salisbury, Sir John Danvers, and Sir Henry Mildmay: The Audience past in the Ceremonials, and then the Lord Commissioner Whitlocke, and other Members, were nominated to confer with their Excellencies on the Subject of their Embassy, which was to give Satisfaction to the Commonwealth of England, with reference to their Assisting the King, the Right of fishing on the British Coast, and the Sovereignty of the Seas. The two last Heads were asserted and explain'd with great Strength of Reasoning by Whitlocke, insomuch that the Ambassadors were

Act of Navigation.

A. D. 1651. more irritated than convinc'd; but as the Success of their Embassy was not determin'd in this Year, we shall refer it to the next. In the mean time, an *English* Man of War meeting with some *Dutch* Fishermen on the *British* Coast, demanded the *tenth Herring* as an Acknowledgment of the *Sovereignty* of the Seas, which the Parliament was resolv'd to assert in another manner than had hitherto been done. The *Dutch* denying it, they fell from Words to Blows, and the *Dutchman* shooting first at the *English*, the *English* Man of War sunk one of the *Dutch* Ships, which perish'd with all her Crew. This was in *December*, and added to the Reckoning which the *Hollanders* were to make up.

Scotland. We left Major General *Monk* in *Scotland*, where he had little Work upon his Hands. The Parliament nam'd Commissioners for the Civil Government of that Kingdom; Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Col. *Fenwick*, *Titchburn*, Esq; *Humphrey Sawney*, Esq; Major General *Lambert*, Major General *Monk*, Major General *Dean*; by whom the Affairs of that Nation were very well settled, and a Way prepared for uniting it with *England*.

Ireland. In *Ireland* the Earl of *Clanrickard*, who with the pompous Title of *Lord Lieutenant* govern'd those *Irish* that had not laid down Arms, but kept them rather to rob than fight, apply'd to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who being driven out of his own Country, liv'd upon a little mercenary Army which he lent to the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, and now pretended to assist the *Irish* with it. Another fine Scheme of the depending Cavaliers, to negotiate with a Prince for Assistance, who could or would not stir a Step without Money, and they had none to give him.

As to the Civil Government this Year, the Parliament had a Project to reduce the Receipts of the Publick Money into one Office, for the Cheapness of Collection. They also nam'd a Committee to consider what Inconveniences there are in the Law, how the Mischiefs which grow from Delays, the Chargeableness and Irregularities in the Proceedings of the Law may be prevented. This Committee were Sir *Anthony Abley Cooper*, Sir *William Roberts*, *Matthew Hale*, Esq; Mr. *Steel*, Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Maneby*, Mr. *Sadler*, Sir *Henry Blunt*, Mr. *Berners*, *John Rusworth*, Esq; Dr. *Turner*, Major General *Desborough*, Col. *Thomlinson*, Col. *Blunt*, Sergeant *Fountain*, Alderman *Fowke*, Mr. *Moyer*, Major *Packer*, Mr. *Meltwolde*, Mr. *Mansell*, Mr. *Sparrow*, Dr. *Walker*. This Committee met several Times, and desir'd the Judges in the several Courts to return to them a List of the Officers in their Courts, and what Fees they receive, and what Work they do for them. A Project of excellent Use, and fit for the Wisdom of the Nation to bring to Perfection. The Parliament also put down the *Marshals Court*, which has ever since it was restor'd been an intolerable Grievance to the People in and about *London*. And the State being now pretty well fix'd, it was thought proper to strengthen its Foundation by a new Representative of the People, which were to be still the Commonwealth of *England*. A grand Committee sate on this grand Affair in *October*, and so several Times after, to make Provision for a Succession of Members of the same Principles, as well as human Prudence could provide for it. They pass'd the Act for the Increase of Shipping, and Encouragement of Navigation, before-mention'd, and another appointing Dr. *Clarke*, Dr. *Exton*, and Dr. *Stevens*, to be

Judges of the Admiralty; but the great Business was debated in a Cabal by *Cromwel's* Appointment, at which assisted *Oliver Cromwel*, Esq; Captain General, *William Lenthall*, Esq; Speaker, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*, Major General *Harrison*, Col. *Whaley*, Colonel *Desborough*, Col. *Fleetwood*.

Oliver open'd the Conference with a Proposal, That the old King being dead, and his Son defeated, he held it necessary to come to a Settlement of the Nation. Here he discover'd himself. The Nation was settled in a Commonwealth, if he alter'd the Government, it would doubtless be for Monarchy, and who then would be the Monarch was easy to be understood. The Speakers were in the following Order.

William Lenthall, Esq; " My Lord, this Company are very ready to attend your Excellency, and the Business you are pleas'd to propound to us is very necessary to be consider'd. God hath given marvellous Success to our Forces under your Command, and if we do not improve these Mercies to some Settlement, such as may be to God's Honour, we shall be very blame-worthy.

By Settlement *Lenthall* means his Excellency, and *Cromwel* is sure of him when he thinks fit to make use of him.

M. G. *Harrison*. " I think that which my Lord General hath propounded, is to advise to a Settlement both of our civil and spiritual Liberties, and so that the Mercies which the Lord hath given in to us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great Question.

Harrison is not entirely at *Cromwel's* Devotion, and shew'd by his future Conduct that he was Republican, or rather Enthusiastical.

Whitlocke. " It is a great Question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolv'd, yet it were Pity that a Meeting of so many able and worthy Persons should be fruitless. I should humbly offer, in the first Place, whether it be not requisite to be understood in what Way this Settlement is desired, whether of any absolute Republick, or with any Mixture of Monarchy.

Whitlocke gives the first Hint of *Cromwel's* Protectorship, and *Oliver* takes hold of the Opportunity to introduce it.

Cromwel. " My Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* hath put us upon the right Point; and indeed it is my Meaning we should consider whether a Republick, or a mix'd monarchical Government, will be best to be settled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that Power shall be plac'd.

There he comes to the Point indeed, and there can be no Answer to that Question but himself.

Sir *T. Widdrington*. " I think a mix'd monarchical Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People of this Nation; and if any monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that Power in one of the Sons of the late King.

Col. *Fleetwood*. " I think that the Question, Whether an absolute Republick, or a mix'd Monarchy, be best to be settled in this Nation? will not be very easy to be determin'd.

Lord Chief Justice *St. John*. " It will be found that the Government of this Nation, without something of monarchical Power, will be very difficult to be so settled, as not to shake the Foundation of the Laws, and the Liberties of the People.

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Cabal.

Committee of Law.

William

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William Lenthall, Esq; "It will breed a strange Confusion to settle a Government of this Nation, without something of Monarchy. Col. *Desborough*. "I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other Nations, be govern'd by Way of a Republick.

Whitlocke. "The Laws of *England* are so interwoven with the Power and Practice of Monarchy, that to settle a Government without something of Monarchy, would make so great an Alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, that you have scarce Time to rectify, nor can we well foresee the Inconveniencies which will arise thereby.

Col. *Whaley*. "I do not well understand Matters of Law, but it seems to me to be the best Way not to have any thing of monarchical Power in the Settlement of our Government; and if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The King's eldest Son hath been in Arms against us, and his second Son is likewise our Enemy.

Sir *Thomas Widdrington*. "But the late King's third Son, the Duke of *Gloucester*, is still amongst us, and too young to have been in Arms against us, or infected with the Principles of our Enemies.

Whitlocke. "There may be a Day given for the King's eldest Son, or for the Duke of *Tork* his Brother, to come in to the Parliament, and upon such Terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable both to our civil and spiritual Liberties: A Settlement may be made with them.

Cromwel. "That will be a Business of more than ordinary Difficulty; but really I think, if it may be done with Safety and Preservation of our Rights, both as *Englishmen* and as Christians, that a Settlement with somewhat of monarchical Power in it would be very effectual.

The mentioning of any of the late King's Children is the Farce that's play'd here, for not one of the Cabal had any such Desire. The Lawyers *St. John*, *Lenthall*, *Whitlocke*, *Widdrington*, who were for monarchical Government, were all Creatures of *Cromwel*'s, and meant the Power not the Person.

The Republick was now courted by all Nations. Besides Ambassadors from *Spain* and *Portugal*, there were others from *Sweden*, from *Denmark*, from the *Hanse Towns*, from *Venice*, from *Florence*, and other Princes and States. The Council of State sometimes wrote Letters in the Name of the Commonwealth, as this to the Doge of *Venice*, *Serenissimo Principi Venetiarum Duci; Senatuique Celsissimo Consilium Status, Parliamenti Reipublice Angliæ, Autoritate constitutum. Salutem ex mandato Parliamenti. Serenissime Princeps, Celsissime Senatus Amici Charissimi*. The Council of State, establish'd by the Authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, to the most serene Prince the Doge and the most high Senate of *Venice*. By Command of the Parliament. Most serene Prince, most high Senate, our most dear Friends, &c. This Letter recommended to them *James Dickons* and *Job Throgmorton*, who had met with some Injustice in the Courts of that Republick. *Leti* informs us, that about the latter End of this Year the following Bishops

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Meeting of
Bishops.

had a private Meeting at *London*; Dr. *William Pierce* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Henry King* Bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *Roger Maynwaring* Bishop of *St. David's*, Dr. *Matthew Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Ralph Brownrigg* Bishop of *Exeter*, Dr. *George Cook* Bishop of *Hereford*, Dr. *Morgan Owen* Bishop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Tho-*

mas Wyniffe Bishop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Joseph Hall* Bishop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Robert Skinner* Bishop of *Oxford*, Dr. *John Warner* Bishop of *Rochester*, Dr. *Brian Duppa* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Walter Curl* Bishop of *Winchester*, Dr. *John Prideaux* Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. *Barnaby Porter* Bishop of *Carlisle*, Dr. *Richard Parry* Bishop of *Man*. Dr. *William Fuxon* Bishop of *London* refus'd to be at their Meeting, either believing it would signify nothing, or fearing to give Offence to the then Government, as my Author says; and that the Prelates thought it too much to lose all at once, their Flocks, their Dignities, their Churches, their Revenues, which, continues he, tho' a Papist, *nevoient pas peutesre l'Article que leur tenoit le moins au cœur*, were not perhaps the Article they had least at Heart. The Pretence for their assembling was to use all their Interest by their Friends in and out of Parliament, to get Part of their Lands reserv'd for their Subsistence as long as they liv'd. *Harrison* discover'd this Meeting, and inform'd *Cromwel* of it, and he the Council of State. One of the Members mov'd immediately, that they should be all seiz'd, imprison'd, and punish'd as Disturbers of the Publick Peace; but *Cromwel*, who wanted Tools among all Parties, and affected great Moderation to get in with the Royalists, was contented with breaking up the Assembly, and letting them know, *That they must disperse at the Instant, and quit London in eight and forty Hours, and if ever they took upon them the Function of Bishops, the Title or Office, they should be proceeded against as Traytors*; which was enough to send them down into the Country again faster than they came up. Such is the Story in *Gregorio Leti*, but what Foundation he had for it we know not, and do very much suspect his Authority.

We left the King at *Paris* just arriv'd there after the Rout at *Worcester*, and in so miserable a Condition, that he had hardly Necessaries for his Subsistence as a Gentleman, much less a Prince. His Credit was so low, that the Earl of *Clarendon* owns he could not raise 20 Pistoles upon it. The Cardinal *de Retz*, in his *Memoirs*, makes it still worse. The Lord *Taaf*, Envoy from the *Irish* Rebels to the Duke of *Lorraine*, was his Great Chamberlain, Valet de Chambre, Clerk of the Kitchen, Cup-bearer and all, an Equipage answerable to his Court, for his Majesty had not chang'd his Shirt all the Way from *England*. Indeed upon his Arrival at *Paris* he had one lent him by the Lord *Fermyn*, but the Queen his Mother had not Money to buy him another for the next Day. The Duke of *Orleans* paid him a Complement upon his Arrival, but *Monf. de Retz* tells us he could not prevail with the Duke to give his Nephew one Penny: A little, he said, would not be worth his Acceptance, and a great deal would engage him to do as much more. *De Retz* propos'd to his Royal Highness to lend the King of *England* 1000 Pistoles, and was asham'd that he could not persuade him to do it, so he himself borrow'd 1500 of *Monfieur Morangis* and carry'd them to the Lord *Taaf*. The Cardinal adds, "Tis remarkable that the same Night, as I was going home, I met one *Tilney* an *Englishman*, whom I had formerly known at *Rome*, who told me that *Vere*, a great Parliamentarian, and a Favourite of *Cromwel*, was arriv'd at *Paris*, and had Orders to see me. I was a little perplex'd, however I thought it would be improper to refuse him an Interview. He gave me a Letter from *Cromwel* in the Nature of Credentials, importing, That the Sentiments I had discover'd in the Defence of Pub-

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"lick

A. D. 1652. "lick Liberty added to my Reputation, and had induc'd him to enter into the strictest Friendship with me. It was a most civil complimentary Letter, and I answer'd it with a great deal of Respect, but in such a Manner as became a true *Catholick* and an honest *French* Man." *Vere* appear'd to be a Man of surprising Abilities; and the Truth is, neither *Oliver* nor the Commonwealth employ'd Fools, but *Mazarine* and the most able Politicians in *France*, had a very mean Opinion of the Counsellors whom King *Charles* had about him, notwithstanding the Earl of *Clarendon* was chief of them. It is the Fate of this Prince, said the Cardinal, that he neither knows how to chuse for himself, nor has any one near him that is able to advise him. For by all this King's Father's Actions, and by all his own, one may see that such Heads were never put upon the Shoulders of Men who were fit to make Ministers and Counsellors. He never had the least Prospect of recovering his Dominions but by the Assistance of the *Presbyterians*. Those who took Arms for him in *Scotland*, and who join'd his *Scots* Army in *England*, were *Presbyterians*. The Queen, his Mother, though a bigotted *Papist*, was so sensible of it, that she would fain have had him to have gone to the *Presbyterian* Meeting at *Charenton* near *Paris*; and the Lord *Clarendon* makes it his Boast, that he was the Person who dissuaded the King from going to the Protestant Church there, for which, and other the like Reasons, Cardinal *Mazarine* might well pass that homely Compliment on his Majesty's Counsellors, who now also advis'd him to offer his Service to the *Dutch*, about to have War with *England*, and that he would go aboard their Fleet, to stir up the People to an Insurrection against that Commonwealth; a Project that a less Degree of Genius than *Machiavel's* was, would never have mention'd to the States, whatever Subject it might have made for Discourse in the King's Cabinet. Could any Thing be more obvious than that their entering into such a League with him must necessarily engage them in his Quarrel, which they by no Means intended? His Condition could hardly be made worse by any Change, and theirs might one Time or other be much mended by a Peace with *England* on reasonable Terms, and they could expect none when they had taken him into their Protection. The Court of *France* was then at Variance with the Princes, and the Parliament of *Paris*, about the removing *Mazarine* from the prime or indeed the sole Ministry. The Prince of *Conde* had sent for the *Spaniards* and the Duke of *Lorraine* to assist the Princes, and there were two foreign Armies in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, ready to join them. Upon which King *Charles* was prevail'd with to try what he could do with the Duke of *Lorraine* by Persuasion, and whether it was that the latter was doubtful of the Issue of a War with *France*, or had received some Promises from that Court by King *Charles*, which render'd his Retreat more advantageous than he cou'd expect his Stay would be, the Duke of *Lorraine*, after a Conference with the King of *England*, broke up, and left the Princes to end the Matter as well as they could. This Mediation is much talk'd of, but it had so ill an Effect on the Minds of the Citizens of *Paris*, who were in the Interests of the Princes, that the King, Queen-Mother of *England*, and Duke of *York*, were not safe in the *Louvre*. The Prince of *Conde* got them a Guard out of it to a certain Distance, where a Party of the King's Troops receiv'd them, and convey'd them to *St. Germain's*. The King of *England's*

Pension from his Uncle *Lewis* the Thirteenth was about 6000 Pounds a Year, as we read in the Lord *Clarendon's* History, and the Greediness of his Followers to divide that small Pittance amongst them, and their Quarrels about Honours and Places in *England*, being exactly the Bargain of the *Bearskin*, are other Proofs of the Truth of Cardinal *Mazarine's* Saying of them. A. D. 1652.

We have hinted the Beginning of the Rupture between the two Republicks; *England* and the *United Provinces*. *Warwick* says it was the first *Com. War.* War the Parliament made with their elder Brother Commonwealth, that of *Holland*, but that is not the worst Example of his Skill in Elocution. A poorer Author still than he knew better than that, they resolv'd to quarrel with their Sister Commonwealth. The *Dutch* stomaching Dutch the *Navigation Act*, which began to pinch them, and frighten'd at the Demand for Damages suffer'd by the *English* at *Amboynes* in the *East Indies*, for which neither King *James* nor King *Charles* I. could procure any Satisfaction, and for other Damages during their Reigns, and since that, saw a War would be inevitable unless they would comply with the Demand, and accordingly they prepar'd for it. The Right of the Flag was not disputed, because the *English* Ships were not the King's, as the Earl of *Clarendon* pretends; but because there were other very important Articles to be settled for concluding a Peace, and they were not willing to allow that unless all the rest were agreed upon, for striking the Flag would not then have put off the Conclusion of that Treaty a Minute. The Parliament had Notice from Time to Time of great Preparations making in *Holland* towards equipping a Fleet, and in *May* their Admiral *Van Tromp*, with about 42 Sail of Men of War was discover'd on the Back of the *Goodwin Sands* by Major *Bourne*, who commanded a Squadron of 8 *English* Ships. The *Dutch* bore towards *Dover* Road, upon which the *Greyhound* Frigate was commanded to make Sail and speak with them, which she did, and then they struck their Topsail. The Capt. of the *Greyhound* demanded to know, why they came in such a Fleet on our Coasts in Time of Treaty. Two or Three of the *Dutch* Commanders came aboard the *Greyhound*, and said, they had a Message from Admiral *Tromp* to the Commander in chief of the *English* Fleet. That the northerly Winds having blown hard several Days they were forc'd further Southward than they intended, and having rode for some Days off *Dunkirk*, they had lost divers Cables and Anchors, professing they meant no Injury to the *English* Nation. As yet there has been no other Act of Hostility than that of the *English* Men of War examining the *Dutch* about their Fishing on the *British* Coast, which Debate might have been ended by Treaty, and Ambassadors were come from the States General to the Parliament for that purpose, but before Matters were settled here is a great Fleet of *Dutch* Men of War almost at the Mouth of the River of *Thames*, defying the Maritime Power of *England*, and provoking the *English* to War. General *Blake*, with the rest of the Fleet, was to the Westward when Major *Bourne* spy'd the *Dutch* on the Back of the *Goodwin Sands*; the latter immediately sent him Advice of it, and *Blake* made what haste he could to ply towards them.

On the 19th of *May* in the Morning he saw them at Anchor about *Dover* Road, and being within 3 Leagues of them they weigh'd and stood to the Eastward, where an Advice Boat from *Holland* came up with them, and soon after Admiral *Van Tromp* made all the Sail he could

A. D. 1652. could towards General *Blake*, and bore down directly upon our Fleet, *Van Tromp* being the Headmost. Upon which *Blake* shot a first, second and third Gun at *Tromp* without a Ball, a Signal for him to strike; to which the *Dutch* Admiral answer'd with a Gun from his Poop, and hung out a red Flag, the Signal for his whole Fleet: *Blake* took it right, and singled out *Tromp* to treat with him about his refusing the Point of Honour to the *English*, and prevent, if possible, the Effusion of Blood: But when he drew near the *Dutch* Ships, they fir'd many hundred Shot at him, contrary, says *Whitlocke*, to the Law of Nations. *Blake's* Ship being the Headmost also of his Fleet, was by this Means for some Time engag'd singly with the *Dutch*, who had above two Ships to his one when they were all join'd: However the *English* maintain'd the Fight with the *Dutch* Fleet four Hours, till Nine at Night, when they were oblig'd by the Darkeness to give over; and the *Dutch* made over to the *French* Coasts. *Blake's* Ship receiv'd 1000 Shot in her Hull: All her Rigging was torn to pieces, and she had several Shot also between Wind and Water. The *English* took one *Dutch* Man of War, and sunk another. The *Dutch* Prisoners confes'd that *Tromp's* hanging out the red Flag was a Signal for them to fall upon the *English*. Upon News of this Engagement, the Parliament order'd a Guard to be set on the *Dutch* Ambassadors House at *Chelsey*, to defend them from the Assaults of the enrag'd Multitude; and General *Cromwel*, and Mr. *Dennis Bond* went down to the Fleet to assure General *Blake* of all possible Assistance from the Republick; he wanted no Exhortation. His whole Soul was engag'd in the Cause of his Country; and as to his Courage and Conduct, they were never once objected against in the whole Course of his Service, which lasted sixteen or seventeen Years. He had a Contempt for Riches, which was the more glorious; for that he acquir'd more Riches for the Commonwealth than all other Admirals whom I ever heard of; and as to Honour he had no Relish of any that center'd not in serving the Publick. *Blake* detach'd Capt. *Peacock* and Capt. *Taylor* to look out the *Dutch* Fleet, which had been refitted with great Diligence and Dispatch, as was his own also. These two Captains met with two *Dutch* Men of War on the Coasts of *Flanders*, who again refusing to strike to them, another Engagement commenc'd and prov'd a very sharp one. The *English* boarded one of the *Dutch* Men of War, and took all her Officers and Seamen, but the Ship was so shatter'd she could not swim. The other Ship ran herself upon the Sands to avoid being taken. The next Day, *June* the 13th, the Parliament receiv'd Letters from General *Blake*, that he having Intimation of a Fleet of *Hollanders* near the *Dorens*, making towards the North, sent out a Squadron to discover them, and they brought in 26 Sail of Merchant Ships laden, with three Men of War, their Convoy. The General, for so is *Blake* term'd in History, and so were the other Admirals in the Time of the Republick, sail'd to the West; and having scower'd the Channel, came again to *Dover Road*, where he was join'd by Sir *George Ayscue*. His Fleet now consisted of about 100 Men of War, and there were two Regiments put on Board them. The States General could not but expect the Effects of their intended Rupture after the Orders they had given their Admirals not to strike; but the ill Success of *Van Tromp*, when he had above 40 Men of War, and *Blake* no more than 21, terribly allarm'd them, and they immedi-

ately dispatch'd the Lord *Paw* to join with their other Ambassadors in *England*, and procure a Continuation of the Treaty, and a Discharge of the Prisoners, pretending that the Quarrel was begun by General *Blake*, or that at least what *Tromp* did, was not by their Orders. The Lord *Paw* was receiv'd with all usual Demonstrations of Honour; and being admitted to Audience, press'd for an Accommodation of all Differences, and a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility between the two Nations, assuring the Parliament, his Masters had given Orders to their Ships to strike to the *English* Flag in the same Manner as had been practis'd in former Times. But being demanded to shew his Powers, he produc'd only Letters of Credence and Passports, referring himself to the other Ambassadors in that Point, with whom he made some general Propositions to the Parliament, and desir'd them to declare their Demands. The House perceiving by these Proceedings of the *Dutch*, that the Differences were not likely to be accommodated by Treaty, contented themselves with requiring Satisfaction for the Injuries receiv'd, and Assurance that nothing of that Nature should be attempted for the future, which if the Ambassadors would consent to, they declar'd themselves ready to proceed in the Treaty, and grant a Cessation of Arms. But so little were the *Dutch* dispos'd to give the Satisfaction demanded, that they made no farther Mention of the Cessation, which they had so earnestly press'd; and having taken a hasty Audience of Leave, broke off the Treaty abruptly, and return'd home.

In the mean Time General *Blake* was very watchful in forwarding the Work he was employ'd about, and leaving Sir *George Ayscue* with the Fleet on the Coast of *England*, himself with about 40 Men of War sail'd Northward, as far as the *Dutch* Fishery, off the Coast of *Scotland*. There were about 600 Herring Busses under *Blake's* Convoy of 12 Men of War, which were attack'd by the *English* of *Blake's* Fleet, three of them sunk and nine taken. *Blake* took all the Fish and let the *Dutch* carry off their Busses, which he had not Hands to Man himself; and though *Ludlow* thinks the Busses should have been kept to have set up an *English* Fishery; yet the many Projects of that Kind since, which have all miscarry'd, shew that no such Use could have then been made of them, though probably more might have been done under this Government than those that came after it. The *Dutch* thinking to make an Advantage of the Division of the *English* Fleet, watch'd the Motions of Sir *George Ayscue*, who having taken ten *Flemish* Ships, between *Dover* and *Calais*, and ran twenty a Shore, sail'd Westward to seek out the *Dutch* Fleet, which he had no certain Intelligence of, or he would not have sought them, they having sixty Sail and he but thirty eight, with which he stood after them over to the Coast of *France*, where he met them on the 16th of *August*, under the Command of the renown'd *De Ruyter*. Sir *George*, notwithstanding the Inequality of the Numbers, began the Fight about Four in the Afternoon, and his Ship with six other Men of War, charg'd through the whole Body of the Enemy's Fleet, receiving much Damage in their Hulls, Masts, Sails, and Rigging; yet did they tack about, weather them, and charge them again, continuing thus engag'd in the Body of the Enemy's Fleet till it was dark Night; and had the rest of the *English* Captains perform'd their Parts as well as Sir *George Ayscue*, this great *Dutch* Fleet had in all likelihood been totally routed. *Ayscue* lost but one Ship, a Fire-ship, which set her self on Fire, being ready to

A. D. 1652. *De Ruyter* lost two Ships, the one sunk and the other burnt: His whole Fleet was so damag'd that he thought not fit to engage again the next Day, but made home as fast as he could. In this Engagement Capt. *Pack's* Leg was shot off, and he died soon after; Capt. *Liste* and Capt. *Witberedge* were wounded. Both Sides had many Men kill'd and wounded, and this Fight was the smartest that had been then known in our Seas. A few Days after Capt. *Pen* met with a *Dutch* Man of War, and six Merchant Men richly laden, who yielded without striking a Stroke; whether it was that *Van Tromp* did not like this Beginning of the War, or that the States did not like him, as being a Creature of the late Prince of *Orange*, he desir'd to lay down his Commission, and an Enemy of the House of *Orange*, *De Wit*, was put in his Place.

Blake takes a French Fleet.

In the Beginning of *September*, the *English* Fleet, under General *Blake*, riding in the *Dorens*, the General receiv'd Intelligence of a *French* Fleet on the Coasts of *France*; upon which he weigh'd Anchor and stood over: He spy'd them in *Calais* Road, and they spying him, weigh'd and sail'd towards *Dunkirk*; *Blake* pursu'd them as far as he could for the Sands, and took most of them, among the rest,

The *Triton*, 32 Guns, commanded by the *Chevalier de Verdiel*, in which was Monsieur *Bimulet*, Admiral of this Fleet.

The *Shepherd*, 30 Guns, commanded by the *Chevalier Boismerant*.

The *Gift of God*, 30 Guns, commanded by the *Chevalier de la Chartre*.

The *Dutchess*, 32 Guns, commanded by Monsieur *de la Roch*.

The *Crescent*, 26 Guns, commanded by Monsieur *De la Vel Dean*.

The *Hunter*, 22 Guns, commanded by Monsieur *De la Gicleek*.

The *St. Lewis*, 28 Guns, commanded by Monsieur *De la Gory*.

The ——— 8 Guns.

Six Fire Ships, and several Transports.

This Fleet was order'd to take in Warlike Stores and Provisions at *Calais*, for the Relief of *Dunkirk*; but being thus intercepted by the *English*, the *Dunkirkers* despairing of being reliev'd, surrender'd the Town to the *Spaniards*, and the like did the Garrison of *Graveline*. And now the *French* Court began to be truly sensible of their Weakness in harbouring the Princes of *England*, and their Retainers, which, and some Insults at Sea had drawn upon them the Resentments of the Parliament of *England*, who suffer'd no Power to protect their Enemies, without Chastisement, and made those that presum'd to do it repent severely of their Folly.

France out of Complacency to the Daughter of *Henry IV.* now Queen Mother of *England*, had avoided sending an Ambassador to the Commonwealth; but presently upon this Blow she dispatch'd one of her most able Ministers to give Satisfaction, and to make her Peace with the Republick; after which we shall soon see that the Princes of *England*, the Lord High Chancellor of *England*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, &c. will be perswaded to withdraw themselves from that Court, though as yet there is no other prepar'd to receive them.

English Fugitives mischievous abroad.

Before we proceed in this Story, let us reflect a little on the Mischiefs the Princes of *England* and their fugitive Train have brought upon the Nations, whom they deluded with false Representations of their Party and Interest in *England*,

of which many Instances are to be given. Prince *Rupert* first impos'd himself on the *Spaniards* and then on the *Portuguese*. How the latter paid for it, out of their *Brasile* Fleets, and how the former have and will pay for it, and for their entertaining those Princes and their Followers, has been and will still be seen in this History. These Nations were fed with Hopes that the banish'd Heroes who could not keep an Inch of Ground in *Great Britain*, with the Help of numerous Armies, who were all beaten and suppress'd, would conquer their Conquerors without Men, Arms, Ships, Money, or any Thing to help them. *France* has paid part of her Reckoning for sheltering them; and *Holland's* being a longer Account will be longer a clearing. *England* was to rise for them as soon as ever they could throw a Cable ashore; and though the Nations had this fair Example to shun the like Deception hereafter; yet how have the false Reports of the Successors of those Fugitives, following the Fortunes of one of those Princes, the abdicated King, impos'd on *France*, to the Expence of above 100 Millions Sterling, and on *Spain* to an Expence and Loss which she does not yet know the End of, and can hope for no End to it but by entirely renouncing all League with such Vagabonds, and entering heartily into Friendship with *England*.

The *Dutch* depended much on the Disturbances and Perplexities the Royalists would raise in *England*. We have seen that they set out in this War with unexpected Gallantry, and before *Van Tromp* defy'd the *English* Admiral, they held their Heads very high in *Holland*. Soon after they publish'd their Declaration of War, a Medal was struck; on one Side was represented a Female Warrior, by which was understood that Republick's having on her Spear the Cap, which is the Emblem of Liberty, surrounded with seven Escutcheons, with the Arms of the seven Provinces. On the Reverse was a Rock in the Middle of the Sea beaten by the Waves, the Winds blowing a Tempest upon it from every Quarter, and round it this *Latin Verse*,

Ut Rupes Immota, Mari stant sœdere Juncti:

United like a Rock amidst the Sea
She stands, unmov'd by furious Waves and Winds.

The *Dutch* were extremely pleas'd with this Medal, but that Pleasure lasted no longer than till the News arriv'd of their first Defeat.

On the 27th of *September* General *Blake* discover'd the *Dutch* Fleet again off the *Goodwyn Sands*. He was just return'd from the *West*, where he had taken five *Dutch West India* and six *Straits* Ships, valued at 200000 Pounds. He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, one commanded by himself, another by Vice-Admiral *Pen*, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourn*. Next Day General *Blake* bore down upon them till he came within three Fathom Water on the *Kentish Knock*. The *Sovereign*, in which was the General, the *Resolution*, and the *St. Andrew*, First Rates, were aground on the *Knock*, but got off presently without any Harm, and fell in among the Enemy, whom they fought with Advantage till Night parted them. The *Dutch* staid to Leeward of the *English*, as if they intended another Engagement. Next Morning at Day-break they were seen about two Leagues to the *North-East* of the *English*, who, tho' the Wind was but little and shifting, bore after them all the Forenoon, till the Wind coming to *North* and by *West*, hinder'd their getting up with the Enemy. Upon which the General order'd

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The Behaviour of the Dutch.

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General Blake descends the Dutch Fleet.

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Capt. Bodilo fights the Dutch in the Straights. During these Transactions, the Squadron under Command of *Capt. Bodilo* in the *Mediterranean*, consisting of the *Paragon*, the *Phoenix*, the *Constant Warwick*, and the *Elizabeth*, having under Convoy three *English* Turkey Ships, met with eleven Sail of *Dutch* Men of War, near the Island of *Corfica*, under Admiral *Van Galen*, who presently came up with the *English*, and began an Engagement, but Night coming on, parted them. Next Morning the *Dutch* renew'd the Fight, and were as warmly receiv'd as the Day before, and as can be imagin'd from so small a Number. One of the *Dutch* Ships took Fire, the Main-top Masts of two others were shot down. The *Phoenix*, of 44 Guns, was clap'd on board by a heavy *Dutch* Ship full of Men, who overpower'd the *English* and took her. This Prize was the Subject of much Boast in *Holland*, tho' there was no great Need of it. The *Dutch* paid for it dearly, their Admiral *Van Galen* being kill'd, and got it by their Numbers, the *English* not giving out so long as they had Men and Ammunition. The *Paragon* had 27 kill'd and 60 wounded, the *Elizabeth* had but two Barrels of Powder, the *Constant Warwick* was in no better Condition, yet they got safely with their Merchant Ships into *Porto Longone*. Nor did the *Dutch* keep their Prize long, for the *Dutch* Fleet putting afterwards into *Leghorn*, Captain *Cox*, who commanded an *English* Man of War, mann'd out two Boats of brave *Britons*, boarded the *Phoenix*, and brought her off. The Officers, among whom was young *Van Tromp*, afterwards so famous, making their Escapes out of the Cabbin Windows.

The Dane. The Parliament sent *Capt. Ball*, with a Squadron of Men of War, to *Elfsnore*, to demand of the King of *Denmark* Restitution of several *English* Merchant-Ships detain'd in his Ports, which being loaden with Naval Stores, were very much wanted to carry on this Naval War; but the King of *Denmark* being then privately treating with the *Dutch* to join in a League against the Commonwealth, refus'd to restore them, and sold the Ships Cargoes, tho' he had promis'd *Capt. Ball* to secure them for the Proprietors. The *English* in their Return home took a *Dutch* Man of War and 20 Buffes. *Denmark* would not join with the *Dutch*, but on Condition *Van Tromp* was restor'd to the Command of their Fleet, which was done, and the *Dane* sent 20 Men of War to the Assistance of the *Hollanders*, who were to pay him one Million of *Guilders*.

In *November* the *Dutch* Admiral *Van Tromp*, with 110 Men of War, besides Fireships, being

join'd by 17 Men of War from *Zealand*, sail'd from the *Goree*, with Orders to convoy out of the Channel near 500 Merchant Ships, bound for *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Barbary*, and the *Levant*, and to take all Advantages he could of the *English*. Most of the *Dutch* Merchant Ships were by Strefs of Weather and contrary Winds driven back to their Harbours, but their Men of War kept out at Sea; and *Van Tromp* having receiv'd Advice that General *Blake* had sent 20 of his Ships to convoy a Fleet of laden Colliers from *Newcastle*, 12 towards *Plymouth*, and 15 up the River to refit, came into the *Dorons* with 80 Men of War, *Blake* having with him but 37: Notwithstanding which Disparity of Number, *Blake*, with the Approbation of a Council of War, resolv'd to fight the *Dutch* Fleet. Accordingly he engag'd them about Noon, *November* the 29th, and the Fight continu'd till it was dark. In this Fight, half of the *English* Fleet, as small as it was, came not up, pretending Want of Men, infomuch that a few Ships bore the Brunt of the Battle with the whole *Dutch* Fleet. The *Vanguard* and the *Victory* engag'd 20 of them from the first of the Fight to the last, and yet got clear of them all. In the Evening the *Garland*, a 40 Gun Ship, was boarded by two *Dutch* Flags, and after she had blown up her Decks, for want of Men, was taken. The *Bonadventure*, a Merchant Man, attempting to relieve the *Garland*, was boarded, yet clear'd her Decks several Times, but the Captain being kill'd, she was also taken. General *Blake* going in the *Triumph* to relieve the *Garland*, had his Fore-top Mast shot by the Board, was twice boarded, and yet got off, as did all the rest except the *Bonadventure* and *Garland*. Two other Ships, both Merchant Men, fell into the Enemy's Hand. General *Blake* retreated to *Lee* Road to be recruited with Ships and Men. One of the *Dutch* Flags was blown up, and both *Van Tromp* and *De Ruyter's* Ships were very much damag'd. However, the former was so elated with this little Success, owing entirely to the Superiority of Number, that he order'd a Broom to be fix'd to his Main-top, saying, *He would sweep the British Seas of all English Men of War*; but he was himself swept out of the World in the next Battle, and full Vengeance taken for the small Affront which General *Blake* receiv'd in this.

The Parliament having receiv'd Information of the Misbehaviour of some Officers in the late Engagement, appointed a Committee, of which *Sir Henry Vane*, jun. *John Carew*, Esq; and *Major Salway*, were the principal, to examine into their Conduct, empowering them to place and displace Officers, and regulate all Matters relating to the Marine. These Commissioners us'd such Care and Diligence in Discharge of their Trust, that the Face of Affairs soon became much alter'd for the better, a considerable Fleet put to Sea well officer'd and well mann'd. The Magazines were plentifully provided, and thirty Ships put upon the Stocks; and, to strengthen themselves against the *Dane*, the Parliament sent the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* on an extraordinary Embassy to the Court of *Sweden*, where he was receiv'd with all the Honours due to his Character.

Monk was recall'd from *Scotland* about the latter End of the Year to assist General *Blake* aboard the Fleet, there being nothing of Consequence left for him to do in that Kingdom, where the Commissioners had treated with the Marquis of *Argyle* and others, about a Union of the two Kingdoms, pursuant to an Act of Parliament for the Incorporation of *England* and *Scotland* into one

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one Republick, and to confiscate the Estates of all those that had assisted Duke *Hamilton* in 1648. or the King of the *Scots*, since they abolish'd by Proclamation all Manner of Authority deriv'd from any other Power but that of the Commonwealth of *England*. They summon'd the Counties, Cities and Burroughs, to agree to the Incorporation, of which 18 of 31 Counties, and 24 of 56 Cities and Burghs consented to send their Deputies to the Parliament of *England*. Judges were sent to *Scotland* for the Administration of Justice, which they perform'd to the great Satisfaction of the People. The Lord *Argyle* made many Difficulties of coming to a Conclusion with the *English* Commissioners; and at last, when he clos'd with them, his Son, the Lord *Lorn*, went off to the Earl of *Glencairn*; the Earl of *Balcarras*, and others who defended themselves among the *Fastnesses* in the *Highlands*, from whence they durst not make any Attempt on the *Low Countries*. *Glencairn* quarrelling with *Lorn*, the latter made his Escape or he had been clap'd up. These Gentlemen had only the Honour to starve there in the King's Name, from whom they expected more Assistance than he could expect from them: They sent one *Drummond* to *Paris* at the Instance of Col. *Middleton*, so often mention'd, who was come to them from *France*, to invite the King to come amongst them. *Drummond* was admitted to Audience by the little Council the King had about him; and when he had deliver'd his Message Chancellor *Hyde* ask'd him, how the King would be accommodated if he came among them. *Drummond* reply'd, Not so well as was fitting, but they would take Care of him to furnish him with every Thing that was necessary. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, "Mr. *Drummond* wonder'd the King did not check *Hyde* in his Demand; For, said he, it look'd strange, that when they were hazarding their Lives to help him to a Crown, he should be concern'd for Accommodation." But as I have observ'd again and again, this President of his Majesty's little Council was guilty of very strange Things in his Ministry, as well as his Memoirs. The Marquis of *Argyle* having agreed to the Union, the *English* Commissioners almost perfected that Work: And in August, *Whitlocke* informs us, the Commissioners of the Shires chose 21 Men, 14 to represent the Counties, and 7 the Boroughs; but that Model was alter'd afterwards by *Cromwel*.

The *Scots* in the *Low Lands* being entirely reduc'd, it was resolv'd to erect 4 Forts to curb those that might form Designs against the *English*, one at *Inverness*, another at *Leith*, a Third at *Ayre*, and a Fourth at *St. Johnstoun*, and in Pursuit of those in the Mountains to divide the Forces into three Parties: The first consisted of Col. *Overton*'s Regiment of Foot, and a Regiment of Horse, commanded by Major *Blackmore*; the second of Col. *Hacker*'s Regiment of Horse, and one of Foot, commanded by Col. *Lilburn*; the third was compos'd of Major General *Dean*'s Regiment of Horse, and *Monk*'s Regiment of Foot, each Party having some Troops of Dragoons to attend them; and these were not long driving the *Highlanders* out of their *Fastnesses*.

Cromwel's Plot for his own Grandeur now thicken'd a-pace; the Parliament voted Major General *Lambert* to be Deputy to the Lord General *Cromwel*, but he could not trust him with so important a Command, and therefore got himself to be continu'd by a new Vote, Captain General of the Forces, rais'd and to be rais'd in *Ireland*, as well as *England*, and his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, to be Commander in Chief there under him. *Lambert* would not go over unless

he had the Character of *Deputy*, which the Parliament would not confer on him, resolving that there should be no more Lieutenants of *Ireland*, now *Oliver*'s Commission was expir'd, but to keep the Civil Government in their own Hands, to be executed by Commissioners.

Galway was for some Time block'd up by Sir *Charles Coote*, and the *Irish* Garrison under the Marquis of *Clanrickard* was very desirous to capitulate, before the Season came for the Army to take the Field, and besiege it in Form. *Clanrickard* sent a Letter to General *Ludlow*, which for the Temper and Judgment of it deserves to be remembred.

Sir,

"MANY of the Nobility, Clergy, and other Persons of Quality, Subjects of this Kingdom, with the Corporation of *Galway*, having consider'd the present State of Affairs, and the ruinous Effects which this long War hath produc'd, have solicited me to desire of you a Conference for the Establishment of the Repose of this Nation, and to obtain a safe Conduct for the Commissioners whom by their Advice I shall judge capable to be sent to you for that End. It is this which hath oblig'd me to send you an Express, with this Protestation, that I shall not abandon them till I see such Conditions granted them as they may with Honour accept; for want of which, I am resolv'd to continue the Authority and Protection of his Majesty over them, even to Extremity, not doubting but by divine Assistance, with the Forces we already have, and the Succours which shall be sent us by his Majesty and Allies, we shall be found in a Condition to change the present State of Affairs, or at least to render your former Conquests of little Advantage, and in the End to sell our Lives at a dear Rate, if we shall be forc'd thereto, the which leaving to your Consideration, and expecting your certain Answer and Resolution, I remain,

Mar. 24,
1652.

Sir, Your Servant,
CLANRICKARD.

General *Ludlow* answer'd him like a Man who laid no Weight on the Succours he expected from the King; and indeed that was one of the weakest Passages in his Letter.

My Lord,

"IN Answer to yours of the 24th of *March*, by which you propose a Treaty for the Settlement of this Country, and desire a safe Conduct for the Commissioners you shall think fit to employ in the Management of that Affair; I think fit in pursuance of the Advice of the Commissioners of the Parliament of *England*, and of many Officers of the *English* Army, to advertise you, as hath been already answer'd to those who have sent Propositions of the like Nature, that the Settlement of this Nation doth of Right belong to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, to whom we are oblig'd in Duty to leave it, being assur'd that they will not capitulate with those who ought to submit to them, and yet oppose themselves to their Authority, and upon vain and frivolous Hopes have refus'd such Offers of Favour as they would gladly accept at present: So that I fear they will be constrain'd to proceed against them with the highest Severity; which that you may prevent by your timely Submission is the Desire of,

My Lord,

Your humble Servant,
Edmund Ludlow.

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The Marquis's Letter not succeeding with *Ludlow*, he apply'd to Sir *Charles Coote*, who concluded a Treaty with him on much easier Terms than the Parliament's Commissioners would have granted; but the latter did not think convenient to disannul the Treaty entirely, and before their Alterations came to *Coote*, he had so fully agreed, that he could not or would not go back, only promis'd to endeavour to perswade *Clanrickard* to accept of those Alterations, which he took no Notice of, and as soon as he got out of *Galway*, join'd with Sir *Phelin O Neale*, chief of the Rebels in *Connaught* and *Ulster*. They made together a Body of 15000 Men, with which they took *Bally Shannon* Fort: But Sir *Charles Coote* and Col. *Venables*, who commanded in those Parts, came upon them so suddenly that for Safety they retreated to the Bogs, leaving a small Garrison in *Bally Shannon*. Being pursu'd by the *English* who kill'd and wounded 300 of them, and took from them 7000 Cows, upon whose Milk they chiefly subsisted, 1200 of them came in and laid down their Arms; upon which their Garrison in *Bally Shannon* surrender'd.

Before *Fleetwood* came over the greatest Part of the *Irish* Army had laid down their Arms on Condition of being transported into foreign Service. However, small Bodies of them continu'd to make Incurfions into the *English* Quarters; Sir *Walter Dungan* Commissary General of the Enemies Horse, and Capt. *Scurlock*, a famous *Tory*, enter'd *Wexford* with 500 Foot and 250 Horse, and were met by Lieutenant Colonel *Throgmorton*, with 400 Foot and 120 Horse, who after some Dispute routed *Dungan* and the *Tory Scurlock*, kill'd 200 of their Men, and took near 300 Prisoners. About this Time the Earl of *Westmeath*, who commanded the *Irish* in *Leinster*, sent to the Parliament's Commissioners to desire a safe Conduct for Persons to come and treat with such as they should appoint, which being granted there, met at *Kilkenny*.

For the Parliament, Commissioners.

Commissary General *Reynolds*, Col. *Hewson*, Col. *Laurence*, Col. *Astell*, Adjutant General *Allen*, Major *Henry Owen*, Mr. *James Standish*, Deputy Treasurer.

For the *Irish*.

Sir *Walter Dungan*, Lewis Lord Viscount *Glanmaliere*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, Sir *Richard Barnwel*, Col. *Walter Bagnal*, Col. *Lewis Moor*, Col. *Thomas Tyrrel*;

Who agreed on the same Conditions granted to Col. *Odouyer*, who was Commander in Chief of the *Irish* in the Counties of *Waterford* and *Tipperary*, which Conditions were concluded with him by Col. *Zanchy*, That all the Arms of the *Irish* be deliver'd up at a certain Price; he and his Party to enjoy their Personal Estates, and such a Proportion of their Real, as others under their Qualification shall be permitted to do: These Articles not to extend to such as had murder'd the *English*, or to those that were engag'd in the Rebellion during the first Year, or to *Romish* Priests, or to those that had kill'd any *English* after Quarter, or to Deserters; all others to have Liberty to live in *English* Quarters, or transport themselves into the Service of any foreign State, in Friendship with the Commonwealth of *England*.

Col. *Fitz-Patrick* made his Submission before Col. *Odouyer*, on Condition to be transported with his Regiment to *Spain*; for which the *Popish* Clergy excommunicated him. The Lord *Muskerry*, and Major General *Taaf*, with other Commanders of the Rebels in *Munster*, *Connaught* and *Ulster*, were left at Liberty to ac-

cept of the same Conditions within a limited Time. Most of the *Irish* that were not excepted for Murder, deliver'd up their Arms and Horses to Commissioners appointed by Lieutenant General *Ludlow* to receive them. Above 3000 accepted of the Earl of *Westmeath's* Articles. The Lord *Muskerry* sent Col. *Poor* to *Kilkenny* to acquaint the Lieutenant General that he design'd to accept them; but it was found by some intercepted Letters that his Design was to amuse them: So Preparations were made to reduce him and his Party. General *Ludlow*, the Lord *Brogbill* and Sir *Hardress Waller* march'd with 4000 Foot and 2000 Horse, towards *Ross* in *Kerry*, where the Lord *Muskerry* had his principal Rendezvous, and oblig'd him to submit to the same Articles as were granted to the Earl of *Westmeath*, in Consequence of which 5000 Horse and Foot laid down their Arms and surrender'd their Horses. Col. *Grace* standing out still, pass'd the *Shannon*; and being join'd by the *Irish* of *Connaught* and *Galway*, made a Body of 3000 Men, who were attack'd and routed by Col. *Ingoldsby*, near *Limerick*. After which Defeat *Grace* submitted, but had not so good Terms as the Articles of *Kilkenny*; for *Ingoldsby* caus'd a Captain, a Lieutenant, and other Officers to be shot according to the Liberty he reserv'd in the Capitulation, they having revolted to the Enemy at *Carrick*, into which Isle the Marquis of *Clanrickard* withdrew himself, with what Forces he had left. Col. *Theophilus Jones*, who commanded a Party in the North of *Ireland*, defeated 1600 Foot and 300 Horse, the Remains of the *Irish* Army, and kill'd 300 of them. The Lord *Clanrickard* finding himself encompass'd on all Sides, made his Submission, and obtain'd Liberty to transport himself with 3000 Men, to any foreign Country in Friendship with the Commonwealth, within the Space of three Months. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us, "He sent to *Ludlow* for a Pass to go to *England*, and surrender himself to the Parliament." "Thus, says *Ludlow*, our military Service in *Ireland*, drew to a Conclusion, most of the *Irish* Forces having submitted, and laid down their Arms. No Garrison of any Strength holding out against us, and many Thousands of the Enemy being sent into foreign Service," as 2000 of Col. *Fitz-Patrick's* Men, 1000 of Col. *Odouyer's*, and 4000 more were ready for Transportation as soon as Ships could be provided.

The Military Affairs of the Commonwealth had every where Success, and the Civil were manag'd with exemplary Policy and Prudence.

The Committee of Law presented to the Parliament Draughts of Acts, Committee of Law,

For taking away Fines upon Bills, Declarations and original Writs.

Against customary Oaths of Fealty and Homage to Lords of Manors.

For taking away common Recoveries, and the unnecessary Charge of Fines, and to pass and charge Lands in tail'd as Lands in Fee Simple.

For ascertaining arbitrary Fines upon Descent, and Alienation of Copy-holds of Inheritance.

For the more speedy Recovery of Rents.

Touching Pleaders and their Fees.

For the more speedy Regulating and easy Discovery of Debts and Damages not exceeding 4 l. and under.

The very Titles of these Acts shew how worthy they were of the Wisdom of the Nation; and it is astonishing that the same Art which obstructed the Reform of the Practice of the Law, almost fourscore Years ago, should have still succeeded in the like Obstruction from that Time to this. It does by no Means do Honour to the Profes-

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But in the midst of this Blaze of Glory and Happiness, the Commonwealth saw a Cloud rising, which though like a Speck at its first Appearance, soon spread a dreadful Darkness, and ended in a Tempest, in which it was overwhelm'd. *Cromwel*, who was all this while sapping and mining its Foundation, began now to let some of his Work appear, and the Officers of the Army presented a Petition to the Parliament in August, about Ministers, regulating the Law, Abuses in collecting Excise and other publick Monies, stating the Soldiers Accounts, unnecessary Offices and Salaries, providing for the Poor, Qualifications of such as shall sit in future Parliaments : " Many were disgusted at this Petition, as improper if not arrogant ; for the Officers of the Army to dictate to their Masters the Parliament. *Cromwel* was advis'd to stop this Way of Petitioning with Sword in Hand, least in Time it might come home to himself. But he seem'd to slight it, or rather to have some Design, which the Officers were to prepare the Way for, by this Petition. The House temporiz'd with them, and return'd them hearty Thanks for their great Care and Love to the Publick ; but their delaying to take their Petition into particular Consideration, gave them a Pretence to murmur. *Oliver* did not stick to

open himself to some of his Friends, particularly the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*, to whom, in a private Conference he propos'd his taking upon himself the Authority and Title of King. *Cromwel* began it with Profession of his Confidence in *Whitlocke*, who endeavour'd to confirm him in his good Opinion of him. Then they both spoke of their Engagements in the Cause of the Commonwealth ; and *Oliver* bemoan'd the Hazard they ran by private *Janglings* among themselves after their Enemies were vanquish'd. *Whitlocke* artfully turn'd those *Janglings* on the Army, the Emulation of Officers, and their thinking their Services never enough rewarded, taking no Notice of the Parliament. *Cromwel* said he had us'd his utmost Endeavour to keep them in Obedience ; upon which *Whitlocke* complimented him : But then *Oliver* offer'd Excuses for them and their Dissatisfaction with the Parliament, blaming the *Pride of Places*, their *Self-seeking, ingrossing of Places, breaking into Parties and Factions, delaying Business, meddling in private Matters, their Partiality, and the scandalous Lives of some of them*, &c. at the End of which, he comes to the Point in Hand, and proposes the setting up some Power so full and so high, as to restrain and keep Things in better Order. *Whitlocke* reply'd, " That his Excellency's Power as General, could restrain the Soldiery ; for the Lord Commissioner would not drop them, and as to the Parliament, there was great Difficulty in restraining them, his own

Commission being from them, who were A. D. 1652. " acknowledg'd the surpream Power of the Nation, subject to no Controul." He urg'd the Honour and Wisdom of the major Part of them, to extenuate the ill Conduct of a few. *Oliver* shortning the Debate, said there is no Hopes of them, they will bring all Things to Confusion if they are suffer'd to go on ; and therefore some Course must be thought on to curb them. *Whitlocke*, " We our selves have acknowledg'd them the supreme Power, and taken our Commission and Authority in the highest Concernments from them, and how to restrain them after this will be hard to find out a Way. *Oliver* cut him short, *What if a Man should take upon him to be King!* *Whitlocke*. *I think that Remedy would be worse than the Disease.* *Cromwel*. *Why do you think so?* *Whitlocke* told him it would be no Advantage to him, because he had the kingly Power concerning the *Militia*, as General ; and as to nominating Officers and passing of Laws, what he dislike'd would not easily pass. He might now dispose of the Taxes as he pleas'd ; and as to Foreigners, if Application was made to the Parliament, foreign Ministers knew nothing would come of it, without applying to him. Thus with less Danger he might do more Good than would be if he assum'd the Title of King. *Cromwel* objected, that the Lawyers alledg'd, all Acts under a King, tho' *de Facto*, were lawful, and would be safer. *Whitlocke* said, he doubted whether the Act of *Henry VII.* to which his Excellency refer'd, would be regarded if their Enemies prevail'd. *Cromwel* demanded to know what Danger there was in it. *Whitlocke* reply'd, " The main Controversy betwixt us and our Adversaries, is whether the Government of this Nation shall be in a King or a Commonwealth. Most of our Friends engage with us for the latter. Now if your Excellency take upon you the Title of King, the Monarchy will be establish'd in your Person, and the Question will be no more whether a King or a Free State, but whether *Cromwel* or *Stuart* shall be our King, by which you will lose all the Commonwealth Party." *Oliver* confess'd it was Reason, and bad him propound some other Way, which after great Preparation for it *Whitlocke* did, and propos'd his making his own Terms with the King of the *Scots*, which he supported with very strong Arguments ; to which *Cromwel* answer'd, *I think you have much Reason in what you propound ; but it is a Matter of so high Importance and Difficulty that it deserves more Time of Consideration and Debate, than is at present allow'd us.* So he broke off Discourse, and seem'd by his Countenance and Carriage, to be displeas'd with what had been said ; yet he never objected it against *Whitlocke*, in any publick Meeting afterwards, though he advis'd with him no more so frequently and intimately, as he had been wont to do.

The Parliament applying themselves industriously to the Prosecution of the War with *Holland*, pass'd several Votes for the Encouragement of Seamen. As, for every Prize taken 40 s. a Ton, and 6 l. for every Cannon, to be equally distributed among the Officers and Mariners, according to their Qualifications, 10 l. for every Cannon on board any Ship sunk or burnt by them, a Month's Pay to all who enter'd themselves aboard Men of War within 40 Days. They order'd Hospitals to be erected at *Dover, Deal* and *Sandwich*, for sick and wounded Sailors ; and though the *Hollanders* had declar'd all naval Stores to *England* to be Contraband Goods, yet the Council of State had provided a gallant Fleet with all

Necess-

Officers of the Army Petition.

Cromwel and *Whitlocke* about his Kingship.

A. D. 1653. *Necessary* for an Engagement, which happen'd on the 18th of *February*. The *Dutch Fleet*, in Number about 80, with 150 Merchant Men from *Bordeaux*, *Nantz*, and *Roan*, were discover'd between the *Ile of Wight* and *Portland*, by the Headmost of the *English Fleet*; then commanded by *General Blake*, *Dean*, and *Monk*. About 8 a Clock the *Triumph*, in which were *Blake* and *Dean*, and 3 or 4 Ships more, began the Fight, the rest being to the Leeward, by which means a very small Part of the *English Fleet* were engag'd with the whole *Dutch Navy* for some Time, and when more *English Ships* came up they were not above half of the Fleet which fought the Enemy till Night parted them. The *Triumph* lost 100 Men, received 700 Shot in her Hull, and in the Extremity of Distress was bravely relieved by *Capt. Lawson*, *Capt. of the Fairfax*. The *Sampson*, *Capt. Button*, a *Dutch Prize*, mann'd with *English Seamen*, fought a Man of War and sunk her, but was so torn her self that she could not swim, and *Capt. Button*, his Officers and Seamen, were taken aboard other Ships. The next Day *Blake* pursu'd the *Dutch*, came up with, and engag'd them, and so the Day following. *Admiral Tromp*, who commanded the *Hollanders*, put his Merchant Men before him, and fought retreating towards the Coast of *Bologne*, but in his Way thither the *English Frigats* at large took many of his Merchant Men, and *Lawson* boarded and took a Man of War. The Wind proving cross the *Dutch* got to *Calais Sands*, and the *English* gave over the Pursuit. The Enemy lost eleven Men of War, and 50 Merchant Ships; 1500 *Dutch* Prisoners were sent to *London*. *General Blake*, and several other Officers, were wounded, but the *English* lost one Ship only, the *Sampson* before mention'd. This Victory was the more surprizing to the *Hollanders*, for that they expected *Tromp* should have block'd up the River of *Thames*, and have obliged the *English* to seek for a Peace. But the Success proving to the contrary, the common People in the United Provinces were all in Mutiny, upon which the Province of *Holland*, without the Consent of the other Provinces, did privately employ *Col. Doleman* and others, who gain'd *Hugh Peters*, to try the Inclinations of the Parliament, who would hearken to nothing before *Holland* made the first Overture in writing, upon which the States, by their Secretary *Van Beaumont*, wrote a canting, equivocal Letter to them, setting forth the Danger of the *Protestant Religion* by this Rupture, without offering any reasonable Satisfaction to the Demands of the Commonwealth of *England*. The Parliament, however, return'd a very mild Answer, offering to treat when Preliminaries were agreed upon. *Doleman* and *Peters* in the Name of the *Dutch* apply'd very submissively to the Council of State, confessing they were not able to contest with the *Puissance* of *England*. They offer'd to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Seas, as the Parliament demanded, and to pay 500000 Pounds for Damages. But this Offer, and the Treaty which probably might have ensu'd, was interrupted by one of the most infamous Acts of Violence and Treason that ever Man was guilty of.

General
Blake.

Tromp.

The Glory
of the
Common-
wealth.

By what we have said it is obvious to all Readers, that the Power of the Commonwealth of *England*, could have received no Diminution by the Opposition of any other Power, and she must have increas'd daily in Strength and Glory, that she was so well establish'd as to fear no Enemy, and to have what Choice she pleas'd of Friends. That she had rais'd the Reputation of *England* from the lowest Depth of Disgrace and Shame,

to the highest Degree of Honour and Renown. That the Princes of *England* and their Followers were so far from having any Weight in the Balance of her Affairs, that they were look'd upon by her either as so many Non-Entities, or if as Beings to be such as her Breath would blow off whenever she thought convenient. But this dazzling Brightness, so amiable to her Friends, so dreadful to her Enemies, was eclips'd at once by the intervening of a Comet, whose Blaze had all her Terrors without any of her Charms. When I say so much of this triumphant Republick, it is not but I am as sensible as any one of the Irregularity of her acquiring Dominion, that the Foundations of it were laid in the Blood of her Sovereign: That she had no Right to it, but the worst in the World, that of Conquest, which is the Right of a Robber. I say only what she did when she had acquir'd the Power, by which it appears that this Senate, the Majesty of whose Presence would have been Death to the Earl of *Clarendon*, who in his History treats them as an abject, dastardly Crew, has no Equal since that of *Rome* was made a Slave to Tyranny, and that all Attempts against her immortal Fame, in the Exercise of her ill gotten Power, are equally base and vain. If we should run back to the Origine of the Power of all the most famous Republicks and Empires, shall we not find it as criminal as that of the Commonwealth of *England*. *Rome*, the Mistress of the World, ow'd her very Being to Violence and Rapine; and when by her Arms she had extended her Empire from the *Orcades* to *India*, what boot'd it to say, Her Founder was a Robber.

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The Parliament saw what *Cromwel* was driving at, and endeavour'd to prevent his Usurpation, which they had certainly succeeded in, if *Oliver*, who saw that also, had not precipitated the Execution of his ambitious Designs, and hurry'd that on by Violence which he was in Hopes to have accomplish'd by Craft and Dissimulation. The Parliament employ'd *Monk* Aboard the Fleet, purely to take off the Support he expected from the Army in *Scotland*; and to lessen that in *England*, several Regiments were order'd for the Navy, which *Oliver* had nothing to do with. This alarm'd him so much, that he resolv'd to execute his Purpose immediately.

The first Step he took towards his Usurpation was to gain the Royalists, by pressing on the Act of Oblivion, and enlarging the Bounds of it. These he was sure to engage against the Parliament. He caref'd Major General *Harrison*, *Col. Rich*, and those Officers of the Army who gave into Enthusiasm, and were call'd *Fifth Monarchists*, from their setting up a spiritual Government, or a Sort of *Theocracy*, and having *Christ* for their King, and the Gospel for their Law. He promis'd them Liberty of Conscience at least. He got over the Clergy and Lawyers by their Inclinations to kingly Government. The *Independents* were his own, the *Presbyterians* divided; and though he was himself the main Wheel that set all the others in Motion, yet he so manag'd Matters, that he himself seem'd to be mov'd by the Desires and Endeavours of others. He complain'd to Quarter-Master-General *Vernon*, That he was push'd on by two Parties to do that, the Consideration of the Issue whereof made his Hair to stand an end. One of them is headed by Major Gen. *Lambert*, who in Revenge of that Injury the Parliament did him, in not permitting him to go to *Ireland* with the Character of Deputy, will be contented with nothing less than the Dissolution of the Parliament. Of the other, Major General *Harrison* is chief, who is an honest Man, and aims at good Things, yet from the Impatience of his Spirit will not wait

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A. D. 1653. *the Lord's Leisure, but pushes me on to that which he and all honest Men will have cause to repent.* To Col. Okey and other Officers who were disgusted about the Delays their Petition met with in the House, he rail'd against several Members of Parliament, affirming, that little good could be expected from that Body where such Men had so great Influence. At the same Time he made the most solemn Professions of Fidelity to the Parliament, assuring them, *That if they would command the Army to break their Swords over their Heads, and to throw them into the Sea, he would undertake they should do it.* Nay, he went so far, as to send Col. Desborough to the Council of Officers, who were debating the Parliament's fixing on a Time to put a Period to their Session, with Instructions to tell them, *The Parliament were more ready to do any Good than they to desire it; that they ought to rely on their Promise to dissolve themselves by the Time prefix'd, November, 1654. and to petition them to put that Vote into an Act, would manifest a Diffidence of them, and lessen their Authority.* Oliver came to the Council himself, while Desborough was thus speaking, and seconded what he had said, at which the Officers were perfectly stunn'd, the Act having been forwarded by Cromwel and Desborough more than any other Members of the Council. Oliver knew very well that the Commonwealth would daily acquire Strength, Interest and Reputation, at Home and Abroad. Ludlow tells us, He was sensible of their great Skill and Experience in the Management of publick Affairs, of the good Esteem they were in amongst the most discerning Part of the Nation, and therefore were very desirous to lay them aside with as little Noise as might be. If General Ludlow speaks Truth, the Lord Clarendon does not, for he all along avers, that the Royalists were the more discerning Part of the Nation, and does not stick at intimating, that himself was of that Part the most discerning. Cromwel having put a Stop to the Parliament's passing their Dissolving Vote into an Act, for that would have continu'd them so long still as he might not then be able to hinder the Choice of such a new Representative as would be an eternal Bar to his Usurpation, he therefore caball'd with several Members of Parliament to assume the supreme Authority themselves, by putting a Period to the present Parliament; and if he could have made one part of the House Tools to turn out the other, the Remainder would have been entirely at his beck, either be or not be according to his Pleasure. Thus would he have assum'd the Sovereignty, as doing a good Office to the Publick, and others would have born the Blame of the Necessity to which the State was reduc'd. to put the Government into his Hands. But this Project did not take, the Members of Parliament saw through his disguis'd Design, and Major Sallaway at one of their Meetings, demanding, *If the present Authority was taken away, what better would they put in its Room.* One of Cromwel's Party cry'd, *We must pull down this Government, and it will be Time enough then to consider what shall be put in its Room.* The Parliament perceiving to what kind of Excesses the Madness of the Army was like to carry them, resolv'd April the 20th, to pass the Dissolution Act, in which the Choice of a new Representative was settled in such a Manner as to preserve the Commonwealth, the Council of State in the Intervals of Parliament being invested with the Supreme Authority by that Act, which continu'd the present Parliament a Year and half longer. To prevent this Law General Cromwel

Oliver's
Cunning.

The Par-
liament
dissolv'd.

beckon'd to Major General Harrison, who was on the other Side of the House, to come to him, and said, *I judge the Parliament ripe for a Dissolution, and this to be the Time for doing it.* Harrison reply'd, *Sir, the Work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it.* Oliver answer'd, *You say well, and sat still a quarter of an Hour, and then the Question for passing the Dissolution Act being put, he said to Harrison, This is the Time, I must do it, and he was prepar'd for it, having plac'd a Party of Soldiers, to the Number of 300, in the Hall at the Door of the House, and in the Lobby, so starting up he call'd for a File of Musketeers, who enter'd the House, he bad the Speaker come down out of the Chair; and told the House, "They had sat long enough unless they had done more good; that some of them were Whoremasters, looking towards Henry Martin, and Sir Peter Wentworth; that others of them were Drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust Men, scandalous to the Profession of the Gospel, and that it was not fit they should sit any longer, therefore he desir'd them to be gone, the Lord having chosen other Instruments for the carrying on his Work who were more worthy." He spoke with so much Passion and Discomposure of Mind as if he had been out of his Wits. Sir Peter Wentworth stood up to answer him, and said, *This is the first Time I ever heard such unbecoming Language given to the Parliament, and it is the more horrid in that it comes from your Servant, and your Servant whom you have so highly trusted and obliged.* Cromwel stepp'd into the midst of the House as Sir Peter was speaking, and continuing in his mad Fit, cry'd, *I will put an end to your Prating.* Then walking up and down he kick'd the Ground with his Feet, and said, *You are no Parliament; I say, you are no Parliament, I will put an end to your Sitting. Call them in, Call them in.* Then the Sergeant attending the House open'd the Doors, and Lieutenant Col. Worsley led in some more Musketeers, which Sir Henry Vane observing, in his Place said aloud, *This is not honest; it is against Morality and common Honesty.* Upon which Oliver fell a railing at him, crying with a loud Voice, *O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane! Take away that Barble, speaking to one of the Soldiers, who seiz'd the Mace; and Major General Harrison went to the Speaker as he sat in the Chair, and told him, That seeing Things were reduc'd to this pass it would not be convenient for him to remain there.* The Speaker answer'd, *I will not come down unless I am forc'd to it.* The Major General said, *I will lend you my Hand.* And so putting his Hand within his the Speaker came down, upon which Cromwel apply'd himself to the Members of the House, about 100 in Number, *It is you have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord Night and Day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this Work.* Horrid Diffimulation! Alderman Allen said, *It is not yet gone so far but all Things may be restor'd again. If the Soldiers were commanded out of the House, and the Mace return'd, the publick Affairs might go on in their former Course.* But Oliver rejecting his Advice, charg'd him with an Account of some hundred Thousand Pounds, for which he threaten'd to question him, he having been long Treasurer to the Army. Alderman Allen said, *It is well known it has not been my fault that my Account was not made up long since, I have often tender'd it to the House, and I ask no Favour from any Man**

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in that Matter. Cromwel having acted this treacherous and impious Part, order'd the Soldiers to see the House clear'd of all Members, and then seized upon the Records that were there, and at Mr. Scobell the Clerk's House, he snatch'd the Act of Dissolution off the Table, put it under his Cloak, commanded the Doors to be lock'd up, and went his Way to Whitehall.

Thus ended the Commonwealth of England, after it had continu'd four Years, two Months, and twenty Days.

"Thus was this great Parliament, says Whitlocke, which had done so great Things, wholly routed by those they had set up, most ungratefully, difingenuously, rashly, and imprudently, dissol-

ved an Assembly, famous through all the World for its Undertakings, Actings and Successes.

Thus fell the victorious Parliament, says Coke, whose mighty Actions will scarcely find belief in future Generations; and to say the Truth, they were a Race of Men most indefatigable and industrious in Business, always seeking for Men fit for it, and never preferring any for Favour, or by Importunity. You hardly ever heard of any Revolt from them. No Murmur or Complaint of Seamen or Soldiers. No Soldiers or Seamen ever press'd. As they excell'd thus in Civil Affairs, so it must be own'd they exercis'd in Matters Ecclesiastick no such Severities as others before them did, upon such as dissent'd from them.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D,
During the PROTECTORATE OF
OLIVER CROMWEL.



HE villainous Attempt of Cromwel, according to Ludlow, was much encourag'd by Nieuport, and the other Dutch Ambassadors, lately arriv'd from Holland to conclude a Peace, "Who finding, continues my Author, the Parliament supported by the Affections of the People, Clarendon and Echard tell us every where they were hated, because acting for their Interest, and therefore not to be forced, much less cheated into an unjust and disadvantageous Agreement, intigated Cromwel to take the Power into his Hands, well understanding that he would soon be necessitated to make Peace with them upon what Terms they should think fit."

Oliver being return'd to Whitehall found the Council of Officers in Debate concerning this weighty Affair, and told them, He had done it, and they needed not trouble themselves any further about it. Col. Okey, and some other Officers, who were not for pushing Things so far, desir'd to be satisfy'd in that Proceeding, which they conceiv'd tended to Ruin and Confusion. Cromwel said, I am resolv'd to do much more Good, and with more Expedition than could be expected from the Parliament. These being general Terms, Col. Okey apply'd to Desborough to know why Oliver had so highly commended the Parliament, when he endeavour'd to dissuade the Officers from petitioning for a Dissolution, and yet in so short Time to reject them. Desborough reply'd, If ever he droll'd in his Life he droll'd then. In the Afternoon Crom-

wel went to the Council of State, accompany'd with Major General Lambert and Harrison, and told them at his Entrance; Gentlemen, If you Dissolves are met here as private Persons you shall not be them, disturb'd, but if as a Council of State, this is no Place for you; and since you can't but know what was done in the House in the Morning, so take Notice, that the Parliament is dissolv'd. To this Sergeant Bradshaw reply'd, Sir, We have heard what you did at the House in the Morning, and before many Hours all England will hear it. But, Sir, You are mistaken to think that the Parliament is dissolv'd, for no Power under Heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you Notice of that. Something more was said to the same Purpose by Sir Arthur Haslerigge, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scott. And then the Council of State perceiving themselves to be under the same Violence, broke up. Oliver soon after sent for Major Salloway, and Mr. John Carew, to whom he complain'd "of the great Weight of Affairs that by this Undertaking was fallen upon him, affirming, "That the Thoughts of the Consequences thereof made him to tremble, and therefore desir'd them to free him from the Temptations that might be laid before him, and to that End to go immediately to the Chief Justice St. John, Mr. Selden, and some others, and endeavour to persuade them to draw up some Instrument of Government that might put the Power out of his Hands." Major Salloway made Answer, The Way, Sir, to free you from this Temptation, is for you not to look upon your self to be under it, but to rest perswaded that the Power of the

Cromwel
at the
Council of
State.

A. D. 1653. *the Nation is in the good People of England, as formerly it was.* Cromwell perceiving by this Answer, that he was better understood than he could have with'd, fell upon another Expedient before he would openly discover himself, appointing a Meeting of the chief Officers of the Army to be at *Whitehall*, in order to consider what was fit to be done in this Exigency.

He and his Council set forth a Declaration of the Grounds and Reasons for their Dissolving the late *Parliament*, and that civil Officers do proceed as formerly in the Execution of their Office, and all Persons to give Obedience to them. He wrote to the Admirals at Sea, and to the Commissioners and Commanders in chief in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, who all return'd Answers of Submission to his Orders, and an Address was sent up from *Durham* to stand by *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers, which led the Way to Cart-loads of Addressees from all Parts to *Oliver*, his Son *Richard*, King *Charles II.* &c. The first Act of Civil Government which *Cromwell* and his Council exercis'd, was their examining the Grievances and Oppressions committed by Sir *John Lentball*, in managing the Prison of the *Upper*, or *King's Bench*, both as to Debtors and Creditors; there were then 399 Prisoners who ow'd above 900000 Pounds. And to give a little Form to this Embrio of Usurpation, he appointed a new Council of State, himself the first of them.

Council of State.

Oliver Cromwell, Esq; Capt. General, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Lambert*, Lord Commissioner *Lisle*, Major General *Harrison*, Col. *Desborough*, Col. *Hewson*, Col. *Montague*, Col. *Tomlinson*, Col. *Jones*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Laurence*, *Anthony Stapley*, Esq; Alderman *Ticburne*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, *Charles Howard*, Esq; Sir *Charles Wolfeley*, *John Carver*, Esq; *Walter Strickland*, Esq; Mr. *Hope*, Mr. *Norton*, Mr. *Benet*, Mr. *Broughton*, Mr. *Hollister*, *Richard Mayor*, Esq; Mr. *Courthey*, Mr. *St. Nicholas*, Mr. *Meyer*, Mr. *Williams*.

All entirely devoted to him. The new Council ordered new Treasurers for the Excise, and a Committee to consider how all the Treasuries of the Commonwealth may be best manag'd. He gave them Power to raise Money, and they levy'd the monthly Assessment with considerable Abatement, which made the Payment of it the more Popular.

The Cavaliers rejoic'd much at the Dissolution of the Commonwealth Parliament, and made great Applications and Congratulations to *Cromwell*. Some Independent Clergy, Creatures of *Oliver*, cry'd it up in their Pulpits. The Officers of the Army and Soldiers were generally pleas'd with it. But the sober and discerning Part of the People abhor'd the Change, and the Usurper's Insolence and Ingratitude, foreseeing that it would make Way for further Invasions of the Liberties of the People, and at last introduce the old Government, for which they had then an Abhorrence.

On the 27th of *May*, *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers, who assum'd the supreme Authority, resolv'd to summon select Persons to be nominated by themselves out of every County, who should be as a Representative of the whole Nation. Major General *Lambert* mov'd, that a few Persons, not exceeding the Number of ten or twelve might be intrusted with the sovereign Power. Major General *Harrison* was for a greater Number, inclining most to that of 70, for no other Reason than that it was the

Number of the *Jewish Sanhedrim*; but after some Debate it was agreed that a certain Number of Persons as near as might be proportionable to their Payments toward the publick Charge, should be nam'd by the Council to meet at *Westminster* on a certain Day, when all the Power of the Nation should be deliver'd into their Hands by an Instrument, sign'd and seal'd by the General and the Officers, obliging themselves to yield Obedience to their Orders. The Proclamation for summoning them was dated the 8th of *June*, and ran in the Name of *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain General, &c. The Persons summon'd were to meet at the *Council Chamber* at *Whitehall*, the 4th of *July*; and they met accordingly, about 120 in Number; and being set round the Table, *Cromwell* and the Officers of the Army standing about the Middle, the former made a Speech to them, shewing the Cause of their Summons, and that they had a clear Call to take upon them the supreme Authority of the Commonwealth; and he urg'd several Texts of Scripture to admonish and encourage them to do their Duties. He then produc'd an Instrument in Writing, sign'd and seal'd by himself, whereby he did, with the Advice of his Officers, devolve and intrust the supreme Authority and Government of the Commonwealth into the Hands of the Persons then met; and that they or any forty of them are to be held, and acknowledg'd the supreme Authority of the Nation, to which all Persons within the same are to yield Obedience and Subjection. They were to sit no longer than the third of *November*, 1654. and 3 Months before their Dissolution to make Choice of other Persons to succeed them, who were not to sit longer than a Year; and it was left to them to take Care for a Succession in Government. Then *Cromwell* and his Officers withdrew, and the Persons there met adjourn'd themselves to the next Day in the Parliament House. *Whitlocke* says, many of them were Persons of Fortune and Knowledge. *Ludlow*, The Assembly was compos'd of honest well meaning Persons. *Echard*, with his usual Modesty, affirms they were illiterate, weak, obscure Persons. The compleat Historian, that they were a Pack of weak, senseless, obscure Fellows. The Lord *Clarendon*, inferior Persons of no Name or Quality. *Warwick*, A House of Commons of Saints. *And Bates*, that they were Proletarios, Zelotas, Catapaptistas, Christocraticos, Democraticos, Fanaticos, & ex omni Secta nequissimos. Such are the History Writers who support the pious Cause which produc'd so many Martyrs about the Middle of the last Century. These are the courtly Persons, the Quality, and their good Language and good Manners are the only Proofs of it. *Praise-God Barebone*, a Member of this Convention, gave his Name to it on Account of his frequent Speeching in it: He is rally'd by those polite Authors for his Christian Name, *Praise-God*, and for his Trade, being a *Leatherfeller*, as if it was not as creditable as *Brewers*, *Scrivners*, *Grocers*, and other bright Ornaments, of both Church and Parliament, in *Satbeverel's* Time. 'Tis remarkable that *Praise-God Barebone* brought a Bill into this Assembly, against *Building*, unless upon old Foundations, within 10 Miles of *London*, as if he foresaw that his Son, the famous Builder, *Dr. Barebone*, would ruin himself and hundreds of Families by it. Being assembled the next Day in the House of Commons, they chose *Francis Rous*, Esq; Provost of *Eaton* Colledge their Speaker, and order'd Mr. *Birckhead*, the Sergeant at Arms to attend him with the Mace as usual. They also voted that the Lord General *Cromwell*, Major General

A. D. 1653. General Lambert, Major General Harrison, Col. Desborough, and Col. Turlinson should sit

on the pastoral Function as Antichristian; they condemn'd Tyrkes as Judaism; they propos'd to sell the Lands of the two Universities and all Colleges; they tir'd and perplex'd themselves with Debates, and upon the first Motion that was made for them to deliver back their Power to Cromwel, they presently consented to it, and went to Whitehall, acknowledg'd their own Impotency, and besought him to take Care of the Commonwealth; not one Syllable of which is true, at least as the Author tells it. Ludlow relates it thus after those who were present. "One

in the House as Members; they then made several Committees; 1. To consider Matters touching the Law. 2. Touching Prisoners and Prisoners. 3. For Inspection into Treasuries. 4. For Ireland. 5. For Scotland. 6. For the Army. 7. For Petitions. 8. To consider what shall be offer'd about publick Debts, publick Fraud and Breaches of Trust: 9. For regulating Commissions of the Peace, and for making Provisions for the Poor. 10. For Advance of Trade. 11. For Advance of Learning. Does not this shew them to be very illiterate and weak? They pass'd an Act concerning Marriages, which enjoin'd all Marriages to be made before Justices of the Peace. This Act has occasion'd a great deal of Mirth; and as much Wit as the Men were capable of, as if a legal Compact before a Magistrate would not be as valid, if so made by Law, as the Performances of a Curate. The Persons to be marry'd were to come before some Justice of the Peace, the Man and Woman pronounc'd the Words before him, and the Justice pronounc'd them lawfully marry'd. The Learned and Reverend Mr. Tallents, who publish'd the excellent Chronological Tables, was marry'd after this Manner; the Justice saying no more than he declar'd the Marriage valid. Sometimes the Persons to be married would bring a Minister with them before the Justice, as if his Presence consecrated the Ceremony; and we are told that Lady Mary Falconbridge's Minister was Dr. Herwet, afterwards executed for a Plot.

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London presented a Petition for a settled Maintenance for Ministers; and that the Universities may be zealously countenanc'd and encourag'd: Yet if you will believe the History of the Rebellion, and its Copy, Archdeacon Echar'd's, these were the very Days of Cimmerian Darknes; when Learning was look'd on as an Abomination, and all Science reduc'd to that of seeking God, a Term which they use as ludicrously as if they knew not what it meant, which is very likely. This Assembly pass'd a Vote for the Lord Commissioner Whitlocke to go Ambassador to the Queen of Sweden, which was thought to be procur'd by Cromwel to send him out of the Way. They pass'd an Act for settling the Trusts of Ideots and Lunatics, and another for settling the Lands in Ireland upon the Adventurers. They issu'd forth Orders for regulating the Excise and Customs, and enlarg'd the Power of the Committee establish'd for Trade: They made all necessary Preparations for carrying on the War by Sea, and declar'd General Robert Blake, General George Monk, Major General Desborough, and Vice Admiral Lawson to be the four Generals of the Fleet of the Commonwealth, empowering them with some others to manage the Affairs of the Admiralty. They order'd an Act to be brought in to erect a High Court of Justice for proceeding against such as should surprize or betray any of the Forts, Magazines or Ships of the Commonwealth, and also against those who should, contrary to the Laws already made, proclaim any to be King of England or Ireland, by which 'tis manifest, they suspected the Design on Foot to advance Cromwel to the supreme Power, and their Suspicion hasten'd the Execution of it: The following Falsities are crowded into the History of the Rebellion, concerning this Assembly; They were Artificers of the meanest Trades; they never enter'd into any grave Debate; they resolv'd to destroy all Learning; they hated all who call'd themselves Ministers; they look'd up-

on the pastoral Function as Antichristian; they condemn'd Tyrkes as Judaism; they propos'd to sell the Lands of the two Universities and all Colleges; they tir'd and perplex'd themselves with Debates, and upon the first Motion that was made for them to deliver back their Power to Cromwel, they presently consented to it, and went to Whitehall, acknowledg'd their own Impotency, and besought him to take Care of the Commonwealth; not one Syllable of which is true, at least as the Author tells it. Ludlow relates it thus after those who were present. "One Difficulty yet remain'd to obstruct Cromwel's Design, and that was the Convention which he had assembled and invest'd with Power, as well as earnestly sollicit'd to reform the Law, and reduce the Clergy to a more evangelical Constitution; and having sufficiently alarm'd these Interests, and shewn them their Danger from the Convention; he informs them further, that they cannot be ignorant of the Confusion that all Things are brought into by the immoderate Zeal of those in Authority, and to what Extremities Matters might be reduc'd, if permitted to go on, possibly he said to the utter Extirpation of Law and Gospel from amongst us, and therefore advis'd that they would join their Interests to his, in order to prevent this Inundation. His Proposition was readily embrac'd by the corrupt Part of the Lawyers and Clergy, and so he became their Protector, and they the humble Supporters of his Tyranny. But that his Usurpation might seem less horrid, he so contriv'd it by his Instruments, that some of that Convention should declare their Disapprobation of their own Proceedings, and, under divers specious Pretences, put a Period to their sitting. To this End it was agreed by Mr. Rous, Chairman to that Assembly, and the rest of Cromwel's Junto, to meet earlier in the House than was usual, which was done accordingly on the 12th of December, hoping by Surprize to obtain a Vote for their Dissolution." Thus we see again that this Convention were not Oliver's Tools, but zealous against his usurping the Government. Being met, Col. Sydenham, Sir Charles Wolfesley, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir Gilbert Pickering, and others, some of the obscure, weak, senseless Fellows, who were of Oliver's Junto, according to their Instructions, bitterly inveigh'd against the Transactions of the Assembly, particularly the Pound-Tax for the Payment of the Army, which would be too long a coming in, some Articles relating to the Clergy and the Law, and their not relieving Sir John Starwell. Thus, says Ludlow, they cajol'd the Clergy, Lawyers, Cavaliers, and all Interests, except that which they should have had most regard to. The House had some Intimation of the Plot, and there were Members enough to answer all such Objections with sound Reason and a gallant Spirit; and the Debate lasting some Time, more Members came to fill up the Convention: Upon which Cromwel's Party, finding they could not carry their Point, said, It is not a Time to debate, but to do something that may prevent the Inconveniences that threaten us. Then Mr. Rous, who was in the Secret, left the Speaker's Chair, went out of the House, and with the rest of the Cabal repair'd to Whitehall, where they, by much the smaller Number of the Convention, sign'd a Writing, importing a Confession of their own Inability, and a Resignation of their Power to Cromwel; from whom they receiv'd it. The other, and the major Part of the Assembly, kept their Places in the House, and would not quit

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by Force.

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War.

Dutch
beaten.

quit them, till they were remov'd by a Guard of Soldiers, sent by Cromwel for that Purpose. The Lieutenant General observes, that tho' this Convention had not a clear Authority to convene, yet they behav'd so well, that many being convinc'd of the Rectitude of their Intentions, were brought over daily to approve their Actions.

In the mean time the War continu'd with Holland, and the Commissioners of the Admiralty had a good Fleet ready to meet the Enemy by the latter End of May, commanded by Blake, Monk, and Dean. General Blake was to the Northward with a Squadron, when Van Tromp appear'd off the Coast of Flanders with the Dutch Navy, having to assist him Admiral Evertsen, de Wit, and de Ruyter. Vice-Admiral Lawson, who commanded the Blue Squadron, charg'd thro' the Dutch Fleet with 40 Ships, which Storm falling principally on de Ruyter's Squadron, Van Tromp bore up to his Assistance, which when our Admirals Blake and Dean, who were both in the same Ship, perceiv'd, they engag'd Tromp with the Body of the Fleet, and the Fight continu'd till Three in the Afternoon, June the 2d, at which Time the Wind blowing fresh in the Teeth of the English, the Dutch fled, and were pursu'd by the lightest of the English Frigates. The next Morning the two Fleets found themselves near one another, but for Wind could not come to an Engagement till about Noon, at which Time the Dispute began, and continued very hot on both Sides till Ten at Night. The English Fleet charg'd the Dutch with so much Resolution, and put them into so great Disorder, that tho' their Admiral fir'd on them to rally them, yet he could not procure more than 20 Ships of his whole Fleet to stand by him, the rest making all the Sail they could to the Eastward. But the Wind springing up a brisk Gale from West, the English pursu'd the Enemy so effectually, that they sunk six of their best Ships, took eleven of their biggest, and two others, with 1300 Prisoners, among whom were Admiral Evertsen, and six of their chief Captains; and had not the rest of their Fleet shelter'd themselves between Dunkirk and Calais, where it was unsafe to expose great Ships, by Reason of the Sands, the English had probably taken or destroy'd most of them. The Hollanders were much superior to them in Number of Ships; but, such was the Courage and Conduct of the Parliament's Officers and Soldiers, that they lost but one Ship in the Fight, had but one Captain kill'd, except General Dean, and about 160 private Men kill'd and wounded. Having put their Prisoners ashore, and left some of their Ships to be refitted, they return'd to the Coast of Holland, where they took many Prizes. General Blake join'd the Fleet with 16 Sail of stout Men of War. The whole Fleet lay before the Texel, and so incommoded the Dutch Navigation, that the People of Holland forc'd the Magistrates, by their Clamours, to sue for Peace. Accordingly they sent Mynheers Beverning, Nieuport, Vanderpar, and Jonstal, to Cromwel and his new Council of State, to pray that the Memory of past Actions may be obliterated, and a perfect Amity and more entire Correspondence than ever establish'd by an indissoluble Union. The Council return'd a peremptory Answer, That without Satisfaction for what had been asked against England, and sufficient Security that no such thing should be attempted again, they could not proceed to any League or Alliance.

In the mean while the Populace in Holland could not bear to see their Men of War in their Harbours, and the English on their Coasts ma-

king Prize of their Trade, which is the Soul of that Nation; and the States were oblig'd to order Van Tromp out again, furnishing him with a Fleet of 140 Sail. The English, who were commanded by Monk, Lawson, and Pen, were but 90 Sail; however, they resolv'd to engage the Enemy, and accordingly detaching their light Frigates, assisted by some greater Ships, they fell in among them the 29th of July, and fought till they were separated by the Night. The next Day little was done, and tho' many of the English Seamen were sick of the Scurvy, and the Dutch had Fireships and the English none, the Wind also entirely favouring the Enemy, yet did the Battle continue in equal Ballance till Three in the Afternoon, about which Time their Admiral Van Tromp was kill'd with a Musket Ball, as he walk'd on the Deck with his Sword drawn. This so discourag'd the Dutch, that they fled in Confusion, and being pursu'd by the English, their Admiral Evertsen's Ship was sunk, and about 30 more were taken and sunk, 8 of which were Flags. The Garland, mention'd to be taken by them last Year, was boarded and burnt by the Worcester Frigate. 'Twas reported that the Dutch had 6000 kill'd and 1000 taken Prisoners. The English had one Ship only burnt, the Oak, none sunk or taken, but 250 Men were kill'd, and 700 wounded. Several brave Officers fell, as Capt. Peacock, Capt. Taylor, Capt. Graves, Capt. Crisp, Capt. Newman, Capt. Cox, Capt. Owen, Capt. Chapman. Among the Wounded were Capt. Seaman, Capt. Stokes, Capt. Rous, Capt. Holland, Capt. Cubit. The Dutch got into the Texel, and the English could not follow them. Tromp's Flag was shot down in the Beginning of the Fight, and the Victory was so entire, that the Dutch were confounded, threw up the Contest, and made Peace on the Conqueror's Terms. The Convention then sitting order'd Chains of Gold to be given to Blake, Monk, Pen, Lawson, and Gratuities to all the Officers according to their Ranks. When Monk came to London, Oliver himself put the Chain about his Neck, to which hung a Medal representing a Sea Fight, and having invited him to Dinner, made him wear the Medal and Chain all the while. The English in all this War had no other Disgrace than when Blake fought 90 Dutch Men of War with 38 English, and Bodilo's two Miscarriages in the Streights. The last was in the Beginning of this Year, when Capt. Appleton, with about 5 Men of War, was attack'd near Leghorn, and Bodilo, who had 8 or 9 Ships with him in those Seas, would not or could not come to his Assistance. The Leopard, a Ship of 40 Guns, was taken; the Bonadventure was blown up, the Peregrine was taken, so was the Levant Merchant, and the Sampson boarded by young Tromp on one Side, and by a Fireship on the other was blown up. Bodilo, says my Author, was branded with the infamous Terms of Cowardise, Bribery, and Treachery.

Four Days after the Convention was broken Cromwel up, an extraordinary Council of Officers was made Lord held, to whom Major General Lambert reported Protector. the several Steps and Degrees by which Things had been brought to the present State wherein they were, and press'd the Necessity incumbent upon the Army to provide something in the Room of what was lately taken away; in order to which, he presented them a Paper, entituled, An Instrument of Government, which he read in his Place. Some of the Officers being convinc'd that the Contents of this Instrument tended to the sacrificing all their Labours to the Lust and Ambition of a single Person, began to declare their Unwillingness to concur in it; but they were

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gain, and
Van
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were interrupted by the Major General, and inform'd it was not now to be disputed whether this should be the Form of Government or not, for that was already resolv'd, it having been under Consideration for two Months past; neither was it brought before them with any other Intention than to give them Permission to offer any Amendment they might think fit, with a Promise that it should be consider'd. The Council of Officers perceiving to what Terms they were restrain'd, propos'd that it might be declar'd in this Instrument, That the General of the Army should, after this first Time, be held incapable of being Protector, for that was the Title given by this Instrument to the chief Magistrate, tho' some mov'd that it might be King; That none of the Relations of the last Protector should be chosen at the next succeeding Election; and, That a General Council of all the Commission Officers, who were about the Town, should be summon'd to consider of it. The first Article was put into the Instrument, the others neglected, and they were no more consulted about it, Lambert telling them at their next Meeting, *The Lord General would take Care of managing the Civil Government, and so dismiss'd them.*

The Heads of the Instrument were,

Instrument
of Govern-
ment.

- I. A Parliament to be call'd every Three Years.
- II. The First to assemble on the First of September, 1654.
- III. No Parliament to be dissolv'd till it has sate Five Months.
- IV. Such Bills as are offer'd to the Protector, if he assent not unto them in Twenty Days, to be Laxus without him.
- V. That his Council shall not exceed the Number of Twenty-one, nor be less than Thirteen.
- VI. That immediately after the Death of the present and succeeding Protectors, the Council shall choose another before they rise.
- VII. No Protector after the present shall be General of the Army.
- VIII. The Protector shall have Power to make War and Peace.
- IX. That in the Intervals of Parliament the Protector and the Council may make some Laws which shall be binding to the People.

Oliver
made Pro-
tector.

By the 33d Article of the Instrument of Government, Oliver Cromwel, Captain General, &c. was declar'd Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, for his Life.

By another Article, the Manner of electing Members of Parliament was alter'd, the small Burroughs left out, and the major Part was chosen for the County. Cornwall was to choose but 12, London and Middlesex 12; and among all the Sarcasms that those excellent Wits the Cavaliers have ridicul'd these Changes with, I have not met with one upon this but what has been more miserable than one would think Stupidity and Folly could make it. The whole Number was to be 400 for England and Wales, 30 for Scotland, 30 for Ireland. All who had advised or abetted the War against the Parliament, or the Rebellion in Ireland, were disqualify'd. No Man to vote for a Representative, unless he was worth 200 Pounds. By the 27th Article, Provision was made for maintaining 10000 Horse and Dragoons, and 20000 Foot. Also 200000 Pounds a Year was appropriated for the Protector's Civil List. The

Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioner of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, chief Governor of Scotland and Ireland, to be chosen by the Approbation of Parliament.

The following Gentlemen were appointed to be his Council by the Instrument:

Philip Lord Viscount Lisle, Sir Anthony Ash-The Protector's
ley Cooper, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Clor's
Wolfeley, Walter Strickland, Esq; Major General Council.
ral Lambert, Major General Skippon, Colonel
Desborough, Colonel Sydenham, Colonel Jones,
Colonel Montagu, Henry Lawrence, Esq; Ri-
chard Mayor, Esq; Francis Rous, Esq;

His Commissioners of the Treasury were,

Col. Desborough, Col. Montagu, Col. Sydenham, William Masham, Esq;

All Things being prepar'd, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London were requir'd to attend at Whitehall, the 16th of December, in their Scarlet Gowns, whither when they came the Design was imparted to them, and they being under the Power of an Army, were forc'd to contribute to the Protector's Pageantry, by accompanying him to Westminster-Hall. The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal and the Judges march'd first, then the Council of the Commonwealth, then the Lord Mayor of London, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, in their Robes. After them came the Lord General, with a great Number of the Officers of the Army, Major General Lambert carrying the Sword before him into the Court of Chancery, where, after the Lord General had heard the Instrument read, and taken the Oath to observe all the Articles, as directed in the Close of it, Major General Lambert kneeling, presented him with a Sword in the Scabbard, representing the Civil Sword; which Cromwel accepting, put off his own, intimating thereby, that he would no longer rule by the Military Sword. The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal deliver'd it to him, and the Lord Mayor of London the City Sword. All which he restor'd again, with an Exhortation to use them well; and having assur'd them that he would not have undertaken the Charge, but to make use of it for the Good of the Publick, he return'd to Whitehall in the same Manner and Order as he came, and leaving his Lodgings at the Cockpit, took up the Royal Apartments at the Court. Ludlow tells us, *His Wife seem'd at first unwilling to remove thither, tho' afterwards she became better satisfy'd with her Grandeur.* His Council having taken their Places, issu'd out Orders to He is pro-
all Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, for pro-claim'd
claiming Oliver Cromwel Lord Protector of all over
the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.
Ireland, and Care was taken to alter all Writs
and Process, from the Title of the Keepers of
the Liberties of England, to that of Protector.

Thus did this mighty Man, by an unnatural His Great
and monstrous Mixture of glorious and infamous
Acts, by Victory and Treason, by Dissimulation
and Power, by breaking of Parliaments, by making them and breaking them again, by subjecting all Opposition from without or within, from Enemies or Conscience, possess himself of a Dominion, above all other Dominions then in Europe; and in his future Government, he show'd that his Genius was equal to his Empire. The Figure he made in Europe was so shining, that the two Reigns before him, and the two Reigns after him, are so many Blots in the History of England, which his Protectorate would render

A. D. 1653. illustrious, had he acquir'd it as honourably as he maintain'd it.

I have not enter'd into Biography, nor trac'd him from his Origin, which the Cavaliers, with their wonted Ingenuity, have endeavour'd to debase, tho' it was as good as a Descent from the Sister of *Thomas Cromwel* Earl of *Essex*, and the Family of *Sir Richard Williams*, one of the ancientest of the ancient *Britons* could make it. That *Williams* took the Name of *Cromwel* in *Henry VIII's* Reign, and *Sir Oliver Cromwel*, the Lord Protector's Father's elder Brother, is known to have had one of the best Gentleman's Estate in *England*. But had his Parentage been as base as *Archbishop Laud's*, if it had been honest, and he had advanc'd himself by Virtue as well as Valour, all these mean Reflections would have shewn the Authors of them to have learnt the Language and Manners of the Dregs of the People, if they did not themselves come out of them.

Ireland. *Ireland* being entirely reduc'd, the High Court of Justice in that Kingdom proceeded against those that had been involv'd in the Guilt of the Massacre, as,

Massacres The Lord *Mayo*, Col. *Mackarty Reagh*, the Lord *Clanmaliere*, the Lord *Muskerry*, *Sir Phe-lin O Neale*, Col. *Lewis Moor*, Col. *Lewis Dempsey*, Col. *Lewis Took*.

executed. *Mackarty Reagh*, the Lord *Clanmaliere*, and the Lord *Muskerry*, were upon Trial acquitted. Col. *Moor* and Col. *Dempsey* were hang'd, the Lord *Mayo* beheaded, Col. *Took* and *Sir Phe-lin O Neale* hang'd, Mrs. *Fitzpatrick*, Mother to Col. *Fitzpatrick*, was burnt, Col. *Grace* was pardon'd by *Cromwel*, and so was the Lord *Fitzwilliams*, who had been a Lieutenant General in the *Irish* Army. Many others of inferior Rank were executed; and their Estates were every where confiscated.

There was a Council of War held, to consider how the Lands of the Rebels should be divided. A Survey of the whole Kingdom was order'd to be made by Mr. *William Petty*, who got most by it. The Number of Acres and Quality of Ground were to be mark'd in it. The Officers and Soldiers were to bring in their Demands of Arrears to be audited, and when their Account was adjust'd, they were to be satisfi'd out of these Lands after the Adventurers had Satisfaction. Every Man was to take by Lot as many Acres of Ground as answer'd in Value the Amount of his Arrears. The highest was rated at 4 d. a Year an Acre, and some at one Penny, and the Arrears of the Army were clear'd off by this Means. The *Irish* that had not been ship'd off were transplanted from the *South* to the *North*, and from the *East* to the *West*, which so broke their Strength, that had they not been again encourag'd by King *Charles* and King *James* the Second, they would never again have been in a Capacity to have given the *English* and the Protestants any Disturbance.

The County of *Dublin* was estimated at 1500 l. for 1000 Acres.

The County of *Wexford* at 800 l. for 1000 Acres.

The County of *Kilkenny* at 1000 l. for 1000 Acres.

Five Thousand Horse and Foot were disbanded. Those in *Connaught* had their Arrears in Lands about *Sligo*, those in *Munster* in the County of *Corke*; those that had serv'd under the Lord *Inchiquin*, had their

Arrears assign'd about *Collen* in *Kilkenny*. A. D. 1653.

Lieutenant General *Ludlow* refus'd to sign the Order for proclaiming *Cromwel*, but *Fleetwood* got a Majority of Hands, and *Ludlow* not long after remov'd to *England*, as did *Fleetwood*, to make Room for *Henry Cromwel*, Esq; whom his Father the Lord Protector made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and he gave general Content by his Humanity and Magnificence.

The Lord *Glencairne* held out still in the Highlands of *Scotland*, and *Middleton* had been tampering with the *Dutch* for Assistance; but the Heads of the *Hollanders* had a little too much Ballance in them to be turn'd with every wild Whim of the Royalists, whose Projects had not more Solidity than other Mens Dreams. The Earls of *Arbol* and *Seafort* very wisely too left their Habitations to share the Honour of the Earl of *Glencairne's* Highland Knight Errantry, of which the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Richard* speak as gravely as if those Knights had not been a Jest to every one out of the Mountains. The Reader will guess at the Intelligence of these Worthies by this Summons, which the Earl of *Seafort* sent to a Ship which lay at Anchor at *Lewis* Island.

Being incited not only by Conscience and Honour, to stand firm to the Principles of Loyalty, but also disdaining even in rational Interest, to stoop to such a wavering and servile Power as now ruleth, I have laid hold on 7 of your Men who came ashore for Provisions, as procuring the same. Wherefore I summon you to deliver your Vessel for his Majesty's Service, and being certainly perswaded that all or most of you are with Grief of Heart employ'd in such Service, I do assure all that will voluntarily shun the unnecessary Effusion of Blood by that Surrender, shall have such fair Quarter as is fitting for me to grant, and your several Conditions do require, and according to your Demeanors herein, you may expect to find me your Friend accordingly.

SEAFORT.

To the Captain, Soldiers, Masters, and Mariners of the *Fortune*, *These*.

The taking of these 7 Seamen, and the Writing of this Letter are two important Actions of those Highland Heroes in War and Politicks. *Whitlocke* describes them better than I can do. Some ragged Forces were rais'd in the Highlands, the Lord *Glencarne* to be their General. Yet the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. Archdeacon have great Hopes in these ragged Highlanders, and a Committee is appointed in *France*, consisting of that Lord, the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Newburgh*, to consult about the Affairs of the Highlands, and the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* was to make out all the Dispatches pursuant to his Conferences with a Scots Vicar, who had given himself the Trouble to come from the Mountains to *Paris*, on an Errand of great Consequence, concerning which he had long and frequent Conferences with the Chancellor, who however learn'd not the Truth of the Scots Affairs, for he tells us, *Scotland lay under a heavy Yoke. The Yoke was very grievous to the whole Nation. If the King's Nature could have been delighted to behold the Oppression the Scots endur'd, he might have had abundant Comfort. They were rul'd by a Rod of Iron, and all their Subjection supported at their own Charge. After so many Falsties which I have produc'd out of the History of the Rebellion, the Reader will expect*

A. D. 1653. expect all these Assertions to be as false as the rest, but let him not take my Word, let him see what the Bishop of Salisbury, a Scots Man, and living in those Times, says, *There was good Justice done, and Vice was suppress'd and punish'd, so that we always reckon those eight Years of Usurpation a Time of great Peace and Prosperity.* Echar'd, who steals from, and mimicks the Lord Clarendon as much as his Genius would permit, affirms, *The common Sense of the Slavery in Scotland tempt'd the King to go amongst them and beat his Armies.* He means the Gentry in the Mountains, where we must leave them in a Condition which would deserve Compassion, if they had themselves had any Pity for their Country.

P. 61.
P. 170.
Lilburne brought to his Trial. In July this Year Lieutenant Col. John Lilburne, who had been banish'd by the Rump Parliament, return'd and threw himself upon Cromwel, who left him to the Law, upon which he was committed to Newgate, and try'd the next Sessions at the Old Bailey, where he refus'd to plead unless he had a Copy of his Indictment, which was at length granted, and then he put off his pleading by several Evasions, till the next Sessions, when his Trial came on, and he was acquitted by the Jury, having render'd himself very popular among the Malecontents of all Parties, by opposing all Governments that were in being in his Time: There is something remarkable in this Man's Story, Oliver seem'd very much offended with him, and very desirous that he might be punish'd, yet privately paid him a Pension equivalent with a Lieutenant Colonel's Pay, and the Malecontents of all Parties opening themselves freely to Lilburne, who was look'd upon as a Confessor for their Cause or Causes, Cromwel found his Account in keeping in with him, though to conceal the Matter the better Lilburne was content to lie some Time in the Tower.

MS.
Ponteleon de Sa's Quarrel. In November this Year the Portugal Ambassador's Brother, Don Ponteleon Sa, Knight of Malta, and an Officer of special Note in the Portuguese Army, having accompany'd the Ambassador into England, and walking in the New Exchange with some of his Company, Colonel Gerard, who heard them speaking in French of the Affairs of England, told them in the same Language, *They did not represent those Passages right,* upon which one of the Portuguese gave him the Lie, and three of them fell upon Col. Gerard; stabbing him in the Shoulder, but one Mr. Anstruther coming to his Assistance they withdrew, and in an Hour's Time return'd with 20 more arm'd with Breast-plates and Head-pieces. They took two or three Turns, and not finding Mr. Anstruther went home. The next Day Don Ponteleon and his Company came again to the New Exchange, and meeting Col. Mayo, whom they suppos'd to be Mr. Anstruther, fir'd a Pistol as a Signal for more Portuguese to enter, which they did; to the Number of 50, with drawn Swords, and leaving some to keep the Stairs, the rest went up with the Ambassador's Brother and fell upon Col. Mayo, who defending himself gallantly, receiving seven dangerous Wounds but not mortal. Then they attack'd Mr. Greenway of Lincolns-Inn, who was walking with his Sister in one Hand, and his Mistress in the other; they shot him in the Head with a Pistol Ball, and he dy'd on the Spot. They brought with them several Jars fill'd with Gunpowder and Matches stopp'd with Wax, intending, as it seem'd, some Mischief to the Exchange, had they not been prevented. The Parliament's Horse at the Merse, taking the

Alarm, apprehended some of the Portuguese, and the rest of them ran to the Ambassador's House, whether Col. Whaley pursu'd them, and beset the House with his Horse, letting the Ambassador know, that his Followers had committed Murder, and he therefore demanded to have them deliver'd up to him. The Ambassador insisted on his Privilege, but Whaley giving him to understand he would rake them by Force if they were not surrender'd, the Ambassador gave his Word of Honour that they should be forthcoming, after he had made his Applications to the Lord General, who told him, *the Business concern'd the Publick, and therefore his Excellency's Address must be to the Parliament and the Council of State,* then both in Being. The next Day Don Ponteleon and his Company were carry'd before the Lord Chief Justice Rolles, examin'd, and committed to Newgate, the Populace having surrounded the Ambassador's House, and threaten'd to pull it down, unless he deliver'd them up. The Ambassador's Brother made his Escape out of Newgate, but was soon retaken. His Trial was put off some Time upon a Petition of the Portugal Merchants, as will be seen next Year.

Prince Rupert, who had been adventuring for Prizes at Sea, sometimes with more Ships, sometimes with fewer, as he could get Money to keep them, was now forc'd to give over his Adventures, and go to the French Army at Bessfort. The sheltering of him and others of the King's Followers, continu'd the Difference between England and France: The latter found at last that she was not safe while England was not in Friendship with her. Captain Hayton, with a small Squadron of English Men of War, met eight French, which he defeated, took three of the largest, and many rich Prizes, with the Loss but of four Men, which, with several other such Losses, and the Talk of a Peace between England and Holland, determin'd the French Court to conclude a Treaty with the new Protector as soon as they could.

A. D. 1654. Oliver, now Lord Protector, assum'd all the State and Ceremony of a Sovereign, with the Title of Highness. He had his Household Officers, his Guards, and a Court, with as much Splendor, and more Order, than had been known at Whitehall since Queen Elizabeth's Reign. Notice was given to the Dutch Plenipotentiaries by the Master of the Ceremonies, That he expected the same Honours to be paid him as had been paid to the Kings of England, and that they stile him his Highness in their Memorials and Discourses, and not being in the Quality of Ambassadors, but Lords Deputies Plenipotentiaries, must be uncover'd in his Presence. He took the Treaty of Peace out of the Hands of the Council of State, and by his Secretary Thurloe sent the Dutch Ministers a Writing, containing the Conditions to which they were to submit for Peace. The Plenipotentiaries, who expected some Abatements of former Demands from Cromwel, and found that he had abated very little, instead of returning an Answer, demanded Passports to be gone, thinking to frighten Oliver with a Prospect of War in the Beginning of his Protectorate. He sent them Word, *If they went without concluding and signing the Treaty as he roughly had drawn it, he would not be oblig'd to it, or to any with the Part of it.* Upon which the Plenipotentiaries stay'd, and Cromwel insisted on the Seclusion of the Prince of Orange from being Statholder and General, without which there was no Peace to be had. These Ministers having no Instructions about this Article, or rather having Instructions against

A. D. 1653.

France courts the Protector.

A. D. 1654.

He deals without concluding and signing the Treaty as he roughly had drawn it, he would not be oblig'd to it, or to any with the Part of it.

Dutch.

A. D. 1654. against it, renew'd their Demand for Passports, and *Oliver* let them go. The Protector was not to be dealt with after the Rate of their Dealing with the Court of *England* formerly. He had no Passion but that of Power, no Favourite but Glory, no Religion but Empire. He was not to be trill'd with like *James* the First in the Business of *Amboyna*, and all other Business. He told them what he expected, and what they must expect, if it was not comply'd with, so the States of all the Provinces agreed to hasten back their Ambassadors, and notwithstanding *Monfieur Chanut*, the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, offer'd that his Master would bear half the Charge, if the States would continue the War, yet they were either so weary of it, or so afraid of *Cromwel*, that in about 6 Weeks Time the same Ministers return'd with the Character of Ambassadors, and a very gallant Retinue, and on the 4th of *March* they had Audience of the Lord Protector in the *Banqueting House* at *Whitehall*, which was richly hung, and a Chair of State plac'd for the Protector. The Ambassador acquainted his Highness, *That all their Provinces had consented to the Articles of Peace, and had empower'd them to ratify the Articles. In the mean Time they desir'd a Cessation of Arms.* The Lord Protector appointed six of his Council to confer with the Ambassadors, and sign the Articles of Peace, after they had examin'd the Papers, and compar'd them with the original Draught, which took up some Weeks.

On the 5th of *April* they were sign'd by the Commissioners and Ambassadors, the chief Articles were, "That the *States General* should not suffer any of the *King's* Party, or any "Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England* to reside within their Dominions. That they "should deliver up the Island of *Polorone* in the *East Indies*, which they had taken from the "English in the Reign of King *James*, into the Hands of the *English East India Company*, and pay 300000 Pounds for the Damages "the *English* suffer'd at *Amboyna*, for which, says *Echard*, the two last Kings could never obtain Satisfaction. "That they should own the "Sovereignty of the Sea to be in the Commonwealth of *England*, and no more dispute the "Flag. That they should pay 150000 Pounds "for the *English* Ships stopp'd by the King of *Denmark* in the *Sound*. That they should "comply with the Act of Navigation; and that "they should exclude the Prince of *Orange* "from being *Statholder* and *General*." Thus was every Branch of the House of *Stuart* involv'd in the King's Misfortunes, and it was Ruin to all Potentates and Powers to aid and assist them as long as there was Life in *Cromwel*. *France* sent *Monfieur Bourdeaux* to compliment the Lord Protector on his Accession to the Government before the Conclusion of this Treaty, and after that Step, the King of *England* and his Followers in that Kingdom had nothing to expect but Sights, if not Affronts. To prevent which, and being forbidden that Court, he retir'd first to the *Sparw* and then to *Cologne*, where he liv'd almost three Years at an Expence of about 7 or 8000 Pounds a Year. *Echard* assures us, *He was the best Oeconomist* that ever was. These Historians affect to be as opposite to the Truth as can be. King *Charles* could spend no more than he had, when he had no Credit; but when he had it, after his Restoration, he was such a Manager, that his Revenues and his Debts always increas'd together. And as to the Oeconomy abroad, a *French* Author tells us, *He*

gave one Lady in France above 50000 Crowns A. D. Value in *China Ware*; and 'twas well known 1654. that the Dutchess *de Chatillon*, a Lady of Intrigue, had more Presents from him than all his Followers. The Duke of *Lorrain's* Daughter was propos'd to him in Marriage, with a Portion of Four Millions of Livres, which would have done him more good than the other Part of the Proposal, that Duke's Assistance against the Power and Treasure of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. We are told the Duke of *York* signaliz'd himself in the *French* Army under *Turenne*, who was enamour'd with that Prince for his heroick Qualities, which he brought not with him into *England*, at least not in so great a Degree as the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* represent them to be, while he was abroad. The King left his younger Brother the Duke of *Gloucester* behind him in *France*; but, as *Echard* informs us seriously enough, he sent the brave *Marquis of Ormond* to get him out of his Mother's Hands, for fear he should turn *Papist*, to which Religion his Majesty had a mortal Aversion, and the *Marquis* did it with great Labour and Hazard, and no less Courage and Resolution. The Truth is, *Cromwel* was beginning to hearken to the Courtship of *France*, and to incline to treat with her, the sure Consequence of which would have been, forbidding the Duke's Abode in that Kingdom, and it was much more decent to leave it without being forc'd to it. These are obvious Truths, but what is strange to Amazement is, that the Historians are giddy with Vanity, amidst the most extreme Distress and Calamity.

The first foreign State that sent to congratulate the Protector, except such as had Ministers here before, was that of *Hamburg*, then came an Ambassador from *Denmark*, and then *Monfieur de Bourdeaux* from *France*, and he had his Audience in the *Banqueting House* in *Whitehall*, with the same Pomp and Ceremony as the *Dutch* Ambassadors. He made a flattering Speech to his Highness, to this Effect:

YOUR most serene Highness has already received some principal Assurances of the King's Master, and of his Desire to establish a perpetual Correspondence between his Dominions and *England*. His Majesty, this Day, gives to your Highness some publick Demonstrations of the same, and his sending his Ambassador to your Highness does plainly shew, That the Esteem which his Majesty makes of your Highness, and the Interest of his People, have more Power in his Counsels, than many Considerations that would be of great Concernment to a Prince less affected with the one and the other. This Proceeding, grounded upon such sound Principles, and so different from what is only guided by Ambition, renders the Amity of the King my Master, as considerable for its Firmness as its Utility, for which Reason it is so eminently esteem'd and courted by all the greatest Princes and Potentates of the Earth. But his Majesty communicates none to any with so much Joy, as to those whose virtuous Acts, and extraordinary Merits, render them more conspicuously famous than the Largeness of their Dominions. His Majesty is sensible that all these Advantages do wholly reside in your Highness, and that the Divine Providence, after so many Calamities, could not deal more favourably with these three Nations, nor cause them to forget their past Miseries with greater Satisfaction, than by submitting them to such a just Government. And since it is not sufficient for the

The French Ambassador's Speech to Oliver.

A. D. 1654. the compleating of their Happiness to make them enjoy Peace at home, because it depends no less in good Correspondence with Nations abroad. The King my Master does not doubt but to find also the same Disposition in your Highness which his Majesty here expresses in his Letters. After so many Dispositions express'd by his Majesty and your Highness towards the Accommodation of the two Nations, there is Reason to believe that their Wishes will soon be accomplish'd. As for me, I have none greater than to be able to serve the King my Master with the good Pleasure and Satisfaction of your Highness, and that the Happiness I have to tender to your Highness the first Assurances of his Majesty's Esteem, may give me Occasion, by my Services, to merit the Honour of your gracious Affection.

Sweden.

Before the Conclusion of the Peace with Holland, Cromwel's first Parliament understanding there was a League negotiating between the Kings of Spain, Denmark, and the States of Holland, voted the Lord Commissioner Whitlocke to be Ambassador for the Commonwealth of England at the Court of Christina Queen of Sweden, who had shewn great Regard to the Commonwealth, and sent one of the principal Lords of her Kingdom to congratulate them on their assuming the Government. Whitlocke's Instructions were to negotiate a League between England, France and Sweden, in Opposition to the other, but the Queen's abjuring her Religion, and abdicating her Kingdom for Popery, and a Pension from the Pope, put a Stop to that League for a while, though Whitlocke, at length, concluded it, and Oliver wrote a Letter of Congratulation to the new King. Don Lewis de Haro, prime Minister of Spain, press'd his Master to send an extraordinary Ambassador to Oliver on his Accession to the Government, and wrote to the Protector, who said, He had receiv'd no Letter so obliging, and so polite, as Don Lewis's. He seem'd so taken with it, that the French Ambassador grew jealous, especially when he understood that Cromwel had answer'd Don Lewis's Letter in Terms every whit as polite and obliging, yet had Cromwel resolv'd then to break with Spain, and enter into an Alliance with France, a Step for which he has been very much blam'd by those who knew nothing of the Balance of Power at that Juncture, when the House of Austria was very powerful and united, and that of Bourbon divided, and in a Minority. The Judgment Coke and Echard make of it is, as the Turks judge, by Success. It appear'd when King Charles the Second had sold Dunkirk, which Oliver kept as a Security for England, and the French King, with the Connivance of the King of England, had surpriz'd many Cities and Provinces to a vast Extent of Empire; I say it then appear'd, that a Treaty with Spain was more eligible for the Preservation of the Balance of Power. But was it possible for any such Thing as the Sale of Dunkirk to enter into such a Head as Cromwel's? He would as soon have sold Portsmouth; and had Dunkirk always been kept in English Hands, Oliver's French Treaty would never have been complain'd of. Monsieur Wicquefort, who was himself a Minister of State, and being a Foreigner, had nothing to corrupt his Judgment in reflecting on the Affairs of England, speaks thus of the

Cromwel's
League
with
France
examin'd.

Matter; "The Spanish Ambassador us'd his utmost Endeavours with Cromwel, to engage him in the Interest of his Master, even to the offering him an hundred Thousand Crowns a Month, two hundred Thousand Crowns by way of Advance, and twenty Thousand Men to assist the English to re-conquer *Catalais*." Archdeacon Echard never heard of these Things before. "Oliver, continues Wicquefort, rejected these Offers, and as he fear'd more the Neighbourhood of France than he hop'd from the remote Strength of Spain, he sided with the first, whose Friend he became, by that Means obliging the other to be so to the King of Great Britain."

A. D. 1654.

There was no Power in Europe that was not barbarous, but what made their Court to the Lord Protector, the Pope only excepted; and if Leti was to be believ'd, if the old Pope Innocent X. held not Intelligence with him, Donna Olympia his Cousin, who govern'd all at Rome, sent her Compliments to him by Sir Robert Tambol, probably Talbot, who is not to be found out by his Name, nor by his Office, that Author pretending he was Oliver's private Envoy at the Court of Rome.

The Envoy from the Arch-Duke Leopold, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, had not been long in London before News came, that the Duke of Lorraine was seiz'd by the Arch-Duke's Order, and all hopes of Assistance from him were seen to be meer Dreams of sick Minds.

We must now look a little into the Transactions at Home, as they relate to the Civil Government; and we may venture to give our Opinion, that Oliver, in almost all the Parts of his Power, uses it as well as he acquir'd it ill.

He and his Council publish'd an Ordinance, declaring what Offences, and no other, shall be adjudg'd Treason. Another to repeal the Oath call'd the Engagement against a single Person, and House of Peers. Another for appointing Persons, to be Approvers of Ministers, that such as were not qualify'd for the Ministry by their Piety and Knowledge, or were disqualify'd by Vice and Ignorance, might be kept out of the Pulpit. An Ordinance, which was enough not only to provoke the Raillery, but the Rage of all such as think a Benefice is a sufficient Call, and a Cassock a Qualification. In April two extraordinary Acts were publish'd, one for the Union of England with Scotland, another against Planting of Tobacco in England, which is a Law at this Time.

On the 12th of May the Lord Protector issu'd a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, to try Don Ponteleon de Sa, the Portugal Ambassador's Brother, for the Murder of Mr. Greenway.

The Commissioners were,

Lord Chief Justice Rolles, Mr. Justice Atkins, Sir Henry Blunt, Alderman Tichburn, Mr. Lucy, Sergeant Steel, Dr. Zouch, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Turner.

A. D. 1654. The Jury impannel'd were half *English* and half *Foreigners*. The *Portugal* Ambassador labour'd hard to prevent his Brother's Trial, but the Protector having given him up to the Law, there was no avoiding it. Some Time before this he and his Council had been invited by the Lord Mayor to dine with him at *Grocer's Hall*, which he did, to shew how well he and the City agreed together. He came from *Westminster* in a Chariot drawn by six Horses in rich Equipage. Before him rode his Life Guard with 3 or 400 of his chief Officers and some of his Council; after them came two Pages bare-headed, bedeck'd with Lace and Embroidery; then came twelve Lackeys with Velvet Caps and grey Liveries, with silk and silver Fringe; then the Lord Protector, clad in a dark colour'd Suit and Cloak, attended by many of the Nobility in their Coaches and six Horses: At *Temple Bar* his Highness was met by the Lord Mayor, *Thomas Viner*, Esq; and the Aldermen, where the Recorder of *London* saluted him with a florid Speech: Here the Protector came out of his Chariot, put on a riding Coat embroider'd, and mounted on Horseback, two or three of his Horses of State being led by; then the Lord Mayor took the City Sword and carry'd it bareheaded before him from thence to *Grocers Hall*, changing the Order of the Procession after they came into the City. The several Companies of *London* in their Liveries were plac'd according to their Superiority, in the Streets, from the lower End of *Cheapside* to *Temple-Bar*, within Rails hung with blue Cloth, with the City Banners and Streamers belonging to their respective Companies set before them. The City Marshal went first with some other Officers; then six Trumpets; then the Lord Protector's Life Guard richly cloth'd; after them eight Trumpets more, follow'd by the City Streamers, red and white; then the Aldermen, and after them the two Sheriffs, *James Philipps* and *Walter Bigge*, Esqrs. next the Lord Protector's Heralds with rich Coats, adorn'd with the Arms of the Commonwealth; then the Aldermen in Scarlet Gowns with Gold Chains; then the Mace and Cap of Maintenance carry'd before the Lord Mayor, who carry'd the Sword bare-headed, with two Gentlemen Ushers; then his Highness the Lord Protector, with his twelve Footmen in grey Liveries, as is said before; after him rode Major General *Skippon*, the Protector's Council, and great Officers of the Army, the Lords, Gentlemen and others. At *Grocers Hall* the Recorder made another Speech, to let his Highness understand how happy the City accounted themselves under his conspicuous Government, and also in the Injoyment of his Presence with them that Day. The Speech over, he Knighted the Lord Mayor, and din'd with as much or rather more Splendor and Magnificence than any Monarch of *England* had done before him. We are told, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen intended to wait, as was customary when a King din'd with them; but *Oliver* would not admit of it, protesting he would not eat till they sat down by him; and when it was propos'd to serve him on the Knee, he refus'd it with some Disdain, saying, *Such Ceremonies should be only practis'd at Rome, where they are so greedy of Ceremonies, or in Kingdoms govern'd by Tyrants, but should be banish'd out of a Christian and Protestant Com-*

monwealth, as was that of England. And *A. D.* 1654. not long after, he invited the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs to dine with him at *Whitehall*; and it was observ'd, that in all his Ceremonials, all his Entertainments, Audiences, &c. he maintain'd the Port of a great Prince in every Part of his Appearance, as much as if he had been so born and so bred; that his Soul extended it self always in Proportion to the Room that was given it; and in whatever Space he stood he always fill'd it. Is this Man, the greatest in the World, a fit Subject for the lewd Invectives of insolent Libellers and witless Declaimers? I speak not of the Means he us'd in acquiring Dominion, but of the Manner of his using it.

Not long after his being declar'd Protector, his Mother dy'd: She had liv'd to a great Age, and very much mistrusted the Issue of Affairs: She was so afraid of some Attempt against his Life, that when she heard the Noise of a Musket, she would start, fearing he was shot, and was exceedingly dissatisfy'd if she did not see him once a Day at least. *Oliver* was at a vast Expence upon her Funeral; and though she was bury'd by Daylight, caus'd many hundred Flambeaus to be carry'd with the Hearse.

His Zeal for the Protestant Religion appear'd on several Occasions, and particularly in a Letter he wrote to the Prince of *Tarente* in *France*, which I insert at Length, his *Latin* Secretary being the immortal *Milton*; and if any of our History Writers could have given us Examples of the like Scholarship among their *Literati*, they would have had more Reason to have boasted of the Learning of their Party.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Illustrissimo Principi Tarentino Salutem, Perspectus ex literis tuis ad me datis Religionis amor tuus, & in Ecclesias Reformatas pietas eximia, studiumq; singulare in ista præsertim generis Nobilitate ac splendore, eaque sub regno, in quo, deficientibus ab Orthodoxa fide, tot sunt Nobilissimis quibusq; Spes uberes propositæ, tot firmiteribus incommoda subeunda, per magno me plone gaudio ac voluptate effectit. Nec minus gratum erat placuisse me tibi, eo ipso Religionis nomine, quo nihil mihi delectius atque charius imprimis esse debet. Deum autem obtestor ut quam de me spem Ecclesiarum, & Expectationem esse ostendis, si possim ei aliquando vel satisfacere, si opus erit, vel demonstrare omnibus, quam cupiam non deesse. Nul-lum equidem fructum laborum meorum, nullum hujus, quam obtineo in Republica mea, sive Dignitatis, sive numeris, nec amplioreni existimarem, nec jucundioreni, quam ut idoneus sim, qui Ecclesie Reformatæ vel amplificationi, vel incolumitati, vel quod maximum est, paci serviam. Te vere hortor magnopere ut Religionem Orthodoxam, quâ pietate ac studio a Majoribus acceptam profiteris, eadem animi firmitate atque constantia ad extremum usque retineas. Nec sane quidquam erit te, tuisq; parentibus Religiosissimis dignius, nec quod pro tuis in me meritis, quanquam tuâ Causâ cupio omnia, optare tibi melius, aut præclarius queam, quam si sic te pares, atque insitunas ut Ecclesie præsertim patriæ, quarum in Disciplinâ tam felici indole, tamque illustri loco

natus

A. D. 1654. *natus es, quanto ceteris præluces, tanto firmitus in te præsidium, suis rebus constitutum esse sentiant. Vale. Alba Aula, Die 26 Junii, 1654. Illustrissimæ Dignitatis Vestræ Studiofissimus,*

OLIVERIUS.

Oliver's Letter to the Prince of Tarente. Cromwel in this Letter assures the Prince of Tarente, " That it was with extreme Pleasure he learn'd by the Letter he had receiv'd from him his inviolable Zeal and Attachment for the Reform'd Churches, for which his Praise was the greater, inasmuch as he shew'd that Zeal at a Time, and in a Place where such flattering Hopes were given to Persons of his Rank, if they would forsake the Orthodox Faith, and where those who continue stedfast are on the contrary threaten'd with so many Troubles. He rejoices that his own Conduct with Respect to Religion, was pleasing to him; he calls God to witness he desires nothing so much as an Opportunity to answer the favourable Opinion the Churches have of his Zeal and his Piety, by endeavouring to propagate the true Faith, and procure Rest and Peace for the Church. He exhorts the Prince to hold out firmly to the End in the Orthodox Religion he receiv'd from his Fathers; and adds, that nothing would bring him greater Glory than to protect it as much as lay in his Power.

Enthusiasts.

Are there any such Letters in the History of the House of Stuart for promoting the Protestant Religion, and the Orthodox Faith! But what is the Orthodox Faith in Comparison with Powers, Dignities, Revenues, &c. And the Faith Cromwel recommends to the Protection of the Prince, was then disturb'd in England by certain Priests and others, who were for reducing Religion to Enthusiasm, and Government to Anarchy. The Chief of these among the Laity were Major General Harrison, Mr. John Carew, Colonel Rich; among the Clergy, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Feak, Mr. Sympson; who being Men of turbulent, restless Minds, impatient under all Power, which they had not the Management of, and refusing to give Oliver any Security for their peaceable Behaviour, he thought fit to hinder their giving the Publick Disturbance by confining their Persons; Major General Harrison was sent to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight; Mr. Carew to Pendennis, in his own Country; Colonel Rich remain'd in Custody of the Sergeant at Arms, and the three Ministers were shut up in Windsor Castle, till they could bring their Minds into better Temper, and had learn'd that the Laws of God require their Obedience to the Laws of Man, especially when their Consciences are at Liberty, as they were under the Protector.

A Plot.

The inveterate Enemies to that and all Liberty, the Royalists, carry'd their Resentments farther; and as their Successors, the Enemies to the Governments since the Revolution, despairing of doing any Thing by fair War, have always had Recourse to Assassination Plots; so now the Cavaliers, who could neither submit nor starve, thought of getting out of their Misery by murdering the Man whom they took to be the Cause of it. One

cannot expect Men of Honour in so infamous a Plot as that of Murder: The chief Plotter in this against Oliver was one Vowell, a Pedagogue, who kept an obscure School in a Country Village, and being a very busy factious prating Fellow, was admitted into the Company of some of those who were the most impatient for the King's Restoration, several of whom were Persons of Quality; as the Earl of Oxford, who was first apprehended, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Colonel Ashburnham, Mr. Jof. Ashburnham, Colonel Gerrard, the same who was attack'd by Don Ponteleon de Sa, in the New Exchange, Mr. Somerset Fox, and several others. The Plot was to assassinate the Lord Protector, to proclaim the King, and offer Pardon to all except three Persons. On the Discovery of this Conspiracy, the Guards were doubled at the Tower, and a Proclamation issued, requiring a List to be brought to the Council of all Lodgers, and all Inhabitants and suspected Persons in London and Westminster, and the Lines of Communication. A high Court of Justice, the Lord Commissioner Lisle President, was erected for the Trial of the Plotters who were taken, the Attorney General Prideaux, the Solicitor General Ellis, and Serjeant Glyn; the Protector's Council charg'd the Prisoners with conspiring to murder the Protector as he was going to Hampton-Court, to seize the Guards, to master the City, Tower and Magazines. Mr. Somerset Fox confess'd the Charge, Col. Gerrard and Vowell deny'd it, and were try'd. The Proof against them was too plain to leave any Doubt of their Guilt. Several Witnessees were heard, and the Jury bringing them in guilty, the Lord Chief Justice Rolles made a long Speech to Fox, Gerrard, and Vowell, to convince them of the Wickedness of their Design, of which the Conspirators seem'd not to be sensible; and then he pronounc'd Sentence, That upon mature Consideration of the Treasons and Murders plotted and contriv'd by them against his Highness the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth, and raising a bloody War in the same, the Court did adjudge them to be hang'd. Gerrard mov'd that he might be beheaded, or shot to Death like a Soldier, for which favour he petition'd the Protector, and obtain'd it. Vowell was hang'd at Charing-Cross, but Mr. Fox was repriev'd and pardon'd.

About the same Time, July the 5th, Don Ponteleon de Sa, and two other Portuguese, were try'd before the above-mention'd Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer in the King's Bench. He pleaded, That he was not only the Ambassador's Brother, but had a Commission to himself to be Ambassador, when his Brother should be absent, and that by the Law of Nations he was privileg'd from Trial. He demanded Council. The Point of Ambassadors Privileges by the Civil Law and the Law of Nations, was long debated by the Court, and by the Protector's Council; the Result of which was, That by all those Laws the Proceedings in this Case were justify'd, and that no Council could be allow'd to the Ambassador's Brother in Matter of Fact; but if in the Proceedings of his Trial he should desire Council as to Matter of Law, it should be allow'd him. After much Perswasion, he and the rest pleaded Not guilty, and to be try'd by God and the Country. Don Ponteleon at

A. D. 1654. at his Trial pleaded Ignorance of the Laws of England, and desir'd to have Council assign'd him; but the Court told him, *They were of Council equal to him as to the Commonwealth*; and upon hearing the Witnesses, the Jury found the Ambassador's Brother and 4 more guilty of Murder and Felony. The Lord Chief Justice Rolles gave Sentence against them to be hang'd. One of the condemn'd Criminals was an *English Boy*, who was in the Tumult and Murder with the *Portuguese*, who were all repriev'd but the Ambassador's Brother. On the 10th of July he was carry'd from *Newgate* to *Tower-Hill* in a Mourning Coach and Six Horses, attended by divers of his Brother's Retinue. He spoke something on the Scaffold to those who understood him in Excuse of his Crime, laying the Blame of the Quarrel and Murder upon the *English*. After a few private Words and Passages of *Popish* Devotion with his Confessor, he gave him his Beads and Crucifix, laid his Head on the Block, and it was chopt off at two Blows; *The rest*, says Whitlocke, condemn'd for the same Crime, were repriev'd. The Lord Clarendon, quite contrary to Whitlocke and the Fact, says, *The rest were hang'd at Tyburn, to make Cromwel as bloody-minded as he could.* It is said the *Spanish* Ambassador forwarded this Execution as much as lay in his Power, saying, *Don John of Portugal is an Usurper, and no lawful King, and Don Ponteleon may be executed without violating the Rights and Privileges of Ambassadors.* Be that as it will, we are assur'd that the *Portugal* Ambassador sign'd the Treaty with *Cromwel* upon the very Day his Brother was beheaded. The Emperor of Germany brought this Prosecution as a Precedent to justify his carrying off the Prince of *Furtemberg*, Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of *Cologne*, twenty Years after; and in the Manifesto his Imperial Majesty publish'd, this Piece of *Cromwel's* Justice, in executing the *Portuguese* Gentleman, is cited at large, tho' the whole Herd of Writers against him, talk of it as a Breach of the Law of Nations.

Second Parliament. According to the *Instrument of Government*, *Oliver* and his Council resolv'd to issue out Writs for the Election of Members of Parliament, with thirty from *Scotland* and thirty from *Ireland*, to meet at *Westminster*, the 3d of *September*, a favourite Day with *Cromwel*, on which, tho' a *Sunday*, they met and attended the Lord Protector in the *Painted Chamber*, where he made a Speech to them of the Cause of their Summons, and then going to the House, they adjourn'd to the next Day, *September* the 4th,

When the Lord Protector rode in State from *Whitehall* to *Westminster*, some Hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers went before bare with the Life Guard, and next before the Coach, his Pages and Lackeys richly cloath'd. On one Side of his Coach went *Strickland*, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guard, with the Master of the Ceremonies, both on Foot. On the other Side went Colonel *Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Carlisle*, Captain of the Life Guard. In the Coach with him were his Son *Henry* and *Lambert*, both bare. After him came Mr. *Claypool*, Master of the Horse, with a Led Horse in rich Trappings. Next the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Lords of the Treasury, the Council in their

Coaches, the Life Guards. When he alighted at the Door of *Westminster* Abbey, the Officers of the Army went first, then the Gentlemen, then four Maces, the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, Mr. *Whitlocke* carrying the Purse, then Lieutenant General *Lambert*, carrying the Sword bare before his Highness, who seated himself over against the Pulpit, the Members of Parliament on both Sides. After a Sermon preach'd by Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, the Lord Protector went in the same Equipage to the *Painted Chamber*, where he took his Seat in a Chair of State set upon Steps, and the Members upon Benches round about fate all bare. Then his Highness put off his Hat, and made a long and artful Speech to them; in which he told them of the *Danger of Levelling Principles, and of the Fifth Monarchy Opinions, of the Form of Godliness, and the two abus'd Pretensions of Liberty of Subject, and Liberty of Conscience; two as glorious Things, and as much to be contended for, as any Gift God hath given us.* He reminded them of the great Judgments which had fallen upon the Nation by the *Civil Wars and the late Foreign Wars*; and then he shew'd how a Remedy had been apply'd to those Evils, which he told them in so many Words was his Government. He instanc'd his reforming the Laws, putting good Men into Seats of Justice, regulating the Chancery, setting a Way for the Approbation of able Ministers: His making Peace with *Holland, Denmark, Portugal, Sweden, and his being in a Treaty with France.* He minded them of the Expence of the Fleet, and of the Abatement of Thirty Thousand Pounds of the three Months Assessment. He exhorted them to be zealous for the Protestant Interest abroad. He added, *Though Peace is made, yet it is Interest that keeps Peace, and further than that, Peace is not to be trusted.* He clos'd all thus: *I shall conclude with my Perswasion to you, to have a sweet, gracious, and holy Understanding one of another, and put you in Mind of the Counsel you have heard this Day in order to it. And I desire you to believe that I speak not to you as one that would be a Lord over you, but as one that is resolv'd to be a Fellow-Servant with you to the Interest of this great Affair.* There is more solid Sense, more Truth in this Speech, which is at large in *Whitlocke*, than in most of the Speeches from the Throne since Queen *Elizabeth's* Death. There is more true Eloquence in some Parts of it: *In such a Heap of Confusion was this poor Nation; and that it might not sink into Ruin, a Remedy must be apply'd. A Remedy has been apply'd, This Government.* Read the Earl of *Clarendon's*, and the Speech-making Speaker *Turner's* Speeches after the Restoration, and compare them with *Cromwel's*, notwithstanding it is incumber'd with certain seraphical Expressions, according to the Mode of the Times, and you'll soon distinguish the Truth and Eloquence of *Cromwel's*, from the Flattery, Affectation, from the Abundance of Words and Deficiency of Sense in those tedious Harangues. *Oliver* told the Assembly they should repair to their House, and exercise their Liberty in the Choice of a Speaker; which they did, and chose *William Lenthall*, Esq; who had been so long Speaker of the House

A. D. 1654. House of Commons before and after the Death of the King; Mr. *Scobel* was appointed to be their Clerk, and Mr. *Birkhead* their Serjeant.

The next Day the House call'd over their Members, and appointed their Committees. The Lord *Brogbill* was one of the Members for *Ireland*, the Marquis of *Argyle* one of them for *Scotland*; and this Convention was for the most part compos'd of as good Gentlemen as were in *England*, tho' the Majority were Commonwealth's Men, who did by no Means approve of the Government in a single Person, such as *Robert Wallop*, Esq; Lord *Grey of Groby*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, *John Highlord*, Esq; *John Bradshaw*, Esq; *Thomas Scot*, Esq; *John Willman*, Esq; *Thomas Honeywood*, Esq; *Henry Nevil*, Esq;. *Ludlow* is very well pleas'd with the Difficulty they made in recognizing the Protectorate, and highly extols their Courage in taking to Pieces the Instrument of Government, in which his Republican Principles prevail'd over his good Sense, for without the Instrument of Government they were no Parliament; and *Oliver* shew'd his Reason as well as his Power was greater than all theirs, when he told them in another Speech a Week after, *The same Government which made them a Parliament made him a Protector; and as they were entrusted with some Things, so was he with others.* He then explain'd to them upon what Foundation they stood, and what Business they had to do; after which he appointed a Test of Recognition to be taken before they went any more into the House, which was both just and reasonable for him to do as he was Protector. Could any Man of common Sense imagine the Protector sent for them to dispute the Authority by which they were to sit, or suffer them to spend their Time in angry and insolent Debates with Respect to the Government? The Recognition Test was ingros'd in Parchment, and three hundred Members subscrib'd it. However they voted, *That the Recognition did not comprehend, nor should be constru'd to comprehend therein the whole Government, consisting of Forty-two Articles, but that it does only include what concerns the Government of the Commonwealth by a single Person and successive Parliaments.* They resolv'd, *That all Persons return'd, or who should be return'd to serve in this present Parliament, should, before they be admitted to sit in this House, subscribe the Recognition; That those Subscriptions should be taken in Presence of any two Members, who have subscrib'd it.* They voted, *That the supreme Legislative Authority shall reside in the Lord Protector and the People assembled in Parliament, and that the present Lord Protector shall continue during Life.* By this Vote *Oliver's* Authority was establish'd, and all Attempts afterwards to encroach upon it were factious and illegal, according to that Constitution, which it became his consummate Wisdom to provide against and suppress. The Parliament enter'd into a Debate on the other Articles of the Instrument of Government, according to the Power they reserv'd to themselves by their Vote. They particularly debated whether the Protector should be elective or hereditary, and it pass'd for Election. They continu'd the standing Army of Ten Thousand

Horse and Twenty Thousand Foot, and gave an Assessment of Sixty Thousand Pounds a Month to maintain them. They voted a Triennial Parliament, the Protector to summon one oftner upon Occasion, and the Commissioners of the Seal to issue Summons by a limited Time, if he did not. They order'd a Bill against Drunkenness and Gaming, another against Heresies, and resolv'd, *That the true Reform'd Protestant Christian Religion shall be publickly profess'd and maintain'd*, and that the Protector should have no Negative to Bills for suppressing Heresies. They voted Liberty to all scrupulous Consciences that gave no Disturbance to the Publick. They confirm'd the Two Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year Civil List to the Protector, and assign'd *Whiteball*, St. *James's*, the *Mews*, *Somerset House*, *Greenwich*, *Hampton Court*, and *Windsor*, for his Use. However, the Freedom they took in canvassing the Instrument of Government, which *Oliver* would have had thought as sacred and inviolable as *Magna Charta*, and their dwelling so much and so long upon it, gave him so great Offence, that he lost all Patience with them, and on the 22d of *January* dissolv'd them, having first made a Sermon instead of a Speech full of Upbraiding and Reproaches. He could not but be very much provok'd by the Presumption and Ingratitude of an Assembly, which was a Creature of his own creating, and ow'd to him its very Being. One of the Members, *Col. Whetnam*, when it was mention'd to make him King, apply'd to him the Saying of the Prophet to *Abab*, *Hast thou kill'd, and also taken Possession?* It is certain the disgusted Members of this Parliament, the Republicans, in an unnatural Mixture with the Cavaliers, had produced a very powerful Party against *Oliver*, who knew well enough that they were not idle, and his Messengers surpriz'd Major *Wildman* at *Exton*, near *Marlborough*, in his Chamber, dictating to his Anianensis a Libel against the Protector, with this Title, *The Declaration of the free and well-affected People of England, now in Arms against the Tyrant Oliver Cromwel, Esq;.* *Whitlocke* says, "Many who read this Declaration knew there was too much of Truth in it, and had not the Design been nipt in the Bud, and timely discover'd and prevented, it might have caus'd some Disturbance to the Protector, and to the Peace of the new Government; but by the Commitment of the chief Conspirators, their Plot was crush'd, and the Peace not interrupted. Divers wonder'd most that Major *Wildman*, and others of his Party who had serv'd the Parliament, should now join in this Design with those of the King's Party; but they alledg'd it was to strengthen themselves, and they could easily suppress the Cavaliers afterwards." This was the Opinion all along of those first who oppos'd the Commonwealth, of those afterwards who oppos'd the Protector; in a Word, of all those who oppos'd any of the Governments from the Time of the King's Death to the Restoration. The Royalists were out of the Question, an abandon'd ruin'd People, who were made Tools to every Faction that was set up, to be thrown by when their Point was carry'd. This Declaration was probably to be publish'd when the Infurrection was made: Sir *Thomas Harris* was to rise

A. D. in *Shropshire*, Sir *Thomas Middleton* in *Wales*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Sir *Richard Maleverer* in *Yorkshire*, Sir *Henry Moore* and Sir *George Brown* in other Places, Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* and Colonel *Penruddock* in *Wiltshire*, Sir *Hugh Pollard* in *Devonshire*, Mr. *Arundel* in *Cornwall*. *London* was full of Conspirators, and the Conspiracy was almost general; but such was the Protector's good Intelligence, that he had timely Information of their general and separate Designs, which he suffer'd them to carry on just as far and no farther than he thought fit. *Wagstaff* fearing a Discovery, precipitated the Business, and with *Penruddock*, Mr. *Grove*, Mr. *Mompesson*, Mr. *Jones*, Capt. *Wake*, Mr. *Mason*, Mr. *Lucas* of *Hungerford*, and others, took Arms. The Lord *Wilmot* was come over to *England* to command in Chief those that were to rise in the *Northern* Counties. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Newport*, and Col. *Birch*, were in the Plot; but *Wagstaff* was the only Man who appear'd at the Head of a Body at *Salisbury*, and being Assize Time, they got together under Pretence of coming to the Assizes. He had with him Three or Four Hundred Horse, such as they were, and getting together in the Night, they seiz'd the Lord Chief Justice *Rolles*, Justice *Nicholas*, Mr. *Dove* the High Sheriff of the County, who refus'd to proclaim the King, and some Gentlemen whom they suspected to be Enemies to their Design. They took away the Judge's Commission, and some of their Leaders, with a true Cavalier Spirit, were for hanging up the Judges and Sheriff, who were very like to have the hanging of them in a few Days. The Earl of *Clarendon* blames them very much for not trussing up the Judges and Sheriff: *It would have been a*

Wiltshire
Insurre-
ction.

seasonable Act of Severity, says he, without considering that it would have provok'd *Cromwel* to have sacrific'd a Hecatomb of them whom he had in his Power. *Wagstaff* and *Penruddock* finding No-body come to them at *Salisbury*, remov'd to *Dogtozen*, taking Mr. *Dove* along with them, but they extended their Mercy to the Judges and let them go. From thence they march'd to *Blandford* in *Dorsetshire*; *Most Men*, says *Ludlow*, looking upon them rather as flying than marching; but the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* look'd upon them as so many Heroes, who with the Help of half a Dozen IF's, might have done a great deal more Mischiefe than they did before they were hang'd. Some Troops of Horse pursu'd them into *Devonshire*, where Capt. *Unton Crook*, with two Troops only, fell upon them, routed them, took Colonel *Penruddock*, Mr. *Jones*, Capt. *Grove*, Capt. *Wake*, and some more of these notable Men, to use the Lord *Clarendon's* Phrase, which, with the Sense of it, is super-excellent in what follows: *The Success and Triumph at Salisbury produc'd such a Consternation throughout the whole Kingdom, as would have endanger'd it, IF there had not happen'd some accidental Confusion among the Undertakers. Monstrum horrendum!* A Parcel of Mob, *Ludlow* tells us they were not above Two Hundred besides their Captains, to throw an Army of Thirty Thousand Veterans, Horse and Foot, under Captains who had ten Years been us'd to Conquest, into Consternation; and as laughable as this is, 'tis one of the most serious Passages in the *History of the Rebellion*; but this ridiculous Passage must be attended with some Falsities too, to make it of a Piece with the rest.

A. D.
1654-

Clarendon.

One single Troop of Horse routed them.

Crook rather intreated than compell'd them to deliver themselves.

Crook promis'd their Lives should be sav'd.

The Chief Justice Rolles was afraid to look those Men in the Face, and would not try them, raising some Scruples in Law.

The *History of the Rebellion* is made up of the like Paragraphs, and if it was turn'd up and down, it would be as true as it is now. Some of the Prisoners were condemn'd at *Salisbury*, and some at *Exeter*, of which Number were Colonel *Penruddock* and Captain *Grove*; and in Aggravation of their Crimes, it was urg'd, that this was their second Offence. They were both beheaded at *Exeter*. Mr. *Jones* of *Newton Tony* being ally'd to *Oliver*, was pardon'd. Captain *Crook* had Two Hundred Pounds a Year given him of the Estate of Mr. *Mompesson*, who with Sir *Joseph Wagstaff*, Mr. *Mason*, and others, made their Escape.

Cromwel, who had lately highly caref'd the Cavalier Party, was exasperated against them

Whitlocke.

Capt. Unton Crook pursu'd them with his Troops.

Crook after a sharp Conflict routed them.

Ludlow.

Crook absolutely deny'd that they had Articles for Life.

Rolles refus'd to act on Account that the Prisoners had done him a particular Injury, and he might be thought a Party.

by this Rebellion, and resolv'd to shew them some *seasonable Severity*. He commanded a tenth Part of their Estates to be levy'd, in order, says *Ludlow*, to maintain those extraordinary Forces, which their turbulent and seditious Practices oblig'd him to keep up. To *Oliver* put this in Execution, he the next Year plac'd Major Generals over all the Counties in *England*, with much more Power than ever the Lord Lieutenants had; and to ingratiate himself with our two famous Universities, he settled One Hundred Pounds per Annum for a Divinity Reader at *Oxford*, and gave Money to both of them; which is a severe Rebuke on those History Writers who say he endeavour'd to suppress Learning, and destroy'd all the Publick Libraries he could come at; though the contrary is well known, that he encourag'd Learning,

A. D. 1654. Learning, and patroniz'd Men of Letters; and it was about the End of this Year that Doctor *Ralph Bathurst*, afterwards Head of *Trinity College, Oxford*, and Dean of *Wells*, Physician to the Navy, took his Doctor of Physick's Degree, and produc'd a Certificate from General *Blake*, and the other Generals at Sea, of his Behaviour to their full Satisfaction.

A. D. 1655. General *Blake* had been sent to the *Streights* with a strong Squadron of Men of War, to demand Satisfaction of all Princes and Powers that had injur'd the *English* in the Time of War and Confusion at home. The General receiv'd great Honours wherever he came, and executed his Commission much to the Advantage and Reputation of his Country.

Being in the Road before *Cadiz*, a *Dutch* Admiral then there would not wear his Flag while General *Blake* was in the Harbour. He enter'd the *Streights* with thirty Men of War. The Treaty between *England* and *France* not being quite concluded, *Blake* made for the Coast of *Naples* in Hope to meet with the Duke of *Guise's* Fleet, which had a Design upon that City, but *Guise* was gone before the General arriv'd there. From thence he sail'd to *Leghorn*. The City of *Rome* and all the Pope's Territories were allarm'd at the Name and Approach of *Blake*. Several of the principal Citizens retir'd with their Effects to the Mountains, though Sir *Richard Tambot*, as *Leti* calls him, assur'd Cardinal *Barberino* that *Cromwel* had given no Orders to *Blake* to insult the Patrimony of *St. Peter*. However, the Terror of the People was such, that publick Processions were made, and the Host was expos'd forty Hours to avert the Wrath of Heaven, and prevent *Blake's* attacking the Dominions of the *Church*. New Works were rais'd all around our Lady of *Loretto's* Chapel to defend it from Pillage, and all those Precautions taken which would have signify'd nothing if *Cromwel* had given Orders to *Blake* to fall upon the Pope's Towns and Countries, which he and his Seamen would very willingly have done had it consist'd with *Oliver's* good Policy, to have drawn all the Powers of Popery upon him, by assaulting the Papacy. Upon his Arrival in Sight of *Leghorn*, he dispatch'd his Secretary to demand of the Great Duke sixty Thousand Pounds for Damages sustain'd by the *English* in his Dutchy, where Prince *Rupert* had taken so many Ships belonging to the Commonwealth of *England*, as amount'd to that Value, and having sold them to the Great Duke's Subjects, the Commonwealth requir'd Satisfaction, that Prince having no Right to sell them. The great Duke of *Tuscany* offer'd to pay Part of the Sum, and desir'd Time to consult the Pope about Payment of the rest. *Blake* reply'd, That the Pope had nothing to do with it, and he expected the whole Sum, which was paid him, thirty five Thousand *Spanish*, and twenty five Thousand *Italian* Pistoles. The Duke pretended, that some of the Ships had been sold to Subjects of the Pope, and therefore the Court of *Rome* ought to pay Part of the Damage, which *Alexander* the Seventh, who succeeded *Innocent* the Tenth, did, and paid him twenty Thousand Pistoles.

From *Leghorn* General *Blake* sail'd over to the *Barbary* Shore, and sent an Officer to the King of *Tunis*, to demand the Delivery of *English* Slaves in that Kingdom. The King answer'd, he was very ready to deliver them, provided the Knights of *Malta* would do the same by the *Tuniseens*, whom they held in Slavery. *Blake* reply'd, he should not concern himself about the Knights of *Malta*, but if the *English* were not sent him, he would take all the Ships of *Tunis* which he met. Accordingly he took a Fleet loaden with Provisions for *Candia*, and having put his Ships in order, he thunder'd with his great Guns upon the Town, while he sent out several long Boats mann'd with stout Mariners, who at the same Time enter'd into their Harbour with undaunted Courage, and set Fire to all the Ships there, being nine Men of War, which were burn'd to Ashes, and this with the Loss only of twenty five *English* Men. This was one of the most gallant Actions that was ever perform'd at Sea. The King of *Tunis* immediately sent to the General to beg a Peace, and deliver'd all the Slaves he had belonging to *England*, about four Hundred in Number. *Blake* concluded an advantagious Treaty with the *Tuniseens*, and plac'd there an *English* Consul.

From *Tunis* he sail'd to *Algiers*, where the *Dey* pay'd him all the Respects due to a General who commanded the Fleet of a Republick that was Mistress of the Sea; he anchor'd in the Mole, and concluded a Treaty with the *Dey* on what Conditions he thought fit. The chief was, that Satisfaction should be made for all *English* Ships taken, and all *English* Prisoners be released. The *Algerines* were so proud of his Friendship, that whenever they met with any *Sally* Men of War that had *English* Men aboard, they took them out and sent them to *Blake*, who oblig'd the Knights of *Malta* to make Satisfaction for Piracies committed by their Ships upon *English* Merchant Men. General *Blake* sent home sixteen Ships richly loaden with the Effects he had receiv'd for Satisfaction and Damages, and they were order'd to sail up the River of *Thames* together, to make a grateful Spectacle to the People, who were told that such Ships were coming, and with rich Freight.

One Mr. *Gage*, who had been a popish Priest, and Missionary in the *Spanish West Indies*, being return'd home to *England*, with Intention to renounce the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, and embrace the Reform'd Religion, gave *Cromwel* Information of the great Riches in those Parts of the World, and of the Means to come at them. *Oliver's* Treaty with *France* being pretty forward, and the Substance of it being for mutual Assistance between *England* and that Kingdom, 'twas impossible to prevent a Rupture with *Spain*, which the Protector resolv'd to be provided for betimes; and as *Gage* had advis'd him, he fitted out a Fleet under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Pen*, and five or six Thousand Land Forces under Colonel *Venables*, to attack *Hispaniola*. *Oliver* kept the Design very secret, and it was not known to what Part of the World the Fleet was bound, till some Time after it was sail'd

A. D. 1655. fail'd. *Spain* would never admit of a Peace with *England* between the *Tropicks*, so he was in a State of War with them in those Parts, says Bishop *Burnet*, even before he declar'd War against the *Spaniards* in Europe. Colonel *Stoupe* the *Swiss*, who had been a Minister at the *Savoy*, was very intimate with *Oliver*; he had sent him to *France*, to feel the Pulse of the Protestants, whether they were in any Disposition to join with the Prince of *Conde*, if *Cromwel* enter'd into a League with that Prince, then at *Brussels*, and *Spain*, against *France*, which he inclin'd to do. But *Stoupe* found the *Hugonots* very much at Ease under Cardinal *Mazarine's* Administration, who observ'd their Edicts very justly; and that the Prince of *Conde's* Offers to turn Protestant, to land in *Guienne*, and to raise the *Hugonots* in *South France*, were vain and chimerical, which determin'd the Protector to enter into a Treaty with *Mazarine*, upon which this Fleet was equipp'd and sent to *America*. *Stoupe* conjectur'd whither it was going, by *Cromwel's* being very curious in Surveying a Map of the Bay of *Mexico*, and measuring Distances, which he saw him very intent upon in his Closet. *Stoupe* happening to say as much in Company, *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, sent for him very privately, and offer'd him ten Thousand Pounds if he could make any Discovery. The *Swiss* had a great Mind to take the Money, and thought it fair, since it was only his Conjecture, and nothing had been trusted with him, but he expected to make a Fortune by the Lord Protector's Favour, and said only, that in a Diversity of Conjectures, that seem'd to him more probable than any others. However, *Stoupe* wrote of it to one about the Prince of *Conde*, who at first hearing was perswaded it must be so, and immediately acquainted *Don John* of *Austria*, Governor of the *Netherlands*; but he having no Notice of it from *Cardenas*, slighted the Information, till he had the like Conjecture from others, and then he sent over the *Marquis de Leyde*, a Grandee of the first Rank, to know what Cause of Complaint the Protector had against the King his Master. *Oliver* resolving to temporize no longer, declar'd, He expected Liberty to trade to the *Spanish* West-Indies, and to have the *Laxes* of the *Inquisition* repeal'd. The Ambassador reply'd, His Master had but two Eyes, and he would have him to put them both out at once.

Lord Clarendon, who would make us believe that every Body thought of King *Charles* and his Affairs as much as he did, whose Subsistence depended entirely upon them, seem to have been in some Hopes that *Pen* and *Venables* would have run away with the Fleet and Army, and have set up the *Royal Standard*, which is said without the least Foundation in Reason or Fact, and might have been built upon as much from a Dream as from any Authority he had for it.

Pen and *Venables* fail'd directly to *Barbadoes*, where they were to open their Commission, and where they publish'd a Proclamation, that all Servants who would list under them, should be made free by that Service.

A. D. 1655. The same was made known in the other Islands, *St. Christopher's*, *Nevis*, and above three Thousand Men came in to them from all of them. Thus reforc'd they fail'd to *Hispaniola* with a Fleet and Army, thirty Men of War, and nine Thousand Men at least at their setting out from *Barbadoes*, sufficient to have driven the *Spaniards* from one Sea to the other, had any other two Generals of the Parliament's Forces been appointed to command them. They came within View of *Santo Domingo*, the chief City and Port of the Island of *Hispaniola*, about the Middle of *April*. The first Step they took was an Omen of their ill Success. They broke *Cromwel's* Orders as to the Landing Place: He had given them Instructions to enter the Port immediately, foreseeing that the *Spaniards* in the first Surprise and Consternation would expose themselves to be an easy Conquest, if the *English* behav'd as they had been wont to do. It fell out so with respect to the *Spaniards*, they abandon'd the City and fled into the Woods. *Venables* with seven Thousand Men landed about ten Leagues from the Town by mistake. The other Part of the Army, under Colonel *Butler*, landed near the Town, and those under *Venables* having a long March, through a desert Country, open to the scorching Heat of the Sun, without Water or Refreshment, were so wasted with Famine, Thirst and Sweat, that they could hardly carry their Arms. In this Condition the *Spaniards* fall'd upon them from the Woods, not above fifty or sixty at a Time, harass'd them through their whole March, and kill'd no less than six Hundred of them. They hardly made any Resistance, and were the more dispirited, for that they expected Mountains of Gold and Silver, instead of which it was proclaim'd, that no Man should plunder Gold, Silver, Jewels, or any other rich Moveables, or kill any Cattle, on Pain of Death. Add to this their great Want of Provisions, so little Care had they taken to bring Stores with them, that in a few Days they were forc'd to feed upon their Horses. Colonel *Haynes* making Head against the *Spaniards* was slain fighting resolutely in the midst of them, and after that the *English* thought of nothing but retreating to their Ships as fast as they could. *Venables* and *Butler* being join'd at the Place appointed, they shipp'd their Men and set Sail for *Jamaica* the third of *May*, having been three Weeks in *Hispaniola*, *Pen* and leaving that Place more shamefully *Venables* than ever Place was left by *English* Men disgrac'd. The Islanders of *Jamaica* not having heard of the Disgrace of these Invaders, left their Town and Plantations and retir'd to the Mountains, and upon Treaty were permitted to depart the Island, which was possess'd *Jamaica* by the *English* in the Name of *Oliver* taken. *Cromwel*, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, and Colonel *Fortescue* was left Governor there with three Thousand Men, who were afterwards reforc'd with one Thousand Men under Major *Sedgwick*, and with a Regiment commanded by Colonel *Humphreys*. Fifteen Hundred Men were sent from *Ireland* under Colonel *Brayne*, who with three Hundred Men was cast away in the Voyage. He was follow'd by fifteen Hundred more under Colonel *Moor*, Captain

A. D. 1655. *tain Chester, and other good Officers. And whatever Loss the Nation was at in the Expedition of Pen and Venables, it has since got more by this Acquisition; than the Charge of all the Commonwealth's Wars amounts to, Jamaica being the most flourishing Colony in the New World, and the Inhabitants live with as much Splendor as the most splendid of any City in Europe.*

Venables was disabled by Sickness to perform the Functions of his Office, and was permitted by the Council of Officers to return into *England*. *Pen* suspecting he would lay the whole Blame of that Affair on him, obtain'd the same Leave also, and being both arriv'd, they were heard at *Whitehall* one against the other, where the Accusations of both seem'd to be of more Weight than the Deferts of either of them; so *Pen* was committed to the *Tower*, and *Venables* confin'd to his Lodging, his Distemper excusing him from a stricter Confinement.

The *Protector* was extremely mortified at the Miscarriage of this Expedition, which had not only alarm'd *Spain*, but *France* and *Holland*, both very well appriz'd of the great Accession of Power which would have redounded to *England* by his making himself Master of the Riches of *New Spain*, and judging by his former Successes, what had they not all to fear from such a Fleet and Army? And what Punishment did not *Venables* and *Pen* deserve, for bringing so much Shame and Loss on a Government, till then always Triumphant, and a Stranger to Disgraces?

We have mention'd the Conspiracy against the *Protector* in *England*, the full Discovery of which was owing to the Correspondence which *Thurloe*, *Oliver's* Secretary, kept with *Henry Manning*, Son to Colonel *Richard Manning*, a *Papist*, kill'd in the late King's Service at the Battle of *Alresford*. *Thurloe*, by *Cromwel's* Order, furnish'd this Mr. *Manning* with Money, and sent him to the Place King *Charles* resided at, to be his Spy. He there got into the Confidence of Sir *Edward Hyde*, Author of the *History of the Rebellion*, though he flurs over the Matter in that History, and takes upon himself the Credit of discovering the *Traitor*, at the same Time that he excuses the *Treason*, there being not a Syllable of Truth in it. He assures us, that *Manning* bubbled *Thurloe*, and sent him Lies for Money; and again, not one of the King's Counsels was discover'd; all which is alike true. *Manning* was sent over to *Cologne* by *Thurloe*, on Purpose to get Intelligence for him; when he came thither he told the Exiles, He was sent thither from some Friends in *England*, who desir'd to have their Names conceal'd. *Ludlow* informs us, that the Cavaliers made him very welcome for the Sake of *Thurloe's* Money, of which the King himself had Part; and several lesser Sums were distributed to his necessitous Followers; one of whom was Sir *Edward Hyde*, with whatever Airs he adorns his History; and it will be prov'd that several of those Followers were *Oliver's* Pensioners, as by a List extant in the Hand Writing of Colonel *Sydenham*, one of the then

Lords of the Treasury. Thus continues General *Ludlow*, "*Manning* was easily admitted amongst them," very easily no doubt, when he had Money in his Pocket. Instead of Chancellor *Hyde's* finding out the Fraud, it was detected in this Manner, as in the Words of *Ludlow*, "It happen'd that a Gentleman, *Leti* says the Duke of *Richmond*, "who had serv'd the late King, desir'd Leave from *Cromwel* to travel, which he obtain'd on Condition he should not see the King, which he promis'd; accordingly when he arriv'd at *Cologne*, he sent a Message to the King, that he might be permitted to wait on him at Night, which was granted, and having discours'd fully concerning the Affairs he came about, he took Leave and receiv'd a Letter, which he sew'd within the Crown of his Hat. Upon his Return to *England*, he came with Confidence to *Cromwel*; and being demanded by him if he had punctually perform'd his Promise? He answer'd he had: But said *Oliver*, Who was it that put out the Candles when you spoke to *Charles Stuart*. This unexpected Question somewhat startled him: *Cromwel* proceeding, ask'd what he said to him? To which the Gentleman reply'd, Nothing at all. Says *Oliver*, Did he not send a Letter by you: The Gentleman denying that also, *Cromwel* took his Hat, and having found the Letter, sent him immediately to the *Tower*: From thence he took the first favourable Occasion to acquaint *Charles Stuart* with all that had happen'd to him relating to this Affair, assuring him that one of the three Persons who were in the Room with him at the Time abovemention'd, must necessarily have betray'd him. Upon this Information, *Manning's* Study was search'd, and his Correspondence being discover'd, Leave was obtain'd from the Duke of *Newburg*, to execute him at *Duynswald*, within his Territories; and accordingly he was shot to Death: But though *Manning's* Action was base and perfidious, continues *Ludlow*, very justly, as proceeding from a domestick Servant; yet by what Law he was executed, I confess my self utterly ignorant." *Echard*, with his usual Simplicity, tells us all Authors, except the Lord *Clarendon* himself, have been mistaken in this; for the good Archdeacon knows no better than to believe that the Truth is in the *History of the Rebellion*. What Advices *Manning* sent were so far from being Lies, that the Conspiracy was detected and disappointed by means of them, and several of the Chiefs of all Parties seiz'd and imprison'd, and cashier'd:

Of the King's,

Mr. *Compton*, Mr. *Littleton*, Mr. *Peyton*, Colonel *Russell*, Mr. *Philips*, Mr. *Halsey*, &c.

Of the Commonwealth Party,

Mr. *Courtney*, Colonel *Birch*, Sir *Jobn Danvers*, — *Lewson*, Cornet, now Colonel *Foyce*.

Manning a Traitor to the King.

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[430] *The HISTORY of ENGLAND, during the Reigns*

A. D.

Of the Fifths Monarchists,

1655.

Major General Overton, Major Bramston,
Major Holmes.

For { *Wiltshire,*
Dorsetshire,
Somersetshire,
Devonshire,
Cornwal, } Col. Desborough. A. D. 1655.

For *South-Wales,* Maj. Gen. Harrison.

The latter liv'd long enough to join with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and lay down his Life, as he thought, for the Cause which he had so often fought for and conquer'd.

Major Generals,

The turbulent, restless Spirits of all these Malecontents, oblig'd *Cromwel*, otherwise good natur'd, as *Whitlocke* tells us, to Acts of Severity, and particularly to establish the Major Generals before spoken of.

For { *Norfolk,*
Suffolk,
Essex,
Cambridgeshire,
Huntingtonshire, } Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*; his Deputy Maj. *Haynes*.

For { *Kent,*
Surrey, } Col. *Kelsey*.

For { *Suffex,*
Hampshire,
Barkshire, } Col. *Goffe*.

For { *Oxfordshire,*
Buckinghamshire,
Hertfordshire, } Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*.

For *London,* Maj. Gen. *Skippon*.

For { *Lincolnshire,*
Nottinghamshire,
Derbyshire,
Warwickshire,
Leicestershire, } Commissary General *Whaley*.

For { *Northamptonshire,*
Bedfordshire,
Rutlandshire, } Major *Butler*.

For { *Worcestershire,*
Herefordshire,
Shropshire,
North-Wales, } Colonel *Berry*.

For { *Cheshire,*
Lancashire,
Staffordshire, } Colonel *Wortley*.

For { *Yorkshire,*
Durham,
Cumberland,
Westmorland,
Northumberland, } Major General *Lambert*.

For { *Middlesex,* and
C. of Westminster, } Colonel *Barkstead*.

These Major Generals were to have the Inspection and Government of a Committee in every County, with Orders to seize the Persons and distrain the Estates of such as should be refractory, and to put in Execution such further Directions as they should receive from the Protector: Those of the ordinary Sort of People who were seditious and turbulent, were threaten'd with Transportation to *Jamaica*: This Scheme seem'd very extraordinary and extravagant, in a free Republick as this Government was pretended to be, under a Protector; and it is cry'd out against as Tyrannical, more by the Commonwealths Men than the Cavaliers; but neither the one nor the other were sensible of the Necessity of *Machiavel's* Rule, That all Governments must support themselves by the Principles on which they were founded. *Oliver's* Government had no Principle but that of Power; and having been so lately threaten'd with almost a general Insurrection, he had no Way to secure himself but by Rigour, and keeping a strict Hand over the Disaffected.

Among these were several hearty Friends to the Commonwealth, particularly Mr. *George Cony*, a Merchant; *Echard* calls him a great Fanatick; for Railing is not inconsistent with Stupidity. Mr. *Cony* refusing to pay certain Customs, the Collector took it from him by Violence; and the Merchant brought his Action against the Custom-house Officer. This was a daring Violation of the Instrument of Government, and unning'd it all at once. *Oliver* had not a Title to any Thing, but by that Instrument; and if he permitted it to be call'd in Question in the Common Law Courts, there was an End of his Authority, which had no Law to maintain it but the Instrument, and that was of his own making. However, be it what it will, his Government had no other Pillar to support it; and 'tis very strange to hear People cry out against him for doing what there was a Necessity upon him to do by the grand Law of Self-Preservation. Mr. *Cony's* Counsel were Sergeant *Maynard*, Sergeant *Twisden*, and Mr. *Wadham Windham*, whom the Protector order'd to be sent to the Tower for Presumption, in offering themselves to be Council in a Case that so nearly touch'd the Fundamentals of his Power. They had not been there above four Days before they acknowledg'd their Fault, and petition'd to be set at Liberty. Judge *Rolles* declar'd, *Something must be allow'd to Cases of Necessity*; but however, he did not care to give Judgment in this Case, which he put off till the next Term; and before that came had his *Quietus*, which made Room for Sergeant *Glyne* to be Lord Chief Justice. *Cony's* Affair was afterwards accommodated, and Sir *Peter Wentworth*, who had boldly commenc'd such another Action against a Collector, withdrew it after a little Expostulation by *Cromwel*.

About

A. D. 1655
Cromwel
assists the
Vandois.

About this Time *Christina*, Dutcheſs Regent of *Savoy*, Siſter to King *Charles* the Firſt's Queen, rais'd a terrible Perſecution againſt the Proteſtants inhabiting the Valleys of *Piedmont*, where, *Leti* affures us, they have dwelt Time out of Mind. No new Sect, as the Lord *Clarendon* wou'd make us believe the *Presbyterians* are, but according to that *Italian* Papiſt, as old as their oldeſt Hiſtory. He adds, that this Aunt of King *Charles* II. commanded this bloody Maſſacre of the *Vandois*, at the Inſtigation of the Prieſts, and her chief Miniſter the Marquis de *Pianezza*, who march'd into the Valleys in Perſon with 6000 Men, and cut the Throats of Men, Women and Children. Some of thoſe brave Proteſtants ſold their Lives dearly inſomuch that *Pianezza* loſt half of his Men. The reſt of the *Vandois* fled to the Mountains, and thence ſent their Agents to all Proteſtant Princes and Powers to implore their Charity and Aſſiſtance. The Lord Protector immediately order'd a Day of Humiliation to pray for the Deliverance of thoſe Confeſſors, as alſo a Collection to be made all over *England* for their Relief; and it is ſaid the Contributions were larger than had ever been known before on any Occaſion whatſoever. Moſt of the Lord Protector's Council were of the Committee for the Buſineſs of *Piedmont*; and it is affirm'd that the Contributions

In <i>England</i> amounted to	— —	50000	Pounds.
In <i>France</i> to	— —	50000	Pounds.
In <i>Holland</i> to	— —	25000	Pounds.
In <i>Swiſſerland</i> to	— —	25000	Pounds.
In <i>Germany</i> to	— —	25000	Pounds.
		175000	

Which, and much more from Places not nam'd, was as much as the Valleys were worth. 'Twas remitted to Mr. *Stephen Turretin*, Receiver for the *Vandois*. The large Collections made for theſe Proteſtants are generally allow'd to be owing to the Lord Protector's powerful Inſtances with Foreign Princes and States; for beſides his Letters to the *French* King and Cardinal *Mazarine* in their Favour, he wrote to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* to mediate for them, and ſent Mr. *Merland* and Mr. *Crown* to *Geneva*, to ſee that the Moneys collected were fairly diſtributed, as intended, among the Proteſtants of the Valleys, and that the Treaty the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould grant them be fairly executed. He alſo gave *Merland* a Letter to the Duke of *Savoy*, then near or in his Majority, conceiv'd in Terms, which confirm'd a Report, that *Cromwel* ſhou'd have ſaid, *My Ships in the Mediterranean ſhall viſit Civita Vecchia, and the Sound of my Cannon be heard in Rome; which ſufficiently terrified the Italian Princes. Oliver, in his Letter to Charles Emanuel II. Duke of Savoy, after having repreſented the Cruelty and Injuſtice of his Actings againſt the Proteſtants, adds, Cum autem non humanitatis modo, ſed ejuſdem Religionis communionem adeoq; fraternam peritus neceſſitudine cum iis conjunctos nos eſſe fateamur, ſatis fieri a nobis neque noſtro erga Deum efficio, neque fraternæ Charitati neque Religionis ejuſdem profeſſioni poſſe exiſtimavimus, ſi in hac fratrum noſtrorum calamitate ac miſeria ſolo ſenſu doloris afficeremur, niſi etiam ad ſublevanda eorum tot mala inopinata quantum in nobis eſt ſitum, omnem operam noſtram conferemus.* "He is pierced with Grief at

Cromwel's Letter to the Duke of Savoy in their Favour.

" the News of the Sufferings of the *Vandois*, being united to them, not only by the common Ties of Humanity, but by the Profeſſion of the ſame Faith, which obliges him to regard them as his Brethren; and he ſhou'd think himſelf wanting in his Duty to God, to Charity, and

" to his Religion, if he ſhou'd be ſatisfied with pitying them only, whoſe miſerable Condition is enough to raiſe Pity in the moſt barbarous Mind, if he did not exert himſelf to the uſe moſt of his Power to deliver them out of it." Before this Letter arriv'd, the *French* King and the Cardinal had preſs'd the Court of *Savoy* to give Peace to their Proteſtant Subjects. To which King *Charles* the Second's Aunt return'd Anſwer in her Son's Name, *That ſhe cou'd not enough admire to ſee France, and his Eminence in particular, ſo earneſt in behalf of Hereticks, and to endeavour to hinder the Chaiſement of the Duke her Son's rebellious Subjects, out of pure Complaiſance to Cromwel, while the Engliſh Catholics are entirely abandon'd, and languish miſerably under the Yoke of that Tyrant. Cardinal Mazarine reply'd, We muſt leave to God the Care of defending the Cauſe of the Catholics, it being moſt juſt, but that of the Hereticks needs for its Support the Clemency of Princes.* The Title of Royal Highneſs being by Miſtake omitted in the Addreſs of *Cromwel's* Letter to the Duke of *Savoy*, the major part of the Council of *Savoy* was for ſending it back unopen'd. But the Marquis de *Pianezza*, who had more Experience than the reſt, repreſented to them, that *Cromwel* was as Haughty as he was Powerful, and wou'd not let ſuch an Affront go unpuniſh'd; that he wou'd certainly lay *Villa Franca* in Aſhes, and ſet the *Swiſs* Proteſtant Cantons upon *Savoy*; which, with his ſhewing that Royal Highneſs was in the Contents of the Letter, ſatisfied them all, and Peace was made with the *Vandois*, who had all their antient Privileges confirm'd to them, and what had been taken from them reſtor'd.

All the Negotiations of the four Kings, whoſe Reigns are in this Hiſtory, amount not in Value and Reputation to this one of *Cromwel's*. He talk'd *en maitre*, and he prevail'd. But the Credit of *England* was before and after him in ſo low a State, that a Recommendation from thence was enough to ſpoil any Buſineſs it was intended to advance. An *Italian* Popiſh Author obſerves, that *Oliver* did this for the Proteſtants of *Piedmont* at the ſame time that he publiſh'd the moſt ſevere Ediſts againſt the Papiſts in *England*, and not a Power in *Europe* durſt intercede for them.

Cromwel and his Council having paſt an Ordinance for regulating the Court of Chancery, by which the Proceſſes there would be alter'd and expedited, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, Eſq; Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, and *William Lenthall*, Eſq; Maſter of the Rolls, ſcrupled the obeying it, as being contrary to the Oath of Office which they had taken. The Lord Protector, who wou'd be obey'd in all things, demanded the Seal of *Widdrington* and *Whitlock*. *Lenthall* complied, and was continu'd Maſter of the Rolls, though he had ſaid, *He would be hang'd at the Rolls-Gate before he would execute the Ordinance.* Upon this Colonel *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and *John Liſſe*, Eſq; were made Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, — *Fell*, Eſq; Chanceller of the Dutchy, *William Lenthall*, Eſq; Maſter of the Rolls, *John Sadler*, Eſq; *Nathaniel Hobart*, Eſq; *Athur Barnardiston*, Eſq; *Thomas St. Nicholas*, Eſq; *Robert Aldworth*, Eſq; Six Clerks in Chancery. But to ſhew *Widdrington* and *Whitlock* he was not angry with them, he made them both Commiſſioners of the Treafury.

We have ſpoken of *Christina* Queen of *Sweden's* abdicating her Kingdom with an Intention to abdicate her Religion. To this Purpoſe ſhe reſolv'd to go to *Rome*, and to ſee as much as ſhe could in her way thither. As ſhe had a kind

A. D. 1655

Cromwel will not ſee the Queen of Sweden. of

A. D. 1655 of Romantick Genius, the Renown of Cromwel made her very desirous to see a Hero, whose Wisdom and Valour were the Subject of the Discourse of the World. The Lord Clarendon and Mr. Echar'd think King Charles II. highly honour'd by a Visit from that Princess in his Exile in the Territory of Mentz: But it seems the Court of the Protector had other Sentiments of that Honour, and would by no means receive her Visit. The Protector was for something solid in every thing that had Shew, and all the Pains she took to see him were lost. It not being customary for Princes to make Visits before they know they shall be welcome, she sent her Secretary Maldeſchi, an Italian, from Fountainbleau in France to London, to procure an Invitation from Cromwel, who receiv'd Maldeſchi with particular Marks of Respect and Esteem, which flatter'd the Italian with Hopes that the Protector wou'd invite his Mistress to his Court. He often hinted, that her Majesty wou'd be extremely pleas'd with the Sight of so illustrious a Captain, and was almost always talking of his Highness's heroick Qualities. The Protector gave him the Hearing, but wou'd not understand his Meaning: He return'd Compliment for Compliment; and 'twas not long before Maldeſchi perceiv'd his Errand wou'd not succeed. Oliver had three Reasons against inviting her: The Expence of her Stay here; His Repentment of her Apostacy, and the ill Example of her Life and Conversation, too gallant and intriguing for a Puritan Court, which was far from being an Objection to that of Charles II. And Christina had two Reasons for coming, the one to satisfy her Curiosity, which was insatiable, the other, at the Instance of Cardinal Mazarine, to propose a Marriage between one of Oliver's Family and his Niece, which at sight seems impracticable, and wou'd have been the most chymical Proposition she cou'd have made to the Protector,

Menasses the Jew and Cromwel. Who much about the same time had People come out of the East to be Witnesses of his Glory. Menasses ben Israel was deputed, with other chief Men amongst the Jews, to negotiate a Treaty with Oliver for their living and trading in England. The Protector sent for several Ministers to consult with them about the Lawfulness of admitting them, wherein he seems to be over-scrupulous; for if Religion hinder'd us from trading with none but Christians, we must lose the best part of our Commerce. Echar'd assures us, they offer'd Cromwel 200,000 l. for St. Paul's Church, and that the Offer of so much Money for that Cathedral, and Liberty to trade, tempr'd him so strongly, that he look'd upon it as the Cause of God. If I, or any other Lay-Historian, had thus profan'd the awful Majesty of Heaven, it wou'd not have been excusable; but for an Archdeacon, who owes his very Subsistence to the Ministry, and is bound by it to teach others not to take the Lord's Name in vain, to be no more sensible of that Sin, is Matter of Astonishment and Lamentation. But it is so with too many Divines of a certain Denomination; they are us'd so much to Form, that they have little Feeling of the Power of Godliness. His Skill in Politicks and Commerce is equal to his other Knowledge. The Merchants foresaw the Jews would soon engross the Trade of the Nation. He makes their Foresight to be no better than his own. The Jews, who have liv'd and traded here above three score Years, have not engross'd one Trade, instead of which the Nation have been Millions of Money Gainers by them. He then makes some foolish Jest about Oliver's Hopes of converting the Jews, and the People's Fears that the Jews would convert the Christians.

A. D. 1655 But the most ridiculous part of his Story is, that Menasses went to Huntingdon, to enquire at the Brewhouse there, if none of Cromwel's Family came not from some Israelitish Tribe; which, if he had found, the Jews wou'd have acknowledg'd him to be the Messias. I was well pleas'd to find this Passage in the same History with the Account of Oliver's selling his Soul to the Devil, it confirming the Opinion I had conceiv'd of a Writer, whose Judgment and Capacity were capable of such Stuff for History. Oliver gave Menasses 200 Pounds, and permitted the Jews to trade and to reside in England, which they have done ever since, to the great Benefit of our Commerce. His Care of Commerce was exemplary to all future Governments, if they had known what Care was for any thing but their Pleasures and Passions, and those who flatter'd them in them. He and his Council appointed a Committee of Trade, to consider how to improve, order and regulate the Trade and Navigation of the Common-Wealth; upon which Letters were sent to several Persons in this Form,

Sir,

“ His Highness, considering of how great Importance it is to this Nation, that the Trade and Commerce thereof be, by all good Ways and Means, advanc'd and duly regulated, hath, by the Advice of his Council, thought fit to appoint a certain Number of Persons (whose Abilities and Experience have qualified them to be serviceable to their Country herein) to be a Committee for Trade; empowering them to take into Consideration the Trade and Navigation of this Common-wealth, and in what Manner, and by what Ways and Means the same may be encourag'd, improv'd, order'd and regulated: And having named you to be one of that Committee, have thought fit to signify the same unto you, to the end you may be present at their first Meeting, which is appointed to be on the 27th of this Instant November, in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, not doubting of your Readiness to join with the rest of the Committee, in contributing your best Assistance to a Work so highly tending to the publick Good.

Whitehall,
2 Nov, 1655.

Sign'd in the Name, and by
Order of his Highness and
the Council,

Henry Lawrence, President.

Whitlocke informs us, this was a Business of Oliver's much Importance to the Common-wealth, and the Gr. atnes. Protector was earnestly set upon it. At the same Time, the Ratification of the Treaty concluded with France, was deliver'd to the Lord Protector by Monsieur de la Bastide, Envoy from the French King. In this Treaty he wou'd not allow the French King to call himself King of France, but of the French: Whereas he took to himself not only the Title of Protector of England, but also of France: And which is yet more surprising, in the Instrument of the Treaty, the Protector's Name was put before the French King's, Lewis the XIVth. By the Articles of this Treaty, Cromwel was to furnish 6000 Land Men, and 50 Men of War to take the Maritime Towns belonging to the King of Spain in Flanders; on Condition that Dunkirk and Mardyke shou'd, when taken, be put into Cromwel's Hands, That Charles Stuart (for they wou'd not allow him the Stile of King) his two Brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and some say, the Queen, their

Puffendorf de
rebus gestis
Fred. Wil.
Eles.
Brand.
p. 313.

A.D. 1655 their Mother, and their Sister the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, shou'd not remain in *France*. Colonel *William Lockbart*, who had marry'd a Niece of *Cromwel's*, and was reckon'd one of the wisest Ministers of the Age, was sent Ambassador to the *French Court*, and represented to Cardinal *Mazarine*, that there cou'd be no solid Peace between *England* and *France*, while any one of the House of *Stuart* was suffer'd to reside there. The King had withdrawn himself in Time; the Duke of *York* was in the *French Army*; Notice was however given him, that Reasons of State required him to follow the King his Brother, and the Cardinal engag'd Abbot *Montagu*, the Queen Mother's Almoner, to let her know that *Cromwel* demanded she shou'd be obliged to leave *Paris*, and the Court of *France*. He was order'd to offer her the City of *Moulins*, and all the *Boarboinois*, for her and her Daughter's Residence and Maintenance; but the Queen would not accept of the Offer, tho' prest to do it by the President of the Parliament of *Paris*, to whom she said, *What a Shame is it for the King, my Nephew, to endeavour to drive from his Court a poor afflicted Queen, only to please an Usurper, and a Tyrant? This must needs be reckon'd a glorious Thing among the Catholics for the Cardinal who advis'd it.* The King and his two Brothers being sent away, *Cromwel* did not think fit to insist on the sending away the Queen and her Daughter. The Duke of *York* serv'd in the *Spanish Army* against *France*; and the Duke of *Gloucester* remain'd with his Brother at *Cologne*, from whence the two Princes, and their Sister, the Princess of *Orange*, went to the Fair at *Frankfort*. 'Twas in this Progress that Queen *Christina* of *Sweden* visited them in the Castle of *Coningsstein*.

King Charles and his Brothers.

Monfieur, now Sir *Peter Coyet*, he being Knighted by *Oliver*, Ambassador of *Sweden*, at the Court of the Protector, having concluded a Treaty with his Commissioners, Colonel *Ficmes*, *Bulstrode Whitlock*, Esq; *Walker Strickland*, Esq; and Mr. *Thurloe*, Secretary of State, gave a noble Entertainment to the Lords of the Court and others, As the *Dutch* Ambassador, the *Portugal* Ambassador, the Elector of *Brandenburgh's* Minister, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Ossory*, Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, the Lord *St. John*, the Lord *Ogylvie*, two or three other young Lords, the Lord *George Fleetwood*, Count *Holac*, a *German*, and a great Number of Persons of Quality, which I mention to shew that the *English* Nation began to have a good Understanding with one another, and a mutual Acquiescence in the present Government.

Ordinances.

The Prefs, abus'd by all Factions, was restrain'd by an Order of Council, that no Person shou'd presume to publish in print any Matter of publick News or Intelligence without Leave and Approbation of the Secretary of State. Another Order was publish'd against Printing unlicens'd and scandalous Books and Pamphlets, and for regulating the Prefs.

A Proclamation was issu'd requiring all who had been of the King's Party to depart out of the Lines of Communication. Indeed their frequent Conspiracies, most of them Assassination Plots, oblig'd the Government not only to have a watchful Eye over them, but to raise an additional Force of Horse in every County to observe their Motions, and the Motions of the Disaffected of all Denominations, who had no other Occasion of Disgust against the Management of Affairs, than that they were not the Managers. This Charge was paid by the Tenth of the Royalists Lands. Their Writers call it *Decimation*, and it was a very tender one, considering the

Mischiefs they had been the Authors of since the End of the Civil War. The Protector's Reason for loading them with the Burthen is unanswerable. *The Charge shall be laid upon those who have occasion'd it, and not upon the honest Party, who have already been so much Sufferers.* The Malecontents knew the Laws in Force, if they disobey'd them, they knew the Penalty; if they put the Government to Charge, shou'd the Innocent defray it? And yet hear how they roar against this reasonable Imposition upon them! One wou'd think they were decimated indeed, as in the History of the Rebellion, and *Echard's* History, that in the Military Sense of the Word, every tenth Man's Throat was cut.

This Year *Cromwel* receiv'd a Present of six Oliver fine Coach Horses from the Count of *Oldenburg*, thrown of the House of *Denmark*; and being sometimes from a Coach-box. troubled with the Stone, he wou'd drink great Quantities of *Diuretick* Liquors, as his Physician, Dr. *Bates*, tells us in his *Elenchus*. After he had drunk them, his Custom was to use some violent Exercise to quicken their Passage. It was for this Purpose he got into his Coach-Box in *Hyde-Park*, leaving *Thurlo* in the Coach, and wou'd needs drive those fiery *Oldenburgh* Horses, which at the Snap of his Whip ran away, flung the Postilion, and *Oliver* himself from the Box upon the Pole, from whence falling to the Ground, his Coat was so intangled, that he cou'd not clear himself, but was dragg'd along till his Horse-Guards disengag'd him. A Pistol he had in his Pocket went off, without doing him any hurt. The Author of the *Compleat History* has a Libel in Rhyme on this Occasion, which does not seem to be any Temptation to Wit and Mirth, if their merry Fellows and Wits could have said any thing that was worth remembring.

In *Ireland* and *Scotland* Things are all quiet, except some Hubbub in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, among the Followers of *Glencairne*, *Atbol*, *Seaforth*, *Middleton*, who made some Opposition, but were at last entirely suppress'd.

At the latter End of this Year, the Lord *Durham* Protector ordered a Scheme to be drawn for erecting and endowing a College, in the City of *Durham*, for the Convenience of the Northern Students. The Reverend and Learned Mr. *Richard Frankland*, A. M. was Fellow of this College. Among the infinite Number of notorious and absurd Falsities that the King's Party have said and written of *Cromwel*, nothing is more false and impertinent than that he was an Enemy to Learning, which Bishop *Burnet* assures us he lov'd and encourag'd.

The *Spaniards*, upon News of the Loss of *Jamaica*, seiz'd all the *English* Effects in *Spain*, which if considerable was the Fault of the Merchants; for they had Notice, and Time enough to remove them, and the Protector had sent particular Orders to General *Blake* to secure their Trade, and give them all possible Assistance.

Having mention'd General *Blake's* Orders to A.D. 1656 cruise upon the Coasts of *Spain*, and carry on a Maritime War there, we will remember an Action of his, which shew'd his Zeal both for the Religion and Honour of his Country, just before he receiv'd those Orders, and while the Peace subsisted yet between the two Nations of *England* and *Spain*.

General *Blake* being at *Malaga*, some of his Seamen going ashore, met the Host carrying His Zeal for the Religion and Honour of his Country. about, and not only paid no Respect to it, but laugh'd at those who did. One of the *Spanish* Priests put the People on resenting this Indignity, and they fell upon them, and beat them severely. When they return'd to their Ships, they complain'd of this Usage; upon which *Blake* sent

A. D. 1656 sent a Trumpet to the Viceroy to demand the Priest, who was the chief Instrument in that ill Usage. The Viceroy answer'd, he had no Authority over the Priests, and so cou'd not dispose of them. General *Blake*, upon that, sent him Word, *He wou'd not enquire who had the Power to send the Priest to him; but if he were not sent within three Hours, he wou'd burn their Town.* The Spaniards hearing this, oblig'd the Viceroy to send the Priest to *Blake*, and he justified himself upon the petulant Behaviour of the Seamen. *Blake* answer'd, if he had sent a Complaint to him of it, he wou'd have punish'd them severely, since he wou'd not suffer his Men to affront the establish'd Religion of any Place at which he touch'd, but he took it ill that he set on the Spaniards to do it. For he wou'd have all the World to know, *That an English Man was only to be punish'd by an English Man*; so he treated the Priest civilly, and sent him back, being satisfied that he had him in his Power. *Cromwel* was much delighted with this, and read the Letters in Council with great Satisfaction; saying, *he hop'd he should make the Name of an English Man as great as ever that of a Roman had been.* But alas! all those Hopes vanish'd with him, and twenty Years after his Death, the Name of an English Man was as inglorious as it was twenty Years before his Protectorate; so much is this Nation indebted to the Governments that went before him, and came after him. *Cromwel* did not heartily affect *Blake*, who had no other Interest in view, but that of the Publick, and never affected his Government. It was for this Reason that Colonel *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, was sent to command under him in the Streights, to gain Experience in Sea Affairs, and get an Interest in the Seamen: *Blake*, after War was declar'd, block'd up the Port of *Cadiz*, whither the Spanish Plate Fleet us'd Yearly to come and unlade; hoping to intercept them at their Return. *Blake* lay before the Harbour almost all the Winter, but cou'd not provoke the Spaniards, who had then there a Squadron of Men of War secur'd by Forts and Castles in the Island. The Spaniards were in Hopes to tire out the English, and that want of Water and Provisions wou'd oblige them to quit their Coasts, but they were plentifully supply'd with both in *Wyer's Bay* in *Portugal*. The Admirals *Blake* and *Montague* were gone to this Bay, when Captain, afterwards Sir *Richard Stayer*, who was left with seven Ships at the Mouth of the Harbour, spied the Spanish Plate Fleet making directly for *Cadiz*. *Stayer* was somewhat to the Leeward, but he bore up in the Head of them, with all the Sail he cou'd make, and in a few Hours time, himself in the *Speaker*, the *Bridgewater* and *Plymouth* Frigates, got up with the Spaniards. With these three Ships, while the rest were behind, *Stayer* bravely fought eight Spanish Men of War and Galleons, within four Leagues of *Cadiz*. The Admiral, *Don Marco del Porto*, with 600,000 Pieces of Eight aboard, ran his Ship on Shoar. The Vice-Admiral, in which were 1200,000 Pieces of Eight, and another Galleon were fir'd; one designedly by the Spaniards, and another by Accident. In the former the Marquis of *Badajoz*, Viceroy of *Mexico*, with his Wife and eldest Daughter, who was to have been married to the Duke of *Medina Celi*, perished in the Flames. But his other Daughter, his two Sons, and near a Hundred more, were saved by the English. The Rear-Admiral, with 2,000,000 Pieces of Eight aboard, was taken and secured, as also another Ship richly laden with Hides and Cochineal. A Man of War and an Advice Boat got into *Gibraltar*, and the other two Ships ran ashore and bulg'd.

Blake's
Ships take
the Span-
ish Gal-
leons.

Six of these Eight were destroy'd, or made Prize. A. D. 1656 Admiral *Montague* was order'd home with the Plate Ships, and coming to *Portsmouth*, the Silver was taken out and carry'd by Land in many Carts to *London*, and so through the City to the Tower, where it was coin'd. As there never had been any thing like a Prize brought to *England* in the two former Reigns, or any worth remembering, This Sight occasion'd great Discourse and Joy, and the Protector, whose Glory was so radiant before, receiv'd a new Increase of it by this Atchievement.

All *Europe* was so sensible of his Power, that the *Oliver* re- Distress'd in all Parts of it flew to him for Refuge, ^{French} and found it even when their Case was most desperate, as that of the Protestant Inhabitants of the ^{Prote-} City of *Nismes* in *France*. There arose a Dif- ^{stants.} ference between the Burghers, who were mostly Hugonots, the Magistrates, and the Bishop, which growing tumultuary, the Intendant of the Province repair'd thither to prevent an Insurrection. When he came there, the Inhabitants oppos'd him, and Preparations were made to reduce them by Force. The Protestants in *France* fearing to be involv'd in the Guilt of the Mutiny at *Nismes*, and these Burghers expecting severe Chastisement, applied to *Cromwel* to intercede for them. This was done very secretly, and the Protector, with equal Secrecy, assur'd them of his Protection, and immediately dispatch'd a trusty Agent with this Letter to Cardinal *Mazarine*. *Eminentissimo Cardinali Mazarino. Eminentissime Domine Cardinalis, cum nobilem hunc virum cum literis, quarum exemplar hic inclusum est, ad Regem mittere necessare statuissem, tum ei ut Eminentiam vestram meo nomine, salutaret, simul in mandatis dedi, certasque res vobiscum communicandas ejus fidei commissi. Quibus in rebus eminentissimam rogo vestram, uti summam ei fidem habere velit, utpote in quo ego summam fiduciam reposerim. Eminentie vestrae studiosissimus OLIVERIUS Protector Rep. Angliae Alba Aula* 26 Decemb. 1656.

To his Eminence the Lord Cardinal Mazarine.

" Having thought necessary to dispatch this
" Gentleman to the King, to deliver him the
" inclosed Letter; I have also recommended to
" him to Salute your Eminence on my Part, and
" have charg'd him to communicate to you cer-
" tain Affairs which I have entrusted him with.
" I therefore pray your Highness to give Credit
" to what he shall say, having an entire Con-
" fidence in him. Your Eminence's most affe-
" ctionate, *Oliver*, Protector of the Common-wealth
of *England*, *Whitehall*, &c. To which he ad-
ded a Postscript in *French* of his own Hand-
writing; *Je viens d'apprendre la revolte des ha-
bitants de Nismes. Je recommande a votre Emi-
nence les Interets de Reformez.* " I have been
" inform'd of the Tumult at *Nismes*, I recom-
" mend to your Eminence the Interests of the
" Reformed." He also sent his Instructions to
Lockhart to second the Sollicitations of the A-
gent, and if he prevail'd not, to come away im-
mediately. *Mazarine* complain'd of this way of *Mazarine*
Proceeding as too imperious, but he fear'd *Crom-* afraid of
wel too much to quarrel with him; and the Car- ^{him.}
dinal sent Orders to the Intendant to make up
the Matter as well as he cou'd. *Wellwood*, tells
us, Cardinal *Mazarine* wou'd change Countenance
whenever he heard him nam'd, so that it past in-
to a Proverb in *France*, *The Cardinal is not so
much afraid of the Devil as of Oliver Crom-
wel.* His Ambassador at *Paris*, Mr. *Lockhart*,
told Bishop *Burnet*, that when he was after-
wards sent Ambassador by King *Charles*, he found
he had nothing of that Regard that was paid him
in

A. D. 1656 in Cromwel's Time. At which I wonder not, nor at the mean, or rather contemptible Figure the *English* Ambassadors made in all the Courts of *Europe*, from the Year 1602 to the Year 1642, and from the Year 1660 to the Revolution. For all *Europe* saw, that Princes, whose Heads were turn'd with Pedantry, Bigottry, Luxury and Superstition, wou'd never vindicate the Honour of the Nation, or regard the Interests of their Subjects: In short, that they wou'd do Foreigners no Hurt, whatever Hurt they did the *English*. *Boreel* told King *Charles* II. as much, as will be seen when we come to that King's second *Dutch* War.

The Lord *Brogbill* was one of *Cromwel's* Cabinet Counsellors, and was sent for from *Ireland* to go to *Scotland*, and be President of the Council there, where he was soon weary of the Country and Company, or rather of so great Distance from Court, tho' he had a Salary of 2000 Pounds a Year. The Author of his Manuscript Life pretends, that he abhor'd *Oliver's* Practices, tho' he was a chief Agent under him. But that Author, who turn'd Churchman after the *Bartholomew* Act, prevaricates in it, or was impos'd upon by the Information his Patron gave him; for no Man had the Confidence of *Cromwel* more than this Lord *Brogbill*, afterwards Earl of *Orrery*, till the Protector grew cold in his Behaviour towards him, upon his Uneasiness in the *Scots* Service; tho' they were both reconciled again; and the Lord *Brogbill* was the Person who advis'd him to take upon him the Stile and Dignity of King, expressing to him, that it was impossible to govern this Kingdom, that had been so long accustom'd to Monarchy, without Kingly Authority. *Cromwel* very well relish'd the Motion, tho' his Party, and some even of his Family, did not; and upon their leaving him in that Design, he gave into another, which is hinted at by Bishop *Burnet*, who had it from the Earl of *Orrery* himself; and it is thus told by his Chaplain, who had it from him more at large. The Lord *Brogbill* keeping Correspondence with some about the King, put them upon founding his Majesty's Inclinations, as to accommodating Matters with *Cromwel*, by marrying his youngest Daughter the Lady *Frances*, and receiving Advice that the King's Inclinations were very favourable, he procured Permission to propose it to the Protector, which he did in this Manner, it being too delicate an Affair to be fallen upon directly. The Lord *Brogbill* first acquainted *Cromwel's* Wife and Daughter with it, that a Rumour of it might be whisper'd about, and he report it to *Oliver* as such. So coming one Day out of the City to Court, he had Admittance into *Cromwel's* Closet, who ask'd him whence he came, and what News he had brought? The Lord *Brogbill* said, He came out of the City, and had heard strange News. *Cromwel* was impatient to know what it was, and the more for that *Brogbill* seem'd to hesitate, and to be loth to tell him, saying however with a Smile, 'tis strange News. The Protector press'd him so earnestly that there was no avoiding it, had it not been his Intention to tell him. Perhaps, says the Lord *Brogbill*, you will be offended. I will not, reply'd *Oliver* hastily, be it what it will. Then *Brogbill* in a laughing way said, All the News in the City is, that you are going to restore the King, and marry him to Lady *Frances*. *Cromwel*, with a pleasant Countenance, cry'd, And what did the Fools think of it? The Lord *Brogbill* answer'd, They all like it, and think it the wisest thing you can do, if you can accomplish it. *Oliver* said, looking stedfastly upon him, Do you believe so too? *Brogbill* finding the Proposal was grateful to him, reply'd, I do really believe it is the best thing you can do to secure your self.

A. D. 1656 Upon which the Protector walk'd up and down the Room with his Hands behind him in a musing Posture, and turning about upon Lord *Brogbill*, cry'd, Why do you believe it? His Lordship then represented to him, "That he cou'd make little Dependance on his own Party, who, upon every slight Occasion, were apt to murmur and grumble; and the very same Persons who were so eager to put him up, were now the most likely to pull him down: That the King was in such great Exigencies, he wou'd be ready enough to hearken unto any Propositions, rather than live always in Exile and Misery: That he might make his own Terms, and retain the same Power, by being General of all the Forces, during his Life: That all the Royalists would join with him in it: That if his Daughter had Children by the King, which was likely enough, he wou'd thereby be endear'd to King and Country, and have such Interest in the Crown, as none wou'd ever attempt any thing against him, having the King his Son in Law, and the Heir apparent to the Crown his Grandson, with all the Power of the Kingdom in his Hands, which wou'd establish his Greatness in his Family after him; whereas, if he neglected the doing this, he cou'd not expect to transmit it to his Posterity, or indeed to preserve it as long as he liv'd.

Cromwel heard him with great Attention, and taking two or three Turns in the Room said, The King will never forgive me the Death of his Father. Sir, says *Brogbill*, you were one of many who were concern'd in it, but you will be alone in the Merit of restoring him; employ some body to sound him upon it, and see how he will take it: I'll do it, if you think fit. The Protector told him No, adding, He will never forgive me his Father's Death; besides, he is so damnablely debauch'd (this is Bishop *Burnet's* Account) he will undo us all. But as debauch'd as he was, I have heard him a hundred times call'd our most religious and gracious King in very sacred and solemn Places. Here the Discourse dropp'd. *Brogbill* finding he did not fall in with it at once, durst not tell him what Steps he had taken, for fear of giving him Offence. Before he left *Whitehall*, he saw Madam, the Protector's Consort, and Lady *Frances*, who were both very earnest for the Business, and as soon as he came to them, ask'd how he had succeeded. He told them what had pass'd between him and *Oliver*, and that they must use their Interest to bring him to it, or 'twou'd come to nothing. Mrs. *Cromwel* try'd more than once to persuade him, but his Answer was, The King is not such a Fool as to forgive me the Death of his Father; and they cou'd get nothing else from him.

Monk, *Cromwel's* main Tool while he was in *Scotland*, before my Lord *Brogbill* went thither, had shewn all Favour to the Remonstrants (so the Independents in *Scotland* were call'd) and imprison'd many of the Kirk Ministers, who were generally well inclin'd to the King. *Brogbill* eas'd them of the Difficulties they lay under when *Monk* was amongst them; for which they deputed Mr. *Douglas* and Mr. *David Dicks* to return him Thanks; but *Gilespie*, Head of the Remonstrants, articul'd against him to *Cromwel*, who clear'd his Lordship at the first Hearing after his Return to *London*, when the Protector told him, There's a great Friend of yours in Town. *Brogbill* saying Who? *Oliver* reply'd, The Lord *Ormond*: He came to Town such a Day, and is at such a Place, naming it. The Lord *Brogbill* said, I know nothing of it. *Cromwel* bad him send *Ormond* Notice that he knew where he was.

A.D. 1656 *Brogbill* went to him himself, and acquainted him with what the Protector had told him; upon which the Marquess hasten'd away: But his Lady's Papers were seiz'd on, she living then in London, and having no Friend to speak for her, apply'd to Lord *Brogbill*, who immediately went to the Protector to interceed for her. *Oliver* had by those Papers discover'd that she, as well as her Husband, held Intelligence with his Enemies; and as soon as he saw *Brogbill*, he said angrily, *You have undertaken indeed for the Quietness of a fine Person! The Lady Ormond is conspiring with her Husband against me, and by your Procurement I have allow'd her 2000 Pounds a Year of the Marquess's Estate, because they are Sufferers in Ireland. She's a wicked Woman, and shall not have a Farthing of it. My Lord Brogbill* seeing him in a Passion, return'd a soft Answer, which seldom fail'd to mollifie him, *I am sorry my Lady Ormond has given Occasion for such Disturbance, I cannot well tell what to think of it, and humbly desire to know what Grounds you have for so severe a Censure? Grounds enough,* reply'd *Cromwel*, *There*, giving him a Letter, read it, 'tis her own Hand. Lord *Brogbill* looking upon it, said, *You are mistaken, it is not Lady Ormond's Hand, but the Lady Isabella Thynn's, between whom and Lord Ormond there has been an Intrigue. How will you prove that,* cry'd *Cromwel*? *Easily,* reply'd *Brogbill*, *for I have some Letters of Lady Isabella's; which he shew'd Oliver, who being satisfy'd of his Mistake, the Storm against the Lady Ormond blew over.*

The Protector's Intelligence. We shall have Occasion to speak of the exact Intelligence which the Protector had of Affairs he concern'd himself in: An infallible Proof of the Justice of his Judgment, and the Depth of his Policy. Tho' it did not cost him 200,000 Pounds a Year, as *Echard* assures us, it did cost him more Money in one Year than probably the Royal House of *Stuart* spent on that Article in their four Reigns; for having no Wars, nor no Intention of Wars, I don't see of what Use Intelligence could be to them, or that it would have been Policy in them to pay any thing for knowing what, when known, they intended not to trouble themselves about.

The following Incident is touch'd upon by *Bishop Burnet*. Lord *Brogbill* once walking in a Chamber with the Protector, saw an ugly, ill-look'd Fellow peeping thro' the Arras Hangings; and spying him before *Cromwel* did, he immediately drew his Sword and ran at him, supposing him to be some Rogue come to do Mischief. The Protector seeing him draw his Sword with such a Fury, ask'd *what he meant?* His Lordship answer'd, *I saw some body look through the Hangings like a Villain;* and going towards the Place, *Cromwel* follow'd him, saw the Fellow over Lord *Brogbill's* Shoulders, and cry'd, *A Friend, my Lord, a Friend,* desiring him to walk back again, and he would come to him presently. *Brogbill* left them talking together, and when *Oliver* return'd, he said, *I'll write a Line or two, and be with you immediately,* which he did; and then my Lord ask'd him, *Whether he might know who that Fellow was?* The Protector reply'd, *He is one to whom I have given 1000 Pounds for Intelligence: He has now brought me Word of a rich Dutch Ship on our Coasts, which has Spanish Money aboard, and Measures are taken for intercepting it;* which was accordingly effected by Captain, afterwards *Sir Jeremy Smith*, who came up with her as she pass'd by *Dover*. *Smith* demanded Leave to search her: The Dutch Captain answer'd, *None but his Masters might search his Ship.* *Smith* sent him Word he had set up his Glass, and if he did not submit before it was

run out, he would board her. The Dutchman seeing 'twas in vain to resist, suffer'd the English to search her, and they found all the Spanish Money, which was a prodigious Treasure. *Bishop Burnet* tells us, *Oliver* knew every thing that pass'd in the King's little Court, and yet not one of his Spies were discover'd but Manning above-mention'd.

It will be Mirth to the Reader, after he has seen what Merit the Lord *Clarendon* takes to render a himself in detecting that Traitor's Correspondence with *Thurloe*, and how sharp the King's Counsellors were in detecting Spies, and keeping Councils, to find that he himself was the very Person by whose Means *Cromwel* had most of his Intelligence from the King's Court. After this bold Charge, I must produce better Authority than my own, and it is in the Words of the *Bishop of Salisbury*. *Hist. p. 65.*

Oliver understood that one *Sir Richard Willis* was Chancellor *Hyde's* chief Confident, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the Party submitted, looking on him as an able and wise Man, in whom they confided abso- lutely. So he found a Way to talk with him; he said, *He did not intend to hurt any of the Party, his Design was rather to save them from Ruin: They were apt, after their Cups* (you see what sort of Men they were) *to run into foolish Plots, which signify'd nothing but to ruin those who were engag'd in them: He knew they consulted him in every thing. All he desir'd of him was to know those Plots, that he might so disconcert them that none might suffer for them. If he clapp'd any of them up in Prison, it should be only for a little Time, and they should be interrogated only about some trifling Discourse, but never about the Business they had engag'd in. He offer'd Willis what- ever he would accept of, and to give it when, or as he pleas'd.* They struck up a Bargain, and none was trusted with this but his Secretary *Thurloe*, who was a very dextrous Man at getting Intelligence. Thus *Cromwel* had all the King's Party in a Net, and, by the History of the Rebellion, one would think they had all *Cromwel's* Party at Mercy, and whenever they had Courage enough to shew themselves, the *Cromwellians* would fly faster from them than they us'd to run after them.

The Spanish War exhausting the Treasury, notwithstanding the Numbers and Riches of the Prizes that were taken, the Protector thought it necessary to call a Parliament; for which Writs were issu'd, and a Day set for their Meeting, the 17th of September, when they met accordingly at *Westminster-Abbey*, where they heard a Sermon preach'd by the learned and eminent *Dr. Owen*, Dean of *Christ-church*, and Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, who had in him more of the Gentleman and of the Divine, than any of the Doctors who dealt so insolently with him after the Restoration. The Sermon over, the Lord Protector and the Members repair'd to the Painted-Chamber, where, says *Echard*, he made a dark Speech to them. Prodigious! that Darkness it self should discover Darkness! But it was not a Discovery of his; the Author of the *Compleat History* led him into that Term, tho' these illumina'd are eternally groping in the Mazes of false History; they insult all other Historians, as ignorant and blind. He made a short Speech, and directed them to make Choice of a Speaker. *Ludlow*, who is far from favouring those Times, informs us, That unwarrantable Practices were made use of to get a Court Parliament; but it is very obvious, that the like Means were us'd to get in as many Members as possible who were Enemies to the present Government;

A. D. 1656 Government; and unless the Protector had resolv'd to be *seſo de ſe*, and murder his own Authority, he muſt have been a Fool (which the wife Cavaliers have not often call'd him) to have ſuffer'd them to ſir, if he had not been ſure of them. Somebody put it into the Head of *Monk* to tell the Parliament, a Month or two before he brought in the King, *No Parliament admits new Members to ſit, without a previous Engagement*, which is what *Oliver* inſiſted upon, and for which his Opponents of all Denominations, ſay, he was a greater Tyrant than the Greek *Agathocles*, or the Roman *Nero*; but they do not ſeem to have a clear Notion of Tyranny, and till they do, it wou'd be Labour loſt to answer them.

As the Members went into the Houſe, they receiv'd Certificates in this Form.

Theſe are to certify, that Bulſtrode Whitlock, Eſq; of the County of Bucks, is return'd, by Indenture, to be one of the Knights in this preſent Parliament for the ſaid County, and approv'd by his Highneſſ's Council.

Sept. 17. Nath. Taylor, Clerk of the Common-wealth in Chancery.
1656.

Third Parliament.

All thoſe who had this Certificate, were ſuch as had ſubſcrib'd the *Engagement*, to make no Alteration in the *Government*; and the following are,

Secluded Members.

Thoſe Members who were ſecluded for not taking that *Engagement*, and for publiſhing a Declaration againſt it. Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg*, *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; *Herbert Morley*, Eſq; *John Bulkley*, Eſq; *John Burch*, Eſq; *George Fenwick*, Eſq; *Sir Anthony Irby*, *Thomas Lyſter*, Eſq; *Thomas Saunders*, Eſq; *Henry Darley*, Eſq; *John Weaver*, Eſq; *John Goodwyn*, Eſq; *Francis Thorpe*, Eſq; *John Sombby*, Eſq; *Richard Greenhil*, Eſq; *Richard Browne*, Eſq; *Thomas Adams*, Eſq; *Richard Darley*, Eſq; *Thomas St. Nicholas*, Eſq; *William James*, Eſq; *John Boyſe*, Eſq; *Charles Hall*, Eſq; *John Jones*, Eſq; *William Wolley*, Eſq; *Richard Radcliff*, Eſq; *William Saville*, Eſq; *Sir Theophilus Biddulph*, *Sir Henry Mildmay*, *William Welby*, Eſq; *Charles Huſſey*, Eſq; *Sir Ralph Hare*, *John Buxton*, Eſq; *Edward Hooper*, Eſq; *William Fiſher*, Eſq; *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; *Sir Harbottle Grimston*, *Sir John Hobart*, *Edmund Harvey*, Eſq; *Charles Huſſey*, Eſq; *John Sicklemore*, Eſq; *William Doyley*, Eſq; *Oliver Raymund*, Eſq; *Jeremy Bentley*, Eſq; *Sir Philip Woodhouſe*, *William Blois*, Eſq; *William Gibbs*, Eſq; *Thomas Southerton*, Eſq; *Thomas Bowes*, Eſq; *Sir Edward Harley*, *John Hanson*, Eſq; *Clement Throgmorton*, Eſq; *Daniel Wall*, Eſq; *John Buckland*, Eſq; *Robert Long*, Eſq; ----- *Salisbury*, Eſq; *Edward Tooker*, Eſq; *William Morris*, Eſq; *John Hale*, Eſq; *Edward Turner*, Eſq; *Daniel Shatterden*, Eſq; *Thomas Styles*, Eſq; *Richard Beale*, Eſq; *Samuel Moore*, Eſq; *Thomas Minors*, Eſq; *Samuel Jones*, Eſq; *John Aſton*, Eſq; *Andrew Lloyd*, Eſq; *Richard Wyren*, Eſq; *Charles Lloyd*, Eſq; *Sir Anthony Aſbley Cooper*, *Henry Wroth*, Eſq; *Richard Lucy*, Eſq; *John Witwrong*, Eſq; *George Coworthorp*, Eſq; *Samuel Got*, Eſq; *John Northcot*, Eſq; *John Young*, Eſq; *John Dodderidge*, Eſq; *Henry Hungersford*, Eſq; *Challoner Chute*, Eſq; *John Silliard*, Eſq; *Waher Moyle*, Eſq; *Walter Vincent*, Eſq; *John Gell*, Eſq; *Henry Athlington*, Eſq; *Henry Tempeſt*, Eſq; *James Clavering*, Eſq; *John Stankope*, Eſq; *Penelton Whaley*, Eſq; *Abel Barker*, Eſq; *John Bowyer*, Eſq; *John Fagg*, Eſq; *Rowland Litton*, Eſq; *John Gore*, Eſq; *Thomas Rivers*, Eſq; *John Thurland*, Eſq; *Henry Peckham*, Eſq; *Richard Hinton*, Eſq; Theſe Gentlemen preſented

a Petition to the ſitting Members, acquainting them, that being choſen by the Country to ſerve with them, they were ready to diſcharge their Duty, but were prevented by the Power of the Sword: Upon which a Committee was appointed to inquire of the Protector and his Council, concerning the Reaſons of that Proceeding, who gave them for Answer, That if the Perſons complaining wou'd addreſs themſelves to them, they ſhou'd be reliev'd, and they were order'd to addreſs to them.

Sir Thomas Widdrington being choſen Speaker, the Houſe appointed their Grand Committees for Elections, Religion, Grievances, Courts of Juſtice and Trade. A Bill was read, *For renouncing and diſannulling the pretended Title of Charles Stuart*; which Act paſt in a few Days, and the Houſe

Reſolv'd,

That the War againſt the Spaniard was undertaken upon juſt and neceſſary Grounds, and for the Good of the People of this Common-wealth, and the Parliament doth approve thereof, and will, by God's Bleſſing, aſſiſt his Highneſſ therein.

General *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, coming into the Houſe, took his Seat, and had their Thanks for his great and good Services done at Sea.

On the 27th of *October*, the Lord Protector came to the *Painted-Chamber*, and ſent a Serjeant at Arms to give Notice to the Houſe, that he was come. The Speaker, and the whole Houſe went to the *Painted-Chamber*, where the Protector, in the Preſence of the Lord Preſident *Lawrence*, the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, *Fiennes* and *Liſte*, and the two Lord Chief Juſtices *Glynne* and *St John*, the Maſter of the Rolls, *Lenthal*, the Lords of the Treafury, *Montague Whitlock Sydenham*, and the reſt of the Judges, gave his Conſent to the following Bills. *An Act for renouncing and diſannulling the pretended Title of Charles Stuart. An Act for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries. An Act for the Security of his Highneſſ the Lord Protector's Perſon. An Act for Exportation of ſeveral Commodities of the Breed and Growth of this Common-wealth.* When the Protector had given his Aſſent to theſe Bills, he ſaid, *As it has been the Cuſtom of the chief Governor, to acknowledge the Care and Kindneſſ of the Commons, upon ſuch Occaſions; ſo I do very heartily acknowledge your Kindneſſ herein.*

The Major Generals in the ſeveral Counties, having by themſelves, or their Deputies, given great Diſguſt to the People, were put down by this Parliament, *John Claypole*, Eſq; who had marry'd *Oliver's* beloved Daughter, *Lady Elizabeth*, being the firſt that mov'd for it; by which the Protector's Diſpoſition in that Buſineſs was conjectur'd.

The Account that *Echard* and others give of the Heretics and Blaſphemies of *James Naylor* the Quaker, is deny'd by all that Fraternity, who repreſent him as a plain Man, of great Zeal, and no great Capacity. Mr. *Pen*, Mr. *Archidae*, Mr. *Ellwood*, eminent Men among the Quakers, whom I knew intimately, have ſpoken of him thus to me. *Echard* and the Eccleſiaſticks take infinite Pleaſure in telling us he was condemn'd to be whipp'd by the Hang-man, to be pillory'd, to be ſigmatiz'd with the Letter B, to have his Tongue bor'd thro', to be carry'd to Briſtol, and convey'd thro' the City on a Horſe bare back'd, his Face to the Tail, and his Body to be there whipp'd.

The

A.D. 1656 The *Ecclesiasticks*, instead of melting with Com-
passion at this lavish and barbarous Sentence, say
with *Echard*, 'twas with some Reproach to hu-
mane Nature, that his Followers admir'd him;
as if all humane Nature was not liable to Frail-
ty, and Fools were not apt to admire a Fool. If
this Maxim had not been true, there are several
Histories which wou'd have been waste Paper,
almost as soon as printed. Mr. *Whitlock*, with
the Sentiments of a Layman, a Lawyer, and an
English Man, observes, *It was thought by many,*
he was too fiercely prosecuted. A Word like this,
is not in the *Compleat History*, or in the Arch-
deacon's; which shews us what Spirit these Men
are of. Had they order'd *Shaving, Bleeding, Phy-*
sick, Fasting, and some hard Labour, it wou'd
have done every whit as well, and sav'd the
Scourging and Mangling, which is indeed a Re-
proach to humane Nature as it is, that there
shou'd be those, whose Calling is to teach Cha-
rity and Love, that are not sensible of it.

A.D. 1657 In the Beginning of the Year ensuing, a Plot
was discover'd, which, like all the Cavalier Plots,
was to terminate in Murder. For tho' they durst
no more think of fair Means, and of meeting the
Protector in the Field, they had Rage enough
to thirst after his Blood, and more than once con-
spir'd to assassinate him.

Syndercomb's Plot. *Miles Syndercomb* and one *Cecil*, tamper'd with
Troop, a Soldier of *Oliver's* Life-Guard, to kill
the Lord Protector, and burn *Whitehall*. *Troop*
seem'd to joyn with them in the Plot, but dis-
cover'd it in the Beginning; so *Cromwel* had
Notice of the Conspirators Contrivances, till he
thought it time to sieze and punish them. The
burning *Whitehall* was laid aside, and 'twas re-
solv'd to shoot him as he pass'd to *Hampton Court*,
near the very Place where the Successors to those
Cavaliers conspir'd to shoot King *William*; a nar-
row Pass beyond *Turnham-Green*. The Con-
spirators had provided a Blunderbuss, loaden
with twelve Bullets, which was to be fir'd out
of an Arbor near the Road. *Troop* told all,
Syndercomb was apprehended; the Parliament
appointing a Day of Thanksgiving for the Dis-
covery of the Plot, resolv'd to wait on the Pro-
tector to congratulate the Mercy and Deliverance.
On the 9th of *February*, the Assassin *Syndercomb*
was try'd before the Lord Chief Justice *Glyme*,
who declar'd, that *by the Common Law, to com-*
pass or imagine the Death of the chief Magistrate,
by what Name soever he was call'd, whether Lord
Protector, or otherwise, is High Treason, and that
the Stat. 25. Edward III. was only declaratory of
the Common Law; which is said to be a very un-
just Interpretation of that Statute, tho' it is so
agreeable to common Sense, that the Intention
of the Law was the Preservation of the chief Ma-
gistrate, whatever Name he went by. The Rea-
der is doubtless satisfy'd, that I cite nothing out
of the Lord *Clarendon's* History to prove it false
only, for that wou'd be citing the whole Book,
but to shew where it is improbable, incredible,
and sometimes impertinent, as in this Passage.
Syndercomb being condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn
and quarter'd, *Oliver caus'd him to be poison'd,*
as not daring to bring him to Justice. It is be-
low Reflection. The Assassin's Sister was with
him the Night before he was to be executed, and
it is thought, brought him Poison, for he was
found dead in his Bed the next Morning, drawn
naked at a Horse's Tail, to the Gallows where
he shou'd have been hang'd, and his Body bury'd
under it, with a Stake driven thro' it. Among
other Characters in the History of the Rebellion,
is this of Mr. *Syndercomb*. *He was a very stout*
Man, his Behaviour was so resolute at his Examina-
tion and Trial, as if he thought he should still be

Synder-
comb's
Chara-
cter,
by the Earl
of Claren-
don.

A.D. 1657 able to murder the Usurper. His Carriage and
Words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid
the Judgment. It is glorious for those Heroes who
have a Place in this Historian's Panegyrics that
the Memory of Mr. *Syndercomb* has also a Share
of that Glory.

The Speaker, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, being
indispos'd, *Bulstrode Whitlocke*, Esq; was ap-
pointed Speaker during his Indisposition, and
led to the Chair by Colonel *Sydenham*, and Ma-
jor General *Howard*. About a Week after, *Feb. 6.*
there was a great Meeting of learned Men at
his House at *Chelsea*, pursuant to this Order of
Parliament.

Order'd, "That it be refer'd to a Committee
"to send for and advise with Dr. *Walton*, Mr.
" *Hughes*, Mr. *Castle*, Mr. *Clerk*, Mr. *Poulk*, Dr.
" *Cudworth*, and such others as they shall think
"fit, and to consider of the Tranlations and Im-
"pressions of the Bible, and to offer their Opi-
"nions therein." About a Week after, Dr. *Walton*
publish'd the *Polyglot Bible*; which, with sever-
al other Encouragements given to Learning at
this Time, proves the Falshood and Ingratitude of
those who represent it as immers'd in Illiterature
and Ignorance, tho', in Reality, the most Learned
and Polite were Friends to the Common-wealth;
as *Selden*, *Wilkins*, *Milton*, *Batburst*, *Wallis*,
Clarkson, *Waller*, *Pool*, and the Scholarship of
their Adversaries was as contemptible to Men of
Genius and Taste, as their Courage was to Men
of true Gallantry, as is easy enough to be prov'd,
were this a Place for Particulars.

On the 23d of *February*, the Parliament took
into Consideration the *Settlement of the Nation*,
and in the Course of this Debate, Colonel *Jephson*,
one of the Members who serv'd for *Ireland*, mov'd
that *Cromwel* might be made King, but Mat-
ters were not thoroughly concerted, and *Cromwel*
having Notice of the Motion, as he had of every
thing that pass'd, reprov'd the Colonel gently
at Table, saying, *I wonder what you cou'd mean*
by such a Proposition! To which *Jephson* re-
ply'd, *While I am permitted the Honour of sitting*
in that House, I must desire the Liberty to dis-
charge my Conscience, tho' my Opinion shou'd hap-
pen to displease. *Oliver* clapp'd him on the Shoul-
der and said, *Get thee gone for a mad Fellow, as*
thou art. A Farce on both Sides: For soon after,
Cromwel gave his Son, then a Scholar at *Oxford*,
a Company of Foot, himself a Troop of Horse,
and sent him Agent to the Court of *Sweden*. In
the Conclusion of the Debates about the *Settle-*
ment of the Nation, the House agreed upon a
new Instrument, entitl'd, *The humble Petition*
and Advice of the Parliament of England, Scot-
land and Ireland, to his Highness. The main Bu-
siness of it was, for the Protector to have the
Title of King. This Petition being presented by
the Parliament to the Lord Protector, he desir'd
a Committee might be appointed to confer with
him about it, which was nam'd accordingly; and
Whitlock was made Chairman. This Committee
attending his Highness, *Whitlock* spoke to him
upon the Point of the Title of King, giving Rea-
sons why he shou'd accept of it. The Protector
urg'd his Reasons against it, and *Whitlock* re-
ply'd. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, "All the Law-
"yers, *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Fountain*, *St John*, were
"vehemently for it: They said, no new Govern-
"ment cou'd be settled legally, but by a King,
"who shou'd pass Bills for such a Form as shou'd
"be agreed on; till then, all they did was like
"building upon Sand. Men were still in Dan-
"ger of a Revolution, and in that Case, all that
"had been done would be void of it self, as con-
"trary to a Law yet in being, and not repeal'd, &c.
"And in short, this Point was made out beyond
"the

A.D. 1657 "the Possibility of answering it, except upon En-
 "thusiastical Principles." The Reasoning in the
 History of the Rebellion on this Question, is the
 most sober and rational Part of the Book. "The
 "wisest Person of the King's Party trembled at
 "this Overture, and believ'd it was the only
 "Way utterly to destroy the King, and to pull
 "up all future Hopes of the Royal Family by
 "the Roots. They saw all Men even already
 "tir'd in their Hopes, and that which was left
 "of Spirit in them, was from the Horror they
 "had of the Confusions of the present Govern-
 "ment. *A Spirit that comes from Horror, is*
 "*perfectly Cavalier, and none cou'd have thought*
 "*of such an Expression but the noble Author.*
 "That very many who had sustain'd the King's
 "Quarrel in the Beginning, were dead; that
 "the present King, by long Absence out of the
 "Kingdom, was known to very few; so that
 "there was too much Reason to fear that much
 "of that Affection that appear'd. *Very fine*
 "*Language!* So that that *much* of that that went
 "under the Notion of Allegiance to the King,
 "was more directed to the Monarchy, than to
 "the Person, and that if *Cromwel* were once
 "made King, and let the Government run again
 "in the old Channel, tho' those who were in
 "love with a Republick, wou'd possibly fall from
 "him, he wou'd receive abundant of Repara-
 "tion of Strength, by the Access of those who
 "prefer'd the Monarchy, &c." I wou'd repeat
 more of it, but nothing can be more fatiguing
 than the Wordiness of every Paragraph of that
 History. The *Royalists* did indeed fall in with
 the *Republicans* on this Occasion with no other
 View than to distress *Oliver*: For tho' they pre-
 tended to publick Spirit, and to assert Liberty,
 they meant only to perplex and destroy the Gov-
 ernment. Minds capable of preferring the Prin-
 ciples of Slavery to those of Freedom, are inca-
 pable of generous Sentiments, and whenever they
 profess them, 'tis with some wicked Design. Who
 have talk'd more of the Good of the Country, of
 Old England, of Liberty and Property, than the
 Disaffected since the Revolution? whose Meaning
 have always been to create Difficulties and Perplex-
 ities, and by any Means and Pretences to overturn
 this free Government, and restore Tyranny. They
 learnt it of their Predecessors the Cavaliers, who,
 as Bishop *Burnet* informs us, "were all zealous
 "Common-wealths Men, according to the Di-
 "rections sent them from those about the King.
 "Their Business was to oppose *Cromwel* on all
 "his Demands, and so to weaken him at home,
 "and expose him abroad. When some of the
 "other Party took notice of this great Change
 "from being the Abettors of Prerogative, to be-
 "come the Patrons of Liberty, they pretended
 "their Education in the Court, and their Oblig-
 "ations to it, had engag'd them that way; but
 "now since that was out of Doors, they had the
 "common Principles of humane Nature, and the
 "Love of Liberty in them. By this Means, as the
 "old *Republicans* assisted and protected them, so
 "at the same time they strengthen'd the Faction
 "against *Cromwel*." What follows, is a Lesson
 to all *English* Men, living at this Time, to be on
 their Guard against the false Professions of those
 who having been Instruments of all the destructive
 Changes that have happen'd in the Administra-
 tion in the three last Reigns; do now awkwardly
 affect a Loyalty to that Government which they
 heartily hate, and will betray and subvert when-
 ever Occasion offers, which God forbid. "These
 "very Men, at the Restoration, shook off the Dis-
 "guise, and reverted to their old Principles for
 "a high Prerogative, and absolute Power. They
 "said they were for a Liberty when it was a

A.D. 1657 "Means to distress one who they thought had no
 "Right to govern: But when the Government
 "return'd to its old Channel, they were still
 "as firm to all Prerogative Notions, and as great
 "Enemies to Liberty as ever." It is hop'd the
 Reader will seriously reflect on this, when he
 sees any such Persons thrusting themselves into
 Offices, and not be disappointed if he is abus'd
 by them; but neither the *Republicans* nor *Roy-
 alists*, nor both in Conjunction wou'd have hin-
 der'd the Lord Protector's accepting the Title of
 King, which the Parliament offer'd him, if the
 Officers of the Army, and particularly Lieut. Ge-
 neral *Fleetwood*, his Son in Law, and Major Ge-
 neral *Desborough*, his Brother in Law, had not
 declar'd warmly against it. The Officers pre-
 sented a Petition to the Parliament to that Pur-
 pose, which alarm'd him extremely; and *Fleet-
 wood* and *Desborough* waiting his coming into
 St. James's Park, to his usual Walk, the Day be-
 fore he was to accept or refuse the Kingship, gave
 him their Reasons against it in a long Conference.
Cromwel said, *It's a tempting of God to expose so*
many worthy Men to Death and Poverty, when
there is a certain Way to secure them. The others
 insisted on the Oaths they had taken. *Oliver* re-
 ply'd, *These Oaths were against the Power and*
Tyranny of Kings. In Conclusion, they believ-
 ing from his Discourse, that he intended to ac-
 cept of it, told him, "They saw great Confu-
 "sions would follow on it, and as they cou'd not
 "serve him to set up the Idol they had pull'd
 "down, and had sworn to keep down; so they
 "wou'd not engage in any thing against him,
 "but wou'd retire and look on." They then
 offer'd him their Commissions, since they were
 resolv'd not to serve a King. *Stay, says Crom-
 wel, 'till you hear my Answer.* It is believ'd this
 Resolution of theirs, and the Disposition of the
 Soldiery, determin'd him to refuse the Crown. For
 most certainly he wanted not the Perswasions or
 Argument of Sir *Richard Onslow*, Sir *Charles*
Wolsey, the Lord *Broghil*, or Colonel *Jones*, men-
 tion'd by *Echard* to accept it, since he was fully
 convinc'd, that the Government of a single Per-
 son cou'd not be firmly establish'd without the
 Title of King, and his Judgment, as well as his
 Ambition, led him to take it; however, in Com-
 placency to the Army and the *Republicans*, he
 put a Force on his Inclinations, and as solemnly
 refus'd the Title of King, as it had been solemnly
 offer'd him.

But the new Instrument of Government, call'd,
The Petition and Advice, which was brought in-
 to the House by Sir *Christopher Pack*, a very busy
 Alderman of London, pass'd, after much debating.
 It was forwarded by the Lord *Broghill*, *Whit-
 lock*, *Glyn*, and others, and consisted of several Ar-
 ticles, to which was afterwards added other Ar-
 ticles, and the whole confirm'd, and swore to by
 his Highness, the Lord Protector, the 26th
 Day of June. That Dignity and Title was
 settled upon him, and his Successor, to be nam'd
 by himself, with all the Powers and Prerogatives
 of a Sovereign, more extensive than ever the Laws
 of England made them, and perhaps those Pow-
 ers and Prerogatives were necessary for the Estab-
 lishment of a Government so odious to both
 Friends and Enemies, as was that of the Pro-
 tectorate. I mean not as to the Execution of it,
 but as to the Form of it.

By this *Petition and Advice* the Lord Pro-
 tector was empower'd not only to call and dissolve
 Parliaments, but also to issue out Writs to sum-
 mon Persons to sit as Members of the other House
 of Parliament. They were not to be stil'd the
 House of Lords, tho' the Writs were the same
 with those that were sent to summon *Peers*. The
 Parliament

The Disaf-
 fected imi-
 tate.

Cavalier
 Practices.

Faction not
 so trusted
 with Pow-
 er.

Oliver re-
 fuses the
 Kingship.

A.D. 1657 Parliament order'd Sir *Oliver Fleming*, Master of the Ceremonies, to give Notice to all Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers of the intended Inauguration of his Highness the Lord Protector,

Crom-
wel's In-
augura-
tion.

For which a Place was prepar'd at the upper End of *Westminster-Hall*, in the midst of which was a rich Cloth of State set up, and under it a Chair of State, upon an Assent of two Degrees, cover'd with Carpets. Before it a Table, and a Chair by it for the Speaker. On each Side of the Hall were Seats built one above another, and cover'd, for the Members of Parliament. Below them Seats on the one Side for the Judges, and on the other Side for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. About two a Clock in the Afternoon the Protector met the Parliament, and gave his Consent to a Bill for *adjourning it from this 26th of June to the 20th of February next*, and to some other Bills. Then the Speaker and Members went to their Places in *Westminster-Hall*, and the Judges and Aldermen took their Places. A little Time after this his Highness came, attended with his own Gentlemen, and with the Heralds and Sergeants at Arms, the Officers, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, Lords of the Treasury, Lords of the Council, the Earl of *Warwick* carrying the Sword before him, and the Lord-Mayor of *London*, Sir *Robert Tichburne*, carrying the City Sword.

His Highness standing under the Cloth of State, the Speaker of the Parliament presented to him a *Robe of Purple Velvet, lined with Ermines*, which the Speaker, assisted by *Bullstrode Whitlock*, Esq; and others, put upon his Highness. Then he deliver'd to him the *Bible*, richly gilt and boss'd. After that the Speaker girt the *Sword* about the Lord Protector, and deliver'd into his Hand the *Sceptre* of massy Gold. He then made a Speech to him upon those several Things presented to him, wishing him all Prosperity in his Government, and gave him the Oath. Dr. *Manton*, by Prayer, recommended his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, the Forces by Sea and Land, the whole Government and People of the three Nations, to the Blessing and Protection of God. After this the People gave several great Shouts, and the Trumpets sounding, the Lord Protector sat in the Chair of State, holding the Sceptre in his Hand. On the right side sat Monsieur the first President *Bourdeaux*, Ambassador of *France*; on his left, Mynheer *Van Beuning*, Ambassador of the *United Provinces*. Near to his Highness stood his Son, the Lord *Richard Cromwel*, the Lord Deputy *Fleetwood*, *John Cleypole*, Esq; Master of the Horse, the Lords of the Council, and the Officers of State. The Earl of *Warwick* held the Sword on the right Side of the Chair, the Lord-Mayor of *London* held the Sword on the left Side. Near the Earl of *Warwick* stood the Lord Viscount *Liste*, General *Montagu*, and Mr. *Whitlock*, each of them having a drawn Sword in his Hand. Then the Trumpets sounded, and a Herald proclaim'd his Highness's Title. After which the Multitude with loud Acclamations cry'd, *God save the Lord Protector*. The Ceremonies ended, his Highness having his Train born by the Lord *Sherrard*, the Honourable Mr. *Rich*, Grandson to the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Honourable Mr. *Roberts*, Son to the Lord *Roberts*, accompany'd by the Lords Ambassadors, and attended as before, went in State to *Westminster-Hall Gate*, where he took his rich Coach.

In the upper End of it himself sat in his Robes: In the other End sat the Earl of *Warwick*. In one Boot sat his Son the Lord *Richard*, and Mr. *Whitlock* with a drawn Sword in his Hand; and in the other Boot sat the Lord Viscount *Liste* and

General *Montagu* with Swords drawn in their Hands. Mr. *Cleypole* led the Horse of State in rich Caparisons. The Life-Guard and other Guards attended the Coach. The Officers and the rest follow'd in Coaches to *Whitehall*, where he heard a Sermon preach'd by Mr. *Lockier*.

There was a fine Medal struck on this Occasion, perform'd by that excellent Graver *Simmonds*, whose Dies for Coining are the best that ever were; and yet after the Restoration he was turn'd out of the Mint, because he work'd for *Cromwel*, to make room for a Blunderer. This Medal had on one side the Bust of *Oliver* excellently well done, and round it *Oliver D. G. R. P. Ang. Sco. Hibernie Protector. Oliver*, by the Grace of God, Protector of *England, Scotland and Ireland*. On the Reverse was an Olive-Tree flourishing in a Field with this round it, *Non deficiente Oliva*, Sept. 3. 1658. The Olive-Trees shall not fail.

The Acts above-mention'd to be pass'd by the Lord Protector, with that for *adjourning the Parliament*, were, *An Act for preventing Multiplicity of Building in London*, *An Act for the quiet enjoying of sequester'd Parsonages by the present Incumbents*, *An Act for discovering, convicting and repressing of Popish Recusants*, *An Act appointing Surveyors of Forrests*.

Sherwood Forreft.

Joseph Ayloffe, Esq; *Thomas Skipwith*, Esq; *Jeremy Baines*, Esq; *Alan Ayre*, Esq; Mr. *James Robinson*, Mr. *William Marre*.

Needwood Forreft.

Robert Frank, Esq; *John Kensley*, Esq; *Thomas Wats*, Esq; *George Sergeant*, Esq;

Kingwood Forreft.

James Steadman, Esq; *Robert Taylor*, Esq; *Thomas Taimor*, Esq; *John Halfey*, Esq;

Lancaster great Park.

Henry Dewell, Esq; *William Daroges*, Esq; *Joseph Gammage*, Esq; Mr. *Richard Johnson*.

Enfield Chace.

John Baynton, Esq; *Hugh Web*, Esq; *Nicholas Gunton*, Esq; Major *Rolph*.

As *Cromwel* is now in the Zenith of his Empire, so is King *Charles II.* in the Extremity of Distress. *France* having thrown him off, he apply'd to *Spain*; and *Eichard* informs us, he enter'd into a Treaty with *Don John* of *Austria*, Governor of the *Netherlands*, by which he was to have 9000 Pounds a Year for his and the Duke of *Gloucester's* Maintenance; in Consideration of which he was to put all his Forces into the *Spanish* Service, being 4 Regiments of *Irish* Papists then in *Flanders*, who were not only to assist the *Spaniards* to drive the *French* out of the *Netherlands*, but also to be in a Readiness, if any favourable Juncture shou'd invite them over to *England*. By Virtue of this important Treaty, the King was allow'd to live at *Bruges*, where he made Sir *Edward Hyde* Lord High Chancellor of *England*, which cou'd not be so beneficial as a *Tippstaff's* Place after the Restoration. For the Poverty of this Court was such, that when a Gentleman, who follow'd the King's Fortune, made his Addresses to a young Lady in *Holland*, who was worth about 100,000 Guilders, not only the King, but the Duke of *York*, the Princess Royal, the Lord *Fermin*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*, importun'd her by Letters to make him her Husband. The King says in his Letter, *Le*

A.D. 1657 *Le Marquis d'Ormond lequel envoye expres pour ce sujet vous en dira plus particulièrement mes sentimens, auquel je vous prie d'ajouter Foy en toute cequil vous dira de ma part & de croire que je suis,*

Mademoiselle,
Vostre tres affectionne Ami,
Charles R.

His low Condition. "The Marquis of Ormond, whom I send Express about this Affair, will discourse you more particularly, and acquaint you with my Sentiments. I desire you to put Confidence in what he tells you from me, and to believe that I am, &c.

The Princes of Orange clos'd her Letter thus, *Pesere que ces servises vous seront agreable come le jouhait passionnement,*

Mademoiselle,
Vostre bien bonne bon Amie,
MARIE.

I had Thoughts of inserting more such Passages out of the other Letters, the Originals of which I have by me; but they being all to the same Purpose, it is needless. The Gentleman obtain'd the Lady; and soon after he was married, the King got most of the Marriage Portion from him, which was never made good to him till after he return'd to England, unless it was by making him a Baronet, tho' the Gentleman never took the Advantage of the Patent.

Lambert's Commission taken away. The Protector's referring to himself, by the humble Petition and Advice, to name a Successor, disgusted several of his most intimate Friends, especially Major General Lambert, who refus'd to take the Oath, enjoyn'd by that Instrument, not to do any thing against the present Government. Cromwel sending for him, said, *I am well assur'd your Refusal proceeds not on account of this Authority, for you may remember you your self did at first press me to accept the Title of King; and therefore, if you are now dissatisfied with the present Posture of Affairs, I desire you to surrender your Commission.* To this the Major General reply'd, *Having no Suspicion that it wou'd be demanded of me, I have not brought it; but if you please to send for it, I will deliver it.* Which was done two or three Days after; but he had a Pension of 2000 Pounds a Year settled upon him to keep him quiet. Sir Henry Vane brought himself into Trouble by a Pamphlet call'd the *Healing Question*, wherein he upbraided the Protector with acting contrary to their first Engagement. Vane trusted this Writing with Fleetwood, and he shew'd it Cromwel, which Sir Henry had not caution'd him against. The Protector was nettled at some Expressions in it concerning himself, and requir'd him, by a Day limited, to give Security not to act against him; which Time being expir'd, Vane appear'd again before the Council, and deliver'd into Oliver's own Hand another Paper, containing the Reasons of his disapproving the present Government; which provoking the Protector's Patience still more, he was sent Prisoner to *Carisbrook-Castle* in the Isle of *Wight*. Cromwel commanded President *Bradshaw* to take out a new Patent for the Chief Justiceship of *Chester*, which he refus'd, and yet went the Circuit, the Protector not thinking fit to stop the Course of Justice by postponing the Assizes.

Cromwel's other House. In December the Lord Protector issu'd his Writs of Summons to the Lords and Gentlemen, who were to compose his other House of Parlia-

ment; they were in all about sixty. The Lord *Richard Cromwel*, the Lord *Henry Cromwel*, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Esq; *John Lisle*, Esq; Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal; *Henry Lawrence*, Esq; Lord President of the Council; the Lord *Charles Fleetwood*, *Robert Earl of Warwick*, *Edmund Earl of Mulgrave*, *Edward Earl of Manchester*, *William Lord Viscount Say and Sele*, Lord *John Cleypole*, Master of the Horse, *Charles Viscount Howard*, *Philip Lord Viscount Lisle*, *Philip Lord Wharton*, *Thomas Lord Falconbridge*, Lord *Edward Montagu*, *George Lord Eure*, the Lord *Whitlock*, *Sir Gilbert Pickering*, Lord *Strickland*, Col. *William Strickland*, *Sir Charles Wolseley*, *Sir William Strickland*, *John Fiennes*, Esq; *Sir Francis Russel*, *Sir Thomas Honeywood*, *Sir Arthur Heselrigge*, *Edmund Thomas*, Esq; *Sir John Hobart*, *Sir Richard Onslow*, *Sir Gilbert Gerrard*, *Sir William Roberts*, *William Pierpoint*, Esq; *John Crew*, Esq; *Alexander Popham*, Esq; Lord Chief Justice *Saint John*, Lord Chief Justice *Glyn*, *Francis Rous*, Esq; *Sir George Fleetwood*, *Sir Richard Ingoldsby*, *David Earl of Cassils in Scotland*, *Roger Lord Broghill*, *Sir Archibald Johnston*, Laird of *Wariston*, Col. *Edmund Whalley*, Col. *George Monk*, *John Jones*, Esq; *Sir Christopher Pack*, *Sir Robert Tichburn*, *Sir John Barkstead*, *Sir Thomas Pride*, *Sir John Hewson*, *Thomas Berry*, Esq; *William Goffe*, Esq; *Thomas Cooper*, Esq; *Sir William Lockhart*, *William Steel*, Esq; Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, Col. *Tomlinson*.

The Names of three Quarters of this Assembly prove that they were of the best Birth and Rank in England, and those who were Officers of the Army ought not to have been insulted for their Meanness before they took to Arms, since they had by Victory acquir'd their Greatness. Wou'd it not be base to enquire of what Origin were *Craven*, *Cranfield*, *Hicks*, in the former Reigns, who had Coronets given them, and Seats in the House of Peers, yet not one of them ever drew a Sword, or perhaps ever saw a Sword drawn in the publick Service, and were all of as Mechanick Descent as *Barkstead* the *Silversmith*, *Berry* the *Woolmonger*, *Pack* the *Woolldraper*, or *Whalley* the broken *Clothier*, mention'd with singular Modesty by Mr. Archdeacon? Now it happens that Col. *Whalley* was of as good a Family as Col. *Goring*, being the Son of *Richard Whalley*, Esq; of *Kirton* in *Nottinghamshire*, by Mrs. *Frances Cromwel*, Niece to *Sir Oliver Cromwel* of *Hintchinbroke* in *Huntingdonshire*; and one of the above Citizens is thought to have been rich enough to have bought the whole Court of *Bruges*, *Sir Edward Hyde* included, and the Princes, the Duke of *Ormonde* and two or three Lords only excepted. Such Reflections as these are scandalously trivial; but you have them every where in the Archdeacon's History, and very much in *Sir Edward Hyde's*, whose Example only has made them inexcusable.

The Protector, at a Conference between his two Houses, speaking of the State of the publick Revenue and Expence, told them, The Charge of the Forces by Sea and Land amounted to 2,426,989 Pounds, that the whole Revenue of England, Scotland and Ireland was but 1,900,000 Pounds, that the Charge of the Government was 300,000 Pounds, so that the Deficiency of the Funds towards the Expence was 826,989 Pounds. The Army in England requir'd 1,100,000 Pounds for their Pay.

The Success of the English Arms at Sea this Year was such, that the Name of *Blake*, says *General Blake's Victory at Sancta Cruz*, cannot be forgotten. That General with his Fleet rode out all the Winter Storms before *Cadix*, and on the Coast of *Portugal*, when he receiv'd

A.D. 1657

A. D. 1657 receiv'd certain Information, that another *Spanish* Plate-Fleer, much richer than the last he had taken and destroy'd, was making homewards; but having Intelligence of the *English* Fleet, that wou'd probably stop at the *Canaries*, Blake immediately weigh'd Anchor with twenty five Men of War, and on the 20th of *April* stood with his Fleet off the *Offing* in the Bay of *Sancta Cruz*, in the Island of *Teneriffe*, where he found the Galeons already arriv'd, to the Number of 16 Men of War, protect'd, besides their own Strength, by all the Methods of Art: For the Bay was secur'd by a strong Castle well fortify'd with Cannon, besides seven Forts more in several Parts of it, mounted each with 4, 5 and 6 good Pieces of Ordnance, all united by a Line of Communication from Fort to Fort, mann'd with Musketeers. Don Diego Diagues, the *Spanish* Admiral, order'd all his smaller Ships to moor close to the Shoar, cover'd by the Castles and Forts, and posted the six large Galeons farther off at Anchor, with their formidable Broadfides to the Sea, sending out Word by a *Dutch* Merchant there, *Let Blake come if he dares*. And come he did with a Vengeance; but finding it impracticable to carry off the Galeons, he resolv'd to burn them in the midst of all these Dangers: He commanded Capt. Stayner, in the *Speaker Frigate*, to stand into the very Bay with a Squadron, and by Eight the next Morning he fell courageously on the *Spaniards*, who fought near half an Hour. General Blake seconded Stayner, and posted some of the great Ships to batter the Forts and Castles, which, firing on them without ceasing, drove the Enemy out of their Castles, Forts and Lines. Blake fought the Galeons four Hours, and the *Spaniards* made a Resistance, which they had not been us'd to; but Blake ply'd them so fast with his Broadfides, that they cou'd stand no longer. They abandon'd their Galeons, of which the least was bigger than the biggest of General Blake's Ships. The Seamen quitted the smaller Ships that lay under the Forts, and Stayner burnt every one of them, while the General did the same with the larger Galeons. Thus was the whole Plate-Fleet destroy'd, which, with the Destruction of the Fleet a Year before by Blake, made the Loss of the *Spaniards* amount to at least 10 Millions Sterling. No sooner was the Fight over, but the Wind, which before blew strong into the Bay, suddenly veer'd about, and brought the *English* Fleet out to Sea without losing a Ship. Of the *English* only 48 Men were kill'd, and 120 wounded. The whole Action was unparallel'd and stupendous, as the Archdeacon phrases it. All Sea-Fights, antient and modern, have nothing to compare to it for Danger and Success, for Greatness and Glory: He fought at once with Ships and Castles; he dar'd the Fury of all Elements, and left an Example to Posterity, which is too incredible to be imitated. The News of this Victory arriving in *England* before the Parliament was adjourn'd, the House order'd him a Present of a Diamond Ring, to the Value of 500 Pounds. All such Presents, which were Demonstrations of the publick Acceptance of his Services, were grateful to him: But he had no Conception of Rewards in Dignities and Pensions, and an extreme Contempt for all Honours that were not solid and the Effect of heroick Deeds, as useful to the State as glorious to the Man. The General himself having been on Board three Years, contracted an ill Habit of Body by living in that Manner so long, and dy'd in his Return home on the 17th of *August*, as his Ship enter'd into *Plymouth* Sound, in the 59th Year of his Age. The next Day his Body was embalm'd

His Death
and Character.

and inclos'd in a Sheet of Lead, and the Bowels were interr'd in the great Church at *Plymouth*.

This famous General was the Son of Mr. *Humphry Blake* of *Bridgewater*, Merchant, of the antient Family of the *Blakes* of *Planchfield*, in the County of *Somerset*. In his younger Years he was a Student of *Wadham* College in the University of *Oxford*, where he took the Degree of Master of Arts, and stood for a Fellowship in *Merton* College with several eminent Scholars, as *Edward Reynolds*, *John Earl*, both afterwards Bishops, and others. He lost the Fellowship on account of his Stature, being not high enough. Sir *Henry Saville*, the Warden, measuring his Scholars, as the Officers do now their Soldiers, by Feet and Inches. When the War broke out, he list'd in that Cause which seem'd to be most for the Security of the Protestant Religion and Liberty. He was made Governor of *Taunton* by the Parliament; which Town, and afterwards *Lyme*, he defended with great Valour against several famous and forcible Sieges, of which mention has been made.

His Character in *A Wood* is thus:

" He was a fortunate Vindicator of his Country's Privileges from the Encroachments of insulting Neighbours, a victorious Enemy of the *Spaniards*, highly valu'd of all, even of the *Royalists*. He devoted himself wholly to the publick Service, was resolute in his Undertakings, and most faithful in the Performance of them. With him Valour seldom mis'd it's Reward, nor Cowardice Punishment. When News was brought him of a Revolution in the State at home, he wou'd then encourage the Seamen to be most vigilant abroad, saying, *It is not our Duty to mind Politicks, but to keep Foreigners from fooling us*.

The Lord *Clarendon*, another Enemy to his Cause, writes of him thus: " He was the first Man who declin'd the old Track, and made it manifest, that the Science of *Sea Service* might be attain'd in less Time than was imagin'd, and despis'd those Rules that had been long in Practice to keep his Ship and his Men out of Danger; which had been held in former Times a Point of great Ability and Circumspection, as if the principal Art, requisite in the Captain of a Ship, had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first Man who brought the Ships to contemn Castles on Shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discover'd by him to make a Noise only, and to fright those who cou'd rarely be hurt by them. He was the first Man that infus'd that Proportion of Courage into the Seamen, by making them see by Experience what mighty Things they cou'd do if they were resolv'd, and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon Water.

Tho' no Funeral Pomp cou'd be in any manner equal to the Services and Merit of this illustrious Captain, yet the Government bestow'd on his Corpse those Honours which were then paid to deceas'd Heroes. 'Twas brought by Sea from *Plymouth* to *Greenwich*, where it remain'd for some Time. From thence it was convey'd by Water on the 4th of *September* following, with all due Solemnity, in a Barge of State cover'd with Velvet, adorn'd with Escutcheons and Pencils, accompany'd with his Brother, Captain *Humphry Blake*, several of his Kindred and Servants in Mourning, together with the Lord Protector's *Privy-Council*, the Lords of the Admiralty, the Commissioners of the Navy, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Field-Officers of the Army, and several other Persons of Honour and Quality, in a great Number of Barges

A. D. 1657 Barges and Boats cover'd all with Mourning and marshall'd by the Heralds at Arms, who directed and attended the Procession. In this Order they pass'd to *Westminster-Bridge*, and at their Landing proceeded in the same manner thro' a Guard of several Regiments of Foot-Soldiers to *Westminster-Abbey*, where the Corpse was interr'd in a Vault made on Purpose in *Henry the Seventh's Chappel*.

But after the Restoration, to the eternal Infamy of all that had a Hand in it, the sacred Remains of this General, whose Memory and Fame will be immortal, were pull'd out of the Place where they were deposited, and flung into a Pit. Judge of the Men and their Cause by this one Action, and reconcile it in any Degree to common Sense, common Morals, and common Shame. Cannibals and Mamalukes wou'd have ador'd the Relicts of a General that had gain'd one Battle for them. Here is the Corpse of a Captain, whose Life had been a Series of Victories in the publick Service, dragg'd from the Place of its Burial to be cover'd with the Dirt of a Ditch! Can any Paint or Daubing give a Colour to this hideous Image? And now let the Reader run over the Characters the Lord *Clarendon* gives of himself and those unparallel'd Worthies, who thus barbarously insulted the Remains of the ever renown'd General *Blake*, whose Family was not treated much better by them, himself being a Bachelor. His Brother *Humphry* above-mention'd, with whom I liv'd when I was a Boy, suffer'd so many Hardships for Non-conformity in the latter End of the Reign of King *Charles II.* that he was forc'd to sell the little Estate left him by the General, scarce 200 Pounds a Year, and transport himself and his Children to *Carolina*, of which his great Grandson, I suppose, is at this Time one of the Lords Proprietors.

When General *Blake* was unbury'd, and his Corpse serv'd so ignominiously and inhumanely, the like was done by those of Admiral *Popham*, Admiral *Dean*, Col. *Humphry Mackworth*, Col. *Boscarwen*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *John Meldrum*, *William Stroud*, Esq; *Thomas May*, Esq; Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Strong*, two Ministers. And to complete the Triumph, the dead Bodies of several Ladies were also taken up and thrown into the same Pit on the 12th of *September*, 1661. I think the Men need no other Character, and this Digression cou'd no where else come in so properly as in this Place. It was propos'd after the Restoration, to take up all the dead Bodies of the Common-wealth's Men, &c. and fling them into Pits; and 'tis thought the Proposal wou'd have been effected, had not the Duke of *Ormond* strenuously oppos'd it, as a Scandal to Religion and Humanity.

In Pursuance of the Lord Protector's Treaty with *France*, he sent 6000 choice Men to the *Netherlands* under the Command of Sir *John Reynolds*, Commissary General, and Major General *Morgan*. The *French* at first had no Inclination to attack *Dunkirk* with those Forces, they being oblig'd to surrender it to the *English*, when taken; therefore they march'd into *Artois*, and laid Siege to *St. Venant*, which they carry'd with a Suddenness and Bravery beyond Expectation. But *Cromwel's* Ambassador, Sir *William Lockhart*, made such Lively Instances with the Cardinal, and complain'd so much of Breach of Faith, adding Menaces, that his Master knew where to find a more punctual Friend, That as soon as they had taken *Montmedy* and *St. Venant*, the Army march'd into *Flanders*, and the Season being too far spent to engage in the Siege of *Dunkirk*, they invested *Mardyke*, and carry'd on their Attack so vigorously, that *October* 13th it

was deliver'd in about eight Days to Major General *Morgan*, with Consent of the *French King*; and that General fortify'd it so well as to fear no Enemy. But before the Fortifications were finish'd, the *Spaniards* sent a Body of Horse and Foot to recover it; the Loss of it very much facilitating that of *Dunkirk*. Of that Body 2000 were *English* and *Irish*. Here all History is lavish in the Praises of the Duke of *York*, who, says *Echard*, made two very desperate Storms upon it, the last continuing six Hours, but was both *Times* repuls'd, and forc'd to retire with Loss. The future Conduct of that Prince makes me believe there must be some Misrepresentation in this, as well as in the rest of his History; I'll therefore see what *Ludlow* says, Many of those who were kill'd on the Enemies side were *English* under the Duke of *York*: And as it was confess'd by all present, that the *English*, who took part with the *French*, behav'd themselves with more Bravery than any; so it was observ'd, that those of the Cavalier Party, who had join'd with the *Spaniards*, behav'd themselves worst. Brave Sir *John Reynolds*, who had fought his Way thro' so many Dangers in the War, being about to pass over to *England* at the End of the Campaign with Col. *White* and others, the *Pink* they were in was cast away upon the *Goodwyn Sands*, and all the Men were drown'd, the only melancholy Accident that happen'd to the *English*. The Army that took *Mardyke* was commanded by the Marechal *Turenne*, to whom *Mazarine*, press'd by the Lord Ambassador *Lockhart's* Instances, wrote thus before he besieg'd it, Nothing can be of more fatal Consequence to *France* than the Loss of *Cromwel's* Friendship and the Breach of the Union with him, which certainly will be broken, if some strong Town is not taken and put into his Hands. The Protector was wonderfully pleas'd to hear that *Morgan* was in Possession of it, and he immediately sent ten Men of War to guard the Port of *Mardyke*, and cruize on that Coast. A Foreigner and a Papist speak thus of this Conquest, *En effect rien ne flatta d'avantage l'Ambition de Cromwel, &c.* "In Effect nothing cou'd flatter the Ambition of *Cromwel* more than this Acquisition, knowing he had thereby won immortal Glory: He had, without the Loss of a Man, accomplish'd a Design, which the greatest Kings of *England* had often attempted in vain at the Expence of their People's Blood and Treasure: He had re-establish'd the *English* on the Continent, and put them in a Condition to make themselves Masters of both Sides of the Channel, which had been despair'd of since the Loss of *Calais*. He succeeded, I say, in this vast Design, without costing him hardly any thing." Read over the Reigns of the Royal House we are writing of again and again, and shew me such a Paragraph. The *Dutch* were alarm'd as well as the *Spaniards* at *Cromwel's* having possess'd himself of *Mardyke*, almost on their Frontiers: And the Protector, whose Wisdom foresaw all Consequences, dispatch'd a Minister to *Holland* to assure the *States General*, "That Neighbourhood shou'd serve only to make their mutual Friendship the more firm. He desir'd them to join with him and *France* in a League against *Spain*, their old Enemy, which shou'd be very much to their Advantage by enlarging their Barrier." The *States*, jealous equally of the *French* and *Spaniards*, excus'd themselves; upon which *Oliver's* Minister had Instructions to pray them at least not to assist the *Spaniards*; for if they well did, It wou'd oblige him to take other Measures, which might not turn very much to their Profit. Such was the Language of the Lord Protector of

A. D. 1657

Mardyke
on it, the last continuing six Hours, but was both taken.

Corpse unbury'd by the Royalists.

A Wood, p. 206.

Morgan and Reynolds in Flanders.

A.D. 1657 the Common-wealth; and the *Hollanders* answer'd mildly, *They had no Intention to do any thing to the Prejudice of England, their only Design being to preserve Peace and Tranquillity in their Provinces.*

We have no such Height as this to stand on and take a View of the Government of *England*, since the Reign of *Henry V.* But the View is like the Vision of the Night: The golden Rays vanish, and black and thick Darkneſs ſucceeds, till a new Morning dawns, and a Bright Day, as at the Revolution, bleſſes our Eyes and Hearts.

A.D. 1658
The Par-
liament.

The 20th of *January*, to which the Parliament was adjourn'd, approaching Writs, as has been hinted at, were iſſu'd to the Lords and Gentlemen, who were to form the other, or *Upper Houſe.* *William Lenthall*, Eſq; Maſter of the Rolls, was very much diſturb'd that he was not ſummon'd, ſaying, *I, who have been for ſome Years the firſt Man of the Nation, am now deny'd to be a Member of either Houſe of Parliament; for I am incapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Commons by my Place, which obliges me to ſit as Aſſiſtant in the other Houſe.* *Cromwel* hearing of his Complaint, order'd a Writ of Summons to him, at which he was ſo elevated, that, riding in his Coach thro' the *Strand*, and ſeeing *Mr. Osbaldeſton*, Maſter of *Weſtmiſter* School, whom he knew to be a great Lover of *Sir Arthur Haſelrigge*; he ask'd him what *Sir Arthur* intended to do in Answer to the Writ he had receiv'd, *Mr. Osbaldeſton* replying, *I know not. Write to him, ſays Mr. Lenthall, and deſire him by no Means to omit taking his Place, and aſſure him from me, that all that do ſo ſhall themſelves and their Heirs be for ever Peers of England;* as was reaſonable to think, if they had not quarrel'd among themſelves; for the *Cavaliers* were not likely to be ever in a Condition to quarrel with them.

The two Houſes met according to Adjournment and Summons, The *other Houſe* in the Houſe of Lords, whither came the Protector, and, by the Uſher of the Black Rod, ſent for the Houſe of Commons to whom he made a ſhort Speech, beginning, as is uſual, from the Throne, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons. He recommended Union and a good Underſtanding between them, thank'd them for their fair Correſpondence the laſt Seſſion, minded them of the Neceſſities of the State, deſir'd their Aſſiſtance, and then, as Monarchs have been us'd to do, refer'd them to the Lord Commiſſioner *Fiennes*, who made a very long Harangue on the Foundation of the Government, and the ſeveral Branches of it. 'Tis in that Style which was then in Vogue, and being pretty much adorn'd with Texts of Scripture, is a very great Jeſt with the Archdeacon and the Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory of England*, whoſe Talents in Elocution qualify'd them wonderfully to judge of Language. I will venture one Paragraph of the Lord Commiſſioner's Speech, and that Paragraph ſhall be above half Scripture, againſt the beſt Piece of Oratory in their Hiſtories, or the Lord *Clarendon*'s.*

*For thoſe of our Friends who content themſelves with their Privacy and Country Retirement in theſe great Difficulties of the Common-wealth, we may ſay, Why abideſt thou among the Sheep-folds to hear the Bleatings of the Flocks? Surely for the Diviſions of *Reuben* there are great Searchings of Heart! How ſhall we bind up the Wounds we receive in the Houſe of our Friend? What ſhall we do for our Siſter that hath no Breasts? That will afford no Milk? If ſhe be a Wall, we will build a Palace of Silver upon her; and if ſhe be a Door, we will enclote her with Boards*

of Cedar. *If they will give us any Foundation to work upon, we will build upon it, we will improve it, we will multiply Obligations upon them, we will heap Coals of Fire on their Heads: If they will not let us follow them, let them follow us, we will either lead or follow in the Work of God.*

But a Spirit of Madneſs and Diviſion had poſſeſs'd them: Ambition and Avarice had blinded ſome, ſuch as *Haſelrigge*, *Scot*, *Harrington*, *Lambert*, *Fleetwood*. A Spirit of Enthuſiaſm had blinded others; as *Hariſon*, *Overton*, *Rich*. The former run mading after a *Republick*, the latter after the *Fifth Monarchy*. The Protector's Party were againſt both, and both againſt them, and the Royaliſts againſt them all; all which was like to make fine Work in the End; there need'd but a ſinall Portion of plain Senſe to direct to that End, and unite the three firſt Parties againſt the laſt, their common Enemy. *Sir Arthur Haſelrigge* refus'd to ſit in the other Houſe, but took the Oath, and got into the Houſe of Commons. *Mr. Scot*, and many other ſecluded Members, got in alſo, who, with the diſcontented that remain'd, were ſoon found to be a Majority. The *Houſe of Lords* ſending a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons by *Mr. Juſtice Windham* and *Mr. Baron Hill*, the latter took no Notice of it, but on the contrary debated what Appellation ſhou'd be given to the *other Houſe*, or indeed whether they ſhou'd have any Appellation at all, or be look'd upon as a Houſe, tho' conſtituted by their own Act the laſt Seſſion. *Whitlock* obſerves, That one of the chief Reaſons ſome Members had to ſpeak againſt it was, *Becauſe they were not of it.* The Protector looking upon himſelf as ſtruck at thro' their Sides, and being incens'd at the Diſcovery of a *Fifth Monarchy Plot*, carry'd on by Major General *Hariſon* and his Adherents, he reſolv'd to diſſolve the Parliament. Accordingly he came to the Houſe of Lords the 4th of *February*, and cauſ'd the Uſher of the *Black Rod* to go to the Houſe of Commons, and acquaint them that his Highneſs was in the Lords Houſe, and there expected them. Upon which the Speaker and the whole Houſe went to the Lords Houſe, where the Protector made a Speech to them, declaring, *Severall urgent and weighty Reaſons making it neceſſary for him, in order to the publick Peace and Safety, to proceed to an immediate Diſſolution of this Parliament, and accordingly he did there diſſolve them, having firſt rapp'd out a dreadful Oath, as we are told by Mr. Archdeacon.*

The *Fifth Monarchiſts* carry'd on Matters ſo ſecretly, that they had prepar'd themſelves for a general Rendezvous, when their Plot was diſcover'd the Night before it was to have been executed; at which Time he ſent a Guard of Soldiers, who ſeiz'd the Principal of them as they were conſulting about it. Their Declarations were alſo taken with them, and their Standard, which had in it a Lion couchant, with theſe Words, *Who ſhall rouse him?* Theſe Men were for the moſt part Trademen, as *Venmer*, *Jaweler*, &c. and were carry'd Priſoners to the *Gatehouſe*, where they lay long in a miſerable Condition, but were not proſecuted capitally, as they might have been. *What made moſt Noiſe, ſays Mr. Archdeacon, with the Protector and the Nation, was a new and formidable Plot of the Cavaliers.* For my part, if we know as much of them by Hiſtory, as we cou'd have known had we been then living, I don't ſee any thing formidable in them ſince King *Charles I.* was in *Cornwall*, and much leſs in theſe Conſpirators than in the others, as will appear by their Names, *Dr. Hewett*, *Parſon of St. Gregory's, London*, *Mr. Stacy*, *Mr. Beſſly*, *Mr. Aſhton*, *Mr. Haley*, *Mr. Woodcock*, *Mr. Carent*, *Mr. Mallory*, *Mr. Rivers*, *Mr. Dyke*, *Mr. Staley*.
One

Cavalier
Plot.

Plotiers.

A.D. 1658 One can scarce read the Names of them without trembling, after what the *Archdeacon* has said of their being formidable. I do not add Sir *Henry Slingsby*, because he was a Prisoner in *Yorkshire*, and therefore can't be in a Plot of his own. The Author of the *Compleat History*, to justify what he affirms of *Cromwel's* Cruelty, affirms that he nominated the Members of the High Court of Justice, who try'd and condemn'd as many of these Prisoners as were convicted, which is not true; for as *Ludlow* assures us, this High Court of Justice was nominated by his last Parliament. Mr. *Mordaunt*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterburgh*, was also charg'd with Plotting against the Government. Dr. *Hewet* dispers'd Commissions from King *Charles* the Second. Sir *Henry Slingsby* had endeavour'd to debauch some of the Garrison of *Hull*, where he was a Prisoner, and deliver'd a Commission to them from the King. The other Conspirators were charg'd with a Design to fire the City in several Places at the Time appointed for their Party to take Arms.

Dr. Hewet. The first Conspirator brought before the Court, was Dr. *Hewet*, who mov'd for a Jury, and demurr'd to their Jurisdiction, but was over-rul'd; and at any time to plead against the Jurisdiction of a Court, who has the Authority and Power to back it, seems to me to be extremely absurd and useles. He was told twice, that if he wou'd not plead, they wou'd proceed against him as if the Fact was confess. The Question being put to him a third Time, he said, he wou'd plead if the Judges declar'd it was according to Law. The Court told him, the Commissioners there present were his Judges, and if he wou'd not plead, they wou'd register his Contempt the third Time, which upon his Refusal a third Time was done.

The Historians, the *Compleat One*, and Mr. *Archdeacon* hold up their Hands at this extraordinary Way of Proceeding, and condemning a Criminal, because he will not plead, as if there was any other Way of doing Justice; or that Justice cou'd ever be done, if Prisoners might plead or not plead at Pleasure. *Whitlock* says, *Hewet* carry'd himself very impudently.

Sir Henry Slingsby. Sir *Henry Slingsby's* Plea was, that what he said was in jest, that the Commission he shew'd was an old one, which had lain long by him, and that the Persons he wou'd have corrupted, trapann'd him, by promising to serve the King. 'Tis easy to see that this must end in Conviction and Condemnation.

Mr. *Mordaunt* refus'd to plead at first, but being threaten'd to be condemn'd as a Mute, he pleaded *Not Guilty*; and by spiriting away *Mallory*, one of the Witnesses against him, the Court was so divided in Opinion, that he was acquitted by one Vote. The rest of the Conspirators were try'd and condemn'd; *Woodcock* excepted, who behav'd so handsomely at his Trial, that the Court discharged him. Just as Judgment was given, Sir *Thomas Pride* came into Court, whose Voice being for Conviction, as that of the Lord President *Lisle* wou'd have been, he had been condemn'd if *Pride* had come sooner. Tho' *Echard* affirms, that there is not the like Instance of acquitting a Prisoner by a High Court of Justice, as that of Mr. *Mordaunt*, what does he take the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *John Owen* to be? *Ashton* was hang'd at *Mark-lane End*, *Stacy* in *Cornhill*, *Bestly* in *Cheapside*, and all the rest were repriev'd. Great Endeavours were us'd to save Sir *Henry Slingsby*, tho' a Papist, by the Lord *Falconbridge*, his Nephew, who had lately marry'd Lady *Mary Cromwel*; and Lady *Elizabeth Cleypole* earnestly sollicit'd the Protector to pardon Dr. *Hewet*, but the Ingratitude of the Cavaliers, to whom he had of late been very gra-

acious, had so exasperated him, that he was resolv'd to let Justice take its Course: So they were both beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. I am very far from thinking that Lady *Cleypole's* Death was hasten'd because her Father wou'd not save Dr. *Hewet*, or that *Cromwel* broke his Heart, because his Daughter broke hers. It is neither true in Fact nor in Reason. That Lady had been ill sometime of a Distemper, as mortal as Heart-breaking, an Ulcer in her Womb, of which she dy'd, the 7th of *August*, at *Hampton-Court*, a Month after the Execution of *Slingsby* and *Hewet*, to the great Affliction of the Protector, who lov'd her entirely, she being a Lady of uncommon Merit; and this Affliction, with his own ill State of Health, which had hung upon him several Months, so broke him, that 'twas visible his Life wou'd not be of long Duration.

Sir *Humphry Bennet*, another of the Conspirators in the late Conspiracy, was to have been try'd as the rest had been, and his Fate wou'd doubtless have been the same, but upon Application made by his Friends to the Commissioners of the High Court of Justice for Favour to him, his Life was sav'd. *Whitlock* informs us, *This Kindness of his Friends was not remember'd*, which is not at all strange, for Generosity and Slavery never dwell in the same Breast, and to be grateful 'tis requisite that a Man shou'd be generous, which an Enemy to Liberty cannot be. After these Trials were over, the High Court of Justice was dissolv'd, and the Protector, by Advice of Mr. *Whitlock*, refer'd all future Trials of Conspirators to the *Upper Bench*, after the Course of the Common Law; and having lately made Major General *Howard*, a *Viscount*, he was afterwards Earl of *Carlisle*; he sign'd a Patent to make *Whitlock* a *Viscount*, and three other Patents to make the Attorney General *Prideaux*, and the Solicitor General, Barons, and *John Maynard*, Esq; his Highness's Serjeant; which are plain Proofs that he resolv'd to exercise all the Prerogatives of a Sovereign, and be a King in every thing but the Name, which probably he wou'd still have taken upon him, had he liv'd a few Months longer.

He sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, inform'd them of the Plots carrying on against the Government, and desir'd them to take Care of the Peace of the City, and they presented an Address to him, assuring him of their Faithfulness and Duty.

He receiv'd also an Address from *Monk's*, and other Regiments in *England* and *Scotland* of the like Tenour, for which he thank'd them; and in his Answer to some of them, he imparted to them *The present Designs of the Enemy, that Commissions were sent over hither from the King of the Scots, and that he had 4000 Men in Flanders, ready to be imbark'd for England, to joyn with his Party here; and therefore it behov'd all honest Men, to provide for a Defence, and to joyn heartily together.*

I have not taken any Notice of *Echard's* Story, concerning an execrable Plot form'd by *Oliver* concerning *Cromwel*, Esq; *John Thurloe*, Esq; and Sir *Richard Morland* and *Willis*, to murder the King of the Scots, the Duke of *York*, and Duke of *Gloucester*, because there is not a Syllable in it that's credible. They were to be tempted by pretended Letters from Cavaliers, to come over to *Suffex* in a single Ship, where 500 Foot, and 2000 Horse were to receive them, tho' the Design was, according to Mr. *Archdeacon* and his Manuscript, to cut their Throats at their first Landing, and extirpate the Royal Family. *Thurloe's* under Secretary, *Samuel Moreland*, heard *Oliver* and *Thurloe* in Conference about it, pretending to be asleep. Immediately

A. D. 1658 he runs away to Major *Henshaw*, a Prisoner in the *Tower* for a Conspiracy, tells him all, and desires him to tell the King. Away runs *Henshaw* out of the *Tower*, finds the King in *Flanders*, informs him of *Oliver* and *Turloe's* Assassination Plot, and the King sent a Letter of Excuse, in Answer to the pretended Letter of the Cavaliers. *Willis* is suspected to make a Discovery, and he suspects *Moreland*. They two have an Interview in a dark deep Cellar, where, by professing only that he was Innocent, and demanding of *Willis* a Reason of his Suspicion; that Knight, who when he was Governor of *Newwarke* for the King, is represented as one of the bravest of his Majesty's brave Officers, *was damp'd by it, and Moreland escap'd that imminent Danger*, tho' it seems not to be so imminent neither, for *Willis* had only a *Bible* by him, but *Moreland* had two good Pistols in his Pocket. *Echard* brags that this Account never appear'd in Print before, and came from the Mouths of three Persons, two of them Knights, and the third a Person of undoubted Worth and Honour, of which this Story is an incomparable Proof; and I doubt not, most of his Manuscript History and Informations came from Persons of the like Honour and Worth. He Prints also a Letter of *Moreland's*, which denies that *Moreland* had given the King any Information relating to *Willis*; and the Lord *Clarendon*, has no less than three or four Folio Pages of Informations given by *Moreland* against *Willis*. This Contradiction, no strange Thing amongst them, confess'd by the ingenious Mr. *Echard* himself, and the Narrative being the Child of Invention, cou'd not possibly have Agreement with any other Narrative that was not the Work of the same Brain. It is not pretended, that the King had any such Cabinet Spies, or any Money to give them, as the Lord *Clarendon* observes, but *Oliver* had both, and thought no Expence or Hazard too great to procure them. An Instance of which, and of his Caution in the Use of them, "*Turloe* was wont to tell that "he was once commanded by *Cromwel* to go at "a certain Hour to *Gray's-Inn*, and at such a "Place deliver a Bill of 20,000 Pounds to a Man "he shou'd find walking in such a Habit and "Posture as he describ'd him; " which accordingly *Turloe* did, and never knew to the Day of his Death, either the Person or the Occasion. At another Time the Protector coming late at Night into *Turloe's* Office, which he kept in the last Stair-Case in *Lincoln's-Inn*, towards *Holborn*, that has a Way down into the Garden, made on Purpose for *Cromwel's* coming to him unobserv'd, the Protector began to discourse with his Secretary, about an Affair of the last Importance, but seeing *Moreland*, one of the Clerks, afterwards Sir *Samuel Moreland*, was in the Office, whom he had not seen before, and fearing he might have over-heard them, tho' he pretended to be asleep upon his Desk, he drew out a Dagger which he always carried under his Coat, and was going to dispatch *Moreland* on the Spot, if *Turloe* had not with great Intreaties prevail'd with him to desist, assuring him *Moreland* had sat up two Nights together, and was certainly fast asleep. Probably this Incident gave Rise to the Fictions of *Moreland* and *Henshaw*, and *Moreland* and *Willis*, but no question *Moreland* did betray his Master, when he found Things were like to take another Turn, and indeed I never heard much of his Integrity or Merit.

English
victorious
at Dun-
kirk.

The Siege of *Dunkirk* being resolv'd on at the opening of the Campaign, chiefly at the Instigation of General *Morgan*, who insisted upon it in the Council of War, held in the *Mareschal Turenne's* Camp, the *English*, to the Number

A. D. 1658 of 6000, under *Morgan*, and Sir *William Lockhart*, who succeeded *Reynolds* in that Command, did Wonders, by Acknowledgment even of the *French*. The Cavaliers under the Duke of *Tork*, were still part of the *Spanish* Army, which march'd to the Relief of the Place, almost as soon as *Turenne* had invest'd it, and possess'd themselves of a *Sand Hill*, from whence they gall'd the *English*, who resolv'd, if possible, to drive them from that Post. The Ground was so deep and loose they cou'd not without extream Difficulty march up the Hill; yet at last they affected it, and having put the *Spaniards* to flight, pursu'd them to their main Body. But having engag'd themselves too far, and being overpower'd by great Numbers of Horse and Foot, the *French* leaving the whole Stress of the Fight upon them they were in Danger of being entirely cut off; which being observ'd by Major General *Drummond*, a *Scot's* Officer, who serv'd with the *English* as a Voluntier, he rode up to the *French* Horse, and by reproaching them with Treachery and Negligence, procur'd a Body of Cavalry to be sent to their Succour. Upon the Arrival of this seasonable Relief, the *English* took fresh Courage, renew'd their Attack, and defeated the Enemy, of whom they kill'd 1200, many of them *English*; so that when the *French* Army came up, they had little more to do than to take Prisoners. Here were taken most of the *English* Officers, of that which was term'd the King's own Regiment, commanded by Colonel *Blague*, Governor of *Wallingford*, in the Civil Wars. The greatest Loss the Protector's Forces had, was in the Death of Colonel *Fenwick*, and Captain *Sherwyn*, who were both kill'd. Soon after the Battle the Town was surrender'd to the *French*, and deliver'd to the *English*, tho' contrary to their first Intentions, as we are told by *Wellwood*.

"There was an Article in the Treaty between the Protector and *France*, That if *Dunkirk* was taken, it shou'd be put into the Possession of the *English*, and his Ambassador, *Lockhart*, had Orders to receive it from them, when the *French* and *English* Armies were marching to besiege it. *Cromwel* one Morning sent for Monsieur *Bourdeaux*, the *French* Ambassador, and upbraided him publicly for his Master's design'd Breach of Promise, in giving secret Orders to the *Mareschal Turenne*, not to deliver the Town in case 'twas taken, contrary to the Treaty between them. The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the Matter, as indeed he did not, and beg'd Leave to assure him there was no such Thing thought of," Upon which *Cromwel*, pulling a Paper out of his Pocket, Here, says he, is the Copy of the Cardinal's Order: And I desire you to dispatch immediately an Express, to let him know that I am not to be impos'd on, and that if he deliver not up the Keys of the Town of *Dunkirk*, to *Lockhart*, within an Hour after it shall be taken, tell him I'll come in Person, and demand them at the Gates of *Paris*. Has this been the Language of the Kings of *England*; since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*? There were but four Persons said to be privy to this Order, the Queen Mother, the Cardinal, the *Mareschal de Turenne*, and a Secretary. The Cardinal for a long Time blam'd the Queen Mother, as if she might possibly have blabb'd it out to some of her Women; as another Design upon *Dunkirk* 30 Years afterwards was so blabb'd; whereas a Correspondence between *Oliver*, and the *French* Secretary, was discover'd upon the Death of the latter, and it was not doubted but he sent him the Copy of the Order above-mention'd. The Message had it's Effect, and *Lockhart* took Possession of *Dunkirk*.

A.D. 1658 kirk, in the Name of the Lord Protector of England; upon which *Mardyke* was restor'd to the French.

Lord Falconbridge's magnificent Embassy to the French King.

It was not to palliate this Matter, as *Wellwood* and *Echard* assures us, that the Duke de *Crequi* was sent Ambassador Extraordinary to *Oliver*, but to return a Compliment, his Highness paid the French King on his Arrival at *Calais*, just before *Dunkirk* was surrender'd. *Oliver* dispatch'd his Son in Law, the Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*, with a numerous and splendid Retinue, of 150 Gentlemen and Servants, to congratulate the most Christian King upon his coming into the Neighbourhood of *England*. The King and Cardinal arriv'd at *Calais* the 20th of *May*, and were receiv'd by the *English* Fleet on the Coast in a continual Fire of the Artillery, for four Hours together, which was answer'd by the Cannon at *Calais*. The French King presented the *English* Admiral with his Picture, hanging in a Gold Chain, and Medals of Gold to the Captains; 20 Ton of the best Brandy, and 2000 Pistoles were distributed among the Seamen, in all to the Value of above 20,000 Crowns. The like Presents he made the *English* Officers and Soldiers in his Army, whom he receiv'd with a great deal of Pleasure. The Lord *Falconbridge* brought a Letter from the Protector to the King, written with his own Hand, and another to the Cardinal, pressing the Reduction of *Dunkirk*, as it was a Nest of Pyrates. More Honour cou'd not be paid to a sovereign Prince, than was done to the Lord *Falconbridge*. All Rules in the Ceremonials were past over. The Cardinal receiv'd him as he alighted out of his Coach, and conducted him back to the very Gate. He gave him the right Hand in his Apartment, which was never done to the Emperor's Ambassador, or the Pope's Nuncio, and at which all the Ministers of other Princes grumbled. The Lord *Falconbridge* staid at the French Court five Days, and was royally treated all the while, both by the King and the Cardinal: When he had taken his Audience of Leave, the King presented him with a Gold Box inlaid with Diamonds, the Arms of *France* on the Cover, and three large Jewels for the three *Flower de Luces*. Within it was the King's Picture set in Diamonds: The whole worth 5000 Crowns. Several Medals of Gold were given to the Gentlemen of his Retinue, and a 1000 *Louis d'Ors* among his Servants. The Cardinal presented his Lordship with 12 Pieces of *Genoua* Velvet of incomparable Fineness and Beauty; and as the Lord Viscount had presented the King with two Sets of *English* Horſes, from the Lord Protector, eight in a Set, and the best that cou'd be got, as also a Set to the Cardinal, the King return'd a Present of a Sword, valu'd at 10,000 Crowns: And the Cardinal sent *Cromwel* a Suit of Tapisſry Hangings, wrought in the *Gobelins* at *Paris*, after the *Persian* Manner.

The Duke de *Crequi's* Embassy to *Cromwel*.

The King on his Part dispatch'd the Duke de *Crequi*, first Lord of his Bed-chamber, to *England*; to compliment *Cromwel*, which the King's of *France* never do, but to the greatest Monarchs in *Christendom*, as he thought the Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of *England*. When the same Duke was afterwards sent Ambassador to *Rome*, he made nothing near the Figure as he did at *London* in the Court of *Cromwel*. He had 150 Gentlemen and Servants in his Train, as had the Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*, and was accompany'd by 60 Gentlemen more, who were of Rank, and among whom was a Prince of the Blood, to do Honour to the Embassy. Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* receiv'd him at his Landing at *Dover*, accompany'd by several great Officers in twenty Coaches with six Horses, one hundred Life-Guard, and two hundred Horse, who all attended the

Ambassador with Swords drawn in their Hands, besides above one hundred and fifty Gentlemen who came with *Fleetwood* on Horseback. The Protector met him at the third Stair, and had no more Regard to the Rules of the Ceremonial, than the Court of *France* shew'd with Respect to the Lord *Falconbridge*. The next Day he entertain'd him at Dinner, seating the Duke at his right Hand, and his Son, the Lord *Richard*, at his left. He stay'd six Days at *London*, and during that Time, was feasted and treated with the utmost Magnificence. Some say he presented the Protector with the Keys of *Dunkirk*, telling him, *His Master took Pleasure in parting with them to the greatest Captain upon Earth*. At his Departure, he was accompany'd to *Dover*, as he came from thence, *Cromwel* presented him with a Sword, worth 3000 Crowns, with a striking Watch set with Diamonds of the same Value, and above forty Pieces of fine *English* Broadcloth. He gave thirty fine Gold Warches to the Officers and Gentlemen of his Retinue, and 1000 Broad-pieces to be distributed among his Servants.

The Cardinal, not content with this Compliment from the King, sent his Nephew *Mancini*, Mazarine's Nephew brings him a Letter. with a most obliging Letter to the Protector, to assure his Highness, *That being within View of the English Shore, nothing but the King's Indisposition, who lay then ill of the Small Pox at Calais, cou'd have hinder'd him to come over to England, that he might enjoy the Honour of Waiting upon one of the greatest Men that ever was, and whom next to his Master, his greatest Ambition was to serve. But being depriv'd of so great a Happiness, he had sent the Person that was nearest to him in Blood, to assure him of the profound Veneration he had for his Person, and how much he was resolv'd, to the utmost of his Power, to cultivate a perpetual Amity and Friendship betwixt his Master and him.*

This was the mighty Man, whom the greatest Politician in *Europe* terms, not only the greatest Man that was then, but that ever was. Yet this too was he, of whom the Earl of *Clarendon* says, *No Man with more Wickedness ever attempted any thing; no Man brought any thing to pass more wickealy. He was guilty of many Crimes against which Damnation is denounc'd, and for which Hell-Fire is prepar'd.* If such Preachment as this can come from any Head but the Head of a College, it must be void of that Humanity which is the Grace of good, as well as Christian Minds.

Some time before *Oliver* was taken ill of his last Sickness, dy'd the Earl of *Warwick*, and his Grandson, Mr. *Rich*, who had marry'd Lady *Frances*, the Protector's youngest Daughter, a young Lady of great Beauty and Virtue. The Death of the Protector's fast Friend, the Earl of *Warwick*, touch'd him very sensibly, and the ill Humours in his Blood did not a little stir up those in his Mind, which, afflicted and disturb'd as it was, ceas't not to form vast Designs even to the very last of Life. It is said, he intended to transport 40000 Men to *Flanders*, and to have a Fleet of fifty Men of War, but upon what Scheme is not told us, whether to support a Protestant League, or to take the *Netberlands* from the *Spaniards*.

Bishop *Burnet* informs us; He design'd to set up a Council for the Reform'd Religion, in Opposition to the Congregation de *propaganda*, *ſide* at *Rome*: He intended it shou'd consist of seven Counsellors, and four Secretaries for different Provinces. These were; The first *France*, *Switzerland*, and the *Vallies*. The second were the *Palatinate*, and the other *Calvinists*. The third were *Germany*, the *North*, and *Turkey*. The fourth were the *East* and *West-Indies*. The Secretaries were to have 500 Pounds a Year each, and to keep

A. D. 1658 keep a Correspondence every where, to know the State of Religion all over the World, that so all good Designs might by their Means be protected and assisted. They were to have a Fund of 10,000 Pounds a Year, but to be further supply'd as Occasions shou'd require. *Chelsea* College was to be fitted up for them. This was a noble Project, as the Bishop observes, and must have extraordinary Effects under the Protection of a Power which was formidable and terrible to all Nations to whom it was known.

Crom-
wel's last
Sickness.

The Lord Protector was taken ill of a kind of Ague, on St. James's Day, which some such Historians as the *Archdeacon*, have interpreted to be a Judgment on him, for being one of the Judges of King *Charles*, Son of King *James*, which being a Fortnight before the Death of Lady *Cleypole*, her Death cou'd not bring it on upon him. After this a malignant Humour broke out in his Foot, which hindring him from the Exercise of Walking or Riding abroad; he oblig'd his Physicians to endeavour to disperse it, which they endeavouring to do, drove it upwards to his Heart. By this Means he became desperately sick, and in the Beginning of *September* the Symptoms of Death appear'd upon him, and he asking one of his Physicians, *What he thought of his Case?* The Doctor reply'd, *My Lord, there is no more Oil in that Lamp which has given so much Light to both Church and State.* The dying Protector, reply'd with a Courage worthy of him, *When do you think it will go out?* The Physician reply'd, *In two Days at farthest. It is Time then, said Cromwel, to settle my Mind, and provide for the Safety of the State.* Accordingly he sent for his Council, and recommended to them the Choice of a Successor, tho' by the humble *Petition* and *Advice*, he might nominate one himself, which it was expected he wou'd have done; but he had not so good an Opinion of the Genius of his eldest Son *Richard*, and he did not care to prefer any other Person of his Family to him. In this Uncertainty he departed this Life the 3d of *September*, about two o'Clock in the Afternoon, the same Day on which he was born, and on which he won the Victories at *Marston-moor*, *Dunbar*, and *Worcester*. Some affirm he did name his Son *Richard* to be his Successor, and *Warwick*; that he was never enough in his Senses, during his Sickness, to be able to do it; which is notoriously false, as I cou'd prove very easily. As false is what we are told in the *History* of the *Rebellion*, that *Cromwel* had but two Daughters, whereas he had four by his Consort *Elizabeth*, Daughter of Sir *James Bourchier*. 1. *Bridget*, Wife of Lieutenant General *Ireton*. 2. *Elizabeth*, Wife of *John Cleypole*, Esq; of *Northamptonshire*. 3. *Mary*, Viscountess *Falconbridge*. 4. *Frances*, the Wife of the Honourable *Robert Rich*, Esq; He had four Sisters, 1. Marry'd to Major General *Desborough*. 2. To Colonel *Jones*. 3. To Colonel *Walton*. 4. To Dr. *Wilkins*, Bishop of *Chester*. She was Mother to Mrs. *Tillotson*, Wife of Dr. *Tillotson*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. One of his Aunts marry'd *Francis Barrington*, Esq; another marry'd *John Hampden*, Esq; by which Match the famous *Hampden* was his Nephew, and Mr. *Waller*, the *Goodwyns* and *Ingoldsbies* of *Bucks*, his Relations: A third marry'd *Richard Whalley*, Esq; of *Nottinghamshire*, Father to Colonel *Whalley*; which shews that no Gentleman had a more powerful Family Interest. *Cromwel* is blam'd by judicious Writers, for not taking more Care of his Family, but leaving them expos'd to Want, considering their Rank, at the Pleasure of their prevailing Enemies of all Parties; for besides the Estate which his Son *Richard* had with his Wife, one of the Coheirs of *Richard Mayor*, Esq; of *Hursely* in *Hampshire*, he left

A. D. 1658 not enough for them to keep a Coach after the Charge of his Funeral was defray'd. However his Care of them while living, in matching them well, both Sons and Daughters, was very laudable, of which there's a pleasant Instance.

One of his domestick Chaplains, Mr. *Jeremy White*, a sprightly Man and a top Wit of his Court, was so ambitious as to make his Addressee to Lady *Frances*, the Protector's youngest Daughter. The young Lady did not discourage him; and this Piece of innocent Gallantry in so religious a Court, cou'd not be carry'd on without Spies. *Oliver* was told of it, and he was much concern'd at it, obliging the Person who told him to be on the Watch; and if he cou'd give him any substantial Proof, he shou'd be well rewarded, and *White* severely punish'd. The Spy follow'd the Matter so close, that he hunted *Jerry White*, as he was generally term'd, to the Lady's Chamber, and ran immediately to the Protector with this News. *Oliver* in a Rage hasten'd thither himself, and going in hastily, found *Jerry* on his Knees kissing the Lady's Hand, or having just kiss'd it. *Cromwel* in a Fury ask'd what was the Meaning of that Posture before his Daughter *Frank*? *White*, with a great deal of Presence of Mind, said, *May it please your Highness, I have a long Time courted that young Gentlewoman there, my Lady's Woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her Ladyship to intercede for me.* The Protector turning to the young Woman, cry'd, *What's the meaning of this, Hussey? Why do you refuse the Honour Mr. White wou'd do you? He is my Friend, and I expect you shou'd treat him as such.* My Lady's Woman, who desir'd nothing more, with a very low Courtesy reply'd, *If Mr. White intends me that Honour, I shall not be against him. Sayst thou so, my Lass, cry'd Cromwel, Call Goodwyn, This Business shall be done presently, before I go out of the Room.* Mr. *White* was gone too far to go back. The Parson came. *Jerry* and my Lady's Woman were marry'd in Presence of the Protector, who gave her 500 Pounds for her Portion; and that, with the Money she had sav'd before, made Mr. *White* easy in his Circumstances, except in one Thing, which was, that he never lov'd his Wife, nor she him, tho' they liv'd together near fifty Years afterwards. I knew them both, and heard this Story told when Mrs. *White* was present, who did not contradict it, but own'd there was something in it. This Lady *Frances* and her eldest Sister, Lady *Mary Falconbridge* (indeed all *Cromwel's* Daughters) were lov'd, admir'd and esteem'd for their Beauty, Virtue and good Sense. Lady *Mary* especially is said, with all these fine Imbellishments, to have inherited a Portion of her Father's Spirit, and to have deserv'd Empire better than either of her Brothers, of whom she was wont to say, *Those who wear Breeches deserve Petticoats better: If those in Petticoats had been in Breeches, they wou'd have held faster.* This was the Lady whom a valiant Cavalier insulted in the Park, after the Restoration, on her Father's being taken out of his Grave and hung up at *Tyburn*; to whom she reply'd, *Had he been living, he wou'd have made you all smell worse.* The Character of *Cromwel* has been so often drawn by Friends and Foes, that I shall not attempt to add to what has been already said of him in this History.

Mr. *Baxter's* Saying of his Religion is most certain, *He kept as much Honesty and Godliness as his Cause and Interest wou'd allow him.* And a Foreigner has this Paradox on him, which the Reader will perceive, when it is duly explain'd, takes in his whole Character, *Un Tyran sans Vice, Un Prince sans Vertue.* A Tyrant without Vice, A Prince without Virtue.



THE
H I S T O R Y
 O F
E N G L A N D,
 During the PROTECTORATE of
RICHARD CROMWEL.

A. D. 1658



LUDLOW seems to doubt whether Oliver did really nominate his Son Richard to be his Successor: But Whitlock, who was at that Time much more in the Secret of Affairs, speaks of it thus: "Immediately upon the Protector's Death,

"the Council assembled, and being satisfy'd that his late Highness had in his Life-time, according to the Petition and Advice, declar'd his Son Richard to be his Successor, they caus'd the same to be proclaim'd in a solemn Manner in the Cities of London and Westminster; and they went the same Day to Richard to acquaint him with it, and sent a Committee of the Council into the City to inform the Lord Mayor of it." Accordingly Richard was proclaim'd Lord Protector in the following Words,

Whereas it hath pleas'd the most wise God, in his Providence, to take out of this World the most Serene and Renown'd Oliver, late Lord Protector of this Common-wealth: And his Highness having in his Life-time, according to the humble Petition and Advice, declar'd and appointed the most Noble and Illustrious the Lord Richard, eldest Son of his said late Highness, to succeed him in the Government of these Nations; we therefore of the Privy-Council, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of London, the Officers of the Army, and Numbers of other principal Gentlemen, do now hereby, with one full Voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart, publish and declare the said Noble and Illustrious Lord Richard to be Rightfully Protector of this Common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: To

whom we acknowledge all Fidelity and constant Obedience, according to Law, and the said humble Petition and Advice, with all hearty and humble Affections, beseeching the Lord, by whom Princes rule, to bless him with long Life, and these Nations with Peace and Happiness under his Government. Sign'd by Richard Chiverton, Lord Mayor, Henry Lawrence, Esq; Lord President, Nathaniel Fiennes, Esq; John Lisle, Esq; Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Philip Lord Viscount Lisle, Major General Desborough, Col. Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Wolseley, Major General Skippon, Col. William Sydenham, Walter Strickland, Esq; Philip Jones, Esq, John Thurloe, Esq; Lord Viscount Falconbridge, Commissary General Whalley, Col. William Goff, Col. Thomas Cooper, Col. Edward Salmon, Sir Oliver Fleming, Col. John Clerk, Sir Thomas Pride, Edmund Prideaux, Esq; Col. Josias Bridge, Col. John Biscoe, Waldine Lagee, Esq; John Mills, Esq; Quarter-master General Grosvenor, &c. - - - - - God save his Highness Richard, Lord Protector.

A. D. 1653

The Council then gave the new Protector the Oath, and with his Consent publish'd another Proclamation, for all that were Officers in his Father's Time to continue in their Places.

On the 8th of September Sir Oliver Fleming, Master of the Ceremonies, acquainted all foreign Ambassadors with the Death of the late Protector, and the Succession of his Son Richard, who was as solemnly proclaim'd all over England as ever any King had been; and more Addresses were sent him from all Parts of the three Kingdoms; than had been sent to all the Kings from the first Richard to this: All declaring their Satisfaction in his Succession, and their Resolution to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes.

This

A.D. 1658

This Man's Accession to the Sovereign Power without one of his Father's great Qualities, and hardly any Quality of a Gentleman but Indolence, very justly elevated the Hopes of the Royalists and Republicans; but the latter, by dividing their Interest from that of the Protectorate, and taking in the Royalists to encrease their Party, had indeed so weaken'd themselves, that they cou'd never effectually recover the Government which they had so long labour'd for.

His Letters to foreign Princes.

Two Days after the late Protector's Death, his Son *Richard* wrote a Letter to the French King, *Au serenissime & tres puissant Louis Roy de France. Serenissime & tres puissant Roy Ami & Allie, &c.* wherein he says, *I am now to desire your Majesty to look on me as one who is resolv'd to maintain, with an entire and constant Fidelity, the Friendship that was between you and my Father of ever glorious Memory. Sign'd RICHARD, Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England.* He wrote at the same Time to Cardinal *Mazarine*; and soon after he wrote two Letters to *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*; the first notifying his Father's Death; the other was a Credential Letter for *Sir George Ayscue*, whom he sent Ambassador to that Prince. In these Letters he says, *Pray God grant your Majesty Success in all your Affairs, for his Glory and the Support of the Orthodox Church.* In his Letter to the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, he recommends the Case of a Widow, *Mrs. Mary Grinder*, who having lent that Gentleman of King *Charles* the Second's Retinue, for whom he was solicitous to get a Wife, a good Sum of Money, he refus'd to pay it, pleading that he who had made himself a Subject of the *States*, was free from any Suit or Action for a Debt contracted in *England*. The Protector says, *Je ne croi pas qu'il soit necessaire devons en dire d'avantage sur ce sujet, &c. I don't think it necessary to add any thing farther on this Subject, you know the Commandments of the Lord, and how much we are expressly forbidden to oppress the Widow and the Fatherless.* He wrote a second Letter to the French King in Behalf of the Protestants of *Provence*, especially in and about the City of *Agde*, where their Churches were shut up on Complaint of the Clergy of the Diocess assembled in Convocation. But alas! his Recommendations and Interpositions had not the Weight in them which his Father's had. All the Princes and Powers of *Europe* knew the Court and Army were divided and subdivided, and that this Government was upon a sandy Foundation: However, all the Princes and Powers paid him the usual Compliments on the Death of one Prince, and the Succession of another to his Power; and if *Lambert*, *Fleetwood*, the Army, and his own Family had stood by him, all Opposition wou'd have serv'd only to have given a Pretence to take Vengeance on his Enemies. But instead of this Attachment they all fell off from him one after another, and left him a poor, destitute, forsaken Creature in an empty Court at *Whitehall*.

Forsaken by his Family.

Monk flatters Richard.

A very loyal Address was sent by *Monk* from *Scotland* to *Richard*, and one from *Buckinghamshire*, wherein most of the principal Gentlemen were engag'd, was presented to him by *Whitlocke*, accompany'd with a great Number of them. *Whitlocke* made a short Speech to the new Protector, who thank'd them for their Affections, and, as 'tis said, in his Memorials return'd a very prudent Answer. We read a little after, "Richard gave Audience to the French Ambassador, and carry'd himself discreetly, and better than was expected." For the vulgar Notion conceiv'd of *Richard*, from such Histories as *Clarendon* and *Richard's Character*. *Richard's*, that he was a Fool, is idle and groundless:

A.D. 1658

He wanted not Understanding but Resolution. He was capable of Business, but hated it, tho' 'tis likely that Hatred wou'd have worn off with Practice; and as he was well natur'd and virtuous, tho' no Zealor nor Sectary, had his Father's Friends been as willing that he shou'd have kept the Power, as he was to keep it, I do not see how *Mr. Mordaunt*, Major General *Massej*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the *Shrofsire* Gentry, *Sir Thomas Middleton*, *Arundel* and *Pollard*, to whom the Lord *Clarendon* is giving Arms as fast as he can, cou'd have taken it from him.

The Truth is, the Cavaliers were in the lowest State of Dejection and Impotence, and might as well have expected the Resurrection as a Restoration, had their Opponents been as true to the publick Interest as they were to their private, tho' they were mistaken in the Pursuit of it.

The Party, who had a Common-wealth in their Heads, did not consider that most of the *Cromwells* had been Common wealths Men; that half of their Strength was gone from them, and were ready to join with any single Person, rather than subject themselves to a Parliament, whom they had turn'd out of Doors.

Neither did the *Cromwells* consider, that by dividing from the *Republicans*, their old sure Friends, they had made a Breach for the *Cavaliers*, their old sure inveterate, revengeful and cruel Enemies, to enter in at.

The *Fisk-Monarchy* Party consider'd nothing but the *Milleniums*, that they were all to be Favourites under a *Theocracy*, which being the Height of Madness, was incapable of any other Remedy than the Restoration: When the State Surgeon, fell into an infallible Way of Practice, and to cure an aking Head, cut it off. The Common-wealths Men, blinded with their Zeal for the long Parliament, and imagining a disgrac'd forgotten Power, might, like an old Tree, get new Root; and sprout and branch as in the Vigor of Youth, began their Machinations immediately on the Death of *Oliver*.

Sir Henry Vane, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, *Mr. Wallop*; *Mr. Weaver*, Colonel *Eyres*, *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, Col. *Kendrick*, *Mr. Scot*, Colonel *Dixwell*, Major *Salloway*, Serjeant *Bradshaw*, Colonel *Sidney*, *Mr. Nevill*, Colonel *Morley*, were the main Sticklers for the Common-wealth; and these had their Meetings at *Sir Henry Vane's* House, near *Chairing Cross*, where they consulted how they shou'd behave upon the Election of a Parliament, which was talk'd of, and Writs soon after issu'd for electing Members, and for the other House to meet; but before the Writs were issu'd, 'twas debated in Council, whether the Elections shou'd be according to the Distribution practis'd by *Cromwel*, or the old Way, by Counties, Cities and Boroughs, and the latter was resolv'd upon, not as being according to the ancient Law and Form, but because it was well understood, that mean and decay'd Boroughs might be much more easily corrupted than the numerous Counties and considerable Cities. Yet, contrary to this Argument, to the Fact and Truth, the Earl of *Clarendon* assures us, *Richard follow'd the Model that was left him.* And *Coke* errs as much, *His Parliament were of his Father's Composition*, to consist of 400 English, &c.

Parliament.

656.

Notwithstanding the Opposition made by the Court, several Leaders of the Republican Party got to be elected. *Sir Henry Vane* had the Majority of Voices at *Hull* and *Bristol*. The Sheriffs of *Bristol*, *Mr. Francis Glead*, and *Mr. Timothy Parker*, refus'd to return *Sir Henry*, so did the Mayor of *Hull*; but by the Interest of *Mr. Wallop*, he was chosen at *Whitchurch* in *Hampshire*, and return'd, *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, *Mr. Scot*,

A.D. 1658 Mr. Weaver, Colonel Kendrick, Colonel Ludlow, and several other Republicans got into the House. Serjeant Bradshaw was return'd for the County of Chester, by the Sheriff; but some of the County returning another Person, he was kept out of the House.

Before the Parliament met, Richard, as the Lord Clarendon tells us, very truly, *inherited all the Greatness, and all the Glory of his Father, as Protector. Foreign Princes address'd their Condolences to him, and desir'd to renew their Alliances, and nothing was heard in England but the Voice of Joy, and large Encomiums of their new Protector; so that the King's Condition never appear'd so hopeless and so desperate, for a more favourable Conjunction his Friends cou'd never expect than this, which now seem'd to blast all their Hopes, and confirm their utmost Despair.*

If this was the sad Situation of their Affairs, can we have a better Lesson to teach us to avoid Division as we wou'd Destruction? For nothing else cou'd have given the least Glimmering of Hope amidst that utmost Despair.

Richard's Council having resolv'd to celebrate the Funeral of his Father in the most magnificent Manner, sent for Mr. Kinnersey, Master of the Wardrobe, and desir'd him to find out some Precedent by which they might govern themselves in this Affair. Kinnersey recommended to them the Solemnities us'd on the like Occasion, for Philip the second King of Spain. That vile Insult of Echar'd, on the Corpse of the late Protector, *They were oblig'd to bury it suddenly by Reason of the uncommon Stench*, puts me in Mind of a Story, which I had forty Years ago, from a Gentlewoman who attended Cromwell in his last Sickness. She was a religious Woman, and her Authority is at least as good as John Thorowgood, the Boy from whom, at the third and fourth Hand, Echar'd took the Fable of the Bargain between the Devil and Oliver. She told me, that the Day after Cromwell's Death, it was consulted how to dispose of his Corpse. They cou'd not pretend to keep it for the Pomp of a publick Burial. Among other Proposals this was one, that considering the Malice, Rage, and Cruelty of the Cavaliers it was most certain, they who never spar'd either Living or Dead, in the Lust of their Revenge, wou'd insult the Body of this their most dreadful Enemy, if ever it was in their Power; and to prevent its falling into such barbarous Hands, it was resolv'd to wrap it up in Lead, to put it aboard a Barge, and sink it in the deepest Part of the Thames, which was done the Night following: Two of his near Relations, with some trusty Soldiers, undertaking to do it. There is as much Reason to believe this Story, as any thing told us from Hear-say, by either of the two Historians, whom we have so much Cause to object against.

Cromwell's Funeral.

A Coffin without the Corpse, which was certainly interr'd somewhere before the 26th of September, was on that Day carry'd in a mourning Hearse, from Whitehall to Somerset-House, where in a short time his Effigy was, with mighty State and Magnificence, expos'd to the View of infinite Multitudes, who daily throng'd to that Place. Four large Apartments were hung with Black, illuminated with Wax Tapers, and adorn'd with rich Escutcheons, &c. of which the fourth was compleatly cover'd with Velvet, where the lively Image lay under a noble Canopy, upon a Bed of State, apparell'd in the Protectorial Robes, lac'd with Gold, and furr'd with Ermines, having in one Hand a Scepter, in the other a Globe, and a rich Cap on the Head, suitable to the Robes: Behind was plac'd a Chair and Cushion of Tissue'd Gold, in which lay an Imperial Crown beset with

A.D. 1658 Diamonds and precious Stones. The Bed of State was inclos'd with Rails and Balusters, and besides solemn Mourners, surrounded with Banners, Banner-rolls, and all Kinds of Trophies of Military Honours. The Effigy having for some Weeks been seen in this Posture, was on the first of November remov'd to the great Hall, and expos'd standing on a Bed of Crimson Velvet, cover'd with a Gown of the like colour'd Velvet, a Scepter in his Hand, and a Crown on his Head. That Part of the Hall, wherein the Bed stood, was rail'd in, and the Rails and Ground within them, cover'd with Crimson Velvet; four or five Hundred Candles set in flat shining Candlesticks were so plac'd round, near the Roof of the Hall, that the Light they gave seem'd like the Rays of the Sun. Having continu'd thus to the 23d of November, the Waxen Effigies, with the Crown on his Head, Globe and Scepter in his Hands, was plac'd in a stately open Chariot, cover'd with black Velvet, and drawn with six Horses, cover'd in the like Manner, and adorn'd with Plumes and other Ornaments. The Streets from Somerset-House to Westminster-Abbey, were guarded by Soldiers in new Mourning Habits, with their Ensigns wrap'd in Cypress, thro' which the Chariot was attended by all the Officers and Servants of the Household, the chief Officers both of the Army and Navy, the Masters in Chancery, the Counsellors and Judges, the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Members of the Privy Council, the Members of the late Upper House, and the Lord Mayor, John Ireton, Esq; and Aldermen of London, besides several Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors, as those of France, Portugal and Holland, all in deep Mourning. These all mov'd in a solemn and pompous Procession, each Division or Company being distinguish'd by Drums, Trumpets, Banners, and led Horses, particularly the Horse of State cover'd with black Velvet; and lastly, the Horse of Honour, trapp'd with Embroidery upon crimson Velvet, adorn'd with white, red and yellow Plumes, led by the Master of the Horse, with other Ceremonies us'd at the Obsequies of the greatest Monarchs of the World. At the West End of the Abbey Church, the Effigies being taken out of the Chariot, was carry'd thro' the Church, under a Canopy of State, up to the East End, where it was plac'd on a sumptuous Mausoleum fram'd for that Purpose, with Pilasters and other Decorations of Architecture, carv'd, painted and gilt, to remain for a certain Time exhibited to publick View. Innumerable were the Spectators who came from the farthest Part of Scotland, Cornwall and Wales, to behold this astonishing Spectacle; the like of which had not been seen in England, perhaps not in the World; and may not the same be said of the Deceas'd, to whom these Funeral Honours were paid? The Expence amounted to 60,000 Pounds, and if it was not all defray'd by the Publick, the Publick who caus'd it shou'd bare the Blame. The insolent Reflection at the End of Echar'd's Tale, that the Monumental Pile was broken down two Years after, and the Body carry'd to a Place more proper for his Interment (he means the Gallows) very well becomes his Person and his Party, who, as they were not capable of great and generous Sentiments, must take Pleasure in every thing base and barbarous, to hang a Man after he was dead; whose Look or Name was Death to them while he was living, is equal to such as made a Prey of the Minds and Bodies of their fellow Subjects.

I abhor Cromwell's traiterous Designs as much as the most inveterate of them; but I abhor also Insolence and Inhumanity, tho' I am very well satisfy'd they never had Oliver's Corpse at their Mercy.

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The

A. D. 1658

The Author of the *Compleat History*, and the Archdeacon, do take some Pains with the Ecclesiastical as well as Civil History of the Times they write of, and I cou'd, with very little Pains, fix upon them Misrepresentation and Prevarication, if the Subject was within my Province.

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

They have confounded all Church History by a Parcel of Technical Terms or Cant, as *Schism*, *Sett*, *Fanatick*, *Enthusiast*, *Church*, *Orthodox*, and the like on one Side and t'other; Names to which no Ideas are affix'd that have the least Conformity to the one or the other. Can any Man in his Wits imagine, that by *Schismatick* or *Settary* was meant a Christian of the Reform'd Religion, worshipping God in the Purity of Primitive Christianity? or that by *Orthodox*, these Historians, or any one else, understood Lords and Lordships, Honours and Revenues, Prerogatives and Powers? yet so it is throughout all their Histories.

In the Time of the Republick, the *Presbyterians*, *Independants* and *Baptists*, were alike tolerated, but not favour'd alike; the two latter being univerfally for a Common-wealth, as the former were for Monarchy. The *Episcopalians* were then conniv'd at. In *Oliver's* Time *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Baptists* and *Episcopalians* were alike tolerated by Turns, alike favour'd, except the *Presbyterians*, whom *Cromwel* had an Aversion to, for opposing the Death of the King. *Dr. Gunning*, afterwards the Rigid Bishop of *Ely*, kept a Conventicle in *London* before the Restoration, in as open a Manner as *Dr. Burgefs* did after it; so did several other Episcopal Divines without Disturbance: Nay, some Papists were in *Cromwel's* good Graces, infomuch that *Father White* wrote a Book in Vindication of his Government. *Oliver* never persecuted the Churchmen for their Religion, tho' they were perpetually in Conspiracies to destroy him. King *Charles II.* suffer'd the *Presbyterians* to be persecuted without Mercy, tho' they were perpetually in Conspiracies to restore him to his Kingdoms, and in the End accomplish'd it. Such was the Generosity of the one, and such the Ingratitude of the other! But I have frequently observ'd, that Gratitude and Generosity are not of the Growth of such Minds as produce Slavery and Persecution.

A. D. 1659. Parliament.

On the 27th of *January* the Parliament met, and *Richard* went to the other House with as much Solemnity as ever King had done; and having sent for the House of Commons by the Usher of the Black Rod, he made a Speech to them, in which he represented "The Happiness of his Father's Government, and how he had left these Nations in great Honour abroad, and in full Peace at home, all *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* dwelling safely, every Man under his Vine and under his Fig-tree: He said, he believ'd a Parliament was never summon'd upon so important Occasion as this was, and so recommended to them the Care of the Fleets and Armies, the Prosecution of the War with *Spain*, the Assistance of the King of *Sweden*, the Reformation of Manners, the Protestant Religion, &c." There was nothing more remarkable in the Speech made after the Protector had done, by the Lord Commissioner *Fiennes*, than the Beginning of it, *What can a Man say after the King?* The Parliament made Choice of *Challoner Clute*, Esq; to be their Speaker. *Whitlock* informs us, *He was an excellent Orator, a Man of great Parts and Generosity.*

Ludlow sits in it.

Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, who was chosen a Member of this Parliament, sat in the House without taking the Oath not to act or

contrive any thing against the Protector. One *Mr. Bodurda*, a *Cornish* Member, complain'd of it, and was seconded by Sir *John Trevor*, whose Name we shall meet with often after the Restoration; not he who was expell'd the House of Commons when he was Speaker for Bribery, but he who was Secretary of State. *Mr. Weaver* and others oppos'd them, alledging, *That for the most part Oaths prov'd only Snares to honest Men, it being generally observ'd, that those who were least conscientious in keeping an Oath, were the most forward to take it.* Col. *Eyres* also inform'd the House, "That he had sat in the Long Parliament without taking the Oath" then prescrib'd: That Lieutenant General *Ludlow* mov'd the House in his Behalf, and "was the Person nominated by them to bring him into the House without taking the Oath; which afterwards was not insisted upon. Sir *Walter Saint John*, Grandfather to the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, was one of the Persons appointed to administer the Oath; and whatever is insinuated of the meanest of this Convention by our impartial History Writers, it consisted of Gentlemen of as good Ranks and Fortunes, though they did not, and wou'd not have brought in the King, as the succeeding Convention, that did.

The first Things debated by this Assembly, were the *Militia* and the *Negative Voice*, to which the Protector pretended by his Father's *Magna Charta*, the *Petition* and *Advice*. But *Mr. Thurloe*, Secretary of State, presented the House with a Declaration ready drawn, wherein was contain'd an Acknowledgment of *Richard Cromwel* to be Protector, and that *Petition* and *Advice* to be the Rule of Government; which Declaration was receiv'd and debated; in which Debate it was urg'd, that instead of *Recognizing*, the Word *Agnizing* might be us'd, that so his Right might appear to be founded on the Consent of the People. But the Court Party depending on the major Vote, carry'd every thing by the *Question*; a very short Way, and a great Saver of Time and Argument: However, by purging the House of several Malignants, who had crept into it, and by convincing several young Gentlemen, that were Members, of the Sincerity of their Intentions, the Common-wealth Party grew upon that of the Court; to which a warm Speech of Sir *Henry Vane's* contributed not a little: It was to this Purpose;

Mr. Speaker,

"Among all the People of the Universe, I Sir Henry know none who have shewn so much Zeal for Vane's the Liberty of their Country, as the *English* Speech. at this Time have done: They have, by the Help of Divine Providence, overcome all Obstacles, and have made themselves Free. We have driven away the Hereditary Tyranny of the House of *Stuart*, at the Expence of much Blood and Treasure, in Hopes of enjoying Hereditary Liberty, after having shaken off the Yoke of *King-ship*; and there is not a Man amongst us, who cou'd have imagin'd that any Person wou'd be so bold as to dare to attempt the ravishing from us Freedom, which costs us so much Blood and so much Labour.

"But so it happens, I know not by what Misfortune, we are fallen into the Error of those who poison'd the Emperor *Titus* to make room for *Domitian*, who made away *Augustus* that they might have *Tiberius*, and chang'd *Claudius* for *Nero*. I am sensible these Examples are foreign from my Subject, since the Romans in those Days were bury'd in *Lewdness* and *Luxury*; whereas the People of *England* are

A.D. 1659 " are now renown'd, all over the World, for their great Virtue and Discipline; and yet suffer an " Idiot, without Courage, without Sense, nay " without Ambition, to have Dominion in a Country of Liberty. One cou'd bear a little with " *Oliver Cromwel*, tho' contrary to his Oath of " Fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his Duty " to the Publick, contrary to the Respect he " ow'd to that venerable Body from whom he " receiv'd his Authority, he usurp'd the Government. His Merit was so extraordinary, that " our Judgments, our Passions might be blinded " by it. He made his Way to Empire by the " most illustrious Actions; he had under his " Command an Army that had made him a " Conqueror, and a People that had made him their General.

" But as for *Richard Cromwel* his Son, Who " is he? What are his Titles? We have seen " that he had a Sword by his Side, but did he " ever draw it? And what is of more Importance in this Case, Is he fit to get Obedience " from a mighty Nation, who cou'd never make " a Footman obey him? Yet we must recognise " this Man as our King, under the Stile of Protector! A Man without Birth, without Courage, without Conduct. For my part, I declare, Sir, it shall never be said that I made " such a Man my Master.

His Speech was heard with singular Applause. My Lord *Falconbridge* spoke in Answer to it, but 'twas visible that it had such an Effect on the House, as gave the Court no Hopes of a good Issue to this Session, tho' they carry'd the Question for the *other House*, with this Addition, That it shou'd be no Bar to such Peers who had faithfully served the Parliament, who by this Vote were admitted to sit if they pleas'd. But this very Vote was clogg'd with another, *That in all Messages to, and Conferences with the other House, equal Ceremonies shou'd be used, and no other Respect observ'd by the Members of this House, than what is observ'd by the Members sitting in the other.* There was something which look'd somewhat odd in this Convention, and that was in the Debate of the Members for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, those Gentlemen sitting, arguing, and voting for themselves, which was thought indecent, if not unjust; however, the Court cou'd have carry'd their Point without their Vote.

The Lord *Clarendon* insinuates, that the House was very busy in examining the Publick Accounts, as if there had been enormous Embezlements. He gives every thing he takes in Hand a Turn different from what it really was, *pro* or *con*. The Truth of this Matter is, the House ordered the Commissioners of the Treasury to bring in the State of the Account of the Publick Treasury; accordingly Mr. *Sherwyn*, Secretary to the Treasury, and a Member of Parliament, deliver'd it, and *Whitlock* tells us, it was found to be very exact.

Other House.

The House of Commons having pass'd a Declaration for a Publick Fast, sent it to the *other House* by Mr. *Grove*, for their Concurrence, which I take to be the only Matter transacted between the two Houses. The latter were disgust'd at the Neglect put upon them by the former, and well enough pleas'd that at last they were recognis'd by this Message, which the Lords Commissioners *Fiennes*, *Liste*, and *Whitlock*, receiv'd at the Bar of the *other House*, who answer'd, *That they would take it into further Consideration*; and this Clashing between the two Houses, weaken'd the Authority of both, and sapp'd the very Foundation of the *Petition and Advice*, the great Charter of the present Government.

A.D. 1659 These Divisions were not confin'd within the Walls of the Parliament House, but broke out in the Army itself, the Officers every where dividing their Jealousies one of another. They were divided into Three Parties, and neither of them much superior to the other in Number. One Party was known to be well affected to the Common-wealth; another to the Council of Officers, meeting by their own Authority at *Wallingford-House*, where Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* liv'd; the Third Party was the Protector *Richard's*.

The Common-wealth Officers.

Col. *Aspfield*, Col. *Lilburn*, Col. *Fitz*, Lieutenant Colonel *Mason*, Lieutenant Colonel *Moss*, Lieutenant Colonel *Farley*, Major *Creed*, &c.

The Wallingford-House Officers.

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Desborough*, Treasurer *Blackwell*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Clerk*, Col. *Kelsey*, Col. *Berry*, Major *Haines*.

Richard Cromwel's Officers.

Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*, Lord Viscount *Howard*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Gough*, Col. *Norton*, Col. *Whalley*, Col. *Goodrich*, Lieutenant Col. *Kains*.

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* did, without doubt, expect to have been declar'd Successor to *Cromwel*, and without doubt had been so promis'd by his Father in Law, who thought worse of his own Son than he really deserv'd, which is not common in Parents. But *Oliver* was above any Kindred, but that of Souls; and his Son's Soul not being so great as he wou'd have had it, he took it to be less than it was: For *Richard* did not want Sense; his Want was Firmness and Resolution.

My Manuscript Author, who had his Memoirs from the Earl of *Orrery*, affirms *Oliver* made *Fleetwood* his Heir; but one of his Daughters knowing where his Will was, took it away and burnt it, before *Fleetwood* cou'd come at it; and a few Minutes before *Cromwel's* Death, when he was ask'd, *Who should succeed him?* he made Reply, and said, *In such a Drawer of the Cabinet, in my Closet, you will find it.* *Fleetwood* found himself trick'd indeed, and the whole Council against him; so he fell in with them, waiting an Opportunity to right or revenge himself; which offer'd in the Divisions between the two Houses, the Court and Parliament, and between the Court, Parliament, and Army.

Richard Cromwel's Friends, to increase their Party, had cajol'd and carest'd the Royalists so much, that it gave Offence to the well-affected in Parliament and City. A certain inferior Officer having publickly murmur'd at it, was carry'd to *Whitehall* to answer for it. *Richard*, besides other reproachful Language, ask'd him in a scornful way, *Whether he wou'd have him prefer none but the Godly?* Here, continues he, is *Dick Ingoldsby*, who can neither Pray nor Preach, and yet I will trust him before ye all. Upon which *Ludlow* reflects thus: " These imprudent, as well as irreligious Words, so clearly discovering the Frame and Temper of his Mind, were soon publish'd in the Army and City of *London*, to his great Prejudice. And from this time, all Men amongst them, who made but the least Pretences to Religion and Sobriety, began to think themselves unsafe whilst he govern'd; and thereupon soon form'd a Resolution to use their utmost Endeavours to divide the Military from the Civil Power,

A. D. 1659 "Power, and to place the Command of the Army in Lieutenant General Fleetwood; who having Intimation of this Disposition in his Favour, thought to confirm it, by joining in with the Republicans. To this end, he prevail'd with his Parry to send Col. Kelsey to Lieutenant General Ludlow, and let him know, that the Gentlemen at Wallingford-House wou'd give him a friendly Reception, if he wou'd come thither and confer with them; which he did, and the Wallingford-House Officers consented, that an Agreement shou'd be propos'd to Sir Arthur Haslerigge and Sir Henry Vane, who readily approved of it, and promis'd to be assisting in all things for the Publick Service. With this Answer Ludlow went to Col. Sydenham, and desir'd him to acquaint the Company at Wallingford-House with it. Sydenham told the Lieutenant General, that those Gentlemen design'd to call a General Council of Officers, and if they cou'd effect it, they doubted not to go a great way towards a good Settlement.

General Council of Officers.

All these Steps were against the Protector. His Brother in Law, Fleetwood, and his Uncle in Law, Desborough, were the main Agents; and two or three of the Wallingford-House Party finding him alone, took the Opportunity to persuade him of the Necessity of calling a General Council of Officers in order to present something to the House for the Regulation and Maintenance of the Army. Richard, not suspecting their Design, consented to the Proposition; and having issu'd out an Order to that Purpose, a General Council of Officers met. The Protector's Cabinet Council were the Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and Col. Phillips. These were not made acquainted with the calling of this Council, till after the Order was issu'd, and when they knew it, they represented to the Protector the dangerous Consequence of it to his Person and Government. However, Broghill, as a General Officer, assist'd at the Council, having promis'd Richard to do him what Service he cou'd.

Richard's Cabinet Council.

There met at Wallingford-House above Five hundred Officers, in the Beginning of April. Dr. Owen made a long Prayer, and then Major General Desborough spoke for near an Hour, representing How great the Lord had been to them, how prosperous their Arms had been, which Prosperity, he fear'd, wou'd not continue; seeing, since their Peace and Happiness, there were several Men, Sons of Belial, crept in amongst them; for whose sakes there wou'd be great Judgments upon the Army; and therefore, he thought, wou'd be convenient to purge it by a Test, which every Officer shou'd take, "That they did believe in their Consciences that the putting of the late King, Charles Stuart, to Death, was lawful and just. Which Motion was receiv'd with Applause, till another was started which puzzled the Cause. 'Twas observ'd, that as soon as Desborough had done speaking, the Lord Viscount Falconbridge, and the Lord Viscount Howard rose up and left the Assembly. It was suppos'd to carry Advice of it to the Protector. The Lord Broghill stood up to answer Desborough, beginning his Speech thus:

Col. Desborough's Speech.

Lord Broghill's Speech.

I am not of the same Opinion with the Noble Lord who spoke last, being against all Tests put upon the Army, as Things which wou'd enslave them, and which they have declar'd against. If they once put Tests upon themselves, they will quickly have others put Tests upon them; and so will act against their own Liberty of Conscience, which they have so much fought and pleaded for. I am in particular against the Test propos'd, because it is unjust and unreasonable to require Men to swear to the Lawfulness of that which they

were not present at the doing of. And many, besides myself, were not present when the late King was Try'd and put to Death, and how can they swear that what they did not and cou'd not know, was Just and Lawful? But if you will have a Test to purge the Army, I think I have Liberty to propose one, as well as others; which is, That all shall be turn'd out of the Army, that will not swear to defend the Government, as it is now establish'd, under the Protector and Parliament. This is reasonable, because your Being depends upon it; and lawful, because it is to maintain that Authority by which you sit. I declare I am against all Tests, and for the Continuance of the Liberty of the Army. If you will have a Test, I am for this; and if you will not pass it here, or do pass the other, I will move for this Test to Morrow in Parliament, where I am confident it will pass. Many cry'd out, Well mov'd; and Col. Gough and Col. Whaley, between whom Lord Broghill sat, were brought over by him for his Test or none, as they declar'd in two warm Speeches. Upon this, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Major General Desborough, and others who were in their Secret, withdrew to consult among themselves; and when they return'd, Fleetwood said, We have consider'd what my Lord Broghill has spoken, and did not see the ill Consequences of imposing Tests upon the Army, till his Lordship had hinted them; wherefore we will not put it to the Vote which of them shall pass, but desire both may be drop'd.

A. D. 1659

The Wallingford-House Party succeeded better in their other Motions: One of them was, "That it wou'd be more advantageous to the Army, and more conducing to the Good of the Nation, if the Military and Civil Power might be plac'd in different Hands, that the one might be a Balance to the other. At this Motion there was a Hum. And the next was a Step further declaring their Apprehensions, That the Common Cause was wholly to be ruin'd by the Subtily and Artifices of those, who had never been able to do it by open Force. Wherefore they desir'd the Command of the Army might be intrusted to the Care of some few Persons, in whom they might all confide. This Proposition found so general an Approbation, that it was impossible for the Protector's Party to resist the Stream: They were extremely alarm'd at these Proceedings, well knowing, that a Protector wou'd make a sorry Figure, when there was a General of the Army who had the whole Military Power. He and his Courtiers put some Members of Parliament upon charging the Council with mutinous Words against the Government, and against the two Houses; which Accusation was so well seconded, that the House of Commons Voted, That the Officers of the Army shou'd no more meet as a General Council. Notwithstanding this Vote, they still met, and the Parliament having Notice, declar'd the Protector General of their Army, authorizing him to disperse the Officers to their respective Posts, to turn out such as shou'd disobey, and place others in their room. They also Voted it to be High Treason in the Officers to meet in Council, contrary to their Orders; and promis'd to cause the Arrears of those that shou'd yield Obedience, to be forthwith paid, with Assurances to take Care of them for the future. The Lord Broghill advis'd Richard Cromwel to join in with the Parliament, and dissolve the Council of Officers. How shall I do it, says Richard? Broghill reply'd, If you please, I'll draw up a short Speech for you, and to Morrow Morning go to the Council, where, after an Hour's sitting among them, you may stand up and speak it. The Protector promis'd to do so, and the Lord Broghill drew

A.D. 1659 drew up a Speech for him, of about eight or ten Lines, to this Effect.

Gentlemen,
 Lord Broghill " I accept of your Service with all Thankful-
 makes a " nefs. I have consider'd what does most ag-
 Speech for " grieve you, and think the best and properest
 Richard. " Way to redress what is amiss amongst you, is
 " to do it in the Parliament now sitting, of which
 " many of you are Members, where I will see
 " Things righted, and therefore declare my Com-
 " mission for holding this Council to be now void,
 " and the Council dissolv'd, and desire you to
 " get to your several Commands.

Lord Broghill gave Richard this Speech, and he learnt it by the next Morning, when, at ten o'Clock, he came to Wallingford-House, and sat down in a Chair of State, which pleas'd some, and troubled others. After an Hour's Stay, he rose up and spoke, as above; which, tho' mild, gave great Dislike to Fleetwood, Desborough, and that Party, who complain'd in Parliament how much they had been abus'd and affronted by a certain Lord in that Assembly, looking stedfastly on the Lord Broghill, and desiring Satisfaction; to which End they mov'd for an Address to his Highness, to know who advis'd him to dissolve the Council of War, during the sitting of Parliament, without the Parliament's Consent or Knowledge. Broghill standing in his Place, said,

" At the same time there is an Address made, " to know who advis'd the Dissolution of the " Council without the Parliament's Knowledge " or Consent; I humbly move there may be also " another Address, to know who advis'd the " Calling of a Council of War without the Con- " sent or Knowledge of the Parliament; for if " he be guilty who advis'd the Dissolution of " the Council, he must be much more guilty " who advis'd the Calling it without the Parlia- " ment's Knowledge and Consent." The House cry'd, Well mov'd; and Fleetwood, Desborough, and their Party withdrew to consult further, and take new Resolutions, upon which Richard's Fate depended.

Tho' the Protector had dissolv'd the Council of Officers, yet they continu'd their Meetings in a more private Manner, and try'd all imaginable Ways to oblige Richard to a Compliance with them. But being made General by the Parliament; a Post which he knew Fleetwood aspir'd to, he resolv'd to stick close to his new Friends.

Fleet- He sent for his Brother in Law, Lieutenant Gen- wood and eral Fleetwood, to come to him, hearing of the Richard quarrel. Continuance of the Officers Meetings: But the Messenger brought no Answer. He then order'd his Guards to fetch him; but they desir'd to be excus'd. The Lieutenant General having Intimation of this Design, retir'd to St. James's, where many chief Officers of the Army resorted to him, and it was concluded the whole Army shou'd rendezvous there. The Protector being inform'd of this, made a Shew of disputing his Authority by Force, and, as General of the Army, order'd a Counter Rendezvous at Whitehall. Accordingly Col. Gough sent Orders to his Regiment to march to Whitehall; but the Major had already prevail'd with them to draw to St. James's. Three Troops of Col. Ingoldsby's Horse march'd also to St. James's, with Part of two more; so that he had only one entire Troop to stand by him. Col. Whalley's Regiment of Horse, for the most Part, left him, and went off to St. James's; which he seeing, open'd his Breast and desir'd them to shoot him. Col. Hacker's Regiment of Horse being drawn up near Cheapside, the Protector sent a Message to the Colonel, with

A.D. 1659 an Order for him to march to Whitehall; but he excus'd himself, and said he had receiv'd Orders from Lieutenant General Fleetwood to keep that Post. Many of the Life-Guard also went to St. James's, and most of the Troops that stay'd with Richard, declar'd they wou'd not oppose any that shou'd come to them by Order of Lieutenant General Fleetwood. Thus here was a General without an Army, and several great Officers without Soldiers, who having boasted of their Interest in the Army, and thereby led the House into their late rash Proceedings, now being utterly disappointed in their Hopes and Expectations, knew not what to advise, or what to do.

Let us here pause a little, and examine where the Cavaliers are, what they are doing? Every Step taken from this Time draws nearer to the Restoration. Who takes these Steps? Is there not one Royalist come yet into the Scene of Action? Not one of those noisy Pretenders, who, when it was effected, claim'd the Merit, and had the Reward? Not one, a few Months only before the King came in?

The Lord Viscount Howard, who was Captain of Cromwel's Guards, was the first Man that had any Thoughts of the King, of all those who had any Power to serve him. He was made a Lord by Oliver, was a Favourite to both the Protectors, and had serv'd them faithfully. But seeing Richard's Affairs desperate, and being assur'd that the Common-wealth wou'd not employ him, he resolv'd to make his Terms with the Exil'd Monarch, and do what he cou'd to restore him. However, he harbour'd no such Thoughts, till he had try'd, by all the Arguments he cou'd think of, to prevail with Richard to endeavour to stand his Ground. 'Tis Time to look about you, says the Lord Howard, Empire and Com- mand are not now the Question. Your Person, your Life are in Peril; you are the Son of Cromwel, shew your self worthy to be his Son. This Business requires a bold Stroke, and must be supported by a good Head. Do not suffer your self to be daunted now, and my Head shall answer for the Consequence. Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Vane, are the Contrivers of all this: I will rid you of them, do you stand by me, and only back my Zeal for your Honour with your Name. The Necessity of preserving your self dispenses with the severe Larcs of Justice. If this is not done, the Army will be against you, and you are infallibly ruin'd; and you have nothing to fear, I'll take it upon my self, and be answerable for the Consequence.

Richard was surpriz'd at these Words: He answer'd in a Consternation, That every one shou'd see he wou'd do no body any Harm: He never had done any, nor ever wou'd: That he shou'd be very much troubled, if any one was injur'd on his Account; and instead of taking away the Life of the least Person in the Nation for the Preservation of his Greatness, which was a Burthen to him, he wou'd not have a Drop of Blood spilt. The Lord Howard heard him refuse his Proposal with Indignation, when he offer'd to run all the Risque of it himself. Do you think, said he, this Moderation of yours will repair the Wrong your Family has committed by its Elevation? Every body knows, that by Violence your Father procur'd the Death of the late King, and kept his Sons in Banishment. If the Father's Crimes cry for Vengeance, shall the Son have them past over in Silence? Mercy in the present State of Affairs is unseasonable; we may see that Blood that strives to shed ours without being blood-thirsty or cruel; tho' Conscience may sometimes obstruct a Sovereign's sacrificing an innocent Person to his Ambition, it does not oppose his execut- ing

A.D. 1659 ing a Criminal for his own Safety. Lay aside this Pusillanimity so unbecoming the Successor of Cromwel. Be quick, for every Moment is precious. Consider your Enemies spend this Time in Acting which we waste in Consulting. Lord Howard's Heat cou'd not make it's Way into Richard's Heart. He own'd his Obligation, but did not alter his Mind, closing all thus, *Talk no more of it, my Resolution is fix'd. Violent Counsels suit not with me; and all you can persuade me to by what you now give, is, that it proceeds from true Friendship, for which I am thankful.* Howard having gone so far, and finding there was no Hope left in Cromwel, left Whitehall, and engag'd in the Conspiracies for restoring the King, which began to be form'd in London, and several Parts of England, on Richard's dissolving the Parliament, and the Dissolution of his Protectorate soon after.

Lord Howard
deserts to
the King.

The Officers drew up a Remonstrance, which they presented to Richard, April the 14th, setting forth the Army's Want of Pay, the Insolencies of the Royalists, and their Designs, together with some in Power, to ruin the Army, and the good old Cause, and to bring in the Enemies thereof: To prevent which, and to provide against free Quarter, they desire his Highness to advise with the Parliament, and to provide effectual Remedy.

This, according to Whitlock, was the Beginning of Richard's Fall. The House disgusted at the general Meeting of the Council of Officers without their Knowledge and Consent, not only pass'd those harsh Votes before-mentioned, but neglected this Remonstrance, took no Course to provide Money, and exasperated the Soldiery.

Lambert
against
Richard.

Lambert, after Oliver had taken away his Commission, retir'd to his Country-house at Wimbledon in Surrey, and seem'd to have forgotten that he had ever been a General, in the pleasant and harmless Exercise of a Gardiner, with which he diverted himself in his fine Gardens, and became so skilful, that he was reckon'd the best Florist in England; but upon an Invitation from the Wallingford-House Party, he came and took a Seat amongst them, and was as forward as any in pushing Things to Extremity. The Council of Officers sent Desborough to Richard to tell him, *If he wou'd dissolve the Parliament, who had slighted and abus'd the Army, they wou'd take Care of him. If he refus'd to do it, they wou'd dissolve them without him, and leave him to shift for himself.* Richard put off giving his Answer till the next Morning, and in the mean time held a Cabinet Council upon it, with the Lord Broghill, the Lords Commissioners Fiennes and Whitlock, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Secretary Thurloe. Whitlock was against dissolving the Parliament, and advis'd their sitting a little longer, especially now they had begun to consider of raising Money, which wou'd reconcile them to the Soldiery. But most were for complying with the Army, who, by the Union of almost all the three Parties, were become formidable to Court and Parliament, and indeed had both in their Power.

The next Morning, April the 22d, the House met, and several Members made extravagant Motions, rather, as was suppos'd, to vent their own Passions, than from any Hopes of Success; for whatever were the Resolutions that were made by the Court Junto, they cou'd not suddenly be brought to vote, because the contrary Party was considerably encreas'd by this Change of Affairs, which made Richard the more willing to part with them. Few of the House knew of the Dissolution which was intended; or if they did, were unwilling to take Notice of it;

so that when the Usher of the Black Rod, who attended the other House, came to let the Sergeant at Arms know, it was the Pleasure of the Protector that the House of Commons shou'd attend him at the other House, several Members were against admitting the Sergeant into the House to deliver the Message; but the Commonwealth Party demanded and obtain'd that he shou'd give the House an Account of what the Gentleman of the Black Rod had said to him. The Assembly being under this Confusion, adjourn'd themselves till eight a Clock next Morning; but Care was taken to prevent their meeting again, by publishing a Proclamation, declaring them to be dissolv'd, by putting a Padlock on the Door of the House, and by placing a Guard in the Court of Requests, with Orders to refuse Admittance to all those that shou'd demand it. This Parliament was fatal to two Speakers, tho' it did not sit quite three Months, Chalonier Chute, Esq; dying, his Successor was Sir Lisleborne Long, who dying also, Mr. Bampfield kept the Speaker's Chair to the Dissolution; after which the Protector, his Privy and Cabinet Councils sat close, to consult what was fit to be done. Some there were who, rather than submit to be dictated by Fleetwood and the Army Officers, inclin'd to enter into a Treaty with the King, and the Protector himself was of the same Opinion; but the Majority, deterr'd by the just Notions they had of the loose Principles, and implacable, revengeful Spirit of the Exiles, wou'd not hearken to it. The Lord Falkenbridge and the Lord Howard gave themselves up to that Interest, and under Pretence of engaging Monk to support his Master Richard's tottering Condition, they went to Scotland, where, no Doubt, they all three came to an Understanding, tho' the restoring the King was the last Thing Monk wou'd comply with.

The Character of that Monk is in Ludlow and Whitlock. The former tells us, *He was a Man of a covetous Temper, of no Principles, of a vicious and scandalous Conversation, which fitted him exactly for the Work they were going to set him about.* And Whitlock informs us, that the French Ambassador said of him, *He had neither Sense nor Breeding;* consequently, his true Character must be, that he was a Dull, Clovenish, Covetous, Vicious Person of no Principles. I cou'd have gather'd as much out of his History, but I chose to put it in the Words of Whitlock and Ludlow, whose Authorities are more than sufficient against Gumble, and Price, and Webster, and Echard, and the best of them, who wou'd make something more of Monk than Lieutenant General Ludlow, and the Lord Commissioner Whitlock, and the French Ambassador have made of him. Let it not be imagin'd that I have conceiv'd such a contemptible Opinion of him from any thing, but the Accounts that are left us concerning him by judicious Writers, and not from his Perjury and Treachery in betraying the Parliament, who put such Confidence in him. I am as sensible, as a grateful Soul can be, of the Blessings of the Restoration, without which we cou'd have had no King William, no Queen Mary, no Queen Anne, no King George, no illustrious House of Hanover, in whose glorious Reigns these Nations have been happy at home, and renown'd abroad, enjoy'd, and have, and do enjoy the greatest Felicities of Life, Spiritual and Temporal Liberty. As for any other Blessing, which Monk was a Means of procuring us, I know nothing of it, and therefore shall not be the History to pay him a Complement.

The Wallingford-House Party were in Possession of the Supreme Power upon the Dissolution of

A.D. 1659 of the Parliament. For tho' *Richard* publish'd a Proclamation for all *Papists* and *Cavaliers* to depart twenty Miles from *London*, yet that was the only Act of Government we read of him after the Parliament was dissolv'd. So we may fix his Protectorate to seven Months; at the End of which he was laid down as gently as a Fall cou'd be, and hardly any thing more heard of him. The Common-wealth that was restor'd, having sent a Committee to him, *Sir Henry Vane*, *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, *Mr. Ludlow* and *Mr. Scott*, to know whether he wou'd acquiesce in the present Proceedings, and that they wou'd provide for the Payment of his Debts, and an Honourable Subsistence for himself and his Family, they return'd with this Answer under his Hand, That he wou'd acquiesce. He sent them a List of his Debts, and thought of them no more than they did of him. He awoke, as out of a Dream, and return'd to a private Life with more Content and Pleasure than he assum'd the Supreme Authority. He was Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, which Office he voluntarily resign'd by a Paper under his own Hand, which he sent to that University. His Debts were computed at about 29,000 Pounds; but no due Care was taken by the Common-wealth for the Discharge of them. They sent to him in a few Days to quit *Whitehall*, which he did with great Satisfaction, and retir'd to his Seat at *Hursely* in *Hants*. When he was to remove from his Palace, and the Household Goods were pack'd up, the *Quondam* Protector order'd his Servants to be particularly careful of two old Trunks, which were deposited in his Wardrobe. The Men wonder'd why he was so solicitous for their Preservation, since by their Appearance, and the Place they were put in,

they did not seem to contain a Treasure of such Consequence. And one of his Friends hearing him enquire after them with more Concern than for any Part of the Lumber, ask'd him what was in them, that made him value them so much? *Why, no less*, says *Richard*, than the Lives and Fortunes of all the good People of England, alluding to the numberless *Addresses* in which they made him those Offers.

Richard generally went by the Name of *Mr. Wallis*; not, as is pretended, that he wanted an Alias to defend him against any Debts, except those which were indeed the Debts of the Publick; but because the Curiosity of the People to gaze at a Man who had been in the State of the greatest Prince in *Europe*, and was now reduc'd to the State of a plain Country Gentleman, wou'd have been very troublesome to him, had he always gone by the Name of *Richard Cromwel*. He liv'd above fifty Years after his Abdication, and dy'd at *Chestnut* in *Hartfordshire*. He had a Son, *Oliver Cromwel*, who had the Look and Genius of his Grandfather, who was very active at the *Revolution*, and offer'd to raise a Regiment of Horse for the Service in *Ireland*, if he might name his Captains. But, among other such Advice given *King William* by some false Friends, he was refus'd, under Pretence that his Name and his Post, with such Advantages, might make him too popular and too powerful at such a Juncture. It was the same sort of Advice that hinder'd *Mr. Samuel Johnson*, of the Deanry of *Durham*, and that put several pretended Friends to the *Revolution* into Places of Trust, by which *King William* was so often in Danger of his Predecessor's Fate, and of losing his Life as well as his Crown.

THE
HISTORY of ENGLAND,
DURING THE
COMMON-WEALTH Restor'd.

THE Council of Officers at *Wallingford-House* were very willing to keep the Power they had got in their own Hands, and had Thoughts of raising Money by their own Authority; but upon Consultation with their Friends, they took a safer Method, which was, to restore the Members of the Long Parliament. This they did by a Declaration, dated the 6th of *May*, inviting the Members of that Parliament, who continu'd sitting till April the 20th, 1653, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust.

Sign'd by the Direction of the Lord Fleetwood and the Council of the Officers of the Army.

Tho. Sandford, Secretary.

Several Meetings were held at *Sir Henry Vane's*, between the chief Officers of the Army and the chief Members of the Long Parliament.

Members,

Sir Henry Vane, *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Major *Salloway*.

Officers,

Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Jones*, Col. *Kelsey*, Col. *Berry*,

Who after many Debates about Satisfaction to the Army, resolv'd that the Long Parliament shou'd be restor'd. Accordingly Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Berry*, Col. *Cooper*, *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, Col. *Lilburn*, Col. *Ashfield*, Col. *Zanby*, Col. *Kelsey*, Col. *Okey*, Treasurer *Blackwell*, Major *Haynes*, Col. *Allen*, Col. *Packer*, and Col. *Pierston*, went to the old Speaker *Lenthal* with their Declaration to the *Rolls*, and presented it to him and several Members of that Parliament, who were with the Speaker, and all declar'd their Willingness to meet again, which they appointed to do the next Day, *May* the 7th, in the *Painted-Chamber*, and about twelve o'Clock the Members went to take their Places in the House, *Mr. Lenthal* their Speaker leading the Way, and the Officers of the Army lining the Rooms for them as they pass thro' the *Painted-Chamber*, the Court of Requests, and the *Lobby* itself, the principal Officers

A. D. 1659
 cers having plac'd themselves nearest to the Door of the Parliament-House, every one seeming to rejoyce at their Restitution, and promising to live and die by them. The same Day the House appointed a *Committee of Safety*, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Major Salloway, Col. Sydenham, Major General Lambert, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Lieutenant General Ludlow, Col. John Jones, Col. Desborough, Col. Berry, Mr. Scor.

First Committee of Safety.

This Committee were order'd to notify to foreign Ambassadors the Restoration of the Commonwealth. They empower'd them to displace and place all Officers that had behav'd ill in the late Times of Usurpation. Writs and all Proceedings in Law were directed to run, as formerly, in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England. They sent down Colonel Whetham to Portsmouth, to take Possession of the Government of it, the House being dissatisfied with the Behaviour of Colonel Morley.

There was still a Party, who wish'd well to the late Protector Richard, out of Aversion to the Commonwealth, and the Committee of Safety had much ado to get Major General Overton, Col. Rich, Col. Alured, Major Braman receiv'd into Service, they being rigid Republicans, whom the Wallingford-House Party no more affected, than they did the Cromwellians. The Lord Howard's Regiment of Horse was given to Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Col. Gough's Regiment to Lieutenant General Ludlow, and Col. Alured was made Captain of the Parliament Guards.

The House pass'd a Declaration concerning their Meeting, and their Purpose to secure the Property and Liberty of the People, both as Men, and as Christians, and that without a single Person, King-ship, or House of Peers, and to uphold Magistracy and Ministry. The next Day after their Meeting, Dr. Owen preach'd a Sermon in the Parliament-House, and an Order was made by the Committee of Safety, That all Officers shou'd be such as fear'd God, and had been faithful to the Commonwealth. The former Part of this Order is that which occasions all the Mirth in the Earl of Clarendon's, and Mr. Echar'd's History, where the Railery is as coarse as if it had been learnt in a Market; but the Language of these Court Writers may be best imagin'd to the Reader by that of Sir Philip Warwick, who speaking of the Restoring the Commonwealth, calls it *Subventaneous*, or *Addle-Eggs*, and a Page or two afterwards, a *Twisting of the Guts*. They are inimitably polite. They were of the Court when it was at Oxford, and besides the refin'd Expression of the Rank and Quality, they had that of the Colleges and Schools, and above all that of the Court Paper, *Mercurius Aulicus*, to refine and polish them.

Council of State.

Seven Days after the Meeting of the Parliament, they chose a Council of State, Twenty-one to be of their Body, and Ten not to be of it.

The Ten were,

The Lord President Bradshaw, the Lord Fairfax, Major General Lambert, Col. Desborough, Col. Berry, Sir Horatio Townsend, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir Robert Honeywood, Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, Josias Berners, Esq;

The Twenty one, who were Members of Parliament,

Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Sir Henry Vane, Sir James Harrington, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Col. Algernon Sidney, Henry Nevil, Esq; Col. Morley, Thomas Challoner, Esq; Col. Walton, Robert Wallop, Esq; Lord Chief Justice St. John,

Col. Dixwell, Thomas Scot, Esq; Col. Sydenham, A. D. 1659 Robert Reynolds, Esq; Col. Thomson, Lord Commissioner Whitlocke, Col. John Jones, Lieutenant General Ludlow, Col. Dorcus, Humphry Salloway, Esq;

The Rest of the Members of the Parliament, term'd in reproach the Rump.

William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker, Oliver St. John, Esq; Col. William Purefoy, Esq; Sir Henry Mildmay, Nathaniel Fiennes, Esq; John Lisle, Esq; Lord Munson, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Cornelius Holland, Esq; Isaac Pennington, Esq; Luke Robinson, Esq; Edmund Prideaux, Esq; Daniel Blagrove, Esq; Serjeant Wyld, Robert Goodwin, Esq; Thomas Atkins, Esq; Miles Corbet, Esq; John Weaver, Esq; John Dove, Esq; --- Rolls, Esq; Augustine Skinner, Esq; Walter Strickland, Esq; Gilbert Millington, Esq; Alexander Popham, Esq; Sir Peter Wentworth, Col. Richard Ingoldsby, Sir John Fagg, Col. Lassels, Mr. Leckmere, Mr. Gold, Col. Okey, Michael Oldsworth, Esq; Mr. Love, Mr. Rawleigh, Mr. Brewster, Col. Bennet, Mr. Pury, Mr. Say, Henry Martin, Esq; Col. Hutchinson, Mr. White, Col. Eyres, Philip Smith, Esq; Mr. Bingham, Col. Brooke, Mr. Dunch.

List of the Rump.

Echar'd tells them but Forty. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other Members, were afterwards elected and admitted: However, the Archdeacon's Forty were a *Quorum*, and Ludlow observes, that the secluded Members being declar'd incapable of Sitting and Voting by a fair *Quorum* of Parliament, which is the Law of the House, how will the Lawyers prove that they had afterwards a Right to sit, and that those who did sit, were not a legal Parliament? A *Quorum* can seclude twenty as lawfully as two, and I do not see how any thing can be determin'd in Parliament, if what is done by a *Quorum*, is not determinative. The House appointed an Oath to be taken by all Officers of the Army and others, To be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, in Opposition to Charles Stuart, or any single Person. The Soldiery bogg'd at this Test, not on Account of Charles Stuart, none of them thought of him, but of a single Person, which many of them thought of, and to set up Fleetwood against the Parliament, or Lambert, or to restore Richard, who, tho' driven from Whitehall, had still an Interest among the Soldiers.

Secluded Members had no Right to vote.

One of the first and most zealous Addressees to the Parliament after their Restoration, was from Monk, and the Officers of the Army in Scotland, in which they say, *A glorious Cause, whose Interest was laid low, even in the Dust, is in one Day restor'd to its Life and Lustre, when almost all the Asserters of it had so manifestly deserted it by a Defection of many Years.* One of these Deserters was Monk himself, as may be seen by his Addressees to Oliver and Richard. *In the Sense of this, the greatest of our temporal Mercies, we now come to address your Honours, as those whose Presence we have so long wanted.* Notwithstanding their Joy at the Exaltation of both the Cromwells, *They beseech the God of all their Mercies, to heal the Back-slidings of his People, and not to charge to their Account, in this his Day of their Deliverance, their Miscarriages, while they were wandering in dark and slippery Places, after the Imagination of their own Hearts, and with all Humility and Affection congratulate their Honours in their happy Restoration to the Government of these Nations, which God was pleas'd once so to own in their Hands.* This is General Monk, who a few Months after brought about the happy Restoration of King Charles the Second; and having taken the Oath call'd the Engagement, to

Monk's Address to the Parliament.

A.D. 1659
He is treacherous and perjur'd.

Officers of the Army petition.

Commissioners for Officers.

Speaker to grant Commissioners.

be true and faithful to the *Common-wealth*, without King or House of Peers, and having sworn to be true and faithful to both the *Cromwells*, and having betray'd the *Common-wealth*, whom he had engag'd to maintain, I think there is no great Wrong done him, when he is charg'd with Treachery and Perjury. In the mean time the *Wallingford-House Party*, not forgetting their Design, drew up an Address to the Parliament, and presented it by the chief Officers of the Army. The Heads of it were, *That those who had acted under the late Power, might be indemnify'd; that Lieutenant General Fleetwood might be appointed Commander in chief of the Forces; that the Protector's Debts might be satisfy'd, and 10,000 Pounds a Year added to his Revenue; that the Government of the Nation might consist of a Representative of the People, and a select Senate; that Care might be taken for Payment of the Debts of the Army; that Liberty of Conscience might be secur'd.* The House answer'd, that they wou'd give them all possible Satisfaction, and that no Man for the future might have an Opportunity to pack an Army to serve his Ambition, as had been formerly practis'd, a Bill was prepar'd and brought in, constituting the seven Persons following, to be Commissioners for the Nomination of Officers, to be presented to the Parliament. Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Lambert*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Col. *Desborough*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Col. *Berry*.

Another Bill was brought in to appoint *Lieutenant General Fleetwood* *Commander in Chief*, and that all Commissions shou'd be sign'd by the *Speaker*. Both these Acts pass'd, and were notify'd to the Officers, that they might obey them, and particularly take new Commissions from the *Speaker*.

The Parliament took very prudent Measures for their Preservation, but having nothing but Prudence to oppose to Power, the Army obey'd them just as much, and as long, as they pleas'd. The Officers did not relish the last mention'd Acts, which made them entirely dependant on the Parliament; and as they had restor'd them to their Seats in that House, they began to wish it undone, and to meditate how to undo it. *Desborough* said, he had a good Commission already, and he wou'd take none from the *Speaker*: But Matters not being ripe enough for a new Change, his Stomach came to him, and he, and all the Officers took their Commissions from the Hands of the *Speaker*.

The House was indefatigable in their Proceedings, and had an Eye to foreign, as well as domestick Affairs. They appointed Col. *Sidney* and Sir *Robert Honeywood*, to go Ambassadors to *Sweden*, to mediate a Peace between that King, and the King of *Denmark*. They sent Mr. *George Downing* to *Holland* to transact Matters with that *Common-wealth*, and appointed Col. *Lockhart*, Governor of *Dunkirk*, to be their Ambassador at the *Pyrenean Treaty*. The Envoys and Residents of *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holstein*, *Tuscany*, *Hamburgh*, *Hanse Towns*, &c. had Audience, and were referr'd to Commissioners concerning their several Negotiations. They also wrote Letters to *Charles* King of *Sweden*, and *Frederick*, King of *Denmark*, to offer them a Mediation for a Peace between them. These Letters were sign'd, *The Parliament of the Common-wealth of England*, WILLIAM LENTHAL, *Prolocutor of the Common-wealth of England*.

They made Serjeant *Bradshaw*, Serjeant *Tyrel*, and Serjeant *Fountain*, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

Upper-Bench.

Lord Chief Justice *Newdegate*, Mr. Justice *Hill*, Mr. Justice *Nicholas*.

Common-Pleas.

Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Mr. Justice *Windham*, Mr. Justice *Archer*.

Exchequer.

Lord Chief Baron *Wilde*, Mr. Baron *Thorpe*, Mr. Baron *Parker*.

About this time, Mr. *Scot*, one of the Council of State, insinuated to them that he had Intelligence of a dangerous Correspondence carry'd on by Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*, with Sir *Edward Hyde*, beyond the Seas. Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* made the highest Professions that could be of his Innocence, denying he had ever any Correspondence with the King, or Sir *Edward Hyde*, or any of the King's Ministers or Friends. His Expressions were so high, that they bred the more Suspicion of him in some of the Council, tho' he was clear'd by the major Vote. The Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* positively deny'd what he was charg'd with, and the Spy being a beggarly Irish Friar, the Matter was wav'd, and no more said of it.

On the 5th of *June* the Parliament voted, *That this Parliament shall not continue longer than May the 7th, 1660*; but the Officers did not design they shou'd sit so long. They had in Debate the Regulation of the Law, and order'd a Bill to reform Abuses in Clerks, Attorneys, Solicitors and Lawyers. They also referr'd it to the Council to take care, that the People be not wrong'd by Bailiffs and Juries. 'Twas worthy the Wisdom of the Nation to redress such enormous Grievances, but were they then redress'd, or are they redress'd to this Day? It is worth observing who have been the Occasion of the Stop that has been put to such generous Designs, and they are found to be Persons who make their Market of such Wrongs and Abuses. It is by no Means worthy the Wisdom of the Nation to be impos'd upon by them.

Monk had little or nothing to do in *Scotland*, but to enjoy the Fulness of his Fortune, with as much Luxury and Licence as a Man of no Principles cou'd allow himself. And there's no Reason to imagine he had any Thoughts of stirring from the Place where he was, till Applications were made to him from *England*. His Eye-sight was not good enough to see from *Edinburgh* to *London*, nor his Fore-sight to provide for Consequences, unless they were put into his Head, as we shall see presently they were.

As soon as *Richard* was outed of the Government, Ireland. Sir *Charles Coote*, then in his Court, went Post for *Ireland*, to carry the News of this great Alteration, to the Lord Lieutenant *Henry Cromwel*. After him hasten'd Col. *Henry Ingoldsby*, and it was suppos'd, the Design was to see whether there was any likelihood of their being able to maintain themselves in the Government of that Kingdom: But the Army there declaring, they wou'd do as the Army did in *England*, they had no Encouragement to defend *Richard* against the Parliament, tho' Sir *Charles Coote* try'd what he cou'd do in *Connaught*, and the Lord *Brog-broghil* did the same in *Munster*, as did also Lieutenant Col. *Floxxer* in *Ulster*; and this Party being disappointed in their Aims to continue *Cromwel's* Authority, which they divided with him in their several Stations, out of Despight to the *Common-wealth*, enter'd into Engagements for the King;

A.D. 1659 King; and it is observable, that of all those who serv'd his Majesty in his Restoration, there is hardly one Man of Note and Interest, who did it out of Principle and Affection, till the Work was done to their Hands.

Ludlow *made Com- mand in Chief.* The Parliament sent Orders to *Henry Cromwell* to come to *England*, and give the Council of State an Account of Affairs there, which oblig'd him to leave that Kingdom; where Lieutenant General *Ludlow* arriv'd soon after, with a Commission to command the Forces in Chief; and, with other Commissioners of Parliament, to take upon him the Government. We shall leave him there, and see what he says of the Counsels in *England*.

Opinions about a Scheme of Government. At this Time the Opinions of Men were much divided concerning a Form of Government to be establish'd amongst us. The Great Officers of the Army, as has been hinted, were for a *select standing Senate* to be join'd to the Representative of the People.

Others labour'd to have the Supreme Authority to consist of an Assembly chosen by the People, and a Council of State chosen by that Assembly, to be vested with the Executive Power, and accountable to that which shou'd next succeed. At which Time the Power of the said Council shou'd determine.

Some were desirous to have a Representative of the People constantly sitting, by a perpetual Rotation.

Others propos'd, that there might be join'd to the Popular Assembly a select Number of Men in the nature of the *Lacedemonian Ephori*, who shou'd have a *Negative* in Things wherein the Essentials of the Government shou'd be concern'd; such as the *Exclusion of a single Person*, touching *Liberty of Conscience*, *Alteration of the Constitution*, and other Things of the last Importance to the State.

Some were of Opinion it wou'd be most conducive to the Publick Happiness, if there were two Councils chosen by the People; the One to consist of about Three hundred, and to have the Power only of proposing and debating Laws; the Other to be in Number about a Thousand, and to have the Power finally to resolve and determine. Every Year a third Part of each Council to go out, and others to be chosen in their Places.

There were some, whose Scheme was, that there shou'd be a King, who might govern without a Parliament, and Imprison Men, Impress Men, and take away Men's Money by his Prerogative only. That he might enter the Parliament-House, and hale away the Members at Pleasure. That he shou'd have a *High Commission Court* to persecute, imprison, and beggar all those that did not think according to a *Form* prescribed them: And another Court, to cut off the Ears and Noses of such as gave them the least Offence. That there shou'd be a *Convocation* to make Canons and Creeds too, if they thought fit, to make People do and swear as the said Canons enjoin'd; with a Power to turn Religion into Ceremony, and the *Lord's Day* into a *Revel*. This Scheme, indeed, was so monstrous, that it was not offer'd to the Publick; but was had up very often in Cabals and Conversations, and produc'd something at last, as will be seen, if the Reader has Patience to go through this History.

Some Members of the *Council* of State propos'd at the Board, That the Parliament shou'd be mov'd to appoint Twenty of their own Number, and Ten of the Principal Officers of the Army, to consider of a Form of Government, to be reported to the Parliament; and if they shou'd approve it, that then the whole Army

A.D. 1659 shou'd be drawn out, and declare their Consent to it; which Proposition, though it seem'd thus to find a general Approbation, yet prov'd abortive; and the Parliament themselves pass'd a Resolution, That on every *Wednesday* the House shou'd go into a *Grand Committee* to consider of that Matter.

To the Act of Indemnity a Clause had been inserted, to restrain the Favour of the Parliament, in regard of those who, under the *Cromwells*, had receiv'd exorbitant and double Salaries: Which was to the great Discontent of several considerable Persons, who fear'd they might be concern'd in it. In particular Major General *Lambert*, now the most considerable Person in the Nation, bitterly exclaim'd against it to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, saying, *There is no Security given by the Act to indemnify us for what we have done, but the Parliament have taken Care to make us accountable for whatsoever we have receiv'd.* *Ludlow* reply'd, *In my Opinion, all the Soldiers are indemnify'd for what they have receiv'd; and if the Parliament shou'd ever make use of the Clause, it will only be against those, who have enrich'd themselves by the Ruin of the Common-wealth, and have oppos'd the Return of the Parliament to the Exercise of their Authority.* *I am persuaded, you cannot think such a Sort of Men worthy of their Favour and Consideration, equally with those who contributed to their Restitution.* *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, who then join'd them, and heard what they were upon, said, *The Act is as full and comprehensive as can be justly desir'd.* Major General *Lambert* reply'd, *It signifies nothing, it leaves us still at their Mercy.* You are, said *Sir Arthur*, only at the Mercy of the Parliament. *Lambert* retorted, *I know not why they shou'd not be at our Mercy, as well as we at theirs.* Both *Haselrigge* and *Ludlow* began from this Conversation, to be jealous of *Lambert's* Designs; which, perhaps, had broke out sooner, had not the Conspiracies all over *England* broken out; which, under the Pretence of a *Free Parliament*, intended the Restoration of the King.

The first Man who appear'd in Arms, was *Sir George Booth*, in *Cheshire*. With him join'd *Booth's* *Sir Thomas Middleton*, Colonel *Brook*, and *Rising*, *Mr. Dunch*, all *Presbyterians* and *Covenanters*; though they had not taken the Covenant so often as the King had done. *Mr. Whitley*, of *Cheshire*, had been with his Majesty in *Flanders*, to tell him, I suppose, what the *Presbyterians* intended to do for him, rather than to desire any Help from him. The *Cavaliers* promis'd to join with these *Covenanters*. But whether it was that they were dispirited with so many Routs and Executions, or whether they did not care to trust their new Confederates, *Dr. Calamy* tells us they fail'd them, and *Coke* says the same. However, *Sir George Booth* put the Thing to the Venture. The Lord *Willoughby of Parham*, another *Presbyterian* and *Covenanter*, and *Sir Horatio Townsend*, one of the present Council of State, had contriv'd to possess *Lynne*. Another *Presbyterian* and *Covenanter*, Major General *Massey*, was to surprize *Gloucester*, a City he had so bravely defended against King *Charles I.* Where are the Royalists all this while? The Lord *Clarendon* informs us, *Arundel*, *Pollard*, *Greenwile*, *Trelawney*, did indeed hope to possess *Plymouth*; which is all that I hear of them, unless it be two or three Gentlemen who kept their Words with *Sir George Booth*; as *Oneale*, the Lord *Kilmurry*, Col. *Egerton*; as did also the Earl of *Derby*, Lord *Herbert of Chisbury*, *Mr. Lee* of *Limehouse*, and Capt. *Morgan*.

A. D. 1659
Conspirators taken.

The Earl of *Stamford*, another *Covenanter*, had promis'd to join with *Booth*; but that Earl, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Sir *Horatio Townsend*, and Major General *Massefey*, were apprehended before they cou'd appear in Arms; so were the Duke of *Bucks*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Delaware*, and the Lord *Falkland*. One *Basset*, says *Ludlow*, appear'd with about Sixty Horse near *Bath*, and as many near *Malmesbury*, who were to have *Massefey* for their Head, hearing the County Militia only was marching against them, dispers'd. The *Shropshire* Gentlemen, Lord *Newport*, *Littleton*, &c. were ready to secure *Shrewsbury*, as we read in *Clarendon*; but prevented being secur'd themselves by lying quiet; for Captain *Waring* with the *Militia* Troop, and some Assistance from *Wrexham*, being more in a Readiness, secur'd the Place for the Parliament. The General Insurrection all over *England* was appointed to be on the First of *August*, and the King and Duke of *York* drew down to the Sea-Coasts to transport themselves on the first Occasion. *Ludlow* was on his Way to *Holyhead* to embark for *Ireland*, just before *Booth's* Insurrection happen'd; and receiving a Visit from Sir *Thomas Middleton*, the Knight protested, He was resolv'd to continue steadfast in the Interest of the Common-wealth, which was only a Week or two before he rode into *Wrexham* at the Head of a Troop of Horse, and there, brandishing his Sword, heard the King proclaim'd in the Market Place. It's great pity so good a Cause as the Restoration, cou'd not have been accomplish'd without the Breach of so many Words and Oaths, so many solemn Engagements Sacred and Civil!

King proclaim'd by Sir Thomas Middleton.

The County of *Warwick* and City of *Coventry* had like to have revolted by the Treachery of Col. *Fotherby*, who commanded there for the Parliament. But old Col. *Purefoy* took upon him that Command, and secur'd that County and City. Col. *Crompton* and Capt. *Batburst* prevented any Stirring in *Staffordshire*. Thus was Sir *George Booth* pent up in *Cheshire* and Part of *Lancashire*, and very much straighten'd by the Forces Lieutenant General *Ludlow* sent over from *Ireland* under Col. *Zanchy* and Col. *Axtel*, of whom a Party under Lieutenant Col. *Walker* prevented a Rising in *Carnarvonshire* and other Parts of *North-Wales*.

Sir *George Booth* enter'd *Chester* with 400 Horse. Col. *Croxtan*, who commanded there, having not a Troop to oppose him, retir'd into the Castle, and kept it. When *Booth* came into this City Col. *Edmund Temple* was there, bound for *Ireland*: *Booth* order'd him to be seiz'd and brought to him. Upon Examination finding he was going to *Ireland*, he permitted him to proceed, having ask'd him if he had heard of no Rising in other Parts? Col. *Temple* reply'd, He had found all quiet on the Road from *London*. At which Sir *George* seem'd much surpriz'd and discourag'd, saying, Other Promises have been made me. *Whitlock* tells us, the *Presbyterian* Ministers labour'd to further this Rising, and many of them appear'd in it; for which King *Charles II.* treated them as they might have expected he wou'd from every thing that had been seen or heard of him.

The Night before the Rising was to be, Major General *Massefey* was taken in *Gloucestershire* as he was going to *Gloucester*. Information being given to a Captain of Horse of his being in the Country, and whereabouts, the Officer came up with him, seiz'd him, and mounted him before a Trooper; but riding down a steep Hill, the Weather being wet, and the Night dark, the Horse slipt in a Wood and fell down, which

Massefey caus'd by checking him. In the Fall he got away and hid himself in a Bush in the Wood. The whole Troop search'd for him; but he crept in so close they cou'd not find him; so he escap'd, and got the next Morning to a Friend's House, where he lay conceal'd two or three Weeks.

A. D. 1659

The Parliament had order'd three Regiments of Horse, one of Dragoons, and three Regiments of Foot to march against Sir *George Booth*, but were perplex'd in the Choice of a Commander. Whilst the Matter was under Debate, some Persons of the King's Party address'd themselves to the Wife of Col. *Lambert*, whom *Gregory Leti* presents as a Lady of Intrigue, who had an Amour not only with the Earl of *Holland*, but with *Oliver Cromwel*, by whom he says 'tis certain she had a Child, *Il est pourtant certain que la Femme de ce major devint grosse dans le Temps qu'elle etoit aimée de Cromwel*; but then he spoils all by saying, *Oliver* was desir'd to be Godfather to his own Child; whereas it is most certain, that both *Cromwel* and *Lambert* were Independants, and that they never had a Godfather or Godmother at any of their *Christnings*; and if no body else had them, 'twou'd prevent the Breach of so many thousand solemn and sacred Promises, as are made daily on those Occasions. Lady *Lambert* acquainted her Husband with the great Offers that were made him, if he wou'd be the Instrument of the King's Return. But *Lambert* receiv'd those Offers with Disdain. He thought himself as well deserving, and as well qualify'd to reign as the King was, and had it doubtless in his Head. He discover'd the Contrivance to Sir *Henry Vane*, who having communicated it to Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, he persuaded them to renew their former Friendship with Assurances on each Part to unite their Endeavours in the Service of the Parliament. It was by this Means chiefly, that Major General *Lambert* was appointed to command those Forces that were design'd to suppress the Insurrection *Booth* in *Cheshire*.

p. 363.

Lambert appointed to command the Forces against Sir George

Monk had about 7000 Men in *Scotland*, where *Echard* tells us, he lay upon the Watch as a Cat watches a Mouse; a homely Simile indeed! But the Subject is every whit as homely. The Parliament sent an Order to him to detach two Regiments of Foot, and two of Horse to march to the North of *England*, and hinder any Increase of Forces coming to *Booth*. *Monk* excus'd himself under Colour of the Enemy's Strength and Intention to revolt, tho', according to *Ludlow*, "There were not wanting some, who then thought that his Engagements with the common Enemy were the true Reason of his refusal. And it is certain, that a Gentleman from the King, *Nicholas Monk* his Brother, a *Devonshire* Parson, had been with him, and tho' what past between them was not made publick, yet, since he did not seize him, as it was his Duty, but permitted him to return safely from whence he came, he may justly be suspected even then to have betray'd those whom he pretended to serve."

Monk's Treachery.

On the sixth of *August* Major General *Lambert* march'd from *London* with the before-mention'd Troops, and a Train of Artillery. Sir *George Booth* had about 4000 Men with him, and possess'd himself of the Town of *Warrington* in *Lancashire*, of which the Reverend Mr. *Robert Yates* was then Vicar, and no doubt very forward in this Business, he having been try'd for his Life at *Lancaster* before Judge *Twisden* for only speaking against the Engagements, which *Monk* had swallow'd very chearfully. Matters were carry'd so far, that Mr. *Yates* had prepar'd his last Speech, being resolv'd not to retract what he had

A. D. 1659 had preach'd: But by the Clemency of the Judge he was pardon'd. Mr. *Hiet*, Minister of *Crofton* in this Neighbourhood, was ejected for refusing the Engagement against the King and the House of Peers, as was also Mr. *Henry Finch*, Vicar of *Walton*. Mr. *Henry Newcome*, Minister of *Mancaster*, engag'd heartily in this Insurrection, and was much esteem'd by Sir *George Booth*. Mr. *Robert Earon*, joint Pastor of *Walton* with Mr. *Finch*, was Chaplain to Sir *George Booth*. But all these pious and loyal Divines, and several others of this County, who had refus'd the Engagement, met with most grateful Returns from King *Charles II.* who had not been long restor'd before he pass'd an Act to take away their Bread from them, and turn them out of their Houses only for being *Presbyterians*, contrary to the *Covenant*, which he swore three Times, and contrary to the most sacred and solemn Promises he made in his Declaration, and in his Discourse with the *Presbyterian* Ministers at *Breda*.

Presbyterian Ministers with Sir George Booth.

Sir *George Booth* plac'd a Party of 300 Men in the Town of *Warrington*. The main Body was lodg'd on the other Side of the River, and a good Number posted to defend the Bridge, where the Forces on each Side met, and *Booth's* Forces began the Action, by sending out a Party to skirmish with an advanc'd Party of Major General *Lambert's*; but being repuls'd, and retreating beyond the Bridge, Sir *George's* Body of Horse, consisting of about 1800, one Half of which the Royalists brag'd were *Gentlemen*, ran before *Lambert's* Horse began to charge. The Cavaliers having not yet forgot their old way of fighting, and there were enough of them among *Booth's* Presbyterians, to spoil a better Army than his was. The Foot might have been cut to Pieces without any Assistance from the Gentry on Horseback, except only about forty commanded by Captain *Morgan*, who, endeavouring to secure their Retreat, were kill'd in the Action. Many of Sir *George's* Foot escap'd, by leaping over the Hedges and hiding themselves; but, according to *Ludlow*, their surest Protection was, their having engag'd against those that were more ready to save than to destroy them; so that tho' the whole Force of the Enemy was entirely defeated, yet there were not above forty of them kill'd. About 6 or 700 of their Horse, in scatter'd and broken Parties, fled to *Chester*; but not thinking themselves safe there, they went into *North Wales* with Sir *Thomas Middleton*, of Age and Experience too great to have engag'd in such mad Work as this was, the Knight being above fourscore. *Chester* was surrender'd to General *Lambert*, as was also *Liverpool*, which had been seiz'd by *Booth's* Forces. One sees all along, that this is one of the foolishlest Enterprizes in the whole History, and yet there's much more Folly in *Echard's* Remarks on it than in the thing itself: "Colonel *Zanby* might have been met and engag'd in *Anglesey*; Col. *Lilburne* might easily have been broken in *Yorkshire*; many other little Parties might have been met and dispers'd; and that one Blow given might have brought effectual Aid to Sir *George's* Party;" and if *Echard* had known better, a great many such idle Reflections might have been left out of his Book.

Sir George Booth routed.

In the mean time the Parliament publish'd a Proclamation, declaring Sir *George Booth* and his Adherents, Rebels and Traitors. The Lord Mayor of *London*, *John Ireton*, Esq; the Aldermen and the two Sheriffs, Sir *Anthony Bateman*, and Sir *John Lawrence* attending the Council of State, the President *Whitlock* declar'd to them, by Command of the Council, the Designs of the Enemy; the Care and Vigilance of the Parliament

and Council; the taking some of the Conspirators, A. D. 1659 and defeating their Designs; the Enemy's Intention to destroy all that had been of the Parliament's Party, and to bring in the King. He then thank'd the City for their good Affections, and faithful adhering to the Parliament, wherein their own and the whole Nation's Safety and Peace were concern'd, and desir'd them to persist therein. At this very Juncture was *Davenant* the Poet releas'd out of Prison, which shews us, that the Government was not so much afraid of the Royalists as of the Presbyterians, *Davenant* having been an Agent for the King. While *Lambert* was reducing two or three small Castles, and demolishing *Chirke*, Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Castle, Sir *George Booth* was making as fast as he cou'd to *London*, riding in a Woman's Habit behind a Servant of his, another going before them. They put up at an Inn in *Newport-Pagnel* in *Buckinghamshire*, where the pretended Gentlewoman, either by alighting from the Horse, or some other Action, rais'd a Suspicion in the Master of the House, that there was some Mystery under that Dress; upon which, resolving to make a full Enquiry into the Matter, he got together some of his Neighbours to assist him, and with them enter'd the Room, where the pretended Lady was; but Sir *George* suspecting their Intentions, and being unwilling to put them to the Trouble of a further Search, discover'd himself. The Minister of the Parish, Mr. *John Gibbes*, gave the Parliament an Account of his being taken in this Manner, and he was remember'd for it after the Restoration. The Bishop of the Diocese had not Patience to stay till the *Bartholomew* Act took place, but turn'd him out before for refusing to admit the whole Parish to the Lord's Supper. Sir *George Booth* was sent up to *London*, and by the Parliament committed to the Tower, where he was examin'd by Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, and confess'd he had receiv'd a Commission from the King, and that many of the Nobility and Gentry had promis'd to appear with him, of whom he discover'd some, and desir'd more Time to recollect himself concerning others.

Sir George Booth in the Tower.

The Earl of *Derby* was taken in the Disguise of a Footman by one *John Roden*. Col. *Shelcross* and others were apprehended. Col. *Brook*, a Member, making his Appearance in the House, confess'd at the Bar his joining with Sir *George Booth*, was expell'd, and sent to the Tower for High Treason. The Parliament voted to dissolve the Corporation of the City of *Chester*, and that the County be no more *Palatine* or distinct to punish them for their Forwardness in this Insurrection. The Estates of those who were concern'd in it were seiz'd, particularly Sir *Thomas Middleton's*, and 3000 Pounds of his Personal Estate was distributed among *Lambert's* Soldiers. The Estate of Mr. *Henry Finch*, a Presbyterian Minister above-mention'd, was also seiz'd for his endeavouring to restore the King, who afterwards suffer'd the Bishop to take away his Living on account of his Religion, he being a *Reform'd Protestant*. The House order'd a Letter of Thanks, and a Jewel of a thousand Pounds for Major General *Lambert*; but on a Motion of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, to make him Major General of all their Armies, they avoided it, by voting, That there shou'd be no more General Officers than what were already made. *Fleetwood* mov'd it purposely to create a Difference between the Parliament and *Lambert*, who, he doubted not, wou'd resent this Slur upon him.

Parliament dissolved Lambert. P. 314.

On the 3d of September the Parliament pass'd a Vote, That all Officers, when they receiv'd their Commissions, shou'd take an Engagement in

A. D. 1659 this Form of Words, and Dr. Wellwood assures us, Monk actually took it.

Engagement. I George Monk, do hereby declare, that I do renounce the pretended Title of CHARLES STUART, and the whole Line of the late King James, and of every other Person, as a single Person pretending to the Government of these Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, and that I will by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful and constant to this Common-wealth, against any King, single Person, and House of Peers, and every of them, and hereunto I subscribe my Name.

Whil. p. 408. taken by Monk. It is pretended by Gumble, Webster, Price and such History Writers, that Monk did not take this Engagement, tho' every one else in Office were oblig'd to take it. But what's all this to the Purpose, had he not taken the Covenant, and the following Engagement for ten Years before, enjoyn'd by an Act, *You shall swear, that you shall be true and faithful to the Common-wealth of England, as it is now establish'd, without a King or House of Lords,* which is equivalent with the last Engagement, and was taken by Monk, or he wou'd not have had a Company under his Command? On the breaking out of Boorb's Businets, Monk wrote a Letter to the Parliament, with fresh Protestations of his Fidelity to them, and his Zeal for their Service, also of his Disapprobation of some Proceedings of the Army in England, meaning their Petition from Derby, "wherein they aspers'd the Parliament for not endeavouring to suppress the late Rebellion, with such Vigour as they ought, for not punishing those who had been engag'd in it, and for not rewarding the Officers who had defeated the Enemy. They press'd for a Settlement of the Government, in a Representative of the People, and a select Senate, which wou'd have been Officers, and such only as the Officers pleas'd, and what discover'd fully their arbitrary Designs." That Lieutenant General Fleetwood might be made Commander in Chief of the Army, without any Limitation of Time; Major General Lambert, Major General of the Armies; Major General Desborough, Lieutenant General; Monk, Major General of the Foot: The latter was nam'd to keep him quiet, but he declar'd, *he wou'd not join in those dangerous Counsels, and that he wou'd keep his Officers within the Rules of Modesty and Obedience to the Common-wealth.* This was about four Months before he enter'd into a Treaty with the Common Enemy of that Common-wealth, contrary to all Covenants, Oaths and Engagements.

Monk Treacherous, ibid. 701. The Army, not unmindful of their grand Design, persuaded some of their Friends in Parliament, to move for an Order to continue Alderman Ireton, then Lord Mayor, and one of their Confidants, a Year longer in that Office; and the Parliament seem'd at first inclin'd to grant their Request, having perceiv'd great Discontents amongst the Citizens of London, at the Time of the late Insurrection; but, says Ludlow, "The Spirit of Seditiion was much allay'd, since the Suppression of the Rebels;" the very Stile of the History of the Rebellion, and the Lord Clarendon's Artillery turn'd against him. "The City petition'd the Parliament, to permit them the Enjoyment of their Priviledge, to elect their Lord Mayor, promising to employ that Favour, and all that they had for their Service; upon which they were permitted to proceed in that Affair, according to Custom, and Sir Thomas Allen, a Man of a moderate Spirit, being chosen, they invited the Parliament, and

A. D. 1659 "chief Officers of the Army to a splendid Entertainment at Dinner." The two Sheriffs were, Francis Warner, Esq; and William Love, Esq; all three, Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, Presbyterians, as were all the Aldermen, who were not Independants; tho' Robinson, who was Sheriff, when Chiverton was Mayor, and Brown, who was Sheriff in the Mayoralty of Andrews, being made Baronets after the Restoration, became most implacable Enemies, and cruel Persecutors of all those who were not of the Church of England, to which they had themselves profess'd Enmity for twenty Years together. I cannot write Panegyricks upon a Cause which rook Effect, and was supported by Apostacy, Treachery and Cruelty.

The Derby Petition coming to the Knowledge of the Parliament, with the Endeavours that were us'd to procure Subscriptions to it, some who knew it to be a Contrivance of Major General Lambert, mov'd that he might be sent to the Tower, and as Ludlow observes, "It had been well, either that the Motion had better succeeded, or that it had never been made; but it ended only in passing a Vote to disapprove the Petition, and the Proceedings thereon, and to require Lieutenant General Fleetwood to send Letters to all Parts, to obstruct any further Progress in it." This Petition was to have been presented by Lieutenant General Fleetwood, but he shewing it to Sir Arthur Haselrigge, before it got into the House, Sir Arthur procur'd this Order against it; upon which the Officers met at Wallingford-House, and tho' it was pretended to be only in order to declare their Acquiescence in the Resolution of the Parliament, yet they fell into furious Debates against the Parliament for discountenancing the Petition. Lambert, who was the main Mover in this Affair, tho' behind the Curtain, sitting all the while still, as if he had had no Hand in it, and rather encouraging than reproving their Excesses. The Result of their Debate was, that a Committee of Council of Officers shou'd prepare an Address to the Parliament, wherein, after the specious Promises of Obedience, "They desir'd that those who shou'd hereafter misinform the House, as had been done in their Case, might undergo the Censure of the Parliament. That a Commander in Chief might be constituted without Limitation of Time; that no Officer might be displac'd, unless by a Court Martial; that the Act of Indemnity might be enlarg'd; that the Revenue of Mr. Richard Cromwell might be augmented, his Debts paid, &c." The Parliament taking hold of that Clause in their Address, wherein they promis'd Obedience, gave them Thanks for their Affections express'd in it, and promis'd to take the Particulars of the Petition into their speedy and serious Consideration, and do therein according to Justice, and as far as they cou'd to their Satisfaction; in pursuance of this Promise, the Parliament proceeded to the Consideration of the several Parts of the Address, and had made a good Progress in it, when Col. Okey communicated to them a Letter, subscrib'd by Major General Lambert, Major General Desborough, Col. Berry, Col. Clerk, Col. Barrow, the Committee nominated by the Council of Officers, which had been sent to him to encourage Subscriptions to the Petition lately read in the House. It appear'd by this, that they intended the Petition to be the Ground on which they design'd to unite the Army against the Civil Authority: The Parliament finding that the Ways of Compliance, which they had been taking, serv'd only to encourage the Army to Mutiny and Rebellion, resolv'd upon sharper Counsels. And to that End, having caus'd the Door

A.D. 1659
Parliament vote
out the Officers of the
Army.

A Committee to
command
in chief.

of the House to be lock'd, and fully inform'd themselves of the Matter of Fact, they voted the Commissions of those who had subscrib'd the Letter to be void. They voted the Commission of Lieutenant General Fleetwood to be void also, and plac'd, by an Act, the Power of Commanding in Chief all the Forces in England and Scotland, in the seven following Persons, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Lieutenant General Ludlow, Major General Overton, Col. Morley, Col. Walton, Col. Monk. Then they caus'd the Speaker to demand of Lieutenant General Fleetwood, who was then present in the House, if he wou'd submit to this Resolution of the Parliament, to which he answer'd, *I will.* They also declar'd that no Tax shou'd be levy'd upon the People, unless by Act of Parliament, under the Penalty due to those that are guilty of *High Treason.* This Affair, tho' carry'd with as much Secrecy as cou'd be, yet came to the Notice of the Officers without Doors, who being surpriz'd at the Resolution of Parliament, and convinc'd that the least Delay might prove dangerous, us'd all possible Diligence in drawing together their Party, and preparing themselves for their design'd Work.

In the mean Time the Parliament order'd the Regiments of Col. Morley, and Col. Moss to march forthwith to Westminster, for their Security, and sent for the rest of the Troops that were about Town, to draw down to them also, with all convenient Speed. In pursuance of which Order, Col. Okey endeavour'd to bring down his Regiment of Horse, but the greatest Part of them deserted him. Major General Lambert was the Person who made the first Attempt against the Parliament's Guard, endeavouring at the Head of a Party of Horse, to break in upon that Part, where Col. Morley was posted with his Regiment; but the Colonel advancing, and assuring him, he wou'd fire upon him, if he persisted; Lambert reply'd, *I will then go the other Way,* which he did, after he had given Orders to block up the Avenues by the Mill-bank, with Carts and other Impediments, to prevent the Guards of the Parliament from falling out upon his Men that Way. The Army plac'd also a Party of theirs in King-street, and in the Church-yard, near the Abbey, some of Col. Morley's Regiment having already possess'd themselves of the Old Palace-yard. In this Posture they continu'd all Night. The next Morning, October the 13th, that Guard of the Army which lay in the Church-yard, advanc'd with one Major Grimes, at the Head of them, towards those of Col. Morley's Regiment that were in the Palace-yard. The Colonel being inform'd of this Motion, drew out those he had with him, and hasten'd to their Relief. Both Parties being come within Pistol shot, those of the Army began to invite Morley's Men to come over to them, desiring them to remember they had hitherto fought together, and it was unreasonable now to become Enemies. Morley's Men endeavour'd to bring over Grimes's Soldiers, and the chief Officers at length interposing, 'twas agreed that both Parties shou'd for the present, retire to their Stations. On the other Side, Major General Lambert being advanc'd near the Party, which was commanded by Col. Moss, demanded of them, if they wou'd suffer nine of their old Officers, who had so often spent their Blood for them, and with them, to be disgrac'd and ruin'd with their Families? The Colonel answer'd, *Tho' this shou'd be the Case, yet it was much better that nine Families shou'd be destroy'd than the civil Authority of the Nation be trampled under Foot, who design'd not the Ruin of any, but only to remove from their Com-*

mands nine Officers, who by their seditious Carriage, had render'd themselves unworthy of that Trust. But Lambert's Oratory was more prevalent with Evelyn, who commanded the Parliament's Life-Guard of Horse, and marching forth at the Head of his Troop to do his Duty, was met by Lambert, at Scotland Yard Gate, His Men by the treacherous Perswasions of one Catnefs, his Lieutenant, revolted, and the Major General commanded Evelyn to dismount, which he did at the Head of his Troop, which went over to the General who was a Foot, and none with him. The same did some of Col. Moss's Regiment, Lambert each Party using their Rhetorick to bring over as many as they cou'd. And some came over to the Parliament's Party, particularly three entire Companies of Col. Sydenham's Regiment. At last the Army gain'd their Point, and plac'd Guards both by Land and Water, to hinder the Members of Parliament from approaching the House, tho' Sir Peter Wentworth being row'd by a Crew of able Watermen, broke thro' their Guard on the River, and got into the House.

In the mean Time, the Speaker endeavouring to pass in his Coach, thro' the Guards of the Army, was stopp'd near the Gate of the Palace-yard, by Lieutenant Col. Duckenfield, who had been very busy about the Derby Petition. Duckenfield ask'd the Speaker, *whither he was going?* He answer'd, *to perform my Duty at the House,* and turning himself to the Soldiers, he said, *I am your General, and expect your Obedience;* but the Soldiers forc'd his Coachman to drive back, and as he pass'd by Walkingford-House, wou'd have compell'd him to drive in at the Gate, telling the Speaker, he must go to Lieutenant General Fleetwood; but Lenthal commanded his Coachman to drive home, saying to the Officers, *If Lieutenant General Fleetwood has any Business with me, he may come to my House;* so they desisted.

Col. Sydenham endeavouring to justify this Violence in the Council of State, saying, *'Twas the last Remedy made use of by a particular Call of divine Providence,* the Lord President Bradshaw, tho' in a languishing Condition, stood up, and interrupted him, telling the Council, *He was now going to his God, and had not Patience to bear his great Name so openly blasphem'd;* so he left them, departed to his Lodgings, and withdrew himself from publick Employment. Lambert and Desborough for the Army, Haselrigge and Morley for the Parliament, had a warm Debate in the Council about this Transaction, but the Officers prevail'd in it, and it was agreed to save the Effusion of Blood, that the Parliament shou'd not sit. So the general Council of Officers undertook the Government, and to draw up a Form for a new Parliament, who were to settle all Things. After which the Council of State sent Orders to the Soldiers of each Party to draw off, and depart to their several Quarters, which they obey'd.

The Council of Officers declar'd Fleetwood Commander in Chief, sent Col. Barrow to Ireland, and Col. Cobbet to Scotland, to acquaint the Officers of the Forces there, of their Proceedings, and to desire their Concurrence. They nominated a Committee of Ten, to consider of Affairs, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Major General Lambert, Lord Commissioner Whitlock, Sir Henry Vane, Humphry Salway, Esq; Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Waristoun, Sir James Harrington, Major General Desborough, Col. Sydenham, Col. Berry.

The old Council of State was dissolv'd with the Commonwealth, which had lasted but five Months three Days. Sir Arthur Haselrigge and his Party, continu'd their Consultations how to restore

A.D. 1659 restore themselves, and curb those of *Wallingford-House*, who had thus affronted them; and they had Hopes of *Monk*, who they doubted not wou'd be disgusted at the making Major General *Lambert* Major General of all the Forces in *England* and *Scotland*. The Council of Officers appointed Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Lambert*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Desborough*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and Col. *Berry*, to be a Committee to nominate Officers of the Army; and they also agreed upon a New Council to manage the great Affairs of the State till the Meeting of the new Parliament.

Committee for Officers.

COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

Committee of Safety.

Sir *Archibald Johnston*, Laird *Waristoun*, President, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Lambert*, Commissary General *Desborough*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, Sergeant *Steel*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *James Harrington*, *Walter Strickland*, Esq; *Henry Lawrence*, Esq; Alderman *Ireton*, Alderman *Tichburne*, *Cornelius Holland*, Esq; *Henry Brandreth*, Esq; Mr. *Thompson*, *Humphry Sakway*, Esq; Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Berry*, Col. *Herjesson*, Col. Clerk, Col. *Lilburne*, Col. *Benner*.

The Writers of History, who are transported with the Blessings of the Restoration, without telling us one of them, enter here into the Encomiums of Major General *Monk*, who, probably, about this Time began to think that he might make himself some Body, by siding with the weaker Party, which was that of the Parliament.

Monk and his Wife's Character.

To imagine that a Man of his Head cou'd have foreseen, amidst the Despair the Royalists were in on the suppressing Sir *George Booth's* Insurrection, that he might be able to restore the King, is making him to have more Understanding, not more than ever he was thought to have had, but more than all the whole Party pretended to. Lord *Clarendon* says, *It put an end to all Endeavours of Force*, and that the King's Condition was a *State of Despair*, two or three Months only before he was restor'd. One need only consider, that it was not reasonable for *Monk* to expect that *Lambert*, who had restor'd the Commonwealth four or five Months before, wou'd destroy it again in so little time; and without his destroying it, *Monk* might have as well have thought of bringing in the Pope as the King. The Persons he is said to have consulted, and to have been advis'd by, were *Nicholas Monk*, his Brother, a Country Parson, of very mean Parts, afterwards a Bishop; his Cousin *Morrice*, a *Pendant*, and a *conceited Person*, of no true Judgment, according to Bishop *Burnet*, Dr. *Thomas Charges*, an obscure Apothecary, and his Sister, *Monk's* Wife, a *ravenous, mean, contemptible Creature*, as the Bishop of *Salisbury* terms her, and *Greenwile*, who, says the Bishop, thought of *nothing but of getting and spending*. I cou'd expatiate on all these Characters, and set them further in their proper Light, or rather, their proper Darkness, if I were not apprehensive that I must have very good Authority for every thing within this Period. These were excellent Managers to overturn the Government, if unforeseen Accidents had not fallen out one after another to lead *Monk*, Step after Step, till the Business was done before he was aware of it. Yet *Echard*, putting on a grave Air, tells us, *After all, we have the greatest Reasons to believe he has not one Reason in the World, that his Intention to restore the King was very early*. Another such Writer affirms, *He took a Commission in the Parliament Service, the better to conceal his Intentions of serving his Majesty secretly*. *Webster*, and *Gumble*, and *Price*, Ecclesiasticks, tell us

Peerage, p. 11.

the same, which is not only contrary to the Truth, but to Credibility. Dr. *Welwood*, who speaks better Things of him than he deserv'd, says, *I question whether he design'd to restore the King till after Richard Cromwel was depriv'd*, and I question whether he had ever any such Design at all, till after he was afraid he wou'd be restor'd by some body else. He proceeds, *If he had really such an Intention, he did not prove himself to be a very good Christian in it, for he declar'd once again at that time for a Commonwealth, without a King, a single Person, or House of Lords, and formally renounc'd the Family of the Stuarts*. All which is deny'd by the three Ecclesiasticks above-mention'd. *Warwick*, after he has told us of another Twist of the Guts, tells us, *No Man can say, that Monk design'd any more than a general Quiet of the Land*; tho' *Father Orleans* affirms he was *timorous* and heavy, a Man of *slow Understanding*; yet it must be own'd he had Courage enough, of that sort of Courage which proceeds from Insensibility of Danger, and not from a Desire of Glory: Or if he had any Thirst of Fame, it was no other than as it wou'd acquire him Posts, and bring him in Pay, Bishop *Burnet* informing us, that as to the latter he was perfectly *ravenous*. He and his Wife *sold all that was within their Reach, nothing being deny'd them for some time, till he became so useless, that little personal Regard cou'd be paid him. But the King maintain'd still the Appearance of it, for the Appearance of the Service he did him*. And indeed it was very little more than Appearance: Had much more been wanting to do the Business, it wou'd not have been done by him. He said little, not having much to say; and when he did say any thing, 'twas with an ill Grace. He lov'd good Eating and Drinking, and had Plenty of it while he liv'd at *Dalkeith*, in the House belonging now to the Dutchess of *Monmouth*, where he fed his Cavalier Guests high, and had always a Table for the Kirkmen, who wou'd come to him. A Man who can eat and drink well, is, in the vulgar Acceptation, very good Company; and he, who had no other Way of becoming popular, succeeded in that. While he was in *Scotland* he profess'd much Friendship for the Marquess of *Argyle*; and having receiv'd some Letters from that Lord, after he return'd to *England*, where he unbosom'd himself, as to a Friend, concerning the Cause they were then both engag'd in, *Monk* sent those Letters to *Scotland* when the Lord *Argyle* was to be try'd for his Life, which, says Bishop *Burnet*, was a *betraying the Confidence* they had liv'd in; and it was the more vile and wicked, for that the Marquess was condemn'd upon those Letters. *He was little consider'd*, according to the same Author, after he had modell'd the Army, and we shall see in the Course of the History, that he was more consider'd before it than the Merit of his Services to his Country amounted to.

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He is treacherous.

Welwood 106, 314. Ork. 194.

98.

Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, a very Wise and Brave Man, perceiv'd that the Misintelligence between the Parliament and Army would necessarily bring in the King; and as he had a very just Conception of the Characters of that Prince and his Followers, he did his utmost to prevent it. In order to which, he endeavour'd to reconcile both Parties: At a Meeting of both, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major *Sakway*, and *Ludlow* for the Parliament; *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Sydenham*, and *Desborough* for the Army, the Matter was debated, and *Lambert* excus'd what he had done, by Promises of what he wou'd do. Mr. *Ludlow* procur'd another Meeting, and did all he cou'd to moderate the Warmth of his Brother-

A.D. 1659 ther-Common-wealth's Men, who wou'd hear of no Accommodation, without being restor'd to their Seats in Parliament. Some of the Council of State wrote Letters to *Monk* to encourage him in his Resolutions to stand by the Common-wealth, in Opposition to the *Wallingford-House* Party. No sooner was Col. *Cobbet* arriv'd at *Dalkeith*, than *Monk* order'd him to be seiz'd, together with some other Officers whom he suspected, particularly Major *Holmes*, a very good Soldier, and good *Englishman*; who, Thirty Years after, lost his Life, not in a very unwarrantable Contest, though against a very unwarrantable Government; he suffering Death for joining with the Duke of *Monmouth* against King *Charles's* Brother, King *James*. Dr. *Welwood* tells a Story, which if it had come off as was design'd, wou'd have spoil'd all the Projects that *Monk* himself, his Wife, or her Brother *Charges* cou'd have invented. The Committee of Safety had form'd a Design to secure his Person, just as he was about Marching into *England*. They dispatch'd secret Orders to *Scotland*, by the ordinary Packet which us'd constantly to touch at *Dalkeith* while the General resided there; but this Packet was order'd directly to *Edinburgh*, four Miles off.

It happen'd that one of *Monk's* Life-guard accidentally met the Post turning out of the Road which led to *Dalkeith*, and finding he had not touch'd there, brought him back, notwithstanding the Packet was directed to *Edinburgh*. *Monk* suspecting something, open'd all the Letters that were directed to the Officers of the Army; among which, there was one from the Committee to Col. *Wilks*, ordering him to use the most effectual, speedy, and secret Way to secure the Person of General *Monk*, and to send him up to London under a strong Guard, in a Frigate which lay in *Leith Road*; and to take upon him the Command of the Army till farther Order. Having taken out this, and what other Letters he thought fit, together with his own from the same Committee, full of high Compliments and Expressions of Trust, he sent away the Packet as it was directed. But having communicated the Matter to some particular Friends, he gave Orders for a General Rendezvous of the Army at *Edinburgh*, where he Arrested Col. *Wilks*, and some other Officers of whom he was suspicious, sent them Prisoners to the Castle, and fill'd up their Commissions with others of his own Creatures; and also declar'd his Resolution to his Soldiers, To adhere to the Civil Authority, and to restore the Parliament.

In the mean Time, the Officers at *Wallingford-House* took away the Commissions of Col. *Okey*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Alured*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Farley*; and were more solicitous to secure themselves at Home, than to make Provision against *Monk* in *Scotland*; to whom Col. *Whalley*, Col. *Gough*, Mr. *Caryl*, and Mr. *Barker* were sent to persuade him to a right Understanding to prevent Effusion of Blood. The Committee of Safety appointed Major General *Lambert* to command all the Forces in the North, where there were enough to have cut *Monk's*, and another such Army to pieces, had not the Parliament Party, under-hand, given him Encouragement, and prevail'd with the Soldiery almost to a general Defection.

On the first of *November* the Committee appointed Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Major *Salway*, and Alderman *Tichburne*, to consider of a Form of Government for the Three Nations, as a Common-wealth, and to present it to the Committee of

Safety; but nothing came of it. *Monk* secur'd *Berwick*, and attempted *Carlisle* in vain. *Lambert* having taken his Leave of the Committee, and earnestly recommended to them to hasten and perfect the Form of Government, took Post for *Tork*; where he found Major General *Morgan*, famous for his Services in *Flanders* and *Artois*, who was then going to *Scotland* to confer with *Monk*; and promis'd *Lambert* to use his Credit with him, to bring him to an Accommodation. While *Morgan* was at *Tork*, he had several Conferences with the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Bowles*, one of the Four Ministers maintain'd by the State in that City; who sent a Letter by *Morgan* to *Monk*, importing, That the *Compl. Lord Fairfax*, and many others of good Interest *Hist. p. were willing to join with him, but disapprov'd* 216. his Declaration which was restrain'd to that Parliament only, which sat after the rest were seclud'd, and was fill'd with Protections for no other Government but a Common-wealth. Thus we see here, that the first Person who insisted upon the Admission of the seclud'd Members, which of course admitted the King, was a Presbyterian Minister. *Monk*, who was still the Champion of the Republick, sent *Charges* to *Tork*, to satisfy Mr. *Bowles*, that whatever his Declaration said, his Intentions were the reverse of it, but till he had more Strength, he must not talk otherwise. *Charges* was order'd to discourse Mr. *Bowles* before he spoke to my Lord *Fairfax*: *Bowles* desir'd him to stay privately in *Tork* while he transacted the Affair with that Lord, and he did it so effectually, that the Lord *Fairfax* return'd an Answer by him to *Monk*, assuring him of Assistance from himself, Mr. *Bethel*, Mr. *Smithson*, and other leading Gentlemen of that large County, all Presbyterians.

Whatever is said in the Earl of *Clarendon's*, *Warwick's*, and *Eckard's* Histories of *Monk's* Reservedness and Taciturnity, must be taken as the best Turn they cou'd give to his want of Genius and Expression; for he was not so silent and so reserv'd, but Men of Sense knew the very Bottom of him, and wou'd have prevented his doing Mischiefe, if the People had not been surpris'd with Changes of Government, that they were resolv'd to submit to any thing, rather than make new Experiments of the late Forms. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* writes, It was manifest to me through all his Discourses, by the Persons he favour'd and advanc'd, by the Company he kept, and by the Course he steer'd, that he was not bound to the Harbour he pretended; and cou'd I have prevail'd with the majority of the Parliament to be of the same Opinion, he shou'd not have carry'd on his Design so smoothly.

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, Commissary General *Desborough*, with several Principal Officers of the Army, went to the Common-Council of *London* the eighth of *November*, and represented to them the Proceedings of *Monk*, and that his real Design was to bring in the King. They shew'd the Danger of it to the City, and the People of *England*, and counsell'd them to provide for their own Safety, and to join for the Safety of the whole Nation, and for the Preservation of the Peace. The Common-Council thank'd them, and said they wou'd follow their Advice; the Officers of the Army in *Ireland*, and of the Fleet, wrote to *Monk* not to oppose the General Council of Officers. The Officers of the Fleet, Capt. *Richard Stayner*, Capt. *Richard Haddock*, Capt. *Christopher Myngs*, Capt. *Charles Wager*, and about twenty more, say, It is obvious to us where-ever we come, that few or none take pleasure in your Actions but the Cavaliers,

A.D. 1659 who make their Boast of you, and place their Confidence in you; which, as it is irksom to us to bear, so we trust, and shall pray that the Lord will preserve you from such a Defection, as knowing that never any prosper'd that help'd them. These discouraging Letters gave a Check to Monk's Proceedings, and Lambert's advancing Northward so startled him, that he came to a Treary, and nam'd his Commissioners, Col. Wilks (which shews that it must have been before *Wetwood's* Incident of the *Packer*) Col. Knight, and Lieutenant Colonel *Cloberry*, who coming to *London*, made such strong Professions of Monk's good Intentions, that they convinc'd many of his honest Meaning, and by their readiness to accommodate Matters, took off much of Peoples Thoughts, either as to Monk's Treachery, or their own Danger.

In the mean Time Col. *Whetham*, Governor of *Portsmouth*, was prevail'd with to admit Col. *Walton*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, and Col. *Morley*; with two Regiments, into that important Place; upon which they declar'd for the Parliament, and sent for more Forces to join them. These Officers, impos'd upon by Monk's fair Pretences, gave out, that they were all engag'd in the same Cause; and this powerful Diversion, with the Defection of Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, and the Officers of the Fleet, from the *Wallingford-House* Party, gave Monk Encouragement to proceed, especially after he had got 30,000 Pounds of the Scots to pay his Army; whereas the English Soldiers were unpaid, and in no likelihood of Pay, having a Vote of Parliament against raising Money without their Act, and there being no Parliament fitting to raise any.

Ld. Willoughby, etc. desires Whitlock to bring in the King. Monk's Intent was so well known, that 'twas the common Discourse in Conversation; but the Parliament Party was so blinded by Resentment against the Army, that they cou'd not, or wou'd not see it. *Whitlock* informs us, that having told the Convention in *Scotland* he had a Call from God to march into *England*, he caus'd an Engagement to be sign'd, and then began his March about the twentieth of *November*. While this was transacting in *Scotland*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Alderman *Robinson*, Mr. *Brown*, and Mr. *Loe*, came to the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, and confirm'd him in his Suspicion of Monk's Treachery, and propos'd to him to go to the Lord *Fleetwood*, and advise him to send forthwith to the King at *Breda*, to offer to bring him in upon good Terms. These Gentlemen talk'd like reasonable Creatures, and wou'd thereby have got beforehand with Monk, who, without question, intended to bring in the King. *Whitlock*, upon serious Thoughts of it, went to *Fleetwood*, and they had a long private Discourse together on the Twenty second of *November*. The Lord Commissioner told him, "That by the desire of his Brother, Sir *William Fleetwood*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and the Gentlemen above-mention'd, he was come to discourse with him about their present Condition, and what was fit to be done in such an Exigency as their Affairs were now in; that it was more than evident Monk's Design was to bring in the King, and that without any Terms for the Parliament, whereby all their Lives and Fortunes wou'd be at the Mercy of the King and his Party, who were sufficiently enrag'd against them, and in need of repairing their broken Fortunes." How natural this was for Men to consider! Their Fortunes, as *Whitlock* tells us, were broken, the King and his Followers enrag'd, and there cou'd hardly have been found such another Man as *Monk*, to consent to their Return, without some Provision against their Re-

venge and Rapine. *Whitlock* proceeded, "The Inclinations of the Presbyterian Party generally, and of many others, and of the City, and most of the Parliament's old Friends were the same way, so was a great Part of the Soldiery; that those here were revolted from *Fleetwood*, and those in the North were ready to revolt from *Lambert*: That *Monk* had deluded *Haselrigge*, and the rest of the old Parliament Men; that all the incens'd Lords and secluded Members wou'd be, and were active in this Design; so that the coming in of the King is unavoidable, and, I think, continues *Whitlock*, being that must be, it is more Prudence for you and your Friends to be the Instruments of bringing him in, than to leave it to Monk; by this Means you may make Terms with the King, for Preservation of your self and your Friends, and of the Cause, in a good measure, wherein we have been engag'd; but if it be left to Monk, we, and all that has been done, will be left to the danger of Destruction. We see what a wretched Opinion the Lord Commissioner had of his Head and his Heart, his Capacity and Conscience. Had the King's Restoration, for which almost all Men wish'd, been in good Hands, as he was a well-natur'd Prince, he wou'd have comply'd with their reasonable Requests; and though he wou'd not have put away his Followers, he wou'd not have put them in a Condition to bring so much Misery on their Country as they did by their future Administration, in reviving the old *Laudean* Persecution, which was one of the Causes that produc'd such terrible Effects in his Father's Time.

Whitlock again; I therefore propound to you one of these two Things, either to give Orders for all your Forces to draw together, and your self and your Friends to appear in the Head of them, and see what Strength you can make that will stand by you, and accordingly to take further Resolutions. If you find their Strength but small, as I doubt, then with these few you have, to go to the Tower, and take Possession of it; and to send to the Mayor and Common Council of *London* to join with you, and declare for a Free Parliament, which, I think, the City will willingly do; and furnish you with Money for your Soldiers, which will encrease their Number.

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* ask'd Mr. *Whitlock*, Will you go with me into the Field and to the Tower? *Whitlock* reply'd, I will. Then said *Fleetwood*, What is the other Way you have to propose to me in this Exigency? It is this, answer'd *Whitlock*, Send away some Person of Trust immediately to the King at *Breda*, offer him and his Friends Service for his Restoration, upon such Terms as the King shall agree upon; and for this Purpose give your Instructions to the Party you shall send upon this Affair.

Fleetwood ask'd *Whitlock*, Are you willing to go your self upon this Employment? The Lord Commissioner reply'd, I will go, if you think good to send me. They had more Talk on this Subject; and *Fleetwood* seem'd fully satisfy'd to send *Whitlock* to the King, desiring *Whitlock* to prepare himself forthwith for the Journey; and in the mean time *Fleetwood* and his Friends wou'd draw up Instructions for him, so that he might set out that Evening, or next Morning early.

Here was a Crisis for the Liberty and Happiness of these Kingdoms, for the Glory and Happiness of the King! If *Whitlock* had gone, and *Fleetwood* had prepar'd the Army to receive him, his Majesty might have been on his Throne before *Monk* was got to *Yorkshire*, and been restor'd by Men, who wou'd have taken equal Care of

A.D. 1659
Confrences between
Whitlock
and Fleet-
wood upon
it.

A.D. 1659 his Honour, and the Subjects Peace and Safety, Spiritual and Temporal: They were virtuous, sensible Men, of a quite different Character from Monk, who had never till now a greater Name in the World than that of *Oliver's Tool*. But 'twas the King's and the People's ill Fate, that he fell into the Hands of a Set of Men, who thought of nothing but Titles, Honours, Riches, Pride, Vanity, Luxury, Revenge, Riot and Prostitution! In a Word, he was hardly warm in his Royal Seat, before we have this Description of the Blessings he brought with him from Bishop *Burnet*, "A Spirit of extravagant Joy spread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very Professions of Virtue and Piety. All ended in Entertainments and Drunkenness, which over-run the three Kingdoms to such a Degree, that it very much corrupted all their Morals," of which I shall have too much Occasion to say more hereafter. For it is an undeniable Proof, that there was hardly any Shadow of Religion left, but what consisted in a flaming Zeal for the *Laudean Church*, and more flaming Rage against the *Presbyterians*. All this wou'd have been prevented, had *Fleetwood*, *Whitlock*, and their Friends conducted this Affair. For without the *Stale Covenant* (which as much a Jest as it was, the King had taken all Sacraments to confirm as soon as he was restor'd to his Kingdoms) they wou'd have obtain'd such reasonable Terms, as wou'd have prevented the patching up of the broken Fortunes mention'd by *Whitlock*, at the Expence of the publick Treasure, and the cruel Persecutions which ruin'd the Men who had put it into the King's Power to ruin them. But the *Crisis* receiv'd it's unhappy Turn by Fate, against which no Wisdom, no Care is a Defence.

The Elefsings King Charles brought in with him.

Whitlock going away from *Fleetwood*, met *Vane*, *Desborough* and *Berry* in the next Room, and they desir'd him to stay a little. *Whitlock* suspected what wou'd be the Issue of their Consultations; and within a Quarter of an Hour *Fleetwood* came to him, and in much Passion said, *I cannot do it, I cannot do it*. The Commissioner desir'd his Reasons why he cou'd not do it? The Lieutenant General answer'd, *These Gentlemen have remember'd me, and it is true, that I am engag'd not to do any such thing without my Lord Lambert's Consent*. *Whitlock* reply'd, *Lambert is at too great a Distance to have his Consent to this Business, which must be instantly acted*. *Fleetwood* said again, *I cannot do it without him*. The Commissioner reply'd, *You will ruin your self and your Friends. I cannot help it*, said *Fleetwood*; which put an End to this Discourse and Negotiation. It was the King's Work to try every Thing, and every Body, as he did Col. *Lockhart*, Governor of *Dunkirk*, long enough after *Monk's* Brother *Nicholas* and *Greenville* had been with him. *Lockhart*, after the Peace of the *Pyrenees* was made, of which we must make further Mention, went from *Dunkirk* to *London*, where he found *Monk*, and took all the Pains he cou'd to fift him. But *Monk* disappointed his Penetration by the most solemn and sacred Vows, that he wou'd be true to the *Common-wealth*, and against *Charles Stuart*, about a Month before he restor'd him. There's no Defence against detestable Treachery, such steady Defiance of Truth, and of it's God. An honest Mind can have no such Conception of Fraud in a Man's Heart, when with a settled Countenance he calls the Almighty to witness to the Sincerity of his Intentions. Bishop *Burnet* tells us further, *Lockhart* went away perswaded that *Matters* wou'd continue still in the same State; so that when his old Friend *Middleton* wrote to

Lockhart refuses to admit the King into *Dunkirk*.

him to make his own Terms, if he wou'd invite the King to *Dunkirk*, *Lockhart* said, *I am trust- ed by the Common-wealth, and cannot betray it*. There are not, in a corrupt Age, many such Traitors to be found, who for Lucre will betray a high Trust, and his best Patrons and Friends that confided in him. A Man's Soul must be extremely callous, his Conscience fear'd, and his Corruption next to Infernal, to turn Traitor to loving and bountiful Masters, and sell his Country, his Religion, his Friends, and whatever is precious to good Men, for a swelling Title, and ill-got Goods. *Lockhart* said, if it had not been for the Division in *England*, the *English* might have had what Terms they cou'd have ask'd from *France* or *Spain*. Col. *Ingoldsby*, his Son in Law, Mr. *Lee*, and the Lord Viscount *Howard*, who all bore Kindness to the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, came to him the next Day, and had Discourse of the Change which they saw coming on, insinuating to him, that, as his Condition was, he cou'd not do better than go away to the King with the Great Seal. The Advice was good; and every such Man wou'd have been a Treasure to his Majesty, to balance the rash Counsels of the weak Men he had about him, if we may believe Cardinal *Mazarine*. But tho' his going off in that Manner wou'd have been only leaving a Trust which was of no great Significancy in that State of Confusion, yet Mr. *Whitlock* thought the very Appearance to be vile, wicked and abominable, and ventur'd his and his Family's Ruin, tho' of much more Consequence than *Monk's*, rather than give his Friends Cause to think ill of him. Upon which the three Gentlemen before-mention'd made their Peace with the King in their own Way.

The Truth is, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* had not such an entire Command of the Soldiers, as to be able to draw them whither he wou'd. Most of them had shew'd a Willingness to submit to the Parliament for their Pay; and he had no other Use to make of them, than to joyn with the City, and declare for a free Parliament, which probably they wou'd have fallen in with.

Before *Monk* left *Scotland*, he had modell'd his Army for his Purpose. A great many conscientious Officers suspecting his Intentions, laid down their Commissions, for which they are blam'd by *Ludlow*, as thereby giving *Monk* an Opportunity to put in his own Creatures.

The Treaty between the *Wallingford-House* Commissioners and *Monk's* was concluded: The latter was to have Money to pay his Forces, to be one of the Committee for Nomination of Officers, a Representative of the People to be speedily call'd, and Commissioners appointed to consider the Qualifications for the Members; and Commissioners were agreed upon by

Monk's Party,

Thomas Scot, Esq; Sir *James Harrington*, Col. *Thompson*.

Wallingford-House Party,

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major *Salway*.

Army in Ireland,

Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Col. *Barrow*, Lieutenant Col. *Dobson*.

By another Article of the foregoing Treaty, a General Council of the Officers of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* were to meet at *Whitehall* on a certain Day, and to consist of two Persons chosen out of each Regiment; as also

Deputies

A.D. 1659

Treachery, the Infamy of it.

Ludl.

Whitlock refuses to go to the King.

Treaty between Commissioners and *Monk's* was concluded: The latter was to have Money to pay his Forces, to be one of the Committee for Nomination of Officers, a Representative of the People to be speedily call'd, and Commissioners appointed to consider the Qualifications for the Members; and Commissioners were agreed upon by

A.D. 1659 Deputies from the Fleet; which Assembly were to prepare Matters for the Consideration of the new Representative, and to engage for the Army's being obedient to the Settlement they shou'd make. This very wise and rational Scheme was again frustrated by the Management of the Wallingford-House Party, who were loath to part with the Power they had usurp'd, the Committee of Safety, which was the present Government, being their own-Creatures. Cloberry and the rest of Monk's Commissioners refus'd to shew what Authority they had from him to treat; it is thought they had no regular Authority: However, the Wallingford-House Officers did treat and conclude with them, and by that Means Lambert's Forces were kept from attacking Monk, which Ludlow says he was afraid of, having found his own Troops wavering and doubtful. The Confusion of the Times had infected the Heads of the Officers of the Army, and Lambert, who had as good a one as any in Europe, was so confounded, that he gave Monk all manner of Advantages, by modelling his own Army, and corrupting Lambert's, to prepare the Way for his safe March into England; whence he had good Intelligence that the Parliament Party were stirring every where, and wou'd be ready to receive and welcome him when he came: Besides, the Taxes which maintain'd Fleetwood's Soldiers expir'd in January, and then he doubted not they wou'd all desert to the first fair Bidder. In Expectation of these Things, which might have been expected with as much Thought as he was capable of, he sat down quietly at a Village call'd Cold-Stream, on the Scotch Side of the River Tweed. From which Village, and his Stay there, his Regiment, made a Regiment of Guards, was call'd the Cold-Stream Regiment, as is the Second of Foot-Guards to this Day.

There was a Project which wou'd have balk'd his Politick Views relating to the Taxes, had it succeeded, which too much exposes the Designs of Men of two Faculties to be remembered in my own Words; take it therefore in Lieutenant General Ludlow's:

Tythes to be taken away.

"The Parliament had manifested, before their last Interruption, an Inclination to ease the People of the Payment of Tythes." The Earl of Clarendon, Mr. Archdeacon, and the Compleat Historian, do in several Places urge this Sinking of Tythes against the Parliament, to prove they had no Religion, and were meer Infidels. We will not infer from thence, that these Historians and their Disciples did build Religion on the Foundation of Revenue and Power, because Tythes do invest Incumbents with so much of every Freeholder's Property, as to enable them to be very troublesome to their Parishioners; but we can't help observing, that they avoid letting us know why the Parliament talk'd of it, and how they tended to supply the Room of Tythes. Ludlow has it, "The Parliament in lieu of them wou'd have appropriated a certain Sum of Money for the Maintenance and Encouragement of the Ministry, to be distributed in a more equal manner than had formerly been practis'd; hoping, that if this cou'd be effected, the Clergy wou'd no longer have any other Interest to promote than that of the Publick, nor be a distinct Party from the People." What Hopes these were? Why they might as well have hop'd for Reformation, Peace, and Union! If such Clergy may not look upon themselves as Independant of the State, and promote their own, or any other Interest, separate from that of the Publick, they wou'd not pride themselves much in the Establishment.

Clergy, a distinct Party, P. 251.

The Lawyers, and surely they had as much Learning and Disinterest as the Lawyers of our

own Time! were alarm'd at the Bill for Regulating their Practice, which, as it is now, is still more a Grievance than it was then, fell in with the Clergy. Ludlow proceeds, "These two Parties therefore being equally concern'd to perpetuate the Abuses practis'd amongst them, became equally sensible of their common Danger; and in order to prevent it, Whitlock and St. John for the Lawyers, Dr. Owen and Mr. Nye for the Clergy, had at this time frequent Meetings at the Savoy, and enter'd into a private Treaty with the principal Persons of the Wallingford-House Party, offering to raise 100,000 Pounds for the Use of the Army, upon Assurance of being protected by them in the full Enjoyment of their respective Advantages and Profits; whereby we were left destitute of Hope to see any other Reformation of the Clergy. Good God! If there was no Hope of their Reformation then, when there was every where to be seen the Face of Purity and Piety, what Hope have we now, when there is every where to be seen the Face of - - - - - Our Enemies will tell the rest with Pleasure, than what they themselves would consent to, nor any other Regulation of the Law, than what the Chief Justice and the Commissioner of the Seal wou'd permit." A bold Scheme this! But Monk's approaching, and Lambert's and Fleetwood's Soldiers falling off, hinder'd it's taking Effect.

A.D. 1659 Lawyers against Regulations of the Law.

There was a pack'd Assembly of Officers pursuant to the before-mention'd Agreement. But no Deputies came from Monk, and none from Ireland. Those that did come quarrell'd amongst themselves, and it broke up without determining any thing. But there was a Meeting of some Officers and some Members of Parliament in private, Sir Henry Vane, Major Sabway, Lieutenant General Ludlow, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Desborough, Berry and others, where the restoring of Richard was mov'd, and then the restoring of Charles Stuart, which was only hinted by Major Sabway. The Officers and Members were so jealous of each other, that nothing which was said by one had any Influence on another; they all stood on their Guard, in a Suspicion that they all might have reconcil'd themselves to Monk or the King, to the Parliament or the Army. No body knew on what Ground he stood. Every one fear'd it might every Minute give Way under him; and in this Perplexity, Distraction and Uncertainty, this Tyranny of Soldiers, this Impotence of the Parliament, what Government cou'd have been propounded to the Nation, which, if they had been in their Wits, they wou'd not have prefer'd to any they had liv'd under for twelve Months past? 'Tis true, they were reduc'd to one Choice, and they made it with the Success of those poor People who have but one Choice to make.

In the mean while the Parliament Party was not wanting to promote their Interest, and to that End form'd a Design to seize the Tower. Colonel Fitz the Lieutenant had consented to open the Gates to Colonel Okey, who was to bring 300 Men to change the Garrison; but by some Accident or other the Design was discover'd to the Lord Mayor, who inform'd the Wallingford-House Officers of it the Night before 'twas to be executed, and Major General Desborough went to the Tower, chang'd the Guards, caus'd Fitz to be apprehended, and left Colonel Miller to command there. Major Croke in Wiltshire declar'd for the Parliament; so did the Governor and Garrison of Hurst-Castle; and what was much more to the Purpose, the Officers of the Fleet sent Word to Sir Arthur Haselrigg

Parliament.

A. D. 1659 rigge at *Portsmouth*, that they wou'd not oppose the Parliament. With this News was Col. *Walton* dispatch'd to *Monk*, who still pretended to be the greatest *Republican* and *Presbyterian* in the three Kingdoms. *Ludlow* very justly terms the Obstinacy of the *Wallingford-House* Party against the Parliament to be an Infatuation: Their Ruin was infallibly involv'd in that of the Commonwealth, yet they were harden'd as was *Pharaoh*, and as all proud Men are, who are fated to Destruction.

Cavalier-
Plot.

We are come within a few Weeks of the Restoration, and we yet hear not a Word of the Cavaliers, unless from those whom Dr. *Davenant*, in one of his Political Essays against the Government, in King *William's* Reign, calls *Under Spur-Leathers*. The first that *Ludlow* thought worth taking Notice of was, while *Monk* lay quiet at *Coldstream*. Several of them who fled beyond Sea, return'd secretly to *London*, choosing rather to venture their Necks at home, than to starve any longer abroad; and hearing there were great Divisions in the Army, General against General, and Regiment against Regiment, they hop'd to surprize them thus divided, and cut them off one after another, whom they durst not look in the Face, when united in a Body. The Troops in and about *London* were most expos'd to their sudden Attempts, the City being exasperated against the Soldiery, for pulling down the Commonwealth, who had always taken Care to oblige them, and endear them by all the friendly Acts that were in their Power, and many of them despairing of seeing the Parliament restor'd, fell in with those who were for restoring the King, which very much increas'd that Party in *London*, the Suburbs, and Neighbourhood. It was contriv'd among them, that they shou'd rise against the Army in ten several Parts of the City, surprize the Soldiers in their Quarters, knock them on the Head, and proclaim the King; but it happen'd that the Army receiv'd Information of that Design too, the Night before it was to be executed, and being alarm'd at the Danger, they immediately sent several Parties of Horse and Foot to take Possession of those Places which were appointed by the Enemy for their drawing together, by which Means they seiz'd some of them, who at twelve o' Clock the same Night were already come together, compleatly arm'd in a Part of the *Temple*, near the Water-Side. Others of the same Company got over the Wall, and escap'd in Boats. Many of the Conspirators were taken in other Parts of the Town, with Horses and Arms; some of them confess'd that the Officer who commanded a Party plac'd near *St. Paul's* Church, had promis'd to join with them; but here is not the Name of one *Royalist* of Note. They who had contributed so much to the driving the King out of the Kingdom, contributed little or nothing to the bringing him in again; for tho' there was an Insurrection soon after, which the Earl of *Clarendon* writes the History of, by the *Royalists*, yet no Man amongst them was so considerable, as to deserve to be remembred. Indeed they were not Men in their full growth of Mind or Body. They were only Apprentices, *What the Masters durst not publicly own*, says the Lord *Clarendon*, *the Apprentices did*; meeting in great Multitudes to Petition the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, to procure a free Parliament, by which was always understood the King. Many of the King's Party, says *Ludlow*, Men of desperate Fortunes, intermix'd with them, insomuch that the Army thought it necessary to send Col. *Hersfon* with a Regiment to suppress them; accordingly he march'd into the City, where he was affronted to his Face, his Men fir'd upon

London
Apprentices:
rise for the
King.

from Windows, and Stones thrown down on them from the Tops of the Houses, and as they proceeded in their March, they were so press'd on by the Multitude, that the Soldiers, to preserve themselves from Violence, were oblig'd to fire upon them, and having kill'd three or four of their Number, the rest dispers'd themselves for that Time; but Tumults were now become so frequent in the City, that the Army Party found themselves oblig'd to send considerable Guards thither, almost every Day, to suppress them; one of which being commanded, by Col. *Desborough*, carry'd themselves so roughly towards several eminent Citizens, that they greatly disgusted the whole City. The Aldermen and Common-Council not thinking it convenient openly to patronize those Disorders, agreed upon a Paper to be presented to the Council of Officers, wherein having disown'd the late Tumults, they complain'd of the killing of their Men and of the Guards that were kept in the City, desiring that they might be withdrawn, and the Guard of the City left to the civil Magistrate, who cou'd not otherwise undertake to secure the Peace, and that a Parliament might be call'd. The Council of Officers return'd for Answer, *That if the Aldermen and Common-Council wou'd declare against the Family of the Stuarts, and promise to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, without a King, single Person, or House of Lords,* they wou'd withdraw their Soldiers, and leave the City to be guarded by itself. They acquainted them also that they had already resolv'd to call a Parliament, and appointed Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and five other Members of the Council, to confer with the Aldermen and Citizens, touching the Reasons of those Resolutions, and of the late Proceedings in the City.

The Officers, and Aldermen met at *Whitehall*, Lieutenant and Commissary General *Desborough*, having shew'd the Necessity of doing what had been done in the City for securing the Peace, and made large Protestations of the Army's Friendship to them, General *Ludlow* spoke as follows.

Gentlemen,

Those who are Members of the Army, can best inform you of their own Intentions, in the late Proceedings in the City, wherein I shall not intermeddle; but having this Opportunity, and being a Well-wisher to the Commonwealth, I will take upon me to put you in Mind, that we have all been engag'd together in the Defence of our Rights and Liberties, against arbitrary Power. The City has been eminently instrumental in assisting the Parliament and Army, to carry on that weighty Affair, by which you have acquir'd Honour to yourselves, Esteem among good Men, and Satisfaction in your own Minds. But withal it ought to be consider'd, that by this you have highly incens'd, and vehemently provok'd the common Enemy against you, who tho' they may care for you for the present, and make you the most solemn Promises of future Kindness, will never forget the Aid and Support you have afforded to the Parliament, during the whole Course of the last War, but will certainly take a Time to be reveng'd on you to the utmost. Wherefore I desire you, as you tender the Peace of the Nation, and the Preservation of your Persons and Estates, that you will not suffer yourselves to be deluded by our common Adversaries, and seduc'd by specious Pretences to promote that Interest which, prevailing, will not only render all the Blood and Treasure that have been spent in asserting our Liberties, of no use to us, but also force us under

A. D. 1659

Tumults.

Speech to
the Citizens.

A.D. 1659 *such a Yoke of Servitude, that neither we, nor our Posterity shall be able to bear.*

This Lesson, for true Eloquence, Reason and Truth, is worth all the *Declamations* from the Beginning to the End of the *History of the Rebellion*. It is what every good *English Man* shou'd learn by Heart, and it will defend him against the Delusion and Seducements of the Enemies to the present Government.

Cavaliers
false Pre-
sences.

Can one doubt but that the Cavaliers deluded and seduced the Citizens, and others with an extraordinary Concern for their Liberties and Properties, which they had been invading continually ever since the Death of *Queen Elizabeth*? That they groaned under the Calamity of Standing Forces; that their Hearts bled for the immense Taxes which were laid on the People; that they cry'd out against any War abroad, which was for the Honour and Interest of the Nation, as wasting of Blood and Treasure for Allies only? That they were always preaching up Peace, if it was like to be attended with Loss and Shame, and in despair of any Remedy to their imaginary Evils, but by bringing in the King? They were hearken'd to, they were believ'd! The King was brought in, and his Brother with him; to get rid of whom, it cost the Nation more Blood and Treasure, than had been expended in all their Wars from the *Reformation* to the *Revolution*.

Lord
Broghill
for the
King before
Monk.

By the following Account taken out of the Manuscript Memoirs of the Earl of *Orrery*, we shall still find that *Monk* ran away with the Reward, when other Men did the Work; and that what is said in the *History of the Rebellion* about *Sir Charles Coote's* sending *Sir Arthur Forbes* to the King at *Brussels*, is injurious to the Merit and Memory of the Lord *Orrery*. His Lordship, soon after *Richard's* Abdication, went to *Ireland*, where he was Lord President of the Province of *Munster*, and had great Power and Interest. He had not been long there before the Parliament's Commissioners in *Ireland*, *Serjeant Steel*, Lord Chancellor, *Col. John Jones*, *Miles Corbet*, Esq; and *Col. Tomlinson*, sent for him to attend them at the Castle of *Dublin*, where he made his Appearance, and was required to give Security for his peaceable Behaviour under the present Government, the Commissioners telling him, he must be accountable for whatever Disturbance happen'd within his Province. His Lordship answer'd, If the Power of the Province was committed entirely to him, he wou'd be accountable; but if any other Commander had Power in his Province, he wou'd not be responsible for what might happen where he had not the sole Command. *Serjeant Steel* thought what he said reasonable, and prevail'd with the other Commissioners to take my Lord's Word of Honour, that he wou'd do his Utmost to keep the Province in Peace.

From that Time the Manuscript Author informs us, the Lord *Broghill* finding all other Interests broken, or breaking to Pieces, resolv'd to sacrifice them all to the King's, and set himself heartily about it. He founded all the Officers of his own Regiment of Horse, and Regiment of Foot, and found them very well dispos'd to follow his Fortunes; only the Governor of *Limerick*, *Col. Wilson*, not being immediately under his Command, he was for some time cautious of trusting him; but that strong Place wou'd have been an insurmountable Impediment to his Design; so he resolv'd to venture, and try what he cou'd do with him: Accordingly he sent a trusty Messenger to desire him to come to my Lord as privately as he cou'd, for he had something of the last Importance to confer with him about. The Governor came, and Lord *Broghill* taking

him into his Closet, after due Preparations, began at first to discourse in general of the present State of Affairs, how unfertile they were, and what Changes they were subject to, adding, *What think you of them, Colonel?* the latter reply'd, *I cou'd wish they were otherwise, and settled some way or other.* The Lord *Broghill* continu'd the Discourse thus, *I see plainly those at the Helm will rather unsettle than settle them, and therefore it wou'd be well if some Man of Spirit wou'd stir and try to bring things into better Order, for they can't last as they are now.* The Colonel said, *You, my Lord, are a fit Man to stir, I wonder why you don't;* the Lord *Broghill* reply'd, *I am not a Man of any great Interest, and am suspected already.* No doubt, says the Colonel, *many Persons will be glad to join with you in so necessary an Undertaking: For my part, I will be one.* Well then, reply'd my Lord, *Will you indeed join with me in any good Design?* The Colonel answer'd, *I will, there's my Hand, and I will stick close to you to the Death.* Lord *Broghill* proceeded, *These Kingdoms will never be well without a free Parliament, every one complains of the Oppressions of Committees; Will you join with me in declaring for a Free Parliament?* *I will,* says the Colonel, *with all my Heart, I will: Will you do it,* continued my Lord, *if there were a King at the Bottom?* The Colonel answer'd, *I like it the better.* Then Lord *Broghill* acquainted him what his Intentions was, to send to his Majesty and invite him to come to *Ireland*, where all *Munster* was ready to receive him; adding, *I will send to Sir Charles Coote in the North, and to Colonel Monk in Scotland, to desire them to declare for the same Thing;* which the Colonel highly approv'd of, and vow'd *he wou'd live and die with him in it.* My Lord enjoin'd him to Secrecy, upon which the whole Matter depended, and the Colonel immediately swore it. After which he return'd to *Limerick* to prepare for putting the Design in Execution; and by a Gentleman who accompany'd him thither from Lord *Broghill's* House, he return'd a Letter to my Lord, wherein he said, *He wrote it and subscrib'd it purposely with his own Hand, that if ever he prov'd false, that Letter might rise up in Judgment against him.*

The Reader will observe, that this is before *Coote* or *Monk* had taken one direct Step towards restoring the King.

Lord *Broghill* dispatch'd a Gentleman in whom he cou'd confide, to *Sir Charles Coote* in the North of *Ireland* to dispose him to engage with him in declaring for a Free Parliament; which *Coote* did very readily, wanting only such an Invitation from a Person of Name and Interest; for he had taken Disgust at the Superiority of Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and the Parliament's Commissioners, and thought that his Services, which had been very eminent, were not sufficiently recompens'd by the *Presidency* of *Connaught*. Lord *Clarendon* tells us, he had not so much Guilt as Lord *Broghill*, but I don't know how he cou'd make it out. He had kill'd more Papists than *Broghill*; he had hung up a Bishop as well as *Broghill*; he had courted and serv'd both the Protectors as much as *Broghill*: But, in short, there's no understanding what the Earl of *Clarendon* sometimes means by Guilt, by Merit, by Religion, by Schism, by Rebellion, by Loyalty, and the like; they must very often be read backwards.

When the Gentleman return'd from *Sir Charles Coote*, and told the Lord *Broghill* what his Resolution was, his Lordship got a Letter sign'd by most of the Chief Officers in *Ireland* to invite the King, then at *Brussels*, to that Kingdom.

A. D. 1659 Lord *Brogbill's* Brother, the Lord *Shannon*, was sent with this Letter, which his Majesty receiv'd before Matters were quite settled with *Monk*, and resolv'd to embark at *Calais* for *Cork*, where the Lord *Brogbill* promis'd to receive him with a good Force; but before he cou'd take Shipping, an Address came from the Convention in *England*, which invited him thither, and put off the Voyage to *Ireland*.

In the mean time it began to be rumour'd that *Brogbill* and *Coote* held Intelligence with *Monk*, and that their Design was for a *Free Parliament*. *Coote*, impatient of Delay, or rather greedy of the Reward he might expect for the Service, made that Declaration, having engag'd a good Part of the Army in *Ireland* to join with him in it. Col. *Brayfield*, Governor of *Athlone*, refusing to do it, Sir *Charles Coote* brought down his Forces before it, and by tampering with some of the Garrison, and falsely affirming that *Brayfield* wou'd deliver them up to him, he prevail'd with them to set open the Castle Gates, and to betray the Governor into his Hands. You see how the Work is done, Falshood and Treachery again! Col. *Temple* possess'd himself of *Carlo*, and turn'd out Col. *Prerty*; Capt. *Lisse* dispossest Col. *Desborough* of *Drogheda*; Col. *Fouke*, assisted by the Cavaliers, seiz'd *Yongball*; Major *Stanley* had done the same at *Clonmel*; Col. *Cooper* was remov'd from his Command in the *North*, and a Friend of *Coote's* put into it with little or no Opposition, and left still in *Munster*, where the Lord *Brogbill* declar'd for a *Free Parliament*, though not so hastily as Sir *Charles Coote* did, which caus'd a Letter from the latter to his Lordship, wherein he tells him, *The Design of declaring for a Free Parliament begins to take Vent, and I am therefore forc'd to declare before the Time determin'd, lest I shou'd be circumvented or hinder'd by the Rump Party; upon which Account I desire your Lordship forthwith to do the same, that the whole Force of the Enemy may not be employ'd against me, but be divided. Remember, your Lordship first put me upon this Design, and therefore shou'd not leave me in what you first put me upon.* Lord *Brogbill*, who was ready to begin the Work if he had thought the Time proper for it, cou'd not help thinking *Coote* had precipitated it; yet finding he had so done, he resolv'd to support him, and accordingly declar'd for a *Free Parliament*, which was then understood to be the King, whom they did not care directly to mention, it being made *Treason* by so many Laws. By this Means the Parliament Party were thrown into great Perplexity, and knew not which way to turn, being pent in as they were between two Powers, and Lord *Brogbill* and *Coote* met with as little Opposition as cou'd well be expected from Persons that were in Possession of the Government. These Gentlemen sent Capt. *Campbell* to *Monk* to acquaint him with their Proceedings, but he had no more Concern in the Revolution in *Ireland*, than the Lord *Brogbill* had in that of *England*: Both appearing in the same Cause, were both Instruments in carrying it on, and both succeeded in the several Islands where they commanded, without receiving the Assistance of a Troop or Company from each other. Sir *Hardress Waller*, Major General of the Forces in *Ireland*, shut himself up in the Castle of *Dublin*, and one *Stanley*, a rank Republican, and a Major in the Parliament Army, Lieutenant

Cavaliers
Sir in Ire-
land with
Coote.

Sir Ch.
Coote's
Letter to
Lord
Brogbill.

Colonel *Warren*, and others, immediately join'd themselves to him. It was resolv'd amongst them to send out a Party to seize Sir *Charles Coote*, Col. *Theophilus Jones*, and their Adherents, who were come to *Dublin* by Encouragement from the Citizens; instead of which, *Coote* tamper'd with the Garrison of the Castle so effectually, that they deliver'd up their Governor and his Adherents. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* was oblig'd to return to *England*, and there found no very good Welcome; for *Brogbill* and *Coote* declar'd first for the Parliament only, and sent Word to *England* that *Ludlow* was against them, in favour of the Army, which occasion'd his being recall'd to vindicate himself, as soon as the *Rump* were restor'd, which happen'd the 24th of *December*. Parlia-

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* finding himself deserted by most part of the Army sent the Keys of the Parliament-House to Mr. *Leinthal*, the Speaker, with Notice that the Guards were withdrawn, and that the Members of Parliament might attend the Discharge of their Duty. Col. *Miller*, Governor of the Tower, sent him Word also, that he and his Garrison were ready to receive his Orders. Col. *Alured* and Col. *Okey* muster'd the Forces about Town in *Lincolns-Inn* Fields, where, after they had declar'd for the Parliament, they march'd by the Speaker's House in *Chancery-Lane*, and saluted him as their General, as he stood at his Door. About the same Time Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, Col. *Morley*, and the rest of the Officers from *Portsmouth*, coming to *London* by the Bridge, were receiv'd with loud Acclamations. The Speaker, *Leinthal*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Weaver*, and Mr. *Berners*, went to the Lord Mayor, and discus'd with him and the Sheriffs concerning the Parliament's meeting again, and found them to like well of it.

Admiral *Lawson* wrote to the City, and to the Militia of *London*, to declare for the Parliament, which was no small Argument, considering he lay at the *Thames* Mouth with Twenty five Men of War; and that Officer, who was a rigid Independant, was brought into this Temper by the Persuasion of Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, whose Merit, as to the *Restoration*, will be found upon Enquiry to be much more than *Monk's*. The Committee of Safety sent Sir *Henry Vane*, and two other of their Members to confer with *Lawson*, whom they knew to pay great Deference to *Vane's* Judgment; but when they came aboard his Fleet, they found Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* had been there before them, and so wrought upon *Lawson*; that he was determin'd to declare for the Parliament, telling Sir *Henry Vane* plainly, he wou'd submit to no other Authority.

From the Lord Mayor, the Speaker, *Leinthal*, went to the Tower, and, as General of the Commonwealth, remov'd Col. *Miller*, and put Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* in his Place.

At the same Time Commissary *Desborough's* Regiment, which was sent by *Lambert* to keep the City in Awe, having march'd as far as *St. Albans*, and heard what was done by their Fellows at *Westminster*, with whom they were to join, resolv'd not to be last in their Submissions, but declar'd for the Parliament, and gave the Speaker Notice of their Obedience; which put an End to the Committee of Safety, after an Usurpation of Ten Weeks Four Days.

The COMMON-WEALTH.

A. D. 1659 ON the 26th of December the Speaker, Mr. *Lenthall*, and the Members of Parliament then in Town, met at *Whitehall*, and from thence walk'd together to the Parliament-House in the Evening, the same Soldiers shouting as they pass'd by, who not long before kept them by Force from sitting.

Parliament. They immediately pass'd some Votes for the Pay of the Army, and appointed a Committee to direct and order the Forces.

Committee for the Army. *Alexander Popham*, Esq; *Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper*, *Thomas Scot*, Esq; *Col. Okey*, *Col. Thompson*, *Col. Alured*, *Col. Markham*.

No sooner was this Committee settled, than *Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper* gave a singular Proof of the Dexterity of his Management. He immediately procur'd a great Number of Clerks, whom they instantly order'd to transcribe as many Copies of a Form of a Letter as were wanted, wherein they recited, *That it had pleas'd God to restore the Parliament, who had given them a Commission to command the Army; wherefore they commanded him, the Officer to whom the Letter was directed, immediately with his Troop, Company or Regiment, as it happen'd, to march to - - -* These Letters were directed to the Chief Officers of any Part of the Army, who had their Quarters in any Part of the Kingdom. They were dispatch'd away by particular Messengers that very Night; and coming to the several Officers so peremptorily to march immediately, they had not Time to assemble and debate among themselves what to do. They had no other Intelligence but *that the Parliament was restor'd, and that London, Portsmouth and other Parts of England had declar'd for them*. The Officers durst not disobey, but all of them march'd according to their several Orders, some one Way, and some another; so that those Forces which were the Support of the *Wallingford-House Party*, were by this Means quite dispers'd, and render'd perfectly usefess to the Committee of Safety, who were hereby totally reduc'd under the Power in the Parliament, as so many disarm'd Men, to be dispos'd of as they thought fit. This fine Stroke of Policy is so superior to any thing in *Monk's* Character, or in any of the Characters of the History of the *Rebellion*, that, after reading this, they will all appear lame and contemptible in the Article of *Polricks*. Thus is the Way every where clearing for *Monk*, tho' he was so far from being accessary to it, that he knew nothing of the Matter.

Digression about Monk. Yet how do *Webster*, *Gumble*, *Price*, *Warwick* and others labour to make him the main Mover in all things. *Warwick* calls him a great Man; without considering that there never was, and never will be a great Man a Traitor to his Trust; Ingrate, False, and Forsworn. He was an Admiral, a Major General; he had beat, and been beaten, as was the Chance of War; but never had the sole Conduct of any great Action, tho' he had the joint Execution, and was hardy enough to run into those Dangers, of which he had no Foresight. *Warwick* owns, that no earthly Power could have destroy'd the *Common-wealth*, and that *Monk's* Treachery and Army wou'd have signify'd nothing, if *God* in this Work had not made his own Arm bare, and his Interposition visible, by bowing the Hearts of all Israel to their exil'd David. This cou'd be done by none but him who said he wou'd destroy Israel, but save Judah, but not by the Bow or Sword. You see

how they cant, and yet how loudly do they villify the *Presbyterians* for canting? Wou'd not one think that this exil'd David was the Man after God's own Heart? and that his Followers in Exile were the chosen People of the Lord; whereas in Truth *Col. Doleman*, a Cavalier, said, *If you call home the King, you will put the Government under Pimps and Whores*; and *Sir William Morrice*, *Monk's* Cousin, afterwards made Secretary of State for calling him home, said, *Colonel Doleman was the truest Prophet he ever met with in his Life*. Yet *Warwick*, fifteen or sixteen Years after his Coming, and the fulfilling of the Prophecy, terms him the Favourite of Heaven, and the holy David of our Israelites, at the same Time that he rails at *Cromwel* for making use of Scriptural Phrases. This is one of *Echard's* chief Guides in Style and Fact, and no doubt he learnt all his Delicacy from those delicate Expressions in him, a third *Twisting of the Guts*, and a Man smells not his own Dung. I digress thus to shew what Metal they are made of, and if there is now need of it, to prevent the Reader's being impos'd upon by Names, and nothing else.

The Lord Commissioner *Whitlock* had very dexterously shifted with the Wind in almost all the Changes, and been almost of all the Councils, whether of State or Safety. The last stuck closest to him. The Republicans highly resent-ed his giving any Countenance to the Army, in-somuch that *Scot* said, *He shou'd be hang'd with the great Seal about his Neck*; but *Scot's* Menace came home to himself. *Whitlock* however absent-ed himself from the House till he receiv'd a Letter from the Speaker, and when he attend-ed, he found his old Acquaintance, *Mr. Reynolds*, *Mr. Nevill*, and others, very shy to him, which boded not well on that Quarter; so he retir'd into the Country till the Heat was somewhat abated, sending the Great Seal to the Speaker by his Lady.

Major *Wildman* and Colonel *Henry Ingoldsby*, with 300 Voluntier Horse, coming before *Windsor*, the Governor, Colonel *Whitcomb* surrender'd it for the Use of the Parliament, and Commissary General *Desborough* sent them an humble Letter, acknowledging his Fault, and promising future Obedience.

The House approv'd of *Monk's* placing and displacing of Officers, and order'd a Letter of Thanks to him under their Seal for his Fidelity and great Services; and indeed the Services he did them were as signal as his Fidelity. They also order'd Thanks to Vice-Admiral *Laxson*, *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, *Robert Wallop*, Esq; *Col. Walton*, *Col. Rich*, *Col. Whetbam*, *Col. Morley*, *Mr. Nevill*, *Mr. Love*, *Major Braman*, *William Lenthall*, Esq; Speaker.

Monk in placing and displacing Officers, little deserv'd the Thanks of the Parliament, which most of the other Gentlemen did for their Fidelity and Zeal. Lieutenant General *Lubbock* informs us, "that in his March he remov'd many Officers from their Commands, placing in their room, Persons of profligate Lives and ruin'd Fortunes. In particular he discharg'd from their Employments, several Officers of *Col. Zanchy's* Irish Brigade; who had been the most zealous for asserting the Parliament's Authority, and fill'd their Places with such as had been dismiss'd for their vicious Lives, and corrupt Principles," which was extremely natu-

A.D. 1659
P. 643.
Martin's
Saying of
Monk.

ral and agreeable to the Account the same Author gives of his own Morals and Principles. *Harry Martin*, the only merry Member of the Rump, said in the House, *that Monk was like a Taylor, who being sent for to make a Suit of Cloaths, brought with him a Budget full of Carpenter's Tools, and being told, such Things were not at all fit for the Work he was desir'd to do, he reply'd, It matters not, I'll do your Business I'll warrant ye.* The Lord Clarendon, and all writing Royalists, labour nothing more than to silence Monk's Taciturnity, his working like a Mole under Ground, and the like, whereas every one, but the Cavaliers, cry'd out against the Bare-facedness of his Design to bring in the King, and the Madness of the Parliament and Army to let him. If they cou'd have been reconcil'd, even after Monk had lodg'd himself at *White-hall*, they might have turn'd him out, as easily as they did *Richard Cromwel*: And he must have been content with *Richard's* Impotence and Obscurity afterwards.

Lambert
confin'd.

The Order of the Army Commissioners above-mention'd coming to *Lambert* as well as to other Generals, he found himself all at once deserted by both Officers and Soldiers. Lord Clarendon assures us, the Parliament sent him no other Order, and that being abandon'd by his Soldiers, he was left in a most disconsolate Condition, and with scarce 100 Men attending him, return'd towards *London*, where, as soon as he arriv'd, he was apprehended and confin'd first to his own House, and then to *Holmby*, the Place of the late King's Confinement. Where was Monk's Hand in all these things? He lies quiet at *Cold-Streann*, and when the Way is thus made for him, he moves heavily forward, as if he did not think himself out of Danger, tho' there was not a Man in Arms against him, after the Parliament reassum'd the Government, and own'd him in all his Proceedings. On the last Day of the Year the House agreed upon Persons to be a Council of State, whose Names were as follow; Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Walton*, *William Love*, Esq; *Robert Wallop*, Esq; *Thomas Scot*, Esq; *John Weaver*, Esq; *Robert Reynolds*, Esq; *Luke Robinson*, Esq; *Miles Corbett*, Esq; Major General *Monk*, Mr. *White*, Mr. *Rolls*, *John Say*, Esq; *Thomas Challoner*, Esq; Alderman *Foot*, *John Fagg*, Esq; Serjeant *Terrel*, *Hugh Bethel*, Esq; Mr. *Berners*, Mr. *St. John*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Vice-Admiral *Laxson*, *Henry Nevil*, Esq; ———— *Love*, Esq; Col. *Dixwell*, Col. *Thompson*.

Council of
State.

Col. *Dixwell* was made Governor of *Dover*, and all Posts and Offices dispos'd of by the Parliament were given to Men in whom they might confide.

King
Char. II.

Cavaliers
in Despair.

During these Transactions at home, the King and his Courtiers were in great Anxiety and Melancholy abroad. They were flatter'd from time to time with Hopes of some sudden Change in *England* in their Favour, but scarce receiv'd the News which brought them Hope, before the next Letters brought them Despair. All Attempts for the King's Restoration prov'd in vain; and upon the Suppression of *Sir George Booth's* Insurrection, the King, who was in *Bretagne* waiting for Advices to call him over to *England*, left *France*, and posted away to *St. John de Luz*, on the Frontiers of *France* and *Spain*, where the Ministers of the Two Kings were treating of a Peace and a Marriage to confirm it. This other ill-advis'd Step only expos'd him to such ill Usage as never Prince met with from Crown'd Heads, much less from their Ministers. Princes shou'd be sure of their Treatment before they

A.D. 1659

put their Persons into the Hands of Strangers. There's a long Account of this Journey in the Lord Clarendon and Mr. *Echard's* Histories, to which I refer those whose Curiosity is insatiable. What I shall say after good Authorities will, I think, shew, that it was not worth so many Words.

It is very short in Bishop *Burnet*, "The King went to the Meeting at the *Pyrenees*, where Cardinal *Mazarine* and *Don Lewis de Haro* were negotiating a Peace. He apply'd to both Sides to try what Assistance he might expect upon their concluding a Peace. It was then known that he went to *Mafs*; yet it was carry'd secretly, and was confidently deny'd. Dr. *Welkwood* is a little longer about it. "King Charles made this long Journey to no Purpose. It's true, *Don Lewis de Haro* receiv'd him with all possible Marks of Respect: But the Cardinal positively deny'd him Access. All he cou'd be brought to, after several Messages, was to allow the Duke of *Ormond* to talk to him upon the Road from *St. John de Luz* to the Place of Treaty, as if it had been but an accidental Rencounter. *Ormond* obtain'd nothing of the Cardinal but general ambiguous Answers, till being press'd, he told *Ormond* plainly, *All my Master can do for his Cousin the King of England, is to compassionate his Misfortunes, as not being in a Condition himself to break with the Government of England, with which his Affairs oblige him to keep a good Correspondence.* Besides this Neglect of *Mazarine's*, King Charles had the Mortification to see Ambassador *Lockhart* receiv'd at the same time with the greatest Pomp and Splendor, having the Cardinal's Coaches and Guards sent a Day's Journey to receive him, and the Cardinal giving him the Right Hand, which was a Respect he deny'd the Ambassadors of *Crown'd Heads*. Nor was *Don Lewis* kinder upon the Matter to King Charles; for having ask'd the Command of the Army in *Flanders*, which the Prince of *Conde* was by the Treaty to quit, *Don Lewis* refus'd it, as any one might have reasonably expected.

The Conteſts among Authors about King Charles the Second's Religion, are the more pleasant, because nothing is more certain than that he had no Religion at all in a Christian Sense of the Word; but if Profaneness and Lewdness may consist with Religion in the same Person, he may be allow'd to be a Papist, tho' nor of so late standing as *Echard* makes it, this Journey to *St. John de Luz*, from whence passing to *Fontevravia* in *Spain*, he was there reconcil'd to the Romish Idolatry, as were also the Earl of *Bristol* and *Sir Henry Bennet*, whom he made Secretary of State, an Earl, and Lord Chamberlain, if Dependence cou'd be made on any thing in *Echard's* History, which, as he boasts of this, he had not from the publick Writers. This Vanity is the more extravagant and whimsical, for that there is not in any Book more Trifling, more Hearsay, more Poverty, and more of every thing which debases History! The Bishop of *Salisbury* affirms, he chang'd his Religion before he left *Paris*, several Years before this pretended Conversion in *Spain*, as was well known to Cardinal *de Retz* and the Lord *Amigny*. The Marquess *de Roucy*, a Hugonet, related to *De Retz*, being much press'd by him to turn Papist, urg'd to him, that the Protestant Religion must certainly be ruin'd, for the Protestants cou'd expect no Protection from *England*, both the Princes, *Charles* and *James*, being turn'd Papists. *Monsieur de Roucy* told this in great Confidence to the Pastor of the French Church, who, after his Death,

A. D. 1659 Death, sent Bishop Burnet Advertisement of it. King Charles turns Papist. Sir Allen Broderick declar'd on his Death, that King Charles the Second made Profession of the Popish Religion at Fontainebleau, where Sir Allen attended him, before he was sent out of France to Colen. After three such Witnesse, what becomes of Echard's rare Account, never printed before, that he turn'd Papist at Fontenabia? and with what Front can People extol this King's Zeal for the Protestant Church of England, when he was a Member of the Church of Rome! and what Opinion must one have of the Honour, the Honesty of those, who got an Act pass'd, after he was restor'd, which made it Ruin for any one to say the King was a Papist! one of the first Blessings of that Blessed Reign. Echard wonders why this shameful Hypocrisy is sunk in the Earl of Clarendon's History. A little Thing will make him wonder. For my Part, whatever is said, or not said, in the History of the Rebellion, is not strange to me, for they were to do, and say any thing that wou'd cover the Wolf with a Sheep's Cloathing, and the Sheep with a Wolf's. King Charles wanted not good Sense, nor good Nature, when he was not a Slave to his Pleasure or Passion, and his Severity and Ingratitude to the Presbyterians, were inspir'd by Hyde, Cosins, Morley and others, his Companions in Exile, who cou'd never forget how they were pinch'd by Want for twelve Years together, and came home ready to burn with Revenge. The Bishop of Salisbury writes, He seem'd to have no Sense of Religion, both at Prayers and Sacraments; he took Care to satisfy the People, that he was in no sort concern'd in that about which he was employ'd, there was not the least Appearance of Religion in him. He said, he cou'd not think, God wou'd make a Man miserable, only for taking a little Pleasure out of the way. "He disguis'd his Popery to the last, but cou'd not help speaking against the Reformation. He commended Infallibility and implicit Faith." This is the King whom Sheldon, Morley, and Cosins were wont to stile their most religious King in their most solemn Worlhip of God. This is the King whom Hyde, Warwick, Turner, &c. extol for his Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and his Love to the Church! You have it in all their Histories and Speeches at the same time that some of them knew he was a Papist, and all of them knew he was an Atheist in his Life and Conversation. This is the King of whom Echard tells us, that Sir Edward Hyde wrote in his Letters to Dr. Berwick, The King has done all that is in his Power for the Church; he means while he was at Paris, Cologne, Brussels, Bruges, St. Makes and Breda. I'll quote no more of it, 'tis too incredible, as is what he says in the next Paragraph, that the Duke of York's Marriage with Chanceller Hyde's Daughter, was kept a Secret from the Chanceller. I cannot animadvert upon it out of Respect to the two great Queens that sprang from it, whose Memory will be immortal and dear to all good English Men, and good Protestants. But the Chanceller's History is never the truer for that, nor the less liable to Objection. His Majesty return'd from Fontenabia to Brussels, while Monk lay on the Banks of the Tweed, and he had but cold Comfort from England; all Advices from thence, speaking only of the Restoration of the Common-wealth, at whose Name only the Princes of Europe trembled, and the Royalists in Exile were confirm'd in their Despair.

On the 1st of January, Monk pass'd the Tweed, and enter'd England with four Regiments of Horse, and six of Foot.

Horse.
Major General Monk, Col. Johnston, Col. Knight, Col. Cloberry.

Foot.
Major General Monk, Major General Morgan, Col. Fairfax, Col. Rede, Col. Lidcot, Col. Hubblethorn.

In his March he enter'd Werk Castle, belonging to the Lord Grey, and took away a considerable Sum of Money, which Gumble, his Chaplain says, was restor'd after the Restoration of the King.

On the 2d of January he took up his Quarters at Weller, where he receiv'd Letters from the Parliament, thanking him (to use Whitlock's Words) for his high Deservings, and to desire him to come up to London, as speedily as he can.

He came to Morpeth on the 5th of January, where he was met by Alderman Fowke, Alderman Robinson, and a Committee of the City Common-Council, whose Instructions were to desire him to use his Interest to procure a Free Parliament. The next Day he enter'd Newcastle, and thence dispatch'd Gumble with Letters to the Parliament, and Council of State, full of Proteftations of Duty and Fidelity. His Messenger receiv'd Assurances from both Parliament and City, that they wou'd favour his Patron's Design; the former gave him a hundred Pounds, and recommended him to be a Fellow of Eaton College, whose Abilities hardly qualify'd him to be an Usher to a Country School; however, he was equal enough to the Post he was in. When he return'd to his Master, he found Monk at Mansfield, and acquainted him with the Divisions at London, and the Inclinations of the City, which with the Reception he had met with in Yorkshire, puff'd him up with a Swell of Pride and Arrogance, the sure Effect of Success in narrow Minds.

The Lord Fairfax, Sir Hugh Bethel, Col. Smithson, Mr. Arthington, and other Yorkshire Gentlemen, had appear'd in Arms at York, before Monk came thither, and were immediately join'd by Zanchy's Irish Brigade of 1500 Men, the Rear of Lambert's late Army. Lord Fairfax invited Monk to Appleton, his Seat in that County, and says Echard, "Much was expected of two such great Men and Soldiers." Then he gives the best Reason he had, why there were such Expectations. Because of their Taciturnity. Much was expected from Persons noted for saying nothing. This way of Ratiocination runs thro' all their Books, whether Story Books or others. The Lord Fairfax, and all the Gentlemen with him, desir'd either the restoring the secluded Members, or a Free Parliament, which he was well pleas'd with; but, says Echard, took all Occasions publickly to declare for the Monk Common-wealth. He adds, Mr. Bowles the Minister, one of the Earl of Clarendon's illiterate factious Assembly-Men, being alone with him at Mid-night, went further than a Free Parliament, urging him to stay at York, and declare for the King, assuring him of great Assistance; which being immediately told Mr. Price, another such worthy Chaplain as Gumble, he put him in Mind of the Saying of Gustavus, when he enter'd the German Empire, If my Shirt knew what I intended to do, I wou'd tear it from my Back and burn it. The Truth is, he then intended nothing but to make a Penny of his Market in that Way which offer'd soonest and safest. Warwick confesses, No Man can positively say,

A wicked saying of his.

Echard.

1660.

Vows Fidelity to the Parliament.

His Pride.

A.D. 1660 say, he design'd any more than a general Quiet of the Land, and so he fram'd all his Designs suitable to the Opportunity; then follows an Example of his Oratory and Politeness, that were

p. 409.

given him, but that he wish'd that, They were all bred at some University or other, all fine Scholars, Eloquent and Learned, tho' the Remnants of Latin in the History of the Rebellion, might easily have been pick'd up by Indexes, as the Texts of Scripture before each Book were by Concordances, and Doctors, and College-Men could not be without such Helps. *Eckard* goes on, So the General wisely resolv'd to sleep, till he got within the Walls of London, and then to open his Eyes extremely metaphorical, and the more just, because there is a Heaviness in the Character of his Hero, which is very dormitorious. In *Yorkshire*, he gave *Lambert* and *Libburn's* Regiments of Horse, to *Sir Hugh Bethel* and *Col. Smithson*, both *Presbyterians* still, and there is not a Word said of a Cavalier in all his March to London. He receiv'd a Letter from the *Devonshire* Gentry, who for a long while

Monk's further Treachery.

Ludl. 811.

were as proud of their Countryman *Monk*, as he was of his Garter, when he had one. They wrote to him for the Restitution of the secluded Members, and he in answer to them, said, I cannot do it, because it is not only contrary to my own frequent Declarations, but directly opposite to the Interest of the Common-wealth, as well as to that of the Army, a Thing not to be done by me, or born by you, being a total Reversing of all that has been done for the last twelve Years in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and tending to charge the Nation with all the Blood that has been shed during that Time. Here does this false, forsworn

Monk's Letter against the Church and King.

312.

Man, take on him the Blood of 2 or 300,000 Men, who fell during that twelve Years. For as we shall see presently, he himself restor'd these secluded Members, and then, to shew how he hated the Church of England, he adds, It will unsettle the Possession of Deans, Chapters, Delinquents, Crown, and Rebel Lands. He calls the *Royalists* Rebels, How does this agree with *Lord Clarendon's* History of Rebels? If we suffer Monarchy to return amongst us after so long a Fruition of a Common-wealth, we shall be driven to a worse Condition than ever, and put past all Hopes of appearing to defend our Liberty. He printed this Answer, that his Perfidy might remain upon Record against him. Is it not Prodigious that the Heart of Man shou'd be capable of such a Mixture of Bigotry and Villainy? I am sorry that it is made necessary to defile History with such a Word. There is an Historian, and a Dignitary, who speaking of *Fleetwood's* Dejection, and that he said; God had spit in his Face, upbraids him that he cou'd not be bravely perfidious for Church and King as *Monk* was: No, though every Man of common Understanding in the Kingdom must then have desir'd the Restoration of the King and the old Constitution, to be deliver'd from an odious Anarchy, yet no Man but *Monk* cou'd have done it, in defiance of a hundred Oaths and Protestations, and with no manner of Concern for the future Interest and Liberty of his Country.

Parliament.

In the mean while, the Parliament pass'd a Vote to confirm the Seclusion of the Members in 1648, who about six Weeks after were admitted by Violence, *Monk* being the Agent, as they had been secluded by Violence, when *Pride* was the Agent. Nor must it be thought a Lessening to *Monk*, that *Pride*, the Brewer, is nam'd with him, who, according to *Warwick*, descended from the *Plantagenets* by the help of some Harlotry: For I think they became so nearly related, as that *Pride's* Son or Grandson pretended Heirship

to his Estate, in the great Trial between *Barth* and *Montague* about it in King *William's* Reign. I heard his Name mention'd, and something relating to *Monk's* and his Lady's Virtue, which, though no Secret History is too biographical and too scandalous for this.

The Parliament pass'd a Bill to Renounce the Title of *Charles Stuart*, and the Line of King *James*. 'Tis pretended *Monk* and others boggled at it: What then, they had all done it before: They renounc'd *Charles Stuart* in renouncing a King and House of Lords, as by the Engagement often mention'd; nay, *Monk* was not content with such a Renunciation himself, he made the Scottish Nobility abjure him and his Interest, as we read in *Coke*; and in *Orleans*, That he always abhor'd that wicked Oath, which is just as true as where he says he was a great Genius. p. 92.

Sir Henry Vane being sent for by the Parliament, came and took his Place in the House, and *Vane* was question'd for his acting during the late Interruption; to which he made an ingenious Answer, and it was Voted, That he shou'd forthwith repair to his House at *Raby* in the County of *Durham*, and remain there during the Pleasure of the Parliament, of which he was discharged from being a Member.

Commissary General *Desborough*, *Col. Ashfield*, *Col. Berry*, *Col. Kelsey*, and *Major Creed*, were confin'd to their Houses furthest off from London.

Thomas Scot, Esq; was made Secretary of State, and *Custos Rotulorum* of the City of *Westminster*: He, and *Luke Robinson*, Esq; were order'd by the House to meet *Monk*, to congratulate his great Services, good Success, and Repairing towards London, and to let him know the Parliament wou'd provide Money for his Forces. They expell'd *Col. Sydenham* and *Major Salway* for acting against them during the Interruption, and sent one *Downing* their Agent to *Holland*: He was an obscure *New England* Fanatick, who had a sort of *American* Learning, which got him the Character of a Man fit for Negotiation; and his Enthusiasm and blind Zeal against Episcopacy and Monarchy, prefer'd him under the two Protectors.

The Parliament appointed new Commissioners for *Ireland*: *Sir Hardress Waller*, *John Weaver*, Esq; *Robert Goodwyn*, Esq; *Sir Charles Coote*, *Ireland*, *Col. Markham*; but *Coote* let them share no more of the Government than he thought fit.

Sir Thomas Widdrington, *Serjeant Tyrrel*, *Serjeant Fountain* were made Commissioners of the Great Seal about four Months before the Author of the History of the Rebellion was made Lord High Chancellor of England. The Parliament pass'd an Order for selling the Estates of those who were with *Sir George Booth*.

Before *Monk* arriv'd at London, he wrote to the Parliament, that for the greater Security of the publick Peace, the Forces which were in and about London amounting to 7 or 8000 Horse and Foot, more than enough to have driven him and his Army into the *Caledonian* Sea, if the Parliament had kept them where they were, and made use of them for that Purpose, might remove. But Infatuation was upon them, and purely out of Spite to *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, who pretended to have the greatest Interest in these Forces. They had so contriv'd it, that *Monk* shou'd write that Letter for their Removal, as we are told by *General Ludlow*, who was upon the Spot, and in the Secret of the Counsels at that Time. Yet *Warwick* assures us the Removal of those Forces was entirely owing to the Contrivance of *Monk*, those that deny him that Honour, intrench upon his

814.

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A.D. 1660 his Foresight. Such is their Infatuation, such their Judgment and Sincerity! *Warwick* intimates if you will allow nothing else, you must allow that this Arrow cou'd come out of *no Quiver but his own*; and *Ludlow* affirms, that in order to lessen *Hasebrigg's* Power in the Army, it was contriv'd that *Monk* shou'd write to the Parliament, &c. Sir *Philip Warwick* is one of the main Buttresses of *Echard's* Stupendous Fabric, and you see what his Authority is.

Monk Treacherous.
Lud. 812. Mr. *Scot*, before mention'd, had by Letters been much courted by *Monk*, and always maintain'd a friendly Correspondence with him. In the Time of the Committee of Safety, Mr. *Scot* publish'd some of that Treacherous Man's Letters, wherein *Monk* declar'd his Resolution to live and die with the Parliament, without a King or single Person, or House of Lords. I wou'd not have the Reader censure me for my plain dealing with this double Dealer, I am authoriz'd to do it by his own Confession; for the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock* tells us, *Monk* sent Letters to the Parliament, frankly owning his Prevarications with *Fleetwood* for their Service.

697. Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinson* being at *Leicester*; went out six Miles to meet *Monk*, who, by his slow Marches, seem'd willing to keep near enough to run back to *Scotland* in case Peril came upon him, and Way was not made for him to approach with Safety. When *Robinson* and *Scot* met him, his Forces were drawn up, and saluted them with Volleys of Shot, and the Bells rung in every Village through which they pass'd. *Monk* alighted from his Horse to receive them, went with them into their Coach, and rode with them to *Leicester*, where they sup'd together in *Scot's* Quarters. He profess'd inexpressible Devotion to the Service of the Parliament, and complemented their Commissioners, especially Mr. *Scot*, in an extraordinary Manner.

Several Addressees were presented to *Monk*, as he march'd along in great State and Security, for the Restitution of the secluded Members, or a Free Parliament, to which he avoided giving Answers, as not knowing what Answer to give, till he saw how Matters wou'd go at *London*. But as much as he abhor'd the Abjuration Act, when he came to *Northampton* he oblig'd those of his Officers who had not done it before, to abjure *Charles Stuart and his Interest*. *Clarendon*, and *Echard*, and the rest of them, are positive that he abhor'd this Abjuring.

Cokep. 91. When the *London* Commissioners apply'd themselves to him about the secluded Members, he told them he reserv'd them to the Parliament; to whom he was resolv'd intirely to submit; and Sir *Arthur Hasebrigg* is reported to have said; *Monk* can't be such a Devil to betray a Trust so freely repos'd in him: But Sir *Arthur*, it seems; knew not how much of that Spirit was in him.

again Lud. p. 816. The Gentlemen of the West having drawn up a Remonstrance against the late Changes and Usurpations, sent it to *Monk*, to encourage him to come to their Assistance. The Gentleman whom they chose to carry it, was *Thomas Bampfild*, Esq; Recorder of *Exeter*, who had been Speaker of *Richard Cromwel's* Parliament; and who, after the Restoration, was thrown into Goal for being a *Presbyterian*.

While *Monk* was at *Northampton*, a hundred Gentlemen presented an Address to him, that he wou'd be instrumental for the secluded Members, or for a Free Parliament; to which he answer'd, I am a Servant to the Parliament in a Military Capacity, and these Things, of Great and Civil Concernment, are to be left to them. The High Sheriff of *Hertfordshire* met him at *St. Albans* the 28th of *January*; and the Lord *Richardson*,

Sir *John Hobart*, and Sir *Horatio Townsend*, *A.D. 1660* brought an Address from *Norfolk* to the like Purpose, and had a like Answer.

On the first of *February*, Dr. *Clarges*, the Apothecary, was made Commissary General of the Musters: *Monk*, his Brother in Law, was made Custos Rotulorum of *Devon*, and Keeper of *St. James's Park*. Orders were issu'd for the Soldiers in and about *London* to march forth to make room for *Monk's*, which so disgusted them, that many refus'd to march till their Arrears were paid. The Mutiny began at *Somerset House*, where one whole Regiment were Quarter'd, who were join'd by several Parties of the rest. The *Mummy*, *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians* of the City now lovingly united to the Ruin of the latter; hop'd to improve this Opportunity, and invited them to join with the City, as they term'd their Party then, promising them their whole Arrears, constant Pay, and a present Gratuity, giving them some Money in Hand as an Earnest of the rest. The Soldiers took their Money, but threaten'd them, that unless they departed immediately they wou'd fire upon them. *Ludlow* writes of it thus, "The Council of State, that they also might cut the Grass from under their own Feet, sent Orders to *Monk* to hasten his March, and with all Diligence to come to their Relief. These Malecontents were very numerous, above 4000 Horse and Foot; but the Colonel of the Regiment at *Somerset House*, Sir *John Lenthal*, and their Officers, prevail'd with them to march the next Morning, on promise of Payment of their Arrears; and the other Soldiers march'd with them according to the Orders they receiv'd.

On the 4th of *February* *Monk* march'd into *London* in all State with his Horse and Foot, not above 6000 Men, and came to *Whitehall*, where the Prince's Apartment was fitted up for him and his Wife, who had been a *Sempstrefs* in the *New Exchange*, before, if not whilst she was his Wife. The Speaker met him in the *Strand*. *Monk* alighted, and the Speaker came out of his Coach. They embrac'd each other with the extraordinary Signs of Joy; and in the Evening *Monk* went to the Council of State, who tendering the Abjuration Oath, the Substance of which he had so often sworn to, he desir'd Time to consider of it. Several of the King's Party came soon after to *London* from beyond Sea, giving out, they were sure the King wou'd be in *England* very shortly, but not one of them even yet is nam'd to have lent a helping Hand towards it.

Mr. *Scot*, *Monk's* fast Friend, and Mr. *Robinson*, were sent to him by the House to congratulate his Arrival in Town, and desire his Attendance the next Morning. All the Members of Parliament, and Persons of the best Quality, visited and complimented him.

Mr. *Scot* reported to the House, *Febr.* the 6th, that *Monk* was come to attend them, and in the Court of *Wards*, The Serjeant at Arms was sent for him, and brought him into the House, accompany'd still with his dear Friend Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinson*. A Velvet Chair was set for him on the left Hand within the Bar, and he having made his Obedience, was desired by the Speaker to sit down; but he pray'd to be excus'd, and stood behind the Chair, while the Speaker made a fulsome Speech to him, magnifying his Service and Merits, which however had as yet cost nothing but Words, and giving him the hearty Thanks of the House. *Monk* began his Answer with Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, extolling the Mercy of their Restoration, and acknowledging the Goodness of God in making him instrumental therein; which was but his Duty,

A.D. 1660 Duty, and desir'd not the Honour they had done him. He desir'd that no Cavalier might have a Share in the Civil or Military Power, and said every one ought to acquiesce in their Judgment, as to the Secluded Members, who had frequent Meetings with their Friends in the City, particularly Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, a Reverend learned Divine of great Prudence and Moderation. Several Members of Parliament conferr'd with them, and were earnest Promoters of their Return to the House, as Col. *Laffels*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Hutchinson*, all three Members of the High Court of Justice for putting the King to Death. The Parliament wanted not good Advisers to be provided against the wicked Designs of treacherous, perjurd Persons. *Ludlow* and others, Men of Sagacity and Foresight, advis'd them to accept the Assistance of their old Servants to encourage their Fidelity, as the only Means to preserve themselves and the *Common-wealth* from certain Ruin. But they are deaf to all salutary Counsel, and resolv'd to finish the Work with the new Instruments which they had chosen. To that End they proceeded on the Bill for filling up the House, which by wise Men was thought a most dangerous Expedient in that Conjunction, unless *Monk* shou'd prove more honest than they cou'd believe him to be.

City of London oppose the Parliament.

The City of *London* also took upon them in their Common-Council to receive Petitions from the adjacent Counties touching the Payment of the Taxes and other publick Affairs, presuming not only to call in the Petitioners, and to give them Thanks for their kind Affections, but also to pass a Vote, that they wou'd pay no Taxes but such as shou'd be impos'd by a Free Parliament. The *Council of State* having receiv'd a particular Account of these Proceedings, sent for *Monk* to consult with him concerning the best Means to put a Stop to these Disorders. Some of them moving, that the Common-Council shou'd be forbidden to sit; some few of the most active were seiz'd, the Gates of the City taken down, the Portcullices wedg'd, and the Posts with their Chains pull'd up. *Monk* said, *If you do no more, that will serve for nothing, because the Damage may be soon repair'd. The Disaffection of the City is so great, that they will never be quiet till some of them are hang'd; and it is absolutely necessary for the present to break their Gates and Portcullices in Pieces, to burn their Posts, and carry away their Chains to the Tower. If you command it to be done, I'll see your Orders put in Execution.* *Echard*, who takes no Care to keep within Credibility, affirms, that this very Action which *Monk* himself advis'd, and voluntarily offer'd to execute, was *unavoidably forc'd upon him*. The Council of State order'd him to march into the City with his Forces early the next Morning, *Febr.* the 9th, before the Occasion of his coming amongst them shou'd be known. Various Reports were publish'd touching the Design of his March into the City, and many suspected he had already declar'd for the King; tho', as Bishop *Burnet* observes, *None had any Ground to believe he had any Design that Way. Some have thought he intended to try, if possible, to set up for himself; others rather believ'd he had no settled Design any way, which is also my Belief, but resolv'd to do as Occasion shou'd be offer'd to him, tho' all the while he declar'd in a most solemn Manner for a Common-wealth.*

London Posts and Chains pull'd up by Monk.

The House being met, the Council of State made their Report, and inform'd them of the unwarrantable Proceedings of the *Common-Council*, and of their own Resolutions and Orders concerning them. In the Execution of which they assur'd the Parliament *Monk* had by that Time

made a considerable Progress, having already pull'd up their Posts and Chains, taken down the Portcullices and Gates of the City, which he had begun to cut to Pieces, and seiz'd some of the most active of the Common-Council. The House approv'd of what the *Council of State* had done, and order'd *Monk* fifty Pounds to defray the Expence of his Dinner that Day, he having refus'd to dine at the Charge of the City, tho' earnestly importun'd by several Citizens. Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* was so transported at this News, that he broke out in these Expressions, *All is our own; he will be honest.* But as *Ludlow* says, *It was not long before his Wine was turn'd into Water.* For in the Afternoon a Letter was presented to the Speaker from *Monk*, the Contents of which made them easily perceive, that his Zeal in their Service began to cool: He acquainted them with what he had done in Prosecution of the Orders he had receiv'd, and that he wanted Tools and Instruments to finish the Work, having already spoil'd all those he had brought with him to cut the Gates and other Defences of the City in Pieces; that the Mayor and Citizens had promis'd Obedience to the Parliament for the Time to come, and therefore he desir'd they wou'd respite the Execution of what remain'd of his Instructions, hoping what had been done wou'd be a sufficient Admonition to the City for their future Behaviour." The House highly resent'd *Monk's* Presumption in neglecting and disputing their Commands, and dispatch'd a Message to him, requiring the exact Performance of the Orders he had receiv'd; at which *Monk* seem'd much disturb'd, and yielded little or no Obedience to them, but lay that Night in the City.

His Letter to the Speaker.

The Day following, *Febr.* the 10th, he return'd with his Forces to *Whitehall*; and on the 12th or 13th sent a Letter to the House, directed to the Speaker, and subscrib'd by himself and some of his Officers, "Wherein they complain'd that the Parliament had put them upon the late disobliging Work in the City to render them odious to the City; that they continu'd to favour the *Fanatick* Party, by not prosecuting those who had acted with the Army in the *Committee of Safety*, and by permitting Sir *Henry Vane* and Col. *Lambert* to stay in Town, contrary to their own Order, for their Removal; that they admitted Men to sit with them in the House, who lay under Accusations of *High-Treason*, meaning Lieutenant General *Ludlow* and Mr. *Miles Corbet*; that on the contrary they shew'd a Backwardness to repose any Confidence in those who were their truest Friends, upbraiding them with refusing to approve some Officers that had been presented to them, and delaying to grant Commissions to others, whom they had approv'd. They also reflected upon the Parliament, for not making Provision for the Army, nor minding the publick Work, putting them in Mind of the Vote for their Dissolution in *May* following, and adding some threatening Expressions in case they shou'd not issue out Writs for filling up the Parliament.

His bold Letter to the Parliament.

After the reading of this Letter, most of the Members who had Affection for their Country, appear'd much dejected. But the Parliament having divest'd themselves of their own Strength, and abandon'd all into the Hands of *Monk*, tho' no Man had ever before dar'd to address himself to them in so insolent a Manner (they are *Ludlow's* Words). took his Letter into Consideration, and resolv'd to give him as much Satisfaction as they cou'd with any Colour of Justice

A. D. 1660 Justice. They sent Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinson* to him, to assure him of their good Intentions. He was then at Alderman *Wale's* House in the City; for he had left *Whiteball*, and quarter'd his Army in *London*, that he might have the more Opportunities to ingratiate himself with the Citizens. He drew up his Forces in *Finsbury Feb.* the 12th, din'd with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at the *Bull-Head* in *Cheapside*, and was follow'd by Multitudes of People, congratulating his coming into the City, making loud Shouts and Bonfires, and ringing the Bells. He was every Day and all Day long visited by the chief Citizens and Ministers, as Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, Minister of *St. Faith's*; Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, Minister of *Aldermanbury*; Mr. *Thomas Gorge*, Minister of *St. Sepulcher's*; Dr. *Drake*, Minister of *St. Peter's Cheap*; Dr. *Manton*, Minister of *St. Paul Covent-Garden*; Mr. *Watson*, Minister of *St. Stephen Walbrook*; Dr. *Bates*, Minister of *St. Dunstan in the West*; Mr. *Simeon Afb*, Minister of *St. Austin's*; Mr. *Matthew Pool*, Minister of *St. Michael Quern*; Mr. *Matthew Haviland*, Minister of *Trinity Parish*, Mr. *William Blackmore*, Minister of *St. Peter's Cornhill*; Mr. *Samuel Slater*, Minister of *St. Katherine's, Tower*; Dr. *Annesley*, Minister of *St. Giles's Cripplegate*; Mr. *William Taylor*, Minister of *St. Stephen's Coleman-street*; Dr. *Jacomb*, Minister of *St. Martin's Ludgate*. I mention only some of the most noted, of whom Mr. *William Taylor* was by good Churchmen call'd *The Loyal Presbyterian*. All these, and almost all the other *London Presbyterian* Ministers, were as Loyal as Mr. *Taylor*, and most of them very instrumental in the Restoration, which I desire may be remember'd, when we come to see how the King rewarded them. For if Ingratitude is the basest and blackest of all Sins, 'tis no Wonder it has not been in the Power of Eloquence and Adulation to brighten the succeeding Reign. Of these Ministers Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Afb*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton* and Dr. *Jacomb*, very much influenc'd the City in their earnest Desire for the King's Restoration, in which they were encourag'd by the Earl of *Manchester*, who had a particular Correspondence with the King and *Hyde*, by Mr. *Hollis* and Mr. *Annesley*, who had the same without Participation, and all three carry'd on the great Work as well as Sir *Anthony-Ashley Cooper*, in their own Way, before *Monk* was ever thought of as an Agent in it. Mr. *Afb* wrote to Col. *Sanders*, Col. *Barton* and others in *Monk's* Army, to engage them for the King.

Monk had forgot his bosom Friend *Scot*, and did not admit him to his Presence without Difficulty; and when he condescended to speak to him and *Robinson*, his Discourse tended always to the same Purpose with his Letter. Yet for all his insolent Carriage to the Parliament, says *Ludlow*, his Party in the House had the Confidence to move, that he might be made General of their Forces. But the Parliament still retaining some Sparks of that Courage with which they had formerly been animated, chose rather to perish by the Hands of an Enemy, if *Monk* shou'd prove so, than by the Delusions of a pretended Friend; and therefore having rejected the Proposal to make him General, they pass'd a Vote, that their Armies in *England* and *Scotland* shou'd be govern'd by Commissioners, who were, Sir *Arthur Hasehigge*, Major General *Monk*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Walton*, Col. *Alured*.

Tho' *Monk* was disturb'd at this, yet he endeavour'd to disguise his Dissatisfaction, and began again to court the Members of Parliament, whilst, with the Advice and Assistance of his Party in the City, he was forming a *Militia* there,

and nominating Officers to command them, who were chosen for the Purpose, rather on account of their Disaffection to the Parliament than any other good Quality. He got the Lord Mayor to call a *Common-Council*, and went to *Guild-Hall*; and all the Way as he went, leaning on Colonel *Cloberry's* Shoulder, the Cry was, *A Free Parliament*. *Monk* said nothing; but Col. *Cloberry* told them, *They shou'd have a Free Parliament*. At *Guild-Hall* he excus'd what he had been constrain'd to do in the City by Order of Parliament, tho' the Advice was his own: "He assur'd them he was much troubled for that rigorous Work; that he had been long of the same Opinion with them, but had been oblig'd to conceal it, till he might have an Opportunity to discover his Sentiments with better Advantage. He added, he had sent a Letter to the Parliament, that they wou'd fill the House, and put an End to their sitting by the 6th of May." The Citizens receiv'd this Declaration with great Joy, and the Rabble were as mad, as when they ran after *Sacheverel* in the late Queen's Time. They made no less than 6000 Bonfires at Night all over the City; and to shew that they cou'd be witty too upon Occasion, the *Cavaliers* and Loyal *Presbyterians* roasted *Rumps*, and burnt those they did not eat, as they serv'd the Pope afterwards.

Lieutenant General *Ludlow* visited Major General *Monk* at Alderman *Wale's*, to satisfy him concerning his Conduct in *Ireland*; and having, in Conversation with him, said, that Fidelity and Zeal for the Common Good were the best Qualifications for publick Service, *Monk* cry'd; *Yea, we must live and die together for the Common-wealth*. And *Ludlow* dropping a Hint, as if the Secluded Members, when restor'd, wou'd bring in the King, *Monk* said, *It may be they may attempt it; but they say they will not; and I assure you, tho' I bear as much Respect to Parliaments as any Man, yet, if I shou'd observe a Parliament to be about such a thing, I wou'd interrupt them in it*. Sir *Henry Vane* being about to leave *London*, pursuant to an Order of Parliament, *Ludlow* gave him a Visit; and Sir *Henry* told him, *Unless I am much mistaken, Monk has yet several Masks to pull off. As for what concerns myself, I have all possible Satisfaction of Mind, as to those Actions God has enabled me to do for the Common-wealth, and hope the same God will fortify me in my Sufferings, how sharp soever, to bear a faithful and constant Testimony*. For he foresaw the Exiles wou'd murder him if ever they had him in their Power. The Opinion they justly had of his prodigious Genius being Death to them.

By the Giddiness of *Monk's* Conduct at this Time, I take his Mind to be in as much Agitation as it was capable of, whether to set up himself, or to restore the Secluded Members and the King, or to continue the Common-wealth, himself to have the Power of a Stadtholder as in *Holland*. It is evident he had yet determin'd nothing, and very probable that he was driven away with the Tide of Peoples Inclinations for the King, which were every where for restoring the Secluded Members, and leaving the *Free Parliament* and the King's Restoration to them. To this End *Monk* procur'd a Meeting of twelve of those Members, with as many of the Parliament then sitting. The latter alledg'd at this Conference, "That the General had declar'd, when he first appear'd for them against the Army, that it was for the Parliament as it sat the 11th of October." The Secluded Members reply'd, "That their Re-admission was no Infringement of it, for the same Parliament

A. D. 1660 "wou'd fit still; that the Purport of the General's Declaration was to reduce the Military Power in Obedience to the Civil, and that they had been excluded the House only by Force of the Sword, without any legal Forfeiture of their Right." But the Sitting Members urg'd their own Safety, that of the Army, and the Sale of Publick Lands, all which they fear'd wou'd be disturb'd by the Introduction of the seclused Members. The other engag'd upon their Honours, "Not to look upon what had been done since their Exclusion, nor disturb the Propriety or Pretences of any, but wou'd amicably sit and Vote for the Good of their Country, till by their Dissolution they made a Way for another Parliament." Here is not one Word of Answer to the Safety of the Sitting Members, but the Parole of the Seclused Members, of which one Word was not kept; as if they had been infected with Falshood and Perfidy by their Patron Monk, who declar'd arbitrarily, *That in Justice the seclused Members ought to be admitted before the calling of another Parliament.* Annesley, one of the seclused Members, reflected so indecently upon the Proceedings of the Parliament since their Seclusion, that Sir Arthur Haselrigge rose up hastily, and design'd to leave the Company; but Monk, in a droling way, desir'd him to be patient till he shou'd moderate Annesley, which, says he, I know well enough how to do. Annesley had been a Covenanter, a Presbyterian, a zealous Parliamentarian, a Commissioner in Ireland, and done the last King as much Disservice as he cou'd; but he had made his Peace with his present Majesty, receiv'd a Letter from him, and given himself up Body and Soul to his new Matter and Principles. Himself, Mr. Hollis, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, and other leading Men, met often with the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Roberts, and the rest of the Presbyterian Party. Mr. Hollis told Bishop Burnet that the Presbyterians press'd the Royalists to be quiet, and to leave the Game in their Hands; for their appearing wou'd give Jealousy, and hurt that which they meant to promote. The Ministers of London were very active in the City. Annesley continuing his Railing, Haselrigge lost all patience, rose up and left the Company; but Mr. Scot, Mr. Robinson, Col. Morley, Mr. Rawleigh, and the Lord Chief Justice St. John, staid with the seclused Members till Monk declar'd himself for them. Ludlow owns that Monk did not stir up the Riot and Disorder in the City, though he was not a little pleas'd with it; and speaking of the Parliament thus insulted by Rump-roasting, he said, *They rais'd the Glory of the Nation from the Dust, meaning the Reigns of the Stuarts, wherein it had been buried by the Negligence and Corruption of the preceeding Governments, and had render'd the English Name formidable to all Europe.* When any of this Au-

Seclused Members.

Echard.

The Presbyterians desire the Cavaliers to be quiet, and do nothing for fear of spoiling all.

thor's Enemies can prove what he says here to be false, we will pass over all the Parties in the History of the Rebellion, in Echard's and the Compleat History. A D 1660

About a Week after Monk return'd to his former Lodging at Whitehall, where, according to a Summons from him, he was attended by all the seclused Members, and the Archdeacon assures us he told them abundance of notable Things, whereas they were the Contents of a Paper which his Secretary read to them, and of which the following are two Paragraphs.

"As to the Interest of this famous City (which hath been in all Ages the Bulwark of Parliaments, and unto whom I am for their great Affection so deeply engag'd) certainly it must lie in a Common-wealth; that Government only being capable to make them, through the Lord's Blessing, the Metropolis and Bank of the Trade to all Christendom, whereunto God and Nature hath fitted them above others.

"And as to a Government in the Church, the Want whereof hath been no small Cause of these Nations Distractions, it is manifest, that if it be Monarchical in the State, the Church must follow, and Prelacy must be brought in, which these Nations I know cannot bear, and against which they have so solemnly sworn. Indeed, moderate Presbyterian Government, with a sufficient Liberty for tender Consciences, appears to be the most indifferent and acceptable Way to the Settlement of the Church". For the Presbtery.

And two or three Years after this, he sends his Dragoons about the Country to hunt down the Presbyterians as the Protestants were hunted in France. This Paper, which he cou'd no more draw than he cou'd write Clarendon's History, has a pretty deal of the London Clergy in it.

Before this Matter cou'd be brought about, Mr. Praise God Barebone, with a Multitude of Watermen, presented a Petition to the Parliament, For excluding Charles Stuart and all that Family; and that those who refus'd to renounce them, might be uncapable of any Employment; for which the House thank'd them.

Robinson, Haselrigge, and Nevill, who pretended to be most in Monk's good Graces, did and said what they cou'd to hinder the Admission of the seclused Members, but no body cou'd prevail with him to prevent it, and no body durst oppose him. The Spirit of the People in general, especially of the Presbyterians, ran that way, and the Cavaliers were the more eager for it, as the Way to bring in the King.

On Tuesday the 21st of February, Monk having given the Command of the Guard to Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, the seclused Members march'd from Whitehall to the Parliament-House, William Prynne, Esq; with a great Basket-hilted Sword by his Side, leading the Way. Seclused Members admitted.

The LONG PARLIAMENT.

THE first Thing the Parliament did after the seclused Members were admitted, was to vacate all the Votes made by the House in 1648, and 1649, against themselves; then they Voted their Champion, George Monk, Esq; General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and John Lawson, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Fleet. They repeal'd the Commission of the Gentlemen who were impower'd to govern the Army, they releas'd Sir Robert Pye and Colonel

Fincher of their Imprisonment: The same they did by Sir George Booth, Colonel Brooke, Lord Crawford, Lord Lauderdale, Lord Sinclair, the London Apprentices, and several Addressers to the former House. They also Voted to make all void that had been done in Parliament against those of Sir George Booth's Party; they made John Thurloe, Esq; and John Thompson, Esq; Secretaries of State, and Dr. Clarges the Apothecary, Monk's Wife's Brother, Clerk of the Hanaper-

A.D. 1660 naper-Office. They also pass'd an Act for a Council of State, who were *Arthur Annesly*, Esq; Lord President, Lord *Fairfax*, General *Monk*, *William Pierpoint*, Esq; *John Crew*, Esq; *Richard Knightly*, Esq; *Alexander Popham*, Esq; *Edward Harley*, Esq; *John Swinfen*, Esq; *John Weaver*, Esq; *Oliver St. John*, Esq; *John Birch*, Esq; *John Trevor*, Esq; *John Maynard*, Esq; *Denzil Hollis*, Esq; Sir *Anthony-Abley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Temple*, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Montague*, Sir *John Potts*, Sir *William Lewis*, Col. *Roffiter*, Sir *John Holland*, Col. *Norton*, Col. *Thompson*.

Echard tells us, the sober Part of these Gentlemen were for clogging the King's Return with Conditions, naming the Concessions the King made at the *Ile of Wight*, though no wise Man cou'd expect those *Articles* cou'd be put in Practice. You see this is said with the utmost Assurance; yet that most wise Magistrate the Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, mov'd in the next House of Commons, of which he was a Member, *That a Committee might be appointed to look into the Propositions that had been made, and the Concessions that had been offer'd by the late King, particularly at the Isle of Wight, to be sent over to the King: Bishop Burnet adds, To his coming in without Conditions may be well imputed all the Errors of his Reign; more of this hereafter.*

Several Members of Parliament, who thought the Admission of those who had been secluded to be irregular and illegal, refus'd to act. *Ludlow*, before they were admitted, mov'd that the Parliament shou'd adjourn to the *Tower*, gather their Friends and Forces about them, and vindicate their Authority, but he was not seconded. After the others were admitted, he refus'd to sit with them; and being ask'd the Reason of it by Mr. *George Montague*, as he was walking in *Westminster Hall*, *Ludlow* answer'd, *Having done as much as I cou'd to serve the Common-wealth, and seeing an Impossibility of contending against the present Torrent, I have resolv'd to absent myself from the Place where the Parliament us'd to meet, that I might publicly disown the Authority of those who have violently possess'd themselves of the House, and not seem to consent to the Confusions they are bringing upon us.* Mr. *Montague* reply'd, "The Conditions on which the secluded Members have enter'd the House, are in my Opinion more dishonourable than those upon which others are gone out, and I am not willing to sit amongst them, they having engag'd to make *Monk* General of all the Forces by Sea and Land, to settle a constant Maintenance for the Army, to appoint a new Parliament to be chosen, and when these Things are dispatch'd, to put a Period to themselves within a Day or two at the most."

About Seventeen of the Common-wealth Members, of whom several were of the late Council of State, went to *Monk*, to be inform'd from his own Mouth of the Reasons of these Proceedings. He receiv'd them with no less Civility than formerly, and having understood from them the Occasion of their coming, he made as solemn Protestations of his Zeal to a Common-wealth Government as he had ever done. This was two or three Weeks only before he at once broke all Oaths and Protestations, and deliver'd up his Masters, his Friends, his Country, to the Mercy of implacable Enemies. He desir'd these Gentlemen to believe, that the Permission he had given to the secluded Members to enter the House, was only to free himself from their Importunity, and that he wou'd take effectual Care to pre-

vent them doing any Hurt in that Place. But these Gentlemen having resolv'd to try him to the utmost, demanded further, *If he wou'd join with them against Charles Stuart and his Party?* In Answer to which he apply'd himself to Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, who was one of them, and said, *Sir Arthur, I have often declar'd to you my Resolution so to do; then taking off his Glove, and putting his Hand in Sir Arthur's, he added, I do here protest to you in the Presence of all these Gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single Person, or a House of Peers.* After this he began to expostulate with them touching their Suspitions, saying, *What is it that I have done in bringing these Members into the House? Are they not the same that brought the King to the Block, though others cut off his Head, and that justly?* This is the Earl of *Clarendon's* good Lord General! This is the Man whom that Earl commends so much for his Zeal for the Church, and this is the Man who a few Months afterwards hang'd his dear Friend *Scot*, for agreeing to the Sentence for cutting off the King's Head.

Col. *Montague*, who had been in the Sound some time, concluding a Peace between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in Conjunction with the *Dutch* Admiral *de Ruyter*, was made joint Admiral of the *English* Fleet with General *Monk*, at which the latter was disgust'd, it being contrary to the Bargain he had made with the secluded Members, to have the Chief Command by Land and by Sea, without a Partner. However, he thought not convenient to insist upon the Alteration of that Particular, *Montague*, and the Fleet's Assistance, being very necessary to him for carrying on his Projects, be they what they wou'd.

He took away Col. *Walton's* Regiment of Horse, and gave it to Col. *Howard*; he made Choice of Two hundred Horse for his own Guard, and gave the Command of them to Col. *Philip Howard*; Col. *Rich's* Regiment he gave to Col. *Ingoldsby*.

The grand Design of destroying the Common-wealth, being so far advanced, *Monk* caus'd a Declaration to be drawn in the Name of the Officers about *London*, and recommended to the rest of the Officers in the three Nations, declaring it to be their Duty and Resolution, to submit to the Authority that was over them, and to obey such Orders as they shou'd receive from them, which when they were upbraided with, as a thing contriv'd to betray the publick Cause. Many of the Officers shew'd themselves so sensible of the Consequences of it, that they earnestly press'd that a Council of War might be call'd.

Here was another Crisis, had this Council of War been call'd, all *Monk's* pretended Schemes had vanish'd at once. The Officers urg'd several Reasons for it to their General, but the true Reason was to unite themselves to each other, and in a publick Manner express their Resolutions to lay down their Lives for the Common-wealth; but *Monk* being inform'd of their Design, dispers'd them to their respective Command, to which they tamely submitted, notwithstanding the big Words they had spoken without Doors.

Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* being summon'd to attend the secluded Members, made his Submission, and promis'd to acquiesce under the present Power. Major General *Lambert* surrender'd himself to the new Council of State, but refusing to give Security that he wou'd behave quietly, he was committed to the *Tower*, the very Name of him being a Check to all *Monk's* Exultations in this Hurricane of Joy.

Bp. Burnet, p. 88.

Ludlow.

Monk Treacherous.

Justifies cutting off the King's Head. Ludlow 847.

Another Crisis.

A. D. 1660 Most of the Republican Party were very sensible of the Danger they were in, and that they might not be altogether wanting to their own Preservation, and to the Service of the Publick (to use *Ludlow's* Phrase) some of the principal Persons among them had several Meetings; at one of which, *Ludlow* made the following Propositions, That several of the Council of State, and three of the Generals that had been appointed by the Parliament, shou'd Sign such Orders as were necessary for putting their Design in Execution: That the Regiment of Col. *Moss*, which lay in *Kent*, and not far from *London*, and another which lay in the Borough of *Southwark*, commanded by Lieutenant Col. *Farnly*, consisting in all of 2000 old Soldiers, of whose Integrity and Affection they had good Assurance, shou'd be order'd to march to the *Tower* to join with Col. *Morley's* Regiment, which was then there, and wou'd be ready to receive them, having sent to *Ludlow*, to let him know the *Tower* shou'd be at his Command, whenever he pleas'd to desire it. That the Commanders of these Forces shou'd take with them Provisions for six Months, giving Tickets for the Quantity so taken, payable by the Parliament of *England*. That the Militia of *London*, which had been lifted during the Government of the Parliament, shou'd be authoriz'd to meet as there shou'd be Occasion to assist the Forces in the *Tower*. That four or five Places of Rendezvous shou'd be appointed for the Forces of the Army that lay scatter'd up and down, in several Parts of the Nation, and that Officers shou'd be agreed upon to appear at the Head of them. That the Soldiers, both Horse and Foot, shou'd have the Liberty, either to follow their old Officers, or to appoint new. That those Officers who shou'd prevail with the major Part of their Men to follow them, shou'd continue in their respective Posts, and that those who appear'd heartily to promote this Design, tho' they cou'd not persuade the greatest Part of their Soldiers to follow them, shou'd have Provision made for them, equal to their Merits: That the Country Militia, both Horse and Foot, shou'd be authoriz'd to draw together, and be empower'd to seize, and disarm such Persons in the respective Counties, as were known Enemies to the Commonwealth. That the Fleet shou'd be order'd to declare at the same time, and to send one or two Thousand Seamen to the Assistance of those in the *Tower*, which General *Ludlow* conceiv'd might be done, without Danger to the Nation, because the Enemies they were to contend with, were intestine and not from abroad. Admiral *Lawsen*, who commanded the Fleet, had declar'd his Resolution, to continue faithful to the Parliament, which cou'd not well be doubted, by any that wou'd reflect upon his former Conduct, he having readily taken the Oath for Abjuring the King's Family. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* propos'd further, "That all Persons who shou'd act by the Parliaments Authority, in this Service, shou'd be justify'd in so doing. That the Governors of Garrisons shou'd be requir'd to refuse Obedience to any Power, which was not deriv'd from the lawful Authority of the Parliament, whose Place the secluded Members had now usurp'd, and that a Declaration shou'd be forthwith prepar'd, to shew the Grounds and Reasons, together with the Necessity of these Proceedings.

Some of the Officers and Gentlemen, who were at this Consultation, promis'd to advise with their Friends of the Council of State, and hop'd that a Quorum of them, as well as of Generals, might be found to put the Things in

Execution that shou'd be agreed on: "But, continues *Ludlow*, we being ripe for the Correction of Heaven, nothing cou'd prevent our Enemies succeeding in all their Attempts, and all our Endeavours proving Abortive.

This Scheme seems to be very chimerical, if we don't consider that *Monk* had left his best Commander, General *Morgan*, and his best Troops behind him, to keep *Scotland* in Awe; and that the Army in *England* were generally Republicans, insomuch, that I'm satisfy'd 4 or 5000 of them, under such resolute and principled Men as *Ludlow*, wou'd have clear'd City and Suburbs of him and his secluded Members; but there being no regular Opposition, he swam down with the Current, which, says the Bishop of *Salisbury*, ran so strong for the Restoration, that *Monk* only went into it dexterously enough to get much Fame and great Rewards: If he had dy'd soon after, he might have been more justly admir'd, because less known, &c. Again, *Monk* had the Praise and Reward, tho' I have been told a very small Share of it belong'd to him, as is all along very visible. The Share he had, was in the Extent of his Conscience, which enabled him to do every thing, and any thing that fed his Appetite of Gain, which, as has been hinted, the Bishop tells us was very ravenous; and Mr. *Calamy* stuck not to tell him so from the Pulpit, even after the Restoration; for *Monk* by Profession was a Presbyterian, and one of Mr. *Calamy's* Hearers, after he had brought in the King. That pious Man, preaching on a Sacramental Day, had Occasion to speak of filthy Lucre; And why, said he, is it call'd Filthy, but because it makes Men do base and filthy Things? Some Men will betray three Kingdoms for filthy Lucre's Sake, saying which, he threw his Handkerchief, which he usually way'd up and down, while he was preaching, towards *Monk's* Pew; however, his hearing of godly Sermons, made him not in love with Godliness. His Life being very immoral, I use Lieutenant General *Ludlow's* Words, who knew him as well as the Earl of *Clarendon*, and tells us, "The Companies of *London* made a great Entertainment for *Monk*, the 3d of *March*, where the Bargain they had driven with him, was ratify'd and confirm'd by desolute and unbecoming Debauchery: For it was his Custom not to depart from those publick Meetings, 'till he was as drunk as a Beast." *Gumble* assures us, he was so temperate, he wou'd fast thirty Hours together, and his Countryman Mr. *Prince*, a *Devonshire* Vicar, affirms, he so abhor'd the Debauchery of Drinking, that he wou'd never prefer an Officer who was guilty of it. Do these reverend Authors need Remark? Col. *Okey* attending him at this very Meeting to take his Leave of him, before he repair'd to his Command, and desiring to be satisfy'd of his Intentions touching *Charles Stuart*, he gave him his Hand before all the Officers then present, as a Pledge of his Sincerity, saying, I will oppose him to the utmost.

The Parliament having voted him a Sum of 1000 Pounds a Year, it was debated, whether *Hampton-Court* shou'd not be settled upon him for it, and was carry'd in the Affirmative. Several of the secluded Members, says *Ludlow*, hating the Traitor, tho' they accepted the Treason, and gave their Vote for it, That the Grant might be useles to him; but his Tools in the House got it chang'd to an Order for 20,000 Pounds at once, to be paid him out of the publick Money. *Mazarine*, who had put great Sights, if not Affronts, on the King and his two Brothers, was so far from any Disposition to change his Conduct, on Account of the Changes in *England*, that

A Design of the Republicans against Monk.

A. D. 1660
no great Share in the Restoration.

Monk's Greediness
Dr. Cal. p. 6.

Monk a Drunkard.
p. 355.

Monk's Treachery.

The French Ambassador offers to make Monk King or that Professor.

A. D. 1660 that he order'd the French Ambassador at London, to offer Monk, the Assistance of France, if he wou'd usurp the Government, as Cromwell had done, which Offer was not made out of Fear of the King, or Love to Monk. I know not one Male of the royal House we are writing of, who was ever fear'd abroad; and Monk's Qualities were such, as no body cou'd be enamour'd with, but then they were exactly such as a hearty Enemy to this Nation might have wish'd in a supream Governor, who cou'd not avoid being hated and despis'd by every one over whom he had usurp'd Lordship. An Enemy to England cou'd not have done her so much Mischief by War, as by imposing such a Governor upon her, who had neither Capacity nor Virtue, nor any other Qualification for Government. It was like putting a Man, blind or drunk, at the Helm of a Ship in a Storm. And when the English were once ruin'd by him, Mazarine matter'd not what Religion they were of afterwards. Echar'd writes, *Some say he bravely resisted the Proposal*, but what is his *some say*? When Mr. Locke says, that he accepted of it, and he had his Information from Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, who was the very Person that hinder'd its taking Effect. Sir Anthony having certain Intelligence of the Bargain made between Monk and Monsieur Bourdeaux, the French Ambassador, procur'd the Council of State, of which he was a Member, to be summon'd immediately. Monk attending as usual, the Doors of the Council Chamber were lock'd, and the Keys laid on the Table. He then began to charge Monk, not in direct and open Accusation, but in obscure Intimations and doubtful Expressions, giving Ground of Suspicion, *That he was playing false with them, and not doing as he promis'd*. This he did so skilfully and intelligibly to Monk, that he perceiv'd he was discover'd, and was perplex'd what Answer to give, which made the rest of the Council suspect him, though they knew not what the Matter was: At last he aver'd, *That what had been suggested was upon groundless Suspicions, that he was true to his Principles, and stood firm to what he had profess'd to them; that he had no secret Designs that ought to disturb them, and that he was ready to give them all manner of Satisfaction*. Sir Anthony clos'd with him, and made a further Use of what he said than he intended. For Monk meant no more than to gain Time to make his Escape from them; but Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper told him, *That if he was sincere in what he said, he might presently remove all Scruples; he shou'd presently take away their Commissions from such and such Officers in the Army, and give them to those whom he nam'd, and that presently before he went out of the Room*. Monk, as Echar'd tells us, was no quick Man, and being alone among a Company of Men who fell in with Sir Anthony, and insisted on that Satisfaction, he knew not how to avoid it, but in the Fear and in the Surprize, took away the Commissions of such Officers as were nam'd to him, and sign'd Commissions for others, particularly for Sir Edward Harley, Father of the late Robert Harley, who was made Governor of Dunkirk in the room of Sir William Lockhart: By which means, says Mr. Locke, the Army ceas'd to be at Monk's Devotion, and was put into Hands that wou'd not serve him in the Design he had undertaken. The French Ambassador, who had the Night before sent away an Expres to Mazarine, positively to assure him, *that Things went as he desir'd, and that Monk was fix'd by him in his Resolution to take on himself the Government*; was not a little astonish'd the next Day to find Things

Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper hinders it.

taking another Turn, and according to Echar'd, *this so much disgrac'd Monsieur Bourdeaux in the French Court, that he was presently call'd home, and soon after broke his Heart*. For Mazarine having made the Contents of Bourdeaux's Letters known, there were Bonfires all over Paris, the French were so well pleas'd to hear that England was so near Ruin under such a Dictator. This, continues the Archdeacon, *was that which gave the great Turn to the Restoration of King Charles*, so that hitherto, his Taciturnity, his Slowness, his Craft, and all the other Topicks in the Panegyrics upon him, were of no Use to the King, and are therefore thrown away; what Warwick writes is one of the greatest Whimfies that ever crept into Memoirs. *His great Sagacity comes upon the Stage to perfect the last Scene*, which wou'd have been finely perfected indeed, had it not been for the Lord Shaftsbury, *He was a Man cut out to do such a Work*, to make himself a Monarch of three Kingdoms. *He was a fit Instrument in the Hand of divine Providence, to work his Majesty's Restoration*: You see how he was working it to almost the very Minute that Sir John Greenville came to him from the King. It were to be wish'd that such Men as Warwick, who had been Witnesses of the Torrents of Lewdness and Impiety, which overwhelm'd the Court and Country, after the Restoration had been more sensible of the righteous Workings of divine Providence, than to turn those Incidents into Happines, which are more justly interpreted, *Correction*.

Here, and in a great many other Places, will the Reader observe, that the Author walks in Fetters and Chains, and laments the Loss of that Roman Liberty, which allow'd History in every thing that was true. As it is so in Temporals, 'tis much more so in Spirituals, where the Force of Truth is here often broken out of complacency to Establishment, and where in most Cases at least, the Ground is made so slippery, that there's no walking upon it, without sliding, if not falling. 'Tis a Shame to Literature, to abridge the Freedom of Thought, and a Shame to any Cause not to be able to stand what is true, without the Buttrices of Penalties and Punishments. It is not my Fault, that this is not fully explain'd, I can do it to Satisfaction; but let our Posterity, as well as ourselves, regret the Incumbrances with which Bigotry and false Zeal have loaded all Kinds of Writing.

The Temper of King Charles the Second, wou'd easily have reconcil'd People to his Government, if some of the old Counsellors, whose bad Counsel had destroy'd the Father, had not remain'd still about the Son. There wou'd have been no Occasion of Complaint, as to arbitrary Government or Persecution, had his Majesty been left to the bent of his own Mind, which inclin'd him to Ease and Indulgence; but the Knowledge of the bitter Spirit of his Followers in Exile, made their Return so dreadful to the Republicans, that they wou'd have submitted to any Government, rather than have admitted them again to it. It was for this Reason some of the Chief of them propos'd to Monk, to restore the Common-wealth, with a single Person at its Head, and himself to be the Man. I do not suppose that he was restrain'd by his Oath against a single Man, because a Day or two after he sacrific'd all the Engagements he had solemnly enter'd into, to a Compliment he receiv'd from the King, by Sir John Greenville, to whom he gave Audience, as to a Messenger sent by the King at the Perswasion of Mr. William Morrice, a noted Presbyterian of Devonshire, and a Member of Richard's Parliament. The Archdeacon is once in the Right, and thinks very

Of Liberty in History.

Monk receives a Message from the King.

A.D. 1660 justly, that *Monk* was fix'd by the Management of Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, or thought if he did not strike with Expedition the Work wou'd be taken out of his Hand, so he resolv'd to close with *Greenvile*. This was about the 20th of *March*. *Monk* met *Greenvile* at Mr. *Morrice's* Lodgings, receiv'd a Letter from the King, as also a Commission for him to be his General, at sight of which he step'd back and frown'd; but on a Word or two from *Greenvile*, he call'd him his *Dear Cousin*, begg'd the King's Pardon for what was past, and protested that his Heart was ever faithful to him, even when he made the Scotch Nobility and the English Officers abjure him, and that he was now ready to obey his Commands. Then *Morrice* told *Greenvile* what was to be done, That the King shou'd write a Letter to *Monk*, in which, after some Gracious Expressions, he shou'd desire him to deliver a Letter and Declaration to the Parliament, the Contents of which were minuted; and *Monk* advis'd *Greenvile* to desire his Majesty to leave the Spanish Netherlands, and go to *Breda*, otherwise he wou'd be seiz'd by the Spaniards. Why, or to what Purpose no body can imagine? If they had stopt him a few Days, the Temper of the People might have alter'd, and then they might have kept him for the Money he ow'd them. Thus instructed, Sir *John Greenvile* taking the Lord *Mordaunt* with him, went to *Flanders*, where the King met him very privately with Chancellor *Hyde*, Secretary *Nicholas*, and the Marquess of *Ormond*. Then, according to Mr. Archdeacon, one of the first Things that fell into Debate upon this hopeful Prospect of Affairs, was what shou'd be done with the *Lands*, and then what shou'd be done with the *Presbyterians*. He confesses it was wisely urg'd that a Granting a general Toleration for Religion cou'd not consist with the Peace of the Kingdom. But after great Deliberation, it was resolv'd to draw up one Letter to the General, another to the House of Commons, another to the House of Lords, and another to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London; in each of which was inclos'd a Declaration, that will be mention'd again hereafter; and Sir *John Greenvile* was sent back to England with these Dispatches. But before he went, he let his Majesty know that he had offer'd *Monk* in the King's Name, 100,000 Pounds a Year, and to be Lord High Constable of England, but he had generously refus'd it; he also offer'd him to be Lord High Chancellor of England, which he also generously refus'd; and in Imitation of this unparalleled Generosity, the Archdeacon assures us *Greenvile* refus'd all Proposals of Reward. But when he came to open the Packet of Letters, he found there, like the Cup in *Benjamin's* Sack, a Warrant for an Earldom, an Assurance of 3000 Pounds per Ann. and a Promise to pay his and his Father's Debts. He carry'd to the General another Commission, which empower'd him to make a Secretary of State; and by the Advice of Sir *John Greenvile*, he confer'd that Honour upon Mr. *William Morrice*, who not long after was made a Knight, and his Son a Baronet. This Secretary has been mention'd before; and Bishop *Burnet* informs us, *Monk* follow'd his own Judgment in the Choice of *Morrice*; and what his Judgment was we read in his Lordship's History. For when afterwards King *Charles* was weary of *Morrice*, and wou'd have turn'd him out, had it not been for his General, the latter express'd himself to this Purpose, I know not what is necessary for a good Secretary of State in which he is defective; for he can speak French, and write Short-hand. I shall have more Occasion in the Course of this History to speak of these excellent Politicians.

Sir John Greenvile goes to Flanders and returns.

Great Offers to Monk.

Echard.

p. 99. Secretary Morrice's Merits.

A.D. 1660 While these Things were upon the Anvil, the Lords perceiving which Way Things were turning, solicited *Monk* that they might take their Places according to antient Custom in the House appointed for their sitting, alledging, that nothing done by the Commons without their Assent, cou'd justly be esteem'd legal. But *Monk* had now made his Agreement with *Bourdeaux* the French Agent, and therefore he not only gave a positive Denial to their Demand, but plac'd a Guard of Soldiers upon their House, to prevent the Lords from acting the same Part that the secluded Members had done.

The House of Commons, to bear their last Testimony against Bishops, and shew how zealous they were for Presbytery, order'd Copies of the Covenant to be fairly drawn, and hung up in every Parish Church throughout England. The Assemblies Confession of Faith was also confirm'd by an Act. The Parliament pass'd another Act for the Militia, with a Clause in it, that every Commissioner before he acted, shou'd acknowledge and declare, That the War undertaken by both Houses vindicates of Parliament in their Defence against the Forces rais'd in the Name of the late King, was just and lawful; and that Magistracy and Ministry are the Ordinances of God. They pass'd a Vote to discharge Dr. *Owen* from being Dean of *Christ-Church*, and Dr. *Reynolds* to be put in his Place; and another Vote, to disable those who had been in the War against the Parliament to serve as Members of the next Parliament. *Monk's* Officers were dissatisfied with the Militia Bill, for all the Common-wealth's Friends being excluded Commands by it, they represented to him, that it wou'd be a Means of putting Commissions in the Hands of those who were known to be Favourers of the King's Party, which might prove Injurious, if not Destructive to the Army. Upon which he wrote a Letter to the Parliament, letting them know, "That being inform'd of the Disaffection of the Commissioners nominated in the Militia Act, he desir'd they wou'd forbear the Execution of it, lest the Persons they had entrusted therein might erect such a Power in opposition to the Army, as might be sufficient to bring in *Charles Stuart*." Many of the Members were perplex'd with this Letter, but others knew *Monk* better, and that it was one of his Masks; so Mr. *Prymme* procur'd the Act to be printed immediately, and dispers'd before any Stop cou'd be put to it; and Sir *William Waller*, to carry on the Farce, was sent to let *Monk* know, that no Man cou'd be a Militia Commissioner, who did not first subscribe a Paper acknowledging the Justice of the Parliament's Cause. *Monk* was contented with this Answer, though, says *Ludlow*, All Men saw how little Conscience the Cavalier Party made of signing any Paper in order to promote the Interest of their Faction.

The Council of State summon'd Mr. *Praise-God Barebone* to attend them, and upon his signing an Engagement not to act any thing in Disturbance of the Peace, he was let go. Mr. *Scot* did the like, but Lieutenant General *Ludlow* avoided it by keeping out of the Way. Colonel *Berry* was committed by them. Major General *Desborough*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, and Colonel *Kelsey* sign'd the Engagement.

About the same Time, *March* the 16th, the Long Parliament pass'd for Dissolving the Parliament, after it had continu'd in several Forms Nineteen Years, Four Months, and Thirteen Days, and from the restoring of the secluded Members Twenty three Days only. They had Enacted that a new Parliament shou'd meet the 25th of April following, and Writs were issu'd out accordingly in the

A.D. 1660 the Name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England.

Conven-
tion call'd
in the
Name of
the Keepers
of the
Liberties.

Mr. Scor's
Speech a-
bout the
Murder of
the King.

Before they broke up, *John Crew*, Esq; who had been as forward as any Man in beginning and carrying on of the War against the last King, mov'd, that before they dissolv'd themselves, *They shou'd bear their Witness against the horrid Murder of the King.* This unexpected Motion prevail'd with many then present to deny their Concurrence to that Act against the King, though not to reflect in the same Manner on those who had been concerned in it. And one of them concluding his Discourse with protesting that he had neither Hand nor Heart in that At-fair, *Thomas Scor*, Esq; who had been so much deluded by the Hypocrisy of *Monk*, in *Abhorrence*, says *Ludlow*, of that base Spirit, said, "That though he knew not where to hide his Head at that Time, yet he durst not refuse to own, that not only his Hand but his Heart also

"was in it;" and after he had produced divers Reasons to prove the Justice of it, he concluded, "That he shou'd desire no greater Honour in this World, than that the following Inscription might be engraven on his Tomb, *Here lieth One who had a Hand and Heart in the Execution of Charles Stuart, late King of England.*" Having so said, continues *Ludlow*, "He and most of the Members who had a Right to sit in Parliament, withdrew from the House, so that there was not the fourth Part of a *Quorum* of lawful Members present in the House, when the secluded Members, who had been Voted out of the Parliament by those that had an undisputed Authority over their own Mem- bers, undertook to dissolve the Parliament, which was not to be done unless by their own Consent; and whether that Consent was ever given, is submitted to the Judgment of all im- partial Men.

A.D. 1660

The Long
Parliament
was le-
gally dis-
solv'd.

COUNCIL of STATE.

ABOUT the Time of the Dissolution of the Parliament, there was a very considerable Sum of Money rais'd by the *Common-wealth* Party to pay such Troops as shou'd be willing to draw together against *Monk* and his Adherents; and two of their Number were to be Security for Major General *Lambert's* peaceable Behaviour, in 5000 *l.* Bail, which was to be paid out of this Stock, if it was forfeited. The principal Manager in this Affair was *Slingsby Bethel*, Esq; who visiting Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* to confer with him upon it; he found him in a most melancholly Posture sitting in a Chair, and leaning his Head upon both his Hands; Mr. *Bethel* ask'd him, *Why so sad?* Sir *Arthur* reply'd, *I have been this Morning with Monk, and pressing him to give me some Assurance of his Care of the Common-wealth, reminding him of his Oaths and Protestations of Fidelity to the Cause, he treated me in an unusual Manner, demanding how I cou'd expect any thing from him, whom I had endeavour'd to make less than he was before he march'd from Scotland. Ah, Mr. Bethel, we are undone! we are undone!* and his Despair was so great, that it put off the intended Discourse.

Sir Arthur
Hasel-
rigge in
Despair,

Lambert
escapes,

and ap-
pears in
Arms.

While the Elections for the ensuing Parliament were carrying on, Major General *Lambert* made his Escape out of the Tower, and immediately sent the Man, who had assisted him in escaping, to Lieutenant General *Ludlow* to give him Notice of it, and desire *Ludlow* to draw the *Western* Forces together, and meet him in *Oxfordshire*. *Ludlow* was willing to see what Troops came to *Lambert's* Rendezvous, which was to be at *Daventry*, before he appear'd openly; but he in the mean Time dispatch'd Messengers to several Officers, who commanded the Forces in *Dorset*, *Somerset* and *Wilts*, to be ready to march upon Occasion, and receiv'd Assurance, that the Castle of *Taunton* shou'd be deliver'd to him. Several other considerable Places were also promis'd him. A few Days after Major *Whitby* came to him from *Lambert*, who he said, had near 1000 Horse with him, and good Assurance, that most Part of the Army wou'd join him. *Ludlow* was willing enough to engage, but he was always jealous of *Lambert's* Ambition, and ask'd *Whitby*, what *Lambert* had declar'd for. The Major reply'd, *This is not a Time to declare what we will be for, but what we will be against, which*

is that Torrent of Tyranny and Popery, which is ready to break in upon us. *Ludlow* was desirous to be satisfy'd in that Point before he went further, and *Lambert's* Party was dispers'd soon after *Whitby* return'd. The Lieutenant General had Reason to distrust *Lambert's* Designs, who was so far from meaning a Republick, that it is said, he had promis'd the *Papists* to turn if they wou'd join with him, and get him Assistance from abroad. That he told his Soldiers they shou'd have the Plunder of *London*, and his Plot was to stab *Monk* if his Soldiers cou'd have come at him, and have set up for himself: 'Tis said the *Papists* sav'd his Life by their Interest with the King. The Council of State had proclaim'd *Lambert*, and all his Adherents Traitors, and requir'd all Persons to endeavour to suppress them, but theirs and *Monk's* Fears were soon over. The People being weary'd out with so many different Governments within a few Months, hop'd for little Relief by any one of them, and resolv'd to return into the old Way. Tho' Col. *Cobber*, Col. *Axtel*, and Col. *Okey*, were got to *Lambert*, he cou'd make but two or three Hundred Horse; against these were sent Col. *Ingoldsby*, with a Regiment of Horse, and Col. *Sreater's* Regiment of Foot, and Col. *Rofstiter* with other Forces, advanc'd from *Lincolnshire* and *Nottinghamshire*. *Ingoldsby* making the best of his Way towards *Daventry*, a Party of his met Capt. *Haselrigge*, Son to Sir *Arthur*, whose Troop was with *Lambert*. Col *Ingoldsby* examin'd him, and young *Haselrigge* said, that not liking *Lambert's* Designs, he had quitted the Party, wherefore he hop'd he shou'd be set at Liberty; but *Ingoldsby* told him, that unless he wou'd bring off his Troop also from *Lambert*, his quitting them, shou'd be of no Advantage to him: *Haselrigge* promis'd to use the best of his Endeavours to serve him; upon which he was permitted to return to *Lambert*. When the two Parties were ready to engage, he brought off his Troop, as he had promis'd to endeavour, which rais'd such a Consternation among *Lambert's* Men, that most of them went over to *Ingoldsby*, and those who did not, shifted for themselves as well as they cou'd, leaving *Lambert* talking with *Ingoldsby*, and endeavouring to dissuade him from engaging further against him. But *Ingoldsby* had made his Bargain with *Monk*, and instead of being hang'd up with the rest of the

A. D. 1660 the King's Judges, he was highly honour'd, having a red Ribbon given him instead of a Halber. *Ingoldsby* perceiving *Lambert* had no Body with him to help him, rodé up briskly to him, told him he was his Prisoner, and requir'd him to yield, which after a short Hesitation, he did, desiring *Ingoldsby's* Lordship, as he call'd him, to give him leave to escape; but *Ingoldsby* knew better how to make his Market of him, and saw him safe to London, where he was re-committed to the Tower with Col. *Cobbet* before-mention'd, Lieutenant Col. *Young* and Major *Creed*. Okey and *Axtel* made their Escape. When Col. *Ingoldsby* came to Northampton with Major General *Lambert*, then his Prisoner, the Crowd shouting at his Success, *Lambert* put *Ingoldsby* in Mind of what *Cromwel* had said to them both in the Year 1650, when they were returning victorious from Worcester, and were met on the Road towards London by Innumerable Crowds of People shouting and rejoicing at their Success. *Lambert* said to *Cromwel*, he was glad to see that the Nation was for them; *Cromwel* answer'd, Do not trust to that, for those very Persons wou'd shout as much, if you and I were going to be hang'd; *Lambert* added, I look on my self as in a fair Way for that, and begin to think *Cromwel* had prophesy'd. Col. *Rich* endeavour'd to have engag'd his Regiment, which was quarter'd at *Bury*, but the Commonwealth Party were now as much bewitch'd as the Cavaliers had been after the Battel of *Naseby*. They had a hearty Contempt for *Monk*, but had not Spirit enough left to make one bold Attempt to save themselves.

Cavaliers
Declara-
tion.

In the mean time the Royalists to remove all Obstacles that lay still in the Way of the King's Restoration, threw the Wolf off, and put on the Sheep; and as if they had really meant a Syllable of what they said, they publish'd a Declaration, wherein "They reflected on their past Sufferings, as from the Hand of God, and therefore did not cherish any violent Thoughts or Inclinations against any Persons whatsoever, who had been instrumental in them, and if the Indiscretion of any particular Person shou'd transport them to Expressions contrary to this their general Sense, they shou'd disclaim them." There were many other soothing flattering Expressions, which they made good after the Restoration, as the King did his Promises of Indemnity and Indulgence. This Declaration was sign'd by the Marquis of *Dorchester*, Earl of *Northampton*, Earl of *Devonshire*, Earl of *Berkshire*, Earl of *Dover*, Earl of *Peterborough*, Earl of *Norwich*, Earl of *Cork*, Earl of *Carbery*, Earl of *Desmond*, Viscount *Ogle*, Viscount *Grandison*, Viscount *Lumley*, Viscount *Brounker*, Lord *Bellasis*, Lord *Loughborough*, Lord *Lexington*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Brereton*, Bishop of *Kerry*, Sir *Jervace Clifton*, Sir *William Thorold*, Sir *Thomas Corbet*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Sir *Arthur Gorge*, Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Thomas Prestwich*, Sir *Edward Pye*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *William Carey*, Sir *Hugh Carrwright*, Sir *Henry Chichely*, Sir *Edward Savage*, Sir *John Stevens*, Sir *William Howard*, Sir *William Darwes*, Sir *Anthony Jackson*, George *Morley*, D. D. *Philip King*, D. D. *Thomas Howard*, Esq; *William Ashburnham*, Esq; *Edward Penruddock*, Esq; *William Legg*, Esq; *Herbert Price*, Esq; *Robert Ruuthen*, Esq; *John Jfferies*, Esq; *William Burgh*, Esq; *Edward Roscorrack*, Esq; Sir *Francis Fane*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Sir *Lewis Kirke*, Sir *Robert Stapleton*, Sir *Nicholas Crispe*, Sir *Sutton Coney*, Sir *William Morton*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, Sir *Humphry Bennet*, Sir *Henry Wroth*, Sir *Robert Malevory*, Sir *Ro-*

bert Butler, *Thomas Warmesfry*, D. D. *Jer. Taylor*, D. D. Col. *John Russel*, *Edward Villiers*, Esq; *George Penruddock*, Esq; *Thomas Loxer*, Esq; *Thomas Panton*, Esq; Col. *Freswell*, *Adrian Scroop*, Esq; *John Maynard*, Esq.

We shall find after the Restoration how meekly *George Morley*, D. D. behav'd, and how well he kept to the Letter of this Declaration, which was follow'd by another from the King himself, wherein he granted a Free and General Pardon to all his Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, who within Forty Days after publishing thereof, shall lay hold upon his Grace and Favour, and shall by any Publick Act declare their doing so. Again, Let all our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King, that no Crime whatsoever committed against Us or Our Royal Father before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question against any of them, to the least Indamagement of any of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates. It will be very proper to read this with Attention when the Blood of *Sir Henry Vane* is going to be spilt. Again, nay not so much as to the Prejudice of their Reputation, by any Reproach or Terms of Distinction from the rest of our best Subjects, such as Regicides, King-killers, Forty-one Men, Fanaticks, Rebels, Schismaticks, and as many more as Malice and Ribaldry cou'd invent, and foul Language and foul Mouths express. This was so notorious, that *Annesley*, President of the Council of State, who when a Motion was made in it to call in the King by Treaty and Covenant, persuaded them to truit the King Absolutely: I say, this very *Annesley* cry'd out against the shameless Licence with which the Cavaliers, countenanc'd by the King, abus'd and insulted the very Men that brought him and them into the Kingdom. He is speaking of the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock's* Memorials, and his fair Way of Writing, glancing at the same Time at the Intemperance of Tongue and Pen after the Restoration. "You find always in *Whitlock* that Principle of a Gentleman, not to report dishonourably of an Enemy;" What then was the Earl of *Clarendon's* Principle? What that of Mr. Archdeacon? "Livy every where made honourable Mention of *Scipio*, *Afranius*, and even *Brutus* and *Cassius*, yet was not he the less belov'd of *Augustus Cæsar*. Nor did those Times ever call them *ROGUES* and *REGICIDES*, Terms that afterwards a more degenerate *Un-Roman* Generation under the Ministry of *Sejanus*, bestow'd upon them." Let this be also remembered when we come to *Clarendon's* and *Turner's* Speeches about the Conformity, and other Acts. His Majesty again, We desiring and ordaining that henceforward all Notes of Discord and Difference of Parties be utterly abolish'd among all Our Subjects, whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themselves, under Our Protection.

The next Portion of it relates to Religion, and deserves especial Observation, it being an admirable Preamble to the *Bartholomew Bill*. And because the Passion and Uncharitableness of the Times have produc'd several Opinions in Religion, by which Men are engag'd in Parties and Animosities against each other; which when they shall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Conversation, will be compos'd or better understood; WE DO DECLARE A LIBERTY TO TENDER CONSCIENCES, and that no Man shall be disquieted or call'd in Question for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion. One of the first Laws he made was against Liberty of Conscience, and to disquiet and call in Question every Man and Woman that differ'd in Opinion with

A.D. 1660 with *Cofins* and *Morley* in Matters of Religion. It began well.

Republi-
cans cho-
sen.

The Elections for Parliament Men went every where as the Party of the secluded Members wou'd have it, except in a few Places only, there being no more than these following Members who had sat in the Common-wealth Parliament since the King's Death, and were chosen to sit in this:
William Lenthal, Esq; *Col. Francis Lassels*, *Col. Richard Ingoldsby*, *Sir Thomas Widdrington*, *Sir Thomas Wroth*, *William Cawley*, Esq; *Robert Reynolds*, Esq; *Luke Robinson*, Esq; *Alexander Popham*, Esq; *Thomas Scot*, Esq; *Edmund Ludlow*, Esq; *John Hutchinson*, Esq; *John Lambert*, Esq; *John Weaver*, Esq; *Admiral Montague*, *Robert Wallop*, Esq; *John Blagrave*, Esq; *William*

Pierpoint, Esq; *Lord Broghill*, *Henry Cromwel*, Esq; *Lord Howard*. A.D. 1660

There were several that had sat in *Oliver's* Parliament, but few of the above-nam'd did sit, though chosen. *Mr. Robinson*, who had been very fierce against the King, highly magnify'd his Goodness and Clemency in the above-mention'd Declaration. *Mr. Ludlow* was chosen for *Hendon* in *Wiltshire*, but *Sir Thomas Thynne* being also return'd for that Borough with *Mr. How*, the Election was brought before the Committee, who gave it for *Mr. Ludlow*. The Parliament chose *Sir Harbottle Grimston* their Speaker: He had been a zealous *Parliamentarian*, Presbyterian and Covenanter, and the major Vote of this House was for the Presbytery.

Conventi-
on choole
Sir Har-
bottle
Grimston
Speaker.

The CONVENTION.

King's Let-
ters to
Monk.

THE Parliament not being call'd by the King's Writ, is by our nice Chroniclers term'd the *Convention*, who, as soon as they met, appointed a Day of Humiliation, and chose *Dr. Gauden*, afterwards a Bishop, *Mr. Calamy*, and *Mr. Baxter*, to carry on the Work of the Day.

Two Days after, *April* the 27th, *Sir John Greenville*, who was return'd from *Flanders*, deliver'd a Letter from the King to the General, which was cold enough considering the Importance of the Subject. *Monk* carry'd the Letter into the House of Commons, of which he was a Member, being chosen by that Learned and Venerable Body the University of *Cambridge* to be their Representative. He told the House, he had not only receiv'd a Letter from his Majesty, but that the Messenger who brought it, *Sir John Greenville*, was at the Door, with another to them. Upon which he was call'd for, and having deliver'd his Letter, the General's Letter and that were both read in the House with as much Joy as People, who did not very well know why they were so joyful, cou'd express. *Sir John Greenville* deliver'd a Letter to the Lords from the King, the Contents of which was a Congratulation of their being restor'd to their Authority; another was deliver'd by him to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, all which had the like Effect on the Persons to whom they were address'd, as had that to the House of Commons. In a Word, Their, and the whole Nation's Joy, was without Measure. The People were out of their Wits, and to shew that a Man had any left, was enough to have had his Brains beaten out.

Conditions
for the
King re-
jected.

When the Motion for sending Conditions to the King, preparatory to his Admission, was mention'd in the House, the Persons who mov'd and seconded it, though the Wisest and Gravest in that great Assembly, were disregarded as supercilious and impertinent; and General *Monk*, who spoke in Answer to the famous Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, as he was instructed, according to Bishop *Burnet*, put an End to that extravagant Debate. He told the House, "That there was yet, beyond all Mens Hope, an universal Quiet all over the Nation; but there were many Incendiaries still on the Watch, trying where they cou'd first raise the Flame. He said, he had such copious Informations sent him of these Things, that it was fit they shou'd be generally known; he cou'd not answer for the Peace either of the Nation or the Army, if any Delay was put to the sending for the King. What Need was there of sending Propositions to him? Might they not as well prepare them, and of-

Burnet,
p. 88.

fer them to him when he shou'd come over? as he was to bring neither Army nor Treasure with him, either to fright them or corrupt them: So he mov'd that they wou'd immediately send Commissioners to bring over the King, and added, he must lay the Blame of all the Blood or Mischief that might follow on the Heads of those who shou'd still insist on any Motion that might delay the present Settlement of the Nation." This was eccho'd with such a Shout over the House, that neither Judge *Hale*, nor any other Member, durst venture to say a Word more of it. Bishop *Burnet* observes, this was the *Great Service* he did. And it was explain'd afterwards by that Right Noble and Virtuous Peer the Earl of *Southampton*, whose Loyalty was not more Exemplary than his Love to his Country. Take it in my Lord *Sarum's* Words: "When the Lord *Southampton* came to see what King *Charles* was like to prove, he said once in great Wrath to Chancellor *Hyde*, *It is to you we owe all we either feel or fear; for if you had not possess'd us in all your Letters with such an Opinion of the King, we wou'd have taken Care to have put it out of his Power either to do himself or us any Mischief, which is like to be the Effect of our trusting him so entirely.*" Chancellor *Hyde* answer'd, "He thought the King had so true a Judgment, and so much good Nature, that when the Age of Pleasure shou'd be over, and the Idleness of his Exile, which made him seek new Diversions for want of other Employment, was turn'd to an Obligation to mind Affairs, then he wou'd have shaken off those Entanglements." How he shook them off, he shew'd the very first Night after his Restoration-Day, by a new Entanglement which he cou'd never clear himself, or perhaps never desir'd to clear himself of, though it was such a mortal Wound to his Conscience and Honour; I mean the taking away *Roger Palmer's* Wife, which must be mention'd more than once in this History.

Monk the
Occasion of
it.

ib. 85.

Earl of
Sou-
thampton
repents
trusting the
King.

The Acclamations of Lords and Commons were so great, that they had hardly Leisure to pass serious Votes; but the Tempest of Joy at last subsided so much, that having Voted Thanks again and again to their General, and to *Sir John Greenville*, they appointed a Committee to draw up an Answer to his Majesty's most Gracious Letter, and order'd 50,000 Pounds for the King, 10,000 Pounds for the Duke of *York*, and 5000 Pounds for the Duke of *Gloucester*. Both Houses also agreed that the King shou'd be solemnly proclaim'd, and it was done with as much Ceremony

King Pre-
claim'd.

A.D. 1660 money as cou'd be thought of amidst so much Transport, May the 7th.

Vol. III. p. 10. Several Opinions about the Regicides. The Lord Northumberland's,

One may easily imagine the Common-wealth Men are creeping every where into Corners and Holes, and their Enemies every where ferreting them out of them. *Ludlow* sat in the House a Week or two, but it soon grew too hot for him, though he receiv'd good Offices from Mr. *Hale*, Mr. *Annesley*, Major *Robert Harley*, Serjeant *Glynn*, and Mr. *Pierpoint*. He writes of it thus in his Memoirs, "In the Convention Things went high, Men not daring to shew Moderation; but in private, several Members of both Houses declar'd their Opinion, that a General Indemnity ought to be granted for all that had past, without any Exception. The Earl of Northumberland was heard to say, *Though I had no Part in the Death of the King, yet I am against questioning those that had been concern'd in that Affair.*" The Reason he gives for it is entirely Republican, and consequently very irrational and unwarrantable, *That the Example might be more useful to Posterity, and profitable to future Kings, by deterring them from the like Exorbitances*; which I can hardly believe the Lord *Northumberland* ever said, it being very inconsistent with Monarchical Principles, which his Lordship espous'd; and *Ludlow* is sometimes too credulous, when his Judgment and Discretion are subjected by his Passion and Resentment.

Lord Fairfax's,

He proceeds, "The Lord *Fairfax* on that Subject plainly said, *If any Person must be excepted, I know no Man that deserves it more than my self, who being General of the Army at that Time, and having Power sufficient to prevent the Proceedings against the King, had not thought fit to make use of it to that End.*"

1b. p. 11. Monk's Saying of himself. 1b. M. S.

"Several Members mov'd in the House of Commons, That Limitations and Conditions might be drawn up, on which they shou'd consent to receive the King, till at length finding that *Monk*, who had the Power in his Hand, gave constant Intelligence of all that was said, and by whom, none of them durst insist any further on those Heads. And that he might compleat his Treachery, when the Lord *Say* propos'd to him, that for the Quiet of Men's Minds, an Act of Indemnity shou'd be pass'd, in which some of those who had been principally concern'd in the Death of the King might be excepted; he in a great Rage answer'd, *Not a Man; for if I shou'd suffer such a Thing, I shou'd be the arrantest Rogue that ever liv'd.*" We have this Account of his managing the House in *Burnet*. "Yet for all this, under Colour that the House might have better Terms from the King by relying on his Ingenuity, than by Capitulating with him, especially at a distance, he had the Confidence to move them, *That their Commissioners might be empower'd simply to invite him into England*; which Motion concurring with the Opinion of the Unforeseeing Cavaliers among them, and dislik'd only by those who had not Courage enough to publish their Dissent, for fear of exposing themselves to a future Revenge, was taken for the Sense of the whole House, and so pass'd." However, one of those Cavaliers hapning to call the Civil War a Rebellion, the House cry'd out, *To the Bar, to the Bar*; and he was reprimanded upon his Knees, the Speaker by their Order declaring, *It was a Defensive War to preserve the Peoples Rights and Privileges.*

The Commissioners appointed by the Lords and Commons to attend the King, were

For the LORDS,

The Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Middlesex*, the Lord Viscount *Hereford*, the Lord *Berkley*, the Lord *Brook*.

A.D. 1660 Commissioners sent to the King.

For the COMMONS,

The Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Castleton*, the Lord *Mandeville*, the Lord *Herbert*, *Denzill Hollis*, Esq; Sir *Horatio Townshend*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Henry Cholmely*.

For the CLERGY,

Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Cafe*, Mr. *Boxeles*.

Dr. *Calamy* tells us, They were sent by the Parliament and City, and *Echard* very idly and invidiously says, *They wou'd not be look'd upon as Chaplains to the rest, but as the Representatives of that Party*, the same which brought in the King; and before he is come Mr. Archdeacon begins to insult them for it. Twenty Aldermen and principal Citizens also attended his Majesty. The Parliament being about to dispose of the Great Seal, the Earl of *Manchester* was nam'd for it; but upon Intimation that the Seal was dispos'd of abroad already, that Matter drop'd. Col. *Bozeyer*, without any Order from them, took a Party of the *Staffordshire* Militia, and by his own Authority seiz'd Major General *M. G. Harrison*, with his Horfes and Arms. The Major General had Notice that *Bozeyer* wou'd do so if he did not fly for it, which he absolutely refus'd, looking upon it as a *Flying from the Cause*, though in Truth the Cause fled from him, and there was as much Enthusiasm in his Political as his Religious Principles. Sir *Charles Coote* in *Ireland* seiz'd the Lord Chief Justice *Cook*, and they being both sent to *London*, were imprison'd in the *Tower* by the Parliament.

The King staid all this blessed Time at *Breda*, The King in Expectation of Times still more blessed in *at Breda*. *England*, as he express'd it, when he said, *What a World of Love shall we have there!* Mr. Archdeacon will excuse me for not speaking it as it was said. Applications were daily made to him by Persons of all Parties and Denominations. The Cavaliers brought him or sent him great Boasts of Services; the Presbyterians and Parliamentarians paid their Compliments in Money; Mr. *Lenthall*, the late Speaker, sent 3000 Pounds, with a Hint that it wou'd be acceptable to him to continue in his Place as Master of the *Rolls*, but he miss'd his Aim.

There was great Contention in the House of Commons who shou'd be of the Number of the above-mention'd Commissioners, to be early in paying their Respects to his Majesty; every Man expecting some Mark of Favour to be conferr'd on him for this Service. To these, many others, *Ludlow* says, of the *Looser Sort of Men*, added themselves; and some, to make an early Offer of their Subjection, and to provide themselves of Places, went over before the Commissioners. These Men being one Day in the King's Apartment boasting of their Loyalty and Services, his Majesty call'd for Wine, and applying himself to the Duke of *York*, drank to the Health of those Gentlemen with this Remark, *That he was now even with them, having, as he thought, done as much for them as they had done for him.* *Echard* repeats this after *Ludlow*, and I hope I shall be allow'd the Use of that Historian as well as Mr. Archdeacon in this and other Cases.

These

A. D. 1660
 Sir Cha.
 Coote's
 Injustice
 to Lord
 Broghill.

These Gentlemen did not only over-value their own Merits, but they under-valued the Merits of one another; an Instance of which I have in my Manuscript Author. When the Lord *Broghill* came to pay his Duty to his Majesty, after his Accession to the Throne, the King, instead of giving him Thanks for his Services in *Ireland*, of which we have given some Account, gave him a very cold Reception, at which he was extremely surpriz'd and troubled; and it being observ'd by his Brother the Lord *Shannon*, he desir'd to know the Reason of it, which Lord *Broghill* acquainted him with, and entreated him to use all the Interest he had with the Courtiers to find out what might be the Occasion of his Majesty's Coldness to him. Lord *Shannon* was so happy in his Enquiry, that he understood Sir *Charles Coote* had told the King, *He was the first Man that stir'd for him in Ireland; that the Lord Broghill oppos'd it, and was at last, with much ado, prevail'd upon to close in with it.* Lord *Shannon* being well assur'd, that *Coote* had given this Misrepresentation of the Matter, told it to his Brother *Broghill*; who, says my Reverend Author, *wonder'd at the Impudence and Slander of Sir Charles Coote; and immediately bethought himself of the Letter Coote had written him, which he had still by him, and in which were these Words, Remember, my Lord, you first put me upon this Design, and I beseech you, forsake me not in that which you first put me upon.* Meaning the declaring for a *Free Parliament*, a safer Phrase for the King. This Letter was delivered to Lord *Shannon*, to let his Majesty have a Sight of it, which was done; and Lord *Broghill* was not only receiv'd very favourably afterwards, but made Earl of *Orrery*, Sworn a Privy-Counsellor of *England* and *Ireland*, and at last was admitted into the Cabinet-Council: These petty Treacheries are easily forgotten, amidst a Number of enormous Ones, and it is not at all strange, that Men shou'd betray their Friends, whose Conscience wou'd let 'em betray their Country. While the King was at *Breda*, with his two Brothers, and his Sister the Princess of *Orange*, whose City it was, in Right of her Son the Prince of *Orange*, a Minor, our late glorious Monarch *William III*, the Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and Cardinal *Mazarine* invited him, the one to take *Flanders*, and the other to take *Calais*, in his Way to *England*, their Countenances towards him being changed with the Face of his Affairs in *England*: But his Majesty prefer'd an Invitation he receiv'd from the *Statés General* of the *United Provinces*, who sent Deputies to him on Purpose; and when they return'd with his Majesty's Acceptance of it, they laid themselves out to make Amends by his Entertainment then, for their refusing to give him any at all, or even Shelter in their Dominions, five or six Years before.

ments and Desires. Upon which the King thought fit to make up the Difference, and to suffer Mr. *Hollis* to perform his Part, which was to present the Parliament's Supplication, "That his Majesty wou'd be pleas'd to return and take the Government of the Kingdom into his Hands, where he should find all possible Affection, Duty and Obedience." And then the Commissioners did the most welcome Part of their Commission, presenting the King and his two Brothers, with the Money the Parliament had given them, which, with the other Presents they had received from particular Persons, amounted to more than the Three Princes had ever seen in all their Lives before, and was sufficient to enable them to pay their Debts in *Breda* and *Holland*: For probably those in *Flanders* were left to another Season, when Money was still more Plenty. The Lord *Fairfax* was most taken notice of, of all the Commissioners, all Foreigners having an insatiable Curiosity to see a Captain, who some Years before was at the Head of the most victorious Army in the Universe. But this Commission was fatal to Sir *Anthony-Ashley Cooper*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who travelling in a *Brabant Waggon* some Part of the Road, was by some Accident or other so bruiz'd in his Side, that it occasion'd a Tumour, which was incurable, and the Chirurgeons were forced to keep it open to prevent the Humours falling back on the Vital Parts, which occasioned that dull and scandalous Reflection of the *Tap*, as that gave Occasion to much of the Party's Wit in the middle of the following Reign.

His Majesty Knighted all the *London Commissioners*, and no doubt *Echard* speaks Truth in this too; that they were wonderfully pleas'd with Knighthood, which tho' it cost the King nothing, was chargeable enough to the City, who presented him and his Brothers with 10 or 15000 Pounds.

The poor *Presbyterian Ministers*, who were in this Commission, and had just done the King's Business, were receiv'd the worst of all of them, if what Mr. Archdeacon says is true; which is as much to be question'd here, as in other Places. He tells us indeed, they declared they were no Enemies to moderate *Episcopacy*, who knew not that! There is not a Man in *England*, of common Sense, and common Knowledge; who is against moderate *Episcopacy*; neither were the *Presbyterians* in King *Charles* the First's Time against it: It was against the High Commission Court *Episcopacy*; the *Star-Chamber Episcopacy*; the *Laudæan Episcopacy*; the *Crosses*, the *Cringsings*, the *Suspendings*; *Silencings*, *Banishings*, *Scourgings*, *Beggarings*; and the intolerable *Pride*, *Oppression* and *Cruelty* of *Laud* and his persecuting Brethren, which the *Presbyterians* were then, and are now against: But not an *Episcopacy* in the Hands of such reverend and pious Fathers of our Protestant Church, as are now its Pillars and Ornaments. Such Bishops, and almost all such as have been admitted into that sacred Order, since the *Revolution*, are never intended, when *Episcopacy* and *Prelacy* are animadverted upon in this History. *Echard* repeats what the *Presbyterian Ministers* said to the King about the *Common-Prayer-Book*, and he repeats it, as if what they said; was extravagant and unpardonable, *The Book of Common-Prayer having been long discontinued in England, the People are so disus'd to it, that many of them had never heard it in their Lives, and it wou'd be much wonder'd at, if his Majesty at his first Landing in the Kingdom, shou'd*

A. D. 1660

Parliament Commissioners at Breda,

The Commissioners arriv'd at *Breda*, three or four Days before the King's Departure from thence to *Holland*. The Temper of the *Cavaliers* appear'd at the first Appearance of those Commissioners; for Mr. *Denzil Hollis* being appointed Spokesman, at least for the Commoners, was interrupted and ruffled by Mr. *Henry Howard*, Brother to the Earl of *Arundel*, who said, *It is insolent in him to pretend to that Honour which belongs to* ———; another of the Commissioners, who was his own Kinsman; but he mistook his Man. Mr. *Hollis* was not wont to part with an Inch of Ground which he had a Right to keep, and affirm'd, *the House had entrusted him with their Comple-*

A. D. 1660 revive the Use of it in his own Chapel, whither all Persons would resort; wherefore they pray'd, that he wou'd not use it, entirely and formally, but have only some Parts of it read, with Mixture of other good Prayers to be us'd by his Chaplains. *Echard*, as if this King had had any Religion in him, or matter'd any Prayer at all, unless it was taken out of the Mass-Book, says, his Majesty answer'd with some Warmth, *While I give you Liberty, I will not have my own taken from me.* His Liberty was to be an Atheist and Papist in Belief and Practice. *I have always us'd that Form of Service which I thought the best in the World.* Thought he so when he was at *Fontainebleau* or *Fontcrabia*? What cou'd *Echard* mean, by repeating such Hypocrisy and Absurdity? The *Presbyterians*, according to him, made another most impious Request, that the Use of the Surplice might be discontinued by his Chaplains. The King, adds he, immoveable here too, reply'd, *Tho' he was oblig'd for the present to tolerate much Disorder and Indecency (he means a long Cloak and extempore Prayer) yet he wou'd not discountenance the good Order of the Church, otherwise than as my Lord of Sarum informs us, by keeping no Order at all at Divine Service, and taking Care even at the Sacrament, that the Assistants shou'd observe, he did not think of what he was about. He told Dr. Burnet, he thought God wou'd not damn him for taking a little Pleasure out of the Way.* This is he whose Conscience was so scrupulous in the Worship of God, that he cou'd not bear the Indecency of Prayer without a white Linen Vestment! The Folly of these Men is prodigious, to think the Church honour'd by the Pollutions of a Prince who abhor'd or despis'd it, as he must do, believing it, as much as he believ'd any Thing that is Sacred, to be a *Heresy*. But I have observ'd these Men care not what Hands their Dignities, nay, their very Religion, Revenues and Powers pass thro', provided their Point is gained by it. Tho' I do not suppose King *Charles* said a Word of what *Echard* makes him say; yet I do suppose, he was Libertine enough to have said it; but as he had good Nature, when *Cosins* and *Morley, Hyde* and *Bennet*, did not influence him, and had always good Sense, when he gave himself Time to think, so I cannot believe, he wou'd have assum'd that Air, and us'd those disagreeable Expressions to Men, who had ventur'd every thing to recover three Kingdoms for him. Did Mr. Archdeacon never hear that his Majesty, on the contrary contriv'd it so, that the Ministers shou'd be plac'd in a Chamber, as by Accident, which join'd to a Closet where the King was to be at Prayer, *extempore* too, for its greater Efficacy with the *Presbyterians*, and that he thank'd God in his Prayer for his being a Covenanted King; that he hop'd the Lord wou'd give him an humble, meek, forgiving Spirit, that he might have Forbearance with his offending Subjects, as he expected Forbearance from offended Heaven, with a great deal more of it, full of Cant and Enthusiasm, which deceiv'd some, but not all of the Ministers. Those who were impos'd upon, wrote Home, that the King of the Covenant was coming: But others of them heard such Accounts of his Morals and Principles, that they began to raise Fear in the Breasts of the most Sanguine.

The King's Prayer.

From *Breda* the King went to the *Hague*, where Crouds from the three Kingdoms were waiting for him, and where the States had made Preparations for the Entertainment of himself and his Court, and the Commissioners that attended him, who were all provided for at their

A. D. 1660 Expence. *Echard* says, the Latter had their first Audience at the *Hague*, but *Ludlow* and others place it at *Breda*. Admiral *Montague*, who had made his particular Bargain with the King by the Management of Mr. *Edward Montague*, his Kinsman, of the *Hallifax* Family; came with the *English* Fleet before *Scheveling*, about the same Time that the King came to the *Hague*, where he made his Brother the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, and he went aboard the Fleet to take Possession of the Command. Nor can it be deny'd, that he did something in his Post, for he alter'd the Names of the Ships, as being Remembrances of the late Times, such as the *Victory*, the *Triumph*, and other Names which were suitable to the Glory the *English* Fleet had acquir'd, to give the Ships Names more suitable to the Disgrace that was coming upon it, as the *Katherine*, the *Fubs*, &c. which are to be met with in the *Navy* Rolls from the Year 60 to 80. At the *Hague*, all the Ambassadors and publick Ministers of Kings, Princes and States, complimented his Majesty on this Change of his Fortune: So that it might well be thought, according to our excellent Historian, that he was restor'd by the Activity of *Christendom*. How quaint his Expression is!

Among others who came to the *Hague*, was one *Sharp*, afterwards Archbishop, who carry'd a Letter from the Earl of *Glencairn*, to Sir *Edward Hyde*. This *Sharp* had been employ'd by the *Resolutioners*, as their Agent with *Cromwel*. We will make use of the Bishop of *Salisbury's* Words, "He seem'd more than ordinary zealous for *Presbytery*, and while he was in *Cromwel's* Court, Dr. *Wilkins*, afterwards Bishop of *Chester*, having only mentioned *Episcopacy*, *Sharp* could not hear the Discourse, and reject'd it with Horror. The Earl of *Glencairn's* Letter recommending him to *Hyde*, as the only capable Person to manage the Design of setting up *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*. Pray mind what Persons they make use of, and what their Practices are! He was receiv'd into great Confidence, and as he had observ'd very carefully the Success of *Monk's* solemn Protestations against the King, and for the Covenant, it seems he was so pleas'd with the Original, that he resolv'd to copy after it, without letting himself be diverted from it by Scruples: For he stuck neither at solemn Protestations, both by Word of Mouth, and by Letters (of which I have seen many Proofs) nor at Appeals to God, of his Sincerity in acting for the *Presbytery*, both in Prayers, and on other Occasions, joining with these many dreadful Imprecations on himself, if he did prevaricate." Archdeacon *Echard* calls him an illustrious Person, and the Bishop of *Sarum* further explains what you must understand by illustrious in their Characteristicks. "He was all the while maintained by the *Presbyterians*, as their Agent, and continued to give them a constant Account of the Progress of his Negotiation in their Service, while he was indeed undermining it. This piece of Craft was so visible, he having repeated his Protestations to as many Persons as then grew jealous of him, that when he threw off the Mask, about a Year after this, it laid a Foundation of such a Character of him, that nothing cou'd bring People to have any tolerable Thoughts of a Man, whose Dissimulation and Treachery was so well known, and of which so many Proofs were to be seen under his Hand." As this Man is illustrious with *Echard*, so is he the Pious and the Holy with

A. D. 1660
Ech.
Archbishop
Sharp a
zealous
Presbyter-
ian, p. 64.
His Treachery and
Hypocrisy.

P. 92.

A.D. 1660 with others of them, and his Grace in every Sentence that is said of him.

The King's Entertainment at the Hague, was very magnificent and expensive. His Majesty made them in Return, all the Professions of Amity, to use Echar'd's Words, that were due to their generous Civilities; and at his Departure, the States made a fullsome Speech to him, of which we shall have Patience to repeat a little, because it is spoken by Men, who, four or five Years before had forbidden him their Country.

States
Speech to
the King.

Your Majesty might observe in the Looks of all our People, the Joy they had in their Hearts, to see a Prince cherish'd of God; a Prince wholly miraculous, and a Prince who probably will make a Part of their Quietness and Felicity: Your Majesty shall presently see all the Streets filled, all the Way cover'd, and all the Hills loaden with People, who will follow you to the Place of your Embarkment, and wou'd not leave you, if they had wherewithal to carry them to your Kingdoms, &c. Mr. Archdeacon informs us, The Hollanders shew'd all Expressions of Joy at his coming, and at his going. The Hills were throng'd with innumerable Multitudes, and his Majesty mounting on the Stern of his Ship, cast his Eyes on the friendly Shore, and said, I think my own Subjects can scarce have more Tenderness for me than these People, in whose Affections I see I reign, no less than I am going to reign in the Wills of the English. So Rhetorical, that one may be sure it was extempore. Eight thousand of these loving Dutchmen were kill'd four or five Years after, by his Brother the Duke of York, and above Thirty of the States capital Men of War taken, sunk and burnt.

Bill of In-
demnity.

While these Ceremonies were passing in Holland, the House of Commons were preparing the Bill of Indemnity, that it might be ready to pass at the Arrival of the King. They unanimously agreed, that some of the King's Judges shou'd be excepted, both as to Life and Estate; the remaining Dispute being only about the Number. Some propos'd that all might be excepted, others would be contented with twenty, and many with thirteen. But, says General Ludlow, "Monk who had betray'd them all, pretending to be for Moderation, the Number was reduced to nine, which Mr. Pryme, contrary to the Order of the House, undertook to name." Monk at last prevail'd with the House, to bring the Number to seven. The Commons in preparing this Act, were very careful not to let any Blot or Blemish remain on the Civil War, which the Long Parliament engag'd in, to defend their Religion, Laws and Liberties. This particularly appear'd in the Case of Mr. William Lenthall, who had been Speaker of that Parliament, and was a Member of this, and hapning to drop this Expression, in the Debate about the Indemnity, He who first drew his Sword against the late King, committed as great an Offence as he who cut off his Head. He was seiz'd by the Serjeant at Arms, and Sir Harbottle Grimstone, the Speaker, by Order of the House, reprimanded him in these Words; Sir, the House hath taken great Offence at some Words you have let fall in this Debate; which in their Judgment, contain as high a Reflection on the Justice and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons of the last Parliament, in their Actings before 1648, as cou'd be expressed. They apprehend there is much Poison in the said Words, and that they were spoken out of a Design to inflame, and to render them who drew the Sword to bring Delinquents to Punishment, and to assert their just Liberties, into a Balance with them who cut off the King's Head.

Parliament vin-
dicate the
Civil
War.

I mention'd something of this elsewhere, and it had been so little taken notice of, that I received Letters from Gentlemen to produce the Proofs of a Matter which so solemnly justifies the Proceedings of that Long Parliament, call'd by the Earl of Clarendon the Grand Rebellion. Monsieur Maizeaux informs us, Echar'd has been very disingenuous in representing it, "He wou'd make us believe, that the Commons proceed'd with all Tenderness and Caution, with respect to the late Civil War." You see Men of Candour and Sincerity never call it the Grand Rebellion, nor the Parliament Rebels, as the Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Echar'd do, and therefore were unwilling totally to condemn the Parliaments Part in it: But this is a gross Misrepresentation of their Proceedings. Mr. Archdeacon will perceive I am not singular in my Opinion of his Integrity; "For they did not proceed with Tenderness and Caution in that Respect, but expressed their Sense of it with great Warmth and Freedom; and so far from being only unwilling totally to condemn the Parliament's Part in the Civil War, that they fully justified it by declaring as above. And that Mr. Lenthall's Words were a high Reflection on the Justice of the Lords and Commons in their Actings." Thus are all the Lord Clarendon's and Mr. Echar'd's Reflections on those Actings declared to be highly Injurious, and the History of England, and that of the Grand Rebellion, which treat that glorious Parliament as Rebels, are condemn'd in the most solemn Manner by the Declaration of the House of Commons pronounc'd by their Speaker.

A.D. 1660
Life of
Clarendon,
p. 306.

The King being suddenly expected, great Numbers of those who had been Officers in the Cavalier Army, or were otherwise zealous for him, procur'd Horses and Cloaths; Ludlow says, for the most Part, upon Credit, and form'd themselves into Troops, under Charles Stuart, Earl of Litchfield, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Cleveland, and Major General Brown, whom Ludlow calls the Apostate Woodmonger, in order to attend him at his Reception: And News being brought that he was put to Sea, Monk, accompany'd with a Guard of Horse, march'd to Dover, and received him at his Landing, May the 25th. The King embrac'd him, kiss'd him, and call'd him Father; and, according to my Author, it might be truly said, that in some Respects they were very nearly ally'd. At Canterbury, his Majesty presented him with the George and Garter. The first was put on by the Duke of York, the other by the Duke of Gloucester. And because it was suspected, that the Army which had fought against him, might still retain some of their former Inclinations; it was resolv'd, that the King with his two Brothers should lodge at the House of Colonel Gibbons, one of their Officers at Rochester. Many Knights were made in this Journey, and Bonfires were to be seen in great Numbers on the Road. Ludlow tells us, the inconstant Multitude in some Places, burning the Badges of their own Freedom, the Arms of the Common-wealth. Ludlow proceeds, "Monk's Army was drawn up on Black-beath, and by the best Judges, was thought to deserve the Fool's Coat, rather than the Soldier's Casaque. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of the City, treated the King with a Collation under a Tent, plac'd in St. George's Fields. Five or six hundred Citizens cloath'd in Coats of black Velvet, and (not improperly) wearing Chains about their Necks, by an Order of the Common-Council, attended on the Triumph of that Day, with much more empty Pageantry, which I pur-
"posely

His Entry.

A.D. 1660 "posely omit. But I must not pass over the Folly and Insolence manifested at that Time by those who had been so often defeated in the Field, and had contributed nothing either of Bravery or Policy to this Change, in ordering the Soldiery to ride with Swords drawn, thro' the City of London to Whitehall, the Duke of York and Monk leading the Way, intimating, as was supposed, a Resolution to maintain that by Force, which had been obtain'd by Fraud." Sir John Starvel, at the Head of about one hundred Cavalier Gentlemen, who had spent their Estates in the late King's Service, attended the Cavalcade, and some Time after told his Majesty he had a Son who lov'd Dogs, and being fit for nothing but the Country, he desir'd his Majesty to make him Keeper of the Buck-hounds, a Place then void; which being deny'd, he took the Liberty to represent to the King, that he had expended, and been sequester'd to the Value of 105,000 Pounds: The King said, *You might have compounded, and sav'd a good Part of it, and sent it to me.* Sir, reply'd Sir John, *Since it is so, I have four Sons, and I shall give them Advice, not to venture any more for any Monarch in England.* Mr. Fox, afterward Sir Stephen Fox, who had liv'd with the King in Exile, was sent to London the Day before the Entry, which was on the 29th of May, the King's Birth-Day also, with Orders to speak to all the Lords in Town, and desire them to do themselves the Honour to attend his Majesty when he made his Entry, which they were all very ready to do, and had prepar'd the most rich Dress and Equipage for that Purpose, insomuch that the Lord Wharton, a zealous Presbyterian, laid out above 10,000 Pounds for his Appearance in the Cavalcade, and it is said to have been the finest in it, tho' a finer Shew was never seen. But an Accident happen'd which hinder'd Mr. Fox himself from making one in it. It is well known that he was a temperate abstemious Person, not us'd to drink much; and one of the Lords prevailing with him to drink a Glass of Cyder only, at about five a-Clock in the Morning, it so intoxicated him, that he fell from his Horse, and was incapable of sitting it all that Day. He had over-heated himself with riding from one House to another in the hot Sun-shine, and was caught in the Manner I have related. The Archdeacon seems to be entirely out of his Wits for Joy at his Majesty's Restoration. He has the infinite Blessings of it over and over again, tho' in its Infancy he confesses, the Court gave all Encouragement to all Sorts of Pleasure, and the greatest Licentiousness. The truly inestimable Blessing we have enjoy'd, and do still enjoy by it, is its making Way for the glorious Reigns of King William, Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George; wherein the People of England have tasted of the Sweetness of Liberty, without that Irregularity and Confusion, which imbitter'd it in the Days of Usurpation.

An Accident to Sir Stephen Fox.

The Court vicious.

Good Courtiers.

We should do great Injustice if we did not distinguish the Courtiers in King Charles's Reign, who abhor'd the above-mention'd Licentiousness, from those who wallowed in that Mire; and among the former will be found the illustrious Names of Seymour, Butler, Wriothefley, Bertie, Montague, Berkley, Hollis, Piercy, Fiennes. But the Counsels and Morals of these noble Lords were soon found to give Way to the prevailing Taste and Example.

Instead of describing the Day of Restoration as a Celestial Jubilee, and Beatifying it, as if it had been a kind of Resurrection from the Dead, and the opening Scene was Heaven, as Echar'd

labours to paint it, the Bishop of Salisbury inverts it, and it is a Gulph in his History, which we cannot look into without Horror.

"With the Restoration of the King, a Spirit of extravagant Joy spread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very Professions of Virtue and Piety. All ended in Entertainments and Drunkenness, which over-run the three Kingdoms to such a Degree, that it very much corrupted all their Morals. Under Colour of drinking the King's Health, there were great Disorders and much Riot every where; and as a Man cou'd not be a good Courtier, without doing as the King did, so few were deficient in following his Example.

What blessed Times he brought with him, may be guess'd by his Character, as it is given by Bishop Burnet.

"He was liberal of good Looks, kind Words, and fair Promises, because he intended nothing by them: He had no Sense of Religion, both at Prayers and Sacraments: He, as it were took Care to satisfy the People, that he was in no sort concern'd in that about which he was employ'd; so that he was very far from being an Hypocrite, unless his assisting at those Performances, was a sort of Hypocrisy (as no doubt it was) but he was sure not to encrease that, by any the least Appearance of Religion. He said once to my self, *He was no Atheist, but he cou'd not think God wou'd make a Man miserable, only for taking a little Pleasure out of the Way.* He disguis'd his Popery to the last; but when he talk'd freely, he cou'd not help letting himself out against the Liberty, that under the Reformation, all Men took of enquiring into Matters of Religion. He said often, he thought Government was a much safer and easier Thing where the Authority was believ'd infallible, and the Faith and Submission of the People were implicit. He had a very ill Opinion both of Men and Women, and did not think that there was either Sincerity or Chastity in the World out of Principle, but that some had either the one or the other out of Humour or Vanity. He thought that no Body did serve him out of Love, and so he was quit with all the World, and lov'd others as little as he thought they lov'd him. He hated Business, and cou'd not easily be brought to mind any. The Ruin of his Reign, and of all his Affairs, was occasion'd chiefly by his delivering himself up at his first coming over to a mad Range of Pleasure. One of the Race of Villiers, then marry'd to Palmer a Papist, soon after made Earl of Castlemain, who afterwards being separated from him, was advanc'd to be Dutchess of Cleaveland, was his first and longest Mistress, by whom he had five Children: She was most enormously vitious and ravenous, &c." Such was the Prince, who, according to Warwick, was brought in by the Good Angel of God, and according to Echar'd, by the all merciful Hand of Heaven, according to Clarendon, by the merciful Hand of God. Divine Providence directs every thing sometimes to bless, sometimes to curse; and to what End it directed here, let the Reader determine by the ensuing Reign.

As his Majesty pass'd through the City towards Westminster, the London Ministers attended over against the School in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and Mr. Arthur Jackson, Minister of St. Faith's, at the Head of them, presented him with a Bible richly adorn'd, for which the King thank'd them, and promis'd to make that Book *The Rule of his Government and Life*; and it must be own'd, that it was as much the Rule of his the Bible.

A.D. 1660

King Charles's Character, by Bishop Burnet.

The King's Saying of his the Bible.

A.D. 1660 his Life as of his Government. Two Years after, Mr. Jackson was turn'd out of his Living only for being a Presbyterian.

The Lords and Commons receiv'd the King at Whitehall, after this tedious Cavalcade, and their Speakers made surfeiting Speeches, as may be seen at large in the *Common Histories*. Ludlow tells us, "The Speakers of both Houses loaded him with Complements, and took the best Care they cou'd to make him believe himself to be the best, greatest and bravest Prince in the whole World. His Answer to them was short, by Reason as he said, of his present Discomposure, caus'd by the great Acclamations he had receiv'd in his Passage, which yet he pretended had been very agreeable to him, as they were Expressions of the Affections of his People. Most of those who had attended his Entry, finding the Streets thro' which they had pass'd, to be full of People, return'd to the City, by the Way of *Holborn*; by which Means I had a View of them from the House where I then was; and I confess it was a strange Sight to me, to see the Horse that had formerly belong'd to our Army, now put upon an Employment so different from that which they had at first undertaken; especially when I consider'd, that for the most Part they had not been rais'd out of the meanest of the People, and without Distinction, as other Armies had been, but

The Army corrupted,

A.D. 1660 "that they consisted of such as had engag'd themselves, from a Spirit of Liberty, in the Defence of their Rights and Religion: But having been corrupted under the Tyranny of Cromwel, and kept up as a standing Force against the People, they had forgotten their first Engagements, and were become as mercenary as other Troops. The Diffolution and Drunkenness of that Night was so great and scandalous, in a Nation which had not been acquainted with such Disorders for many Years past, that the King who still stood in need of the Presbyterian Party, which had betray'd all into his Hands, for their Satisfaction caus'd a Proclamation to be publish'd, forbidding the Drinking of Healths: But resolving for his own Part to be oblig'd to no Rule of any Kind, he publickly violated his own Order in a few Days, at a Debauch in the Mulberry-Garden, and more privately at another Meeting in the City, where he drank Healths to the utmost Excess, till two in the Morning."

It is credibly reported, he took *Barbara Villiers* from her Husband that very Night, notwithstanding, as we are told by *Warwick*, he made his Presence-Chamber his Oratory, wherein to pay his Devotions that Night to God; and the Compleat Historian, after him, He paid his Devotions and Thanks to God in the Presence-Chamber.

and the Nation,

by the King's Example.

THE HISTORY of ENGLAND, During the REIGN of King CHARLES II.

HIS Reign is full of Creations, Honours, Poms and Ceremonies, and we are to live in it like Men who feed upon Sauces. Purveyors, Cooks and Heralds are the Men of Business, unless what was carry'd on by Lord *Lauderdale* and the Ladies. I own it will be impossible for one to go thro' it without Pain. Here's such a Run of Pleasure and Persecution, of Riot and Bigotry, of Lewdness, Disgrace and Shame, that common Patience is not sufficient to support it. George Monk, besides the *George and Garter*, had these Titles bestow'd upon him, Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, Baron Monk of *Potberidge*, *Beauchamp* and *Teyes*; but his Figure and Manners were so rude, that he became all this as ill as a Bear wou'd a *Roquelauve*. Edward Montague the Admiral, was created Baron Montague of *St. Neots*, Viscount *Hinchinbroke*, and Earl of *Sandwich*, by Patent dated the 12th of *July*. He had also the *George and Garter* given him, together with the Marquis of *Hertford*, created Duke of *Somerset*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*, who deserv'd every thing the King cou'd give him.

Creations.

The Privy-Council were,

James Duke of *York*, *Henry* Duke of *Gloucestre*, *Sir Edward Hyde*, General Monk, Admiral *Montague*, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Marquis of *Dorchester*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Earl of *Berkshire*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord Viscount *Say*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Seymour*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *St. Albans*, the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord *Colepepyr*, the Lord *Roberts*, *Denzil Hollis*, Esq; *Sir Frederick Cornwallis*, *Sir George Cartaret*, *Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper*, *Sir John Berkley*, *Sir Edward Nicholas*, *Sir William Morrice*, Col. *Charles Howard*, *Arthur Annesley*, Esq.

The Duke of *York* was made Lord High Admiral, and Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*. Monk was continu'd Captain General, and made Master of the Horse; *Sir Edward Hyde* was made Lord High Chancellor; the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High Treasurer; the Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the Household; the Lord *Say*, Lord Privy Seal; the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain; the Lord *Seymour*, Chancellor of the Dutchy; *Sir Frederick Cornwallis*, Treasurer of the Household; *Sir George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain; *Sir John Berkley*, Com.

A.D. 1660 Comptroller of the Household; Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir William Morrice, Secretaries of State; Sir Edward Hyde was created Earl of Clarendon; Arthur Annesley, Esq; Earl of Anglesey; Denzil Hollis, Esq; Lord Hollis; Sir John Berkley, Lord Berkley; Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Lord Cornwallis; Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, Lord Cooper; Lord Colepepyr was made Master of the Rolls; Sir Robert Foster, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Sir Thomas Mallet, Sir Thomas Twissden, Sir Wadham Windham, Justices; Sir Robert Hyde, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir Thomas Tyrrel, Sir Samuel Broome, Justices; Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Sir Matthew Hale, Sir Edward Atkins, Sir Christopher Turner, Barons; Sir Jeffry Palmer, Attorney General; Sir Henrage Finch, Solicitor General. And all the Offices Civil and Military, were put into such Hands as were fit for the Work they were to be set about, only the two Secretaries wou'd have been very unfit, had there been any Work for them to do. Of Morrice, Bishop Burnet says, *He had no great Judgment about Foreign Affairs*; of Nicholas, *He had no Understanding in Foreign Affairs*. What need was there of Understanding or Judgment about Affairs abroad? the Name of *England* was no more terrible to Foreigners. All the World knew the King had given himself up to his Ministers and his Pleasures; and that the Ministers were too busy about Church Matters to study Politicks, or have any Concern for the Balance of Power. The chief of them, *Hyde*, according to Burnet, *never understood Foreign Affairs, and yet meddled too much with them*.

Eckard blames the *Presbyterians* for challenging the chief Hand in the wonderful Revolution, which he attributes to the *Wisdom of the VICTORIOUS GENERAL*, who by the way, never struck a Stroke for his Victory, and the *immoveable Fidelity of the royal Party*, who had not a Finger in the whole Affair. I will not say how ungenerous, but how base and ungrateful, as well as false and impudent, are the Pretensions of these Men who, as *Ludlow* affirms, *contributed nothing towards the Change*, as we have prov'd in every Paragraph, that has Relation to it. The royal Party was in the most desperate, despicable Condition that ever poor Wretches were; their Heads and their Hearts were so sunk, that they durst not think of Opposition, or look an Enemy in the Face; they had been beaten, baffled, and hang'd for fifteen or sixteen Years together, as often as they stir'd against their Rulers; and if the *Presbyterians* had not deliver'd them out of their Misery, they might have been still as miserable as when the Common-wealth was in the height of its Glory.

I shall make use of the Words of a modern Author on this Subject, "While the Affair of the Restoration was transacting, the *Presbyterians* were hugg'd and caress'd by the King and his Party, as Persons who were really what they afterwards pretended to be, the only Restorers of the King. But as soon as they had restor'd him, both the King and his Party grew cold to them at first, and afterwards ungrateful and cruel. Read what the Archdeacon writes: Whatever the *Presbyterians* did in this Matter, was principally to relieve themselves from the Oppression of the *Independants*, who had wrested the Power out of their Hands, and not out of any Affection for the King and the Church, which very much alter'd the Merit of their Services. Why had not these ingenious Gentlemen talk'd after this Rate before? Why did they not tell them,

A.D. 1660 "You shall not bring in the King unless you do it out of Zeal for the Church: To talk thus, now they were about to reward them with Poverty and Prisons, only adds Insolence to Ingratitude, and blackens the latter still more. I confess, the *Presbyterians* will have no great Reason to boast of their Knowledge of Men and Things, if they expected any thing better from the Pride, Arrogance, Revenge, Rage, and Necessity of their Enemies. Had the *Cavaliers* been ever guilty of Moderation and Charity, their giving themselves up to them, and putting their Fortunes and Liberties into their Hands, wou'd have favour'd less of Inconsideration and Rashness. Again, The *Presbyterians* had much more ground to complain, as having been the sole Cause of the Restoration; I do not say *Helpers* towards it, but *Causers* of it; and that it wou'd not, it cou'd not have been brought about by any other Party. The *Independants* and *Baptists* were *Republicans* almost to a Man. The *Cavaliers* were so totally suppress'd, that they durst hardly shew their Heads, or open their Mouths, and to act ever so cautiously in behalf of the King, was only a ready Way to the Gallows," as Eckard observes on Sir John Greenwile's delivering his Majesty's Letter to the Parliament: *So mighty a Change was this*, that a Servant of the King's, who for many Years together had been in Prisons and Confinements for being his Servant, and but a few Months before wou'd have been brought to a shameful Death, if he had been known to have seen the King, shou'd now be rewarded for coming from him.

Again, "Through the whole Transaction, *Presbyterians* there was scarce one Agent who was not a *Presbyterian*, above the Character of a Letter-carrier. There was not one Man who had Interest with a Foot Soldier in the Army, who acted for the King, but he was or pretended to be a *Presbyterian*. General Monk was a *Presbyterian*; or rather an *Independant*; so were his two Chaplains, *Gumble* and *Price*. Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper was a *Presbyterian*, so was Mr. *Annesley*, and even Sir *William Morrice*, Monk's great Confidant and Counsellor in this Business, which he promoted more than Monk, himself having a better Head, though not a much better, and more Practice in Politicks, though not much more." He was a Member of *Richard's* Parliament, and so zealous for *Presbytery*, that he wrote a Book in Vindication of its Principles; yet directly contrary to all this is Mr. *Eckard*, *He will not enter farther into the Controversy*. In Truth, it never was controverted by any Man which had not Forehead enough to controvert the Senses, and assert in the Face of the Sun there is no such Thing as *Light* in the World.

Bishop Burnet very justly represents their Enemies, "They were follow'd by the Herd of the *Cavalier* Party, who were now very fierce and full of Courage over their Cups, tho' they had been very discreet Managers of it in the Field, and in Time of Action. But now every one of them boasted he had kill'd his Thousands, and all were full of Merit, and as full of high Pretensions. Again, Vices of all sorts were the open Practices: Drinking was the most notorious of all, which was often continu'd through the whole Night; and many Disorders hapning after these irregular Heats, the People, who had never before that Time seen any thing like it, look'd with an ill Eye on every thing that was done by such a Set of lewd and vicious Men. This laid in all Minds a new Prejudice against *Episcopacy*." The Scene is partly

A.D. 1660 partly in Scotland, but it will not be pretended that it was purer in England. 'Tis highly necessary to clear up and ascertain these Things, that when we (as we shall presently) come to the burning Zeal of these People, we may the better judge from what Spirit it came, and whether there cou'd be any real Concern for Religion and the holy Worship of God in such a Set of lewd and vitious Men; or whether Persons, who cou'd be ungrateful to the highest Degree of Infamy, cou'd really be capable of any Principle truly Religious and Sacred.

Ep. Bur-
net.

The Chan-
cellor's
handsome
Speeches.

Two Days after the King's Arrival, he went to the Parliament House, the two Princes his Brothers accompanying him, where he pass'd an Act constituting the present Convention to be a Parliament; an Act for 70,000 Pounds a Month, as had been before levy'd; and An Act for Continuance of Process, and all Judicial Proceedings. After which the Lord Chancellor, according to *Echard*, made a handsome Speech; indeed it was handfomer than most of the rest of the Lord Chancellor's Speeches, because it was shorter: For as I have observ'd already, his Speeches and Declarations are a String of study'd Periods, full of Words and Declamations musical and well chosen, but with a very small Portion of Reason, Argument, Sincerity, and Truth, which I shall be very ready to prove when call'd upon; and in the mean while beg Leave to make Use of no more of them than will serve to give an Idea of the rest. *Echard* has them at length, and takes them to be the greatest Ornaments of his History, which indeed is not otherwise much ornamented; and it wou'd be unconfessionable to rob him of any Riches amidst so great Penury. The Lord *Clarendon* told them, *The King wou'd in all Points make good his Declaration from Breda, particularly, That he granted a Free and General Pardon to all, except those whom the Parliament excepted.*

King pro-
mises Li-
berity of
Conscience.

That no Man shou'd be disquieted or call'd in Question for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion.

These Things, says the Chancellor, *He will in all Points make good.* A Man needs a vast deal of Patience that writes of these Times after such Copies as *Echard's*. Here are a Set of lewd, vitious Men rais'd out of the Dust by the help of the *Presbyterians*, and now hear how they bluster. *The Commons thought that neither themselves nor the People of England were freed from that Guilt and Punishment which the unhappy Times had contracted, unless they laid hold of his Majesty's Grace mention'd in the Declaration; which they did very formally, by a Paper which Denzil Hollis, Esq; presented to the King in the Banqueting-House.*

In direct Opposition to every Testimony born of this King and his Morals, *Echard* gives us his Evidence, *That his Majesty gave all such Testimonies of Virtue as might render him deservedly Glorious in the Esteem of all sober Persons; and to prove this staring Falstity to be the naked Truth, he informs us the King issued a Proclamation for punishing Debauchery, Profaneness, and other Vices, of which himself was a most notorious Example.*

On the 5th of July the King din'd at Guildhall upon the most exquisite Rarities, says *Echard*, or I shou'd not have said it, as not being very Historical.

The Lord *Clarendon* propos'd at the Council-Board, to burn all the Memorials of the Parliament and *Oliver*, which met with Opposition even from his Friend the Earl of *Southampton*, who said, *It was better to leave those Papers as an Example of Rebellion, to deter others from*

prosecuting the same Measures, and the Council fell in with his Opinion.

A.D. 1660

His Majesty affected a great Impatience at the Parliament's delaying the Act of Oblivion, and sent a long Message about it to the Commons by Secretary *Morrice*. He made a Speech also concerning it in the House of Lords, and sent an obliging Message to the Commons to settle a Revenue upon him in lieu of what he shou'd lose by the Oblivion Act; which, continues *Echard*, did not only produce the hearty Thanks of the House, but likewise a particular Order for the settling such a Revenue on his Majesty as might maintain the Splendor and Grandeur of the Kingly Office, which was never better maintain'd in this Reign than by the Expence.

A Proclamation was publish'd against Duels, and then, says Mr. Archdeacon, his Majesty took Care of the Church, which he explains by the Terms Revenues, Glebe-Lands, and other Emoluments, without one Word of God or Religion in a long Paragraph; and informs us, that the House of Commons thank'd his Majesty for his pious Intentions. It is prodigious! that People of a Holy Profession shou'd be to learn what Piety is, and that it does not refer to Gold and Silver, Lands and Houses, to Vanity or Lucre of any Name or Kind whatsoever!

p. 773.

The Act of Indemnity, so much boasted of as an Effect of his Majesty's unparallel'd Clemency, receives another Turn in *Ludlow's* Memoirs. One cannot deny but there is sometimes a Bitterness of Spirit in those Memoirs, and a very warm Republican Zeal; but he was a Gentleman otherwise of too much Virtue and good Sense to mingle Falshood with Fact, and his Mind was too Roman to submit to the Baseness of Malice and Slander.

When the Oblivion Bill was first in Debate, *Oblivion* Seven Persons only were to be excepted; Major *Act.* *General Harrison, John Lisle, Esq; William Say, Esq; Thomas Scot, Esq; Col. John Jones, Cornelius Holland, Esq; Col. Barkstead.*

One Col. *Skipwith* mov'd that Lieutenant General *Ludlow* might be one of the Seven, but not being seconded, Col. *Barkstead* was nominated. After this Three others were Voted for Exception, Lord Chief Justice *Cook*, Mr. *Broughton*, Mr. *Edward Dendy*. *Ludlow* proceeds, "And that no Means of gratifying the Passions of our Enemies might be omitted, having already under Pretence that some of the late King's Judges were fled, order'd their Estates to be seiz'd; it was contriv'd by the Creatures of the Court, who were a great Part of the House, that a Petition shou'd be drawn and presented to the King to issue out a Proclamation for requiring all those of the late King's Judges, and others therein nam'd, to surrender themselves within the Space of Fourteen Days, under Pain of Exception from the Benefit of the Act both for Life and Estate. This Petition having had its Rise from the Court, and on that Account receiv'd with Joy by the King, soon produc'd a Proclamation;" upon which Lieutenant General *Ludlow* surrender'd himself, and gave Security for his forth-coming; notwithstanding which, he had Notice from Secretary *Merrice*, *That where-ever he was he wou'd do well to stand upon his Guard, for if he was taken he was a dead Man.* About this Time the Lord *Brogbill* was prevail'd upon to write to Sir *Charles Coote* in *Ireland*, that Mr. *Ludlow's* Personal Estate there might be deliver'd to his Agent, upon Security to be responsible where it shou'd be adjudged to belong. But *Coote* was so far from satisfying his own Conscience and the Lord *Brogbill* in this Matter, that fearing

Coote's
Baseness.

A.D. 1660 Ludlow might be in a Condition to call him to an Account for the Injustice he had done him, he wrote a Letter to the King, in which having first inveigh'd against him as the most bitter of all his Enemies, he inform'd him, that dining with Ludlow at his House, he had assur'd him that Cromwel had not proceeded to Extremities against the late King, if Ludlow had not press'd him, and almost forc'd him to that Resolution. And for the Confirmation of the Truth of this, he desir'd that the Lord Broghill, who he said had din'd with them the same Day, might be interrogated. But when the King ask'd the Lord Broghill concerning this Business, he protested he had not charg'd his Memory with any such Thing, adding, He thought it unbecoming a Man of Honour to remember any thing to the Prejudice of a Gentleman who had spoken freely at his own Table.

Lud. p. 33. While these Things were doing, Lady Vane told Mrs. Ludlow that Mrs. Monk the Exchange-Woman had said, She wou'd go upon her Knees to the King, and beg that Sir Henry Vane, Major General Lambert, and Lieutenant General Ludlow might die without Mercy: And some Time after Monk himself said to the King, There was not a Man in the Three Nations more violently against you than Col. Ludlow. To which his Majesty reply'd, I have been otherwise inform'd by many of my Friends who receiv'd Civilities from him in their Troubles. We see by this, how the King's old and new Friends labour'd to irritate him against those whom they hated and fear'd, and whose Blood they thirsted after. His Indolence and Love of Pleasure wou'd not have driven him upon those sanguinary Acts which rais'd so much Horror in the Beginning of his Reign, if he had not been incited to it by the Revenge and Cruelty of others. It was his Father's last Charge to him, and some of his last Words, to forgive his Murtherers, as Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, inform'd the Council of State. Had Hyde and his Counsellors fallen in with his natural Clemency, I believe there wou'd have been little or no Blood spilt; for it is very well known he us'd to reflect severely on his Father's Conduct, and losing his own Life to save the Lives of Delinquents who little deserv'd it of him. Cæsar tells us, I do not find he ever regarded the Memory of his Father. On the contrary, he industriously endeavour'd to have it believ'd that the Portraiture of his Father's Sufferings, a Book of late so much controverted, was none of his. Nay, I have been inform'd by a Person of Honour, and at the Head of Affairs some Years ago, that a certain Noble Lord taking Notice of this King's Swearing in common Discourse, his Majesty retorted, Your Martyr swore more than ever I did: All which induces me to think that he was put upon the Bloody Executions by the vindictive Exiles, as well Spiritual as Temporal, whom he brought home with him, and who had no hard Task to work up his Spirit to those Cruelties, considering how many Years he had been forc'd to live in Banishment and Beggary. There are some Particulars in Ludlow concerning the King's Judges, which are very curious.

Vol. iv.
p. 101.
King
Charles I.
a Swearer.

The Bill of Indemnity being brought to the House of Lords, a great Contention arose concerning the Number of Persons to be excepted. The Widow of Dr. Hewet and Mrs. Penruddock, with other Widows, solliciting them with such Importunity for particular Satisfaction on Account of their Relations who had been put to Death, that they found themselves oblig'd to appoint a Committee to hear their Demands. The Lords also, says Ludlow, were inclin'd to revenge their own Order on the Persons of some

A.D. 1660 in the high Court of Justice, by whom some of their Number had been condemn'd, and to except one of the Judges for every Lord they had put to Death; the Nomination of the Person to be excepted being refer'd to that Lord who was most nearly related to the Person who had suffer'd. According to this Regulation, Colonel Croxton, Governor of Chester, was nominated by the next Relation to the Earl of Lrby, Major Waring by the Kinsman of another. The Earl of Denbeigh being desir'd by the House to name a Judge for his Brother in Law Duke Hamilton, nominated a Person who was dead; and being call'd upon to name another, his Lordship desir'd to be excus'd from naming any more. The Earl of Denbeigh, says my Author, being known to be a generous Man, and a Lover of his Country.

Sir John Winter, a Papist, Secretary to the Queen Mother, visited Lieutenant General Ludlow, to inform him that Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Hasebrigge, and the Marquis of Argyle, were thrown into Prison by the King's Order, and to advise him rather to withdraw than to trust to the Mercy of his Enemies.

Col. Ingoldsby was pardon'd for his Service against Lambert, tho' he had been as zealous against the late King at his Trial, as any one of the Judges; yet having join'd with Monk in his treacherous Design, he had obtain'd a Pardon from the King, while he was beyond Sea. Major Lister came off by the Credit and Interest of William Pierpoint, Esq; Col. Thomlinson upon the Information of Mr. Seymour, that the late King had signify'd to him his Pleasure, that the Colonel shou'd receive Favour, on Account of his civil Carriage to him. The Earl of Litchfield objected against it, for the same Reason the present King did, that he might have betray'd his Trust as Monk had done, and have let the late King escape; but the Earl of Bristol being engag'd for Thomlinson, reprov'd the Earl of Litchfield so sharply, it had like to have ended in a Duel. The Lord Litchfield sollicitated in behalf of Lieutenant General Fleetwood, and speaking to the Lord Sturton for him, the latter promis'd to be for Fleetwood, if the Earl of Litchfield wou'd be for Lieutenant General Ludlow, whom the Lord Sturton, tho' a Papist, and his Lady, visited in the Place of his Concealment.

Thus the Oblivion Bill met with many Obstructions in the House of Lords, and the King coming to the House, thank'd the Lords for excepting those who had been the Judges of the King his Father, Who, he said, were guilty of such a Crime, that they cou'd not pardon themselves, much less expect it from others. This is so little agreeable to the Truth, that they pardon'd themselves in an extraordinary astonishing Manner; but a Turn of Thought, tho' ever so small and trifling, is very apt to mislead the Author of the History of Rebellion, who is the chief Speech-Maker of the Times. Echarde assures us, the King's Judges were so far from thinking they needed Pardon, or expressing the least Repentance, that they glory'd in it. Another reverend Historian writes, None betray'd a Repentance, most of them glory'd in it, and justify'd the Cause and Authority by which they acted; Judges John Bouquier, one of these Judges, who being old and infirm, was seiz'd with a Fit of Sickness, about the Time of this Oblivion Act; his Relations despairing of his Recovery, desir'd him to sign a Paper, acknowledging his Sorrow for the Part he had in the Condemnation of the King: But according to Ludlow, He being highly displeas'd, rose suddenly from his Chair, which for

A. D. 1660. *for some Days he had not been able to do without Assistance, and receiving fresh Vigour from the Memory of that Action, cry'd out, I tell you, it was a just Act of God, and all good Men will own it; and having thus express'd himself, he sat down again, and soon after dy'd.*

John Carew, Esq; Brother to Sir Alexander Carew, who lost his Head for serving this King's Father, being apprehended by the Warrant of a Justice of Peace, in which his Name was mistaken, the Officer refus'd to keep him in hold, till the Error was amended. Mr. Carew, however, told him, he believ'd he was the Person intended, and that he was going to such a Place, where he was found again and secur'd within the fourteen Days limited by the Proclamation for the Judges to surrender themselves; yet he was excepted out of the Indemnity Bill, contrary to the Tenour of that Proclamation: So was Col. Adrian Scrope, notwithstanding the Commons had contented themselves with a Year's Forfeiture of the Value of his Estate, and of Col. Lassels, "Yet continues my Author, upon Information from the Renegade Browne of some private Discourse between Col. Scrope and him, in which the Colonel, as he said, had justify'd the Part he had in the King's Trial, he was condemn'd without a Hearing, and added to the Exception in Respect to Life and Estate. An Action of such a Nature, that I shall forbear to give it the Name it deserves; but the King not satisfy'd with these Sacrifices, greedy of Revenge, and forgetting his Message from Breda, encourag'd his Creatures in the House of Lords, to insist upon their Exceptions; however the Commons being averse to break the publick Faith in every Particular, a Conference of both Houses was appointed, in which some of the Lower House pressing the Promise of the Proclamation, Hyde the Chancellor presum'd to affirm, That the Proclamation was in the Nature of a Subpcena," which puzzled the Cause with technical Cant, that had no more Agreement with the Publick Faith, given in the Proclamation, than with the Consecration of Faith in the Liturgy. The wife and virtuous Earl of Southampton, conceiv'd a just Indignation against this daring Breach of Promise in a Matter of Blood, and mov'd, That since it was not thought fit to secure the Lives of those who had been induc'd to surrender their Persons, upon the Faith of the Proclamation, they ought at least to give them the like Number of Days for saving themselves as were appointed by that Paper for their coming in. But as my Author proceeds, "Finch, who had formerly fled from the Justice of the Parliament, oppos'd that Motion, saying, By such Means they may be enabled to do more Mischief, as he knew had happen'd in his own Case." Upon this, the following Persons who had surrender'd themselves on the Publick Faith in the Proclamation, were in Breach of that Faith excepted for Life and Estate, as Thomas Chalonner, Esq; Col. Roe, Augustine Garland, Esq; Col. Harvey, Mr. Smith, Henry Marten, Esq; Sir Hardesty Waller, Col. Scrope, John Carew, Esq; Alderman Titchburn, Col. J. Temple, Col. P. Temple, Col. Wayte, Simon Mayne, Esq; William Heveningham, Esq; Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Alderman Pennington, Col. Lilburne, Gilbert Millington, Esq; Vincent Potter, Esq; Thomas Wogan, Esq; John Downes, Esq. Of these Col. Scrope and Mr. Carew were excluded the Benefit of the Act, by which in Case they were attainted, Execution should be suspended till the King and Parliament should order it.

The King's Promise broken.

Lud. 43.

A. D. 1660. The following Judges were excepted absolutely, as to Life and Estate; Sir Michael Livesey, John Liste, Esq; Lieutenant General Ludlow; William Say, Esq; Commissary General Whalley, Major General Harrison, William Cawley, Esq; Daniel Blagrave, Esq; Cornelius Holland, Esq; Gregory Clement, Esq; Thomas Scot, Esq; Miles Corbet, Esq; Nicholas Love, Esq; Col. Walton, Col. Barkstead, Col. Okey, Col. Herxson, Col. Goffe, Col. Jones, Col. Hacker, Col. Axtell, Col. Dixwell, Chief Justice Cook, Sergeant Dundy, Mr. Broughton, Mr. Hewlett, and Mr. Peters. Mr. Hugh Peters was not one of the King's Judges, but he was a Minister, and had been too busy; so there was no room for Mercy.

The following Judges were attainted, tho' in their Graves; Oliver Cromwel, Esq; Captain General, Henry Ireton, Esq; Lieutenant General, Col. Ever, Col. Purefoy, C. Alured, Col. R. Dean, Col. Horton, Major General Skippon, President Bradshaw, Col. Hammond, Col. Pride, Sir John Danvers, Sir Thomas Maleverer, Sir William Constable, Sir John Bouchier, Sir Gregory Norton, John Blackston, Esq; Francis Allen, Esq; Peregrine Pelham, Esq; John Venn, Esq; Thomas Andrews, Esq; Anthony Stapely, Esq; John Fry, Esq. All these having no Lives to lose, were to forfeit their Lands, Goods, Rights, and Trusts. The following were excepted from receiving any Benefits of their Estates, and subjected to such farther Punishments as shou'd be inflicted upon them, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir James Harrington, Robert Wallop, Esq; the Lord Mounson, James Chalonner, Esq; and Mr. John Phelps. Sir Henry Mildmay's fine Estate at Wanstead in Essex, and the Lord Mounson's at Rygate in Surry, were given to the Duke of York, and Part of it forfeited by him afterwards with his other Possessions. When News was brought to the King, that Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Heselrigge, Major General Lambert, and Col. Axtell, were voted by the Lords to be excepted both for Life and Estate, he is said to be overjoy'd at it; and when Monk or Buckingham, told him, Sr. John narrowly escap'd, he cry'd, I wish'd he had been in also. Sr. John and seventeen more were excepted, only upon their taking any Office in England, Ecclesiastical, Civil or Military.

This is the Scene which is so carefully painted in the Compleat History and the Archdeacon's; thus have they open'd it, expecting the Reader shou'd be transported with it, as much as with the glittering, dazzling Lustre of a Stage Triumph. They are both as busy about the Executions, as if they had themselves been the Executioners: They are not mov'd at the Stream of Blood which ran down our Streets, nor the mangled Carcasses of those unhappy Gentlemen that were dragg'd about, and hang'd up in every Quarter of the City. Echard, who makes nothing of falsifying History, will get off of what I am about charging him with by the Letter of the Text; After all, we must not forget, says he, that Sir Henry Vane and John Lambert were entirely excepted out of the Act. The Truth is told us by Ludlow, "Sir Henry Vane, and Major General Lambert were excepted for Life and Estate, with this Reserve, that if upon Trial they shou'd be found guilty, the two Houses were then to join in a Petition to the King, for the Pardon of their Lives." This is what Echard calls entirely excepted, and let the Reader judge what a faithful Historian he is.

My Author proceeds, "At last the Commons, partly from Inclination, and partly from their own Safety, pass'd the Lords, or rather

A.D. 1660 “rather the King’s Alterations in the Indemnity Bill; which Business being over, the House order’d the Serjeant at Arms to deliver those of the King’s Judges who were in his Custody, into the Hands of the Lieutenant of the Tower;” accordingly he deliver’d to him Col. *Adrian Scrope*, Mr. *William Heveningham*, Mr. *George Fleetwood*, Col. *James Temple*, Mr. *Peter Temple*, Mr. *Henry Smith*, Mr. *Simon Mayne*, Col. *Vincent Potter*, Col. *Thomas Wayte*, Mr. *Henry Marten*, Alderman *Pennington*, Col. *John Downes*, Mr. *Gilbert Millington*, Col. *Robert Lilburn*, Mr. *Augustine Garland*, Col. *Owen Roe*, Col. *Edmund Harvey*. Sir *Hardress Waller*, and Alderman *Tickburn* had surrender’d themselves, but afterwards withdrew from the Serjeant at Arms. The former was got to *France*, but return’d to *England*, and surrender’d himself again; as did also Alderman *Tickburn*, and were both shut up in the *Tower*: But notwithstanding that the Crime these Gentlemen were accus’d of, was done in the most open flagrant Manner, yet it was not thought fit to be very expeditious in trying them. *Ludlow*, one of them, gives us this Reason for it; “It was delay’d during the time that *William Love*, Esq; was to continue Sheriff of *London*, he being no way to be induc’d, either for Fear or Hopes, to permit Juries to be pack’d in order to second the Designs of the Court; but after new Sheriffs had been chosen, Sir *William Boulton* and Sir *William Peake*, more proper to serve the present Occasion, a Commission for hearing and determining of this Matter, was directed to Thirty four Persons,” as will be farther spoken of in the Course of the History.

With the Oblivion Act several others pass’d; as an Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings in Law, Equity, &c. since the First of May, 1642; an Act for Money to pay off the Army and Navy; an Act for Restraining the taking of excessive Usury; and another for establishing a new Holiday the Twenty-ninth of May, the King’s Birth-Day and Day of Restoration. At the passing of these Acts his Majesty made a Speech, wherein he spoke of his Person’s being traduc’d, and earnestly recommended Rigor and Severity against those who shou’d express a Dislike of his Government by Words. He also remember’d them that he wanted Money, adding, *And that which troubles me most, is to see many of you come to me at Whitehall, and to think you must go somewhere else to seek a Dinner.*

Sir Har-
bottle
Grim-
ston’s no-
table
Speech.

Sir *Harbottle Grimston* the Speaker made a long Speech, in which he shew’d himself to be an apt Scholar in the Sentiment and Language which became the Mode. Your Majesty offer’d us a Pardon before we had the Confidence to ask it; looking over a long black prodigious dismal Roll and Catalogue of Malefactors, we there met not with Men but with Monsters, guilty of Blood, precious Blood! precious Royal Blood! incomparable in all kind of Villanies by the worst of Miscreants, Perverters of Religion, Subverters of the Government. Some are set apart as an Antidote to expel the Poison of Sin and Rebellion, Sacrifices to God’s Wrath, and to satisfy Divine Vengeance. He had a few Days before reprimanded the former Speaker, Mr. *Lenthall*, for confounding the Civil War with the Death of the King, and he confounds them now himself. This very Parliament justify’d the Civil War by his own Mouth, and the Civil War is the Rebellion, according to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Mr. *Echard*, and all the Compleat Historians. The Death of the King was the Act of a Set of Men disown’d by those who began and carry’d on the Earl of *Clarendon’s Grand Rebellion*; and yet Sir Har-

bottle sacrifices them in this Speech for that Re- A.D. 1660 bellion. The King’s Trial and Death were after the Civil War was over, and are a Murder in Law and Reason, an Act of Violence and Blood. This is the same Sir *Harbottle* who made a Rushw. Speech twenty Years before, wherein he told p. 39. the House of Commons, that the Convocation by their Canons wou’d have us swear to a Damnable Heresy; you see he had a strong Way of expressing himself, and that Matters necessary to Salvation are contain’d in the Discipline of our Church. Again, Nay Mr. Speaker, they go a little farther, for they wou’d have us swear that the Government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. is Jure Divino; whereas we meet not with the Name of an Archbishop, or a Dean, or an Archdeacon in all the New Testament. And whatsoever may be said of the Function of Bishops, it is one Thing, but for their Jurisdiction it is merely Humana Institutione, and they must thank the King for it.

Who are they that have countenanc’d and cherish’d Popery? Who are they that have given Encouragement to those that have boldly preach’d those Damnable Heresies in our Pulpits? Who are they, Mr. Speaker, that have of late Days been advanc’d to any Dignity in the Church, but such as have been notoriously corrupt in their Doctrines, and for the most part vicious in their Lives?

Now turn to the Earl of *Clarendon*; There Clarend. was not one Churchman in any Degree of Fa- wrong- vour of a scandalous Condition of Life. As diametrically opposite as this is to what Sir *Harbottle Grimston* tells us, and he tells us the Truth, the Lord *Clarendon* or the *Christ Church Men* aver, Nor one Churchman in any Degree of Favour cou’d be found out that was of a vicious Life, after the strictest Inquisition that ever was made. Sir *Harbottle Grimston* is the Man of whom, now he is concurring with him and his Partisans, he said, that he rather sat in the Long Parliament, than concurred with them; which is as false in Fact as affected in Expression. He shew’d his Concurrence still farther in this same Speech:

Who are they that have overthrown our two great Charters *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Forester*?

What Imposition hath been laid down, or what Monopoly hath been damned in any Court of Justice?

Hath not Ship-Money, Coat and Conduct-Money, and Money for other Military Uses been collected and levied with as great Violence as ever they were, in Violation of our Liberties confirm’d to us in our Petition of Right; notwithstanding all our Supplications and Complaints the last Parliament?

And who are they that have caus’d all these dangerous Convulsions, and all the desperate unnatural bloody Distempers that are now in our Body Politick? Mr. Speaker, I will tell you a Passage I heard from a Judge in the King’s Bench: There was a poor Man committed by the Lords for refusing to submit to a Project; and having attended a long Time at the King’s Bench Bar upon his Habeas Corpus, and at last pressing very earnestly to be bailed, the Judge said to the rest of his Brethren, Come, Brothers, let us Bail him; for they begin to say in the Town, that the Judges have overthrown the Law, and the Bishops the Gospel. This is the Gentleman who did not concur. The rest of this, and his other Speeches are full of the like Negatives in Concurrence; and the repeating it here is intended to caution the Reader against trusting too much to the Speeches of such as are no more consistent

A.D. 1660 consistent with themselves, than with right Reason and Sincerity.

Sir Har-
Grim-
ston's o-
ther Speech.

Sir *Harbottle* sat in the same Parliament with some of the Sacrifices he is now making to Divine Vengeance, and Voted as they Voted, to the End of the Lord *Clarendon's Grand Rebellion*, if the *Civil War* is meant by it, and as much as his Indignation was rais'd by the Hainousness of their Crime afterwards, his Fellowship with them for many Years made such Expressions as *Villains, Monsters, Miscreants*, less decent in his Mouth than it wou'd have been in Chancellor *Hyde's*, who was excepted out of every Pardon propos'd by that Parliament; to which Sir *Harbottle* spoke about the Overthrow of *Law and Gospel*. He made another Speech a few Days after, the 29th of *August*, when he presented a Bill to the King for raising 100,000 Pounds for a present Supply; another for settling a Revenue upon him of 1,200,000 Pounds a Year; another for raising 240,000 Pounds in two Months; another to disband the Army and Garrisons, and pay off part of the Fleet; another for encouraging and encreasing Shipping and Navigation; an Act for restoring some Ministers into their Places, and for confirming others in vacant Places; an Act for regulating the Bay Trade. He gave due Praises to all these several Acts, and clos'd with a Foresight of the inexpressible Happiness of the People, if they cou'd rest and wholly rely upon his Majesty's Grace and Goodness. The King spoke after the Speaker, and told them, He hop'd they wou'd join with him in reducing of Parliaments to their antient Rules and Orders, the deviation from which had done them no good. And he shew'd how he join'd in keeping to antient Rules, by his continuing the next Parliament to this Eighteen or Nineteen Years, whereas the antient Rule was to continue them not so many Weeks; and to renew the Parliamentary Writs every one, two, or three Years at most. Then the Lord Chancellor made his Speech, wherein he told them, He conjur'd them from the King to join with him in restoring the whole Nation to its primitive Temper and Integrity, to its old good Manners, to its old good Humour, and its old good Nature, &c. He said it was penal by the Act of Indemnity to use Names or Words of Reproach, and that surly Looks were within the Equity of the Statute. To prove the Integrity of these Speeches, we need only mention a Book mention'd by *Echard*, and written by the infamous *Roger L'Estrange*. The Reverend Historian fills one of his Folio Pages with what he takes out of that Notable Piece; wherein some of the Presbyterians prefer'd by the King for restoring him to his Kingdom, are call'd *Cromwel's Creatures, Bradshaw's Creatures, St. John's Creatures*, meaning the Great Grandfather of the *St. John* in *Harley's* Time, *Parasites, Villains, Knaves, Seditious Ministers, Constitution Masters, Rank Separatists, Scandalous Lecturers*; which *Libel* was countenanc'd, applauded, and bought up by the Creatures of the Court, and sufficiently shew'd what Dependance was to be made on the most fair Words, and indeed the most solemn Promises in publick Speeches and Declarations.

Echa. 793.

p. 38.

Mention has been made of the King's thanking the Parliament for excepting his Father's Judges out of the Act of Indemnity. Upon which *Ludlow* writes as follows, "By which he not only manifested his own revengeful Temper, and the little Regard he had to the Promise he had made in his Proclamation from *Breda*, to refer himself wholly to the Parliament for pardoning what had been done during the late Troubles; but his Imprudence

" in this so early Violation of the Privileges of the Parliament, by taking Notice of what was depending before it came to be judicially presented to him, and by that Means fomenting a Division between them concerning an Affair in which he himself was principally interested. He told them, other Ways might be found to meet with those who were of turbulent and factious Spirits; insinuating, if I mistake not, That his Intentions were not to be guided by the Dictation of the Laws, but that he had some secret Reserves to render the Act of Indemnity insignificant; concluding with Desires that they wou'd be careful to make Provision for his Irish Subjects, who had manifested great Affection to him during his Exile; expressing the same Zeal in the latter Part of his Speech for the bloody Irish Rebels, as he had done in the former against those who had dar'd to defend the Liberties of England.

By this Means the Irish grew immediately to that Confidence, that one *Fitzharris* publicly affirm'd in *Westminster Hall*, that they were the best Subjects the King had, and for that Reason shou'd be soon restor'd to the Possession of their Lands; of which the Parliament being inform'd, they committed him to the Gate-House, but after two Days he was by the prevalence of the Court Faction discharg'd from his Imprisonment.

It far'd not so well with a Scots Gentleman, the Laird of *Swinton*, who was seiz'd and sent to the Tower. The Cause of his Seizure was at first reported to be for a Design to stab the King as he was curing the King's Evil; but afterwards 'twas said he was imprison'd for deserting the Scots after the Battle of *Dunbar*.

The Imprisonment of the Marquis of *Argyle* has been spoken of. The Marquis of *Antrim* coming to Court about the same Time, was sent after him to the Tower. He had been an Irish Rebel, and gave out That the Irish were authoriz'd by the late King to act as they had done. However, Lord *Argyle* was sent to Scotland to lose his Head on a Scaffold, and Lord *Antrim* to Ireland to have the Estate that had been taken from him for his Rebellion. I think these Things need no Explanation nor Remark.

The Commission for trying the King's Judges being issu'd soon after there were proper Sheriffs chosen, as *Ludlow* observes, the following Persons were the Commissioners: Sir *Thomas Allen*, Lord Mayor of London, Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, Earl of *Southampton*, Duke of *Albemarle*, Marquis of *Ormond*, Earl of *Lindsey*, Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Berkshire*, Earl of *Sandwich*, Lord *Say*, Lord *Roberts*, Lord *Finch*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *Charles Berkley*, Secretary *Nicholas*, Secretary *Morrice*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Mr. *Arthur Annesley*, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Sir *William Wild*, Recorder of London, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Baron, Judge *Hyde*, Judge *Foster*, Judge *Malles*, Baron *Atkins*, Judge *Twisden*, Baron *Turner*, Judge *Tyrrel*, Serjeant *Browne*, Serj. *Hale*, Mr. *John Howel*.

PROSECUTORS,

Attorney General, Sir *Jeffrey Palmer*; Solicitor General, Sir *Heneage Finch*; Attorney to the Duke of *York*, Sir *Edward Turner*; Serjeant *Keeling*, Mr. *Wadhams Windham*, Mr. *Edward Shelton*, Clerk of the Crown.

WITNESSES,

Mr. *William Lenthal*, Mr. *John Rusworth*, Mr. *Anthony Mildmay*, Col. *Tomlinson*, Col. *Hunks*.

A. D. 1660 Hunks, Mr. Masterfon, Richard Browne, Esq; Lord Mayor elect, &c.

The Commissioners met at the *Sessions-House* in the *Old Bailey* on the 9th of *October*, and the Grand Jury being sworn, Sir *Orlando Bridgman* open'd the Court with a Speech, the Substance of which was what sure no body needed to be taught, that for private Persons to take Arms against the King is *Rebellion*, and that to kill the King is *Treason*. Neither needed any body to have been told that the Army garbled the House of Commons, and that after above a hundred Members had been excluded by Force, the rest was not a perfect Representative of the People; that consequently while the King and the Lords were in being, the Acts of such a Parliament must be invalid and null of themselves. Surely *Cook*, who had been Chief Justice of *Ireland*, knew all these Things as well or better than he did; and if he had no Plea against such plain Truths, he and his fellow Prisoners must be stupid if they expected to get off by Trial in a Court erected by the King's Commission. Indeed the Trials were Formalities, necessary however in a Country where the Lives of the People are guarded by good Laws.

The Prisoners brought to be try'd were Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, Major General *Harrison*, Col. *Adrian Scrope*, *John Carew*, Esq; Mr. *Gregory Clement*, Col. *John Jones*, *Henry Marten*, Esq; Col. *Daniel Axtel*, *Thomas Scot*, Esq; Col. *Francis Hacker*, Mr. *John Cook*, Mr. *Hugh Peters*, Col. *John Downes*, Mr. *Hewlett*.

Of these, Sir *Hardress Waller* and Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* knowing very well that it was in vain to deny a Fact which for Twelve Years past they had been glorying in, pleaded *Guilty*. Mr. *Echard* informs us, that when Mr. *Peters* pleaded, there was a Horse Laugh in the Court, because he desir'd to be try'd by the Word of God. Their Jests have all the same Turn. Mr. *Peters* had been so long us'd to a Set of Scripture Phrases, that it wou'd have been difficult for him to have talk'd seriously in any other Stile, and he was now upon a very serious Matter. He err'd in Form, and considering what was sure to be his Fate, such an Error was not as laughable as the Court made it.

Fifteen of the Commissioners, says *Ludlow*, had actually engaged for the Parliament against the late King; either as Members of Parliament, Judges, or Officers in their Army; as *Monk*, *Manchester*, *Annesley*, *Sandwich*, *Holles*, *Allen*, *Wild*, *Grimston*, *Ashley Cooper*, *Browne*, *Atkins*, *Tyrrel*, *Say*, *Roberts*, most, if not all of them, having been put into Places of Trust and Profit since the late Revolution.

I shall not endeavour to extenuate the Guilt of the Prisoners; it will bear no Extenuation: If I had been then living, and upon the Jury, I must have found every Man of them *Guilty*, or I cou'd not have discharg'd my Conscience. But I shou'd not have been fond of such an Office, I shou'd not have taken Delight in a Seat on that Bench; I shou'd not have been in an Extasy when Sentence of Death had been pronounc'd against them, nor shou'd I have seen them rip'd up and quarter'd with Transport, as our *Compleat Historians* seem to do. This Matter in my Opinion bears this Face, as in a modern Writer. "The rest of the Judges no doubt were as willing to sit on that Bench as on any other; but some of these Judges had sat in Parliament along with some of the Prisoners, and were as deeply engag'd in the *Civil War*, till the *Soldiery* usurp'd the Mastery. As for the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Earl of *Berkshire*,

A. D. 1660 " Sir *Charles Berkley*, Secretary *Nicholas*, and the " Lord *Finch*, they doubtless rejoyc'd that they " cou'd pour down Vengeance on the Heads of " those that had beaten and baffled them. They " were doing no more than their Duty, and every honest Man must have done the same thing in the same Place. But for *Monk* and *Montague*, two of *Oliver's* Lords, for *Manchester* and *Roberts*, two of the Parliaments Colonels, for *Say* and *Hollis*, two of the leading Members in both Houses, for *Atkins* and *Tyrrel*, two Parliament Judges; for these to judge and condemn their Brethren, if it was the highest Honesty, it was not the highest Decency," as the Archdeacon represents it.

Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, and the Earl of *Manchester*, were two of the five Commoners and one Lord, whom the Court wou'd have prosecuted to Death, for inviting in the *Scors* before the beginning of the War. *Ludlow* must needs have been exasperated at their Conduct, when he wrote as follows: " *Hollis* and *Manchester* had contributed the utmost of their Endeavours to engage several of the Gentlemen (upon whom they were now to sit as Judges) on that Side, and were not content to abandon them in this Change, but assisted in condemning them to die for their Fidelity to that Cause which they themselves had betrayed. Mr. *Arthur Annesley*, who had been also a Member of the Parliament whilst they made War against the King, was one of this Number. *Finch*, who had been accused of High Treason twenty Years before by a full Parliament, and who by flying from their Justice had sav'd his Life, was appointed to judge some of those who shou'd have been his Judges; and Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, who upon his Submission to *Cromwell* had been permitted to practise the Law in a private manner, and under that Colour had served both as Spy and Agent for his Master, was entrusted with the principal Management of this tragical Scene." The *Compleat Historians* do not treat it as if it was a Tragedy, but give their Readers Reason to believe they were never in a merrier Mood, than when they were writing of it. The first Prisoner who was try'd, upon his pleading *Not Guilty*, was Major General *Harrison*, who, besides the consenting to the King's Death, was charg'd with saying, *Gentlemen, it will be good for us to blacken him, pray let us blacken him*, which confesses the Fraud even in the very reading. For the pretended Charge against the King was sufficiently blacken'd by the Lawyers, and wanted no Helps at the Trial; besides, his Judges were so appriz'd of the Substance of it, that they doubtless came prepar'd and determin'd what Judgment to give.

Major General *Harrison* pleaded *not guilty*, Major General and justify'd the Sentence past on the King, and the Authority of those who had commission'd him to act as one of his Judges; he plainly told them, when Witnesses were produc'd against him, *That he came not thither with an Intention to deny any thing he had done, but rather to bring it to Light*; he own'd his Name subscrib'd to the Warrant for executing the King, to be written by himself, charging several of those who sat on the Bench, as his Judges, to have been formerly as active for the Cause, in which he had engag'd, as himself, or any other Person; affirming that he had acted by no other Motive, than the Principles of Conscience and Justice; for Proof of which he said, it was well known he had chosen to be separated from his Family, and to suffer a long Imprisonment, rather than to comply with those who had abus'd the Power they had assum'd

A. D. 1666
 affum'd, to the Oppression of the People: He insisted that having done nothing, in relation to the Matter in Question, otherwise than by the Authority of the Parliament, he was not justly accountable, either to this or any other inferior Court, which being a Point of Law, he desir'd to have Council assign'd upon that Head, but the Court over-rul'd it, and by interrupting him frequently, and not permitting him to go on in his Defence, *They clearly manifested, says Ludlow, a Resolution of gratifying the Resentments of the Court upon any Terms,* so that a hasty Verdict was brought in against him; and the Question being ask'd, If he had any thing to say, why Judgment shou'd not pass? he only said, *Since the Court has refus'd to hear what was fit for me to speak in my Defence, I have no more to say.* Upon which Sir Orlando Bridgman pronounc'd the Sentence. Mr. Ludlow cannot help proceeding thus; "And that the Inhumanity of these Men may the better appear, I must not omit that the Executioner in an ugly Dress, with a Halter in his Hand, was plac'd near the Major General, and continu'd there during the whole time of his Trial, which Action, I doubt whether it was ever equal'd by the most barbarous Nations; but having learnt to condemn such Baseness, after the Sentence had been pronounc'd against him, he said aloud as he was withdrawing from the Court, *I have no Reason to be asham'd of the Cause in which I have been engag'd.*" *Echard* owns that the Prisoner having said, that he acted in the Fear of the Lord, the Court and Audience were amaz'd, and cry'd, *Away with him, for he makes God the Author of his Treasons and Murders.* Sir Edward Turner added, *He has the Plague all over him.* This Knight had not the Plague, but it is most certain that a small moving Member of his, was full of deadly Poison. *Turner* and all of them are in astonishment, that the Prisoners shou'd plead Authority of the Parliament; why had they any thing else to plead? Or was there any Plea in the World that cou'd have serv'd one that was brought before them, in case he was arraign'd for this Crime?

Col. Adrian Scrope's Trial came on next. He deny'd nothing of the Charge, but pleaded the Authority of the Parliament in his Justification, denying that he had been acted by any Motive of Malice, as the Indictment had suggested, and asserting, that in what he had done, relating to the King, he had follow'd the Light of his Reason, and the Dictates of his Conscience. At this Trial, the principal Witness was that *Browne*, who having been Major General in the Parliament's Service, and mention'd already in this Work to be of a mercenary Spirit, was now brought to betray a private Conversation, and to depose, that talking one Day with Col. *Adrian Scrope*, in the Speaker's Chamber, and telling him that the Condition of the Nation was sad since the Death of the King, the Colonel answer'd, *Men have different Opinions touching that Matter,* and being desir'd by the said *Browne* to explain himself, he reply'd, *I shall not make you my Confessor,* which amounts to nothing at all; for nothing is more sure than that Men had different Opinions touching that Matter. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* wou'd have been hang'd, drawn and quarter'd for it in *England*. In *Switzerland*, the Lords of the Canton of *Berne* granted him their Act of Protection, and as to his saying he wou'd not make *Browne* the Woodmonger his Confessor, it prov'd nothing but his Contempt of the Man he spoke to; yet *Echard* says, he had so much the Port and Language of a Gentleman, that had it not been for the Evidence of

Sir *Richard Browne*, Lord Mayor elect, it is justly believ'd he wou'd have escap'd with Life, and if that Evidence hang'd him, I will leave it to the Reader to make a Judgment of the Justice and Humanity of the Times. He was found guilty as hastily as Major General *Harrison* had been.

John Carew, Esq; was Brother to Sir *Alexander Carew*, of the ancient Family of that Name, in *Cornwall*. He had his Education in one of the Universities, and at the Inns of Court; he had a plentiful Estate as well as Col. *Scrope*, which is no small Aggravation to Guilt in bad times. He had been a Member of the Council of State, and employ'd in many important Affairs, wherein he shew'd great Ability; he found the same Usage from the Court as Major General *Harrison* had done, being frequently interrupted, and Council deny'd, tho' earnestly desir'd by him, in that Point of Law, touching the Authority by which he had acted; tho' I do not see what Advantage Council cou'd be to him. For if he pleaded that Authority was by Parliament, nothing was better known than that the Parliament was under Force; and had not the Soldiers purg'd the House, the Act for Trying the King cou'd never have pass'd. And it is not on Account of the Prisoners that I take Notice of the Hardships they complain'd of, but to give as good an Idea as I can of the Persons then in Power, who in a Year or two will shew us some other Acts of theirs in favour of the Church, as these are in favour of the State.

When Mr. *Carew* found all he cou'd say was to no Purpose, he frankly acknowledg'd that he sat in the High Court of Justice, and had sign'd two Warrants, one for summoning the Court in order to the King's Trial, and another for his Execution. Upon this the Court, who, says my Author, were well acquainted with the Disposition of the Jury, permitted him to proceed, and he began his Defence thus. In the Year 1640, a Parliament was call'd according to the Laws and Constitution of this Nation, and some Differences arising between the King and that Parliament, the King withdrew his Person from them, upon which the Lords and Commons declar'd. ----- Here the Court interrupted him, contrary to the Liberty they had promis'd him; alledging that what he was about to say, tended not only to justify the Action for which he was accus'd, but to cast a Ball of Division among those who were present. Mr. *Carew* neglecting that Ball of Division, began again, *The Lords and Commons in their Declaration,* ---- Here Judge *Foster* interrupted him again, and told him, "He endeavour'd to revive those Differences which he hop'd were laid asleep, and that he did so blow the Trumpet of Sedition, demanding if he had ever heard, or cou'd produce an Act of Parliament made by the Commons alone." To this he wou'd have answer'd, but was not permitted to finish what he began to say, or hardly any one thing he endeavour'd to speak in his Defence, during the whole Trial. Mr. *Arthur Annesley* particularly charging him with the Exclusion of the Members, in the Year 1648, of which Number he had been one; Mr. *Carew* only reply'd, *It seems strange that a Man who sits as Judge on the Bench, shou'd give Evidence as a Witness in the Court.* My Author adds, "These irregular Proceedings so unbecoming a Court of Judicature, oblig'd Mr. *Carew* to address himself to the Jury, leaving them to judge of the Legality of his Trial," and having said this Matter, had been controverted in the Face of the whole World, and that the Lord had given an Answer upon solemn Appeals to these things.

Sir

Condemn'd.

Crudely and Insolence toward him.

Col. Adrian Scrope's Trial.

Condemn'd.

John Carew, Esq; try'd.

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A.D. 1660 *Sir Orlando Bridgman* bad him remember, *The Devil sometimes appears as an Angel of Light.* The Jury without removing from the Bar, brought him in guilty.

Mr. Scot's Trial. *Thomas Scot, Esq;* late Secretary of State, being next at the Bar, was brought to a Trial,

Ludlow says, or rather to receive the Sentence of Condemnation. He was charg'd with Sitting in the High Court of Justice, at the King's Trial, and signing the two Warrants before-mention'd, as also with desiring that the following Inscription shou'd be engrav'd on his Monument, *Here lies Thomas Scot who adjudg'd the late King to die.* Several Witnesses were produc'd to prove these Things, and among the rest *William Lenthall, Esq;* Speaker to the Parliament, who, tho' when the King enter'd the House of Commons, and had demanded of him the five Members, he knew how to answer, *I have neither Ears to hear, Eyes to see, or Mouth to speak, except what the House gave,* cou'd now appear as an Evidence against Mr. Scot for Words spoken in Parliament, which he was conscious to himself was a high Breach of Privilege; acquainting the Court that the Person accus'd had justify'd in the House the Proceedings against the King. Mr. Scot urg'd in his Defence, "That whatever had

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"been spoken in the House ought not to be given in Evidence against him, not falling under the Cognizance of any Inferior Court, as all Men knew; that for what he had done in relation to the King, he had the Authority of the Parliament for his Justification; that the Court had no Right to declare whether that Authority were a Parliament or not." And being demanded to produce one Instance, to shew that the House of Commons was ever possess'd of such an Authority, he assur'd them he cou'd produce many. He began with the *Saxon Times*; immediately the Court interrupted him, and told him the Things of those Ages were obscure. Finding he might not be permitted to proceed in that Way, he took the Liberty to tell them, *He cou'd not see for what Reason it was not as lawful for that House of Commons in which he had sat as a Member to make Laws, as for the present Convention, which had been call'd by the Authority of the Keepers of the Liberties of England. I had the Authority of Parliament, the Legislative Authority to justify me.* Here the Court interrupted him, and *Ludlow* writes, *Having no Reason to give, Finch said in a Passion, Sir, if you speak to this Purpose again, I profess for my own Part I dare not bear any more; 'tis a Doctrine so Poisonous and Blasphemous, that if you proceed upon this Point, I shall (and I hope my Lords will be of the same Opinion) desire that the Jury may be immediately directed.* Mr. Scot reply'd, *My Lord, I thought you wou'd rather have been my Council, as I think 'tis the Duty of your Place; but in this Matter I am not alone, neither is it my single Opinion, even the secluded Members of whom several were then sitting upon the Bench, own'd us to be a Parliament, else why did they, supported by an arm'd Force, intrude themselves contrary to the Resolution of the House, in order to procure the major Vote for our Dissolution?* To which Mr. *Annesley* answer'd, *If the secluded Members had not appear'd in Parliament, and by that means put an End to all Pretences, the People had not so soon arriv'd at their Happiness.* After some little Struggle more, says *Echard*, the Jury, as directed, soon brought him in Guilty.

My Author proceeds, "Col. *John Jones* and Mr. *Gregory Clement* finding all that had been said in Vindication of the Things objected against the Gentlemen who had been already

A.D. 1660 "tried, to prove ineffectual, inform'd the Court "that they cou'd say no more than had been already alledg'd, and therefore confess'd the "Fact, upon which they were declar'd Guilty, "as the Persons before-mention'd had been.

These Five Prisoners receiving Sentence together, *Echard* informs us *Sir Orlando Bridgman* made an affecting Speech to them. I knew well enough before what a fine Judge he was of the *Pathos* in Eloquence, and was only confirm'd by this Saying of his now in my Opinion, that his Judgment was equal to his Practice, there being not a moving Word in it, unless this is the *Pathe-tick*: "There is a Spiritual Pride; Men may over-run themselves by their own Holiness, and may follow pretended Revelations. *How affecting it is!* Men may say, *I have pray'd about such a thing*; a Man may commit a Robbery or Murder merely because he will, and may come and say, *I have pray'd against it, and cannot understand it to be a Sin*, as the Man in *Shropshire* did, and yet notwithstanding kill'd his own Father and Mother." Which puts me in Mind of an old *Saw* upon *Similies*, *As Tinterden Steeple was the Cause of Goodwin Sands, so good People love one another.*

The next brought to his Trial was Mr. *John Cook*, who was not one of the King's Judges, but Solicitor to the High Court of Justice appointed by Parliament, as they call'd themselves, and were call'd by others. Mr. *Cook's* Plea shews us that his Capacity was much superior to the Lawyers that sat upon him; and the Lord Chief Baron *Bridgman* must be a Man of Resolution to put his Abilities in opposition to Mr. *Cook's*, whose Cause, 'tis true, was as bad as *Bridgman's* was good; and it was as great pity that *Bridgman* made no more of it, as that *Cook* made so much of his.

He was accus'd of preferring in the Name of all the good People of *England*, an Impeachment of High Treason to the High Court of Justice against the late King; that he had sign'd the said Impeachment with his own Hand; that upon the King's Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, he had press'd that the Charge might be taken for confess'd, and therefore had demanded Judgment from the Court against the King; but this Indictment is more particularly charg'd upon him in the three following Articles.

I. *That he with others had propounded, counselled, contriv'd, and imagin'd the Death of the late King.*

II. *That to bring about this Conspiracy, he with others had assum'd Authority and Power to accuse, kill, and murder the King.*

III. *That a Person unknown did cut off the King's Head, and that the Prisoner was abetting, aiding, assisting, countenancing, and procuring the said Person so to do.*

One can easily believe that he did counsel and imagine the King's Death, that he did accuse him and demand Justice; and really I think that was enough of Conscience to do what they did to him, without adding what no body will believe, that he kill'd the King himself, or that he went for the Hangman, as in the second and third Article. Mr. *Cook's* Answer shews us how a very bad Cause may be colour'd over by an artful experienc'd Counsel.

He answer'd first, "That he cou'd not be justly said to have contriv'd or counsell'd the Death of the King, because the Proclamation for the King's Trial, even by the Confession of his Accuser, was publish'd on the 9th of *January*, which was a Day before he was appointed Solicitor to the High Court of Justice.

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" In the second Place, tho' the Court shou'd not admit that to be an Act of Parliament which authoriz'd him to do what he did, yet he assur'd himself they wou'd allow it to be an *Order*, which was enough to justify him.

" Thirdly, That he who had neither been Accuser, Witness, Jury, Judge, or Executioner, cou'd not be guilty in this Case.

He urg'd, " That having acted only as Council, he was not answerable for the Justice or Injustice of the Cause he had manag'd. *I take that to be the strongest Part of his Answer, If Hyde, or Bridgman, or Palmer, or Turner, were to have been accountable for the Injustice of all the Causes they had managed, which must be suppos'd to be all the Causes wherein they were cast, it wou'd not have been possible for them to have held out long enough to sit upon that Bench.* Solicitor Cook alledg'd farther, " That being plac'd in that Station by a publick Command, it cou'd not be said he acted *maliciously*, or with a wicked Intention, as the Indictment mention'd. That Words spoken do not amount to Treason, much less when set down in Writing by the Direction of others; especially since no clear Proof had been produc'd that his Name subscrib'd to the Charge against the King was written by himself. He said, That to pray and demand Justice, though Injustice be done upon it, cou'd not be Treason within the Statute; that when he demanded Justice, it might be meant of Acquittal as well as Condemnation; and that if it shou'd be accounted Treason in a Counsellor to plead against the King, it must also be Felony to plead against any Man who may be unjustly condemned for Felony. That the High Court of Justice, tho' now call'd *Tyrannical and Unlawful*, was yet a Court, had Officers attending them, and many think had Authority, there being then no other in this Nation than that which gave them their Power; and if this will not justify a Man for acting within his own Sphere, it will not be lawful for any one to exercise his Profession, unless he may be sure of the Legality of the Establishment under which he acts."

So says General Ludlow; the Archdeacon adds more of his Answer, on purpose to shew how well it was answer'd from the Bench. He observ'd, " That the Word *Instrumental* in the Exception of the Act, was insignificant, or otherwise incomprehensible of him." After all his long Pleadings, says the Archdeacon (and by long there, means dull and tedious, as I do when I mention certain long Speeches in his History) he was answer'd by the Court, and then he tells us how, *That he had been sufficiently prov'd instrumental, &c.* and so was every one that brought the King from *Holmby* to the Army, and from *Hurst-Castle* to *Windsor*, and from *Windsor* to *St. James's*, and from *St. James's* to *Westminster-Hall*, and from thence to the Scaffold: Not to push that Argument farther, all concern'd in any of those Actions were *instrumental*. This has no manner of relation to the Justice or Injustice of the Cause; it turns only on the Exception in the Act, and then the Question is, Whether the Degree of Instrumentality does or does not except the Person? which I suppose will not be allow'd by Lawyers at this Time. But to give the Reader an Idea of the Argumentation of this Bench, we will repeat a Paragraph, the rather because *Echard* has repeated it, and did not see there was nothing at all in it. " As no Man can have a lawful Call to pursue the Life of his King, so for a private Person, though he only intends to beat a Man, yet if he dies

thereupon, in Law it is Murder; and if a Man counsels another to commit Murder, he is guilty himself." Here are *As* and *So* attended with as much Nonsense as ever they were since they were *Adverbs*. As no Man can lawfully pursue the King's Life, so no Man can lawfully pursue another Man's. Or it must be, *As* it is not lawful to pursue the Life of the King, so it is not lawful to beat a Man, if he dies upon it. But it may be lawful to intend to beat a Man only, and the Man may thereupon die without committing Murder, as is the Case of all legal Correction, by the Severity of which many Persons in all Ages and Conditions have dy'd, though Death was not in the Intention. I do not leave out what few Arguments this Court give, for any other Reason than that they are no better than this, when they leave the substantial one, and they wanted no other, which is, That to imagine and conspire the Death of the King is Treason; and that the Prisoners imagin'd and conspir'd was never deny'd by themselves, though they pretended they were justify'd by the Authority of the Remnant of the Parliament, which cou'd not be, because Force had been put upon the Assembly, and what they did afterwards cou'd not be legal.

Ludlow gives this Account of the Success of Mr. Cook's Pleadings. " These, and divers other things of no less Weight, he said in his Defence; but the Cabal thinking themselves concern'd to prevent the like in Time to come, and to terrify those who were not only able, but willing also to be employed in such Service, procured from the Jury a Verdict of Condemnation against him, according to their Desire."

P. 73.

After which Mr. *Hugh Peters*, of - - - - College in *Cambridge*, was try'd for compassing and imagining the Death of the King, as Ludlow says; probably he mistook, and it was for imagining and compassing; and probably he did not mistake, considering the Heads of the Lawyers that were at Work upon this Business; For conspiring with *Oliver Cromwel*; methinks this Indictment shou'd have been prefer'd in *Oliver's* Life-time, and then he might have been made an Example of as well as *Hugh* is, at several Times and Places, and procuring the Soldiers to demand Justice; by preaching divers Sermons to persuade the Soldiery to take off the King, comparing him to *Barabbas*, and applying part of a Psalm, where 'tis said, *They shall bind their Kings in Chains, &c.* to the Proceedings against him, assuring them, if they wou'd look into their Bibles, they shou'd find there, *That whoever sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed*; and that neither the King, nor any other Person, are excepted from this general Rule. He was also accus'd of saying, That the Levites, Lords, and Lawyers must be taken away, in order to establish a *Common-wealth*. That the King was a Tyrant, and that the Office it self was chargeable, useles, and dangerous." All which Things and many more of the like nature were sworn against him, and I doubt we shall have but a poor Defence from him; such as it is you have it in Ludlow, " That the War began before he came into *England*; that since his Arrival he had endeavour'd to promote sound Religion, the Reformation of Learning, and the Law; which *Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper*, one of his Judges, might have witness'd for him if he wou'd, having been a joint Committee Man with him for that Purpose. " That for the better effecting these Things, and the Employment of the Poor, he had espous'd the Interests of the Parliament, in which he had acted with-

Con-

dem'd.

Mr. Hugh

Peters.

lb.

A.D. 1660 "out Malice, Avarice, or Ambition; and that whatever Prejudices or Passions might possess the Minds of Men, yet there was a God who knew these things to be true." This is what *Echard* calls speaking meanly. *Ludlow* gives it another Turn; It was not expected any thing he cou'd say shou'd save him from the Revenge of the Court, and therefore he was without Hesitation brought in Guilty.

Condemn'd.
Col. Axtel
try'd.

The next Prisoner brought to his Trial was Col. *Daniel Axtel*, who had escap'd, as he thought, says *Echard*, the Exception in the Act, but was lately added, on Account of other Blood that lay upon him, which is false; for that other Blood lay more upon *Monk* than it did upon him, and as much upon *Montague* Earl of *Sandwich*, both then sitting in Judgment upon him. The Blood of the King needed no Aggravation, it wou'd make one tremble, even but to read it, had not the Rage, Malice, and Stupidity of some History Writers diverted part of ones Thoughts when we meet with it in their Writings. The chief Heads of the Indictment against Col. *Axtel* were, "That he commanded the Guards both at the Trial and Execution of the King; that he order'd the Soldiers, in a tumultuous Manner, to demand Justice, and afterwards Execution; that he threaten'd to shoot a Lady (*Lady Fairfax*) who from a Gallery that was near the Court where the King was try'd, had contradicted the President when he was speaking concerning the Charge. That he sent for and encourag'd the Executioner, and that he upbraided with Cowardice, one of the Persons to whom the Warrant for seeing Execution done upon the King was directed, for refusing to sign it." *Ludlow* adds, These, with some other things of less Weight, were call'd compassing and imagining the Death of the King. *Echard* mentions his charging the Person with Cowardice for refusing to sign the Warrant, but does not tell us who that Person was, because he was a very willing Witness against his Brother Officer. It was Col. *Hercules Huncks*, who, according to *Ludlow*, was one of the three to whom that Warrant was directed, one of the forty Halberdiers attending the High Court of Justice, and one who had oppos'd with more than ordinary Vehemence, all those who were for the King. This Man was the principal Witness against Col. *Axtel*, who having first acknowledg'd his Ignorance in Matters of Law, and therefore desir'd that no undue Advantage might be taken on that Account, proceeded to speak to this Effect.

His Defence.

"That the War was made by the joint Authority of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, who claim'd a Right in employing the Military Force of the Nation for the publick Safety, as appears by divers Acts and Declarations publish'd by their Order. This Authority rais'd an Army, made the Earl of *Essex* General. Then the Earl of *Manchester*, sitting on the Bench, General of the Forces of the Eastern Association, and after that created and authoriz'd Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General of all their Forces."—Having thus stated the Case, he proceeds, Under this Authority I acted, which I conceive to be legal, because this Parliament was not only call'd by the King's Writ, which the Parliament then sitting was not, and chosen by the People, but also because a Bill had pass'd, that they shou'd not be dissolv'd otherwise than by their own Consent. Having this unquestionable Authority for my Justification, I presume my Case comes not within the Reach of the Statute, 25 Edward III. which cou'd by no Means intend such a Power, as was not only own'd and

A.D. 1660 obey'd at home, but acknowledg'd by Princes and States abroad, to be the chief Authority of the Nation, by sending Ambassadors and Agents to them. The Judges, who ought to be the Eye and Guide of the People, acted under them; divers of them publickly declaring that it was lawful and justifiable to obey the Parliament, but if their Acts may not be accounted such, tho' they carry'd that Title, and were obey'd by the Judges, Ministers, Officers of State, and the whole Nation; yet surely they cannot be deny'd to be Orders of Parliament, which wou'd be sufficient to justify any Man who acted by them. This Parliament so constituted, so acknowledg'd, so obey'd, having made choice of a Person to be General of their Forces, I was by that General, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, in Virtue of the Authority he had receiv'd from them, constituted an Officer under him; and therefore whatever I have done, was as a Soldier, and according to the Duty of my Office: For if I was in Westminster-Hall at the time of the King's Trial, I was there by command of the General; and if it be so great a Crime to have been an Officer in that Army, which was rais'd by the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester*, the Lord General *Fairfax*, *Monk*, and others, who have acted by the same Authority, were no less criminal than my self. Here he cited the Declarations of the Lords and Commons, publish'd when they engag'd the People to take Arms, in which they asserted, "That it was repugnant to Reason that the Judgment and Actions of the Parliament might not be a Rule and Guide to the Nation in their Duty, and declar'd, that the Persons who shou'd act under their Authority, ought not to be question'd for so doing.

Wherefore, continues he, I presume that an inferior Court will not expound the Law, contrary to the Judgment of the high Court of Parliament. If the House of Commons, who are the Representatives of the whole Nation, may be guilty of Treason, it will follow, that all the People of England who chose them, are guilty also; and then where will a Jury be found to try the Cause? My Commission is dated the 27th of March, 1648, ten Months before the King's Death. The Commission by which General *Fairfax* was authoriz'd to give mine to me, he receiv'd from the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. I did nothing but my Duty in going to my Regiment; for if the General says, Go to such a Place and stay there, if I refuse, by the Law of Arms, I am to die; but if I obey, it seems I am in Danger also: The Question therefore in Law, I humbly conceive will be this, and I desire it may be truly and fairly stated, Whether a Man who is guided by the Judgment of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, and acting only according to that Judgment of Parliament, and under their Authority, can be question'd for Treason?

To this the Council answer'd, "That he was not accus'd of levying War, but of assisting at the Trial and Examination of the King, and encouraging the Soldiers to clamour for Justice and Execution." The Colonel reply'd, I am no more guilty than the General, my Presence in Westminster-Hall was not voluntary, and I was there by Command.

I do not find that any Attempt was made to answer this; but it was said that he was not commanded to cry Execution; that to cry Justice and Execution, was an Overt Act, which was confirm'd in his wrathful Speech to the Lady, who, according to the Testimony of the reverend Historian, he call'd *Whore*, and according to other Testimony, he smil'd. His Answer was, If any Lady talk'd loud during the King's Trial, to the Inter-

A.D. 1660 *Interruption and Disturbance of the Court, I suppose it was no Treason to bid her hold her Tongue. If I smil'd, as Col. Temple depos'd, it cannot amount to so great a Crime. If some Soldiers did cry out Justice, it was not by my Instigation; yet I hope that to desire Justice, which is one of the principal Attributes of God, is not high Treason.* Having said these, with many other Things in his Defence, he address'd himself to the Jury, saying, Gentlemen, I leave my Case and my Life in your Hands. Tho' he was not one of the King's Judges, and acted as a Soldier by Command of his General, at least as far as his Attendance at the King's Trial; yet those Gentlemen took not the least Notice of it. Lieutenant General Ludlow reflects on the Lord Chief Baron Bridgman for directing the Jury as he did. "In answer to these Arguments Bridgman, who was seif with repeating that strange and unheard of Doctrine;" *That no Person whatsoever, nor Community, not the People, either collectively or representatively, have any coercive Power over the King.* "For this he quoted some Precedents, as little to the Purpose as the Assertion it self, and then concluded the Case to be so clear, that the Jury need not stir from the Bar. It soon appear'd that he knew the Men, for they fully answer'd his Expectation, and as they were directed, without any Difficulty declar'd Col. Astel to be guilty of the Treason with which he had been charg'd.

Condemn'd.

Col. Francis Hacker try'd.

The next Prisoner brought to the Bar was Col. Francis Hacker; the Indictment against him was like that against Col. Astel, for *compassing and imagining the Death of the King*, which being read, Witnesses, of which a Cloud was at the Service of the Court, were produc'd to prove that he was one of the Persons who were upon the Guard, and kept the King Prisoner; that the Warrant for seeing the Sentence which had been pronounc'd by the High Court of Justice against the King, put in Execution, was directed to him: That in the Prosecution of that Commission, he had sign'd a Warrant for executing the King, and that he took the King by virtue of the Warrant he had receiv'd, out of the Custody of Col. Tomlinson, and conducted him to the Scaffold, on which he had been put to Death. Col. Hacker excepted not against any of the Jury, finding all of them to be of the same Stamp, and said little more in his Defence, than that he had acted by the Command of his Superiors, and that he had always endeavour'd to serve his Country; so that his Trial was quickly dispatch'd, and he declar'd guilty of High Treason.

Condemn'd.

Capt. Hewlet try'd.

Capt. William Hewlet was also accus'd and try'd for cutting off the King's Head, or at least for being one of the Persons that stood mask'd upon the Scaffold during his Execution. Several creditable Witnesses depos'd, that Gregory Brandon, who was the Common Hangman, had confess'd and own'd to have executed the King; that he affirm'd as much to the Lord Capel, when he suffer'd by the same Ax: And Capt. Hewlet offer'd to make it appear that he was not upon the Scaffold that Day, nor near it; nay, that he was seiz'd and secur'd for refusing to be there: However, the Jury clear'd their Way, and found him guilty of the Indictment; but, says Ludlow, "the Court being sensible of the Injury done him, procur'd his Reprieve.

Condemn'd.

One may see what sort of Justice was like to be administred in this Reign by the Condemnation of Hewlet for a Crime of which he was not guilty, as appears plainly by what Lilly writes of the Matter in his *own Life*; "The next Sunday

"but one after Charles the First was beheaded, Robert Spavin, Secretary to Lieutenant General Cromwel, invited himself to dine with me, and brought Anthony Pierson and several others along with him to Dinner. Their principal Discourse was who it was that beheaded the King: One said it was the Common Hangman, another Hugh Peters; others were also nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, as soon as Dinner was done, took me by the Hand, and carrying me to the South Window said, *These are all mistaken, They have not nam'd the Man that did the Fact, it was Lieutenant Colonel Joyce: I was in the Room when he fitted himself for the Work, stood behind him when he did it, and when done went in again with him. There's no Man knows this but my Master Cromwel, Commissary Ireton, and myself.*

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Joyce cut off King Charles's Head.

p. 91.

We come now to those of the King's Judges, whom we have mention'd before to have been excepted both for Life and Estate, with a Reserve, that if upon Trial they shou'd be found guilty, Sentence of Death shou'd not be executed against any of them, except by Act of Parliament, as these following, Col. Harvey, Alderman Judges Pennington, Col. Henry Morley, Alderman Tich-burne, Col. Owen Roe, Gilbert Millington, Esq; but re- Col. Lilburn, Henry Smith, Esq; Col. Downes, priev'd. Augustine Garland, Esq; Col. Potter, William Heveningham, Esq; Col. James Temple, Peter Temple, Esq; Col. Wayte, Simion Meyne, Esq; These were all brought to Trial before this Court, where some of them pleaded *Guilty* simply, but others, tho' they acknowledg'd the *Guilt*, deny'd the Malice, and some confessing the *Fact* deny'd the *Guilt*. Of the last was Col. Henry Marten, Col. Henry who was charg'd with signing the Precept for summoning the High Court of Justice, and signing the Warrant for executing the King; with sitting in Court almost every Day of his Trial, and particularly that on which he receiv'd Sentence of Death.

To these Things he answer'd, that he declin'd not to acknowledge the Matter of Fact that was allerdg'd against him; the Malice imputed to him by the Indictment set aside. Upon which being told by one of the Council employ'd by the Court, that he seem'd to be of Opinion; that a Man may fit and adjudge a King to Death, and sign a Warrant for his Execution, meekly, innocently, charitably and honestly. Now on a Supposition, that the Authority by which these Judges, and Col. Marten in particular, acted, had been legal, All That, might have been done; and it was for want of common Sense, that that Counsellor pretended to Wit; for a Judge having a lawful Commission, or believing upon the best Conviction his Mind cou'd give him; that his Commission was lawful, may meekly and charitably pass a Sentence, as I doubt not wise upright Judges always do. Col. Marten answer'd; that tho' he shou'd not compare his Knowledge in the Law with that of such a Learned Gentleman, yet according to the little Understanding he had been capable of acquiring, he presum'd that *no Fact cou'd be nam'd, which in it self is a Crime, but only as it is circumstantiated*; and to make good his Assertion, gave several Instances: But the Council, to prove that he had acted maliciously, produc'd a Person who depos'd, *That he sign'd the Warrant merrily, and in a jesting Way*, as he was rallying with Lieutenant General Cromwel. I think this shews too what Heads they had; to which Col. Marten immediately retorted, *Then it was not in Malice*. General Ludlow adds, "The Council finding their Insinuations and Aggravations of the Charge against him so easily blown away by these and other Answers, made up with Passion what they

A. D. 1660 "they wanted in the Weight of Reason, Finch the Solicitor General exclaiming, *That all good People abhor'd the Action, and that he was sorry to see so little Repentance.* To this the Colonel said, *I hope what is urg'd by the Council, will not make that Impression upon the Court and Jury as seems to be design'd."* If it were possible for that Blood to be in the Veins again, and every Drop of what was shed in the late Wars, I cou'd wish it with all my Heart; but I presume it may be lawful to say in my own Defence, that what I did, I thought at that time I might do. There was a House of Commons, as I understood it to be, tho' perhaps your Lordships think them not to have been a House of Commons; however, they were then the supreme Authority in England, and acknowledg'd and reputed so to be, both at home and abroad. I suppose he who gives Obedience to the Authority de Facto, sufficiently shews himself of a peaceable Temper, and far from a Traitor. If it shou'd be said that the Authority by which we acted, was only one Estate of Three, and but Part of that, I answer; it was all that was then existing; and I have heard Lawyers say, if there be Commons appurtenant to a Tenement, and that the Tenement be all burnt down except one small Stick, the Commons still belong to that small Piece, as much as when the Tenement was all standing. I shall also humbly offer it to Consideration, Whether the late King, for some time before his Trial, cou'd truly and properly be call'd a King, who was not in the Execution of his Office, but made a Prisoner, and no ways concern'd in the Administration of Publick Affairs? All which had no more Effect upon the Jury than it had upon the Goalers.

Colonel Downs try'd.

Col. Downs to a like Indictment pleaded, That at the King's Trial he had caus'd the Court to adjourn, and had said and done what wou'd have been of the highest Importance to the King, had he not been over-rul'd. But that hinder'd not his being condemn'd with Col. Marten, and the rest last mention'd.

Sentence being to be pronounc'd against the convicted Prisoners, Echar'd tells us, the Lord Chief Baron Bridgman made another affecting Speech to them, after he had acknowledg'd many of them to be of liberal Education and great Parts.

It is on no other Account worth repeating, than as it shews again what Mr. Archdeacon understands of Affecting in Discourse: "He repeated to them some things he had formerly said concerning the legal Supremacy of the Kings of England; How Patbetick it is! He told them, no Body or Community of Men had any Coercive Power over them; wonderfully moving! Then he nam'd the Words of the Act of the First of King James, wherein the Lords and Commons did acknowledge a natural Liege Obedience to the King as Supreme, his Heirs and Successors; and in the Name of themselves and all the People, humbly submit themselves until the last Drop of their Blood (that affects) be spent in Defence of the King and his Royal Posterity. Remember, added he, these were not Words of Complement, &c." I will repeat no more of it, but refer to Mr. Archdeacon's History, where many such Parcels of affecting Eloquence, some longer, some shorter, are to be found, from this Page 779, to the End of his History.

P. 779.

What is to come of their Dealings with the King's Judges has no Parallel in any Story; and to use the Words of the Compleat Historians, One cannot but think there was the Spirit of Hell in it. For though these condemn'd Criminals were justly to suffer the Law, and their

Punishment shou'd have been as Exemplary as their Crime was Capital, yet to make Sport with dying Men, and Diversion of the Butchering Part, cou'd not have happen'd but in Times as wicked as those when Solomon perish'd in a Tempest of Fire.

The first that was dragg'd on a Hurdle thro' the City to Charing-Cross, where a Gallows was erected for them; was Major General Harrison, M. Gen. who was hang'd on the 13th of October, with his Face towards the Banqueting-House; the People, says Echar'd, loudly shouting at his Fall. He adds, he was cut down alive; and another Author says, He was cut down alive, and saw his Bowels thrown into the Fire. I don't find any Reason given for putting the Gallows at Charing-Cross by any Writer but Ludlow, who tells us, it was that the King might have the Pleasure of the Spectacle, and inure himself to Blood. The Major General's Body being quarter'd, was plac'd upon the City Gates, and his Head upon Westminster-Hall.

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The Major General declar'd, *The Lord's Spirit did witness with his Spirit that all his Sins were done away in Jesus Christ; that he was about to suffer for the most glorious Cause that ever was in the World; that he believ'd the Lord would e'er it be long make it known from Heaven, that there was more of God in it than Men were aware of.*

Two Days after John Carew, Esq; was brought to the same Place, and was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd; but in Consideration that his Brother, Sir Alexander Carew, was beheaded for serving the late King, his Quarters were permitted to be put into a Grave. Mr. Carew declar'd, *What he said was of the Lord, and if it were to be done again, he wou'd do it. The Lord has once already justify'd the Cause in the Field, and will again do it with a witness. I die not in the Lord only; but for the Lord; and think not that this blessed Cause will be lost, for it shall reach to the End of the Earth.*

Mr. Carew quarter'd.

The Day following Mr. John Cook, who had been Lord Chief Justice in Ireland, and Mr. Hugh and Mr. Peters the Minister, were together brought to the same Place, and executed in the same manner. When Mr. Cook was drawn upon his Sledge, the Head of Major General Harrison, with his Face uncover'd, was plac'd before him, to the great Detestation of the People, as we read even in Echar'd, and in Ludlow. "That it was so far from producing the design'd Effect on Mr. Cook, that he not only seem'd to be animated with Courage from the Reflection he might make upon that Object, but the People every where exprest their Abhorrence of such Usage." He is doubtless bely'd in the History of England, where the candid Author tell us, he cou'd not conceal the Lashes of a troubled Conscience for this particular Crime, when he was in the height of Preferment: For if that Conscience had ever been troubled, it wou'd have been most visible in the last Moments of his Life, when the vilest Hypocrite can no longer dissemble; instead of which, the same Excellent Author assures us, he began his Speech upon the Ladder in these Words: *The most glorious Sight that ever was seen in the World was our Lord Jesus upon the Cross, and the most Glorious next to that, is to see a poor Creature suffer for him in his Cause.* He has these Words in his Prayer, *I believe an Army of Martyrs wou'd willingly come from Heaven to suffer in such a Cause as this I come here to suffer for.* He declar'd, "He had us'd the utmost of his Endeavours that the Practice of the Law might be regulated, and that the Publick Justice might be administer'd with as much Ex-

"petition

A.D. 1660

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petition and as little Expence as possible; and that he suffer'd a more than ordinary Persecution from those of his own Profession on that Account. He said, he understood not the Meaning of the Court, when they affirm'd, *That if the Lords and Commons had brought the King to the Bar, it had been Treason.*" It was Sir Orlando Bridgman who said it, and consequently that all the Members of the most Honourable House of Peers, and all the Members of the Honourable House of Commons, were liable to be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd for bringing a King to Trial. He may not be Try'd, but he may have Articles of Mis-government brought in against him. He may not be Beheaded, but he may be Abdicated, as King James the Second, the beheaded King's Son was. That Sir Orlando wou'd have given in upon Oath, if he had been then living, as all the Judges have done ever since the Revolution, in renouncing and abjuring King James and the Pretender. Mr. Cook proceeded, *As to the Part I had in the Affliction with which I was charg'd, I am so far from repeating what I have done (mind the Lashes of his Conscience) that I am ready to seal it with my Blood.* Here one of the Sheriffs, Boulton or Peake, rudely interrupting him, he reply'd, *It has not been the Custom in the most barbarous Nations, much less in England, to insult over a dying Man; adding, I think I am the First who ever suffer'd Death for demanding Justice.* As soon as Mr. Cook was cut down, and brought to be quarter'd, one Col. Turner call'd to the Sheriffs Men to bring Mr. Peters to see what was doing; which being done, the Hangman came to him, and rubbing his bloody Hands together, ask'd him, *How he lik'd it?* Mr. Peters reply'd, *I am not terrify'd, and you may do your worst.* Mr. Echard tells us, *That during these Executions, the King and Ministry were using all softning Methods.* When Mr. Peters was on the Ladder, he said to the Sheriff, Sir, *You have butcher'd one of the Servants of God before my Eyes, you have forc'd me to see it, in order to terrify and discourge me, but the Lord has permitted it for my Support and Encouragement.* Echard avers he was drunk, and that Mr. Cook said, *He was not fit to die.* Sure I am, that Men who are capable of abusing, belying, and insulting Persons, otherwise than as King's Judges, of singular Virtue and Eminence, in the last Moments of Life, are not fit to live. Major General Harrison and Mr. Carew are also said by him to have made themselves drunk with Cordials and strong Liquors. There never liv'd Men of more Temperance than Mr. Harrison and Mr. Carew; and as to their Religion, it has been observ'd elsewhere, that they are censur'd rather for having too much than too little. Mr. Cook's Head was plac'd upon Westminster-Hall, and that of Mr. Peters's upon London Bridge.

Thomas Scot, Esq; Gregory Clement, Esq; Col. Scrope, Col. Jones, hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd.

On the 16th of October, Mr. Thomas Scot, and Mr. Gregory Clement were drawn in one Sledge, and Col. Adrian Scroop, and Col. John Jones in another, to Charing Cross, in order to suffer Death as the rest had done. Mr. Scot had surrender'd himself within the Time limited by the Proclamation, however he far'd not the better for it. He behav'd at the Place of Execution with the greatest Chearfulness and Satisfaction of Mind; he attempted several Times to speak, and none of his Judges cou'd speak better; but, says Ludlow, *Those who fear'd nothing so much as Truth, interrupted him so often, that he found himself oblig'd to say, It surely must be a very bad Cause which cannot suffer the Words of a dying Man.* He declar'd, *He cou'd not repent of what he had done as to the King's Trial, but did*

repent of his asking the Benefit of the King's Proclamation. Mr. Clement said, *Nothing troubled him so much as his pleading Guilty, which he did to satisfy the Importunity of Friends; and by doing of it, had render'd himself unworthy to die in so glorious a Cause.* Col. Scrope's Speech was to this Purpose. *Though I have been accusom'd to be seen in better Places, and other kind of Circumstances, yet it being the Will of God I should be brought into this Condition, I submit chearfully; I never entertain'd Malice against any Man, and I now wish no Ill either to the Jury who found me Guilty, or to the Judges who pronounc'd Sentence, or even to the Person by whose Means I am brought to this Place, who I presume is so well known that it is not necessary to name him, Browne, the Mayor Elect, whom Ludlow calls the Renagado Woodmonger. I shall not boast of my * Birth or Education, or the private Conduct of my Life, because I am going to appear before a Tribunal where all Men must come, and where the Justice or Injustice of every Action will be manifest. I desire the People in the mean Time not to think uncharitably of me, for I am firmly persuaded I suffer for the Cause of God and my Country.* Col. Jones going into the Sledge, said, *It is like Elijah's fiery Chariot, only it goes through Fleet-street; and being dragg'd along in it to Charing Cross with Col. Scrope, Mr. Ludlow says, "The Gravity and graceful Meen of these aged Gentlemen, accompany'd with visible Marks of Fortitude and internal Satisfaction, surpris'd the Spectators with Admiration and Compassion.*

* He descended from the Lord Scrope of Bolton.

That this dreadful Spectacle might spread another Length of the Town, Col. Hacker and Col. Axtel were drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there hang'd, imbowell'd and quarter'd. Col. Hacker read a Paper at his Execution, wherein he said, *I thank the Lord I have nothing lies upon my Conscience as Guilt, whereof I am now condemn'd, and do not doubt to have the Sentence revers'd.* Echard, who writes of all this with much Jollity, says as a Joke, *Axtel very charitably wish'd, That his Blood might not cry to the third and fourth Generation.* Colonel Axtel did indeed say, *If I had a thousand Lives I cou'd lay them all down for this Cause, tho' they had nothing against me, neither by God's Law nor their own Law, to condemn me; wherefore my Death is meerly Murther, and they might as well have done it at the Tower, as have brought me hither to make this Bustle.*

Col. Hacker and Col. Axtel hang'd and quarter'd.

From the Beginning of those Tragedies to the End, the Reverend Author last mention'd, and the Reverend Author of the *Compleat History*, have not one Sentiment of Compassion; nay, the last Reverend Author, mentioning the Trials and Speeches at large of these Sufferers, printed after their Deaths, does not sticke to say, *Some of their surviving Friends were so very inscilent, that they publish'd their Pleadings, Prayers and Speeches to all the Advantage that the Spirit of Hell cou'd invent.* And the other Reverend Historian says of their Prayers and Dying Speeches, *Such were the prodigious Effects of Enthusiasm, Possession, as if the Devil was in them, or something that wants a Name which is sufficient to raise Horror in good Men, and Infidelity in bad.*" 'Tis there he also tells us, that it was the Effect of Drunkenness as well as Possession, and in the same charitable Disposition affirms, *Mr. Peters the Minister had a Whore with him.*

Neither of these Historians had Sobriety enough to observe that these repeated Executions one Day after another, were a wretched Effect of the Want of good Policy as well as good Nature in those who then had the Administration

A.D. 1660 of Affairs. Bishop Burnet lets us into the Truth of the Matter, where he writes thus, "In one Thing the Temper of the Nation appear'd to be contrary to severe Proceedings; for tho' the Regicides were at that Time odious beyond all Expression, and the Trials and Executions of the first were run to by vast Crouds, and all People seem'd pleas'd with the Sight, yet the Odiousness of the Crime grew at last to be so much flatten'd by the frequent Executions, and most of those who suffer'd dying with much Firmness and Shew of Piety, justifying all they had done, not without a seeming Joy for their Suffering on that Account, that the King was advis'd not to proceed any farther, at least not to have the Scene so near the Court as *Charing-Cross*." I have often been oblig'd in this Work to take Notice of the Want of Sense as well as Temper in the Ministers of the former Reign as well as this. They seem to be guided wholly by Fury and false Zeal. Their Rage against Major General *Harrison* was such, that without thinking that the Man was intrepid and firmly principled in the Cause he had engag'd in, that he despis'd the Power they were got into, and made a Merit of his Sufferings, they, without Thought or Patience, wou'd needs begin with him, "*The ill Effect* of which, says Bishop Burnet, soon appear'd, for he was a Man of great Heat and Resolution, fix'd in his Principles, and so persuad'd of them, that he had never look'd after any Interests of his own, but had oppos'd *Cromwel* when he set up for himself. He went thro' all the Indignities and Severities of his Execution, in which the Letter of the Law in Cases of Treason, was punctually observ'd with a Calmness, or rather a Chearfulness that astonish'd the Spectators. He spoke very positively, that what they had done was the Cause and Work of God, which he was confident God wou'd own and raise up again, how much soever it suffer'd at that Time.

Harry Marten did not suffer, and the Bishop informs us that his Life was spar'd out of Complacency to his Vices, which were pretty near of a Size with those of the Court.

After *Echard* has seen all these Sufferers ript up and mangled, he performs the last Office, and kills them in their Characters.

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King's
Judges accus'd by
Echard.

Thomas Harrison, says he, was a Butcher's Son, so was *Thomas Wolfey*, Archbishop of York and Cardinal. A long Ancestry of Gentlemen gives no Man a Right to insult another for the want of it; but for a Person to do it who is no otherwise a Gentleman than as he is enroll'd in a Profession or Faculty, is equally preposterous and ridiculous. *Harrison* turn'd a Fifth-Monarchy Man, and was re-baptiz'd to please the Anabaptists.

Cook was a Man of mean Birth and inconsiderable Fortune. *Ludlow* says, Mr. John Cook in his younger Years had seen the best Part of Europe; and at Rome had spoken with such Liberty and Ability against the Corruption of that Court and Church, that great Endeavours were us'd there to bring him into that Interest; wherefore he departed to Geneva, and resided some Months in the House of Signior Gio. Diodati, Minister of the Italian Church. Fair Proof of his being a Man of mean Birth and inconsiderable Fortune. *Hugh Peters* was whip'd out of Cambridge. *Ludlow*, Mr. Peters had been a Minister in England for many Years, till he was forc'd to leave his Native Country by the Persecution set on Foot in the Time of Archbishop *Laud*.

Thomas Scot was born of obscure Parents in Buckinghamshire, by whom, according to *Lud-*

low, he was sent first to Westminster School, and then to Cambridge. He liv'd privately in the Country till he was chosen a Member of Parliament.

Gregory Clement was first a Merchant and broke: He then forc'd himself into the Parliament House. *Ludlow*, Mr. Gregory Clement was a Citizen and Merchant of London, who by trading with Spain had rais'd a very considerable Estate.

Mr. John Jones, a Man of a mean Family in Wales, Servant to Sir Thomas Middleton. *Ludlow*, Col. John Jones was a Gentleman of a competent Estate in North-Wales.

Col. Hacker was a Soldier of Fortune. *Ludlow*, Col. Hacker was a Gentleman of a considerable Estate, deriv'd to him from his Ancestors in Leicestershire.

Whatever has been said of the King's Judges, their Trials and Executions, is not intended to render them the less criminal in the Reader's Opinion. If I had been living and one of the Jury, I wou'd have given Judgment against them, and shou'd have pronounc'd it, had it been my Office, tho' not with so much Pleasure, yet with as much Conviction of the Justice of the Sentence as Sir *Orlando Bridgman* did. The Intention is only to shew the Temper and Turn of Mind of the Court and Ministry after the Restoration, what Work was done, and what Tools they work'd with, that the Reader may make his Use of it when he finds them busying themselves about Matters of Religion, which have the next Place in the Archdeacon's History. Tho' we have sufficiently prov'd the Falseness of Ingratitude of those who deny the Presbyterianians to have had the Honour of the Restoration, yet in further Confirmation of it, we shall repeat what Mr. *Richard Baxter*, one of the King's Chaplains, said of it.

"What the Presbyterianians did to preserve and restore the King, is a Thing that we need not go to any Corners or Cabinets to prove. The Votes for Agreement upon the King's Concessions in the Isle of Wight prove it. The Ejection and Imprisonment of most of the House of Commons, and all the House of Lords, prove it. The Death of Mr. *Love*, with the Flight of other London Ministers, prove it. The Wars in Scotland, and their Conquest by *Cromwel*, prove it. The Rising of Sir *George Booth*, and his Army's Overthrow, prove it. The Surprize of *Dublin* Castle by Colonel *Bridges* and others in Ireland, prove it. The Congratulations of General *Monk* in England, the Concurrence of the Londoners, and the Ministers there, prove it. The actual Preparations of the restor'd Members of the Long Parliament, and the Consent of the Council of State, prove it. The Calling in of the King by the next Parliament without one contradicting Voice, and finally the Lords and Gentlemen of the King's own Party addressing themselves to the Parliamentarians, and the King's grateful Acknowledgments in his Letters, and his Speeches in Parliament, do all put this Matter out of Question.

We are going to see how he rewarded them for it, even after his solemn Promise in his Declaration at *Breda*, That no body shou'd be disturb'd on account of Conscience, and even after a second Declaration he publish'd in England in October, which was drawn by the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, and for its Eloquence and Reason may match with the best of his Performances.

Before the King was restor'd, Mr. *Baxter* and Dr. *Manton* had a Meeting with Dr. *Gauden* and Dr. *Bernard*, to discourse of an Agreement between the Presbyterian and Episcopal Party; but tho' both Sides express'd a Desire for Concord,

A. D. 1660 cord, yet neither that Meeting, nor another with Dr. Morley, came to any thing.

Bishops restor'd.

In the mean time the Bishops who were living were restor'd to their Sees; as Dr. William Juxon to the See of London, Dr. William Pierce to that of Bath and Wells, Dr. Robert Skinner to that of Oxford, Dr. John Warner to that of Rochester, Dr. William Roberts to that of Bangor, Dr. Matthew Wren to that of Ely, Dr. Bryan Duppa to that of Salisbury, Dr. Henry King to that of Chichester, Dr. Accepted Frewen to that of Coventry and Litchfield: And the following Doctors were made Bishops; as Dr. John Cosens Bishop of Durham, Dr. William Lucy Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Benjamin Laney Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Richard Stern Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Bryan Walton Bishop of Chester, Dr. Hugh Lloyd Bishop of Landaff, Dr. John Gauden Bishop of Exeter, Dr. George Griffith Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Gilbert Ironside Bishop of Bristol, Dr. William Nicholson Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Robert Sanderfon Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. George Morley Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Isaac Barrow Bishop of Man.

Presbyterians King's Chaplains.

Dr. Reynolds, a Presbyterian, was offer'd the Bishoprick of Norwich, and he afterwards accepted of it. Mr. Baxter was offer'd that of Hereford; Mr. Calamy the Bishoprick of Coventry and Litchfield, on the Translation of Dr. Frewen to the Archbishoprick of York. Dr. Manton was offer'd the Deanery of Rochester, Dr. Bates the Deanery of Coventry and Litchfield, Mr. Bowles the Deanery of York; but all refus'd on account of the uncertain Continuance of the Terms of the second Declaration. Several Presbyterian Divines were made King's Chaplains; as Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, Dr. Spurston, Dr. Wallis, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ash, Mr. Case, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Woodbridge. Mr. Newcomen refus'd it; and none of the above Ministers were call'd to preach at Court but Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Baxter, and Dr. Spurston, each of them once.

The Earl of Manchester introduc'd Mr. Baxter, Mr. Ash, Dr. Reynolds, and all the Presbyterian Ministers who were King's Chaplains to his Majesty, who was with the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of St. Alban's in the Lord Chamberlain Manchester's Lodgings. They congratulated his Majesty on his Restoration, and then the Ministers spoke to the King of a Union among his Protestant Subjects. His Majesty bad them draw up such Proposals as they thought fit, telling them that he was glad they inclin'd to an Agreement, and that he resolv'd to do his Part to bring them together. Accordingly they did it in Conjunction with Dr. Worth, afterwards a Bishop in Ireland, Dr. Fulwood, afterwards Archdeacon of Totness, Dr. Matthew Newcomen, &c. These Divines, because they wou'd give as little Occasion of Exception as possible, reduc'd all their Requests to Archbishop Usher's Reduction of Episcopacy, which they deliver'd to the King with an humble Address concerning Preaching, the Observation of the Lord's Day, Ceremonies, &c. They were promis'd a Meeting of Episcopal Divines before the King when their Proposals were ready, but none of them came; and instead of a Meeting, the Presbyterian Ministers receiv'd a Paper full of bitter Oppositions by way of Confutation of their Proposals.

The Bishops, in their Answer to the Presbyterians Proposals, have some extraordinary Things worth repeating, as

Bishops Plea.

"We believe Ecclesiastical Hierarchy to be for the main, the true, antient, primitive Episcopacy;" that is, the antient Apostolical Bishops had Courts Prerogatives, Chancellors, Com-

missaries, Officials, Proctors, Paritors, Powers under their Pagan Princes.

A. D. 1660

"We cannot grant that the Extent of any Diocess, such as Lincoln, consisting of Lincoln County, 650 Parishes, Leicester 200, Bedford 124, Buckingham 185, Huntington 120, Hertfordshire in Part 41, in all 1300 Parishes, is so great, but that the Bishop may well perform that, wherein the proper Office and Duty of a Bishop doth consist."

They do acknowledge that Ministers are not deny'd the Use and Exercise of their Gifts before and after the Sermon.

They do believe that the laying aside of the Common-Prayer, was one of the great Causes of our sad Divisions. The Presbyterian Divines made a Replication, and some very learned godly Men amongst them said, It is a vain Attempt to endeavour a Reconciliation with such Men; their Minds are exasperated, and they are resolv'd to monopolize the Favour of our Prince, and all Honours and Preferments to themselves. There's no Hope they will do any thing for the promoting of strict serious Godliness, or any thing that deserves the Name of Ecclesiastical Discipline. They undoubtedly do but draw us on, partly to spin out the time, till they are ready to persecute us without any Danger to themselves, and partly to set us together by the Ears, and otherwise abuse us, by drawing us to grant them that which they know our Brethren cannot grant.

Shortly after this, instead of the Diocesan's Concessions, the Ministers were told, his Majesty wou'd put all that he thought fit to grant into the Form of a Declaration, wherein the King repeated the Promise of Liberty of Conscience, which he made at Breda; and that no Man shou'd be disquieted, or call'd in Question for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion. This was in October, about two Years before 2 or 3000 Presbyterian Ministers were turn'd out of their Livings, and 2 or 300,000 Families were disquieted by an Act of this very King's. This Declaration was read by the Lord Chancellor Hyde, at the Earl of Manchester's House, in Presence of his Majesty, King Charles II. Duke of Albemarle, Duke of Ormond, Dr. Sheldon Bishop of London, Dr. Morley Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Henchman Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Cosens Bishop of Durham, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Barwick, Dr. Gunning, Earl of Anglesey, Earl of Manchester, Lord Hollis, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurston, Dr. Wallis, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ash, Mr. Baxter. After the Declaration was read, there was much Discourse about several Parts of it; Bishop Morley seeming to charge Mr. Baxter as if he had contradicted what he had written in his five Disputations of Church Government, Mr. Baxter told him, He had best Reason to know what he had written, that he was still of the same Mind, that he stood to it all, and spoke nothing against it. A great many Words pass'd about Prelacy and Re-ordination. Dr. Gunning and Bishop Morley spoke almost all on one Side, and Dr. Henchman and Dr. Cosens sometimes. Mr. Calamy and Mr. Baxter spoke most on the other Side. Mr. Calamy answer'd Dr. Gunning from Scripture, against the divine Rights of Prelacy, as a distinct Order; and when Dr. Gunning told them Dr. Hammond had said enough against the Presbyterians Cause, and Ordinations, and was yet unanswer'd, Mr. Baxter reply'd, I have answer'd the Substance of his Arguments, and said enough against the Diocessan Frame of Government, and to prove the Validity of the English Presbyters Ordination, which indeed is unanswer'd, tho' I am very desirous to see an Answer to it.

King's Declaration in Favour of them.

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The Earl of Clarendon produc'd a Paper, being a sort of Petition from the *Independants* and *Baptists*: in behalf of themselves, for whom this Clause was added to the Declaration. *Others shall be permitted to meet for religious Worship, so be it they do it not to the Disturbance of the Peace, and no Justice of the Peace or Officer shou'd disturb them*; which when the Earl had read, he desir'd them all to think on it, and give their Advice; but all were silent. The *Presbyterians* perceiv'd as soon as they heard it, that 'twas intended to tolerate Popery, and Dr. Wallis whisper'd Mr. Baxter in the Ear, that he shou'd say nothing, 'tis an odious Business, let the Bishops speak to it. But the Bishops wou'd not say a Word, nor wou'd any one of the *Presbyterians* speak to it. At length Mr. Baxter fearing their Silence wou'd be misinterpreted, spoke to this Purpose; Dr. Gunning, a little before, speaking against Sects, nam'd *Papists* and *Socinians*. For our Parts, we do not desire Favour for ourselves alone, and rigorous Severity against none; but as we humbly thank his Majesty for his declar'd Indulgence to OURSELVES, so we distinguish the Tolerable from the Intolerable; for the former we humbly crave just Lenity, but for the latter, such as the two sorts mention'd; for our Parts we cou'd not make their Toleration our Request. The King reply'd, *There are Laws sufficient against Papists*. Mr. Baxter answer'd, *We understand the Question to be, whether those Laws will be executed or not, so that Matter drop'd*. Several Alterations were made, and the Earl of Anglesey, the Lord Hollis, Bishop Morley, Bishop Henckman, Dr. Reynolds, and Mr. Calamy were appointed to determine any Dispute that might arise about Words in the Declaration. Accordingly the Declaration came out so amended, with such a pastoral persuasive Power of Governing left to the Ministers, with the Rural Deans, as that it was fitted to be an Instrument of Concord and Peace, if settled by a Law; and so, continues Dr. Calamy, the Division might have been heal'd upon the Alteration of the Liturgy, as the Declaration promis'd, with other Matters.

King's Declaration about Religion.

The Preamble to this Declaration is worth reading: "When we were in Holland we were attended by many grave and learned Ministers from hence, who were look'd upon as the most able and principal Assertors of *Presbyterian Opinions*, with whom we had as much Conference as the multitude of Affairs wou'd permit us to have; and to our great Satisfaction and Comfort, found them Persons full of Affection to us, of Zeal for the Peace of Church and State, and neither Enemies, as they have been given out to be, of *Episcopacy* or *Liturgy*, but modestly to desire such Alterations in either, as without shaking Foundations might allay the present Distempers." *Echard* cries out against this Declaration as *over-strain'd*, not only to over-rule the Canons (the Lord help them! What signify the Canons to the Peace of Church and State?) and disable the Discipline of the Church, but likewise to lie hard upon the Constitution, by dispensing with the Statutes. What Strength there is in what he says! If those Statutes, or any Statutes, tended to the Disturbance of Church or State, they shou'd have been repeal'd rather than dispens'd with; but these were Times that requir'd irregular Methods. The Reason and Temper of this irregular Declaration, as he terms it, are equally conspicuous, and oblige him, notwithstanding what he has said, and what he wou'd have said against it, to recommend it as an excellent Pattern of Wisdom and Goodness. Had it been as sincere as it was wise and good, the Happiness of the Times wou'd

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have deserv'd another Sort of Panegyrist than that Historian. The Substance of it was, "That the King resolv'd to promote the Power of Godliness, to encourage the Exercise of Religion, take Care that the Lord's Day shou'd be applied to holy Exercises, without unnecessary Diversions, such as the Book of Sports had enjoy'd; that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous Ministers shou'd not be permitted in the Church; that no Bishop shou'd ordain or exercise any Part of Jurisdiction without the Advice and Assistance of the *Presbyters*, and neither do nor impose any thing but what is according to the known Laws of the Land: That Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials be excluded from Acts of Jurisdiction." Here King Charles and the Earl of Clarendon declar'd themselves against *Spiritual Courts*, so justly odious to the *English* Nation, and of no other Use than to feed the Malice and Revenge of passionate, insolent Priests, or the spleenick, litigious Humour of revengeful, malicious Layicks, and pamper a parcel of ravenous, vitious Advocates and Proctors.

"That the Power of the Pastors in the several Congregations shou'd be restor'd, and a Liberty granted to all Ministers to assemble Monthly for the Exercise of the pastoral persuasive Power to the promoting of Knowledge and Godliness in their Flocks.

No mention here of our Archdeacon or his Visitation, which, whether to the promoting of Knowledge and Godliness, I refer to our Dignitary himself.

"That the Ministers shou'd be freed from the Subscriptions requir'd by the Canons, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and receive Ordination, Institution, and Induction, and exercise their Function, and enjoy the Profits of their Livings without being oblig'd to it: And that the Use of Ceremonies shou'd be dispens'd with where they were scrupled." If this most Christian Declaration had been pursu'd, all Nonconformity had been confounded: There wou'd have remain'd no Pretence for Scruple, and not to conform, wou'd have been a sad Effect of Stupidity, as it is now of Mistake.

The Lord Clarendon, who drew up this healing Declaration, told the Parliament a very few Months after, *That the Clergy still repeated their old Errors, and were not effectually subdu'd*. Instead of a Conference, 'tis turn'd about to a Conference; instead of *Comprehension*, 'tis now *Persecution*. The Truth is, King Charles never intended to relieve the Dissenters; and it is more than probable that the Earl of Clarendon drew up the above-mention'd Declaration and the *Act of Uniformity* at one and the same time, or within a few Days odds, though they differ one from the other as much as *Reward* and *Punishment*.

Some of the above-mention'd Bishops, as *Morley*, *Henckman*, and *Casens*, being but Elects, tho' not Consecrated, the *Presbyterian* Ministers call'd them my Lords; which Dr. *Morley* once return'd thus upon Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter*, *We may call you also I suppose by the same Title*, meaning the Bishopricks to which those three Ministers were nominated. These Divines had frequent Discourse together on that Subject. They all thought a Bishoprick might be accepted according to the Description of the Declaration, without any violation of the Covenant, or owning the antient Prelacy. But all the Doubt was, whether this Declaration wou'd be made a Law, as was then expected, or whether it were but a temporary Means to draw them in to all the Diocesans desir'd. Mr. *Baxter*, after much Consideration and Consultation, refus'd to accept

A. D. 1660 accept a Bishoprick, and gave his Reasons in a Letter to the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*. Dr. *Reignolds* accepted it a little in haste, as it was thought, saying, *A Friend had taken out the Congé d'Elire for him without his Knowledge.*

The London Ministers were divided in their Sentiments concerning the Declaration; some thought it to be a Breach of the Covenant they had taken against any Sort of Prelacy, others, that it was reduc'd in the Declaration so far, as not to be within the Obligation of that Oath against the old Episcopacy. The latter drew an Address of Thanks to the King, and presented it November the 16th: 'Twas sign'd by Dr. *Jacobson*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Meriton*, Mr. *Cafe*, Mr. *Clark*, Mr. *Gouge*, Mr. *Roxwolson*, Mr. *Sheffield*, Mr. *Sangar*, Mr. *Cooper*, Mr. *Whittaker*, Mr. *Lye*, Mr. *Jackson*, Mr. *Pledger*, Mr. *Gibson*, Mr. *Poole*, &c. All this fair Proceeding was meer Grimace, and intended to blind the Presbyterians till the Army was disbanded, and the Prelatical Party cou'd throw off the Mask with Safety.

The King did not forbear shewing his Dislike of his Presbyterian Company, and Mr. *Cafe* the Minister, who thought he had deserv'd highly of the King by what he had done towards his Restoration, wou'd once have pres'd with his usual Freedom into his Presence, and being deny'd Entrance, sent in his Name. The King suffer'd him to be admitted in compliance with his Importunity; but by the Carriage of those who were present, their deriding his Habit and uncourtly Address, he might easily perceive he was not welcome at *Whitehall*. His Majesty ask'd him, *What he had to say?* Mr. *Cafe* told him, He had a Word of Advice to offer concerning the Brethren of the *Presbytery*; but the King presently interrupted him, saying, *I do not remember I have made you one of my Council.*

The Princess of *Orange*, Mother to King *William III.* paid her Brother King *Charles* a Visit about the latter End of the Summer. Just before she landed, her Brother *Henry* of *Oatlands*, Duke of *Gloucester*, dy'd of the Small Pox. He was the most Virtuuous of the three Brothers, and the most belov'd. It is said he reconcil'd himself to the Church of *Rome* in *France*, and that the Papists had more Hopes of him than of the two other Princes, King *Charles* and the Duke of *York*, he being principled in their Religion, whereas those Princes did not much trouble themselves about Religious Principles. *Echard* affirms, he was an invincible Assertor of the Protestant Faith; which he cou'd not learn of his Mother, nor any about her. He adds, that to preserve him from Temptation, his Sister the Princess of *Orange* allow'd him half of her yearly Income; and considering she allow'd something too to her other Brothers, the King and the Duke, she cou'd not have much left out of about 15,000 Pounds per Annum.

He assures us he had all this from an unquestionable Hand, and I take on me to assure the Reader, that what I say of his being reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*, I had from a Minister of State, a Man of known Wisdom and Probity, who liv'd many Years abroad in *France* and *Holland*, and was in particular Favour with his Highness the Prince of *Orange* at the *Hague*.

Within a few Days after arriv'd the Queen Mother, and her Daughter the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, with Prince *Edward*, his late Majesty King *George* the First's Uncle. Whatever Business the Queen came to do, there's no doubt it was bad enough for the Interest of *England* and the Protestant Religion. *Echard* tells us, She propos'd a Match between the King and the Lady

Hortensea Mancini, Cardinal *Mazarine's* Niece, A. D. 1660 who was to have twenty Millions of Livres to her Portion, which is as credible as other Parts of his History. She is the same Lady who afterwards liv'd and dy'd in *England* in a mean Condition, both as to Fortune and Character.

Ludlow speaks of this Visit very differently from the Archdeacon. " *Henrietta Maria* of *France*, Widow to the late King *Charles*, who had been a principal Instrument to advise and encourage him in his illegal Actions, pass'd over into *England* about this Time, and being arriv'd at *London*, the House of Commons; in which were many Persons who had been Members of that Parliament which had threaten'd to accuse her of High Treason, not only congratulated her Return, but presented her Daughter who had accompany'd her in her Journey with 10,000 Pounds. But notwithstanding all the flattering Subserviency they cou'd shew, and all that they cou'd do to procure themselves to be thought fit for the Service of the Court, yet being not thoroughly principled to do the Work of the Church, they were acquainted when they met again in November, that they shou'd be dissolv'd on the 24th of December; against which Time it was desir'd that all Bills under Consideration might be made ready. And lest the People shou'd upon the Dissolution of this Assembly form a Body of Men, and assert their Liberties, it was pretended that a great Plot to seize the King and the Tower, to kill the Queen, with all those that shou'd be found of the French Nation, and to restore the Parliament, was carrying on throughout *England*." Under this Colour Major General *Desborough*, Major General *Overton*, Colonel *Salmon*, Colonel *Duckenfield*, Lieutenant Colonel *Farley*, Major *Whitby*, Major *Anthony Morgan*, were seiz'd and imprison'd, though it was not possible for any Man of common Sense to believe that these Gentlemen, who in the height of the Commonwealth Party were by no means the Men of Interest, shou'd now set themselves up against the King, the Army, the Fleet, and the Kingdom, while every Head was yet hot with Joy for his Majesty's Restoration.

During the Noise of this Conspiracy, the Queen, accompany'd with her Daughter and *Jermyn*, return'd to *France*, the latter having been a particular Favourite of hers for many Years. Some believ'd she was terrify'd by the Rumour of Designs against her Person; but, says *Ludlow*, " She who knew the Plot to be no more than a Fiction, had other real Grounds for her Departure. She had endeavour'd to persuade her Son to remove the Chancellor *Hyde* from his Councils, and finding she effected nothing by her continual Sollicitations, she soon grew weary of *England*; where, though by the Importunity of the King, she had at last admitted the new Dutchess of *York* into her Presence, yet by applying herself to other Company, not desiring her to sit, and taking the first Opportunity to withdraw from the Room, she abundantly shew'd that she thought her not worthy to be treated as a Daughter. These were the principal, if not the only Reasons that mov'd the Queen to quit the Court of her Son, and to retire into her own Country; though to give a better Colour to her Departure, and to conceal these Domestick Divisions, they made use of the Pretences before-mention'd.

In November, *Lewis* of *Nassau*, Lord of *Be- Dutch verweart*, *Simon Van Hoorn*, *Michael Van Gogh*, and *Mr. de Ripperda*, Ambassadors from the States General of the United Provinces, arriv'd at *London*.

Duke of
Gloucester's
Death.

A Plot.

Dutch
Ambassadors.

A.D. 1660 London from *Holland*. They were receiv'd at the *Tower* by the Earl of *Craven*, having with him about twenty Coaches and six Horses, who conducted them to Sir *Abraham Williams*, Master of the Ceremonies, where their Expences were defray'd; and they were treated in all Respects, as well at their Audience, as on other Occasions, with the same Honours that are done to Ambassadors of Crown'd Heads. The King had as yet fresh in his Memory the Respect which had been shewn him in *Holland*, when he pass'd through that Province in order to his Imbarkation near the *Hague*, where the States of *Holland* had been at the Expence of 250,000 Crowns for his Entertainment; and this was the first Time that the Ambassadors of the States General were treated as the Ministers of Crown'd Heads.

King Charles's Match with Portugal.

The King of *Portugal's* Minister was early with his Master's Compliments, and Proposals of a Marriage between the King and the Infanta *Katharine* of *Portugal*, which the King of *Spain's* Ministers endeavour'd to prevent: Nay, they went so far in it, as to offer two Millions Portion, if his Majesty wou'd make Choice of any other Princess for a Wife, even though she was a Protestant. Some say the Queen Mother's Errand to *England* was about this Match with *Portugal*, the *French* King engaging to pay 400,000 Pounds with her: Others tell us she came over to treat with her Son about marrying her Daughter to Monsieur the *French* King's Brother; and others again say it was about the Sale of *Dunkirk*.

Besides the Resident of *France*, there were in the Court of *England* Monsieur *D'Estrades*, and Monsieur *Courin*, Ambassadors Extraordinary from the *French* King; and from the King of *Spain*, the Prince de *Ligny*, and the Baron de *Bateville*, to congratulate his Britannick Majesty on his Restoration, and promote their Masters several and different Interests. The *French*, who had driven the Royal Family of *England* out of *France*, found Means to be prefer'd in King *Charles's* Friendship, though it was apparently for his and the Kingdoms Interest to have cultivated a Friendship with *Spain*. The Case was much alter'd since *Cromwel's* Treaty with *Mazarine*, who dy'd about this Time. *France* was in Peace at Home and Abroad, under a Prince of great Ambition and Genius. *Spain* was govern'd by a sickly old King, without an Heir Male, and his Dominions were like to encrease the exorbitant Power of *France*, especially on the Side of *Flanders*, which is the Barrier of *England*. By the Treaty *Cromwel* made with *France*, the Commerce of *England* had a Credit Balance of 5 or 600,000 Pounds a Year, by lowering the Duty on Woollen Manufactures from *England*; which Treaty King *Charles* rejected, because 'twas made by an Usurper; and, says *Coke*, He never after made any other instead of it, but left his Subjects to be us'd even as the *French* pleas'd in their Trade to *France*. They rais'd the Duties on our Woollen Goods so high, that it imply'd a Prohibition of them, and the *English* lost above a Million a Year by the *French* Trade. And to render his Engagement with *France* still more ruinous and shameful, he sells *Dunkirk* for 400,000 Pounds, immediately after the Parliament had appropriated 60,000 Pounds of the Hereditary Excise for maintaining the Garrison there. Half of the Money for *Dunkirk* went with the Princess *Henrietta Maria* to the Duke of *Orleans* in Marriage, and 'tis suppos'd the rest was divided among the King and his Ministers; at least the People was so jealous of it, that the magnificent Palace which the Chancellor *Hyde* built afterwards, was from thence call'd *Dunkirk-House*.

Ruinous Trade with France.

Sells Dunkirk.

Such were the Beginnings of King *Charles's* Administration, with respect both to Foreigners and his own Subjects; and it mends not during the whole Continuance of it.

Among other Ambassadors came Count *Brakie* Spanish from the King of *Sweden*, at whose Entry happen'd a very dangerous Contest and Fray between the Ambassadors of *Spain* and *France* for Precedence. 'Twas not by Accident, but a determined prepar'd Business. Both *Spanish* and *French* Ambassadors being to send their Coaches to meet Count *Brakie*, Ambassador from *Sweden*, on the Day of his Entry, the Ambassadors of *Spain* and *France* foreseeing the Contest, each of them took such Measures as he thought fit to procure the Advantage to his Side. The Baron de *Bateville*, Ambassador from *Spain*, sent for some Soldiers from *Flanders*, and made sure of several *English*. Instead of Traces, he caus'd Iron Chains of a moderate Thickness to be cover'd with Leather, that they might not be liable to be cut. The Count d'*Estrades*, the *French* Ambassador, had re-inforc'd his Equipage a little; but not expecting Things wou'd come to such Extremities, he had not taken all the Precaution which might have protect'd him from the Violence of others.

The Duke of *York* having Information that a Dispute was intended, caus'd a Troop of Horse and three Companies of Foot to be drawn out on *Tower-Hill*, where the Coaches were to meet those of the *Swedish* Ambassador; but the Officers having no Orders to meddle in the Quarrel of the Ambassadors, all they cou'd do was to be Spectators of the Fight and Confusion. Some of the *French* Ambassador's Coach-Horses were kill'd, as well as two or three of his People. Some of the *Spanish* Ambassador's Train lost also their Lives, but they carry'd the Day; for the Traces of *D'Estrade's* Coach being cut, it cou'd not move without Horses. It was in Consequence of this Disorder, and of Count *D'Estrade's* Complaints upon it, that King *Charles* order'd that no Foreign Ministers Coaches shou'd for the future attend at this kind of Ceremony. When the *French* King was inform'd of this Rencounter, he sent Orders to the Count de *Fuenfaldagne*, the *Spanish* Ambassador at his Court, to leave *Paris* in twenty-four Hours, and order'd the Archbishop of *Embrun*, his Ambassador at *Madrid*, to require Satisfaction; which was given, by ordering all the Ambassadors of *Spain* not to be present at the Ceremonies at which those of *France* assist.

I shou'd not have been so particular in any Account of this Scuffle, but that it is one of the most Military Actions in this Reign, *Venner's* Rising, a Rising or two in *Scotland*, and the two *Dutch* Wars excepted.

On the sixth of *November* the Parliament met according to the former Adjournment. When the Disbanding was debated, Mr. *Prynne* desir'd the House to be mindful not to do those Things that might bring them together again, which brought him into Danger of a very rough Reprimand. Then Mr. *Echard* tells us of their Proceedings, as settling 1,200,000 Pounds per An. on his Majesty, ordering the Bodies of *Oliver Cromwel*, *John Bradshaw*, *Henry Ireton*, and *Thomas Pride*, to be taken out of their Graves and hang'd up at *Tyburn*. Do generous Enemies always do so by the Carcasses of their Conquerors? They then attainted some Persons who were withdrawn out of the Kingdom, as *John List*, Esq; *William Say*, Esq; *Valentine Walton*, Esq; *Col. Barkstead*, Commissary General *Whalley*, *Daniel Blagrove*, Esq; *Sir Michael Livesay*, *Cornelius Holland*, Esq; *William Cowley*, Esq; *Thomas Challoner*; Esq; *Miles Corbet*, Esq; *Nicholas*

A. D. 1660 *cholas Love, Esq; Mr. Broughton, Mr. Dendy,*
 Lieutenant General *Ludlow, Col. Okey, Col. Goffe,*
Col. Dixwell, Col. Hereson. They also impeach'd
 one Mr. *William Drake,* a Tradesman of *London,*
 for writing a Book call'd *The long Parlia-*
 ment reviv'd, and after a Session of about seven
 Weeks they were dissolv'd, *December* the 29th,
 the King having pass'd several Bills, and heard
 a Speech from the Speaker of a good Length,
 ending thus, *We must needs be a happy Parlia-*
 ment, a *Reconciling and Peace-making Parlia-*
 ment, a *Parliament propter Excellentiam, that*
may truly be call'd Parliamentissimum Parli-
 amentum. The Speech which his Majesty made
 on this Occasion ought, says *Echard,* to be insert-
 ed without any *Abridgment;* so I refer the Reader
 to his History for it entire, and for Chancellor
Hyde's in the next Page; of both which I shall
 only insert a Paragraph or two. His Majesty told
 them, "I pray let us resolve that this be for ever
 call'd the *Healing, the Blessed Parliament;*
 and Chancellor *Hyde* told them, *A Party of the*
late disbanded Officers and Soldiers, and others,
full of Discontent and seditious Purposes, had
resolv'd to attempt the Change of the present Go-
vernment, and to erect a Common-wealth, in
which Ludlow and other desperate Persons were
concern'd. There does not in the whole Conduct
 of *Ludlow's* Life appear one Action, that only
 excepted wherein he with others became guilty
 of the King's Death, which does not argue a
 good Understanding, and as great Caution and
 Courage. It was not possible for so wise and in-
 telligent a Man as he to engage with two or three
 Serjeants and Corporals, or with two or three
 broken Colonels and Captains, to overthrow the
 Government, and set up a Republick with-
 out Men, without Money, without Ships, with-
 out Arms, without Name and Interest; and this
incredible Scandal taints the whole Speech so
 much, that I shall make use of no more of it.
 He was foisted into it to prepare the Way for a
Militia Act, and to render some severe Acts
 against the *Presbyterians* necessary, under Pre-
 tence of Danger.

On the Twenty-fourth of *December* dy'd the
 beloved Princess of *Orange* of the Small-Pox, and
 with much Labour and Patience we are at last
 come to the End of this *Wonderful Year,* as it is
 call'd by *Echard;* and we shall not part with it
 till we have remembred, as Mr. Archdeacon has
 done, the Beginning of the *Royal Society,* the
 chief Promoters of which were *Dr. Wilkins, Dr.*
Wallis, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Bathurst, Dr. Wren,
Lord Brouncker, Mr. Boyle, Sir William Petty,
and Mr. Rooke. But when he comes to give an
 Account of the *Beaux Esprits,* the fine Wits of
 the Restoration Period, he omits telling us how
Waller, Sprat, Dryden, South, had distinguish'd
 themselves by such Panegyrics upon *Cromwel,*
 that they out-did every thing which had till then
 been seen of *English* Poetry. *Coke* says, *The*
Poets strain'd their Wits to that Pitch to celebrate
his Encomiums, that they cou'd never after arrive
to it. *Dr. Sprat,* Bishop of *Rocheſter,* and *Dr.*
South, Canon of *Christ-church,* strain'd higher
 than even *Waller* and *Dryden* in Praise of *Oliver.*
 To his List of polite Writers might have been
 added *Wilkins* and *Bates;* and as to *D'avenant*
 and *L'Eſtrange's* refining and improving our
 Tongue, he shew'd his Knowledge in Language
 to be as imperfect as in History. How came he
 to forget the immortal *Milton,* and the very
 witty *Marvel?* I suppose they were too *Repub-*
lican with him to have *Politeness* and *Taste.* His
 Function might have led him to treat of the Man-
 ners of the Court, and then he might have told
 us, if he wou'd, what was the Refinement and
 Improvement there, as *Coke* does.

"All sorts of Men endeavour'd to imitate the
 "Luxury and Prodigality of the Court, which
 "scarce entertain'd any but upon these Terms.
 "To humour the King, the publick Theatres
 "were stuff'd with most obscene Actions and
 "Interludes; and the more obscene pleas'd the
 "King the better, who grac'd the Opening of
 "them with his Presence at the first Notice of a
 "new Play." 'Twas observ'd and confes'd, that
 the *English* Gentlemen of the *Cavalier* Party in
Cromwel's Time liv'd better under Sequestration,
 such was the Sobriety and Modesty then in Fa-
 shion, than after they were put in full Possession
 of their Estates, such was the Luxury and Pro-
 fusion, such the Lewdness and Extravagance that
 came in with the King!

What further Improvements and Refinements
 the Court made in *Taste* and Manners, during
 all this Reign, will be seen in every Page of the
 History.

We shall now look a little into the Affairs of
Ireland and *Scotland.* The Earl of *Orrery,* soon
 after the Restoration, return'd to *Ireland,* to take
 Care of his Concerns there, where he understood
 a Petition was preparing by the *Irish* Papists to
 be presented to the King for restoring their
 Estates. To prevent which a Counter Petition
 was drawn up by the Protestants, who chose De-
 puties, of whom my Lord *Orrery* was chief, to
 appear for them at Court, as the *Irish* Papists
 had done, the Chief of whose Deputies was Sir
Nicholas Plunket. The latter knowing the Lord
Orrery to be their most zealous Opponent, tempt-
 ed him with an Offer of 8000 Pounds down, and
 an Estate of 7000 Pounds *per Annum,* when their
 Matters were settled, if he wou'd be silent in the
 Business; but that not succeeding, a Day was
 appointed for a Hearing of both Sides before the
 King and Council. Sir *Nicholas Plunket,* as for
 the Petitioners, was order'd to be heard first, and
 he took a great deal of Pains to set forth the
 Loyalty and Sufferings of the *Irish* Catholics
 under the late *U'urpers,* what Losses they had
 met with by their *Transplantation,* humbly pray-
 ing Relief as to their Estates, Liberties, &c.
 My Lord *Orrery* answer'd *Plunket,* and having
 congratulated his Majesty on his Restoration, in
 the Name of all the Protestants in *Ireland,* he
 enlarg'd upon the Merit of their late Services,
 they being the first of all his Majesty's Subjects
 who declar'd for him effectually, and invited him
 into his Kingdom; on which Account they might
 hope for as much Favour as any other, and more
 than those who were declar'd Enemies to his late
 Majesty, and to be prosecuted with Fire and
 Sword. Here the King was pleas'd to bear Wit-
 nesses to what Lord *Orrery* had said of the early
 Appearance of the Protestants in *Ireland* for him,
 owning that the Earl of *Orrery,* in the Name,
 and by Commission of his Protestant Subjects in
Ireland, was the first of all his Subjects who in-
 vited him to that Kingdom. I observe, as well
 in Manuscript History as the *Common Histories,*
 that every one is every where putting in for the
 Merit of the *Restoration,* for no other Reason
 certainly but that they may have the Reward,
 and the Author of the Manuscript Memoirs of the
 Lord *Orrery* does labour this Matter in a parti-
 cular Manner. His Lordship then represented to
 the Board, that the *English* in *Ireland* had only
 fought in Defence of their Lives, Estates, Reli-
 gion and Liberties, against those who, contrary
 to Law, Conscience and Right, wou'd have dis-
 possess'd them of all. That the *Irish* Papists, after the
 Cessation of Arms, had sent no Assistance to the
 late King, as they had promis'd to do, and wou'd
 have cut off the Marquis of *Ormond,* his Maje-
 sty's Lord Lieutenant at *Kilkenny,* which Lord
Ormond

Parlia-
ment dis-
solv'd.

Plot.

Royal Soci-
ety.

Beaux
Esprits:

A. D. 1660

1661.
Ireland
Affairs.

A. D. 1661 Ormond averr'd to be true, and that they refus'd to receive him into *Limerick*, but endeavour'd to intercept and murder him in his Return to *Dublin*. Then the Earl of *Orrery* produc'd a Paper sign'd by *Plunket* and several of the supreme Council of *Kilkenny*, asking him if it was not his Hand, and if the Hands of others of them then present were not of their Writing. The Marquis of *Ormond* seeing it cry'd, *Sir Nicholas Plunket, that is certainly your Writing*, which neither he nor the others cou'd deny, and being read, it appear'd to be an Order of the *Supream Council* to prosecute the Marquis of *Ormond* by Name, then Lord Lieutenant, and his Party with Fire and Sword. Upon which the Earl of *Orrery* said, *These must be very Loyal Subjects indeed, that had declar'd War against his Majesty's Commission'd Lieutenant!* He added, *It will be prov'd to this most Honourable Board, that the Irish did not only declare War against his Majesty's Lieutenant, but that Sir Nicholas Plunket himself had been imposser'd by them by a Commission under the Hands of the Supream Council*, which he also produc'd, and the *Irish* Commissioners cou'd not deny the Hand Writing of *Plunket* and others of them, to offer the *Pope* the Kingdom of *Ireland*: *If he refus'd it, to offer it to the King of Spain; and in case he wou'd not accept of it, to make the same Offer to the King of France, the Duke of Lorraine, or any other Catholick Prince.* Then his Lordship shew'd the Council another Paper subscrib'd as before, which I have seen in Print, and desir'd it might be read. It was a Petition drawn up by the Heads of the *Irish* Nation, about the Transplantation; wherein they gave the Common-wealth Parliament the Stile and Title of the *supream Authority*, acknowledging it to be justly and lawfully lodg'd in that Assembly to whom they submitted their Lives and Fortunes. The King was oblig'd to yield to so much Proof and Reason; the *Irish* Petition was rejected, and *Plunket* and the other Popish Deputies were forbidden his Presence and Court, *pro Forma*, but he had nevertheless Interest and Favour in it. The Earl of *Monrath* and the six other Protestant Commissioners were very inquisitive to know how Lord *Orrery* came by those Papers, and why he had not communicated them to his Fellow-Commissioners before the Hearing. His Lordship told them, *He wou'd not trust his Brother with them for Fear; if 'twere known he had such original Papers the Papists, who were confident of Success without such Evidence against them, might use some Art or other to render them ineffectual, which, if they were surpris'd with them, they cou'd not do.* He said, the Manner of his coming by such Originals was very extraordinary, "That upon his being nam'd one of the Deputies for the Protestants in *Ireland*, a plain, grave, Country Gentleman came to his House in *Munster*, and desir'd to speak with him in private;" which being admitted he said, *He heard his Lordship was going to Court in such a Commission, and knowing him to be a Man of Integrity, he had brought some Papers, which he thought wou'd be useful to him for the English Interest against the Irish; that he wou'd not trust his own Son with them, and therefore came in Person to wait on his Lordship, and deliver them to him.* My Lord ask'd how he got them! The Gentleman reply'd, He had had such a Command in the Army, and one of his Soldiers, in rifling the House of an *Irish* Papist of Distinction, brought away these Papers, which he took from him, and laid them up safe to be made use of upon Occasion, and none cou'd be more proper than this. When the Earl of *Orrery* ask'd what his Name was, and where he liv'd, he desir'd to

be excus'd; and having deliver'd the Papers to him, he went his Way; nor cou'd the Earl ever see him, or hear of him afterwards. *A D 1651*

Soon after the Earl of *Orrery*, the Earl of *Monrath*, and Sir *Maurice Eustace*, made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, were appointed Lords Justices of that Kingdom, and were directed to call and hold a Parliament there, in which pass'd the famous *Act of Settlement*, the Draft of which was prepar'd by the Earl of *Orrery*. The King, to whom the latter had deliver'd all the original Papers above-mention'd, by Command, gave the Earl a List of Papist's Names, whose Estates were to be excepted out of the *Act*; the Duke of *Ormond* did the same. By this *Act* the forfeited Estates were settled on the Purchasers, Officers and Soldiers who had them for their Arrears, and others who had them by Purchase; but the Court of Claims broke in upon it so much, in Favour of the *Irish* Papists, by Direction from *England*, that 'twas the Cause of a loud continual Clamour, 'till it was repeal'd in the Reign of this King's Brother, King *James*.

The *Scots* had very great Reason to hope that Scotland, the *Kirk* was coming into Halcyon Days, having a *Covenanting* King on the Throne; a King who had thrice taken that solemn League, in the most solemn Manner, and by a tremendous Appeal to the living God, that his Heart went with his Hand and his Lips in subscribing and pronouncing it. But their Hope, and their *Covenant* vanish'd in a few Months, and a Ser of cruel impious Governors were put over them both in Church and State.

In *August* the Earl of *Glencairne* was sent down to *Scotland*, to call the Committee of Estates, till the Parliament, which was to meet in *January*, cou'd sit. There met also at *Edinburgh* ten or twelve Ministers, who had a Paper before them, drawn up by Mr. *Guthry*, a very warm Man, in which, after some cold Complements to the King, on his *Restoration*, "they put him in Mind of the *Covenant*, which he had so solemnly sworn while among them; they lamented, that instead of pursuing the Ends of it in *England*, according to the Oaths he had taken, he had set up the *Common-Prayer* in his Chappel, and the Order of *Bishops*; upon which they made terrible Denunciations of heavy Judgments from God upon him, if he did not stand to the *Covenant*, which they call'd the Oath of God." The Earl of *Glencairne* having Notice of this Meeting, sent Officers who seiz'd every one of the Ministers, together with their Paper. The Government set the other Ministers at Liberty, after they had suffer'd some Severities in Prison; but Mr. *Guthry*, Minister of *Sterling*, when the King resided there, was kept close Prisoner, and was cited to answer for some Expressions in the *Pulpit*, which had offended the King and his Councilors. He refus'd answering to any one but the *Presbytery*; he also protested for Remedy at Law against the King, for disturbing him in the Exercise of his Ministry; at which his Majesty was so irritated, that it was resolv'd to make an Example of him, and strike Terror into his Brethren.

The Committee of Estates summon'd great Numbers of Persons, who had been busy in the late Times, to appear before them, and give Bail for their forth Coming, at the Opening of the Parliament. Many saw that the Intentions of this, was to fright them into a Composition, and also into a Concurrence with the Measures that were to be taken; so they comply'd and redeem'd themselves by Presents from farther Vexation, which Presents fell mostly into the Hands of Sir

A.D. 1661 *Archibald Primrose* and *Sir John Fletcher*. The Measures and Manners in *Scotland* cannot fail of being of a Piece with those in *England*. The Earl of *Middleton* is sent thither to open the Parliament, and see what Account Bishop *Burnet* gives of him, "His Way of Living was not only the most splendid the Nation had ever seen, but was likewise the most scandalous; for Vices of all Sorts were the open Practices of those about him. Drinking was the most notorious of all, which was often continu'd thro' the whole Night, till the next Morning, and many Disorders happening after those irregular Heats, the People, who had never before that time seen any thing like it, came to look with an ill Eye on every thing that was done by such a Set of lewd and vicious Men. This laid in all Mens Minds a new Prejudice against *Episcopacy*." The Parliament, in the Transport that seiz'd them, after reading the King's Letter, pass'd an Act, extending the King's Prerogative as far as *Primrose*, who drew it, had Words to extend it. They pass'd another Act, whereby all Leagues not made by the King's Authority, were declar'd illegal, which striking at the very Root of the *Covenant*, extremely troubled the *Presbytery*; for the *Covenant* was a League made with *England* 1643, which was thus condemn'd, and declar'd of no Force for the future. Mr. *Macquair* Minister of *Glasgow*, was banish'd the Kingdom for protesting against this Act. Another pass'd by this Parliament was to rescind all Parliaments held since the Year 1633, which tho' *Episcopacy* was not nam'd, imply'd, that it wou'd be re-establish'd, because it was suppress'd by Parliaments since that Time. The Earl of *Crawford* and Duke *Hamilton* argu'd much against this Bill, and it was so extravagant, the King himself did not like it: Upon which the Earl of *Glencairne* and *Rothes* were sent to *London*, to give the King a full Account of that Proceeding and others; and with them went *Sharp*, who had been so zealous for the *Presbytery*, to press the speedy setting up of *Episcopacy*, which *Middleton* and he perswaded the King, that the *Scots* Nation waited for with great Impatience, tho' of all the Synods in *Scotland*, that of *Aberdeen* was the only Body, who made an Address that look'd towards *Episcopacy*, and the forcing it upon these People, was the Occasion of all the Tumults and Divisions, with which they were afflicted from the *Restoration* to the *Revolution*. It was a mad roaring Time, says my Lord of *Sarum*, and no Wonder it was so, when the Men of Affairs were almost perpetually Drunk.

Archbishop Sharp. We have mention'd the Marquis of *Argyle's* being seiz'd at *London*, when he came to complement the King on his Return to *Whitehall*. He was imprison'd in the *Tower*, and from thence sent to *Scotland*, to be attainted by this Parliament, before whom he was accus'd of High Treason. The chief Articles were, joining with those who were for delivering up the late King to the *English* Army, and concurring with *Cromwell*, who had oblig'd the whole *Scots* Nation to concur with him, by Perswasion or Power. Then the King's Advocate put in the Military Executions done by his Forces in the late Wars, and some other Particulars, which made him accountable for the Blood that had been spilt in Defence of his Vassals and Country, against the Massacres and Devastations of the *Macdonalds* and other *Papist* Rebels, who came from *Ireland* on Purpose to waste and destroy his Territory. The Lord *Argyle* was a Man of excellent Sense, and a Genius superior to a hundred of the *Glencairnes* and *Middletons*, his implacable Enemies and Prosecutors; and it was an excellent Defence he

A.D. 1661 made, had not the Times been fallen into the last Degeneracy with respect to Virtue and Justice: He said, "He did not think himself bound to answer what was done before the Year 1651, all Things being then bury'd in the Act of Oblivion pass'd by the present King, whom he crown'd in *Scotland*: That he was at *London*, when most of the Barbarities his Men were charg'd with, were committed; nor did it appear that he gave any Orders about them, that it was well known great Outrages had been committed by the *Macdonalds*, and he believ'd his People, when they had the better of them, had taken cruel Revenges, which was to be imputed to the Heat of the Time, and the Temper of the People, who had been much provok'd by the Burning of his whole Country, and by much Blood that was shed. As to his complying with the Usurpation, he had stood out till the Nation was quite conquer'd, and in that Case, it was the receiv'd Opinion both of Divines and Lawyers, that Men might lawfully submit to Usurpers, when forc'd to it by an inevitable Necessity. It was an Epidemical Sin, and his Circumstances were such, that more than a bare Compliance was requir'd of him. What he did that way, was only to preserve himself and his Family, and was not done on design to oppose the King's Interest, nor did he suffer by any thing he did. As to *Cromwell*, he said, *What cou'd he think of that Matter, after a Man so eminent in the Law as his Majesty's Advocate Sir John Fletcher had taken the Engagement.*" At which that mercenary Wretch was so inflam'd, that he call'd the Marquis of *Argyle* Impudent Villain, and was not so much as chid for that barbarous Treatment. The Marquis gravely reply'd, *I have learn'd in my Affliction to bear Reproaches, but if the Parliament see no Cause to condemn me, I am less concern'd at the King's Advocate's railing.* The Earl of *Middleton*, who thirsted after the Blood of the Marquis, sunk an Order from the King to have the whole Proceedings in Parliament against him transmitted to *London*, and made a vehement Speech, intimating, that the Lord *Argyle* was concern'd in the Death of the King. But *Gilmore*, President of the Session, who had been a zealous *Royalist*, answer'd him thirteen or fourteen Times, and with such Strength of Reason, that notwithstanding the Parliament was enough prejudic'd against the Marquis, they acquitted him of that Charge by a great Majority, at which the Lord *Argyle* express'd so much Joy, that he seem'd little concern'd at any thing which cou'd happen to him after that. His Defence was so good, that it stagger'd many Members of the *Scots* Parliament, till some Letters from the Marquis of *Argyle*, to the perfidious Monk, were produc'd. Read what the Bishop of *Salisbury* writes of that base Man, and then judge whether my Language is not worthy of him, "While it was very doubtful how it wou'd have gone, Monk by an inexcusable Baseness, had search'd among his Letters, and found some that were written by *Argyle* to himself, that were hearty and zealous on their Side, the Side that the false and ungrateful Monk was engag'd in, that of the Common-wealth and *Cromwel*. These he sent down to *Scotland*, and after they were read in Parliament, it cou'd not be pretended that his Compliance was feign'd or extorted from him. Every body blam'd Monk for sending these down: *The Treason may be lov'd, but the Traitor is always hated.* Since it was a betraying the Confidence they liv'd in, they were sent by an Express, and came to the Earl of *Middleton* after the

A. D. 1661 " Parliament was engag'd in the Debate, so he order'd the Letters to be read, which also was " much blam'd, as contrary to the Forms of Justice, since Probation was clos'd on both Sides." Upon reading of these Letters, the Marquis's Friends went out, finding there was no room left to pretend that his Compliance was forc'd. It was very generous of the Marquis of *Montros*, he went out too, and refus'd to Vote, owning *He had too much Resentment to judge in that Matter.* Upon this he was soon condemn'd, though there appears not any more Reason for it after the Letters came than before, unless they would make every one answerable who had comply'd with the Common-wealth and *Cromwel*. A Man may be forc'd to comply with a thing which he would not have done without Force, and yet after his Compliance, he may innocently enough express his Satisfaction in the Force that was put upon him; for that Expression may be feign'd to encrease, as his Compliance might have been to preserve his Interest. When he was condemn'd, 'twas design'd to execute him after the manner of *Montros*'s Execution, but it was carry'd that he shou'd be Beheaded, and he suffer'd *May* the 27th, with all the Composure of a Christian Hero. *Echard*, that has prais'd and flatter'd so many worthless Characters, cannot part with this without an infamous Reflection; *He submitted his Head to the Block, upon which Head the Blood of several lay heavy.* He spoke highly in Justification of the Covenant, calling it the *Cause and Work of God*, and express'd his *Apprehension of sad Times* to follow, which might have been justly apprehended by Persons of much less Foresight than the Marquis of *Argyle* had, in whose Murder the Archdeacon seems to take great Delight.

Argyle unjustly condemn'd.

Mr. Guthry the Minister hang'd.

Mr. *Guthry*, the Minister, was accus'd of Acceding to the Remonstrance when the King was in *Scotland*, and for a Book he had printed with the Title of the *Causes of God's Wrath upon the Nation*; in which the treating with the King, the tending him the Covenant, and the admitting him to the Exercise of the Government, were aggravated as Acts of *Apostacy*. The reading of this Accusation only is sufficient to let us into the Issue of this Trial, especially when the Reader is told that Mr. *Guthry* had excommunicated the Earl of *Middleton* some Years before for his Enormities; and the People who approv'd not of *Guthry*'s Warmth, detested *Middleton*'s appearing in the Prosecution. The Minister was soon condemn'd to be hang'd, notwithstanding a very steady Opposition made by the Lord *Tweedale* to the Sentence, in which are some Words, as if the Prosecution had flow'd from the King's Resentment of his Behaviour to himself. Bishop *Burnet*, who saw him suffer, tells us he was so far from expressing any Fear, that he rather express'd a Contempt of Death. *He spoke an Hour upon the Ladder with the Composure of a Man who was delivering a Sermon rather than his last Words; he justify'd all he had done, and exhorted all People to adhere to the COVENANT, which he magnify'd highly.*

One *Govan* was Executed at the same Time, for deserting to *Cromwel*'s Army twelve Years before. *Maccloud* of *Affin*, who had betray'd *Montros*, was let go without any Censure. The Bishop gives us the Reason of it; *He struck up to a high pitch of Vice and Impiety, and gave great Entertainments in Prison, which notwithstanding the Baseness of the Man and his Crimes, begot him many Friends.* The Laird of *Warristoun* being absent, was attainted. The Laird *Swinerton*, who was turn'd Quaker, so mov'd his Judges by the new Meekness of his Spirit, that

they recommended him to the King for Mercy; A. D. 1661 the rather, because *Middleton* hated *Lauderdale*, who had a Grant of *Swinerton*'s Estate. For after what we have read, and shall read of these Men, both as to Spirituals and Temporal, one cannot imagine they do one Act of Generosity out of a generous Principle, or one just Act for the sake of Justice.

We have mention'd another perfidious Parasite, *Sharp*, who was the *Presbytery*'s Agent, and sent on their chief Errands by them to *Holland* and *London*, where he is now betraying their Cause and Covenant, and earnestly soliciting the King to set up *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*: The Earl of *Lauderdale* oppos'd it, telling the King that *Sharp* misrepresented the Disposition of the *Scots* Nation. *Sharp* alledg'd the general Bent was for *Episcopacy*. *Lauderdale* affirm'd that those who seem'd zealous for it, ran into it to gain Favour only. However, *Sharp* being back'd by *Middleton*, the King suffer'd them to set aside the *Presbytery*, though, says Bishop *Burnet*, with a visible Reluctancy. His Majesty, says he, remember'd when he was among them, that the *Scots* had an Aversion to an Hierarchy. The Earl of *Clarendon* and the Duke of *Ormond* supported *Middleton* and *Sharp*, the Earl of *Crawford* was of the same Opinion with *Lauderdale*; but the latter declaring against it only as 'twas unseasonable, and Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *Robert Murray* making the same Declaration, Zeal got the better of Discretion, and a Letter being sent from the King to *Scotland* about it, the Earls of *Middleton* and *Glencairne* took Care to have such an Answer return'd by the Privy-Council there, as would effectually confound *Presbytery*. Accordingly, upon receipt of it, Persons were thought of to fill the *Scottish* Sees. *Sydserser*, the old Bishop of *Galloway*, was living, and translated to *Orkney*. *Sharp* was order'd to find out Persons to be made Bishops, and, according to Bishop *Burnet*, the Choice was generally very bad.

Fairfoul, who was made Bishop of *Glasgow*, was an insinuating crafty Man, a better Physician than a Divine, his Life was scarce free from Scandal, and he was eminent in nothing that belong'd to his own Function; he had not only sworn the Covenant, but had persuaded others to swear it. Soon after his Consecration, says the Bishop, his Parts so sunk that he became almost a Changeling. *Hamilton*, who was made Bishop of *Galloway*, had been wont when he gave the Sacrament to excommunicate all that were not true to the Covenant. *Sharp* was promoted to the Archbishoprick of *St. Andrews*, and protest- ed he submitted to that Post, on Design to moderate Matters, and to cover some good Men from a Storm. Bishop *Burnet* adds, *So deeply did he still dissemble.* Of Dr. *Leighton*, who was another of the new Bishops, the Bishop of *Sarum* gives the most Seraphick Character that one can meet with; among other things he says of him, " That having talk'd of some Points of Popery " with the freedom of an abstracted and speculative Man, the Papists had some Hopes of him; yet he express'd another Sense of the " Matter when he came to see it was really intended to be brought in among us." Which being one of the main Points intended to be prov'd by this History, I hope the Evidence of so divine a Person as Archbishop *Leighton*, for so he became, is sufficient in that Article. *Sharp*, as well as *Leighton*, had never had *Episcopal* Ordination; so before he was consecrated, he was privately ordain'd Priest and Deacon; which was perform'd in *Westminster-Abbey* by the Bishop of *Winchester*, and two other *English* Bishops; and to use Bishop *Burnet*'s Words, " He who had

Sharp's Treachery.

Archb. Sharp's Perfidy.

K. Charles for Popery.

A.D. 1661 "the greatest Hand in it, proceeded with so much Diffimulation, and the rest of the Order were so mean and so selfish, and the Earl of Middleton's Wick-^{edness.} conducted it, were so openly impious and vitious, that it did cast a Reproach upon every thing relating to Religion, to see it manag'd by such Instruments." All the Steps that were made afterwards were of a Picce with this melancholy Beginning, as may be seen in almost every Instance of Ecclesiastical Matters from the Restoration, till the Church of Scotland was restor'd after the Revolution.

When we return to England, we shall find a parcel of mad Men got together in London with an extravagant Imagination that they shou'd be able to overturn the Government by fighting *Tro* against *Ten Thousand*. There is so much Abuse of Scripture in the Accounts of this Insurrection, written by some of our Ecclesiastical Historians, that I dare not repeat it. The Chief of this Enthusiastical Rabble was one Venner, who had been a noisy crazy Fifth Monarchy Man in Cromwell's Time. If Oliver had sent him and his Followers to *Bedlam*, he had done an Act of Charity. These Fellows had certain Scriptural Phrases in their Mouths, which they repeated, as Oliver's Porter us'd to do in the same Hospital, *King Jesus, Powers of the Earth, Kings in Chains, Nobles in Fetters, One chace a Thousand, Possess the Gate, Hissing and Cursing, Gideon, Daniel, and the Revelations, Captivity captive*. These, as you will find it in *Echard*, were all shot out of a *Conventicle* like so many Granadoes out of a Mortar-picce; and Sir Richard Browne, the prudent and vigilant Lord Mayor, detach'd a Body of *Militia* to put an end to the War. Venner, the *Wine-Cooper*, besides the Army of Words above-mention'd, had forty or fifty Fellows with him as much in their Wits as he was; these routed the Lord Mayor's Troops, but were afterwards routed themselves, and their Garrison taken, as *Echard* has it. It was an Alehouse near *Cripple-gate*, and Col. Cox took an effectual Way to reduce it. He surrounded the House, and order'd it to be unti'd at the top, by which Means his Soldiers cou'd fire down upon the Garrison, who were posted in the Garret. At the same Time another Party of the Colonel's Soldiers mounted the Stairs, broke down the Door, and enter'd the Garret. Six of the Rebels were kill'd before, another refusing Quarter was knock'd down, and then shot with a Musket. The rest of the Garrison were taken Prisoners, as were Venner, *Hodgkins, Gowler, Allen, Fym, Ashton, Prichard, Fall, Hopkins, Wells*, and others, of whom about sixteen were hang'd at *Tyburn*. The Archdeacon and another Reverend Historian, and other such History Writers, do make the most of this *Grand Rebellion*, on purpose to blacken the *Nonconformists*, as if they had encourag'd it, and were conspiring to do the like. Therefore it is said, Venner held a *Conventicle*, Venner sally'd from a Meeting-house, Venner was hang'd over-against his Meeting-house, Venner's Plot justify'd the Proclamation, prohibiting *unlawful Meetings* under Pretence of *Religious Worship*! Now it begins; the Felicities of the Times are blossoming, and the Reverend Historians rejoice in the Hopes of a rich Harvest.

Echard.

The Happinesses of this Reign.

About a Month after, February the 14th, the Army was disbanded on *Tower-Hill*, Monk's Regiment of Foot and Life-Guard of Horse only excepted.

Coronation.

On the 23d of April, being St. George's Day, the King was Crown'd in *Westminster-Abbey*, having, as Mr. Archdeacon observes, pass'd from the *Tower* to *Westminster* through four Trium-

phal Arches, Emblems of his Majesty's Triumphs; for a Description of which, he refers his Reader, as I do mine, to that ingenious Poet Mr. *John Ogilby*.

A D. 1661

The Splendor of this Solemnity was very glittering and costly, and to prepare for it there were several Promotions and Creations, as Knights of the *Garret*, and Knights of the *Bath*; *Arthur*, Lord *Capel*, was created Earl of *Essex*, *Thomas*, Lord *Brudenel*, Earl of *Cardigan*, *Charles* Howard, Earl of *Carlisle*, Sir *John Greenwile*, Earl of *Bath*, Sir *George Booth*, Lord *Delamere*, Sir *Horatio Townsend*, Baron of *Lyn-Regis*, *John Crew*, Esq; Lord *Crew* of *Stene*. Mr. *Echard* glorying in the Weather on this Occasion, informs us, that 'twas observ'd that the Day of *Cavalcade*, and the Day of *Coronation*, were the only Days clear from Rain; and others made an Observation, that as soon as the Solemnity was over, there fell such a Storm of Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, as had never been known at that Time of the Year; which, according to the Archdeacon himself, *Several were ready to look upon as ominous, and portending some future Calamities*.

Creations.

The first Incident which follows in his History Savoy is the *Savoy Conference*, which the King issu'd his Commission for, to reconcile the *Church of England* and the *Presbyterians*, a very laudable Design! says the Reverend Historian, and no Doubt it wou'd have been very laudable, had there indeed been any such Design. By the King's Declaration Matters relating to Church Government were so regulated, that it wou'd certainly have produc'd a *Comprehension* at least, if not a *Union*. The Affair of the *Liturgy* was more difficult, because those who were for it, and those who were against it, were inflexible on that Head. It was by the *Declaration* to be receiv'd, reform'd, and new Forms drawn up in Scripture Phrase, suited to the several Parts of *Worship*, that Men might use which of them they please. In order to this the Conference at the *Savoy* was appointed, and Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Calamy* were authoriz'd to name the Persons on the *Presbyterian* Side to confer with the Bishops and Doctors on the other Side. The King's Commission to both Sides is dated the 25th of *March*, and the Persons nominated were,

For the Bishops,

Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, Bishop of *London*; Dr. *John Cosens*, Bishop of *Durham*; Dr. *John Warner*, Bishop of *Rockester*; Dr. *Henry King*, Bishop of *Chichester*; Dr. *Humphry Henchman*, Bishop of *Sarum*; Dr. *George Morley*, Bishop of *Worcester*; Dr. *Robert Sanderson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Benjamin Lany*, Bishop of *Peterborough*; Dr. *Bryan Walton*, Bishop of *Chester*; Dr. *Richard Sterne*, Bishop of *Carlisle*; Dr. *John Gauden*, Bishop of *Exeter*; Dr. *John Earl*, Dean of *Westminster*; Dr. *Peter Heylin*, Dr. *John Hacket*, Dr. *John Barwick*, Dr. *Peter Gunning*, Dr. *John Pierston*, Dr. *Thomas Pierce*, Dr. *Anthony Sparrow*, Mr. *Herbert Thorndyke*.

For the Presbyterian Ministers,

Dr. *Edward Reynolds*, Bishop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*, Dr. *John Conant*, Dr. *William Spurstow*, Dr. *John Wallis*, Dr. *Thomas Manton*, Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, Mr. *Richard Baxter*, Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, Mr. *Thomas Case*, Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, Mr. *Samuel Clarke*, Dr. *Thomas Horton*, Dr. *Thomas Jacomb*, Dr. *William Bates*, Mr. *John Rawlinson*, Mr. *William Cooper*, Dr. *John Lightfoot*, Dr. *John Collins*, Dr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, Mr. *William Drake*.

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The Misnomer of Mr. William Drake for Dr. Roger Drake was the Reason that the latter did not assist at the Conference. The Commissioners met at the Bishop of London's Lodgings in the Savoy, where the Bishop of London told the Ministers, *That they, and not the Bishops, had been Seekers of the Conference, being desirous of Alterations in the Liturgy, and that therefore there was nothing to be done till they had brought in all they had to say against it in Writing, and all the additional Forms and Alterations which they desir'd.* The Ministers mov'd for an amicable Conference, according to the King's Commission. One of the Reasons they gave for it is worth observing, *That their Cause and Conference might not be misrepresented and publish'd as the Conference at Hampton-Court was.* But the Bishops insisted on the Bishop of London's Proposal, and Ministers were nam'd to draw up their Exceptions, which was done by Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Wallis, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Newcomen, Dr. Bates, Mr. Clarke, Dr. Jacomb, who in their Paper propos'd, "That the Prayers and Materials of the Liturgy might have nothing in them doubtful or question'd amongst pious, learned and Orthodox Persons." This *Echard* calls an *impracticable Proposal*, and thereby confesses that the Prayers and Materials of the Liturgy have Things in them doubtful, and question'd by pious, learned and Orthodox Persons, which I think is sufficient Argument for it's Amendment, and to say it is impracticable argues his Ignorance in his Function; for let the Prayers be in Scripture Phrase taken out of plain, clear Passages, and let the other Materials be the same, and then they cannot be question'd, without questioning the Truth of the Gospel and the Authority of the Bible.

The Presbyterian Ministers desir'd, *That as the Reformers at first compos'd the Liturgy, as might be most likely to win upon the Papists, and draw them into their Church Communion, by varying as little, as well they cou'd, from the Romish Forms before in Use; so it might, according to the same Rule of Prudence, be then so compos'd as to gain upon the Judgment and Affection of all those who, in the Substantial of the Protestant Religion, are of the same Persuasion.* This material Proposition is wholly omitted by the *Compleat Historian*, tho' it as much deserv'd to be taken notice of as the other. Dr. Calamy adds, *I'll leave the Reader to guess at the Reason why that shou'd be pass'd by, when what went before and follows is particularly recited.* This is more likely to have been a design'd than an accidental Thing.

The Ministers desir'd, *That the Repetitions and Responfals of Clerk and People might be omitted.* Any one may observe, that those Repetitions and Responfals are us'd by Men, Women and Children as Things said by Rote without Devotion or Attention, and to say that is the Abuse of it, and not the Use of it, is meer Sophistry, for those that say it know, if they know any thing, that the Imposition of Things, which are so liable to Abuse, is contrary to the Purity and Piety of God's Worship, and if not directly sinful, inexpedient and dangerous. Add to this, that the insisting upon such Things merely for the Vexation of Consciences truly scrupulous, is little consistent with Christian Charity, or indeed with Right Reason or Humane Prudence.

They desir'd, *That the Petitions of the Litany might be cast into one solemn Prayer to be offer'd up by the Minister, and not so as that the Precatory Part shou'd be utter'd only by the People.* In which Request, if they had not been entirely indulg'd, it might have been well enough, had other of their Proposals been comply'd with.

They desir'd, *That there be nothing in the Liturgy countenancing the Observation of Lent as a religious Fast.* And truly, considering what Work is made of that Fast, that it is very often the less Meat the more Drink, the less Flesh the more Fish, it wou'd not have been yielding too much to have own'd that there was more Temperance than Religion in the Observance of it.

They desir'd, *That the religious Observation of Saints Days and Vigils be omitted.*

That the Liturgy be not so impos'd as to exclude the Gift of Prayer in any Part of Publick Service.

That the new Translation of the Scriptures be us'd instead of the old Version, which in many Places is justly exceptionable.

That Apocryphal Lessons might be omitted. Instead of which more such Lessons were soon after added, particularly the Story of *Bel and the Dragon*, which is not much more sacred than that of *St. George and the Dragon*, considering that *Saint* has the Honour to be the Patron of *England*; and instead of lessening the Credit of the Saints Days and Vigils, two new Holidays were added, *St. Barnabas* and the Conversion of *St. Paul*. It can't be said we know not what Spirit these Men are of.

They desir'd, *That the Minister be not requir'd to rehearse the Liturgy at the Communion Table; and why it shou'd be read there, where not half the Church can hear it, rather than in the Middle of the Church where all may hear it, is worthy the Wisdom of a Convocation to explain.*

They desir'd, *That the Word Priest and Curate throughout the Book be turn'd into that of Minister, and Sunday into Lord's Day; which indeed does not seem to be of the last Importance, and if desir'd or deny'd, must be done as much out of Pique and Prejudice, as Reason and Conscience.*

That obsolete Words be chang'd into Words generally receiv'd and better understood. The next Desire is something like a Petition to make use of Sense instead of Nonsense; *That no Portions of the Old Testament, or of the Book of the Acts, be stil'd or read as Epistles; or in other Words, that Leviticus and Deuteronomy might not be put on the same Epistolary Foot with the Colossians and Philippians.*

That the Phrase which supposes all in Communion to be regenerated, while due Care is not taken about the Exercise of Discipline, might be reform'd. Does that need any Hesitation! Is the Act of Communion the Act of Regeneration! And is it absolutely necessary to affirm, when to hope is the most that Christians are allow'd in, *That the Petitions in the Prayers might have a more orderly Connection, and the Forms be of a more competent Length, which wou'd be more to Edification, and tend to gain the Reverence of the People!* Every one feels this as soon as he thinks of it; but the Truth of it is, it is thought of so little, that 'tis no Wonder there are so few edify'd.

That the Liturgy might be so contriv'd as to comprehend the Sum of all such Sins as are ordinarily to be confess'd in Prayer by the Church, and of such Petitions and Thanksgivings as are ordinarily to be put up to God, and the Catechism annex'd, might summarily comprehend all such Doctrines as are necessary to be heard, and those explicitly set down.

That Ceremonies not necessary in themselves, and that had for above 100 Years caus'd sad Divisions, and been the Fountain of manifold Evils, might not be impos'd by the Liturgy, but left at Liberty.

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The Unreasonableness of these Requests is much amplify'd by the Archdeacon and the Compleat Historian, at which doubtless the Reader will be surpriz'd, when he finds nothing in them but what is reasonable and modest; for tho' a Man may with good Conscience conform to Laws, and reckon his Obedience due to the Constitution, yet he may with good Conscience and good Reason desire many Things to be alter'd which give Offence to scrupulous Minds; and others neither need it nor desire it; for their Consciences being without Scruple, they are ready to conform to every thing that shall be requir'd of them, especially if it touches their Interest, their Ease, their Vanity, or their Passions. It had been well if the Bishops and Doctors had weigh'd the following Argument at the Close of the Paper the Ministers gave them, containing their Objections.

"We know much hath been spoken and written by way of Apology, in Answer to many Things that have been objected, but yet the Doubts and Scruples of tender Consciences still continue, or rather are increas'd. We do humbly conceive it therefore a Work worthy of those Wonders of Salvation which God hath wrought for his Majesty now on the Throne, and for the whole Kingdom, and exceedingly becoming the Ministers of the Gospel of Peace, with all holy Moderation and Tenderness, to endeavour the Removal of every thing out of the Worship of God, which may justly offend or grieve the Spirits of sober and godly Persons: The Things themselves that are desir'd to be remov'd not being of the Foundation of Religion, nor the Essentials of publick Worship, nor the Removal of them any way tending to the Prejudice of the Church or State; therefore their Continuance and rigorous Imposition can no ways be able to countervail the laying aside of so many pious and able Ministers, and the inconceivable Grief that will arise to Multitudes of his Majesty's most loyal and peaceable Subjects, who upon all Occasions are ready to serve him with their Prayers, Estates and Lives. For the preventing of which Evils we humbly pray that these Particulars may be taken into Consideration.

Objections
to the
Liturgy.

After the general Proposals a great many particular Exceptions were added, as to the several Parts of the *Liturgy* and Passages in it, of which these that follow are the chief.

"As to the Morning and Evening Prayer, they excepted against that Part of the *Rubrick*, which speaking of Ornaments to be us'd in the Church, left Room to bring back the *Cope*, *Albe* and other Vestments." *The Temper the Bishops and Doctors were in did not promise much Reformation*; for Dr. *Bates* urging to Dr. *Gunning*, that on the same Reasons they so impos'd the *Cross* and *Surplice*, they might bring in *Holy Water* and *Lights*, and abundance of such Ceremonies, which we have cast out. *Gunning* reply'd, And so I think we ought to have more, and not fewer, if we do well.

What do these Men think of the Salvation of Souls? Are all the Ceremonies impos'd by the Church; are all the Ceremonies that Invention can contrive worth the saving of one Soul? And if one Soul only submitting to a Ceremony in divine Service, contrary to the Conviction of his Conscience, did in so doing hazard his eternal Salvation, can one think upon such an Imposition without Trembling! I put the Case, and doubt it is not in the Power of *Sophistry* to save it.

The Ministers excepted against "the leaving out the *Doxology* at the End of the Lord's Prayer, the frequent Repetition of *Glory be to*

"the *Father*, &c. the Singing of the Lessons, Epistles and Gospels; against the using of the *Benedicite* rather than a *Psalm* or Scripture Hymn. In the *Litany* they excepted against the Expression *Deadly Sin*, and mov'd it might be chang'd into *Heinous* or *Grievous*; against the Expression *Sudden Death*, which they mov'd to be chang'd into *Dying suddenly and unpreparedly*; against Praying for all that travel by *Land and Water*, &c. so universally, which they desir'd to have put indefinitely, those that travel, &c. In the *Collect* for *Christmas-Day* they excepted against the Word *This Day* us'd two or three Days successively. *Wou'd one think there shou'd be Occasion given for such an Exception?*

Concerning the Administration of the Sacrament, "they excepted against the Time assign'd for giving Notice to the Minister, as too short, when confin'd to *over Night*, or in the *Morning*, as to Persons who design'd to communicate. They excepted against the *Rubrick* about the Minister's keeping unqualify'd Persons from the *Lord's Table*, as not sufficiently clear and strong." But that Exception is now aggravated by forcing People to come to it, or to starve.

There is not an Officer in the Army or Fleet, in the Customs, in the Excise, in Corporations and Parishes, but is oblig'd to communicate, or besides paying 500 Pounds to lose his Office, and be incapacitated for holding any as long as he lives.

The Minister is so far from being at Liberty to refuse him the Sacrament, that he loads himself, if he does, with the Damages the Person refus'd sustains by it. This is not all yet; have I not known Persons living in open Adultery admitted? Did I ever know a Person refus'd but out of Pique by the *Vicar* or *Curate*; I put it to every Reader, whether these Things are not within his Knowledge? It was said for Answer to this Exception, that the Minister might refuse a Communicant, if he thought him unfit: That cannot be said now in Case of the *Test*. But what can be more notorious than that there is no where due Care taken about Fitness or Unfitness? And if to administer the Sacrament to Persons known to live in continu'd Acts of Lewdness, Dishonesty and Debauchery be a Sin, how necessary is it to remove all Temptations to it, and especially all Injunctions? Salvation is not to be forc'd upon People. Is it out of Care of their Souls that they are compell'd to communicate, fit or not fit, and to eat spiritual, or to want temporal Bread? What is it the Constitution wou'd provide against? The Worship of God in Society is hop'd to be a Means of obtaining his Grace. Is that Society supported by Coercion and Compulsion, or by Perswasion and Conviction? Or is there any separate Interest which subsists only by the Being of that Society? If it is separate, it cannot be sacred, and then it has nothing to do with the most Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

It will easily be imagin'd why I am so mysterious, and it is not the greatest Felicity we enjoy, that there's Occasion for so much Mystery.

There were many other Exceptions, as may be seen at large in Mr. *Baxter's* Life, and in Dr. *Calamy's* Abridgment; but not one of them being amended, I shall not enlarge upon them here. The Example of the *Hampton-Court* Conference might have convinc'd the Ministers, that the *Savoy* Conference wou'd only expose them to the Insults of their Enemies under Protection of the Court.

Mr. *Baxter* drew up a new *Liturgy*, consisting entirely of Scriptural Phrases. The *Presbyterians* are now beginning to pay for their bringing

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ing in the King without Conditions. A Year ago not one of these Doctors wou'd have look'd them in the Face, but with Meekness and Humility; but the Air and the Tone are now alter'd, and are as lordly as the Title conferr'd upon them.

Baxter's
Life.

P. 337.

There were many Ministers at the Conference, besides those in the Commission, as on the Bishops Side Dr. Pory, Dr. Crowther, &c. and with the Ministers, as Auditors, were Mr. Miles, Mr. Tiltonson, &c.

After the Exceptions in general and in particular, had been sometime in a Paper Controversy, Bishop Reynolds and the Ministers, earnestly press'd for a Verbal Conference, and with much ado obtain'd it. Dr. Pearson, Dr. Gunning, Dr. Sparrow, were appointed for the Bishops; Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacomb, Mr. Baxter, for the Ministers.

When Mr. Baxter began to prove some of the Episcopal Impositions sinful, Dr. Cosens took Offence at the Word, saying, *He condemn'd all the Churches of Christ, who all of them impos'd some Gesture or other.* Mr. Baxter reply'd, *Many of the Reform'd Churches impos'd none.* He might have said, not one of the Reform'd Churches impos'd one Ceremony, as essential to Church Membership, or under any Penalty, much less under Pain of Loss of Living, and Cure of Souls. Bishop Lany told Mr. Baxter, that *justify'd Persons have no Sin, and are no Sinners, because Justification taketh it away.* Mr. Baxter answer'd, *Justification takes not away the Sin but the Guilt,* which so confounded Lany, that according to Mr. B— he unsaid all again, and knew not what he said. Dr. Morley continually interrupting Mr. Baxter, Dr. Bates cry'd, *Pray, my Lord, give him Leave to speak,* but he cou'd not obtain it, without frequent Interruption. Dr. Crowther, tho' no Commissioner, took up Mr. Baxter about Justification; and as Mr. Baxter himself writes, with a little Nonsense, *wou'd have prov'd that Israel never sinn'd, till Jereboam made the Israelites to sin.*

When the Bishops were desir'd to have Compassion on the Souls of their Brethren, and that they wou'd not unnecessarily cast so many out of the Ministry, Bishop Cosens said, *What do you threaten us with Numbers? for my Part, I think the King wou'd do well to make you name them all;* upon which Mr. B— reflects thus, *A charitable and wise Motion! to name all the Thousands of England, who dissented from them, and who had sworn the Covenant, and whom they wou'd afterwards persecute.* In the Preface to the Ministers Exceptions against the Liturgy, it was said, *That after twenty Years Calamity, they wou'd not yield to that, which several Bishops voluntarily offer'd twenty Years before,* meaning the Corrections of the Liturgy, offer'd by those most pious, learned and reverend Fathers of our Church, Archbishop Usher, Archbishop Williams, Bishop Moreton, Bishop Prideaux, Bishop Hall, and many others. As soon as that Passage was read, cry'd Bishop Cosens, *What do you threaten us with a new War! It is Time for the King to look to you.* It is time to find out some Plot to take away their Liberties and Lives. I must confess, I cannot pity the Presbyterians as much as they seem to deserve, when I see them bully'd and brow-beaten: I think presently it was owing to themselves. How came those Bishops and Doctors to have Power over them? Cou'd any thing better be expected from such Men? Were they ever charg'd with Moderation, Humanity, or any of those divine Virtues that tend to Union and Peace? Mr. Baxter proceeds, *I had no Shelter from the Fury of Bishop Cosens, but to name Dr. Hammond, and tell him, I remember'd Dr.*

Bishop Co-
sens's Ar-
rogance.

Hammond insisted on the same Argument, A.D. 1661
That twenty Years Calamity shou'd have taught Men more Charity, and brought them to Repentance and Brotherly Love; and that it is *an Aggravation of their Sin to be unmerciful, after so long and heavy Warnings from God's Hand.* Cosens reply'd, *If that's your Meaning, all is well, and these were the most logical Discourses of that Bishop.* Mr. Baxter entreating them not to cast out so many of their Brethren thro' the Nation, Dr. Sterne, Bishop of Carlisle, turn'd to the rest of the Bishops and cry'd, *He will not say a Kingdom, lest he own a King.* Mr. Baxter answer'd, *Half the Charity which became so grave a Bishop, might have suffic'd to have help'd him to a better Exposition of the Word Nation, from the Mouths of such, who have so lately taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and sworn Fidelity to the King, as his Chaplains, and had such Testimonies from him as we have had, and that our Case was sad: If we cou'd plead by the King's Commission for Accommodation, upon no better Terms than to be noted as Traitors, every time we us'd such a Word as the NATION, which all Monarchical Writers use.*

Mr. Baxter charges Bishop Morley with giving him perpetual Interruption when he offer'd to speak, and the Audience with laughing always in the wrong Place. He informs us, that a learned Doctor who was nor in the Commission, desir'd to be heard, as if he had some unanswerable Argument; and it was a Question, *Whether all that scrupled Conformity, whom we pleaded for, were not such as had been against the King?* Here are the Fruits of the Act of Oblivion. All that pleaded for them had been for the King, or he had never been possess'd of the Kingdom. Mr. Baxter reply'd, *The King himself has given sufficient Testimony of many of them;* *there is not one Minister of twenty whom we plead for, that had ever any thing to do in the Wars against the King, most of them being then Boys at School or in the University.* He added, *Men on both Sides had been against the King.* Upon which Bishop Morley ask'd, *Whether Mr. Baxter ever knew a conformable Man for the Parliament?* Yes, my Lord, said he, *many a one.* Name one, cry'd some of the Doctors. I will, reply'd Mr. Baxter, *not only a Man, but a Bishop, nay an Archbishop, the Archbishop of York, Dr. Williams, some time Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, who was Commander of the Forces for the Parliament in Wales.* At which the Bishops and Doctors were all silent.

He told them, if they cast out all the Nonconformists, there wou'd not be tolerable Ministers enough to supply the Congregations. Bishop Morley answer'd, *So it was in the late Times, and that some Places had no Ministers at all through all those Times of Usurpation,* naming Ailesbury, which he knew to have had none upon his own Knowledge. Enquiry being made into it, Ailesbury was found to have been well supply'd, either by a settled Incumbent, or the Preacher of the Garrison. *You shou'd remember,* says Morley, *how you did by us, and that you talk'd not then as you do now.* Mr. Baxter reply'd, *I am confident there is no Man here present, that had ever a Hand in silencing any of you. For my own part, I have been in Judgment for casting out utterly Insufficient and notoriously Scandalous indifferently, of what Opinion or Side soever; but I have publickly written against the silencing or displacing any worthy Man for being against the Parliament: And if it had been otherwise, you shou'd take warning by others*
Faults,

A. D. 1661 " Faults, and not imitate them, and do Evil be-
cause Cromwel did so.

Upon this Dr. *Walton*, Bishop of *Chester*, said, *Indeed, Mr. Baxter did write against the casting of us out: But, Mr. Baxter, did you not say, If our Churches had no more than bare Liberty, as others had, without the Compulsion of the Sword, that none but Drunkards wou'd join in them? He answer'd, No, my Lord, I did not; I only said, that as they had been order'd, if they had but equal Liberty for Voluntiers, they wou'd be like Ale-houses, where many honest Men may come; but the Number of worse Comers is so great, as makes it dishonourable.*

The Bishops and Doctors spoke of the Antiquity of *Liturgies*; upon which Mr. *Baxter* entreated them to let true Antiquity be imitated by them, and desir'd any of them to prove that ever any Prince did impose one Form of Prayer or *Liturgy* for Uniformity on all the Churches in his Dominions, or even upon one Province or Country under him; or even that any Council, Synod, or Patriarchs, or Metropolitans, did impose one *Liturgy* upon all the Bishops and Churches under them? He prov'd to them, not only from the Instances of *Basil* and the Church of *Neocæsarea*, but from others, that every Bishop then chose what Forms he pleas'd for his own Church. *Baxter* adds, *They cou'd deny nothing of all this; but Antiquity is nothing to them when it makes against them.*

As the Conference was drawing to an End, Bishop *Cofens* produces a Paper as from a considerable Person, containing a Method to end the Controversy. The main Thing in it was a Motion to put the Complainers upon distinguishing between the Things they charg'd as sinful, and those which they oppos'd as inexpedient only. The three Disputants on the Ministers Side were desir'd to draw up an Answer to it against the next Morning, and they did so, and deliver'd it, but it was in their own Names only. Eight Things they in this their Reply charg'd as flatly sinful, and contrary to the Word of God: *That no Minister be admitted to baptize without the prescrib'd Use of the transient Image of the Crois. That no Minister be admitted to read or pray, or exercise the other Parts of his Office, that dares not wear a Surplice. That none be admitted to Communion in the Lord's Supper, that dare not receive it kneeling; and that all Ministers be enjoin'd to deny it to such. That Ministers be forc'd to pronounce all baptiz'd Infants Regenerate by the Holy Ghost, whether Children of Christians or not. That Ministers be forc'd to deliver the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ unto the Unfit, both in Health and Sickness, and that with Personal Application, putting it into their Hands; and that such are forc'd to receive it, though against their Wills, in the Conscience of their Impenitency. That Ministers be forc'd to absolve the Unfit, and that in absolute Expressions. That they are forc'd to give Thanks for all whom they bury, as Brethren whom God hath deliver'd and taken to himself. And that none may be a Preacher that dare not subscribe that there is nothing in the Common Prayer Book, the Book of Ordination, and the Nine and Thirty Articles, that is contrary to the Word of God. And the Ministers undertook to prove as much.*

Compleat History here, declares that the Fifth and Sixth Things mention'd were positively false in the Supposition of them. Dr. *Calamy* animadvertes upon it thus: " He must allow it to appear strange to others, that he shou'd say this with so much Assurance, when he himself cannot be insensible that there has all along been a Party in the

Church, who have represented Ministers as under an Obligation to administer the Sacrament and Absolution to all that desire either, without Distinction; and that this Party have not wanted Power to run down those whose Apprehensions herein have been different from theirs.

The greatest Part of the Disputation on the Ministers Side fell to Mr. *Baxter's* Share, and to Dr. *Gunning's* on the Side of the Bishops. I can't tell what Writer *Echard* took his Libel upon Mr. *Baxter* from, but it is of a Piece with the rest of his Authorities. "*Baxter* was either perplex'd in his Understanding, or indispos'd for closing the Difference. His Talent lay in retiring to Foreign Distinctions and Misapplications of the Rules of *Logick*. And it was hard to say, whether his involving an Argument and raising a Mist was Art or Infirmity, whether he was a Knave or a Fool." Dr. *Glanvile*, one of the King's Chaplains, writing to Mr. *Baxter*, says, after having thank'd him for his excellent Performances, *Those who have written against you seem to be set on by nothing but Spleen and Choler, nor have I been able to ascribe the engaging so many virulent Pens against you to any other Cause than the Endeavours of Satan, to hinder the Success which your powerful Pen has had against his dark Kingdom. It was the great Abaddon that inspir'd their Undertakings. I shall conclude with this Profession, That the Freedom of your Spirit, the Impartiality of your Enquiries, the Catholickness of your Judgment and Affections, the Peaceableness and Moderation of your Principles, the publick Spiritedness of your Disposition, the exact uniform Holiness of your Life, and your indefatigable Industry for the Good of Souls, are Excellencies which I never knew so combin'd in one Man. One of those virulent Pens*

was Dr. *Morley*, who charg'd Mr. *Baxter* with asserting a Falshood destructive of all Authority Humane and Divine. Mr. *Baxter's* Reputation was so general, that nothing can be thought of more insolent than the touching of it by such a Pen as our Historian's. Bishop *Wilkins* said of this Judgment of his Writings, *His Practical Discourses were never mended, his Controversial ones seldom confuted.* Bishop *Burnet* speaks of him as a Man of great Piety, and one of the most learned Men of the Age. And even *A. Wood*, that bitter Enemy to Moderation and Charity, calls him the Learned and most Eminent Non-conformist. Of his Opponent, Dr. *Gunning*, the Bishop of *Sarum* says, *All the Arts of Sophistry were made use of by him upon all Occasions, in as confident a manner as if they had been sound Reasoning. He was unweariedly active to very little Purpose, much set on reconciling us to Popery: He had no sound Judgment nor Prudence in Affairs.* The Question these two learned Men disputed, was, *Whether it was lawful to determine the certain Use of Things indifferent in the Worship of God?* The Bishops held the Ministers to this Point, and press'd them to shew that any of the Things impos'd were of themselves unlawful. The Ministers affirm'd, that other Circumstances might make it become unlawful to settle a peremptory Law about Things indifferent, which they apply'd particularly to kneeling at the Sacrament; and stood upon it, that a Law which excluded all that did not kneel from the Sacrament, was unlawful, as a Limitation in the Point of Communion put on the Laws of *Krist*, which ought to be the only Condition of those who had a Right to it. The Question is thus stated by Bishop *Burnet*, and I choose to make use of him

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Echard vilifies Mr. Baxter.

Dr. Glanvile praises him.

Answer to Stillinft. P. 779.

Bp. Morley wishes him.

Bp. Wilkins praises him; So does Dr. Barrow.

Bp. Gunning saying a confident Sophister.

A. D. 1661 him in this Case on Account of his *Function*, which cou'd not bias him on the *Presbyterian* Side. Here it is agreed by both Sides, and by all Sides, that *Christians* under the best Preparation their Hearts are capable of, by using the proper Means towards it, have a Right to the holy Communion, which the Scripture no where directs to be received *kneeling*; but on the contrary, leaves the Posture the same as at common Suppers in the *Eastern* Countries in those Days. If therefore, since the *Idoltry* of the *Host* has been set up, and Communicants have been taught that the Bread is *God* himself, to whom they are to pay Adoration by *kneeling* at the Sacrament, which *Heylin*, and hundreds of other such Divines have asserted, scrupulous Persons cannot think otherwise of it than of *Idoltry*, and are refus'd the Communion because they cannot *kneel*. Whether the Minister, whose Duty it is to give them the Sacrament, sins in refusing to do it, let all the World judge, who make Scripture the Rule of their Faith. To say Human Laws may speak where the Scriptures are silent in Things of the last Concernment, as is Eternal Life or Death, is to say what I cannot spare Words to explain; and to suppose that a poor unhappy Soul has been oblig'd to *kneel* at the Lord's Supper, when he was afraid he was kneeling to an Idol only in the Material Bread, is in that Supposition to make him commit Sin when he was in the highest Act of Devotion. Add to all this, that since *kneeling* is no where directed in Holy Writ, and since, on the contrary, another Posture was practis'd at the first Institution of the Sacrament, and since also it is a Ceremony at best not essential to the well receiving of the Communion, What Necessity was there for the Bishops and Doctors to turn two or three thousand Ministers out of their Livings, and their Wives and Children out of their Houses, purely to satisfy the Obstinacy, Perverseness, Peevishness, and Resentment of *Sheldon*, *Morley*, *Gunning*, *Stern*, and other such Bishops and Doctors? Whoever have a Mind to see this Question in various Logical Shapes, are refer'd to the Dispute at large in *Baxter's* Folio Life, where they will soon discover on which Side the Scale turn'd.

Mr. *Baxter* informs us, that after the Question was left to the before-mention'd Disputants, Three of a Side, most of the Bishops and Doctors still attended to fill up the Number of Voices, and the Divines on the Side of the Ministers absented themselves, as thinking their Three Disputants were only to manage it; but at the Close of all, the Bishops and Doctors, Dr. *Sanderson* in the Chair, shorten'd the Matter by putting it to the Vote, Whether Dr. *Gunning* or Mr. *Baxter* had the better? And it pass'd, as every body will imagine, though Mr. *Baxter's* Reply to *Gunning* was heard; and after it was heard, Bishop *Cesens* put it to the Vote, *All you that think Dr. Gunning hath prov'd his Argument, say I*; upon which they all cry'd *I, I*. Mr. *Baxter* said very truly, *I believe we knew your Opinion before; and if this is the Use you make of our Concession, that you shou'd all be present while our Ministers are all absent, it shews that your Cause is very needy of Defence, when your own Voices must go instead of Argument: But if you will go on upon such lamentable Reasoning, truly in my Opinion it may be call'd so, as you have us'd, to cast out the faithful Pastors, and the People, and divide the Church, and afflict your Brethren, the Day is coming when your own Votes shall not absolve you.*

They then fell upon the Point of *Charity* and *Compassion* to the Church, and the frustrating the King's Commission, and the Kingdom's Hopes,

A. D. 1661 by the Bishops and Doctors; at the same time that they profess'd their Desires of the Church's Peace; for which Mr. *Baxter* told them, *You will not abate the smallest Thing, nor correct your grossest Error.*

The very Choice of the Bishops and Doctors in the King's Commission was enough to shew what the End of the Conference wou'd be. They were the most obstinate, perverse, peevish and revengeful that made any Figure in the Church. Had such Men been employ'd as Bishop *Griffith*, Bishop *Lucy*, Bishop *Nicholson*, Bishop *Lloyd*, Dr. *Whitchcor*, Dr. *Cudworth*, Bishop *Wilkins*, Dr. *More*, Dr. *Worthington*, alike distinguish'd for Piety and Virtue, Learning and Abilities, the Peace of the Church had been establish'd instead of the Establishment procur'd by the *Savoy* Bishops and Doctors, of whom Bishop *Burnet* writes thus, "What the Bishops did with their great Fines was a Pattern to all the lower Dignitaries, who generally took more Care of themselves than of the Church. The Men of Service were loaded with many Livings; and many Dignities. With this great Accession of Wealth, there broke in upon the Church a great deal of Luxury and high Living on the Pretence of Hospitality: And with this Overfet of Wealth and Pomp that came on Men in the Decline of their Age, they who were now growing into old Age, became lazy and negligent in all the true Concerns of the Church."

By every Step taken in the *Savoy* Conference it is obvious, that those Bishops and Doctors thought the true Concerns of the Church were, Pomp, and Wealth, Power, Superstition and Ceremony: That Load of Livings was in all Probability the main Argument for turning so many pious, laborious, learned and able Ministers out of their Churches. I was told by a Friend of Mr. *Baxter*, that a Day or two before this Conference broke up, a Divine happen'd to offer it to one of the Bishops as a Thing reasonable, that those elder *Presbyterian* Ministers who were outed of their Benefices, and those younger who never had any, shou'd be provided for as Livings dropp'd. The Bishop took no Notice of it; and whatever the Ministers said afterwards was worse receiv'd even than what they had said before. But Bishop *Burnet* discovers something that reflects more on the approaching Statute of *Uniformity*, than any *Dissenter* can say; for every one knows it was the darling Act of the Lord *Clarendon*, and that all the Clergy of *England*, and all the Members of our two famous Universities, have ador'd him for his Care of the Church; whereas my Lord of *Sarum* assures us, his real Care was of them. *The Lord Clarendon was heavily charg'd, as having shewn that he was more the Bishops Friend than the Church's.*

The King did not seem very fond of having a Convocation, which was the only Thing wanting to fill up *Echard's* Measure of *Felicity*. He has got a rich Parliament chosen, which, without a religious Synod, wou'd have been like a Cripple without Crutches; and therefore he not only tells us, that some body was put upon writing to the King about it, but who that some body was too; it was the *valuable Heylin*, who wrote a Letter to a great Man to speak to his Majesty for a Convocation; and upon this single Letter, of a Man of no more Value than *Peter Heylin*, was that Convocation call'd, who gave their Sanction to the *Bartholomew Bill*. Dr. *Calamy* writes thus of it; "During this Interval the Convocation was chosen, which was politickly deferr'd till now. Had it been call'd when the King came in, the inferior Clergy wou'd have been against the *Diocesan*; but afterwards many Hundreds were turn'd

Kneeling at the Sacrament objected against.

Ep. Burnet's Account of the Bishops and Clergy.

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“ turn'd out, that the old sequester'd Ministers, how meanly soever qualify'd, might come in. Those Ministers who had been ordain'd since Episcopacy was laid aside twenty Years before, were deny'd Voices in the Election; by which Means, and a great many Minister's Scruples, who thought it unlawful to have any thing to do in choosing such a kind of Assembly, the *Diocesan* Party wholly prevail'd.

Second Long Parliament.

But before we proceed any farther in Church History, we must return to that of the State. The new Parliament met the 8th of May, and are recommended to us by *Echard* as Persons to be prefer'd before all others, on account of their prodigious Fortunes. The Vanity and Falshood of his Recommendation appear in the same Paragraph of his History. They were call'd, and indeed they were, the *Pensionary Parliament*, as I shall prove presently; yet because they pass'd that severe Act, which upon one Day flung 2000 Ministers out of their Pulpits, they are to want no good Characters which he can bestow upon them. I confess, I am asham'd to mention so poor and worthless a History so often; but, as I have elsewhere observ'd, he and his Brother Historians have impos'd upon me the Office of a Scavenger, and I am forc'd to remove the Dirt and Filth as I go along, to make Way for my Reader. “ This Parliament must in the main be said to have been excellently well and wisely chosen, for the good and peaceable Establishment of the publick Affairs. The House of Commons, consisting of the most considerable and eminent Persons for Birth, Estates, Knowledge and Experience, that were to be found in the three Kingdoms;” which is so false, as well as impertinent, that it cou'd not be; for he brags, that the *Nine in Ten* of them were for the *Laudian* Church, and not one in a thousand of such Men had been in any Place to learn Experience for almost twenty Years past. As to their Estates and other fine Qualities, we shall see what they were in the *State Tracts*. “ The Friends to Arbitrary Power in the Beginning of King *Charles* the Second's Reign pursu'd the same Design as in *Sirrafford* and *Laud's* Time, of subverting our Constitution, but took Methods quite different from what those before us'd to effect it. They remembered the ill Success of *Projects* and *Monopolies*, and Pretences of *Prerogative* to supply the Government with Money. They had found out and felt by Experience, that a *Free Parliament* cou'd not be aw'd, and that the People in the Intervals of Parliament wou'd not be forc'd to pay Taxes which were not legally impos'd; yet there was an absolute Necessity for the Crown to be supply'd, without which it cou'd not subsist. ’Twas therefore resolv'd to attempt that by *Fraud* which they cou'd not compass by *Force*, and in order thereunto they took the Advantage of the present Temper of the People, whose Heads were turn'd with the *Arch-deacon's Felicities* as well as his own, which carry'd them, without considering what Consequences might be to every thing that was agreeable to the Court.” *What follows relates to Echard's Birth, Estates, &c.* “ They recommended such to be chosen Members of the House of Commons, whose Fortunes had been most impair'd in the late Wars, and whose Dependance on the Court might incline to a Compliance with whatever shou'd be demand'd of them. And these good-natur'd loyal Gentlemen repeal'd the Act of the 16th of *Car. I.* for *Triennial* Parliaments, while a few worthy Patriots labour'd to defend it. Places and Pensions were liberally bestow'd on all that

p. 340. Echard wrong.

“ cou'd be brought over to the Court; and 'tis no Wonder they gave such prodigious Sums of Money out of the poor People's Purfes, when a great Part was again refunded into their own.” This was sufficiently prov'd by Mr. *Bertié* and Sir *Stephen Fox*; tho', when Sir *John Hotham*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, and Sir *John Holman* were sent by the House of Commons to fetch Sir *Stephen's* Books, the Lord Chamberlain came to them and said, *No Books or Papers concerning the King shou'd be carry'd away.* These Discoveries happen'd some Time after, but are proper to be mention'd here, to shew thro' what pure Hearts and clean Hands so many religious and useful Bills pass'd. The Names of a good Number of these illustrious Members are in

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A LIST of One Unanimous Club of Voters in his Majesty's Long Parliament.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE 6.

Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *Humphry Winch*, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Sir *William Smith*, Sir *William Drake*, Sir *William Bowyer*.

BERKSHIRE 2.

Sir *John Bennet*, *Richard Aldworth*.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE 4.

Sir *Thomas Chibely*, Sir *Thomas Hatton*, Sir *Charles Wheeler*, Lord *Allington*.

CHESHIRE 2.

Thomas Cholmondeley, *Robert Worden*.

CORNWALL 15.

Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*, Sir *John Coryton*, *Bernard Greenwile*, *Sydney Godolphin*, Sir *William Godolphin*, *John Arundel*, *John Trelawney*, *Charles Osborn*, *Henry Seymour*, *Robert Roberts*, Lord *Hawley*, *Arthur Sprey*, *Joseph Tredenham*, Sir *Cyril Wyche*, Sir *Bouchier Wray*.

CARLISLE 2.

Sir *Philip Howard*, Sir *Christopher Musgrave*.

DEVONSHIRE. 10.

Sir *Coplestone Bampfild*, Sir *James Smith*, *Thomas Walker*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Thomas Berry*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, Sir *Courtney Poole*, Sir *Peter Prideaux*, Sir *Henry Ford*.

DORSET 5.

Lord *Latimer*, Sir *John Shaw*, Sir *Winstan Churchil*, *George Boreman*, *George Pitts*.

DURHAM 2.

Col. *John Tempest*, Sir *Ralph Cole*.

ESSEX 3.

Sir *John Bramston*, *Thomas King*, Sir *Richard Wiseman*.

GLOUCESTER 1.

Sir *Baynham Throgmorton*.

HAMPSHIRE 7.

Sir *Robert Holmes*, *Lawrence Hdye*, Sir *Richard Ford*, *Thomas Neal*, Sir *Robert Howard*, *Robert Philips*, Sir *John Holmes*.

HEREFORDSHIRE 3.

Thomas Price, *Herbert Westphaling*, Sir *Thomas Williams*.

HERTFORDSHIRE 1.

Sir *Richard Franklyn*.

HUNTINGTONSHIRE 2.

Sir *John Cotton*, Sir *Lionel Walden*, a Papist.

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KENT 7.

Sir Thomas Peyton, Sir Edward Masters, Thomas Hardeffs, Thomas Harlackenden, Sir Robert Barnham, James Herbert, Sir Richard Read.

LANCASHIRE 7.

Sir Roger Bradshaw, Richard Harrison, Edward Rigby, Sir John Orway, Sir John Heath, Earl of Ancram, Sir Jeffry Fazakerly.

LEICESTERSHIRE 3.

George Faunt, Sir William Hartop, Sir John Prettyman.

LINCOLNSHIRE 4.

Sir Robert Markham, Charles Bertie, William Broxholm, Peregrine Bertie.

MIDDLESEX 2.

Sir Thomas Allen, Sir Philip Warwick.

NORFOLK 7.

Col. Paston, Mr. Briggs, Robert Wright, Sir William Doyley, Sir Allen Apsley, Samuel Pepys, Sir Thomas Meadows.

NORTHAMPTON 2.

Sir Lewis Palmer, Robert Spencer.

NORTHUMBERLAND 6.

Sir John Fenwick, Sir Ralph Delaval, Sir Francis Anderson, Sir George Downing, Daniel Collingwood, Viscount Dunblaine.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE 2.

Sir Francis Leake, Henry Savile.

OXFORDSHIRE 1.

Suffolk Howard.

RUTLANDSHIRE 1.

Edward Wells.

SHROPSHIRE 6.

Sir Francis Lawley, Somerset Fox, Sir Job Charlton, George Wild, Edward Warring, William Oakley.

SOMERSETSHIRE 6.

Sir William Bassett, Lord Fitzharding, Sir William Wyndham, Sir Edmund Wyndham, Edward Philips, Thomas Wyndham.

STAFFORDSHIRE 3.

Randolph Egerton, Richard Dyot, Levison Gower.

SUFFOLK 6.

Sir Henry Felton, Sir Charles Gawdy, Sir John Pettus, William Wood, Robert Reeves, Gilbert Lingsfield.

SURREY 7.

Sir Adam Browne, Sir Thomas Bludworth, Sir William Hayward, Sir Edward Bisse, Sir John Worden, Thomas Dalnaboy, Sir William Morley.

SUSSEX 9.

Richard May, Sir John Cowell, Baptist May, Sir John Stapley, Sir Thomas Woodcock, Henry Goring, Piercy Goring, Earl of Orrery, Viscount Longford.

WARWICKSHIRE 2.

Sir Robert Holt, Sir Henry Pickering.

WESTMORLAND 1.

Thomas Tufson.

WILTSHIRE 15.

Sir Stephen Fox, Sir John Birkenhead, Thomas Wanklin, George Johnson, Henry Bertie, Francis Gwyn, Sir Thomas Estcourt, Sir John Ernley, Robert Hyde, Henry Clarke, Daniel

Finch, William Ashburnham, George Legg, Sir A.D. 1661 Edward Nicholas, Sir John Elwes.

WORCESTERSHIRE 3.

Thomas Street, Henry Coventry, Sir John Hamner.

YORKSHIRE II.

Conyers Darcy, Sir Thomas Slingsby, Sir H. Goodrick, Sir John Talbot, Sir John Nicholas, Sir Edmund Jennings, Henry Guy, Sir Blackmore Rigby, Sir William Wentworth, Sir Thomas Strickland, a Papist, Sir Solomon Swale, a Papist.

CINQUE-PORTS 7.

Sir Dennis Ashburnham, Sir John Robinson, John Hervey, Col. Gibbs, Sir Lionel Jenkins, John Stroud, John Robinson.

WALES 4.

Sir Herbert Price, Sir Charles Cotterel, Lord Vaughan, John Wynn.

We shall enter into the Detail of the Pensioners when we come to that Period where the Pensions were settled, which they could not be at first; and some of these Members were Recruiters: However, they were chosen with as much Wisdom and Foresight as those who sat at the Opening of the Session, when the King made a Speech to both Houses of Parliament; a Word of which Mr. Archdeacon tells us is not to be spar'd, I suppose for the sake of this Passage, *I do value my self much upon keeping my Word, upon which king good whatsoever I do promise my Subjects.* His Majesty had three Times sworn the Solemn League and Covenant. He had promis'd to establish it in England, and some Days after this Speech he pass'd an Act to abolish it. The Lord Chancellor Hyde's Speech comes next, wherein he puts their Blood in a Ferment, by alarming them with Rumours of Plots, after he has set out the Tumult under Venner, as one of the most formidable Rebellions which had been ever known. "A little Time after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, while his Majesty accompany'd his Mother to the Sea-side, the most desperate and prodigious Rebellion broke out in this City that had been heard of in any Age, and by the Multitude of intercepted Letters from and to all the Counties of England, in which the Time was set down wherein the Work of the Lord was to be done by the desperate Carriage of the Traitors themselves, and the bragging of their Friends, it might be concluded the Combination reach'd very far, and if the indefatigable Industry of the Lord Mayor had not prevented it, probably the Fury would not have been extinguish'd before this famous City, or a great Part of it, had been burnt to Ashes, and therefore it became their Wisdoms to provide new Remedies for new Diseases." We shall see by and by what sort of State Physicians this wonderful Senate were, and how much this poor Nation was indebted to their Wisdoms.

The House of Commons, as the Court directed, chose Sir Edward Turner the Duke of York's Solicitor for their Speaker, and he was led to the Chair by Sir Charles Berkley and Sir Heneage Finch. As soon as he was confirm'd by the King, he made a long Speech, and continu'd to make long Speeches upon all Occasions, 'till he was remov'd to the Upper House, where he sat as an Assistant, being sometime after made Lord Chief Baron. He is for his much speaking, term'd the Speech-Making Speaker. Echard preserves them all, as if they were as precious as the Orations of Cicero, but I know

A.D. 1661 the Merit of them too well to follow his Example. After he had done, the Lord Chancellor made another Speech, wherein he painted the Monster *Common-wealth* in proper Colours, and told them the King was going to *Worcester*, to thank God for his Deliverance there, and to thank God even in those Cottages and Barns wherein he was shelter'd, and feasted, and preserv'd; and in the Close of that Progress, he hopes he shall find his Queen in his Arms: For the Parliament had receiv'd the Proposal of his Marriage with the *Infanta of Portugal* as joyfully as if his Majesty's Wedding-day was to have been their own. Then they order'd the solemn League and Covenant, and some Acts made in the late Times, to be burnt. They order'd a Bill to be brought in to enable his Majesty to send out Commissions to receive the free and voluntary Contributions of his People, which the King pass'd the 8th of July, with another Bill to confirm the Oblivion Act, and the Speaker made a Speech when he presented those Acts to him, in which he has a pretty Expression concerning the latter, *That we might with some Chearfulness see your Majesty's Face, we have brought our Brother Benjamin with us; I mean your Act of Oblivion, &c.* Then the King made a Speech too about that Bill. They proceeded still with great Vigour, and confiscated the Estates of those of the King's Judges who were dead, and of the Lord *Mounson*, Sir *Henry Milmay*, Sir *James Harrington*, and Mr. *John Phelps*. The two first were degraded of their Titles, and together with Mr. *Robert Wallop*, order'd to be drawn upon Sledges from the Tower to *Tyburn*, with Ropes about their Necks, which, says *Echard*, was very solemnly done on the 30th of *January* following. About three Weeks after there were more Bills ready, and when the Speaker presented them, he had another Speech ready in Praise of those Acts. The first was to punish severely any Man who shou'd call the King *Papist*, tho' the Lord *Clarendon*, who promoted this Bill, knew he was a *Papist*. The next Bill was to restore the *Bishops* to their Seats in the House of Lords. The next, an Act to discourage *Petitions* and *Addresses*, A Declaration that the sole Right of the *Militia* be in the King. An Act concerning the Navy, for confiscating the above-mention'd Estates; and because the King had told them, he intended to take a Journey, the Speaker said, they had prepar'd a Bill for providing necessary Carriages in all his Royal Progresses and Removals. His Majesty answer'd this Speech also with another, and then the Parliament adjourn'd to the 20th of *November*.

Convoca-
tion.

The Convocation met on the 8th of *May*, Dr. *Thomas Pierce* preach'd a Latin Sermon, and Dr. *Henry Fearn* was chosen Prolocutor, which Business in our Times takes up the Session, but this Convocation did something more: For besides the two new Holidays, for which we are indebted to them, and the Lesson of *Bell* and the *Dragon*, for which they must also have Credit, *Bishop Burnet* informs us, "Two new Offices were drawn for two new Days, the *Thirtieth* of *January*, call'd King *Charles the Martyr*, and the *Twenty-ninth* of *May*, the Day of the King's Birth and Return. *Saucroft* drew for these some Offices of a very high Strain, yet others of a more moderate Strain were prefer'd to them: But he coming to be advanc'd to the See of *Canterbury*, got his Offices to be publish'd by the King's Authority, in a Time when so high a Stile as was in them, did nor sound well in the Nation. Such Care was taken in the Choice and Return of the Members of the Convocation, that every thing went

" among them as was directed by *Sheldon* and *Morley*: We shall see what Directions they gave them in the Sequel. A.D. 1661

This good Parliament rais'd the Discontents of the late Anarchy, according to *Echard*, and therefore new Designs are thought of. Counsels were held, Meetings were held, and to prove the Truth of these dangerous Conspiracies, Mr. *Praise God Barebone* was taken. It is almost a Miracle that he escap'd hanging, considering his *Christian Name*. Alderman *Ireton* was also apprehended, very likely on Account of his Sirname. Mr. *Samuel Moyer*, Col. *Salmon*, Major *Haines*, and Major *Wildman*, were apprehended to keep the Plot in Countenance; the latter of an Understanding so superior to all his Prosecutors, that their Insolence raises ones Indignation more than Compassion. *Echard* cannot help saying, *The Presbyterian Defenders* alledge, that these were only *sham Plots*, to help forwards the severe Act of Uniformity, but others believe the Contrary. Who are his others? *L'Estrange*, *Nalson*, *Heylin*, *Warwick*, *Dugdale*, himself, &c. Mr. *Locke*, at whose Names all this Fry vanish, as *Goblins* at the Appearance of Light, believ'd and affirm'd they were *sham Plots*, and that the People were *sham'd* by it into the several Acts.

" As the Top Stone of the whole Fabrick, a Mr. *Des Pretence* shall be taken from the Jealousies they themselves have rais'd by their *sham Plots*. Col. p. 59.
" Pray mind what Lord *Clarendon* said about the Conspiracies, &c. And a real Necessity from the Smallness of their Party *Thirty to one*," according to *L'Estrange*, "to increase and keep up a standing Army, and then in due Time the Cavalier and Church Men will be made greater Tools, but as errant Slaves as the rest of the Nation. In Order to this, the first Step was made in the Act for regulating Corporations," of which we shall be oblig'd to say more in a Paragraph or two. For we must now follow the Earl of *Sandwich*, and his Vice-Admiral, Sir *John Lawson*, into the *Mediterranean*.

On *July* the 29th they came before *Algier*, and sent a Message to the *Dey* to come out and confirm the League with *England*. *Echard* makes a meer *Dog-Turk* of him: But though he did come out, the Archdeacon tells us he behav'd so insolently, that the *English* Admiral stood into the Harbour, but he steer'd out again, and found it advisable to bring off his Fleet, which had suffer'd extremely in their Sails and Rigging. So he left Sir *John Lawson* to block them up if he cou'd, cross'd over to *Spain*, cross'd back again to *Tangier*, and thence back again to *Lisbon*. Mr. Archdeacon tells us, the *Common-wealth's* Men, out of meer Envy and Seditious, remark'd that the Naval Power of *England* wou'd never be so formidable under Monarchy as it had been under a *Common-wealth*: If he had reported their Remark right, it wou'd have had another Turn: That the Naval Power wou'd never be so formidable under King *Charles* or his Brother, as it had been under the *Common-wealth*. For when he wrote his History, Monarchy had been near thirty Years in the Hands of Princes equally great and good, under whom the Naval Power of *England* was the most formidable in the World.

On the Day appointed the Parliament met, and his Majesty made a very long Speech, the Close of which was very promising, *That the Happiness of his Government wou'd persuade our Neighbours to that Esteem and Value they had formerly had for us*. If it had been added, from the death of Queen *Elizabeth* to the first Long Parliament, it had been very true and just.

They began with fresh Proceedings against the *Regicides*, and a Bill was brought in to hang up all

A. D. 1651 all that were reserv'd for Parliamentary Execution; but it dropp'd, and so they were all sent to several remote Prisons. *Echard* tells us, It had like to have gone hard with them on Account of new Plots, Chancellor *Hyde* telling the Parliament, *There had been a real Design forming ever since March last*, he proceeded, says *Echard*, to name the Conspirators, with the Manner and Contrivance of their barbarous Designs. I go no farther in the Fiction, but refer to Dr. *Calamy*. These Plots were the general Cry. This all the Pamphlets printed at this Time ran upon, and it was in this very Session that the Bill of UNIFORMITY pass'd the House. And that the general Cry occasion'd by these Sham Plots much promoted it, will easily be judged by any one who will be at the Pains to peruse Capt. *Yarrington's* Narrative. Again, He who wou'd pass a right Judgment concerning the Act of Uniformity, ought sedately to consider the scandalous Arts that were us'd to obtain it, and the bitter Fruits and Consequences which it produc'd. Again, Many worthy Ministers and sober Gentlemen were imprison'd in divers Counties throughout England. Sir *John Packington* carry'd on the Sham so far in *Worcester*, that Mr. *Ambrose Sparry*, a learned pious Divine, Mr. *Osland*, Mr. *Moore*, Mr. *Brian*, three other pious learned Divines, were seiz'd and kept by Soldiers rais'd by the Cathedral Men at *Worcester*, and commanded by a Paritor. They had double Pay, and were call'd the Clergy Band: This was while the Act was passing. These Infernal Wretches put a poor old Man to the Torture for asking one of the Soldiers how Mr. *Osland* the Minister did, and saying he was no Traitor, when one of the Clergy Band call'd him so. They put lighted Matches between his Fingers, and burnt them to the very Bone, to extort a Confession from him that there was a Plot. Captain *Yarrington* was seiz'd by a Troop of Horse, and imprison'd at *Worcester*, as were seventy or eighty sober Men for this Diabolical Forgery, which Mr. *Yarrington* at length found out by Acknowledgment of the Person employed by *Packington* to carry a Packet of counterfeit Letters to one *Cole* of *Martley*, in which were several directed to Capt. *Yarrington*, and other honest Gentlemen, containing treasonable Matters. These Letters were pretended to be intercepted by the Fellow who was hir'd to deliver them, and carry'd to Sir *John Packington*; upon which so many religious innocent Persons were thrown into Goals, and *Packington* intended to have had them prosecuted to the utmost. The Fellow confessing the Villany, Mrs. *Yarrington* gives Notice of it to her Husband in his Confinement, who immediately enters Actions against those that had imprison'd him. Being at last discharg'd, he went to *London*, and prevail'd with the Earl of *Bristol*, though a *Papist*, to acquaint the King how the Lord *Clarendon*, and his other Ministers, impos'd Sham Plots upon him. Upon which the Deputy-Lieutenants of *Worcestershire*, and other Shires where the like Plots had been forg'd, were order'd to appear at the Council Board. They endeavour'd to clear themselves, and desir'd Time to consult their Friends in the Country. But afterwards Sir *J. W.* one of them, arrested Capt. *Yarrington* for High Treason, and he was releas'd upon the Earl of *Bristol's* procuring the King's Privy-Seal: For *Papists*, who were Men of Honour, detested these scandalous Arts, and the more, for that they were to carry on Designs which the Ministry durst not otherwise own. *Yarrington*, a Man of Spirit, prosecutes his Prosecutors; but within six Months, Persons were suborn'd to swear against him, That he had spoken Treasonable Words

against the King and Government. For this he was Try'd at *Worcester* Assizes before Judge *Twisden*, and upon a full Hearing, was presently acquitted by the Jury. One of the Witnesses confes'd he had five Pounds given him for being an Evidence. What Coin must that be which comes out of such a Mint? I shall not touch upon the Sham Plots in *Oxfordshire*, *Staffordshire*, and *Herefordshire*, they being all as false and detestable as this in *Worcestershire*. But they were tim'd like Things which are made on Purpose, and the Ministry put these Words into the King's Mouth. I am sorry to find that the general Temper and Affection of the Nation are not so well compos'd as I hop'd they wou'd have been after so signal Blessings of God Almighty upon us all, and after so great Indulgence and Condescensions from me towards all Interests, there are many wicked Instruments still as active as ever, who labour Night and Day to disturb the Publick Peace, and to make People jealous of each other. It may be worthy your Care and Vigilance to provide proper Remedies for Diseases of that kind; and if you find new Diseases, you must find new Remedies, &c. *Hyde* knew all this was a Farce of his own Invention, or of the Invention of his Instruments. However, when the House of Commons after the Speech came to their Debates, up stands Sir *John Packington*, and with open Mouth cries out, a horrid Plot in his County of *Worcester*, a horrid, dangerous Presbyterian Plot, when the for which many Plotters were already in Goal! Then such wise and well-chosen Members gave the like Information for the Counties of *Oxford*, *Hereford*, and *Stafford*; and says Dr. *Calamy*, as above, 'Twas in this very Session that this Bill of Uniformity pass'd. I think it will not bear Reflection.

On the 29th of December the King pass'd some Bills; An Act for granting 1,260,000 Pounds; An Act about Leases for the Duchy of Cornwall; An Act for regulating Corporations. *Echard* boasts, that the last prov'd a severe Mortification and Blow to one Party, which consisted of every wise and honest Man in England. For he who contributes to the enslaving of his Country, must be as much a Fool as a Villain. This wretched History Writer, after all the Mischief which that odious Act was the Cause of, glories in it as a Triumph of the Faction which triumph'd over the Spiritual and Temporal Liberties of England. I'm pleas'd that Mr. *Locke* has touch'd upon this Enormity; for though he is insensible of Shame upon my Animadversion, he will be still more the Scorn of Mankind if he stands out against Mr. *Locke's*. In order to make one as Errant Slaves as the other, "The first Step they took was the Act for regulating Corporations; wisely beginning, that in those lesser Governments, which *Echard* calls Nests of Sedition, which they meant afterwards to introduce upon the Government of the Nation, and making them swear to a Declaration and Belief of such Propositions as they themselves afterwards, upon Debate, were enforc'd to alter, and cou'd not justify in these Words."

I A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commission'd by him.

All Persons bearing any Office of Magistracy, Place of Trust, or other Employment relating to the Government of any City, Corporation, Burrough, &c were order'd to take this Oath; by which, says Mr. *Locke*, many of the wealthiest, and soberest Men were thrust out, and

A.D. 1661 are still kept out of the Magistracy. It was the same in Harley's Time, when the *Schism Act*, and *Occasional Act*, both now happily defunct, remov'd wealthy, worthy, and sober Men, to make room for the reverse of them. We have liv'd to see the Makers of that *slavish Oath* acting against it; and cou'd any thing bind a Man to destroy his Country, the taking Arms against King James the Second wou'd have render'd almost all that did it forsworn. And if the Dread of it had hinder'd them, what wou'd the Constitution of *England* have been by this Time? I have not in all my Reading met with an Assembly of Men so blind to the Publick Interest, and so ready to run their Necks into a Collar. We have seen what laudable Care they have taken of the Bodies of Men, and we shall soon see what Care they will take of their Souls. If I had not already given the Reader a List of some of the most remarkable ones among them, I wou'd here have insert'd the Names of all of them. But it wou'd have been pity that a great Number of Gentlemen, who though not a Majority, were yet a very considerable Party, Strugglers against this *Corporation Act*, and that other unrighteous Act that is to follow it, shou'd any where appear in after times with those Names, that are a Dishonour to History.

1662. Queen of Bohemia's Death. Archdeacon *Echard* ends the last Year as I begin this, with the Death of that religious, suffering, and belov'd Princess, the Queen of *Bohemia*, his present Majesty's Royal great Grandmother, Daughter of King James the First. She dy'd on the 13th of *February*, and was bury'd in *Westminster-Abbey*, in the same Vault with Prince *Henry*, her eldest Brother.

More sham Plots. The Parliament had been adjourn'd to the 10th of *January*, and were farther alarm'd with *Plots and Conspiracies*, according to *Echard*. I have observ'd, that the Continuance of these Plots was a sad Piece, of the Lord Chancellor's Policy: A sorry thin Disguise, which every one saw thro', but those who wink'd their Eyes and wou'd not see. The Chancellor's Speech on this Occasion wou'd be extremely diverting, as all merry Things are, when said with grave Faces, were it not for the dreadful Calamities which were the Effects of it. It is thus;

"There was found with *Salmon*, a List of 160 Officers of the late Army. It is further discover'd, that there shou'd have been a Meeting at *London* about the 10th of *December*, and that they intended about the End of *January*, to have made sure of *Shrewsbury*, *Coventry* and *Bristol*, and that they shou'd rise in several Parts at once, like *Moles in Beds of Asparagus*, that where they were prevalent, they shou'd begin with *Assassination*, which mov'd one of them to relate, *That some of the late King's Judges were entertain'd in France, Holland and Germany*," that many Arms were brought in Order to this Design. It is impossible to go thorough with it, and not be shock'd beyond Conception. Not a Word of it is credible, except it is where he says, *The Duke of Albemarle has put two Troops into Shrewsbury, and as many into Coventry*; what follows, is to let the Parliament see, that the immense Sums they lavish'd away, had a good Effect; *which two Troops, by the Way, had taken twenty Thieves*. Upon this Report, says the Archdeacon, the House resolv'd to proceed against Sir *Henry Vane*, Lieutenant General *Lambert*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, and with exemplary Simplicity he confesses," Upon this Report, they proceeded with greater Activity in the *Uniformity Act*; in which they had a Spur from the King himself in a new Speech, "Gentlemen, I

"hear you are very zealous for the Church, and very sollicitous, and even jealous, that there is not Expedition enough us'd in that Affair. I thank you for it, since I presume it proceeds from a good Root of Piety and Devotion." Such Words from such a Prince! whose Vices wou'd have been a Scandal to the worst Religion in the World, if there cou'd be a worse than his own, that of Popery. "I know you will not take it unkindly, if I tell you I am as zealous for the Church of *England* as any of you can be, and am enough acquainted with the Enemies of it on all Sides, and have Prejudice to those who do not love it." He certainly does not mean the Papists, being a Papist himself, if any thing. "I am as much in love with the Book of *Common-Prayer* as you can wish: It is believ'd; and have Prejudice enough to those who do not love it. I do as much desire to see an *Uniformity*, you may rely upon me in it. I have transmitted the Book of *Common-Prayer*, which has been presented to me by the Convocation, to the House of Peers, with my Approbation, that the *Act of Uniformity* may relate to it, &c." *Echard* brags, that this Speech is not in Print; so I will rob him of no more of it.

Dr. *Ferne*, Prolocutor of the Convocation, being made Bishop of *Chester*, Dr. *Barwick* succeeded him as Prolocutor. They determin'd that Bishops might sit and judge in Cases of *Blood*, and added a Prayer to the Liturgy for the High Court of Parliament, wherein the King is stil'd our most religious King. Neither *Echard*, nor the *Compleat Historian*, nor any one of that sort Charles of Writers, observe the amazing Inconsistency of that Term with the King's Life and Conversation, Bishop *Burnet* has a just Observation upon it. A Collect was drawn for the Parliament, in which a new Epithet was added to the King's Title, that gave great Offence, and occasion'd much Railery. He was stil'd our most religious King. It was not easy to give a proper Sense to this, and to make it go well down, since whatever the Signification of Religious might be in the Latin Word, as importing the Sacredness of the King's Party; yet in the English Language, it bore a Signification that was no way applicable to the King; and those who took great Liberty with him, have often ask'd him, what must all his People think, when they heard him pray'd for as their most religious King? Mr. *Roger Coke* takes this Notice of it; "The Parliament chin'd in with the Church, and by the *Act of Uniformity* enjoin'd, that every one who holds any Ecclesiastical Promotion, shall publickly declare before his Congregation, his unfeign'd Assent and Consent to every thing contain'd and prescribed in the Book, entitled the Book of *Common-Prayer*, &c. Put these together, I L. E. do declare my unfeign'd Assent and Consent, that the King, Charles II. is my most religious King; if he be so, how came you to know it? and if you do not know it, how came you so unfeign'dly to assent and consent, that he is so? But tho' to get your Living, you tell the Congregation so, when you do not know it, I think it is dreadful for you to tell God Almighty so. Was God well pleas'd with these Things, you shall soon see unjust Wars and dishonourable Peace: Such Judgments of Plague, Fire and Invasion into our Ports, as never before were heard of."

While this same Conformity Act went on so swimmingly, the *Presbyterians* had fair Words given to their Petitions and Addresses, nay a Promise of the Law's being dispenc'd with, tho' it was made, and in the making of it, it met with much Opposition. For the Bishops, instead of

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Uniformity Act.

King Charles stil'd a most religious King.

p. 120.

The Happiness of his Reign.

A.D. 1662 using any moderate, softning Measures, had got the Act so worded by *Keeling* the Lawyer, that the Terms of Conformity were made harder than ever. Bishop *Sheldon* told Dr. *Allen*, a Member of the Convocation, who propos'd softning, moderate Measures, *What will be done is resolv'd upon before, or during the Savoy Conference, &c.* Sober Gentlemen telling another Bishop, *It was Pity the Door was so strait, that many pious Ministers cou'd not have Admission*, he reply'd, *It is no Pity at all; if we had thought so many of them wou'd have conform'd, we wou'd have made it straiter*, and the King himself was of the same Opinion.

Uniformity Act. It is reported, that notwithstanding all the false Alarms of pretended Conspiracies, and all other scandalous Arts for procuring this uncharitable Act, when it was put to the Vote whether it shou'd pass or not, the Tale was wrong, it being thus, 186 Noes, 180 Yeas; tho' others with more Probability affirm the Tale to have been thus, 186 Yeas, 180 Noes, for the Numbers are the same in both Accounts. The very eminent Dr. *Bates*, as polite a Writer as his Friend Archbishop *Tilloson*, speaking of this Act in Mr. *Baxter's* Funeral Sermon, says, *The old Clergy, from Wrath and Revenge, and the young Gentry, from their servile Compliance with the Court, were very active to carry it on and compleat it.*

By this Act all Ministers were to read and publickly declare unfeign'd Assent and Consent to all and every thing contain'd and prescrib'd in and by the Book of Common-Prayer before the Feast of St. Bartholomew then ensuing; on which Festival, just 90 Years before, above 100,000 Protestants were massacred in France. All Incumbents and Schoolmasters were oblig'd to swear the Corporation Oath, and to forswear the Covenant which they had sworn or not sworn; for several of the Bishops had taken that Oath, as *Gauden*, *Ward*, &c. The Author of the History which is entituled *Compleat*, and is one of the most ridiculous Misnomers one can meet with, tells us, *It was found necessary for the Peace and Safety of the State, as well as for the Good and Glory of the Church, to compel religious Ministers to attest before God and his Church, that King Charles II. was a most religious King to assent, consent and subscribe, 1. To the Doctrine of Real Baptismal Regeneration and certain Salvation. 2. To the Use of Godfathers and Godmothers. 3. To the Sign of the Cross in Baptism. 4. To the Gesture of Kneeling at the Sacrament. 5. That Bishops, Priests and Deacons are three distinct Orders in the Church by Divine Appointment. To pronounce all sav'd that are hurried, except the Unbaptiz'd, Excommunicate or Self-Murtherers. To read in Divine Service the Stories of Judith and Baruch, Tobit and his Dog, Bel and the Dragon, under the Title of the Holy Scripture. To assent and consent, and subscribe to St. Athanasius's Creed. To swear to the Canons, which to repeat is beyond my Patience, &c. All which Things, according to the Compleat Historian, was for the Peace of the State; and the Good and Glory of the Church. Tho' the Writer was an Ecclesiastical Person, I might have presum'd to have ask'd, Was it for the Peace of the State to lay religious Hardships upon a Million of Consciences? Was it for the Glory of the Church to lie under the Charge of Want of Charity and Humanity? But what does he, and what does *Echard* mean by the Glory of the Church? Has she any thing to glory in but Piety, Purity, Constancy, and all Christian Virtues, and all Christian Graces? What has she to do with any thing else? Has not her Lord and Master commanded her and her Sons to believe that his Kingdom is*

not of this World? Are we not so taught by every Lesson in Holy Writ? And did not the Prelates, who promoted this deplorable Bill, prove, by every Action of their Lives, that their Kingdom was of this World?

Another ugly Circumstance attending this Act was, that the Bishops had it so contriv'd, that the Oath the Ministers were to subscribe to, and swear to, did not come out of the Press till a few Days before the 24th of August; so that of the 7000 Ministers who kept their Livings, very few of them cou'd possibly have a Sight of the Book with it's Alterations, till after they had declar'd their Assent and Consent; nay, some were ejected, to whom the Book was not brought till after *Bartholomew-Day*, particularly one Mr. *B.* by Sir *Edward Lake*. The Speaker, *Turner*, among other Nonsense, told the King in his Speech about this Bill, *That their Forms of Prayer were decry'd as Superstitious, Strange and Wonderful! and in lieu thereof was introduc'd nothing — Echard*, for want of Judgment, or what is worse, Sincerity, has borrow'd a Falsity from some such authentick Writer as himself. *It was undoubtedly the Faction and Sedition of the several Sects and Parties that work'd up the Wisdom of the Nation, like Barm in a Fat of Wort, into this Expedient: Awe and Restraint upon them; which is as false as it is base and foolish.* I shall justify such Language to such Men upon such Things in my Preface. The Faction and Sedition of the *Presbyterians* never appear'd but in the Times of the Common-Wealth, and the two *Cromwells*; and by that Sedition and Faction they brought in the King, who had thrice taken their Covenant; and the Bishops, who by this my, p. 259. Act rewarded them with *Fails and Beggary*.

Now it was that the Word *Schismatick* was invented to be synonymous with *Presbyterian*; tho' with respect to the *Presbyterians* 'twas as wild as if they were call'd *Charibbeans*, or *Canibals*. Read the most worthy and celebrated *Hales of Eaton*, and let it stand as an eternal Reproof to all those Vicars and Curates who found it aloud in their Pulpits, whether they do not, or do understand what the Word means.

To load our publick Forms with the private Fancies upon which we differ, is the most sovereign Way to perpetuate *Schism* to the World's End. Prayer, Confession, Thanksgiving, Reading of the Scriptures, and Administration of the Sacraments in the plainest and simplest Manner, were Matter enough to furnish out a Liturgy, tho' nothing either of private Opinion or of Church Pomp, of Garments or prescrib'd Gestures, of Imagery or Musick, of Matter concerning the Dead, of many Superfluities which creep into the Church under the Name of Order and Decency. This excellent Man, the very learned, wise and pious Mr. *Hales*, was a Royalist and zealous Churchman. Observe what a Bustle they make with those Words *Decency and Order!* Take away them, and their Argument is left as naked, not as Innocence but as Indigence. The Reverend Mr. *Hales* proceeds, To charge Churches and Liturgies with things unnecessary, was the first Beginning of all Superstition; and when Scruple of Conscience began to be made or pretended, then *Schism* began to break in. If the special Guides and Fathers of the Church wou'd be a little sparing of incumbering Churches with Superfluities, or not over-rigid, either in reviving obsolete Customs, or imposing new, there wou'd be far less Cause of *Schism* or Superstition, and all the Inconveniencies were likely to ensue wou'd be but this; they shou'd in so doing yield a little to the Imbecillity of their Interiors. A Thing

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A Thing which St. Paul wou'd never have refus'd to do, but which every one of his pretended Successors at the Savoy Conference did refuse to do, and therein shew'd how far they were from a true Apostolical Spirit. "Mean while, where-soever false or suspected Opinions are made a Piece of Church Liturgy, he who separates is not the Schismatick; for it is alike unlawful to make Profession of known or suspected Falshood, as to put in Practice unlawful or suspected Actions.

Swadlin.

That holy Man's Learning and Knowledge will more than weigh against all the Ecclesiasticks that have touch'd upon this Controversy, which we leave under his severe Censure. One of the best of them, Dr. Swadling, speaking of the publick Service, said very roundly in a Sermon on the 30th of January, *There is not a Title of it but was by the Dictate of the Holy Ghost.* The Excuse is, that Doctor was out of his Wits. But Bishop Saunderson told Bishop Walton, *That the Holy Ghost seem'd to assist the Composers of the Common Prayer,* in those Instances the Regeneration of Infants at their Baptism, and the Salvation of Sinners at their Burial.

I am quite tir'd with such Reasoning, and fear the Reader is so too. Let us now see what were the terrible Effects of this Uniformity Act. Above Two thousand Worthy, Learned, Pious and Orthodox Divines (I take it from the illustrious Mr. Locke) were thrown out of the Church; they, their Wives and Families, aged Relations, and helpless Children, were driven from their Dwellings, from their Bread, from the Society of their dearest Friends, and what is still more killing, from the Charge of their dearest Flocks, the Care of whose Souls they had been entrusted with:

Black Bartholomew Day.

They had merited much of the Government; many of them had ventur'd their Lives for the King; all of them had labour'd indefatigably for his Restoration. He had promis'd all of them the Liberty of their Consciences; but alas! what a Pillar did they build upon! Their Calamities are the Reproach of their Friends whom they deserted, and the Mirth of their Enemies whom they had serv'd. What says Dr. Calamy of them? "They were not a poor inconsiderable Handful, a few Scores only of acceptable and useful Ministers, who were by this Act cast out of the Church, but many Hundreds. They did not throw themselves out of Service, but were forcibly ejected. They begg'd for Continuance with all imaginable Earnestness, and urg'd unanswerable Arguments in their Petition for Peace, but were repuls'd. They were not cast out because not needed to carry on the Work of the Gospel in the Land, for there were, and still are among us many desolate Quarters that are over-run with Ignorance and Profaneness; and there was more to be done in order to general Instruction, Excitation and Reformation, than all their joint Labours wou'd have fully suffic'd for, and yet they were ejected. This was an Action without a Precedent, the like to which the Reform'd Church, nay the Christian World, never saw before.

Who were the chief Agents in that bad Work.

Let the Names of the chief Agents in this dreadful Work be remembered for ever; Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; Sir Edward Turner, Speaker of the House of Commons; Sir Heneage Finch, Solicitor General; John Keeling, Sergeant at Law; Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury; George Morley, Bishop of Winchester; Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York; John Cosens, Bishop of Durham; Humphry Henchman, Bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Barwick, Dr. Pierce, Dr. Fearn, Dr. Gunning, Mr. Thorn-

dyke, Dr. Sparrow, Dr. Heylin, and all the Doctors who hop'd for Dignities. If such as adore the Memory of these Men and their Works are capable of Shame, what Confusion must they be in at the Reproaches of Mr. Locke, the greatest Genius of that Age!

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"Immediately after this followeth the Act of Uniformity, by which all the Clergy of England are oblig'd to subscribe and declare what the Corporations, Nobility and Gentry had before sworn. The Clergy readily comply'd with it; for you know that sort of Men are taught rather to obey than understand, and to use that Learning they have to justify, not to examine, what Superiors command, exactly the Case of the Archdeacon, and the Compleat Historian. And yet that Bartholomew-Day was fatal to our Church and Religion in throwing out a very great Number of worthy, learned, pious and orthodox Divines, who cou'd not come up to several Things in that Act. And it is upon this Occasion worth your Knowledge, that so great was the Zeal in carrying on this Church-Affair, and so blind was the Obedience requir'd, that if you compare the Time of the passing this Act with the Time allotted for the Clergy to subscribe the Book of Common-Prayer, you shall plainly find it cou'd not be printed and distributed so as one Man in forty cou'd have seen and read the Book they did so perfectly assent and consent to.

This Church History is follow'd with the Trial, Condemnation and Execution of the famous Sir Henry Vane, whose Head, as the Bishop of Sarum informs us, was struck off because they were afraid of it. We have seen the King value himself much before the Lords and Commons, for being a Prince of his Word, nay, to do it when he was breaking an Oath he had thrice sworn; and now, to shew the World how merciful he is, he thirsts after the Blood of a Gentleman whom he promis'd to save. Read Bp. Burnet, *The putting of Sir Henry Vane to Death was much blam'd; for the Declaration from Breda being full for an Indemnity to all except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that; since tho' he was for changing the Government, and deposing the King, yet he did not approve of the putting him to Death.* An Address was made by both Houses on his Behalf, to which the King gave a favourable Answer; so he reckon'd he was safe, that being equivalent to an Act of Parliament. Yet the great Opinion that was had of his Parts and Capacity, made the Court think it was necessary to put him out of the Way. Again, "When he saw his Death was design'd, he compos'd himself to it with a Resolution which was amazing to those who knew how little of that was natural to him. Some Instances of this were very extraordinary, tho' they cannot be mention'd with Decency." I think the Bishop is too delicate here, and that it is not at all indecent for a Couple in the Conjugal State to perform the Duty of Wedlock; and it is said the Lady Vane began her Reckoning for her Son, the Lord Bernard, from the Night before Sir Henry lost his Head on Tower-Hill, where a new and barbarous Practice was begun. My Lord of Sarum proceeds, "It was observ'd that the Dying Speeches of the Regicides had left Impressions on the Hearers that were not at all to the Advantage of the Government; so Strains of a peculiar Nature being expected from him to prevent that, Drummers were plac'd under the Scaffold, who, as soon as he began to speak of the Publick, upon a Sign given, struck up with their Drums. This put him in

Sir Henry Vane.

He is murder'd.

A. D. 1662
 "no Disorder: He desir'd they might be stopp'd, for he understood what was meant by it. Then he went thro' his Devotions; and as he was taking Leave of those about him, he happening to say somewhat with relation to the Times, the Drums struck up a second time." Upon which he said, *'Tis a wretched Cause that will not bear the Breath of a dying Man.* Something like it was said by Scot. Bishop Burnet adds, *So he gave over, and died with so much Composedness,* that it was generally thought the Government had lost more than it had gain'd by his Death. This Execution was about two Months before the Act of Uniformity was executed upon 2 or 3000 Ministers of the Gospel. Lieutenant General Lambert, who was try'd the same Day with Sir Henry Vane, 16th of June, extenuated his Crime, and pleaded Ignorance of Sir George Booth or Monk's Designs. The Court did not fear him so much as they fear'd Sir Henry Vane; so tho' he was condemn'd, his Life was spar'd, and he dy'd a Prisoner in St. Nicholas Island near Plymouth about twenty-four Years after. Starling was the Sheriff who commanded the Drums to beat when Sir Henry was on the Scaffold. Lieutenant General Ludlow says of Vane, "He left it doubtful which was greater, his Eloquence, Soundness of Judgment, and Presence of Mind, his Gravity and Magnanimity, his constant Adherence to the Cause of his Country, and Heroick Carriage during the Time of his Confinement, and at the Hour of his Death; or the Malice of his Enemies, and the frivolous Suggestions at his Trial, the Breach of the publick Faith in the Usage he found, the Incivility of the Bench, those sanguinary Hirings calling him foul Names, tho' in Comparison with his Birth and Quality, they were all of the Dregs of the People, and the savage Rudeness of the Sheriff, were very remarkable." After what Bishop Burnet and General Ludlow have said of them, what an Opinion must the Reader have of those wretched Writers, who have bely'd and insulted this injur'd Gentleman, even in the Moment when he was about to lay down his Life for the Cause he had engag'd in? One of them, the Compleat Historian, avers, that it was a just Sentence, and that he ran out into Lectures of Treason and Enthusiasm on the Scaffold. He then applauds the Loyalty and Judgment of the Sheriff, who got Drums and Trumpets to drown his Voice, that he might not be heard. Another of them, Echard, tells the World, *Nothing cou'd be more surprizing and shocking than his Pride; he tore his Papers on the Scaffold in great Wrath; he fell into Rants, &c. when, directly contrary to both these Ecclesiasticks, my Lord of Sarum assures us he dy'd with great Composedness.* Echard blames Sir Henry for two Rants, as he calls them; one was his Answer to a Person who persuaded him to submit to the King, *If the King does not think himself more concern'd for his Honour and his Word than I do for my Life, they may take it; nay, I value my Life less in a good Cause than the King can do his Honour.* I don't wonder that those two Historians call every thing that has Fervency in Devotion Enthusiasm, as they call every one that will not associate with them a Schismatick. Their Argument is nothing, take away those two Words from them, which, like the Drums under the Scaffold, are to drown the Voice of Religion and Reason. Echard never fails to take notice of his Majesty's unparalell'd Clemency, such as giving a Man's Quarters when the Hangman is cutting him in Pieces to his Friends, and now in admitting Sir Henry Vane to have his Head cut off, when the Judge had doom'd him

to be hang'd. But what the Mercies of some are, we are inform'd in Scripture. A. D. 1662

The Princess Katharine, Infanta of Portugal, was marry'd at Lisbon to his Majesty by Proxy, the Earl of Sandwich, who had been one of Oliver's Privy-Council in the Beginning of the War, and that Earl, who had been also an Independant, or Presbyterian, or both, in Honour of the Feast of St. George, took her a-board the 23d of April. The Duke of York met her at the Isle of Wight, and the King receiv'd her at Portsmouth, where the Compleat Historian, and other Historians as compleat as he, assure us, she was marry'd by Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, to his Majesty. But the same Historian and others also say, she refus'd to be marry'd by any but a Priest of her own Religion, which was also the King's Religion. The King had two Millions of Croisadoes with her, besides the Important Town of Tangier, which was of so much Importance, as to cost England ten times as much Money as the King had with his Wife, and then to be demolish'd and abandon'd, and the Rich Town of Bombay in the East-Indies, which the Company rented of the King for 15 Pounds a Year. Soon after the Arrival of the Queen-Confort, the Queen-Mother, with the Earl of St. Alban's, arriv'd from France, and had a Court settled for her at Somerfet-house.

Echard tells us, he was assur'd by a knowing Person, That the King's first Motive for the Sale of Dunkirk was, the great Expence in the keeping of it. When he gives us Instances of the Knowledge of his knowing Persons, we always find it to be of the Size of his own. The Parliament had just given him Money for the keeping of it, and wou'd have kept it till Dooms-day, if Money wou'd have done it. Bishop Burnet informs us, that the faithful Monk positively advis'd the King to let it go to France for the Money she offer'd; and Marechal Schombergh, who was then in England in his Way to Portugal to command the French and Confederate Forces there, positively advis'd the King to keep it, saying, *It cou'd never be taken, considering the Naval Power of England.* He added, *Tho' France speaks big, as if they wou'd break with England, unless it was deliver'd up, yet they are far from the Thoughts of it; the holding it will keep both France and Spain in a Dependance upon England:* So it was sold, and all the Money, says Bishop Burnet, immediately squander'd away among the Mistresses Creatures, tho' he had promis'd he wou'd lay it up all in the Tower, and that it shou'd not be touch'd but upon extraordinary Occasions. Did not his Majesty value himself upon being a King of his Word?

It was not long after the King's Marriage that he gave himself up to an avow'd Course of Lewdness; they are my Lord of Sarum's Words: *He continu'd it as long as he liv'd, to the great Scandal of the World, and to the particular Reproach of all that serv'd about him in the Court.* The very Bishops and Doctors, who so strenuously promoted the Uniformity Act, say, *He usually came from his Mistresses Lodgings to Church, even on Sacrament Days. He held as it were a Court in them.*

A few Weeks before the Passing of the Act of Uniformity, Col. Okey, Mr. Miles Corbett, and Col. Barkstead were seiz'd in Holland, and sent Prisoners to England. Col. Okey and Col. Barkstead had been receiv'd into Protection of the City of Hanaw in Germany, where they were made Burgeses, together with Col. Walton and Col. Dixwell. Barkstead and Okey taking a Journey to Holland to meet some Relations, who were contented to banish themselves with them, and to conduct

A.D. 1662 conduct them to the Place which they had chosen for their Residence. Information of it was given to *George Downing*, a New England Teacher, who had serv'd Col. *Okey*, as Chaplain to his Regiment, and who had given *Okey* Assurance, by a Friend, that he had no Orders to look after him; for *Downing*, whom *Cromwel* had prefer'd as a gifted Person, to be his Agent in *Holland*, had accepted of the King's Agency, and acted for him with as much Zeal as he had acted against him, excepting that he did not make so much use of his Gifts. This Fellow, for sure he was not so considerable as Mr. *Ascham*, the Parliament's Ambassador in *Spain*, whom the Lord *Clarendon* so files, obtain'd an Order from the States to apprehend his old Master Col. *Okey*; Col. *Barkstead*, and Mr. *Corbett*, which was done accordingly. He ship'd them all three for *England*, where they were shut up in the *Tower*, and from thence carry'd to *Tyburn*, being all under Attainder, and there hang'd, drawn and quarter'd. Mind *Echard* now, Col. *Okey* having been hang'd, bowel'd and quarter'd, his Majesty was most graciously pleas'd, in regard to his Christian Carriage, to return his Quarters to his Friends.

But notwithstanding this most gracious Act, the Quarters were taken away again. He says, very falsely, on account of the tumultuous Concourse of Fanatics, who wou'd have attended them to the Grave. The Concourse was numerous, several Thousands, but not tumultuous. They behav'd themselves with Decency and Modesty, says *Ludlow*; however, the King was so alarm'd, that he revok'd his Grant, and dispatch'd Orders to the Sheriffs, *Francis Menil* and *Samuel Starling*, to disperse the People.

A Sham Plot.

The next hanging Work for State Matters, were the Executions of *George Philips*, Serjeant to a Foot Company, *Thomas Tongue*, a Strong-Water Man, *Francis Stubbs*, a Cheese-monger, *Nathaniel Gibbs*, a Felt-maker, who with *James Hind*, a Gunner, *John Sellars*, a Compass-maker, one *Thomas*, one *Nye*, with *Elton*, *Rawdon*, *Spurway* and *Ward*, were to turn the King, Lords and Commons out of the Government, to rout the Army and Fleet, and set up a *Common-wealth*, and a Council of State, which Council of State was to be compos'd of the above-mention'd, *Thomas*, *Nye*, *Elton*, *Rawdon*, *Spurway* and *Ward*. They were to kill all that came in their Way, particularly *Monk* the General, and *Browne* the Wood-monger. This Farce has a very tragical End, for *Gibbs*, *Stubbs*, *Tongue* and *Philips* were actually hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, tho' the most credible Part of the Story was incredible, that Lieutenant General *Ludlow* was to have headed these obscure Wretches, who I doubt not hated both *Browne* and *Monk*, and the Duke of *York*, and perhaps the King, enough to have taken Arms against them, if Opportunity offer'd, and enough to have talk'd after that idle and treasonable Rate; but to imagine that so wise and wary a Man as *Ludlow*, wou'd throw himself at the Mercy of his Enemies, under the Protection of a Cheese-monger, a Strong-Water Man, and a Serjeant of Foot, murders all Credibility; and had not the Men dy'd for't, wou'd have been as merry a Plot as ever appear'd on the Stage. But the Men being put to Death, there is no laughing at it. *Echard* has stamp'd it with his Authority, So that upon the whole, we cannot find upon what Reason this can be reckon'd a SHAM PLOT. Turn now to *Ludlow*, "In the mean Time, the English Court knowing themselves to be fallen under the Hatred and Contempt of the People, for their Cruelty, Immorality and Corruption, aggravated by the late Sale of *Dunkirk*, resolv'd by the Contri-

A.D. 1662 vance of a Plot, to disarm their Enemies, and provide for their present Safety: To this End, by the Means of Major General *Browne* and others, Money was advanc'd, and Arms put into the Hands of some Persons, among whom one *Bradley*, who had formerly belong'd to *Cromwel*, was the Principal, that by giving small Sums to Indigent Officers of the late Army, and by shewing the Arms they had ready, they might engage them and others in this pretended Design.

"An Account of this Plot was printed and publish'd, affirming that divers Thousands of ill affected Persons were ready, under any Command to sieze the *Tower*, and the *City of London*; then to march directly to *Whitehall*, in order to kill the King and *Monk*, with a Resolution to give no Quarter to any that adher'd to them, and after that to declare for a *Common-wealth*. By this Means, one *Baker*, who had been of the Guard to *Cromwel*, and since the Disbanding of the Army, had been reduc'd to grind Knives for a poor Living, having receiv'd half a Crown from *Bradley*, and promis'd his Assistance when there shou'd be Occasion, was executed with some others for this Conspiracy. However, this serv'd the Court for a Pretence to sieze five or six Hundred Persons, to disarm all those they suspected, to require those they had taken, to give Bonds of 200 Pounds each, not to take up Arms against the King, and to encrease their standing Guards. They were not asham'd also to give out that their Messengers had been so near to sieze my Person, that they had taken my Cloak and Slippers, and committed two Gentlemen to the *Tower*, for accompanying me, as they said, to the Sea-side, in Order to my Escape, tho' at the same Time they knew so well where I was, that they employ'd Instruments to procure me to be assassinated, which was discover'd to a Merchant of *Lausanne*, by a Person of Quality, living in these Parts, who had refus'd 10,000 Crowns offer'd to him by the Dutchess of *Anjou*, Sister to his gracious Majesty, if he would undertake that Province.

The Lord *Clarendon* seems to me to be the deepest in these Sham Plots; and if they were Shams, as there is Reason enough to believe they were, what sort of Men must they be, who cou'd make Plots and Plotters, and hang them for Plots of their own making? Such were the Champions of the Cause, which the Compleat Historians have espous'd.

Sir *John Lawson*, whom the Earl of *Sandwich* left behind him in the *Streights*, brought the Governments of *Algier*, *Tripoli* and *Tunis* to Reason. By good Management, and the Terror of *Blake's* Name, still fresh in their Memory, he prevail'd with them to confirm the Articles of the former Treaties.

The Earl of *Peterborough* took Possession of *Tangier* for his Majesty, and the Earl of *Tiviot*, who had been Governor of *Dunkirk*, was sent to command there. The City was made a free Port, and, as the Archdeacon justly observes, it was seated very commodiously for Strength and Safety to guard any Naval Power, and to command those Seas. But the Heads of the Politicians in *England* were otherwise taken up. Acts were pass'd and passing, that wou'd ruin the Trade at home, and then I know not what the Trade abroad signify'd.

His Majesty's Counsels, says *Echard*, for above two Years were regular and steady, and carry'd on with Wisdom and Forecaſt. There is not one Instance of it in any History, whether Church or

A.D. 1663 Presbyterian. Was it a Mark of his Steadiness to pass his Declaration for Ecclesiastical Affairs in October, and the Uniformity Act six Months after, and the Toleration four Months after? Were these Things the Effects of Wisdom and Fore-cast, of Steadiness and Regularity? The Arch-deacon, to lay a Blemish on the King's Declaration of Indulgence, publish'd in the Beginning of this Year, intimates, that it was contriv'd among the Popish Priests at Somerset-House. The Papists were indulg'd as well as the Dissenters, and it was on that Account that the Ministers refus'd to thank the King for it. As soon as the Parliament met, which was on the 18th of February, his Majesty spoke of the Declaration in a favourable Way, which did not hinder the Parliament's presenting an Address against it; wherein they discharg'd him of his Promise at Breda, touching Liberty of Conscience. And that they might not give the Papists too much Countenance by their Severity to Protestant Dissenters, they presented a Petition to the King against Priests and Jesuits. The Declaration of Indulgence was a daring Act of arbitrary Power. *Echard* calls the Uniformity Act, the *Laws of the Land*; and it was therefore illegal to dispense with it, but the Kings of this royal House, as a noble Lord once observ'd to me, lov'd the Encrease of Power every way but by Arms. His Majesty spoke very graciously to the Parliament, notwithstanding he was not very well pleas'd with their Petition against the Papists, whose Services and Merits he extoll'd. On the 12th of June he made a Speech to the Commons in the Banqueting-House, which is very long, and has an Expression in it worth Notice: *God knows I do not long more for any Blessing in this World, than that I may live to call a Parliament, and not ask or receive any Money from them*; which I do verily believe, tho' not in the Sense he spoke, or they took it; for there was at this time a Project on Foot. *Father Orleans* tells us, 'twas projected by *Alexander Popham*, Esq; to raise a certain Fund yearly, sufficient to discharge the King's necessary and unnecessary Expences, without a Parliament. *Bishop Burnet* and *Wellwood* informs us, the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord Treasurer, gave into it, not with a View of giving Interruption to Parliaments, but out of pure Affection to the Service of the Exchequer. The Earl of *Clarendon* secretly oppos'd it. I cannot complement him with an Opinion, that he did it out of a Spirit of Liberty, or to keep the Crown in Dependance upon Parliamentary Subsidies. Every Body agrees, that he was declining in the King's Favour, owing chiefly to the continual Complaints of the Cavaliers, who thought their Merits were not sufficiently rewarded, and to the more successful Arts and Insinuations of the Mistresses, especially the reigning Mistress, the Countess of *Castlemain*, *Roger Palmer's* Wife, who hated him for slighting her, whom all others courted. This Scheme coming in the Way, at such a Juncture, the Lord *Clarendon* thought to arm himself against Disgrace, by a popular Interest, and therefore pretended to be extremely in love with Parliaments. Such a one as the present was, might indeed be much in his good Graces, but a good Parliament wou'd never have done his Business, both in Church and State. *Wellwood* writes, *One might have thought this Parliament had glutted his Ambition to the full, by heaping those Prerogatives upon him, which had been contested for, with his Father, at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure; but he grasp'd early after more, and from his first Accession to the Crown, shew'd but little Inclination to depend upon Parliaments.* Yet he's always

telling them, that he's enamour'd with them; *A.D. 1663* and wou'd not one think by his Speeches, that *Mrs. Palmer* had less of his Heart than the House of Commons? Chancellor *Hyde* knew him too well to believe a Word of it; and having a private Conference with the good Earl of *Southampton* concerning the Project, he told that Lord, *He was better acquainted with the King's Temper and Inclinations than Southampton cou'd expect to be, having had long and intimate Acquaintance with his Majesty abroad, and knew him so well, that if such a Revenue was settled upon him for Life, according to the Scheme, neither of those two wou'd be of any farther Use, and they wou'd not in probability see many Sessions of Parliament, during that Reign: Upon which Southampton thought no more of the Project; but this Passage coming to the Ears of the King, prov'd the true Reason why his Majesty abandon'd Hyde to his Enemies.*

Mr. Archdeacon speaking of the Proclamation against Jesuits and Priests, owns, it did not appear to be much more in the real Intentions of the Court, than another popular Proclamation for the better Observation of the Lord's Day, which was generally spent then in Gaming and Revelling of all Kinds, and likewise for renewing a former Proclamation against vicious, debauch'd and profane Persons; when as *Mr. Echard* justly observes, it became more visible, that Popery and Profaneness, were both in the Encrease at Court; yet at the same Time that he acknowledges it, he highly approves of the Parliament's taking Care of the King's Revenue. They had given him a new Tax, call'd Chimney-Money, amounting to about 200,000 Pounds a Year. He had had 300,000 Pounds with his Wife, 300,000 more for *Dunkirk*, besides his Sister's Portion paid out of that Sale. He had 1,200,000 Pounds by an Assessment the last Year, and had 1,200,000 Pounds settled Revenue. Thus by the modestest Computation, he had receiv'd about five Millions since he came into England, not full three Years when the last Money was paid him; yet he tells this Parliament, *If you yourselves had not in an extraordinary Manner improv'd my Revenue, the Government cou'd not have been supported; and if it be not yet improv'd, the Consequence will be the same.* To warm them in their Proceedings, after he has chid them a little for their Coldness, he acquaints them with a Plot in Ireland, for the Surprise of the Castle of Dublin, &c. Thus by his obliging Carriage partly, and partly by other Inducements, says *Wellwood*, he made a shift to get more Money out of his first Parliament, towards the Expence of his Pleasures, than all his Predecessors of the Norman Race had obtain'd before, towards the Charge of their Wars. We shall not be misled, if we remember this when we read what Lord *Clarendon* told the Parliament of the Taxes, Burthens, and profuse Expences in the late Times, which amidst perpetual War, did not in the Maintenance of victorious Fleets and Armies come into any Manner of Comparison with the Squanderings of the Court on Mistresses, Minions, on Luxury and Debauchery.

The Parliament gave the King four entire Subsidies. *Echard* assures us, they were persuaded to it by the affecting Way of his Majesty's Delivery of his Speech. It wou'd have been no great Encomium on their Understandings, if he had said they were mov'd to it by the Strength of Reasoning; for it is certainly a Parcel of smooth Words only without Energy, or any persuasive Power. But what this Parliament were, is excellently well describ'd in the Eloquence of *Lawrence Womach*, D. D. who was made a Bishop for

E. of P.

Project to raise Money staid by Clar.

Another Plot.

A. D. 1663 for that, and other such admirable Performances of his. They were the strenuous Impugners of Schism and Rebellion, the ingenious Assertors of the King's Supremacy, Crown, and Dignity; the zealous Patrons of the Church's Hierarchy and Liturgy; the vigorous Champions of Uniformity, assembled under the most Excellent and Auspicious Majesty of King Charles the Second. About this Time a Book was publish'd which explain'd the good Effects of the late Acts made for the Glory of the Church, as two Reverend Historians and more have assur'd us. It was entitled, *The Five Groans of the Church*; prudently foreseeing and passionately bewailing her second Fall threaten'd by these Five dangerous, tho' undiscern'd Miscarriages that caus'd her First, viz. 1. *Undue Ordination*, 2. *Loose Profaneness*, 3. *Unconscionable Symony*, 4. *Careless Non-residence*, 5. *Encroaching Pluralities*, humbly presented to her Supream Head and Governor the King's most Excellent Majesty, and his great Council the Parliament. The Author, a very strict Conformist, complains with great Warmth of above 3000 Ministers admitted into the Church, who were unfit to teach because of their Youth; of 1500 debauch'd Men ordain'd; of the Ordination of many illiterate Men, of 1342 factious Ministers a little before ordain'd; that of 12000 Church-Livings, or thereabouts, 3000 and more being *Improprate*, and 4165 *Sine Cures*, or Non-resident Livings, there was but a poor Remainder left for a painful and honest Ministry. Had the Bishops, instead of adding another Groan to the Church, employed their Time, Pains, Prayers, and Interest to take away these *Five Groans* of God, than the Act which made room for the 2842 debauch'd and illiterate Men above-mention'd?

Church Affairs.

Dr. Cal. p. 307.

Baxt. Life. 375.

Bishop Morley preaches things that were untrue.

Uniformity and Corporation Acts make Havock.

The *Uniformity Act* is laying itself about in all Quarters of the Kingdom, particularly in *Worcestershire*, where Mr. *Baxter* was unhandfomly if not inhumanly dealt with by Dr. *Morley*, Bishop of that Diocess, who not only refus'd him a Licence to preach in his Diocess, but went in Person to *Kidderminster*, and preach'd a long Invective against him. See Mr. *Baxter's* own Words, "He came himself one Day, and preach'd to them a long Invective against them and me as *Presbyterians*, and I know not what: So that the People wonder'd that ever a Man wou'd venture to come into a Pulpit, and speak so confidently to a People that he knew not, the Things which they commonly knew to be untrue." Sir *Robert Holt*, Knight of the Shire for *Warwickshire*, made a Speech in Parliament against Mr. *Baxter*, as one who pray'd *seditionously*, but he did not remember the Words: And the thirteen Capital Burgeses, the Bailiff and Justice of *Kidderminster*, and almost all the twenty-five inferior Burgeses were turn'd out by the Act, which oblig'd all Persons incorporated to declare they held no *Obligation lying upon them or any other Person from the Oath call'd the Solemn League and Covenant*, though not above two or three of them had taken it.

The Proceedings were the same all over *England*, and the *Persecuting Acts* for Spiritualls, and the *Corporation Act* for Temporals, prepar'd the Way for that Slavery Spiritual and Temporal, which wou'd have been entail'd upon us and our Posterity had it not been for the *Revolution*.

The Havock and Desolation subsequent to the Acts for *Persecution*, will not better appear than by

A LIST of the Ministers turn'd out of their Livings and Dwellings by the Act of Uniformity, in London, Southwark, and Westminster.

Ministers St. Austins, Mr. *Simeon Afb*, St. Leonard Fourn-lane, Mr. *James Nalton*, St. Faiths, Mr. *Ar-*

thur Jackson, Aldermanbury, *Edmund Calamy*, A. D. 1663 B. D. Mr. *Loe*, St. Magnus, Mr. *Joseph Caryl*, Mr. *Leaves*, St. Sepulchres, Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, St. Bennet Fink, Mr. *Samuel Clark*, St. Mary Magdalen Milk-street, *Tho. Case*, M. A. Mr. *Tho. Vincent*, Black-Friars, *John Gibbon*, B. D. St. Michaels Quern, *Matthew Pool*, M. A. St. Mary's Staining, *Nathaniel Holmes*, D. D. Alhallows Bread-street, *Lazarus Seaman*, D. D. Christ-Church, *Will. Jenkin*, M. A. St. Olave Southwark, *Will. Cooper*, M. A. *Ralph Venning*, M. A. *Samuel Smith*, M. A. St. Botolph Aldgate, Mr. *Zachary Croston*, St. Margaret Moses, Mr. *Benjamin Needler*, Alhallows Lombard-street, Mr. *Thomas Lye*, St. Saviour's Southwark, Mr. *John Crodaccott*, Mr. *Stephen Watkins*, St. Antholine's, Mr. *Elias Pledger*, Mr. *Thomas Coniers*, St. Peter's Cheap, *Roger Drake*, D. D. St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Mr. *William Whitacre*, *Robert Torcy*, St. Lawrence Poultny, *Thomas Wadsworth*, M. A. St. Mary Magdalen Fish-street, Mr. *Thomas Brooks*, St. Martin's in the Fields, Mr. *Gabriel Sangar*, St. Bartholomew Exchange, *Philip Nye*, M. A. Mr. *John Louder*, St. John Evangelist, *Robert Tannal*, M. A. St. Brides, Mr. *Thomas White*, L. L. B. *John Herring*, St. Mary White-chappel, Mr. *Tho. Walley*, St. John Zachary, Mr. *Ralph Stretbill*, Mr. *Humphreys*, St. Olave Silver-street, *Tho. Douglas*, M. D. Bridewell, Mr. *George Fowler*, Alhallows on the Wall, *Samuel Dyer*, M. A. St. Mary le Bow, Mr. *Rutten*, Savoy, Mr. *William Hook*, Trinity Parish, Mr. *Matthew Haviland*, Wapping, Mr. *Johnson*, St. Bennet's Paul's-Wharf, Mr. *John Jackson*, St. Michael Wood-street, Mr. *Thomas Parsons*, St. Andrew Hubbard, Mr. *William Wiggans*, St. Katherine's Tower, Mr. *Samuel Slater*, Mr. *Richard Kentish*, St. Hellen's, Mr. *Arthur Barham*, St. Sepulchre's, Mr. *William Adderley*, Mr. *Arnold*, St. Giles Cripplegate, Mr. *Samuel Statham*, St. Ann's Aldgate, Mr. *Daniel Batchelor*, St. Bennet's Sheer-hog, Mr. *Nebemiah Benton*, St. Peter's Cornhil, *William Blackmore*, M. A. St. Alban Wood-street, *Hafesfoot Bridges*, M. A. Mr. *Fisher*, St. Thomas's Southwark, Mr. *Cob*, Mr. *Beerman*, St. George's Southwark, Mr. *John Biscoe*, *Henry Jesse*, M. A. Pancrafs Soper-lane, Mr. *George Cockayne*, *Nicholas Lockyer*, M. A. St. Michael Queenhithe, Mr. *Thomas Dawkes*, Grey's-Inn, *Abraham Caley*, B. D. St. Michael's Crooked-lane, Mr. *Carter*, Mr. *Thomas Mallery*, St. Martin's Ironmonger-lane, Mr. *John Fuller*, St. Botolph Bishopsgate, *Samuel Lee*, M. A. St. Stephen Walbroke, Mr. *Thomas Watson*, St. Margaret Westminster, *Edward Pearse*, M. A. Alhallows Honey-lane, Mr. *John Aftor*, St. Katherine Coleman-street, Mr. *Jof. Church*, St. Swithin, Mr. *John Sheffield*, St. Olave-Jury, *John Wells*, M. A. St. Leonard Eastcheap, *Seth Wood*, M. A. *John Rowe*, M. A. St. Matthew Friday-street, *Henry Hurst*, M. A. Convent Garden, *Thomas Manton*, D. D. Mr. *Pinchbeck*, the Tower, Mr. *Hodges*, St. John Baptist, Mr. *Peter Witham*, St. Andrew Undershaft, Mr. *Thomas Woodcock*, Abchurch, *John Kitchen*, M. A. St. Mildred Bread-street, *Richard Adams*, M. A. St. Leonard Eastcheap, *Matthew Barker*, M. A. St. Martin's Ludgate, *Thomas Jacomb*, D. D. St. Giles's Cripplegate, *Samuel Annesley*, L. L. D. St. Dunstan's in the West, *William Bates*, D. D. Charter-House, *George Grifith*, M. A. Alhallows the Great, Mr. *Robert Bragg*, St. Michael's Cornhill, *Peter Vinke*, B. D. New-Chapel Westminster, Mr. *Onesephorus Rood*, St. Alphage, Mr. *Thomas Doolittle*.

The following had no settled Cures, but were incapacitated by the Act.

Mr. *Bruce*, Mr. *Disney*, Mr. *May*, Mr. *Meer*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Symons*, Mr. *Gesfold*, Mr. *Wavel*,

A.D. 1663 Wavel, John Goodwin, M. A. Mr. Job Roysse, Stephen Charnock, B. D. Edward Veal, M. A. Jeremiah White, M. A.

Ejected in the University of Oxford.

John Owen, D. D. Dean of Christ-Church; Henry Langley, D. D. Master of Pembroke College; Daniel Greenwood, D. D. Principal of Brasen-nose College; Thomas Goodwin, D. D. President of Magdalen College; Henry Wilkinson, D. D. Principal of Magdalen Hall; Edmund Stanton, D. D. President of Corpus Christi College; Christopher Rogers, D. D. Principal of New-Imm-Hall; Thomas Cole, M. A. Principal of St. Mary Hall; Henry Wilkinson, jun. D. D. John Conant, D. D. Rector of Exeter College; Thankful Owen, B. D. President of St. John's College; Francis Horvel, M. A. Principal of Jesus College; Joshua Cross, L. L. D. Fellow of Magdalen College; Mr. Francis Johnson, Master of University College; Ralph Button, B. D. Canon of Christ-Church; Theophilus Gale, M. A. Fellow of Magdalen College; John Milward, M. A. Fellow of Corpus-Christi College; Thomas Ribley, M. A. Fellow of Pembroke College; Mr. Robert Wood, Fellow of Lincoln College; John Johnson, M. A. Fellow of New College; Henry Hickman, B. D. Fellow of Magdalen College; Thomas Adams, M. A. Fellow of Brasen-nose College; Henry Cornish, B. D. Canon of Christ-Church; Mr. John Pointer, Canon of Christ-Church; Humphrey Gunter, M. A. Fellow of Magdalen; Mr. John Troughton, Fellow of St. John's College; John Singleton, M. A. James Alhurst, M. A. George Cooper, M. A. Fellow of Magdalen College; Mr. William Woodward, ---- Stafford, M. A. George Porter, B. D. Mr. William Sagary, Student of Christ-church; John Thompson, M. A. Student of Christ-church; Mr. John Whitwick, Fellow of St. John's College; Mr. Stoughton, Fellow of New College; John Gipps, M. A. Chaplain of Magdalen College; Thomas Crittenden, M. A. Fellow of Magdalen College; Mr. Kentish, Chaplain at Magdalen College; Mr. John Goddard, Warden of Merton College; ---- Allen, M. A. Fellow of New College; ---- Hitchcock, M. A. Fellow of Lincoln College; ---- Panton, M. A. of All Souls College; ---- Sayer, M. A. of Corpus Christi College; Mr. Thomas Brace, of St. John's College; Dr. Philip Stephens; Richard Whiteway, M. A. Fellow of Exeter College; Richard Inglet, M. A. Fellow of Exeter College; Mr. Samuel Angier, Student of Christ-church; Mr. Joseph Masters, of Magdalen College; Robert Speere, M. A. of Lincoln College; Dr. Jonathan Goddard; Richard Dyer, M. A. Student of Christ-church; Mr. Conway, of Magdalen Hall; Mr. Sprint, of Magdalen Hall.

Ejected in the University of Cambridge,

Anthony Tuckney, D. D. Master of St. John's College; William Moses, M. A. Master of Pembroke Hall; Joseph Hill, B. D. Fellow of Magdalen College; William Dell, M. A. Master of Caius College; John Bond, L. L. D. Master of Trinity Hall; Mr. John Sadler, Master of Magdalen Hall; Mr. John Fido, Fellow of Trinity College; Thomas Moor, M. A. Fellow of Magdalen College; James Illingworth, B. D. Fellow of Emanuel College; William Duncomb, M. A. Fellow of King's College; Dr. Robert Brinsley, Dr. Edward Hulse, John Wood, M. A. Fellow of Magdalen College; John Reyner, M. A. of Emanuel College; Mr. Butler, M. A. of Magdalen College; Alexander Green, M. A. Fellow of Pembroke Hall; Dr. Henry Sampson, Francis Holdcroft, Fellow of Clare Hall; — Wildbore, M. A. Fellow of Clare Hall; William Green,

M. A. Fellow of Katherine Hall; John Ray, *A.D. 1663* M. A. Fellow of Trinity College; Thomas Senior, B. D. Fellow of Trinity College; Edmund More, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College; John Davis, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College; Mr. Alcock, Fellow of Trinity College; Mr. Crosland, Fellow of Trinity College; Dr. John Pratt, of Trinity College; Willoughby West, M. A. of Trinity College; Mr. John Hutchinson, Fellow of Trinity College; Mr. Hayes, Fellow of Trinity College; Mr. Samuel Ponder, of Trinity College; William Disney, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College; Mr. Thomas Locke, of Trinity College; Mr. John Castle, Fellow of Trinity College; Mr. Robert Ekins, of Trinity College; Mr. Joseph Oddy, Fellow of Trinity College; Samuel Corbin, M. A. Conduct of Trinity College; Mr. Wheeler, Fellow of Caius College; Jonathan Tuckney, M. A. Fellow of St. John's College; John Wood, M. A. of St. John's College; Mr. Fowler, Fellow of St. John's College; Mr. Mathum, Fellow of St. John's College; Mr. Alden, of St. John's College; Abraham Clifford, B. D. Fellow of Pembroke Hall; Mr. Chapman, M. A. Fellow of Corpus Christi College; Mr. Robert Whitaker, of Magdalen College; Mr. Cromwel, of Magdalen College; Mr. Haywood, Fellow of St. John's College; M. Grandorge, of St. John's College; Mr. Daniel Evans, of Jesus College; Mr. Day, of Emanuel College.

I shall add a Century of Ministers Ejected in the several Counties of England.

BEDFORD.

Houghton-Conquest, Mr. Samuel Fairclough, Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. Norhill, Dr. Fowler.

BERKS.

Newbury, Benjamin Woodbridge, M. A. Reading, Christopher Fowler, M. A. Hendreth, James Baron, B. D. Okingham, Rowland Stedman, M. A. East-Garston, Thomas Cheesman, M. A.

BUCKS.

Great-Kymbels, George Swinnock, M. A. Chalfont St. Giles, Thomas Valentine, B. D. Langley Marsh, Nathaniel Vincent, M. A. Grendon, Samuel Clark, M. A. Winchendon, Thomas Gilbert, B. D. Eaton, John Oxenbridge, M. A.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Wivlingham, Nathaniel Bradshaw, B. D. East-Hatley, Richard Kennet, B. D. Chippenham, Richard Parr, M. A.

CHESHIRE.

Chester, Thomas Harrison, D. D. Burton, Hugh Bethel, M. A. Wallofee, John Harvie, M. A.

CORNWALL.

Lanrake, Jasper Hicks, M. A. Blistand, Charles Moreton, M. A. Fowy, John Tutchin, M. A. Lancelton, William Oliver, M. A.

CUMBERLAND.

Graftock, Richard Gilpin, D. D. Cocker-mouth, George Larkham, M. A.

DERBY.

Bredsal, John Hieron, M. A. Barrow upon Trent, Daniel Shelmerdine, M. A. Chesterfield, John Billingsley, M. A.

DEVON.

Exeter, Ferdinando Nichols, B. D. Thomas Ford, M. A. Alexander Hodges, M. A. Thomas Downe, M. A. Thomas Powell, M. A. Robert Atkins, M. A. Mark Downe, M. A.

DORSET.

A.D. 1663

A.D. 1663

DORSET.

Dorchester, --- Benn, *M. A. Sherborn*, Francis Bamfield, *M. A. Blandford*, William Alleinc, *M. A. Tarrant-Hinton*, Mr. Timothy Sacheverel, *Great Uncle to Dr. Henry Sacheverel*.

DURHAM.

Bishops-Aukland, Richard Frankland, *M. A. Great-Stainton*, William Pell, *M. A.*

ESSEX.

Stebbing, Samuel Bantoft, *B. D. Tboyden-Mount*, Dr. Wells. *Moreton*, Edmund Calamy, *M. A.*

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Gloucester, James Forbes, *M. A. Burton on the Water*, Anthony Palmer, *M. A. Sipton-Moigne*, Daniel Capel, *M. A.*

HAMPSHIRE.

Exbury, John Harmar, *M. A. Weald*, Martin Moreland, *M. A. Brother to Sir Samuel Moreland. Freshwater*, James Crefwick, *B. D.*

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Lempster, John Tombes, *B. D.*

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Barly, Nathaniel Ball, *M. A.*

HUNTINGTONSHIRE.

Bluntsham, James Bedford, *B. D. Huntington*, Samuel Brooks, *B. D.*

KENT.

Canterbury, Thomas Ventres, *M. A. Chilham*, Samuel Herne, *M. A. Godmarsham*, Mr. ROBERT FERGUSON.

LANCASHIRE.

Manchester, Henry Newcome, *M. A. Wigan*, Mr. Charles Hotham, *Son to Sir John Hotham. Lancaster*, Dr. William Marfhal.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Leicester, Nathaniel Stevens, *M. A. Long-Wheaton*, Samuel Shaw, *M. A.*

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Lincoln, Edward Reyner, *M. A. Grantbam*, Henry Vaughan, *M. A.*

MIDDLESEX.

Fulham, Isaac Knight, *M. A. Stanmore*, Samuel Stancliff, *M. A. Hackney*, William Spurflow, *D. D.*

NORFOLK.

Norwich, John Collins, *D. D. Great-Tarmouth*, John Brinsley, *M. A. William Bridge*, *M. A.*

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Aynoe, Robert Wild, *D. D. Wilbee*, Vincent Alfop, *M. A.*

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Newcastle, Samuel Hammond, *B. D. Anwick*, Dr. Gilbert Rule.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Nottingham, John Whitlocke, *M. A. William Reynolds*, *M. A. John Barret*, *M. A. Cromwell*, Joseph Trueman, *B. D. Southwell*, James Mowbray, *B. D.*

OXFORDSHIRE.

Souldern, Thomas Hodges, *B. D. Silsam*, Robert Rogers, *B. D.*

SHROPSHIRE.

Shrewsbury, Francis Tallents, *M. A. Welton*, Samuel Hilderfham, *B. D.*

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Taunton, George Newton, *M. A. Mr. Joseph Alleinc*, Mr. John Glanvilc. *Bridgewater*, John Noirman, *M. A. Batcomb*, Richard Alleinc, *M. A. North-Cadbury*, Samuel Cradock, *B. D. Chedzoy*, Henry Jeanes, *M. A. Wells*, Cornelius Burgels, *D. D. Wincaunton*, Mr. John Sacheverel, *Grandfather to Dr. Henry Sacheverel. Bristol*, Mr. John Knowles, Mr. Thomas Ewins, Mr. John Paul, Mr. Ralph Farmer, Mr. Matthew Hazard, Mr. William Thomas, Dr. Ichabod Chauncey.

STAFFORD.

Kinier, Richard Moreton, *M. D. Marreston-Riddware*, Mr. Richard Swynfen. *Newcastle under Line*, George Long, *M. D.*

SUFFOLK.

St. Edmunds-Bury, --- Clagett, *M. A.*

SURREY.

Clapham, John Arthur, *D. D.*

SUSSEX.

Petworth, Francis Cheynel, *D. D.*

NORTH-WALES.

Flintshire, Philip Henry, *M. A. Hanmer*, Richard Steel, *M. A. Wrexham*, Mr. Ambrose Mostyn.

SOUTH-WALES.

Glamorganshire, Samuel Jones, *M. A. Daniel Higgs*, *M. A. John Powel*, *M. A. William Thomas*, *M. A.*

WARWICKSHIRE.

Coventry, John Bryan, *D. D. Obadiah Grew*, *D. D.*

WILTSHIRE.

Pewsey, Humphry Chambers, *D. D. Mil-denhall*, Thomas Baylie, *B. D. Salisbury*, John Strickland, *B. D.*

WORCESTERSHIRE.

Kings-Norton, Thomas Hall, *B. D.*

YORKSHIRE.

Tork, Edward Bowles, *M. A. Thomas Calvert*, *M. A. Richard Perrot*, *M. A. Rippon*, Dr. Edward Richardson. *Hull*, John Shaw, *M. A. Bradford*, Jonas Waterhouse, *M. A. Hunster*, Mr. Thomas Hawkfworth. *Addle*, Thomas Sharp, *M. A. Bedal*, John Gunter, *L. L. B. Thrusk*, Matthew Hill, *M. A. Kerby under Hill*, Peter Clarke, *M. A. Carwood*, Robert Sherborne, *M. A.*

I had exceeded my intended Number before I was aware of it; and to these might be added near Two Thousand more, learned, pious, able and orthodox Divines, who were turn'd out of their Houses, thrown into Prisons, plunder'd, whipp'd and can'd, bully'd, cudgell'd and curs'd at the Pleasure of every drunken Justice and lewd Informer. 'Twould be endless if I shou'd enter into the Detail of the Usage these venerable Divines met with, not only from the *Justices*, but even from the *Bishops*, every County in England had such Worshipful Magistrates, as Sir Edmund Bacon, Sir Gervase Elways, and Sir Algernoon May in Suffolk! The former, Bacon, meeting --- Scandaret, *M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge*, and Minister of *Haveril* in that County on the Road, whipp'd him with his Horse-whip first, and then inatching Mr. Scandaret's Cane out of his Hand, can'd him with it till he was weary. Peter Gunning, Bishop of *Chichester*, ran about with the Constables himself to break open

Ministers
bully'd
and beaten.

A. D. 1663 Doors and disturb religious People in the Worship of God after the Way of the Reform'd. Once finding a Door shut against him, he order'd the Constable to break it open; upon which one of the Crowd cry'd out, *What has Peter lost his Keys?* And upon his firing hody against the poor praying Garrison within Doors, another call'd him *Peter Gunner*; but nothing discourag'd him in his Warfare, he fate as a Justice on the Bench at the Quarter-Sessions at *Lewis*. A Barrister at Law, who was in Commission of the Peace, and us'd to give the Charge, desir'd the Bishop so to do, which sham'd him a little; but tho' he took it as an Affront he fate still to have his furious Will on some Protestant Preachers and Hearers. A Justice, whom he wou'd have spirited up against them, refus'd it, saying, *He who wou'd have good Neighbours must be a good Neighbour himself.* I have been a Witness of the plundering of Men's Houses and Barns, and driving away their Cattle by Bishops Men and others in *Somersetshire*, having Warrants from Sir *Edward Phillips*, *Hobbs*, and other such Justices as *Bacon* of *Sussex*. But it was observ'd of that *Hobbs* in particular, that from Beggaring others he became a Beggar himself, and that the Plunder taken from Protestant Dissenters, as *Dr. Calamy* informs us, seldom enrich'd the Plunderers. *God so order'd it in his Providence, that the Losers were but little the poorer, and they who were eager for such ill-gotten Goods were not much the richer.*

Chancellor Hyde im- for the greatest Part of the Business in this Reign
peach'd of peach'd of
High Treason. High Treason.
son. son.

This shou'd not be look'd upon as a Digression, for the greatest Part of the Business in this Reign is of this Kind. The King's Wars were all with *Presbyterians*, at home and abroad, and if the Activity of the Government, in persecuting the Non-conformists, must not have a Place in our History, it will be a meer Skeleton. The Glory of the Church, as the *Ecclesiastical* Writers term the *Uniformity-Bill*, was maintain'd after the above-mention'd Manner, 'till the next Popish King resolv'd to glorify his own Church, that of *Rome*, and granted a Toleration to *Protestants*, as well as *Popish* Dissenters. For the great Share Chancellor *Hyde* had in the aforesaid Bill and Glory, *Mr. Archdeacon* will not believe a Word of the Earl of *Bristol's* Charge of High Treason against him, exhibited in the House of Lords, contrary to the King's particular Injunction, *That he arrogated a supreme Direction in all things, with a traiterous Intent to bring his Majesty into a Contempt.* 'Tis true, he arrogated the supreme Direction, which of Consequence, render'd the King contemptible: But I do not believe the Earl of *Clarendon* made himself great on Purpose to make the King little; *That he alienated the Hearts of his Majesty's Subjects, by saying, the King intended to bring in Popery,* and he said nothing but the Truth, knowing him to be a *Papist*; and what follows is as true, that he had said, *The King was dangerously corrupted in his Religion, that Papists had such Access to him, and Credit with him, that unless there was a watchful Eye upon it, the Protestant Religion wou'd be overthrown,* which is what I am endeavouring to prove, that he said, *His Majesty had given 10,000 Pounds to remove a zealous Protestant, Sir Edward Nicholas, that he might bring into that high Place of Secretary of State, a conceal'd Papist, Sir Henry Bennet.* That several of his Dependants did not stick to say, *If the Lord Chancellor does not stand in the Gap, Popery will be introduc'd in this Kingdom:* That he perswaded the King to allow his Name to be us'd to the Pope and Cardinals, for the Solicitation of a Cardinal's Cap for the Lord *Aubigny*, which is very likely, and that he employ'd one *Richard Bealing, a known Papist, in that Affair, upon*

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Promise of great Favour to Papists: That he had promis'd the Pope to do his Endeavour to take away the Penal Laws against them: That he concluded the Articles of Marriage between his Majesty and the Queen, upon Terms scandalous and dangerous to the Protestant Religion: That he brought the King and Queen together, without any settled Agreement about the Performance of the Marriage Rites; whereby the Queen refusing to be marry'd by a Protestant Priest, in case of her being with Child, either the Succession shou'd be made uncertain for want of the due Rites of Matrimony, or else his Majesty be expos'd to a Suspicion of having been marry'd in his own Dominion by a Romish Priest: That he vented opprobrious Scandals against his Majesty's Person and Course of Life, such as are not fit to be mention'd, but such as were doubtless very true: That he perswaded the King, against the Advice of General *Monk*, to withdraw the English Garrisons out of Scotland: That he told his Majesty, *There never was so weak and inconsiderable a House of Lords, nor never so weak and heady a House of Commons,* which as to the latter, is a more just Character of them than *Echar'd's* wise Ones and experienc'd Ones: That he had advis'd the King to sell *Dunkirk*: That he had enrich'd himself and his Creatures by sale of Offices: That he had converted Money, rais'd in Ireland for the publick Service, to his own Use: That he had procur'd a Farm of the Customs at a low Rate to make his Profit of it, &c. I don't think that *Echar'd's* scowring has clear'd the Character of Chancellor *Hyde* as to several of these Articles, which are generally allow'd to be true, but the King cou'd not yet part with him: He had disoblig'd his Subjects of the Reform'd Religion, and if he shou'd disoblige his other Subjects the *Papists*, and the Promoters of the late Act, he wou'd be in Danger of travelling again, so the Judges were taught to give it as their Opinion, *That one Peer cou'd not exhibit a Charge of High Treason against another.* The Lords agreeing to it, the Prosecution sunk for the present, and the Earl of *Bristol* absconded for a while, to avoid the Resentment of his Enemy.

At the Breaking up of the Parliament, *Echar'd* brings his Speaker again upon the Stage, with a handsome Speech, tho' the handsomest Part of it is, where he tells the King, that to secure the Peace of the Nation against the Dissenters, the Parliament presented him with an additional Bill for raising the Militia. The King answers him in a Speech, wherein he tells the Parliament, he has given it in Charge to the Judges, to use their utmost Endeavours in their Circuits to prevent and punish seditious Meetings. And as to the *Papists*, he will take them to Task himself. *I will be as watchful,* and take all the Pains I can to convict them; and if he had done his Business against them as well as the Judges and Justices did theirs against the *Protestants*, there wou'd not hath been such an eternal Clamour at the Growth of *Popery*.

About the Beginning of August, the King and Queen went from London to the Bath. They were entertain'd at *Share*, near *Newbury* in *Berkshire*, by Sir *Thomas Doleman*; at *Littlecot* in *Wiltshire* by *Alexander Popham*, Esq; one of *Oliver's* Lords; at *Marlborough* by the Lord *Seymour*; at *Longleat* by Sir *James Thyme*; at *Badminton* in *Gloucestershire* by the Marquis of *Worcester*; at *Corbury* in *Oxfordshire* by Chancellor *Hyde*; and at *Oxford* by the University. In this Progress, *Echar'd* takes Care to tell us, his Majesty touch'd above 300 People for the Kings-Evil, which I believe is to be cur'd by a Touch as soon as any other Evil.

During

A.D. 1663
Yorkshire
Plot.

During this Progress, there broke out a Plot in *Yorkshire*; the main Design of which was to seize *Gloucester* and *Newcastle*, *Whitehall* and *Nottingham*, *Worcester* and *Boston*, and all the Passes on the *Severne*, the *Trent*, and the *Tine*. *Boston* lay convenient for Assistance from *Holland*; *Newcastle* was in the Neighbourhood of the *Scots*, and *Gloucester* lay handy to receive the *Welch* Army that was to come and join them. Their Pretences were to reform the Lawyers and Clergy, to put down Chimney-Money, and other Taxes, and procure a Resurrection for the *Long Parliament*, which Chancellor *Hyde* told both Lords and Commons, had been bury'd at a prodigious Charge, three or four Years before.

More Plot.
ters.

The Forlorn of these Armies appear'd at *Farnley Wood* in *Yorkshire*, but the *Militia*, and some regular Troops meeting them, instead of *Dutchmen* and *Switzers*, the Plot was spoil'd, and the Plotters too: The Chief of whom were, *Robert Oldroyd*, *Joshua Ashmuth*, *Peregrine Corney*, *William Tolson*, *John Nettleton*, Senior, *John Nettleton*, Junior, *Ralph Rimer*, *Thomas Oates*, *Samuel Ellis*, *Robert Scott*, *John Foster*, *John Snowden*, *John Smith*, *William Ash*, *Charles Carre*, *John Errington*, *Robert Atkins*, *William Cotton*, *George Denham*, *Henry Watson*, *Richard Wilson*, who were all taken, and hang'd at their own Doors, and other Places. The very Names of these Wretches prove the Falseness of General *Ludlow's* engaging with them, for Reasons more than once offer'd in the preceding Pages. I do not at all wonder that the Court and Ministry are frighted out of their Wits at the Rumour of forty or fifty Rumpers got together, nor that the very Names of *Lambert* and *Ludlow* sting them into a Panick. They were told that these *Yorkshire* Men had sent for *Lambert* to head them, though they had him safe in the *Tower*, or in *St. Nicholas Island*. I doubt not that these rash, desperate Fellows, might have resolv'd to join with any body that shou'd appear in Arms against so unpopular a Government, and that they might be so foolish as to provide themselves of Weapons for such an Attempt, nay, to make a Motion, in hopes the general Hate of the People wou'd stir up a general Rising; for by this Time Court and Courtiers were hated as much as Men cou'd be, who were despis'd: The Reader will probably think *Ludlow* expresses it better than I can.

"The endless Prodigality of the *English* Court, the Persecution of the Dissenters, the Sale of *Dunkirk*, the Articles exhibited in Parliament by the Eurl of *Bristol* against the Chancellor *Hyde*, and the Factions ensuing on that Account, together with many other Causes of Discontent and Division, had so alienated the Affections of the People from their King, that the best Judges were of Opinion, if a favourable Juncture shou'd happen, they wou'd be as ready to shake off the Yoke, as they had been foolish and inconsiderate in putting it on; and our Friends in all Parts began to entertain Hopes that they might be again employed to rescue their Country from Servitude." And it is true, Col. *Sidney* had an Interview about the same Time with Lieutenant General *Ludlow* and the Refugees in *Switzerland*, where they did all agree not to be wanting to the publick Service, if an Opportunity offer'd. But it is monstrous to think they wou'd concert Measures, or engage with such sorry Tools as *Oldroyd*, *Ashmuth*, *Corney*, *Oates*, and the *Yorkshire* Gang. *Echard* makes a very silly Reflection on this Passage out of *Ludlow*; It plainly shew'd his Disposition, and the Disposition of the rest of his Opinion, to do what? to make War upon King *Charles*, upon *Hyde* and *Monk*, and the persecuting Bi-

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shops: Who ever doubted it? But does it shew any Disposition in him to join with a rascally Rout, without Ships, without Men, without Money, and without any thing but good Will? Was he such a sort of a Man? A Year after, when the King had declar'd War with the *Dutch*, who had so highly oblig'd him, both he and Col. *Sidney*, and every Hand that had held a Sword in what they call'd the *Good Old Cause*, were certainly very desirous to have taken Vengeance on their Enemies in a military Way.

About the Time that the *Yorkshire* Men were hang'd, *John Twine*, a Printer, was executed for printing a *Common-wealth* Pamphlet; but they pillory'd *Simon Dover*, Printer, *Thomas Brewster*, Bookfeller, and *Nathaniel Brooks*, Bookbinder, for uttering something written by *Milton*, *Buchanan*, and other such mean Writers. *Echard* tells us, that what *Milken* wrote, was in Opposition to that excellent Oath in the Corporation Act, That it is unlawful in any Case whatsoever to abdicate a Sovereign.

Upon the Death of Dr. *William Juxon*, the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* was given to Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, to whom the Protestant Religion and *English* Liberty were indebted for the Act of *Uniformity*, and the other stinging Acts against Protestant Dissenters, whose Religion being the same with that of the *Dutch*, it is not to be doubted but the King's Quarrel with the latter was much more out of Hatred to it, than out of Concern for the Honour and Interest of *England*, which none of this Royal House were ever much concern'd about till after the *Revolution*.

The Politicks of this Government had no Disguise but what the weakest Eyes cou'd see thro', and they needed no more Art than the Ministers were capable of, to lead this willing Parliament into any thing. Never was Assembly so prostituted to the Pleasure of the Court, never one so shamefully Betrayers of their Country both in Ecclesiastical and Civil Matters. The *Triennial* Parliament Bill, which pass'd after a long Struggle in King *Charles* the First's Reign, stuck in the King's Stomach, and therefore in his Speech at the opening of the next Sessions of Parliament, *March* the 18th, he recommends it to the Commons to be revis'd, in his usual coaxing Way. Having told them of the terrible Rebellion in *Yorkshire*, and said all he cou'd think of to alarm them, and exasperate them still more against Protestant Dissenters, as at the bottom of that and all other Plots, he comes to the Point.

"Some wou'd still insist on the Authority of the *Long Parliament*, of which, they say, they have Members enough who are willing to meet: Others have fancied to themselves, by some Computation of their own, upon some Clause in the TRIENNIAL BILL, That this present Parliament was at an End some Months since, and that for want of new Writs, they may assemble themselves, and choose Members for Parliament; and this is the best Expedient to bring them together for their own Purposes. For the *Long Parliament*, you and I can do no more to inform and compose the Minds of all Men, let them proceed upon their Peril. But methinks there is nothing done to disabuse them in respect of the *Triennial* Bill. I confess, my Lords and Gentlemen, I have often my self read over that Bill; and though there is no Colour for the Fancy of the Determination of this Parliament, yet I will not deny to you, that I have always expected you wou'd, and even admir'd you have not consider'd the wonderful Clauses in that Bill (and he might very well have admir'd,

A.D. 1664 mir'd, if he had before intimated his Desire to have it repeal'd; for he can hardly be fonder of absolute arbitrary Power, than they are become fond of absolute Submission) "which pass'd in a Time very uncareful for the Dignity of the Crown, or Security of the People."—So uncareful, that they were at the Expence of many Millions of Money and Blood in Proportion for their Security. "I pray, Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, give that Triennial Bill once a Reading in your House, and then, in God's Name, do what you think fit for me, and your selves, and the whole Kingdom. I need not tell you how much I love Parliaments (*Their Ears are all stretch'd out to bear this*) "never King was so much beholden to Parliaments as I have been, nor do I think the Crown can ever be happy without frequent Parliaments; and to shew how much he valu'd himself on being a Prince of his Word, he kept this near eighteen Years, and sometimes saw them not for ten or twelve Months. "But assure your selves, if I did think otherwise, I would never suffer a Parliament to come together by the Means prescrib'd by that Bill." He tells them there very plainly, that he matters not the Law, and intimates, if they don't repeal it, he would do it himself, and never let it be put in execution: But he need be in no Concern about it. This Assembly had no relish of English Liberty, they fled from her, adorn'd as she is with Celestial Beauty, and ran into the Arms of Slavery, the foulest of all Shadowy Beings. The Bill soon pass'd to repeal the Act for Triennial Parliaments, but they were asham'd to let it go by its right Name, so it was stil'd, *An Act for assembling and holding of Parliaments once in three Years at least*. Bishop Burnet informs us what an absurd ridiculous Business it was; pray turn to the King's wheedling Speech about it, and then read what his Lordship says. "The Parliament repealed the Triennial Bill, which had been obtain'd with so much Difficulty, and was clogg'd with so many Clauses, which seem'd to transfer the Power from the Crown to the People, that when it was carried, it was thought the greatest Security the People had for all their other Liberties. *The King has been just telling the two Houses of Lords and Commons that it utterly destroyed their Security.* "It was now given up without a Struggle, or any Clauses for a Certainty of Parliaments, besides a general one; that there shou'd be a Parliament call'd within three Years after the Dissolution of the present Parliament, and so ever afterwards; but without any severe Clauses in Case the Act was not observ'd." However, both *Echard* and the *Compleat Historian* are in the best Humour in the World on this Occasion; when it is impossible for a good Englishman to behold his dear Country in the Hands of such a Parliament, without trembling with Fear, and melting with Compassion.—The Speech-making Speaker, when the Parliament was prorog'd, told his Majesty, That the Act of Security, spoken of by my Lord of *Sarum*, was impracticable, and only useful to learn the People how to rebel. Then comes some elegant Nonsense: *Therefore we melted it down, extracted the pure Metal from counterfeit and drossy Alloy, and then presented it to your Majesty to be stamp'd, and made current Coin.* He return'd the Parliament's most humble Thanks to the King, that he had been most graciously pleas'd to pass that new Bill, which threw down the Fences of their Security, and laid them at the Mercy of Mistresses and Minions. *Echard* tells us, the *Yorkshire Plot* gave Occasion to that infamous Bill call'd the *Conventicle Act*. The In-

famy of it arose from the vile Arts made use of to give a Colour to it, and the Cruelty and Inhumanity of the Penalties. We will repeat what *Turner* the Speaker said of it in his Prorogation Speech; it will shew us what his Head was, and what his Heart. "Whilst we were intent upon these weighty Affairs, we were often interrupted by Petitions, and Letters, and Motions, representing the unsettled Conditions of some Counties, by reason of Fanaticks, Sectaries, and Nonconformists. They differ in their Shapes and Species, and accordingly are more or less dangerous; but in this they all agree, they are no Friends to the establish'd Government either in Church or State. And if the old Rule be true,

Qui Ecclesie contradicit, non est pacificus, we have great Reason to prevent their Growth, and to punish their Practice. To this Purpose we have prepar'd a Bill against their frequenting of Conventicles; the Seed-Plots and Nurseries of their Opinions, UNDER PRE-

SENCE of Religious Worship. "The first Offence is made punishable with five Pounds, or three Months Imprisonment. "The second Offence with ten Pounds, or six Months Imprisonment. "But the third Offence is Banishment to some Foreign Plantation.

Immedicabile Vulnus ne pars sincera trabatur.

The two Reverend Historians are not at all mov'd at this; or if they are mov'd at all, 'tis with an Emotion of Pleasure, as much as it is scandalous and shameful to Christianity itself. The Bishop of *Salisbury* says, *All People were amaz'd at this Severity*, and well might it strike them with Amazement and Horror. To see People pretending to be Protestants making a Law to ruin and destroy their Brethren of the same Religion, for worshipping God in their Houses, after they themselves had driven them out of their Churches.

All this while was the Design of a War with *Holland* working. Bishop *Burnet* informs us, he was positively assur'd by Statesmen on both Sides, that the *French* set it on in a very artificial Manner. They encourag'd the *English* to insist on some extravagant Demands, and at the same Time press'd the *Dutch* not to yield to them. These were *Finesses* in Politicks, too subtil to be observ'd by a Court and Ministry, whose Heads were full of *Sham-Plots* and *Persecution*, and a Parliament that had given themselves up to Bigotry and Pensions. As the *French* put the *Dutch* in hopes that if a Rupture shou'd follow, they would assist them according to their Alliance, so they assur'd the *English* they would do them no hurt. *Downing* before-mention'd, the *New-England Pulpit*er, was then unemployed in *England*.

The Bishop of *Salisbury* tells us, "He was a Down-crafty fawning Man, who was ready to turn to every Side that was uppermost, and to betray those who by their former Friendship and Services thought they might depend on him; as he did some of the Regicides, whom he got into his Hands under Trust, and then deliver'd them up, particularly *Col. Okey*, whose Chaplain he had been. *Cromwel* employ'd him as his Agent in *Holland*, where he had offer'd personal Affronts both to the King and to the Duke; yet he had by some base Practices got himself to be so effectually recommended by *Monk* (*Observe what Instruments are made use of*) "that all his former Offences were forgiven, and he was sent into *Holland* as the King's Ambassador; whose Behaviour to the King himself the States had observ'd, so they had Reason to conclude he was sent over with no good

King's
Speech a-
gainst the
Triennial
Act.

Turner's
Speech a-
bout it.

Cruel Pe-
nalties on
Prote-
stants.

War with
Holland
breaking
out.

Down-
ing's vile
Character.

Conventi-
cle Act.

A.D. 1664 " good Intent, and that he was capable of managing a bad Design, and very ready to undertake it. There was no visible Cause of a War, a Complaint of a Ship taken was ready to have been satisfied, but *Downing*, the quondam *Independant Parson* hinder'd it; wherefore it was plain the King hated the *Dutch*, and some cry'd they were so feeble, and the *English* so much superior to them, that a War wou'd humble them to an entire Submission. The States had treated and presented him with great Magnificence, and at a vast Charge, &c. as " has been shewn already." But out of hatred to the *Presbyterian* Religion, and love to the *French*, who desir'd to see the *English* Hereticks destroy the *Dutch*, that they might the more easily destroy the *English* afterwards, no Endeavours were wanting in *England* to set both City and Country against the *Hollanders*, as Incroachers on the Commerce of the *English* Merchants. *Turner*, the Speaker, said in his Speech, *We find that besides the insufferable Indignities offer'd to your Royal Majesty, the Dutch have in a few Years spoil'd your Subjects to the value of 800,000 Pounds.* The insufferable Indignities were not spoken of when they were waisting their Treasure in Treats upon him at the *Hague*, before he took Shipping for *England*. Both Houses of Parliament had address'd him to procure Satisfaction of the *Dutch*, with Promises to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes; and they gave him Money enough to have maintain'd the Honour of *England*, if he had had it at Heart so much as maintaining the Profusion, Luxury, and Vanity of the Female Court.

Coke, p. 141. The greatest Cause of Complaint against the *Dutch*, was for Injuries done to *Sir William Courteen*, and *Sir Paul Pindar*, and the Person to whom he granted Letters of Reprisal, *Sir Edward Turner* did, no doubt, forward the Business in Parliament to the utmost of his Power: But the true Reason was probably the secret League between *Lewis XIV.* and *Charles II.* suppos'd to be concluded by the Queen Mother, with the Assistance of *Monsieur Colbert*, who succeeded as Prime Minister in *France* after *Cardinal Mazarine's* Death. *Colbert's* Agent, *Abbot Primi*, gave a clear Account of this Treaty, in a Book printed by Authority at *Paris*, in the Year 1682, and suppress'd upon Complaint of *Lord Preston*, the *English* Ambassador, and the *Abbot* sent to the *Bastile* for ten Days only. However, we have another Authority for it in *Sir William Temple's* Letters, and another still, that of *Dr. Jonathan Swift*, Dean of *St. Patrick's*, who testifies, that he had that Information from the Author himself, That the Discovery happen'd to fall from the King's own Mouth, when an accidental Passion had render'd him unguarded. In pursuance of this League, the learned *Acherly* tells us, " Was the Declaration of War made the 22d of February, 1664, against the *Dutch*, in order to bear down that Protestant Power? The Pretences were, to recover Satisfaction for the Wrongs which the English had suffer'd in Trade.

Sir Richard Fanshawe was sent Ambassador to *Spain*, to engage that King in the intended War against the *Hollanders*; but alas, the *Spanish* Court knew better than to be led away with the Bugbears, *Common-wealth's Men* and *Schismaticks*, while the *French* King was daily increasing in Ambition and Power, and threaten'd to break in upon them on all Sides, as soon as their weak Monarch dy'd, which was every Day expected. They no more look'd upon the *Dutch* as *Rebels*, but as their best Friends and Allies, in Case of a War in *Flanders*, which they cou'd no longer doubt wou'd be unavoidable on the King of *Spain's*

Death; and the *French* King by such an Addition of Power in the *Netherlands*, wou'd become strong enough to give Laws to all his Neighbours. The *English* Ministers and Parliament never thought of *France* and the *Netherlands*; their Heads were full of destroying the *Presbyterians* where-ever they found them; and without either Alliances, or any just Reason, they hurry'd the Nation into a War, in which whatever Side was Conqueror, they were both sure to be ruin'd at the end of it. *Bishop Burnet* has assur'd us, *There was no visible Cause of a War*; the invisible one must then be, that the *Dutch* were Protestants, that they were Friends to Liberty, and as such, hated and dreaded by all Promoters of Tyranny, Popery, and Persecution. The *Bishop of Salisbury* again; *The Grounds of this War were so slight, that it was visible there was somewhat more at bottom than openly own'd.* A great Comet which appear'd then, rais'd the Apprehensions of the People. *The House of Commons was so far from examining nicely into the Grounds of the War, that without any Difficulty they gave the King two Millions and a half for carrying it on; and as soon as the War broke out, a most terrible Plague broke out also.*

It may well be wonder'd at, that an *English* Parliament shou'd not see all this. A true *English* Parliament wou'd have seen it, and instead of addressing for a War with the *Dutch*, wou'd have address'd for a Peace with our selves. I have more than once observ'd what kind of Assembly this was, but it is better explain'd in the *State Tracts*. The Act which repeal'd the Triennial Bill, " left the King at Liberty to continue the same Parliament as long as he pleas'd, and that King accordingly continu'd that same Parliament near eighteen Years; all which Time they cou'd not be said truly to represent the People of *England*, many of them who chose them being dead, and others were either grown up, or had purchas'd Estates, whose Opinions both of Persons and Things might be much chang'd from what the Sense of the Nation was when the Parliament was first call'd. But having got a considerable Party in the House of Commons, they labour'd to confirm and encrease it. Places and Pensions were liberally bestow'd on all that cou'd be brought over to them; and 'tis no wonder they gave such prodigious Sums of Money out of the poor Peoples Pockets, when a great Part was again to be refunded into their own. This scandalous Proceeding was manifest, and confirm'd by the open Confession of a Gentleman (through whose Hands much publick Money then pass'd) in the House of Commons, who acknowledg'd he paid annually many and great Pensions to Members of Parliament, of which still more hereafter." What cou'd be expected from such an Assembly, but such Bills as *Bartholomew Acts*, *Conventicle Acts*, *Corporation Acts*, Acts against *Parliaments*, &c.

Downing demanded Reparation of the States in so insolent a Manner, that the *French* Ambassador *D'Estrades* was asham'd of him. The States sent *Van Goch* into *England* to ward off the Blow, and to offer Satisfaction, when the Accounts of Damages on both Sides were liquidated. *Echard* picks up a silly Pretence for the War, out of a Letter written by a conceal'd Papist to the Ambassador *Fanshawe* in *Spain*, which is that upon *Downing's* bullying the States, and threatening them with War instead of paying down the 800,000 Pounds at Demand, they order'd Ships to be got ready for their Defence in case they were attack'd before the Accounts were fairly stated, and that conceal'd Papist *Bennet*, so the Lord

A D. 1664

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P. 340.

A.D. 1664 *Bristol* call'd him, tells Ambassador *Fanshawe*, that to prepare for Defence is a Declaration of War. One may expect rare Politicians from such fine Reasoners! The *Dutch* knew full well what was intended against them, by Intelligence from their Friends both in *England* and *France*. *Lud-*

Growth of Popery, writes, "Some of the most eminent Protestants in *France* sent into *Holland*, to give Information that the Destruction of the whole Protestant Party was intended, and to advise the States to make the best Preparations they cou'd for their Defence, assuring them, if they shou'd be borndown in the War, the Reform'd Religion wou'd soon be extinguish'd in *France*."

In the mean time the English King, says the Historian, made it his Business and his great Pleasure to visit his Docks, and in November the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Sandwich* joining several great Squadrons of Men of War, form'd a Fleet, which struck Terror upon the Coasts of *Holland*, and took several Ships laden with Wine and Brandy, bound from *Bourdeaux* to *Holland*, which, according to Mr. Archdeacon, were condemn'd as lawful Prize, tho' no War had been actually declar'd. This Proceeding, continues he, was thought to be more arbitrary than was allow'd by the Law of Nations. But then he advises us not to blame the King or his Ministers for it; it was not their Doing. He seems to be willing to give his Oath, that it was no foreign Project, but the Cry of all the great Merchants, and of the City of *London*. *France*, according to his Information or Understanding, had nothing to do with it. The *Spaniards* were better inform'd, and understood better, who, in a Memorial deliver'd to the States sometime after, say, *The French procur'd with a premeditated and private Design, a War with England, to weaken the United Provinces, and afterward to tyrannize over both*. He knew not, or takes no Notice of it, that the King and his Ministers had, by various Artifices and Rumours, been working up the Spirits of the trading People with Hopes of procuring them golden Heaps of Satisfaction for small Damages, which are unavoidable between Nations so jealous of their Commerce, and so well able to support it as the *English* and *Dutch*. The latter had dispossest the *English* of their Factories at *Cape de Verd*, and an Island call'd *Gogee*, some Months before. What Pretensions they had to them he does not tell us, only offers it as an Excuse for taking the *Dutch Bourdeaux* Fleet in Breach of the Law of Nations, but does not say a Word of *Holmes's* Acts of Hostility against the *Dutch* in *Guinea* before that, for which the States Ambassador ask'd Satisfaction in vain, nor that *Holmes* had taken *Cape de Verd* from the *Dutch* long before that.

About a Year after the *Dutch* had spent so much Money on the King and his Brothers, *Holmes* not only took from them *Cape de Verd*, and several other Forts in *Guinea*, but the whole Province of *New-Netherlands*, now *New-York*, in *America*, in the Year 1661; yet does the ingenious and impartial *Echard* justify King *Charles's* Breach of the Law of Nations, by the first Acts of Hostility of the *Dutch* in *Guinea* and *New-York*, only to recover those Places which *Holmes* had surpriz'd and piratically taken by prior Acts of Hostility in time of profound Peace, and just when the State had been squandering their Treasure upon the King and his Family: However, by a strange logical Turn, he and his Flatterers call'd them *Ungrateful* as well as *Insolent*, tho' he had never had it in his Power, and much less in his Will, to oblige them.

The Parliament met again on the 24th of November, and the King in his Speech mentions a

vile Jealousy rais'd of him, that when the Parliament had given him Money to carry on the War, he wou'd clap up a Peace, and put it into his Pocket. If the War had not been against the *Hollanders*, I shou'd have thought that Jealousy not so unreasonable as his Majesty conceiv'd it; but there does not seem to be any Grounds for his so saying, from his Opinion of the *Dutch* Religion and Government. This Parliament then gave him that prodigious Sum of 2,500,000 Pounds before-mention'd, and the King promis'd them, that it shou'd all be expended to the Advantage and Satisfaction of his People.

The Members of Parliament who were most active in promoting this unnatural War, were known Favourers of Popery; the most busy was Mr. *Clifford*, afterwards Lord *Clifford*, a Papist, who was Chairman of the Committee, who examin'd into the 800,000 Pounds Damages spoken of by Sir *Edward Turner*, and reported it to the House.

The Compleat Historian has, in it's due Place, proper Paragraphs, which he calls the State of Religion, and he has some Remarkables that are not to be forgotten. The Church of England, says he, was happily establish'd by the Act of Uniformity, the Wisdom and Moderation of which the World has Reason to admire. The Moderation and Wisdom of this Remark of his will not bear remarking, it is below Reflection. He then informs us, Mr. *Edmund Calamy* was the first that broke thro' it to preach in his own Church, to which God had given him a Call, when the Congregation was disappointed of a Sermon. It looks like a Plot, says he, for he preach'd upon the Ark of God, and then comes his Wisdom and Moderation. He cou'd not be thought less than a seditious, as well as a disabled Preacher. This Writer being, as I am inform'd, a Preacher himself, wou'd have more adorn'd the Function, had he let his Charity have appear'd more on this Occasion, and not have censur'd two Ministers of the Gospel as in a Plot, one to be absent, and another present, for the promoting of Sedition. Besides, it is not probable, that so good a Churchman as the Minister must be, who was got into Mr. *Calamy's* Pulpit after he was pull'd out of it by the late Act, wou'd be accessary to such a seditious Lecture. The Truth is, the Discourse was unpremeditated, and purely occasion'd by the Disappointment. What was said in the Sermon about the Danger the Reform'd Church of England was in, is well explain'd by Dr. *Calamy*, Grandson of the Gentleman we are speaking of. As Circumstances then were, there might well be a Concern stirring for serious Religion, which was in no small Danger. And had this Author wou'd that Reflection, his Work wou'd not have lost any of its Beauty. I shou'd have been at the Pains to have pointed to those Beauties in his Work, as I have done in *Echard's*, had they been as worthy of it. The Writer is delighted with the Execution of the new Law upon him; Mr. *Calamy* was committed to *Newgate* by the Lord Mayor, Sir *John Robinson*, where, according to the Historian, he lay but a few Days before he was discharge'd by his Majesty's express Order, without the due Manner of a legal Discharge. You see how sorry he is for it; and again, which brought a Contempt upon the Law and Church. How long it had been a Law, and what a Law it was, we have seen already. Dr. *Calamy* represents it thus, He was soon releas'd, when it was seen what a Resort of Persons of all Qualities there went to him in *Newgate*.

The next Ecclesiastical Affair of greatest Importance, says the Compleat Historian, was the providing a better Maintenance for the conforming

A.D. 1664 *ing Clergy. There was a pious Disposition in the Commons to make every Benefice a Cure of Comfort and Credit, which is an Explanation of that comfortable Importance elsewhere mention'd: Then he speaks of the Plot in Yorkshire for the Presbyterians and Republicans, and complains that the Uniformity Act, and Conventicle Act, were not steadily executed. A new Order was issu'd for all Rectors, Vicars and Curates, to read Divine Service in their Surplices; and thus stands the State of Religion with him, 'till the breaking out of the Dutch War.*

We must not forget that Mr. *Prynne*, having taken upon him to amend an Act of Parliament, after it had been read in the House, was reprimanded by Mr. Speaker; nor can we be just to Truth, unless we remember that Lord *Clarendon* was now very cool in the Affair of the *Dutch War*. The King intended, as he told the two Houses, that the Lord Chancellor shou'd have enlarg'd upon that Matter, but he being indispos'd, the Steps that had been taken in it, were put into Writing, and deliver'd to them: 'Tis suppos'd that his Indisposition was affected, and that observing there was no such thing as a general Cry against the *Dutch*, but what the Court had work'd up in *London* and other Places, or else doubting the Issue of the War, or that he shou'd not have the Management of it, he was not forward in concerning himself in it. Indeed his Interest sunk lower and lower every Day, and it was not long before he became the Subject of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and other witty Lords Mirth and Mimickry; yet he continu'd in his Post as long as he cou'd, and let them be as merry and as witty as they wou'd with him, he thought the Seal was worth more than all that.

1665. This very terrible Year opens with the *Dutch War*. If I took the same Liberty with divine Providence as the reverend Historians do, I cou'd not avoid applying all the dreadful Calamities of this and the following Year, War, Plague, and Fire, to the Judgments of Heaven, for the Lewdness, Profaneness, Deceit, and Cruelty of the Times; in which there was not the least Appearance of Religion or Virtue in the Courtiers, or their Creatures, and very little any where else throughout the whole Kingdom.

Times wicked.

"As soon as the War broke out, a most terrible Plague broke out also (they are Bishop *Burner's* Words) in the City of *London*, that scatter'd all the Inhabitants who were able to remove themselves. It broke the Trade of the Nation, and swept away about 100,000 Souls, the greatest Havock that any Plague had ever made in *England*. This did dishearten all People, and coming in the very Time in which so UNJUST a War was begun, it had a dreadful Appearance. All the King's Enemies said, here is a manifest Character of God's heavy Displeasure upon the Nation, as indeed the ill Life of the King, and the Viceousness of the whole Court, gave but a melancholy Prospect.

Dutch War unjust.

The King's ill Life.

Baxter's Life, 448.

Dreadful Calamities.

Another Author represents it thus; "And now after all the Breaches on the Churches, the Ejection of the Ministers, and Impenitency under all, Wars, Plagues, and Dangers of Famine began all at once on us; yet under all these Deliverations the Wicked are harden'd, &c.

In *February* was publish'd his Majesty's Declaration of War, with this Introduction.

At the Court at Whitehall, Feb. 22, 1664.

Declaration of War.

Present the King's most excellent Majesty, Duke of *Tork*, Prince *Rupert*, Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Duke of *Buckingham*, Duke of

Albemarle, Marquis of *Dorchester*, Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Berkshire*, Earl of *Anglesey*, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Carlisle*, Earl of *Lauderdale*, Earl of *Carbery*, Lord *Wentworth*, Lord *Ashley*, Mr. *Treasurer*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Mr. Secretary *Benner*, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Chancellor of the *Duchy*.

A.D. 1665

I think the Names of them ought not to be forgotten, nor must we forget that we do not find in this List, the principal Counsellors, the Earl of *Souhampton*, and Earl of *Clarendon*; they wou'd not countenance this unjust War, not only with their Counsel, but with their Presence at the Board.

The States having publish'd a Memorial in Answer to Sir *George Downing's*, the *Compleat Historian* calls it a *Libel*: *Downing* exhibiting a Memorial, the same compleat Writer terms the States Answer to it, *A second Libel*, and he affirms, there were several Invectives in it against the *English Nation*, whereas the *Dutch* declar'd, their Quarrel was not against the People, but against the King of *England*, and that their Designs in the defensive War, was only to secure themselves against the double Dealing they had met with from the *English Court*.

Several Bills being ready for the Royal Assent, the King came to the House of Peers, and pass'd them, particularly one for the Regulation of the Law, which must be an excellent one, it being so well regulated at present by that and other Helps since that. I shall repeat a Paragraph of the *Speaker's* Speech, and then have done with it, and with the *Speaker*. It is to shew what a Trifler he is, tho' he's a perfect *Narcissus*, with respect to his Opinion of his Eloquence. He is about to present the King with a Bill to make a River or two Navigable, such as the *Wye* and the *Lugg*, so often spoken of on the like Occasions, and he cannot do this without a Speech too.

I. ud. p. 183.

Cosmographers do agree, that this Island is incomparably furnish'd with pleasant Rivers, like *Turner's* *ridiculous Veins in the natural Body, which convey the Blood Speech.* into all the Parts, whereby the whole is nourish'd and made useful; therefore we have prepar'd some Bills for making small Rivers navigable: A Thing that in other Countries hath been more experienc'd, and hath been found very advantageous; it easeth the People of their great Charge of Land Carriages, preserves the High-ways, which are daily worn out with Waggon, carrying excessive Burthens: It breeds up a Nursery of Watermen, which upon Occasion, will prove good Seamen, and with much more Facility maintains Intercourse and Communication between Cities and Countries. It will be a hard Matter to meet with any thing more impertinent than this, in all Orators, ancient and modern. The King's Majesty, the most Honourable Lords, and most Reverend Bishops, the Honourable Representatives of the People of *England*, are held in Attention by Sir *Edward Turner*, while he tells them there are Rivers in *England*, and that Water Carriage is cheaper than Land Carriage. It was in this Session of Parliament that a Clause was put in the Act for the *Royal Aid*, to oblige the Clergy to pay Taxes in the same Manner their Neighbours did, which before were levy'd upon them by Grants in Convocation, and Mr. *Echard* tells us, they were pleas'd to submit to it.

Clergy p. 129. Tax'd with the Laity.

He and the *Compleat Historian* cry out against the *Dutch* for *De Ruyster's* leaving Sir *John Lawson* in the *Streights*, when he was about humbling the proud *Algerines*, and passing thence to *Barbados*, and from thence to *Cape de Verd*, as has been observ'd already, *ingloriously* beginning a Piratick War, under the sacred Bands of Friendship. He says not a Syllable of Sir *Robert*

A. D. 1665, *bert Holmes's Piratick War on the Dutch in Guinea, before De Ruyter's Expedition at Cape de Verd.*

The Fleet, and the Duke of York the Admiral, being ready, the Archdeacon informs us, that the Court took a proper and pious Care to compleat the Preparations, by an Order for a general Fast, on April the 5th, to employ the *Blessing of God on his Majesty's Forces against the Dutch in an unjust War*, as my Lord of Sarum justly terms it. What a monstrous Mixture is here, Fasting and Lewdness, Injustice and Piety! The two Popish Queens, the King's Mother, and his Wife, did eminently manifest their Zeal on this Occasion (It is the Archdeacon who tells it) and commanded all their Friars and Priests, their Men-Servants and Maid-Servants to *set themselves apart with entire Abstinence, and extraordinary Devotions for the Service of the Day*; to light up all their Tapers, tell over all their Beads, to bring out their most stately Idols, and worship with more than ordinary Idolatry, for the Destruction of the *Presbyterian Hereticks of Holland*. It requir'd but a small Portion of common Understanding to conceal such Infirmities in this Reign, which there was no need of exposing. But never did Writer set up for an Historian with so little Judgment and Discretion. *Acherly the Lawyer observes, The Circumstances which attended this War, demonstrated the secret Meaning to be for carrying on the secret Interest, to make the King absolute Master of his Parliaments; for no sort of People were so zealous in promoting it, as the Papists, the Queen Mother, and the Queen Consort, did both eminently manifest their Zeal, &c.*

The Part the French had in this War, is too well known to say any thing of their Endeavours to mediate a Peace between the King and the States, or to take Notice of Monsieur Courtin's, and Monsieur Venetil's extraordinary Embassy on that Negotiation. Their Master, Lewis XIV. must have as mean an Opinion of the Understandings, as of the Honesty of the English, if he thought he cou'd make them believe that he was in earnest, when he talk'd of Peace, while he was on both Sides fomenting the War; but he was oblig'd by his Treaties with the Dutch to assist them, in case they shou'd be attack'd, and this Negotiation was only to amuse them, and gain Time while they were destroying one another, than which nothing cou'd better prepare the Way for his future Conquests.

The first Action of Note which happen'd in this War, was the taking a Dutch Caper of seven Guns, and two Direction Ships, one of Thirty-two Guns and Eighty Men, which was taken by the *Diamond*, Capt. *Golding*, who was kill'd in the Engagement; the other of Twenty-two Guns and Sixty Men, was taken by the *Tarmouth*. Young *Evertz*, Son of the Admiral, commanded one of the Direction Ships, whose Father having done good Offices for the King when he was in *Holland*, his Majesty order'd him to be set at Liberty, and an Hundred Pounds to be paid him, to carry him home.

Sea Fight between the English and Dutch.

On the 2d of June, the Duke of York, with about 110 Men of War, gave Battle to the Dutch Fleet off the Coast of *Harwich*. The Dutch Admiral *Opdam*, fell Side to Side with him, and the Fight was fierce and bloody; at last *Opdam's* great Ship was blown up, either by Accident a-board her, or by the Fire of the English, and it threw the *Hollanders* into so great a Consternation, that the English obtain'd a signal Victory, and pursu'd the Dutch with good Execution, 'till a Stop was put to it. I shall leave *Echard* here, and borrow none of his Medals nor Mottos on the Destruction of the Dutch, but follow the Bishop of *Sarum*.

As soon as the *Hollanders* steer'd off, a Council of War was call'd to consult the Method of Action, when they shou'd come up with them. In that Council *Pen*, who commanded under the Duke, happen'd to say, *We must prepare for hotter Work in the next Engagement*. He knew well enough the Courage of the Dutch was never so high, as when they were desperate. The Earl of *Montague*, who was then a Volunteer, and one of the Duke's Court, said, it very visibly made an Impression, and all the Duke's Domesticks cry'd, *He had got Honour enough, why shou'd he venture a second Time?* When Matters were settled, they went to sleep, and the Duke order'd a Call to be given him, when they shou'd come up with the Dutch Fleet. It is not known what pass between the Duke and *Brounker*, who was of the Bed-Chamber, and was then in waiting; but he came to *Pen*, as from the Duke, and said the Duke order'd the Sail to be slacken'd. *Pen* was struck with the Order, but did not go to argue the Matter with the Duke as he ought to have done. He obey'd the Order, and when the Duke awoke, he came out on the Quarter-Deck, seeming amaz'd to see the Sails slacken'd, and that thereby all Hope of overtaking the Dutch was lost. He question'd *Pen* upon it; *Pen* put it on *Brounker*, who said nothing. The Duke deny'd he had given any such Order, but he neither punish'd *Brounker* for carrying it, nor *Pen* for obeying it. He indeed put *Brounker* out of his Service, and it was said, he durst do no more, because he was so much in the King's Favour, and in the Mistress's. *Pen* was more in his Favour after that than ever before, which he continu'd to his Son after him, tho' a Quaker, and it was thought that all that Favour was to oblige him to keep the Secret. Lord *Montague* did believe that the Duke was struck, seeing the Earl of *Falmouth*, the King's Favourite, the Lord *Muskerry*, and Mr. *Boyl* kill'd very near him, and that he had no Mind to engage again. *Nay, according to Acherly, it had such an Effect upon him, that it deterr'd him from venturing any more on Board the Fleet*. Bishop *Burnet* adds, 'twas thought *Pen* had been privately with him. *If Brounker was so much in Fault as he seem'd to be, the Duke, in the Passion that this must have rais'd in him, wou'd have proceeded to greater Extremities, and not have acted with so much Phlegm. This prov'd the breaking the Designs of the King's whole Reign*. *Coke* gives it another Turn, tho' not much better; *If it had not been for fear of disturbing the Duke's Nights Rest, it's believ'd the whole Dutch Fleet might have been destroy'd*. They lost seventeen or eighteen stout Men of War, and besides Admiral *Opdam*, there fell *Cantineere*, *Stilling-wolf* and *Stamp*, all Flag Officers. *De Wit*, Pensionary of *Holland*, who had then the Direction of the Dutch Affairs, was so apprehensive of Mismanagement a-board their Fleet, that he resolv'd to share the Command of it in Person. Besides the Persons of Quality above-mention'd, there were kill'd on the English Side, the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was only a Captain of a Ship, Rear-Admiral *Sampson*, and Vice-Admiral Sir *John Lawson* soon after dy'd of his Wounds.

Now, says *Echard*, the Duke of York was in the Height of his Glory. He then reckons up how it was, and among other Degrees of it, tells us, he had the Wine Licenses bestow'd upon him. Soon after this Battle, the Queen-Mother return'd to *France*. It being resolv'd that his Royal Highness shou'd not venture his Person in another Sea Fight, the Command of the Fleet was dispos'd of thus; *Edward* Earl of *Sandwich*,

A.D. 1665 *Sandwich*, Admiral, Sir *George Ayscue*, Vice-Admiral, Sir *Thomas Tiddiman*, Rear-Admiral, Sir *William Penn*, Admiral of the *White*, Sir *William Berkeley*, Vice-Admiral, Sir *Joseph Jordan*, Rear-Admiral, Sir *Thomas Allen*, Admiral of the *Blue*, Sir *Christopher Mims*, Vice-Admiral, Sir *John Harman*, Rear-Admiral, Sir *Edward Spragg*, a Papist, Sir ---- *Cuttings*, and Sir *Jeremy Smith* were Captains. Which I take Notice to shew how his Majesty rewarded his Sea-Officers, most of these being Knights of the last Dubbing.

Before *Echard* enters into the History of the Fleet's next Enterprises, he tells us, that the *Dutch* waited for the Return of *De Ruyter*, who having been beaten off from *Barbados*, sail'd to *Newfoundland*, where he plunder'd the *English* of their very Cloaths, a great Booty at *St. John's*, and took two Cod Vessels, the *Diamond* of *Plymouth*, and the *Unity* of *Dartmouth*. I mention this to shew what an admirable Use he makes of his Historical Facts. With these few Prizes, continues he, *De Ruyter* crept home, and was immediately made Admiral of the *Dutch* Fleet, tho' the Superintendency was committed to *De Wit*, *Huygens* and *Boreel*, Deputies of the States General.

The *Dutch*, with very good Reason, were in Pain for their *East-India*, *Smyrna* and other Fleets, which were order'd *North* about, for the Earl of *Sandwich* was sail'd in quest of them; but they were got safe into the Harbour of *Bergben* in *Norway*; upon which the Archdeacon obliges the World with a Manuscript Account of a Negotiation carry'd on with the King of *Denmark*, by Sir *Gilbert Talbot* who wrote it, to seize all that Treasure in the Port of *Bergben* by the *English* Fleet, his *Danish* Majesty only breaking the Laws of Treaties and Nations by delivering up his Allies into the Hands of their Enemies. But Sir *Gilbert's* Negotiation coming to nothing, I shall make no more use of his Manuscript. The Earl of *Sandwich* did not seem to hearken so much to him as was necessary for carrying off those rich Fleets. Sir *Thomas Clifford* was a-board the *English* Fleet, and was sent into *Bergben* to discourse the Governor, who putting him off with Excuses, 'twas resolv'd to force their Way into the Harbour: Accordingly Sir *Thomas Tiddiman* got in with a Squadron of Men of War, but had much ado to get out again; for the Commander of the Citadel, with the Assistance of the *Holland* Gunners, made no Shot in vain. So *Tiddiman* finding his Squadron ruin'd, and himself ready to sink, was compell'd at length to slip his Cables, and fall off to the grand Fleet. *Echard* assures us, He went boldly in, and if the rest of the Knight's Manuscripts is no truer than that, it ought to have no Place in any History but his own. For other Authors, tell us, Sir *Thomas Tiddiman* was order'd to attack the *Dutch* in the Harbour, but did not do it, as he might have done upon his first Approach; he only sent to the Governor of the Castle to treat without. The *Dutch* within, alarm'd at the Danger, set all Hands at work that Night; so that by the Morning they had so fortify'd the Castle, that it was impossible for the *English* to force a Passage. There were few Persons who did not censure the Attempt to bribe the King of *Denmark*, by an Offer of sharing the Treasure with him, to betray his Confederates. An Offer that did indeed so stagger his *Danish* Majesty, that 'tis thought he cou'd not have resisted it, had the *English* had more Patience, and not destroy'd their Design by precipitating it. King *Charles* excus'd it, by saying, all Means were lawful to humble an insolent and ungrateful Enemy. What

is meant here by *Ungrateful*? What Obligations had his Majesty laid upon them, besides putting them to the Charge of 2 or 300,000 Crowns for his Entertainment a few Days? Part of the *English* Fleet fell in with some of the *Dutch* rich *India* and other Ships, and took very considerable Prizes. Sir *Jeremy Smith* was sent with a Squadron into the Streights to carry on the War against the *Dutch* in that Sea. Sir *Christopher Mims* commanded in the Channel, and kept the *Hollanders* from interrupting the *English* Commerce there; thence he sail'd to the Mouth of the *Elbe*, where, as Mr. Archdeacon informs us, he had the Honour of a Visit from the famous *Swedish* General, Count *Wrangle*, and such was the Conclusion of the first Year's War.

Mr. *Coke* says, It seems God was not pleas'd at these Things, for this Year he sent a horrible Plague, which rag'd over almost all Parts of England. Indeed it is well-worth observing that there have been many Thousands more of Men, Women, and Children, swept away by the Plague since the House of *Stuart* began their Reigns in *England*, than is at least recorded from the Beginning of Times to that. I always dread to make Judgments where it may be Heaven left Things to Second Causes, though nothing is more common in *Echard*, and other Ecclesiastical Writers; but really one cannot help thinking that the First Cause mov'd in this, and the former Visitations since the Death of *Queen Elizabeth*. There have been all along such Dissembling with God and Man, such Persecution, Oppression, such Wickedness and Impiety, Superstition and Cruelty, which are the Provocations for Judgments, that it is hardly possible to read of these horrible Pestilences, and of this in particular, without having Recourse to Divine Vengeance. The last mention'd Author proceeds; The greatest Plague which happen'd since *Edward the Third's* Time in *England*, was in the first Year of this King's Grandfather, *James the First*; yet there was a greater in his Father, *Charles the First's* Reign; and now a greater than either, in the sixth Year of his actual Reign. Though Mr. Archdeacon is no very good Painter himself, yet he sometimes lights upon a better Pencil than his own, and then one may make a little Use of him. "Death now rode triumphant after a very different manner than it had done in the Seas and Ocean, and with a much more melancholy and formidable Aspect, terrifying and confounding Men of all Religions and all Professions. It was certainly a dismal thing to see the great Emporium of the World desolate, and scarce any thing vendible but Coffins (he cannot help quibbling in the midst of the Pestilence) and to be continually entertain'd with the daily Groans and Cries from the Windows, Pray for us! and the Nightly Calls, Bring out your Dead, which like Dung were thrown into Carts and flung into Pits, without numbring. But it was still more amazing to see the prodigious Mixture both of Piety and Profaneness at the same Time, which was thus: In one House you might hear them roaring under the Pangs of Death; in the next Tippling, Whoring, and belching out Blaspheemies against God: One House shut up, with a Red Cross, and Lord have Mercy upon us! the next open to all Uncleaness and Impiety, as altogether insensible of the Vengeance of Heaven.

But what is still more amazing than all this, is, that in the midst of these Horrors, when one wou'd think the general Judgment shou'd have united all Minds in general Contrition, and Charity shou'd have melted the hardest Hearts, and have left no room but for Penitence and Pity, then,

The dreadful Plague.

Lewdness and Impiety.

A.D. 1665 then, even then, were the persecuting Bishops, *Sheldon, Pierce, Wrenn, Ward, Henchman, Blandford, Cosens, Hyde, Morley, Sterne*, and the Doctors, their Creatures, contriving new Cruelties towards Protestant Dissenters, as will be seen hereafter. There were several pious, learned, and reverend Bishops and Doctors who abhor'd that unchristian Temper, but the others had the King and his Ministers, if not his Mistresses, on their Side; and those good Prelates and Divines cou'd only pray for the Peace of Christ's Church, under all Denominations.

A particular Description of the Plague.

To take a more particular Survey of this devouring Pestilence, let us refer to Authors of Credit and Humanity; *Thomas Vincent*, M. A. of *Christ-Church Oxon*, who had been turn'd out of his Living of *St. Mary Magdalen Milk-street*, for no other Crime than being of the Reform'd Religion, as profess'd in *France, Holland, &c.* wrote a Treatise of it, entitled, *God's terrible Voice in the City*, which he was well qualify'd to write, having continu'd there during the greatest Violence of the Plague, preaching and visiting of the Sick. He tells us in that Treatise, it was in *Holland* in 1664, and the same Year began in some remote Parts of *England*, though the Weekly-Bills of the City took Notice but of *Three* who then dy'd of that Disease. In the beginning of *May*, 1665, *Nine* dy'd of it in the Heart of the City, and *Eight* in the Suburbs. The next Week the Bill fell from *Nine* to *Three*. In the next Week it mounted from *Three* to *Fourteen*; in the next to *Seventeen*; in the next to *Forty-three*. In *June* the Number increas'd from *Forty-three* to *One hundred and twelve*; the next Week to *One hundred sixty eight*; the next to *Two hundred sixty-seven*; the next to *Four hundred and seventy*. In the first Week of *July* the Number arose to *Seven hundred twenty-five*. Thus we may observe, that in two Months the Bills of Mortality, in the Plague-Time, were but little more than double in Number to those of the common Deaths, which must give Opportunity to Thousands of Families to remove, and leave the City desolate and helpless. In the second Week of *July*, the Bills mounted to *One thousand and eighty-nine*; the next to *One thousand eight hundred forty-three*; the next to *Two thousand and ten*. In the first Week in *August* the Number increas'd to *Two thousand eight hundred and seventeen*; the next to *Three thousand eight hundred and eighty*; the next to *Four thousand two hundred thirty-seven*; the next to *Six thousand one hundred and two*. In *September* a Decrease of the Distemper was hop'd for, but it was not yet come to its Height: In the first Week there dy'd of it *Six thousand nine hundred eighty-eight*; and though in the second Week the Number abated to *Six thousand five hundred forty-four*, yet in the third Week it arose to *Seven thousand one hundred sixty-five*, which was the highest. And then of the 130 Parishes in and about the City, there were but four which were not infected; and in these there were but few People remaining who were not gone into the Country. In the House where *Mr. Vincent* liv'd, there were eight in Family, three Men, three Youths, an old Woman, and a Maid. It was the latter End of *September* before any of them were touch'd: The Maid was first seiz'd with the Distemper, which began with a shivering and trembling. It seiz'd her Spirits on the *Monday*, and on the *Thursday* she dy'd full of Tokens. On *Friday* one of the Youths had a swelling in his Groin, and on *Sunday* he dy'd with the Marks of the Distemper upon him. On the same Day another of the Youths sicken'd, and on the *Wednesday* following he dy'd. On *Thursday* Night the Master of

The Plague at the Height.

Particulars of the Pestilence.

A.D. 1665 the House fell sick, and within a Day or two was full of Spots, but was strangely recover'd, beyond his own, or others Expectations. I knew a Man and his Wife who liv'd at that time near *Spittle-Fields*, and were then in so mean Condition, that they cou'd not procure Help when it was to be purchas'd at a dear Rate. The Man was taken first, and so near Death, that his Wife expected she must deliver up his Corpse at the next Call, *Bring out your Dead*; but he mended visibly before the Hour came, and recover'd. His Wife being seiz'd immediately after, he assisted her in the same manner, till she was in the same Danger, and had the same unexpected Recovery. They grew Wealthy as they grew in Years, and told me this Account of themselves above forty Years after.

In the fourth Week in *September* there was a Decrease to *Five thousand five hundred thirty-eight*. In the first Week in *October* there was a farther Decrease to *Four thousand nine hundred twenty-nine*; in the next to *Four thousand three hundred twenty-seven*; the next to *Two thousand six hundred sixty-five*; the next to *One thousand four hundred twenty-nine*, and the next to *One thousand and thirty-one*. The first Week in *November* there was an Increase to *One thousand four hundred and fourteen*, but it fell after to *One thousand and fifty*, and the Week after to *Six hundred fifty-two*, and so lessen'd more and more to the End of the Year. By which it appears that the Pestilence did not rage above six Months, tho' some dy'd of it before *May*, and after *November*. The whole Number of those who were reckon'd to die of the Plague in *London* this Year, was *Sixty-eight thousand five hundred the Dead, ninety-six*; but when we add by Computation, *Baptists, Quakers*, and others not number'd in the Bills of Mortality, the Sum will be still greater. From *London* the Plague spread through many Counties. The Towns and Villages near the City were infected in *June* and *July*, and those at a greater Distance in *July* and *August*.

Dr. Calamy informs us, That some Divines of Ministers, the Establishment maintain'd their Stations at Church that Time with a Primitive Zeal and Fervour, and Dis- Which is not to be wonder'd at, there being a great Number of learned, pious, and able Divines of the Establishment, who were Men of true Primitive Zeal, without that Bitterness which never accompanies Zeal but when it is false; and the Memory of those godly, zealous Ministers of the Church of *England*, is, and will be always respected, as are the Persons of those living Ministers who imitate their Piety and Charity. And whenever another sort of Clergy are mention'd, whether Bishops or others, the Reflection is Personal to the Character of the Men, and not General, to that of the Reform'd Church of *England*, of which they were unworthy Members. *Echar'd* owns of the Persecuted Clergy, "Several Ministers in that sad Time of Trial deserted their Flocks, whose empty Pulpits were sometimes charitably fill'd by those of other Persuasions; whose seasonable Fervour is said to have had good Effects upon a wicked People." And to reward them for so doing, or rather to prevent their doing the like Good again, the Bishops before-mention'd, or their Adherents, at that very Time got a Bill pass'd in Parliament, to drive all those Ministers not only out of their Houses in *London*, and all Corporation-Towns, but five Miles from the said City and Corporations, as will be mention'd again immediately. As to the Ministers of the Establishment, who continu'd Preaching in *London* all the Time of the Plague, the Names of *Dr. Walker, Dr. Horton, and Dr. Meriton*, shew of what moderate Principles

A.D. 1665, ciples they were. Among the *Presbyterians*, who distinguish'd themselves in this dangerous and important Service, were the above-mention'd Mr. *Vincent*, Mr. *Chester*, Mr. *Franklin*, Mr. *Janarway*, Mr. *Turner*, and Mr. *Grimes*; by whose assiduous Labours, and those of their Brethren, Sermons were preach'd, and the Sick visited, to the great Comfort of the Sick both in Body and Mind. The Cures for this raging Discafe, besides the Order of the Lord Mayor, Sir *John Lawrence*, the Aldermen, and Common-Council, of the 2d of *September*, for keeping constant Fires in the Streets and Lanes of *London* for three Days and Nights successively, were, according to Mr. Archdeacon, 1. *A Form of Prayer*, drawn up by the Bishops, and appointed by the King to be us'd in all Churches and Chapels within the Bills of Mortality, on every Wednesday in the Week during the Contagion. 2. A Proclamation requiring all Officers and Soldiers who had serv'd the Parliament, or the two Protectors, to depart the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*: He adds, It was believ'd the Bishops Form of Prayer had extraordinary Effects; so liable is it to give the most terrible Subject in the World a Turn that is hardly consistent with the Gravity of History. He adds, The King manifested a Paternal Regard to his Subjects, by retiring first to *Hampton-Court*, and then to *Salisbury*, and leaving the City to the affectionate Care of the brave *George Duke of Albemarle*, and the glorious Behaviour of *William Earl of Craven*. The latter indeed behav'd very generously, and Archbishop *Sheldon* continu'd at *Lambeth* and *Croydon* all the Time of the greatest Danger.

Echard thinks he has now some good Evidence of the Certainty of the *Sham Plots*; for that *Ludlow* freely informs us of some Negotiations between the *Dutch* and the *English* Refugees in *Holland*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, for their putting themselves a-board the *Dutch* Fleet, and serving against King *Charles* in this War. But is it of Consequence, that because Lieutenant General *Ludlow* was willing to put himself at the Head of an Army of *Republicans*, to restore his darling *Republick* in *England*, that therefore he wou'd engage with a Serjeant of Foot, and a Brandy-man at one Time, and with *Oldroyd*, *Asshith*, *Corney*, and the *Torkshire* Fanaticks at another? What Logick is this! But 'tis the best he has. General *Ludlow* owns he was ready to make an Attempt with an Army of Foreign Protestants, to restore the Common-wealth: Several of his condemn'd Companions abroad express'd the same Readiness, so did Col. *Sidney*. It will not be deny'd; What then? Did they think that the doing so was what *Echard* calls *Serving against their own natural Prince and Country*? A late Author writes of this Matter with more Sobriety.

"I do not question but General *Ludlow* did hold Correspondence with *Mynheer Newport*, and the *Dutch* Ministers of State, during their War with the King of *England*; and that if they wou'd have furnish'd him with an Army, as they once offer'd to do, he wou'd have landed with them; as also, that *Rathbone* and his Brother Soldiers wou'd have been among them. But I can as soon believe *Ludlow* wou'd have made Mr. *Echard* one of his Cabinet-Council, as have trusted such a Crew as the Archdeacon has list'd for him. *Ludlow*, as much as he was in the Wrong, believ'd doubtless he was in the Right; That the King and his Ministers had unjustly stripp'd him of a large Fortune, and condemn'd him to an ignominious Death, and that it was very lawful for him to make Reprisals; but he had too much good Sense and Ho-

nour, too much Bravery and Virtue, making Allowances for his mistaken Principles, to do any thing otherwise than by open Hostility, which he look'd upon as fair War. The Laws were against him, and had made him so guilty, that nothing he cou'd act against King *Charles* the Second, cou'd have added any thing to his Punishment. A Man of Courage and Spirit, in such Circumstances, cannot understand how Tameness is a Duty, when a military Revenge offers; and his entering into the Service of *Holland*, when the prevailing Power in his own Country had thrown him off, was doing no more than *Hanibal* and *Labiennus* of old, the Prince of *Conde*, the Marechal *Schomberg*, and many other renowned Heroes, have done on the like Occasion. But to think that he wou'd have made such a pitiful Wretch as *Oldroyd* his Brother Plotter, or have conspir'd with such pitiful Wretches as *Tucker*, *Flint*, and *Cole*, to kill the King's Majesty, his Grace General *Monk*, and his Worship Sir *Richard Browne*, is so incredible, that it makes the *Fable* more modest than *History*."

About the Time that the *Plague* was at the Height, *October* the 9th, the King met the Parliament at *Christ-church* in *Oxford*, and in his Speech told them the Money was almost all gone which they gave him in the last Sessions: A great deal of it to the *Popish* Bishop of *Minster*, who he said was in the Bowels of the States General's Country, and he wanted Money not only to carry on the War against them, but also to defend himself against the *French* King, if he shou'd prefer their Friendship to his, of which he knew more than any one else.

The Lord Chancellor, whose Friends boast of his being against the *Dutch* War, did in his Speech express as much Malignity against them as cou'd be expected from the most inveterate Enemy, "notwithstanding the Indignities his Majesty had receiv'd in *Holland*, where he had been little less proscrib'd than in *England*." To say the contrary to this is a known Truth, is too little to express the Falsity and Ingratitude: Turn to what the King said to them before he embark'd for *England*, "They load us with such Reproaches as the Civility of no other Language will admit the Relation: The Truth is, they have a Dialect of Rudeness so peculiar to their Language and their People, that it is high Time for all Princes to oblige them to some Reformation, -if they intend to hold Correspondence and Commerce with them." Then he appeals to the Parliament Men, Whether the Countenances of the *Presbyterians* and other Dissenters in *England* have not been more erect. His Words are, our *Domestick Foes* in all Places since the Beginning of the War. He adds then a Plot, which wanted nothing but a *Lucky Day*, and upon perusing the *Almanack*, the 3d of *September* was pitch'd upon as having a great deal of Luck in it; for on that Day the *Presbyterians* were beaten at *Dunbar*, and on that Day *Cromwel* dy'd; therefore he advises them to provide against their Enemies at Home, and we shall, without Doubt, have some Act for it in a few Days. But before it cou'd pass, Both Houses, and also the Convocation in *Oxford*, made a Vote to thank the University for their unparell'd Zeal in refusing the *Covenant*, tho' the King had so often taken and sworn it. The Archdeacon informs us, these Thanks were in a very solemn Manner presented to the University in full Convocation by four of the House of Commons, Mr. *Lawrence Hyde* and Sir *Heneage Finch*, Members for the University, and Sir *John Birkenhead* and Col. *Giles Strangersways*, who all were created Do-

A.D. 1665
Ludlow
abus'd by
Echard,
Clarendon, &c.

Sham Plot.

A. D. 1665
 Stors of the Civil Law, November the 7th, as was also Sir Cyril Wyche, tho' he had taken his Master's Degree there before, when the Covenant was in full Force and Virtue.

Five Mile Act.

Being heartily tired with Sir Edward Turner the Speaker's Speeches, we shall repeat no more of them, only remember, that when he presented the King with the Five Mile Act, he call'd it *Sbiboleth*. Echard will have it that it pass'd with equal Vigour, Unanimity and Dispatch; and he adds, *It does not appear by any substantial Proof, that the Members had ever been yet led or induc'd to act contrary to their natural Inclination.* There is something after this so very false, that we cannot stay to reflect upon this Passage. We have mention'd how the Ministers, at the Hazard of their Lives, ventur'd to preach and visit the Sick in the Plague-time; let us see what Bishop Burnet says, "This was represented very odiously at Oxford; so a severe Bill was brought in, requiring all the silent Ministers to take an Oath, "declaring it was not lawful, on any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, or any commission'd by him; and that they wou'd not at any Time endeavour an Alteration in the Government of Church or State. Such as refus'd this were not admitted to come within five Miles of any City or Parliament Borough, or of the Church where they had serv'd. This was much oppos'd in both Houses! (Mr. Echard's Unanimity) The Earl of Southampton spoke vehemently against it in the House of Lords; he said, *He cou'd take no such Oath himself; for how firm soever he had always been to the Church, yet, as Things were manag'd, he did not know but he himself might see Cause to endeavour an Alteration.* Dr. Earl, Bishop of Salisbury, declar'd himself much against this Act. Sheldon and Ward were the Bishops that acted and argu'd most for it. All that were the secret Favourers of Popery promoted it; which is also observ'd by that learned Lawyer Mr. Acherly; tho' Echard is positive that this Parliament was under no Influence but the Rectitude of their Understandings and Wills. Acherly says, *The Protestant Dissenters shewing a manifest Disinclination to the Dutch War, were by the Instigation of the Popish Cabal, punish'd by an Act call'd the Five Mile Act.* Bishop Burnet proceeds, while the Act was before the House of Commons, Vaughan, afterwards made Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, mov'd that the Word *legally* might be added to the Words *commission'd by the King.* But Finch the Attorney-General said, that was needless, since, unless the Commission was *legal*, it was no Commission; and to make it *legal* it must be issued out for a lawful Occasion, and to Persons capable of it, and must pass in due Form of Law. The other insisted, that the Addition wou'd clear all Scruples, and procure them universal Compliance; but that cou'd not be obtain'd, for it was intended to lay Difficulties in the Way of those against whom the Act was levell'd. When the Bill came to the House of Lords, the Earl of Southampton mov'd for the same Addition, but was answer'd by the Earl of Anglesey, who had been a Covenant-taker "Presbyterian." It was strongly oppos'd by the Lord Wharton and Lord Ashley, as well as the Earl of Southampton. The Penalty of the Act was forty Pounds, or six Months Imprisonment; for every Offence, unless in passing upon the Road. Mr. Locke, whom Echard calls the Anonymous Author, terms the Oath most Unlawful and Unjustifiable.

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 Ministers.

We have shewn what Preparations were made for this Act, that it was promoted by Papists, that the Oath it enjoind was Unjustifiable and Unlawful; and let us now shew what base or false Arguments are made use of to justify it, and prove it lawful; they are in the Archdeacon's History, and some of those Passages that have sunk it so low in the Opinion of honest and judicious Men. "It has been generally an Objection, that whatever Hardships the Dissenting Party met, or felt from the Laws, they arose more from the Seditions of some of them than the religious Exercises of any of them." *This is so scandalously false, that when the cruel Bartholomew Act pass'd, the Dissenters were in the Height of their Merit for RESTORING the King.* "And that every Act of Parliament made to their Detriment was founded upon the Reality of some Plot or Conspiracy against the Nation's Peace." *The Man who says it, knows that there was scarce a Person of common Sense and common Honesty all over England, who did not take them to be what Mr. Locke and other great Men call'd them, SHAM PLOTS.* Which Plots and Conspiracies they had promoted and encourag'd; so that what the Parliament did, look'd more like Self-Preservation than Persecution." The Presbyterians, according to him, were about to turn the Parliament out of Doors, and the Rectors, Vicars, &c. out of their Churches, and so they were jay'd, and plunder'd, and beggar'd, and starv'd, purely to preserve the Bishops and Clergy from being so treated. He then wou'd glue together the Design of some Malecontents in Holland with the before-mention'd Sham Plots: For that the Malecontents did really intend to deliver the oppress'd, persecuted Protestants in England from Persecution and Oppression, if they cou'd by the Assistance of Foreign Protestants, is not deny'd. The Vileness of the Inimination is, That because some English, disaffected Persons, intended to serve in the Dutch War against King Charles, therefore Col. Sidney, Col. Ludlow, and others, had an Intention to have join'd with Ash-nith and Flint, two sorry, hair-brain'd Fellows, in two Conspiracies against the English Nation. Another Act pass'd, enjoining Thomas Doleman, Joseph Bamfield, Thomas Scott, Son to Mr. Thomas Scott, whom they had hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, and others in the Dutch Service, to return by a Day, under Penalty of High-Treason. Accordingly Major General Desborough, Colonel Thomas Kelsey, Col. John White, Major John Grove, Sir Robert Honeywood, Capt. Nicholas, and others, were summon'd to return to England before the 23d of July next ensuing, on Pain of being proceeded against as Traitors. Echard wou'd not tell us what Ludlow adds to this, "But not being contented with this, they employ'd a Jesuit to procure the Pensioner John de Wit to be murder'd, who not only undertook that De Wit's Employment, but promis'd to get me to be assassinated also. Mynheer Nieuwport, who had formerly been Ambassador for the States in England, sent his Son to Mr. Say to acquaint him with this Matter, assuring him, that the Jesuit was already come to Holland, and that they hop'd to seize him; but lest other Persons might be engag'd with him in the Design against me, of whom they had no Information, he desir'd that I might be forthwith advis'd of what they had discover'd, which Mr. Say punctually perform'd." Not only the Dutch Republicans gave the English Refugees Encouragement to enter into that State's Service, but the most Monarchical Man that ever was in the World since the Monarchy of Nimrod, Lewis XIV. the French King, not only promis'd

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French King stirs up the English Republicans.

Ludlow's Demand of the States.

Mr. Baxter's Account of the Five Mile Act.

Baxter's Life, Part iii. P. 3.

promis'd them his Protection and Support, but actually sent Orders to the Count *D'Estades* his Ambassador at the *Hague*, to send Lieutenant General *Ludlow* a Pass for his safe coming to *Holland*. The *French* Ambassador at *Mentz* met Col. *Sidney* at *Frankfort*, and shew'd him a Letter from *Monsieur de Lionne* Secretary of State, written in Cyphers by Order of the *French* King, in which he was commanded to give all the *English* Refugees all the Security the Government of *France* cou'd give, or they cou'd desire, for the Safety of their Persons. But General *Ludlow* wou'd have nothing to do with *France*, being well assur'd of the Treachery of that Court; and as to *Holland*, the Terms on which he propos'd to engage in the *Dutch* Service, were such as a wise and gallant Man might own without blushing, considering the Circumstances he was in. In the first Place he demanded Satisfaction of the States for the delivering up of Col. *Okey*, Col. *Barkstead* and Mr. *Corbett* to that Foresworn Covenanter *Downing*, *Okey's* Chaplain, who deliver'd him and them up to the Hangman. He demanded that the States shou'd publish a Declaration of their Error; that they shou'd promise to use their Endeavours to restore the Common-wealth to the Exercise of their Authority; that they shou'd furnish such a Number of Troops of the Reform'd Religion as might probably be sufficient to protect the *English*, who shou'd come in to them, and oblige themselves not to leave him and his Friends in a worse Condition than he found them. For notwithstanding what the Chancellor wrongfully says of General *Ludlow* in his florid Speeches, he was too wise and too wary to engage in any Design which had not a probable Prospect of Success, and was incapable of engaging in such mad Conspiracies as he charges him with, among a Rabble of obscure Plotters.

Mr. *Baxter's* Account of the *Five Mile Act*, which the reverend Historian is so in Love with; is thus; "While God was consuming the People by these terrible Judgments, and the Nonconformists were labouring to save Mens Souls, the Parliament which sat at *Oxford*, whither the King remov'd from the Danger of the Plague, was busy in making an Act of Confinement, to make the silenc'd Ministers Case incomparably harder than it was before, by putting upon them a certain Oath, &c. So little did the Sense of God's terrible Judgments of the Necessities of many Hundred Thousand ignorant Souls, or the Groans of the poor People, or the Fear of the great and final Reckoning, affect the Hearts of the *Prelatists*, or stop them in their Way. The chief Promoters of this among the Clergy were said to be the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Dr. *Seth Ward*, Bishop of *Salisbury*." *The latter had not only taken the Covenant, but the Engagement; by both which he had renounc'd and abjur'd both the Church and the King.* The Earl of *Southampton* said in the House of Lords, *No honest Man wou'd take that Oath.* As to *Echard's* Pretences for the Necessity of that Act on account of *Sedition* among the Protestant Dissenting Preachers, Mr. *Baxter* observes, "The Act which imposes this Oath openly accuses the Nonconforming Ministers of *Seditious* Doctrine, and such heinous Crimes; wherefore, when it first came out, I thought that at such an Accusation no innocent Persons should be silent, especially when Papists, Strangers, and Posterity may think that a recorded Statute is a sufficient History to prove us to be guilty." *This is all the Compleat Historian and Echard have to say for the late Acts, however procur'd; They are the Law of the Land, the Larvs of the Land, but Laws*

which future Parliaments have rejected with Indignation; nay, this very Parliament will, we find, bring in and pass a Bill directly contrary to the *Conventicle Act* and the *Uniformity Act*, which was perfidiously lost before it had the Royal Assent. Mr. *Baxter* drew up a Vindication of the Nonconformists against the Charge of Sedition. But Dr. *Seaman* and others persuaded him against publishing it, giving for Reason, *That the Malice of the Prelatists wou'd make an ill Use of it, and turn it all against themselves.* Mr. *Baxter* adds, *Wise Statesmen laugh'd at me for thinking that Reason wou'd be regarded by such Men as we had to do with, as Sheldon, Ward, Gunning, Hyde, Keeling, and Turner, and wou'd not exasperate them the more.*

The Ministers finding the Pressures of this Act so great, and so great the Loss like to be to Cities and Corporations, some of them study'd how to take this unlawful Oath lawfully. Dr. *Bates* being much in seeming Favour with the Lord Chief Baron *Bridgman*, afterwards Lord Keeper, consulted with him about it, and he promis'd to be at the next Session, and to declare on the Bench of Justices openly, that by *Endeavour* to change the Church Government was meant only *Unlawful* Endeavour, which satisfying him, he thereby satisfy'd others, and so several Ministers came in at the Sessions of Peace and took the Oaths; as Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Samuel Clark*, Mr. *Sheffield*, Mr. *Hall*, Mr. *Church*, Mr. *Matthew Pool*, Mr. *Lood*, Mr. *Stanchiffe*, Mr. *Rolls*, Mr. *Lewis*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Arthur*, Mr. *Bastwick*, Mr. *Brooks*, Mr. *Overton*, Mr. *Cary*, Mr. *Wildbore*, Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Mayo*, Mr. *Butler*, Mr. *Newton* of *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, Mr. *William Thomas* of the same County, Mr. *Cooper* of *Southwark*.

Dr. *Conant* in *Northamptonshire* took the Oath, and conform'd fully sometime after. Not only the Lord *Bridgman* but Judge *Twisden*, Judge *Browne*, Judge *Archer*, Judge *Windham*, Judge *Atkins*, all the Judges then in *London*, declar'd, that only *Tumultuous and Seditious Endeavours* were meant, as did even Judge *Keeling*, who drew up the Act of Uniformity, and deserves some Statue for it, which is not yet erected. Be it as it will, the Explanation did not satisfy many, and the poor Ministers were forc'd to get Lodgings in Cottages, Barns, Stables, and wherever they cou'd have a Covering from the Inclemency of the Sky.

The Sedition before-mention'd is spoken of in Vol. II. the State Tracts; "Nothing is more notoriously known than that in the Reigns of the House of *Stuart* many Church Arts and Court Practices were us'd to break in upon this happy Constitution, by raising the Power of the King above what it ought to be, and by reducing the Commons to a narrower Compass of Power than that of Right belongs to them. And 'tis also very well known, that whosoever have shewn their Resentments hereupon, have been represented as *Common-wealths* Men and *Antimonarchical*, &c.

Upon the whole, as such an Unlawful, Unjustifiable Oath was never impos'd upon a Christian free People, so most certainly there was never such a Thoughtless, Worthless Set of Men as those, who promoted and procur'd it. They were for imposing it on the whole Nation, and making the People of *England* a Nation of Knaves; for as Lord *Southampton* declar'd, *No honest Man wou'd take it.* That this National Knavery was not made the Law of the Land, as far as the Commons cou'd make it, was owing only to Accident, or rather to Providence, as the great Mr. *Locke* words it; "And the Providence

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 " by which this second Bill was thrown out was very remarkable, for Mr. *Peregrine Bertie* was that Morning introduc'd into the House by his Brother the now Earl of *Lindsey*, and Sir *Thomas Osborn* now Lord Treasurer, who all three gave their Votes against that Bill, and the Numbers were so even upon the Division, that their three Votes carry'd the Question against it. But we owe that Right to the Earl of *Lindsey* and the Lord Treasurer, as to acknowledge that they have since made ample Satisfaction for whatever Offence they gave either the Church or Court in that Vote.

His Majesty being so very hearty a Protestant, it wou'd be ungrateful not to take Notice, as the *Archdeacon* does, of his Civility to the *Hugonots*, who came to *England*, for which the *French Church* in the *Savoy* return'd him humble Thanks.

Michaelmas Term was kept at *Oxford* on Account of the Plague at *London*, and *Keeling* was there made Lord Chief Justice, to receive his Honour in the Place where the Bill he drew was so acceptable and praise-worthy.

His Majesty declar'd in Council, and then wrote to the Lord Mayor, that both himself and his Royal Consort wou'd wear neither Inside nor Outside of their Cloaths any thing but what was manufactur'd within his Kingdom of *England*, which his Majesty did, says *Eckard*, to restrain Extravagancy and promote good Husbandry by his Example, tho' at the very same Time the Prodigality of one of his Mistresses only cost him above 20,000 Pounds a Year.

Great-rakes the Stroker.

Mr. *Valentine Greatrakes*, the *Irish Justice of Peace*, came now to *England*, and the same Historian assures us, he cur'd the *Kings-Evil* with a Touch, which was an Invasion of the Prerogative in this Reign. By a second Impulse, cries he, he cur'd *Agues* and *Head-ach*; by a third, Wounds and Ulcers; by other Impulses *Convulsions*, *Drop-sies*, &c. His Stand was in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, where other Counterfeits had also their Stands as well as he. The Lord *Arlington* introduc'd him to the King as a *Rarity*, and to use *Eckard's* wife Words, many wise and eminent Men believ'd he cou'd with a *Stroke* cure all these Distempers, from whence he was call'd the *Stroker*, tho' in Truth he was a notorious Cheat, and sneak'd off as soon as his Credit began to sink. The *Oxford Parliament* gave the King 1,250,000 Pounds for carrying on the War against the *Hollanders*, and a Fleet was got ready early the next Year, great enough to have been a Glory to this Nation, and a Terror to others, had the Management been in the Hands of Men who were dispos'd to make the best Use of their Power. It is objected to such as call this War with *Holland Unjust*, that the Common-wealth of *England* made War with the Common-wealth of *Holland*; but that War was to humble, not to destroy them. The Parliament were able and willing to give a Check to the Ambition of *France*, if she offer'd to take any Advantage of the Weakness of the *Dutch*, which King *Charles* was neither willing nor able to do, and cou'd not destroy the *Dutch*, without exposing the *English* to Destruction. *Van Goeb* the States Ambassador was still in *England* when the King was at *Oxford*, but finding his Stay was in vain, he took his Audience of Leave, and the King sent a Letter by him to his Masters, wherein, after having charg'd them with being Authors of the War, he express'd himself ready to come to such a Treaty of Peace as he shou'd approve of. The *Oxford Parliament* was prorogu'd *October* the 31st, to meet again *February* the 20th, but they did not then sit, continuing under several Prorogations almost a whole Year, which was

one of the early Blessings produc'd by the Repeal of the *Triennial Bill*. A. D. 1665

If I remember the Visit his Majesty made to the College of Physicians after his Return to *London*, it is only to copy some of the quaintest History that ever I met with; after the quaintest Historian, Mr. *Archdeacon*. " Here he saw the Marble Statue of the famous *Harvey*, the great Discoverer of the Blood Circulation, and heard the President Dr. *George Ent* with Eloquence and Art, reading upon the Mytteries of Anatomy, whom he there honour'd with Knighthood. There he saw the chief Physician *Bates*, renown'd both in the *Medical Skill* and his Knowledge in the *Latin Tongue*, and *Frasier* his chief Physician, and *Ghsson* excellent in Medicine, and successful *Micklerbwayte*, and much esteem'd *Cox* and *Scarborough*, famous among the Muses, and *Wharton* Secretary of the *Glandules*, &c." To these I might have added several other fine Panegyricks of his in the next Page, as that of the Excellent and Exorbitant Sir *Kenelm Digby* a Papist, Son of Sir *Evrard Digby*, who was hang'd for the *Gunpowder-Plot*; but I leave him the Glory of handling such sublime Subjects, and go on with the History.

Long Prorogation of Parliament.

Doctors of Physick.

The *French King* finding the *Dutch* wou'd be oblig'd to make Peace with the King of *England*, if he did not dissemble so far as to join with them in the War, 'till both *English* and *Dutch* had wasted their Treasure and Strength, he in *January* publish'd a mock Declaration of War against *England*, which he intended to carry on no farther than wou'd encourage the *Dutch* to carry it on to their Ruin. The Lord *Hollis*, King *Charles's* Ambassador in *France*, who was not in the Secret, labour'd as heartily to prevent the *French King's* Assisting the *Dutch*, as if it had been his real Intention to assist them. 'Tis true, he sent a Parcel of sickly Soldiers, which rather infected than assisted the *Dutch Troops*, and the Men of War which were to be his Quota, were so long a coming, and when come, did so little Service, that the *Hollanders* soon saw they had made Choice of the wrong Man to build their Hopes upon. Mr. *Archdeacon* inserts a Passage out of a Letter from Chancellor *Hyde* to Sir *William Temple*, which he calls remarkable. " There is nothing now ought to be labour'd with so much Industry and Dexterity as the uniting *England*, *Spain* and *Flanders*, which wou'd give, and which only can give Peace to Christendom; I am sure our Master is passionately inclin'd to it;" that Master of theirs who five or six Years after, made another War with the *Dutch*, purely to give the *French King* an Opportunity to over-run, not only *Flanders*, but *Holland*. This is the Prince of whom Chancellor *Hyde* says, he is sure that he is passionately inclin'd to unite *England* and *Spain*, for the Preservation of the *Netherlands*. His Words are indeed remarkable.

1666. French King's Mock-War with England.

In the mean Time, the King of *Denmark* concluded a Treaty with the *Dutch*, which the Penetration of the *English* Ministers cou'd not get a Hint of, 'till it was perfected. He was to lend the States Thirty Men of War, and some Land Forces, in Consideration of 1,500,000 Livres a Year, as long as the War lasted. The Bishop of *Munster*, who had receiv'd a round Sum of *English Money*, to make an Irruption into *Friesland* the last Summer, not being supply'd as plentiful as he expected from *England*, fell off, and concluded a Peace, by the Mediation of *Brandenburg*. The latter, and the House of *Luxemburg*, were in Alliance with the States, and wou'd probably have been better Allies, had they not waited

King of Denmark assists the Dutch.

A. D. 1666 waited to see what France wou'd do, and like the Dutch, made too much Dependence upon her. After the Bishop of Munster had abandon'd King Charles, the Bills of Exchange came from England to Sir William Temple at Brussels; but the best Service Sir William cou'd do, was to send them back again. Thus the King of England, says Mr. Archdeacon, was left destitute of his chief Friends. However, when he return'd to his Palace at Whitehall, it was to the infinite Joy of the Citizens. And have they not had good Reason for it in the unspeakable Felicities of his Reign! They presented him with an Address upon it, and his Majesty presented the two Sheriffs, Robert Hanson and William Hooker, with Knight-hood. After he was well settled at Whitehall, he publish'd his Declaration of War against France; the most remarkable Words of which are, *The relying upon the Help of God Almighty in the Justice of our Cause*, which Bishop Burnet calls *Unjust*, Do declare, &c. The French King was more in earnest in the War against the English than in that for the Dutch, and he had no sooner resolv'd upon his Declaration, than he sent a stout Squadron of Ships to the West-Indies. The Troops that were on Board, dispossest the English of St. Christopher's and other Places, and the Dutch drove them out of Surinam. The Compleat Historian informs us, that the French King did his Endeavours to engage Major General Lambert in his Interest, but he tells his Story so confusedly, one can make nothing of it. "The French King, to do secret Mischief, sends the Governor of Choufey over from France, in a small Boat, to carry a Letter to Major General Lambert there in Prison, and to offer him good Terms, for contriving to deliver up that Island to the French." He does not tell us where he was in Prison, nor what Island it was he was to deliver up. The last Place he mentions was St. Christopher's, one of the Leeward Islands in America; I suppose he means St. Nicholas's Island, near Plymouth; General Lambert having been long confin'd there. He proceeds, "But this perfidious Governor being apprehended, did at last confess the whole Matter, and he and his Pilot were executed on the common Gallows, for Spies.

We have glorious Accounts in his History, and Mr. Echard's, of a mighty Victory over the Dutch, obtain'd by the Duke of Albemarle, but I have better Authorities, and I shall copy Bishop Burnet; "It was resolv'd on, the Duke of York shou'd not go to Sea, but that Monk shou'd command the great Fleet of between Fifty and Sixty Ships of the Line, and that Prince Rupert shou'd be sent with a Squadron of about Twenty-five Ships to meet the French Fleet, and to hinder their Conjunction with the Dutch; for the French had promis'd a Fleet to join the Dutch, but never sent it. Monk went out so certain of Victory, that he seem'd only concern'd for fear the Dutch shou'd not come out. The Court flatter'd themselves with the Hopes of a very happy Year, but it prov'd a fatal one." King Charles did not think so, he told his Parliament when he met them, *I need not tell you the Success of this Year, in which God hath given us great Success.* My Lord of Sarum proceeds, "The Dutch Fleet came out, De Witt and some of the States being on Board, they engag'd the English Fleet for two Days, in which they had a manifest Superiority, but it cost them dear, for the English fought well. The Dutch were superior in Number, and were so well furnish'd with Chain Shot (a peculiar Contrivance of which De Witt had the Honour to be thought the Inventor) that the English

Fleet was quite unrigg'd, and Monk was in no Condition to have work'd himself off, but his Ships must have been all taken, sunk or burnt, if Prince Rupert, being yet in the Channel, and hearing that they were engag'd, by the continual Roaring of Guns, had not made all possible haste to get to them. He came in good Time, and the Dutch, who had suffer'd so much, seeing so great Force come up, steer'd off. He was in no Condition to pursue them, but brought off our Fleet, which sav'd us a great Loss, that seem'd otherwise unavoidable." Monk's Fleet having been so miserably shatter'd by De Witt's (the Bishop again) the Court gave out that it was a Victory. Echard and the Compleat Historian give out the same; however, 'tis certain his Conduct was blam'd even by Chancellor Hyde himself, tho' for so many Years he had been his good Lord General; and publick Thanksgivings were order'd, which, says Bishop Burnet, was a horrid Mocking of God, and a Lying to the World. I have avoided making use of that strong Phrase, tho' I have been provok'd to it, in almost every Page of their Histories, either in Whole or in Part, by Misrepresentation, Prevarication or downright Falstity. Bishop Burnet adds, *We had in one Respect, Reason to thank God, that we had not lost our whole Fleet*; a new Felicity which Monk was like to bring upon us. We lost Sir William Berkeley, and Sir Christopher Mims, two gallant Officers, in this unhappy Engagement; Sir George Ayscue's large Ship the Prince ran ashore, was stranded, burnt, and Sir George taken Prisoner. Sir John Harman behav'd with great Bravery, and the brave English Officers and Seamen deserv'd a better Cause, and better Success: The dividing the Fleet before the Battle, is much censur'd. Coke reflects upon it, *'Tis left a Problem, whether it were a greater Treachery to divide the Fleet, or Madness to fight the Dutch with the rest, when they cou'd not use their lower Tire of Guns.* One might be very ready to believe Monk to be Treacherous, if he had any Interest to promote by it, for he has prov'd himself to be guilty of the basest Treachery and Ingratitude, but he had no Market to make by it, and besides, the Fleet was not entirely at his Disposal. The Dutch made great Rejoicings for this dear bought Victory, and demanded of the French King, their hopeful Ally, that *Te Deum* might be sung for it at Paris, but he refus'd it.

The Loss and Damage which the English sustain'd in the last Fight, gave the Dutch an Opportunity to put out to Sea, and ride bravely upon the English Coasts three Weeks or a Month before the Duke of York, Lord Admiral, cou'd get the Fleet repair'd and refitted. But upon the 17th of July the English also put to Sea, and the Dutch retir'd to their own Coasts, where the English engag'd them again on the 25th, beat the Dutch, and forc'd them into their Harbours. In this Fight, Evertz (Brother to that Evertz, kill'd by Sir John Harman) Admiral of the Zealand Squadron, Tirich Hiddes of the Friezeland Squadron, Vice-Admiral Conder, and six Captains were kill'd, and Vice-Admiral Bancker's Ship, and the best Ship of Harlem, were taken and burnt. Echard tells us of a Farce which was play'd amidst this Trajedy, and is as serious as if it was worth telling; "The Enemy met with a ridiculous kind of Mortification. The Fanfan, a Sort of a Pleasure-Boat made for Prince Rupert, made up with her Oars to De Ruyter himself, and bringing her two little Guns on one Side, continu'd for near an Hour, plying Broad-sides, to the great Laughter of the English and Indignation of the Dutch, to see their chief Admiral at
"tack'd

King Charles's
mock War
against
France.

A. D. 1656
Monk in
Distress,
reliev'd by
Prince Rupert.

A D. 1666 "tack'd by a single Sloop." He then delights himself with the Story of Sir Robert Holmes's Landing in the Isle of Schelling, and burning Brantaris, an open defenceless Town, making a Bonfire of Ships and Houses. Holmes had a Pirical Genius, and was the fittest Man in the Fleet for making such sort of Bonfires and destroying, when Fighting was over. He sent in five Fire-Ships among a Fleet of 150 Dutch Merchant Men at the *Vlie*, near the Mouth of the *Texel*, and destroy'd most of them; in which the Compleat Historians take infinite Pleasure, but sober Writers speak otherwise, particularly Mr. Baxter. "Many mutter'd that it was not wisely done, to provoke the Dutch, by burning their Houses, when it was easy for them to do the like by us on our Sea Coasts. It was no good Sign of future Prosperity, when those that believ'd not that there was a God, wou'd give him solemn Thanks for the unprofitable Burning of the Houses of innocent Protestants; but our Height was quickly taken down by our great Losses, &c."

Upon the 16th of August the Dutch put to Sea again, and now the English had ten or twelve Men of War more than the Dutch, which was the only Time in this, and the other Dutch War, the English had so many Men of War as the Dutch, and to the Amazement of all People, the Dutch forsook their own Coast, and sail'd towards that of France: For which, says Coke, "No other Reason can be given, but that the French King, who equally lov'd the Dutch and English, had decoy'd the Dutch to join that invincible Fleet, which we divided ours to fight with. The English pursu'd the Dutch thro' the *Straits*, between *Dover* and *Calais*, and were ready to engage them, when by a terrible Storm, the Wind drove the English to an Anchor at *St. Hellen's Point*, where in the Passage, the *St. Andrew*, a second Rate, broke her Back upon a Sand." The Dutch came to an Anchor in the Bay of *Bulloigne*, and the Wind about the 8th of September turning, brought the Dutch home before the English cou'd engage them.

The very great Wickedness of introducing the Fire of London, with a Tale of a Plot carry'd on by Dissenters, is fit for no History but the compleat One, and its Copy the Archdeacon's. It is done to throw off any Suspicion of Guilt from the Papists. I have set the Negotiation with General Ludlow in a fair Light. *Echard* has his Memoirs before him, in which he had read, that Ludlow wou'd not engage with the Dutch, but on certain Conditions, which they did not think fit to comply with, and he blesses God that he had not engag'd with them; since, by the Treaty of Peace soon after concluded, they oblig'd themselves to deliver up the very Man whom they so much courted to serve them. Yet does *Echard* with unparellel'd Assurance affirm that *Rathbone's Plot* was a Concatenation with Ludlow's, and to honour *Rathbone*, and make some body of him, gives him the Command of a Regiment. His fellow Plotters were, *Thomas Flint*, *William Saunders*, *Henry Tucker*, *Thomas Evans*, *John Myles*, *William Wescot*, who besides killing the King, were to kill also General *George Monk*, Alderman *Sir John Robinson*, and Alderman *Sir Richard Browne*, and when they had knock'd them on the Head, they were to declare for an equal Division of Lands. Mr. Ludlow was to put himself in Arms, and come over to fight for some Land. He had enough of his own, if they wou'd have let him enjoy it; he had *Maiden-Bradley* in *Wiltshire*, but *Sir Edward Seymour* kept it from him, and several other Mannors in *Wilt-*

shire and *Somersetshire*, a fairer Inheritance than his Country Man *Hyde* was born to; and if he fought for any Lands, they must have been for less than his own, since upon an equal Division, so much wou'd not have come to his Share; and because he was a half-witted credulous Creature, he will do nothing but on some lucky Day. *Rathbone* and he will have a Planet on their Side, and therefore they have the Nativity of their Plot cast in April, and found by *Lilby's Almanack* also, that the third of September was a Day of Luck. As to these Plotters intending to join the Dutch if they had landed, I doubt it not, and that a great many Thousands wou'd have done the same, for one can't think that the late Acts of Parliament and Government had made the People in love with it. The French King said of King Charles at this Time, *The King of England has no Friend nor Ally, and is oblig'd to carry on the War, with the Forces of a Kingdom only, divided into several Sects, all disaffected to his Government.* These Plotters doubtless wou'd have join'd Ludlow, or *Doleman*, or the first Commander that offer'd to lead them; they might intend it, they might talk of it, and say enough to be hang'd for't; but that Mr. *Sidney*, and Lieutenant General Ludlow wou'd engage with such Fellows is incredible and monstrous in Imagination.

I have mention'd the Wickedness of joining Mr. Ludlow's Negotiations with the Dutch with *Rathbone's Plot*, and *Rathbone's Plot* with the Fire of London; and to prove it, I need only repeat the Archdeacon's Words: *The third of September was a Day auspicious, and full of Expectation from one Party, but at this Time ominous and direful to the Nation; and though the Hand of Justice laid hold of these last Criminals, yet the City was burnt at the very Time thus projected and prognosticated; which gave a strong Suspicion, though not a full Proof of the Authors and Promoters; and that by Concatenation, Colonel Atney, Lieutenant General Ludlow, Col. Doleman, Mr. Say, &c. were concern'd with Flint, Tucker, &c. who were hang'd six Months before, for a Plot to set London on Fire on the third of September.* I might here make use of the strong Phrase us'd by Bishop *Burnet* before-mention'd; but though such Histories little deserve it, I will observe more Decorum, and to shew I might make use of it, read what *Echard* says of the Duke of York's Diligence to put out the Fire: *He was as diligent as possible; he commended and encouraged the Forward; he assisted the miserable Sufferers, and gave a most generous Example to all, by the vigorous Opposition he made against the devouring Flames.* Contrary to all which, it is known that the Gaiety of his Look and Air discover'd the Pleasure he took in that dreadful Spectacle. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, *The Citizens were not well satisfy'd with the Duke's Behaviour; they thought he look'd too gay, and too little concern'd.*

On September the 2d, after Midnight, London was set on Fire. On September the 3d the Exchange was burnt, and in three Days almost all the City within the Walls. The Season before had been exceeding dry, and the Wind in the East, where the Fire began. The People having none to conduct them right, cou'd do nothing to resist it, but stand and see their Houses burn without Remedy, the Engines being presently out of order and useless. The Streets were crowded with People and Carts to carry away what Goods they cou'd get out. They who were most active, and had also most Money to pay Carriage at exorbitant Prices, as five, ten, twenty, and thirty Pounds for a Cart, sav'd much, and the rest lost almost all. The Loss in Houses and Goods is scarcely

Duke of
York
pleas'd
with the
Fire of
London.

A.D. 1666 to be valu'd; and among the rest, the Loss of Books was an exceeding great Detriment not to the Owners only, but to Learning. Almost all the Booksellers in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, brought their Books into Vaults under *St. Paul's Church*, where it was thought almost impossible that Fire shou'd come. But the Church itself being on Fire, the prodigious Weight of Stones falling down, broke into the Vaults, let in the Fire, and the Booksellers cou'd not come near to save their Books. The Library at *Sion College*, and most private Libraries in *London* were burnt; inso-much that the one Article of Books only lost in the Fire, amounted to 150,000 Pounds.

Where it began and stopp'd. The Fire broke out in *Pudding-lane*, at the House of one *Fariner* a Baker, and spread itself, besides Breadth, from almost *Tower-Hill* to *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleet-street*. After it had burnt almost three Days and Nights, some Seamen taught the People to blow up some of the next Houses with Gunpowder, which stopp'd the Fire; so that contrary to the Inscription on the Monument, *there were humane Counsels* in the stopping of the Fire, though those Counsels must be acknowledg'd as *the Will of Heaven*. It stopp'd at *Holborn Bridge*, and near *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleet-street*, and at *Sepulchre's Church*, when the Church was burnt; and at *Christ-Church*, when the Church was burnt; and near *Aldersgate* and *Cripplegate*, and other Places at the *Wall*; and in *Austin-Friars*, the *Dutch Church* stopp'd it, and escap'd. It stopp'd in *Bishopsgate-street*, and *Leadenhall-street*, and *Fenchurch-street*, in the midst of the Streets, and short of the *Tower*. All beyond the River, and *Southwark* escap'd. There

The great Loss.

perish'd in the Flames 13,200 Houses, valu'd one with another at no more than twenty-five Pounds yearly Rent, amount at twelve Years Purchase to 3,900,000 Pounds. The eighty-seven Churches, the spacious Cathedral of *St. Paul's*, the six Chapels, the *Exchange*, *Custom-house*, *Guildhall*, the magnificent Halls of Companies, the several principal City Gates, with other publick Edifices and Colleges, may be well valued at 2,000,000 Pounds. The *Wares*, *Household-Goods*, *Money* lost and spoilt by the Fire, or pilfer'd away by those wicked Wretches that made their Gains of the common Calamity, may modestly be computed at above 2,000,000 Pounds. The Money spent in general removing of Goods into the Fields, during the Fire, and bringing them back afterwards, in the Hire of *Boats*, *Carts*, and *Porters*, may be reckon'd at least 2,000,000 Pounds; the Total of which is 10,050,000 Pounds, of which general Loss, Alderman *Jefferies* had a particular Loss in the one Commodity of Tobacco, to the Value of 20,000 Pounds.

I have not made use of the Account given by publick Authority, printed in the *Compleat History*, because I think my Historian's Authority, Mr. *Baxter's*, much better. He informs us, "The great Talk at that Time was, *Who were the Burners of the City?* And there came in so many Testimonies to prove it was the plotted Weapon of the Papists as caus'd the Parliament themselves to appoint a Committee to enquire after it, and receive Information; upon which one *Hubert*, a French Papist, confess'd openly and constantly, to the last, that he began the Fire." The *Compleat Historian* and Archdeacon *Echard* are positive that he was a French Presbyterian, they say, *Hugonot*; for which we must in Charity say, The Lord forgive them! Bishop *Burnet* assures us he was a French Papist. Let us repeat what he says: "The Papists were generally charg'd with it. One *Hubert*, a French Papist was seiz'd on in *Essex*, as he was going out of the Way in great Confusion. He con-

“ fess'd he had begun the Fire, and persisted in his Confession to his Death, for he was hang'd upon no other Evidence but that of his own Confession. It is true, he gave so broken an Account of the whole Matter, that he was thought mad: Yet he was blindfolded, and carry'd to several Places of the City, and then his Eyes being open'd, he was ask'd if that was the Place; and he being carry'd to wrong Places, after he look'd round about for some time, he said, that was not the Place: But when he was brought to the Place where the Fire broke out, he affirm'd that was the true Place. And *Tillotson* told me, that *Howel*, then the Recorder of *London*, was with him, and had much Discourse with him, and that he concluded it was impossible it cou'd be a melancholy Dream. The Horror of the Fact, and the Terror of Death, and perhaps some Engagements in Confession (*Remember Echard and the Compleat Historian call him a Hugonot or French Presbyterian*) might put him into such Disorder, that it was not possible to draw a clear Account from him; but of what related to himself, *Tillotson*, who believ'd the City was burnt on Design, told me a Circumstance that made the Papists employing such a craz'd Man the more credible, &c." I omit several other Circumstances in *Burnet* and *Baxter*, which corroborate the Evidence against the Papists, and shall only add the Inscription about the Plinth of the lower Pedestal of the Monument, which is designedly omitted by *Echard*, who has printed the large Inscription on the Pedestal itself.

This Pillar was set up in perpetual Remembrance of the most dreadful Burning this Protestant City, begun and carry'd on by the Treachery and Malice of the Popish Faction, in the Beginning of September, in the Year of our Lord 1666, in order to the carrying on their horrid Plot for the extirpating the Protestant Religion, and Old English Liberty, and introducing Popery and Slavery.

This Inscription was eraz'd by King *James*, upon his Accession to the Crown, but re-inscrib'd presently after the happy Revolution, in such deep Characters as are not easily to be blotted out again.

In direct Opposition to these Authorities, publick and private, the Archdeacon closes his wild Account of the Fire thus: *That he will judge on the charitable, and perhaps probable Side, that neither the Beginning nor the End of this dreadful Fire, were the Effects of Humane Means or Counsels.* While the Terrors occasion'd by this Conflagration remain'd on the Minds of Men, the persecuting Bishops and Magistrates suspended their Rage against the Protestants who had not conform'd, and many of their Ministers preach'd in the midst of the burning Ruins, to a willing attentive People; as Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, Mr. *Wadsworth*, Mr. *Jameway*, Mr. *Thomas Doolittle*, Dr. *Annesley*, Mr. *Chester*, Mr. *Church Franklin*, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Watson*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Nathaniel Vincent*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Griffiths*, Mr. *Brooks*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryll*, Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Barker*. Many pious, learned, and eminent Divines of the Church of England, were more than ordinarily diligent in the Discharge of their Holy Function in this calamitous Time; as Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Whitcot*, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Patrick*, Mr. *White*, Dr. *Outram*, Dr. *Horton*, Mr. *Gifford*, Mr. *Nest*, Dr. *Meriton*, &c. Divines of equal Merit and Moderation, Ornaments of their Sacred Profession and the Established Church. When I am to speak of such Men as these, I begin with Pleasure and end with Pain.

Burnt by Papists.

Hubert, a French Papist set Fire to it. p. 230.

A.D. 1666

Presbyterians and Ministers frequent Preachers.

A.D. 1666 On the 21st of September the Parliament met at Westminster. They were, says *Eckard*, the Life and Expectation of the Nation; and to shew it in their Actions, they gave the King 1,800,000 Pounds, and thank'd him for his great Care in the Management of the War, which they did in return for his Majesty's most acceptable Speech, wherein he told them, *I wish with all my Heart that I cou'd bear the whole Charge of the War myself, and that my Subjects shou'd reap the Benefit of it to themselves*; by which they wou'd not be much oblig'd to him.

Lord Mordaunt impeach'd.

The Clamours rais'd against the Papists after the Fire of London, produc'd an Address from the Parliament, and a Proclamation from the King, For suppressing the Insolencies of the Papists. The House of Commons impeach'd the Lord Viscount Mordaunt, Constable of Windsor-Castle, for imprisoning Mr. Talcour, who intended to stand for one of the Burgesses for Windsor; which I mention, because the said Talcour was a Prisoner for Debt in the Town Prison, when he intended to stand for a Member of this Parliament, and was taken thence by the Lord Mordaunt's Soldiers, to be put in Hold in the Castle; which lets us a little into the Truth of the Arch-deacon's Rich and Wise Men before spoken of. The Impeachment of the Lord Mordaunt, who was the King's Servant, disgust'd the King, according to *Eckard*, though Talcour was his Servant also. The greatest Importance of it was, that it caus'd a Misunderstanding between the two Houses, which lasted to the End of the Sessions, when the Speaker, Turner, made a Speech of unconscionable Length, February the 8th, at which Time the King also spoke almost as long; and then the Lord Roberts, Lord Privy-Seal, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 10th Day of October.

Parliament prorogu'd.

The King and this easy Parliament, as Mr. Acherly calls them, began to cool a little towards each other, which was visible on the King's Side, by some Expressions of his, in a Speech he made to them a few Days before the Prorogation. *I am not willing to complain that you have dealt unkindly with me in a Bill I have now pass'd, in which you have manifested a greater Distrust of me than I have deserv'd. I do not pretend to be without Infirmities, but I have never broken my Word.* Sure enough has been said of this Matter already! *If I do not flatter my self, the Nation had never less Cause to complain of Grievances, or the least Injustice or Oppression, than it hath had for these seven Tears it hath pleas'd God to restore me to you; and I wou'd be glad to be us'd accordingly.* The Commons had appointed Commissioners in the Poll-Bill, and his Majesty wou'd have had it left to him. It is certain he did flatter himself egregiously in the Affair of Grievances. See Mr. Acherly, p. 572, in several Instances.

Grievances under him. 1. The Secret League with France. 2. His abandoning himself to Pleasures, and delegating his Government into the Hands of his Brother. 3. His Contrivance to make himself absolute Master of his Parliaments by means of the said French League. 4. His concerting with Lewis XIV. all his Treaties with the Dutch, under a secret Assurance that the same shou'd never hurt, but promote the French Interest. To this may be added his repealing the Triennial Bill; his modelling of Corporations by the Act so call'd; his Five Mile Act; his Profusion, and the Inundation of Lewdness and Impiety, with which the Nation was overwhelm'd by his Example.

Committee for the Fire.

Before the House of Commons broke up, Sir Robert Brock, Chairman of the Committee, appointed to enquire into the Firing of London, reported to the House, that the Committee had

some Information concerning the Matter, which might probably be enlighten'd by Examination of Hubert, which the House resolv'd to do: But Hubert was hang'd up the next Day, before the House sat. Several Evidences had been given in to the Committee, that Men were seen in many Parts of the City casting Fire-Balls into the Houses; and some that were taken firing Houses were brought to the Guard of Soldiers, and to the Duke of York, but never heard of afterwards. Some Weeks after Sir Robert Brock went to France, and as he was ferry'd over a River was drown'd, with a Kinsman of his, and that Business drown'd with him.

A.D. 1666
Hubert hang'd to prevent his being examin'd.

The King of England having declar'd War against Denmark for that King's joining with the Dutch, the Dane did the same by the King of England, with better Advantage; for the English cou'd seize but little Effects of the Danes in England, whereas the latter not only seiz'd all the English Effects, which were very great in Denmark, but his Danish Majesty stopp'd the Payment of vast Sums which he ow'd to the English Company at Hamburg.

It must not be forgot that in the last Session of Parliament the Act pass'd for preventing the Irish Carriage of Irish Cattle (the Inconveniencies of which are well set forth by Mr. Coke) another Act for Burying in Woollen, to which also Objections have been made: But the two Acts for Re-building the City of London, and for Erecting a Court of Judicature for determining of Differences touching Houses burnt and demolish'd, were very useful; which cannot be said of many Acts of this Parliament, from their Commencement to this time.

Eckard opens the next Year with an Account of the King's Coat, Waistcoat and Breeches, which were establish'd by a Solemn and Peremptory Declaration, Straight Spanish Breeches, a Long Vest down to the Middle instead of a Waistcoat, and above that a Loose Coat after the Mulcovite or Polish Fashion, the Sword girt over the Vest, and instead of Shoes and Stockings a Pair of Buskins or Brodekins, which I repeat, that my History may have an Ornament that is no where to be met with in antient Histories, such as those of *Tibucydides*, *Livy*, &c. He then tells us, that Dr. Barbon, Son of Praise God Barbon, set up an Insurance-Office against Fire, and that Sir Jonas Moor had a great Hand in the City's Resurrection. As the War with the Dutch began unjustly, so it ended dishonourably. The Parliament had given Money enough for carrying it on this Year; but their growing inquisitive about the Expence of what they had given, caus'd Suspicion in the King and his Courtiers, that they wou'd hold their Hand, and therefore it was Time to put an End to a War, which tho' begun with no Reason, there was very good Reason to put an End to it; so Ambassadors were appointed on all Sides, and Breda, the Prince of Orange's Town, was agreed upon to be the Place of Treaty. The King of England's Ambassadors were Denzil Lord Hollis, Henry Coventry, Esq; The French King's, the Count D' Estrades, Monsieur Courtin. The States Ambassadors, Mr. Beverning, Mr. Hubert. For the King of Sweden, the Mediator, Mr. Jongstall, Lord George Fleming, Monsieur Julius Coyat.

1667.

Ludlow tells us, "The Dutch shew'd themselves ready to treat with England upon the Foot of the Treaty concluded between them in the Year 1662. The English Plenipotentiaries, notwithstanding the ill Condition of Affairs at Home, spent a whole Month at Breda without entering into Conference with those of Holland, which, with the Quarrels that

A.D. 1667 " that happen'd between these two Ministers, who gave the States farther Occasion to improve the present Conjuncture to the best Advantage." The King had given his Word, that all the Monies granted for carrying on this War, shou'd be expended on that Service: He has had near six Millions for it. But *Acherly* informs us, 'Twas all so dissipated that he cou'd set out no Fleet this Summer, when the *Dutch* had a very good one at Sea very early, as the *English* found to their Cost. *Echard* assures us, he had dissipated the Money, but was advis'd, after his several Victories, to fit out a light Fleet only, which by dividing it self might make great Spoil on the Dutch Merchant Ships.

Dutch Fleets in the Thames.

Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 300, & seq.

The States had order'd 4000 Land Forces under Col. *Doleman*, who was to have resign'd the Command to General *Ludlow*, if he wou'd have accepted of it; and this is all the Grounds that the *Compleat Historians* have for raving as they do against the *English* Common-wealth's Men, that were enclin'd to join the *Dutch* Common-wealth's Men. The *Holland* Fleet under Admiral *De Ruyter* sail'd directly to the River *Thames*. The Court of *England* having made no Preparations for Defence, was alarm'd to the last Degree with the News of their Approach, and at the first Meeting of the Council a Proposition was made to assemble the Parliament with all possible Expedition, tho' they were under Adjournment, that by their Advice either a Peace might be made to the Satisfaction of the Nation, or the War be carry'd on to the best Advantage. On the other Side Chancellor *Hyde* knowing himself to be in Danger from the Parliament, did all he cou'd to oppose that Motion, and conceiving an Army more useful to promote the arbitrary Designs of the Court, took this Occasion to propose the raising of 12,000 Men. And tho' the major Part of the Council carry'd it for assembling the Parliament on the 25th of the next ensuing *July*, and that a Proclamation shou'd be forthwith issued to that End, yet the Design of raising an Army was not laid aside.

Early in the Spring the *Dutch* sent *Van Ghendt* with a good Fleet and Land-Forces on board to the *Frith* in *Scotland*, with Orders to burn the Coast, and land his Troops, if he found Encouragement from the Malecontents. He enter'd the *Frith* on the first of *May*. If he had at first hung out *English* Colours, and attack'd *Leith* Harbour immediately, which was then full of Ships, Bishop *Burnet* thinks he might have done what Mischiefe he pleas'd, for all were in Security looking for Sir *Jeremy Smith* with some Frigates for the Defence of the Coasts, since the King had set out no Fleet this Year. There had been such a Dissipation of Treasure, that for all the Money that was given, there was not enough left to set out a Fleet. The Bishop adds, "The Court cover'd this by saying the Peace was as good as concluded at *Breda*, where the Lord *Hollis* and Mr. *Coventry* were treating about it as Plenipotentiaries; and tho' no Cessation was agreed on, yet they reckon'd on it as sure. Upon this a Saying of the Earl of *Northumberland* was much repeated, when it was said the King's Mistresses were like to ruin the Nation; No, says he, they save the Nation, while we have a House of Commons, who give all the Money that is ask'd; it is better to have the Money squander'd away in Luxury, than to have it sav'd for worse Purposes." This is the King, and this the Parliament, who pretended to have such a Regard to the Souls of Men, as to oblige them by Fines and Force to worship God in what they call'd the Orthodox Way! Witness the *Bartholomew* Act, the *Five Mile* Act,

Earl of Northumberland's Saying of the King's Extravagance.

Ec. This is the King, and this the Parliament, who pretended to have such a Regard for the Security of the Subject! Witness the *Corporation* Act, the *Triennial* Parliament Act, &c. Good God! into what Hands are the poor People of *England* fallen! Instead of Glory and Liberty, of Religion and Trade, they are become the Contempt of the Contempible, and a Prey to Luxury and Persecution.

Van Ghendt sailing to the *Frith* was only a Dutch *Faint* to divert the King from that which was chiefly intended, for he fail'd out and join'd *de Ruyter*, who enter'd the River *Thames* the 9th of *June*. The first Ships he saw were eight or nine Outward-bound Merchant-men with their Convoy, which, upon Discovery of the *Holland* Fleet, tack'd, and were chac'd by the *Dutch* up to the *Hope*; but the *Hollanders* being suddenly becalm'd, were oblig'd to come to an Anchor. Here the *Dutch* met with a Storm, which ending in a favourable North-East Wind, *de Ruyter* stood towards the Isle of *Shepey*, where he landed about 800 Men, took the Fort of *Sheerness*, which Sir *Edward Sprague* a *Papist* deserted, having not fortify'd it as he ought to have done, being the Governor; *Echard* extols his Bravery on this Occasion. A Man of War that lay for the Guard of that Fort was taken by the *Dutch* Ships at the same Time. The *Dutch* having possess'd themselves of this Fort, *Van Ghendt*, with 18 of their smaller Ships, sail'd up *Chatham* River the next Day; and notwithstanding Ships had been sunk to hinder their Passage, they came up to the Iron Chain which travers'd the River, and had been made on that Occasion, fought the *Matthias* and *Charles V.* which were order'd to defend it, kill'd most of their Men, burnt those Ships, broke the *Bomb*, and passing by *Upton* Castle (ruin'd for want of Repair) burnt the *Mary*, took the *Unity* and *Royal Charles*, and, says *Ludlow*, plac'd their Colours on the latter, in View of her Master, who stood on the Shoar observing the Effects of his prudent and vigilant Government. They cou'd conquer *Venner* in *London*, and *Oldroyd* in *Yorkshire*: They cou'd hang up *Ratbone* and *Flint* as stoutly as *Oliver* or the *Rump* cou'd have done: They cou'd make *Acts* and *Plots*, and destroy the *Disarm'd* and the *Defenceless*: Let them now come and shew their Valour; let them now come out and defend their Country, or weep Blood for the Shame they have brought upon her. *Monk* stands on the Shoar with his Cane in his Hand, sees the Royal Navy of *England* in Flames, a foreign Enemy roaring their Cannon within the hearing of *London*; and has neither a Hand to help, nor a Heart to lament the Misery and Infamy he has brought upon a betray'd and abus'd People.

Calamities in England.

burn the Fleet at Chatham.

Disgrace to the English.

The Figure Monk makes.

On the Third Day the *Dutch* burnt the *Royal Oak*, the *Royal James*, and the *Royal London*. Were the *Naseby*, the *Victory*, the *Speaker*, the *Fairfax* burnt in a River of *England*! Cou'd *Blake* live after such a killing Sight as *Monk* is beholding! What is the good Lord *General* now doing! *Ludlow* tells us, *Van Ghendt* having burnt several smaller Ships, *Monk* had no other Way to save the rest but by sinking them in the River, and sending five Fireships among the *Dutch* Fleet, which had not the expected Success. In the mean time the *Train'd-Bands* from all the adjacent Parts were marching towards *Chatham*, to endeavour to prevent farther Mischiefe by Land. Nine Ships were sunk at *Woolwich*, and four at *Blackwall*. Platforms were rais'd and furnish'd with Artillery, and Works to defend them, and hinder the Enemy from coming up to *London*. But the *Dutch*, who had in a Fight,

another

A.D. 1667 another Game to play, having exacted a Sum of Money from the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Shepey*, they did not make Bonfires of their Houses as *Holmes* did at *Brandaris*, and carry'd off the Guns and Ammunition they found at *Skeerness*; they fell down with their Fleet to the *Buoy in the Nore*, landed some Troops below *Tilbury*, and swept the Country of Sheep and Cattle in Sight of 2 or 3,000 Militia within 20 Miles of *London*.

What says a Modern Author on this? *There is nothing like it in all History: A foreign Fleet to throw the City of London into Consternation! I will not say since the Death of Queen Elizabeth, but since the Death of King Edgar. Blake's Albes are dug out of his Grave. Did he ever suffer an Enemy to appear within the four Seas, but at his Peril? The Enemy is now triumphant in our very Rivers, and the Citizens of London tremble in their very Houses.*

Let us now see how the Monarch behav'd on this Occasion: The Monarch who is so greedy of Power, and exercises it so notably against his Protestant Dissenting Subjects. *Coke* writes thus, "The next Morning after the *Dutch* had enter'd the River, I was walking in *St. James's Park*, when a Gentleman whisper'd to me, "The *Dutch* are in the River. The King had then fed his Ducks, and was walking on the West-side of the Park. Prince *Rupert* overtook us, and met the King at the further End of the *Pall-Mall*. He told the Prince he had shot a Duck, and such a Dog fetch'd it; so they walk'd on till the King came to *St. James's House*, and there said to the Prince, *Let's go see Cambridge and Kendall*, the Duke's two Sons, who then lay a dying. But upon his Return to *Whitehall* he found all in an Uprore, the *Lady Castlemain* bewailing above all others, that she shou'd be first torn to Pieces. If the *Dutch* had come up to *London*, they wou'd have found all open to them, not one Gun mounted at *Tilbury-Fort*." The Artillery made use of in those Days were *Warrants, Excommunications, Capiendo's*, and the like; and the Enemy was the *Presbyterians*. Tho' *Monk* cou'd do nothing at *Chatham*, the Earl of *Macklesfield* and *Capt. Elliot*, who were sent to *Portsmouth*, us'd such Diligence in fortifying it, that when the *Dutch* came before the Harbour, they thought not fit to attempt to do what they had done at *Chatham*. *Bishop Burnet's* Account of this execrable Business is as follows; "The Affair of *Chatham* was a terrible Blow; and tho' the Loss was great, the *Infamy* was greater. The Parliament had given above five Millions toward the War, but thro' the Luxury and Waste of the Court, the Money was so squander'd away, that the King cou'd neither set out a Fleet, nor defend his Coasts. Upon the News of the *Dutch* Fleet's being in the River, the King did not ride down himself, nor appear at the Head of his People, who were then in such imminent Danger; he only sent the Duke of *Albemarle* down, and was intending to retire to *Windsor*. But that look'd so like a flying from Danger, that he was prevail'd on to stay. And it was given out, that he was chearful that Night at Supper with his Mistresses, which drew many Libels upon him, writ with much Wit, and brought him under a general Contempt," where we will leave him, and desire to know by what Action of his future Reign he got out of it. The *Bishop* again; "He was compar'd to *Nero*, who sung while *Rome* was burning." The *Bishop* refers to some Lines in *Sir John Denham's* Advice to a *Painter*, where this King's Government,

especially with respect to this War, is very naturally describ'd, and much more agreeable to Truth than the *Compleat History*, or *Echar's*. The Verses indeed are not so harmonious as those of *Cooper's Hill*. But the following are some of them:

*So passing Chatham, make Whitehall appear,
If not in Danger, yet at least in Fear;
Make our Dejection, if thou canst, seem more
Than our Pride, Sloth, and Ignorance before;
The King of Danger now shows far more Fear,
Than he did ever to prevent it care:
Yet to the City doth himself convey,
Bravely to show he was not run away;
Whilst the Black Prince, and our fifth Harry's
Are only acted on our Theatres: [Wars,
As Nero once with Harp in Hand survey'd,
His flaming Rome, and as that burnt, he play'd;
So our great Charles, when the Dutch Fleet
Saw his Ships burn, &c. [arriv'd,*

A.D. 1667
Denham's
Verses upon
the Infamy
at
Chatham:

Mr. Baxter speaks of the King's conveying himself into the City; "He came in Person among the Citizens to perswade them not to desert him, and made a Speech to them on *Tower-Hill*. He had great Experience of their Loyalty, who after such Sufferings, and under such Pressures in Matters of Conscience, and of worldly Interest, even in such Extremity, were neither prov'd to do, or say any thing that was contrary to their Fidelity to him." *Bishop Burnet* mentions this, and adds, "But the Matter went heavily; the City was yet in Ashes, and the Jealousy of burning it on Design, had got so among the Citizens, that the King himself was not free from Suspicion. The Court was at a stand what to do, for the *French* had assur'd them, the Treaty was as good as finish'd. Whether the *French* set this on, as that which wou'd weaken the Fleet of *England*, and alienate the King so entirely from the *Dutch*, that he wou'd be easily engag'd in new Alliances to revenge this Affront, as many believ'd, I cannot pretend to determine.

This and other Disasters created a Suspicion, and rais'd Clamours at the King's secret Measures with *France*, in so much, says *Acherly*, that he lost all Confidence with the People, which as he never in Truth deserv'd, so he never recover'd. A Peace was immediately clapp'd up with the *Dutch*, and sign'd on the 9th of *July*, at *Breda*. *Coke* speaks thus of it, "However the Dishonour which the Nation sustain'd at *Chatham* may be forgotten, yet the sudden and dishonourable Peace concluded at *Breda* never will be. By the third Article, the Business of *Amboyna* is bury'd, and never to be call'd in Question, which *Oliver*, tho' he made Peace with the *Dutch*, wou'd not do. The *Hollanders* had *Polegone*, out of which they had expell'd our *East-India* Company during this War, confirm'd to them, whereby they became sole Proprietors of the *Spice* Trade, as well in *Europe* as other Parts of the *Indies, Arabia* and *Persia*." Nay, so little Care was taken for Reparation of Damages, that the Agents under the Letters of Reprisal for *Sir Paul Pindar*, and *Sir William Courteen's* Ships, valued at 151,612 Pounds, were try'd as Pirates, by *Sir Lionel Jenkins*, who had the Silver Oar carry'd before him; and, says *Mr. Coke*, was very zealous to have hang'd them. A Work that went forward from the Beginning to the End of this Reign.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, the Parliament met on the 25th of *July*, according to the late Proclamation, and entering immediately upon the Debate of the Army, which they resolv'd

Money
squander'd

The King
afraid of
the Dutch.

Libels upon
the King.

His secret
League
with
France.

His disho-
nourable
Peace with
the Dutch.

Parlia-
ment.

A.D. 1667 solv'd to break, spoke so clearly and freely touching this Matter, that the Court resolv'd to give them a little Interruption, hoping in that Time to take off some of those who had appear'd with the greatest Warmth, by such Means as they had in their Hands; or if that Design shou'd not succeed, to think upon taking new Measures. To this End they were acquainted by the Chancellor Hyde, that it was the King's Pleasure they shou'd adjourn 'till the 29th of the same Month. But before this Message came to them, they had pass'd a Resolution, that the King shou'd be desir'd forthwith to disband the Army he had lately rais'd. The Day to which they had adjourn'd being come, their Speaker, Turner, appear'd not 'till the King came to the House of Peers; where, having sent for the House of Commons, he made a short Speech touching the late Peace, and then directed the Chancellor to do as he commanded; who without any Preamble, told them, It was his Majesty's Pleasure they shou'd be adjourn'd to the 10th of October next. But for all this, some of the Council had the Courage to oppose the violent Courses, and to advise, that the Army might be disbanded, according to the Desire of the House of Commons; that the Seal shou'd be taken from Hyde, and that the Parliament shou'd meet at the Time appointed, and be left to the Liberty of providing for the publick Safety in their own Way. Pursuant to this Advice, Monk was employ'd to demand the Seal of the Chancellor; and Ludlow tells us, he embrac'd this Occasion of Revenge with Joy, for the Chancellor had openly blam'd his Conduct, in presuming to attack the whole Dutch Fleet the last Year, whilst Prince Rupert, with Part of the English Fleet, was seperated from him. The Chancellor refus'd to deliver the Seal to Monk, under Pretence that some Men had suffer'd for parting with it too easily; saying, He wou'd bring it to the King in Council the next Day, being not without Hopes by his Interest and Presence to prevail with them to change their Resolution; but his Master finding himself oblig'd to give way to the present Torrent, persister'd in his Demand, and having receiv'd the Seal from his Hand, entrusted it with Sir Orlando Bridgeman with the Title of Lord Keeper.

Among the various Reasons that were given to justify the King in abandoning the Chancellor to the Resentment of the People, one was, that he had countermin'd the King in the Design he had to be divorc'd from the Queen, under Pretence that she had been engag'd to another Person, that she had made a Vow of Chastity before her Marriage, and that she was incapable of having Children. The Person design'd to fill her Place, was one Mrs. Stuart, a young and beautiful Lady, who had some Office under the Queen. The Chancellor, who, some say, procur'd his Daughter to be marry'd to the Duke of York, and was therefore suspected of having made the Match with the Infanta of Portugal, that he might make way for the Succession of the Collateral Line, sent for the Duke of Richmond, and pretending to be sorry that a Person of his Worth, and near Relation to the King, shou'd receive no Marks of his Favour, advis'd him to marry Mrs. Stuart, as the most certain Way he cou'd take to advance himself. The young Gentleman unwarily took in the Bait, and, says Ludlow, credulously relying on what the old VOLPONE had said, made immediate Application to the young Lady, who was ignorant of the King's Intention, and in a few Days marry'd her. The King being thus disappointed, and soon after inform'd by what Means this Match had been brought about, banish'd the Duke and his new Dutchess from the Court, and

kept his Resentment against the Chancellor to a more convenient Opportunity.

The Duke of York had at the same time a Design to be divorc'd from the Chancellor's Daughter, under Pretence of Incontinence, and had promis'd the King to engage his whole Interest in the House of Commons, to pass the King's Divorce, if the King wou'd do the same for him. Several great Lords were prevail'd with to promote the double Divorce in Parliament; and the Chancellor to prevent it, told those Lords, and others in Confidence, that the Duke was a Papist, and design'd to marry a Papist, and disinherit his Protestant Children; which being whisper'd about, rais'd such a Jealousy in and out of Parliament, that the Duke's Creatures durst not make any such Motion.

Some Time before this, the Duke of Buckingham was committed to Custody of the Black-Bucks Rod, and the Earl of Ossory, the Duke of Ormond's Son, to the Tower, for a Challenge that had pass'd between them, on Account of Words spoken in the House of Lords; and not long after there happen'd another Disturbance between the same Duke and the Marquis of Dorchester, for Room at a Free Conference in the Painted-Chamber. Here the Duke pressing very hard upon the Marquis, the latter told him, he ought not to crowd him so much, for he was as good a Man as he. The Duke made some very smart Reply, to which the Marquis return'd him the Lye, upon which the Duke either gave him a Blow, or pull'd him by the Perriwig, and the House of Lords committed them both to the Tower. As the Duke pass'd thro' the City to the Tower, the People made Acclamations, not as he was a Prisoner, but to shew their Respect to him, for he was become popular by his Aversion to Hyde. Shortly after the Duke having gotten his Liberty, without begging the King's Pardon, appear'd at Court on Christmas Day, for which he was immediately forbidden the King's Presence. The Duke was a Man of Spirit and Wit, and the Court gave daily Occasion for Raillery. Buckingham knew them, and spar'd them not, by which he so provok'd the King, that he order'd a Serjeant at Arms to apprehend him. The Serjeant having been a little roughly us'd in the Attempt, the Duke withdrew himself, and the King issu'd a Proclamation against him, but his Displeasure lasted not long, and upon his asking Pardon, he was recall'd and restor'd to Favour.

If the Earl of Clarendon had not loaded himself with the Guilt of the Misery and Ruin which were the Consequences of the Bartholomew Act, the Five Mile Act, and the other Stinging Acts, as Echar'd terms them with much Delectation; had he contented himself with the Discharge of his Office in the Chancery, he wou'd have been a Praise-worthy Magistrate. But his meddling with Politicks, of which he was no great Master, and his suffering himself to be inspir'd with the Spirit of the persecuting Bishops, lost him the Respect of Foreigners, and the Love of his Countrymen. 'Tis certain, he secretly oppos'd the Measures of the Court for two or three Years before his Disgrace; but it is certain also, that his Resentment for the Sights he daily met with, contributed as much to that laudable Opposition, as his Zeal for the publick Good; nor is it easy to think, that a Man who had promoted those miserable Bills, did any thing out of Affection to the Common-wealth.

He was the Courtiers Jest some time before they accomplish'd his Fall, which his Conduct towards the King himself much facilitated; for he did frequently censure his Majesty's lewd Course of Life, and was more free with the Male and

A Motion for turning out Chancellor Hyde.

Who quarrels with Monk.

Earl of Clarendon disgrac'd. Sir Orlando Bridgeman Lord Keeper.

King intends a Divorce from the Queen.

The Duke of York intends a Divorce from Hyde's Daughter.

Quarrels with the Marquis of Dorchester.

Earl of Clarendon changes his Conduct.

A.D. 1667 Female Favourites, who seem'd to outvy each other in Lewdness and Debauchery. They wou'd often say to the King, when the Chancellor pass'd in the Court, *There goes your Schoolmaster.* And *Buckingham* wou'd often act and mimick him in the King's Presence, walking stately with a pair of Bellows before him for the *Purse*, and Col. *Titus* carrying a Fire-shovel on his Shoulder for the *Mace*; which sort of Mimickry the King was much captivated with. *Hyde's* laying out 50,000 Pounds in a magnificent Palace by the Park, which the People call'd *Dunkirk-House*, referring to the ignominious Sale of that Town, was a very impolitic Act in a time of *Plague*, *Conflagration*, and *War*; and the Death of the Earl of *Southampton*, his fast Friend, and a fast Friend to the Publick, was an irreparable Loss to him. The Treasury, on the Lord *Southampton's* Death, was put into Commission; and to shew what excellent Politicians now flourish'd, the First Commissioner was General *Monk*, who understood *Fluxions* as well as *Accompts*; the other Lords of the Treasury were Lord *Ashley Cooper*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Comptroller of the Household; Sir *William Coventry*, Sir *John Duncomb*, Privy-Counsellors.

And the Parliament having last Sessions talk'd of a Bill for *Taking and Stating* the Publick Accompts, the King, to support his Authority Royal, issu'd a Commission for that Purpose. The Commissioners were *John* Earl of *Bridgewater*, *Oliver* Earl of *Bolnbroke*, *Robert* Earl of *Ailesbury*, *Edward* Viscount *Conway*, *John* Lord *Lucas*, *John* Lord *Cree*, *Edward* *Boscawen*, Esq; *Giles* *Strangeways*, Esq; *William* *Garrarway*, Esq; Sir *William* *Loxther*, Sir *Thomas* *Mears*, Sir *Humphry* *Winch*, Sir *Thomas* *Littleton*, Sir *William* *Thompson*, Sir *Thomas* *Osborn*, Sir *Thomas* *Gorwer*, Colonel *Samuel* *Sandys*, *John* *Jones*, Esq. But what they did is not told us; on the contrary, we are inform'd that the Parliament, when they met, did not like this Commission, and that they appointed a Committee to examine the Publick Accompts; of which *William* *Pierpoint*, Esq; Lord *Brereton*, Col. *Thompson*, Sir *James* *Langham*, and Sir *William* *Turner* were chief; they were call'd the Committee of *Brook-House*, and were so diligent, and made such Discoveries in the Accompts, particularly those of the Treasurer of the Navy, that they were summon'd before the King and Council, and severely rebuk'd, as endeavouring to make Differences between the King and Parliament. His Majesty also undertook the Decision of the Business, and acquitted the Treasurer; at which the Parliament were as much disgusted as Men cou'd be who were so well paid.

About this time the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a *Papist*, having a very fair Wife, Daughter of the Earl of *C*— a *Papist* also, with whom liv'd Mr. *Johnson*, the disputing Champion for Popery: She lik'd other Men so much better than her Husband, that she forsook him. The Earl believing the Duke of *Buckingham* kept her secretly, was not content to lose his Wife, but he wou'd also lose his Life; and sending the Duke a Challenge, they met and fought. The Duke having for Seconds Capt. *Holmes* and Mr. *Jenkins*; the Earl's Seconds were Mr. *Bernard* *Howard*, and ——— *Bernard* *Howard* kill'd *Jenkins*, and the Duke mortally wounded the Earl, who dy'd in a Day or two.

About this time the *French* King set up a Title to the *Spanish* Netherlands, under this gross Pretence, *That by the Lawrs* of *Brabant*, a Daughter by the first Wife shou'd inherit before the Son of a second Wife; and that his Queen, being the Daughter of the late King of Spain by his first Wife, ought to inherit the *Spanish* Netherlands,

preferable to the King of Spain, who was Son by the second Wife; under which Pretence he pour'd into *Flanders* a great Army, took ten or twelve strong Towns by Surprize, march'd another Army into *Francke-Comte*, and took possession of it and *Burgundy*, which made the Parliament of *England* still more uneasy.

The Lord *Mobun*, a young Nobleman, gave out some Words which caus'd a common Scandal in Court and City against *Dolben* Bishop of *Rochester*, as guilty of most obscure Actions with the said Lord; and they must be monstrous, as well as obscure, to cause Scandal in such a Court. The Reproach of it was long the Talk of the Town, but it hinder'd not his Promotion to the Archbishoprick of *York*. *Echard* tells us, he was an Officer in the Cavalier Army, and a particular Support of the Church.

On the 10th of *October* the Parliament met, and we are not now troubled with such long tedious Harangues as when the Earl of *Clarendon* and Speaker *Turner* infected one another with the Itch of *Speech-making*. The King's Speech was very short, and the Lord Keeper *Bridgman's* not very long, but to the Purpose. The House of Commons Voted the King Thanks for disbanding the Army, which he cou'd not maintain; for turning *Papists* out of his Guards, and other Military Employments; tho' Sir *Edward* *Sprague*, a Flag-Officer, and many other Sea and Land Officers were continu'd, notwithstanding they were *Papists*. They also thank'd him for quickning the Execution of the Law against Importation of *Irish* Cattle, and for displacing the late Lord Chancellor. His Majesty thank'd them for their Thanks, and promis'd never more to employ the Earl of *Clarendon*: Who, on the 26th of *October*, was charg'd with by Mr. *Edward* *Seymour*, Earl of afterwards Sir *Edward*, with variety of great Crimes; and several Debates arose about the Reason and Manner of Impeaching him; in which Debates will be found some of the greatest Names at that Time flourishing. The Members who spoke for him were *Lawrence* *Hyde*, Esq; Sir *He- neage* *Finch*, Sir *Francois* *Goodrich*, Mr. *Swinfen*, for him, Mr. *Coleman*, Sir *Robert* *Ackland*, Sir *John* *Goodrich*, Sir *Edward* *Thurland*, Sir *John* *Shaw*, Sir *John* *Bramston*, Sir *Thomas* *Mears*, Mr. *Coventry*, Sir *Thomas* *Clifford*, Sir *John* *Talbot*. Members who spoke against him, were Mr. *Edward* *Seymour*, Sir *Thomas* *Littleton*, Mr. *Vaughan*, Sir *Richard* *Temple*, Sir *John* *Holland*, Sir *Robert* *Howard*, Mr. *John* *Trevor*, Lord *St. John*, Sir *Thomas* *Osborn*, Sir *Charles* *Wheeler*, *Richard* *Hampden*, Esq; Mr. *Street*, Mr. *Thomas*, *Andrew* *Marvel*, Esq; Sir *John* *Denham*, *William* *Prynne*, Esq; Sir *Robert* *Carr*, Mr. *Steward*, Mr. *Waller*, Colonel *Boxels*, Sir *Job* *Charlton*, Lord *Vaughan*, Sir *William* *Coventry*, Mr. *Garrarway*, the Solicitor General, Sir *Robert* *Atkins*, Sir *Walter* *Young*, Sir *Thomas* *Thompkins*, Sir *Thomas* *Lee*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Sir *Humphry* *Winckcomb*, *Hugh* *Boscawen*, Esq; Sir *Thomas* *Gorwer*, Lord *Torrington*, afterwards Duke of *Albemarle*.

Here are *Monk's* Son, *Torrington*, and *Monk's* Cousin, *Morrice*, in the List of the Prosecutors of *Clarendon*, whose worst Name for *Monk* was that of the good Lord General; but the General had lost all his Goodness since he came to fetch the Seal from the Chancellor. After a short Debate about the Nature of the Evidence against the Lord *Clarendon*, and the Manner of Impeaching him, Sir *Thomas* *Littleton*, who was Chairman of the Committee appointed to draw up Heads for an Accusation, presented them to the House; and when they were Debated, Proof of them being requir'd, it was Resolv'd that the Members shou'd speak to each Article what they cou'd

King's
Commis-
sioners of
Accompts.

Parlia-
ments
Committee
of Ac-
compts.

Duel be-
tween the
Duke of
Bucking-
ham and
Earl of
Shrews-
bury.

French
King's poor
Pretence
to the Ne-
therlands.

A.D. 1667

Bishop of
Rochester
accus'd
of - - -

Parlia-
ment.

Members
for him,

against
him.

A. D. 1667 cou'd say for it; and if none offer'd any thing sufficient to induce the House to pass it, that it shou'd be laid aside.

He is charg'd with being for a Standing Army. The First Article related to his designing a Standing Army; which being read, the Lord Vaughan and Sir Robert Howard said, they had heard from Persons of Quality, that it wou'd be prov'd.

Calls the King Papist. The Second Article, with having said, *The King was a Papist in his Heart.* To this the Lord St. John spoke; *Persons of great Quality have assur'd me they will make it good; if they do not, I will acquaint the House who they are.*

Grants illegal Patents. The Third Article related to his receiving Money for Patents, and granting illegal Injunctions. To this Mr. Edward Seymour spoke thus; *Sufficient Persons will make it good; and that he said, with Respect to one of the Patents, So long as the King is King, and I Lord Chancellor, the Patent will stand.*

Under-farms the Customs. The Fourth and Fifth Articles charg'd him with having procur'd People to be Imprison'd in remote Islands against Law, and Farming the Customs at Under-rates. To which Sir Richard Temple said, *Divers have undertaken to make it good, if they do not, I will name them: I am inform'd he had a Share for under-selling them, and 90,000 Pounds Bribe.*

The same. Sir Thomas Littleton. "It appears by the Farmers Confession, that they had it 50,000 Pounds under, besides Time of Payment, which was 30,000 Pounds more." Mr. Seymour said, *The others had more; they were told they shou'd not have it, and had about 1000 Pounds each given them to bid no more.* Sir Thomas Osborn declar'd, that the Earl of Clarendon said, *Had who wou'd for the Customs, none shou'd have them but the old Farmers.*

Takes Money for Penalties. The Sixth Article was touching his receiving Money of Vintners to free them from Penalties. To this Sir Robert Carr said, *I know who will prove it.*

Gets exorbitant Grants. The Seventh Article related to his having rais'd a vast Estate, and got exorbitant Grants from the King. To which several Members spoke, as Mr. Edward Seymour, *I suppose you need no Proof, the Sun shines at Noon-day.* Sir Thomas Littleton. *The Matter of Fact in this Article is easily made out, for his Place, as Chancellor, cou'd not be worth above 4 or 5000 Pounds a Year.*

Illegally imprisons Men. The Eighth Article charg'd him with introducing an Arbitrary Government in the Plantations. To this Sir Thomas Littleton, and Sir Thomas Osborn spoke, acquainting the House, that Col. John Farmer, a Barbados Planter, came from that Island to complain of it; and that he, with several other Planters, Sir John Bawdon, a Barbados Merchant, and others, complain'd of it by a Petition in Parliament; but Farmer was thrown into Prison, and Bawdon, and the other Barbados Merchants threaten'd, which so discourag'd them, that they dropp'd their Petition.

The loss of the Leeward Islands. The Ninth Article related to his frustrating Proposals for preserving the Leeward Islands. To this Sir Charles Wheeler said, *My Lord Chancellor was the only Person oppos'd it.*

Corresponds with Cromwel. The Tenth Article was touching his corresponding with Cromwel, and his Accomplices when he was with the King in Exile. Sir Charles Wheeler answer'd the House he cou'd prove it clearly; but it was agreed that he was indemnify'd by the Act of Grace, and the Article was expung'd.

Sells Dunkirk. The Eleventh Article related to the Sale of Dunkirk. And Sir Thomas Osborn, afterwards Duke of Leeds, said to it, *A great Lord told me the Earl of Clarendon had made a Bargain for Dunkirk three quarters of a Year before it was known.* Several Members spoke to this Article,

for and against him, and it was Debated whether it was Treason or not: Prynne said, *It cannot be Treason, because sold by the King's Consent.* Mr. Vaughan, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, reply'd, *If the King agree to it, doth it follow that he who adviseth the King to a Thing destructive to his Kingdom is not a Traitor?*

The Twelfth Article was concerning his altering a Patent for Enrolment. Mr. Street inform'd the House how the Case stood. *The King gives a Thing to Dr. Crowther. In the Grant was a Mistake of a County. Crowther finds the Mistake, and petitions the King to amend it. The King calls for the Chancellor and Seal, and in the King's Presence it was amended and seal'd.* Sir Thomas Littleton. *The Crime seems as great as the Chancellor cou'd commit. The King was to present by such a Day, or not at all. The Error was found after that Day; so that the King by Act of Parliament had lost his Right. The Chancellor did alter the Patent, and the Record was fetch'd away by one of the Chancellor's Servants, and brought back read and alter'd; which might be done, and in other Cases is done, where a Word only has been mistaken; but that is something precisely in the King's Power, and to save new Sealing; But here cou'd be no new Sealing, the Time being elaps'd; it was to throw another Man into his Freehold, and is a great Crime.*

The Thirteenth Article was touching his drawing Men's Lands into Question, and determining Cases of Law at the Council-Board. To this Mr. Thomas said, *I shall be able to make it out.*

The Fourteenth Article was touching Quo Warranto's to Corporations. To which Sir Thomas Littleton said, *This is so publick a Thing, that it needs not to be prov'd.*

The Fifteenth Article related to his procuring of Bills for the Settlement of Ireland. To this Sir Robert Howard said, *I doubt not but it will be made out.*

The Sixteenth Article was concerning his betraying the Nation in foreign Treaties, and discovering his Majesty's secret Counsels to his Enemies. Sir Thomas Littleton. *This will appear by the Treaties themselves putting us in Hopes of Peace, and so hindering the Fleet's going out.* Lord Vaughan. *I brought in the Article of betraying the King's Council to the French King during the War, and that in the Secrecy of State, which was the Occasion of the late Mischiefs.* Sir Thomas Osborn. *That is direct adhering to the King's Enemies; and if so, it is Treason.* Mr. Solicitor General. *This must be Treason, if you have any Inducement to believe it.* Sir Robert Howard. *I have heard it from an Eye-Witness, who told it me, and added, That we were neither to be trusted nor dealt with who were so betray'd.* Several others spoke to this Matter; and the Question at last was, *Whether he had so far discover'd the King's Council as to be guilty of Treason, which was carry'd in the Affirmative, Yeas 186, Noes 89.*

The Seventeenth Article was about the Mis-carriages of the War by his Means. To which Mr. Thomas said, *I want not Persons to bring to make it good.* Sir Thomas Littleton. *Sir Edward Sprague desires Money to give an Intelligencer, and has it. Sprague brings the Intelligencer to the King, the King commands him to meet at the Chancellor's: There he met the King, and then Order was given to divide the Fleet.* These Articles being read, Mr. Marvel charg'd Mr. Seymour with saying, when he mov'd the Matter against the Earl of Clarendon, that the Earl shou'd have said, *The King was insufficient for Government, which is left out of these Articles.* To this Mr. Seymour reply'd, *The Party that told me at first, differ'd something afterwards; therefore*

A. D. 1667 therefore I rather withdraw it than to trouble you with Uncertainties; but a Gentleman in the House can give you further Satisfaction. Sir John Denham, A Peer of the Land heard the Earl of Clarendon say in a Coach, That the King was an unactive Person, and indispos'd for Government. *This will be made good.* But the Words having been spoken before the Act of Oblivion, it was pass'd over. Upon the whole, an Impeachment of Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanors was resolv'd on, and Mr. Edward Seymour order'd to carry it to the Lords, which he did the 12th of November.

But the Lords did not think fit to secure the Earl's Person, because the Charge was general and without Proof, which gave great Offence to the House of Commons, and occasion'd a warm Debate about their Privileges in this Case and Precedents. They had several Conferences with the Lords, who insisted upon it to have their Reasons for the Impeachment before they cou'd secure the Earl of Clarendon, to whom the persecuting Bishops stuck close. In the mean time the Earl provided for himself, and made his Escape to France, where he resided at and near Rouan as long as he liv'd. The House hearing he was gone, order'd Sir Thomas Clifford, Comptroller of the Household, to desire his Majesty that the Ports might be stopp'd, which was done, but the Bird was flown first. The Earl left a kind of Petition behind him address'd to the House, justifying or extenuating his Offences in a Stile and Air no ways becoming a Person under an Impeachment of High-Treason. This Petition was deliver'd at a Conference to the Commons by the Duke of Buckingham, who said, when he deliver'd it,

The Lords have commanded me to deliver to you this scandalous and seditious Paper sent from the Earl of Clarendon, desiring the Committee of Peers to present it to you, and to desire you, in a convenient Time, to send it to their Lordships again, for it has a Stile which they are in Love with, and desire to keep it.

His Petition gives Offence.

The Petition, or rather Remonstrance, is very long, and I refer for it to the Historiographers. After it was read, Mr. Vaughan spoke to it, and said among other Things, " 'Tis the first Time that I ever heard an innocent Man run away under the greatest Charge with Hopes to return again and vindicate himself. Mark one Expression, he says, *He is as far from Corruption as from Disloyalty.* If he had said he was guilty of neither, he had said something; but by that Expression he may be guilty of both. So insolent a Paper I never met with in this Kingdom, nor have I ever heard the like in any other. So inconsiderable a Part of the Nation as he is to lay it upon the Nation, who, if innocent, might defend himself! If guilty, why doth he charge the Nation with Persecuting? Therefore, without troubling your selves with it, do as the Lords have done, who deliver'd it to you as a scandalous and seditious Paper; it hath Malice in it, and is the greatest Reproach upon the King and the whole Nation that ever was given by Man." Therefore put the Question whether this Paper shall not have the Character, That it is a scandalous and malicious Paper, and a Reproach to the Justice of the Nation, which was carry'd in the Affirmative. Sir Robert Howard mov'd that it shou'd be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman; but that was oppos'd, because the Lords desir'd the Paper might be return'd: However, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, tho' I am fully convinc'd that some of his Speeches when he was Chancellor, especially those vile ones

about *Sham Plots*, and some of his Characters in the *Grand Rebellion History*, especially that of the great Hampden, deserve that Usage much more than his Petition, and had he not been the Instrument of so much Mischief to humour the persecuting Prelates in the Stinging Acts, a generous Mind cou'd not now have deny'd him Compassion. " It was a notable Providence of God, says Mr. Baxter, that this Man, who had been the grand Instrument of State, and done almost all, and had dealt so cruelly with the Nonconformists, shou'd thus by his own Friends be cast out and banish'd, while those that he had persecuted were the most moderate in his Cause, and many for him. And it was a great Ease that besel good People throughout the Land by his Dejection; for his Way was to decoy Men into Conspiracies, or to pretend Plots." *Edward* and the *He made Compleat Historian* insist upon it strenuously that they were true Plots. " And then, upon the Rumour of a Plot, the innocent People of many Countries were laid in Prison, so that no Man knew when he was safe. And it is notable, that he who did so much to make the Oxford Law for banishing Ministers from Corporations who took not that Oath, does in his Letter from France, since his Banishment, say, *that he never was in Favour since the Parliament sate at Oxford.*

The Parliament resolv'd on an Address for a Proclamation to summon the said Earl to appear by a Day, and to apprehend him, in order to his Trial. But the Lords wou'd not give their Concurrence to this Vote, they having pass'd a Bill for Banishing the Earl of Clarendon, which many of the House of Commons did not think a sufficient Punishment. Mr. Trevor said, *What if he hath Life in other Parts, his Family untaunted, and his Children alive, and enjoy his Estate.*

Sir Robert Howard. *There is no Attainder; but if there had been such a Bill, the Thing which shou'd sway me, shou'd be the Duke of York's Marriage, &c.* This Bill occasion'd great Debate between those who thought Banishment was not Punishment enough, and those who thought it was. At last it was put to the Vote, and carry'd in the Affirmative. *Yeas 109 Noes 55.*

After his Fall the Duke of Buckingham came into Play, and was look'd upon as Prime Minister. He shew'd himself openly for Toleration or Liberty for all Parties in Matters of God's Worship; and others also seem'd to look that Way, as thinking the King was for it. One Reason was, his being an Enemy to every thing that disturb'd him in his Pleasures: Another was, his being a Friend to Popery, which was to be understood in a general Toleration. This Disposition of the King's so disquieted Dr. Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, that he cou'd not help shewing it. His Heart seems to have been incapable of any tender Emotion: Piety the most tender of all, vanish'd in Ceremonies and Forms, and carry'd away Charity with it. The King discours'd with Sheldon about removing Lord Clarendon from the Ministry, and thought it was the Archbishop's Opinion that it ought to be done by what he then said. But when he was remov'd the King sent for the Archbishop to tell him of it. Sheldon made him no Answer. The King requiring him to declare himself, Sir, says the Bishop, *I wish you wou'd put away this Woman that you keep.* The King reply'd smartly, *Why did not you talk to me of it sooner, but take this Occasion to do it?* Other warm Words pass'd between them, and Sheldon cou'd never recover the King's Confidence. 'Tis evident, that his reproving

A.D. 1667
Sheldon
reproves
the King
for Lewd-
ness.
The King
reproves
him.

proving the King for keeping a Harlot at that Time, and not doing it in seven Years before, proceeded not so much from a pious Indignation at Lewdness, as from Resentment for the Disgrace of the Chancellor, who had procur'd the Persecuting Acts at the Instigation of this proud Prelate. Morley, Bishop of Winchester, was soon after displac'd as Dean of the Chapel, and was succeeded by Dr. Crofts, Bishop of Hereford, who not liking a Court Life resign'd his Office, and had for Successor Blandford, Bishop of Oxford, at which Time Dr. Crew, Son to the Lord Crew, afterwards Bishop of Durham, was made Clerk of the Closet.

Echard, in taking Leave of the Earl of Clarendon, has this Reflection. " Thus was this Great Man, who had so often triumph'd in his Eloquence almost from the Throne (He means his Speeches recommending the Bartholomew Act, the Five Mile Act, the Corporation Act, &c.) " re-duc'd to employ his Parts to plead, in Effect, " at the Bar of the same House. Again, Thus " after he had spent the Vigour of his Life in " the most difficult Services of two GREAT " KINGS, Charles I, and Charles II, &c."

On the 19th of December, the Day after the Commons had pass'd the Bill against the Earl, the King, by Commission, pass'd it, and some other Bills; which being of no great moment, I leave in Mr. Archdeacon's List, as I shou'd this other Passage in the Chronicle, was it not for its abundant Curiosities; That his Majesty went into the City, laid the first Stone of the Foundation of the Royal Exchange, was treated by the Lord Mayor, Sir William Boulton, and Knighted the two Sheriffs, Sir Dennis Gauden, and Sir Thomas Davis: That the Duke of York went thither a Week after, and laid the first Stone for a second Pillar, was treated as his Brother had been; and the Laying these Stones gave so great Encouragement to the Workmen, that so large a Structure was never carry'd on with greater Expedition.

Great Hi-
storical Cu-
riosityes.

The King, who was himself as good a Catholick as his Libertinisms wou'd let him be, publish'd a Proclamation to hinder the Concourse of Catholicks to the Popish Chapels at St. James's and Somerset-House. In which sort of Acts, Echard is so weak as to say, the King took great Delight; though a Page or two afterwards he owns, That Popery, as well as Pleasures, became more open in the English Court; which he wou'd not have been so careful to remember, if the Ministers had not shewn a Disposition to Moderation towards Protestant Dissenters.

1668.

The Scene of the little Action there is, varies so often, that without interrupting the Course of the History with the Affairs of Scotland and Ireland, we are forc'd to break in upon Chronological Order. To do it as little as possible, we have postpon'd the Affairs of those Kingdoms till the End of the first Dutch War in this Reign, which is the first Remarkable Period in it.

We have seen what dangerous Designs have been carrying on in England against the Constitution, as it is Protestant and Free; and the Administration in Ireland and Scotland has not been better.

Ireland.

I touch the Affairs of Ireland first, because least has been said of them. We have mention'd the Government of that Kingdom to have been put into the Hands of the Earl of Orrery, the Earl of Montrath, and Sir Maurice Eustace, as Lords Justices; of whom, the two Earls had signaliz'd their Zeal to the Good Old Cause, as they call'd it, under the Rump and Cromwel.

We have hinted something of the Debate before the King and Council concerning the Irish forfeited Lands. Sir Nicholas Plunket, then men-

tion'd, was a Knight of the Pope's making. His Reasons against the Settlement of these Lands on the Purchasers, Officers, and Soldiers, were answer'd with great Solidity at the Council-Table in Ireland by the Lord Santry, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland; who, when the Parliament met at Dublin, was confin'd for a Day or two in the Castle of Dublin, at the Motion of the Earl of Orrery, for insisting on his Right to be Speaker of the House of Lords, in Opposition to the Primare, the Archbishop of Armagh, nominated by the Lords Justices. Had the Lord Santry's Advice been taken, 'twas thought few of the Irish Rebels wou'd have got their Estates. But the Duke of Ormond and Earl of Anglesea, great Proprietors in Ireland, failing in with the Court-Party, the Lord Santry's Advice to leave the Popish Claimants to be try'd at Common-Law, was set aside, and a Court of Claims erected, compos'd of Members entirely devoted to the Pleasure of the King and his Ministers.

The Lords Justices having receiv'd a Commission for calling a Parliament, just when it was about to be read, and the two Houses were got together in order to obey it, 'twas found to have no Date; so the Lords Justices were forc'd to send an Express to England for a New Commission, and some Pretence was contriv'd to put off the Opening of the Session till that Commission arriv'd, which was within six Days.

But the great Disputes in this Assembly about the Variety of Interests, made it necessary to send over a Lord Lieutenant, who was a Person of Character sufficient to have Weight of his own in the Balance of those Disputes; and the Privy-Council in England were for the Lord Roberts, a Person whose Indifferency, as to the various and opposite Interests of that Kingdom, might produce an impartial Settlement, he being an English-man, and no Proprietor in Ireland: But the Duke of York so work'd the Matter with his Brother, that the Duke of Ormond was sent thither as Lord Lieutenant; in whom however the Papists, contrary to the Expectation of the Court, were disappointed. For though he was plac'd at the Helm, in Kindness to the Irish, yet he so signally espous'd the Interest of the English Protestants in all their just and legal Demands, that he lost the Favour of the Duke of York.

The Irish found Means to get several Commissioners of the Court of Claims set aside, and others put in, exactly calculated for their present Design. The Chief of them was one Rainsford, who drove so furiously, that Complaints were made to the King. Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, was the Irish Agent at Court, the Duke's Favourite, and not much less the King's. He often procur'd Letters of Recommendation of Causes in the Court of Claims, by which, and other unwarrantable Artifices, many of the Irish Rebels had their Estates restor'd to them, and many pass'd their Claims for twice as much Land as they had lost, as the Earl of Clancarty, Earl of Clanrickard, Lord Costela, Dillon, Earl of Carlingford, &c.

It was believ'd, that upon the King's Restoration, there cou'd not have been the twentieth Part of Ireland gain'd from the English, yet what with the Thirds taken from them at one Blow, and by Nominees, and other State Stratagems, there was almost half of the Kingdom in Value lost, notwithstanding at the same Time, the most Innocent of the Irish were depriv'd of their Estates, and the greatest Rebels got more than their own. This, says my Author, was the first Step advanc'd for the Introduction of Popery into that Kingdom, and notwithstanding the small Progress it had then seemingly made, it so far encourag'd, even in this Time of its Infancy, the most considera-

A D 1668

1662.

Irish Re-
bels get
their E-
states, and
more than
they had.

Illegal
Practices
of the
Court of
Claims.

A. D. 1668 ble of the *Irish*, as often to intimate to the *Eng-*
lish, that in a short Time the Protestants and
they must be of one Religion.

Popery pro-
moied. The Earl of *Orrery*, upon the coming over of
the Duke of *Ormond*, as Lord Lieutenant, re-
tir'd to *Charleville*, where he kept his Court, as
President of *Munster*, and among other good Acts
of Government, he took due Care of the Church, not
in *Echara's*, or the *Compleat Historian's* Way, by
providing profusely for the Avarice or Extrava-
gance of Ecclesiasticks, but by being careful that
the Ecclesiasticks shou'd do their Duty. He par-
ticularly sent for *Sing*, Bishop of *Cork*, and ad-
monish'd him to send Clergy-men into the
Western Parts of his Diocess, where were a great
Number of Protestants but no Ministers, the Bi-
shop keeping the Revenues of those Livings in
his own Hands, as *sine Cures*. Bishop *Sing* told
my Lord, he was very willing to do as he com-
manded, but he wanted Clergy-men. Then, says
the Earl, you will do well to employ the Revenues
of the fine Cures, in the Education and Mainte-
nance of young Men in the College for that Pur-
pose; and if you do not, I will sequester those
Livings for the Maintenance and Education of
such young Men as may be fit for the Ministry.
The Bishop promis'd to obey the Lord Presi-
dent's Injunctions, and some Time after, six
young Ministers were sent into those Parts. The
Duke of *Ormond* had not been long in *Ireland*
before there was a Rumour of a Plot. The Au-
thor of the Earl of *Orrery's* Memoirs will have
it, that his Lordship discover'd it by his Spies in
his Province of *Munster*, and that the Chief of
the Conspiracy was Col. *Jephson*, a considerable
Officer in the same Service with himself, and
Coote, Earl of *Monrath*. He was to have sur-
priz'd the Castle and Government of *Dublin*, by
the Help of the Soldiers who were disaffected
on account of the Wrongs done them in the
forfeited Estates. Indeed, so many Men who had
deserv'd well of the Protestant Cause, were in
danger of being ruin'd by the unjust Proceedings
of the Court of Claims; that it is more than
probable, they did express much Resentment,
and in Times of Plot making, 'twas easy to work
up a Conspiracy out of a very small Ferment.
Several Members of Parliament in *Ireland*, as
Mr. *Staples*, Mr. *Shapcot*, being accus'd of In-
telligence with the Conspirators, were call'd to
the Bar of the House of Commons, and expell'd
for ever; which 'tis likely wou'd not have been
thought sufficient Punishment, if the Government
had really had sufficient Proof against them.
Some under Plotters were however hang'd: A
quick Way of determining Matters since the Year
1660.

Scotland. We left the Affairs of *Scotland* immediately
after Mr. *Guthrie* the Minister was executed, and
shall take them up there again out of our Au-
thor, who seems to be well acquainted with the
Scottish History.

Mem. Ch. Having now tasted Blood, says he, their Fury
Scot. seem'd to encrease, and in consequence of the
Act for restoring *Prelacy*, they advanc'd such
Principles as they knew were directly contrary
to the *Presbyterian Doctrine*, and such as they
knew no Bonds, no Affliction, no not Death it
self wou'd ever bring the Kirk to comply with.
These were,

1. " A Declaration in the Preamble to the Act
" for establishing *Episcopacy*, signifying, that the
" Disposal of the Government of the Church is
2. " in the King, as an inherent Right of the Crown,
3. " Depriving the Church of the Freedom of call-
" ing and choosing their own Pastors. This was
" included in the Act for restoring Patronages,
" dispossessing the Ministers who wou'd not con-

" form to *Episcopacy*, and this without legal *A. D. 1668*
" Prosecution, by a meer Act of Council.

These tyrannical Proceedings were owing to
the Measures concerted by the Earl of *Middle-*
ton and Archbishop *Sharp*. *Lauderdale*, who
liv'd at Court, declar'd at first against them, and
gave a Charge in Writing against *Middleton*,
when he came to Court, for several Articles of
Male-Administration; but *Skeldon*, and even *Monk*
supported *Middleton*, yet the Earl of *Lauderdale*
got the King's Ear, and *Sharp* coming to *London*
to vindicate *Middleton's* Conduct, finding the
King was alienated from *Middleton*, he made
great Submission to *Lauderdale*, who reproaching
him for his Engagements with *Middleton*, *Sharp*
denied all, particularly that he had written to
the King in *Middleton's* Favour; but the King *Sharp's*
had given the original Letter to *Lauderdale*, who
upon *Sharp's* solemn Denial of it, shew'd it him;
with which Bishop *Burnet* tells us, he was so
struck, that he fell a crying in a most abject Man-
ner. This was not very long after he was con-
secrated; and this Man, who made no Scruple
of telling, and even swearing Things which
he knew to be false, is *Echara's* Champion for
the Church. His Morals were a Scandal to the
Name of Religion; but such Scandals are no-
thing to some Men if they are varnish'd over
with a glaring Zeal for Forms, Dignities, Revenues
and Power. *Lauderdale* promising to be a better
Friend to the Church than *Middleton* had been,
Sharp forsook his Patron at once, and deliver'd
himself up to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, the King's
Buffoon, and the Caterer of his libidinous Plea-
sures, infomuch that 'tis said, he shou'd say to
the King in his Jollity, *Womnot your most*
saucred Majesty please to have a Whear to Nit?
And his Ministry was so acceptable to his Ma-
jesty, that Secretary *Morrice* was, at his Insti-
gation, sent with an Order to *Middleton* to deliver
his Commission, and he was turn'd out of all.
The Earl of *Rothes* was declar'd the King's
Commissioner, but *Lauderdale* would not trust
him, so he went with him to *Scotland*, where
the Parliament met again, and condemn'd the
Lord *Waristoun*, Uncle to Bishop *Burnet*,
for siding with *Cromwel*. He had escap'd be-
yond Sea after the Restoration, but was deliver'd
up by those he confided in, and put to Death
without Mercy, notwithstanding his great Age,
and great Interest among the *Presbyterians*, who
almost idoliz'd him. He well deserv'd their ut-
most Esteem and Respect, being a Gentleman
of great Parts and Piety, and of an unalterable
Affection to the Common-wealth. He spoke long
before the Parliament, but his Speech was bro-
ken and disorder'd, occasion'd by his Age and
Infirmities, and not affected, to raise Pity, as
his Enemies fancied. When the Day of his Ex-
ecution came, he was very serene, cheerful, and
fully satisfy'd with his Death. He read a Speech
twice over on the Scaffold, all which he compos'd
himself. In it he justify'd all the Proceed-
ings in the Covenant, and asserted his own Sin-
cerity, but condemn'd his joining with *Cromwel*,
tho' even in that, his Intentions had been sin-
cere. The King was particularly set against him,
and his Virtue, Constancy, Capacity and Popu-
larity, are Things which cou'd not but render
him criminal beyond Pardon to such a Prince as
we write of. What adds to the Merit of this
good Man's Memory; is, that he was Father of
the excellent and worthy Mr. Secretary *John-*
stoun, whose Services to the Publick, in and after
the Revolution, will be a considerable Part of
the History of those Times, if he shall think fit
to make them known under their proper Name.
This Parliament pass'd an Act, something like the
Five

A.D. 1668 *Five Mile Act* in England; and another, offering an Army of 20,000 Foot, and 2000 Horse to the King, to be ready upon Summons, with Forty Days Provision. When the Session broke up, the two Earls, *Rothes* and *Lauderdale*, return'd to London, the Governour in Scotland being left to the Earl of *Glencairne*, Lord Chancellor, who oppos'd *Sharp's* driving so furiously as he did, not out of Love to the *Presbyterians*, but out of Pique against *Rothes*, who supported *Sharp*, and was recommended by that imperious Priest to the Bishops in England. *Sharp* follow'd to London, to complain of *Glencairne*, and the Privy-Council, who giving a little Check only to his Rage, he said, *There was such a Remissness*, that unless some more Spirit was put in the Administration, it wou'd be impossible to preserve the Church. *That was the Word*, says the Bishop of *Salisbury*, always us'd, as if there had been a Charm in it, and as such *Echard* uses it, so does the *Compleat Historian*, and so has it been us'd in and out of Convocation by all those that claim the Merit of being the only good Church Men. *Sharp's* chief Business was to get a High Commission Court set up in Scotland, and an Order that he shou'd sit above the Lord Chancellor: *Lauderdale* gave into it, Bishop *Burnet* tells us, much against his own Mind; and that tho' then very young, he expostulated with him upon it, and adds he, *I thought he was acting the Earl of Traquair's Part*, giving way to all the Follies of the Bishops, on Design to ruin them. The Modesty of *Sharp* was equal to his Honesty, for the Earl of *Glencairne* dying about this Time, he wrote to *Skeldon*, his Brother Archbishop, that upon the Disposal of the Seals, the very Being of the Church did so absolutely depend, that he begg'd he wou'd press the King very earnestly in the Matter, and procure his being sent for to Court, before that Post shou'd be fill'd up. *Skeldon* fail'd not to speak to the King, who had a very ill Opinion of *Sharp*, and bid him tell him, he wou'd take Care about it, and that he need not come up to London. Notwithstanding this Check, away comes the Archbishop, and was receiv'd very coldly by his Majesty, who ask'd him, *If he had not receiv'd the Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter*; Yes, reply'd *Sharp*; but *I chose rather to venture on your Majesty's Displeasure, than to see the Church ruin'd.* The Charm again! What follows, shews this Prelate to be one of the most deceitful Wretches that ever was a Disgrace to History. He told the King, "He cou'd not answer it to God and the Church, if he did not bestir himself. He knew many thought of himself for that Post, but he was so far from that Thought, that if his Majesty had any such Intencion, he would rather choose to be sent to a Plantation; he only desir'd it might be a Church Man. From the King he went to *Skeldon*, and press'd him to move the King for himself, and furnish'd him with many Reasons to support his Motion. *Skeldon* doing it with more than ordinary Earnestness, the King ask'd him whether *Sharp* had not set him on; *Skeldon* own'd it, tho' not without some Uneasiness, and then the King told him what *Sharp* had said to himself of his choosing rather to be sent to a Plantation; and then it may be easily imagin'd, continues Bishop *Burnet*, in what a Stile they both spoke of him." The Earl of *Rothes* had the Seals given to him, till some other Chancellor cou'd be pitch'd upon; and it being a Propofal of *Sharp's*, after his own Disappointment, when he return'd to Scotland, a dreadful Scene of illegal Violence was open'd. *Sharp* govern'd Lord *Rothes*, who abandon'd himself to Pleasure; and when some censur'd him

for it, all the Answer he made was a severe Piece of Raillery, *That he who was the King's Commissioner, ought to represent his Person.* *Sharp's* Creatures made work for the new High Commission Court, and brought daily Offenders before it, to be punish'd by Fines, Whippings, Jails, and other inhumane Severities, for not coming to Church to hear Curates, whose Morals they abhorr'd, and whose Ignorance they despis'd. This Cruelty and Injustice rag'd towards the West of Scotland, where the Country was ever now and then swept of *Conventiclers*, to fill the Prisons. The Lawyers standing too much on Forms of Law in these Prosecutions, *Sharp* often complain'd that Favour was shewn to the Enemies of the Church, and often did he cry, *must the Church be ruin'd for Punctilio's of Law?* The Earls of *Argyle*, *Tweeddale* and *Kincardin* were cold in these Matters, upon which *Sharp* said, they were Friends to the Church's Enemies.

Sir *James Turner* was order'd to quarter the Guards thro' the Country, where the Ministers had forsaken their Pulpits, and the People flock'd to hear them pray and preach in other Places: He was commanded to take Orders from the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and being mad when he was drunk, which was very often, he liv'd as if he had been upon Military Executions. He confest to Bishop *Burnet*, it went sometimes against the Grain with him to serve such a debauch'd and worthless Company, as the Clergy generally were; and that he often did not act up to the Rigour of his Orders, for which he was always chid by *Sharp*, but never for his illegal and violent Proceedings. And tho' the Complaints of him were very high, so that when he was afterwards seiz'd on at *Dunfries*, it was intended to make a Sacrifice of him; yet when the *Covenanters* look'd into his Orders, and found that his Proceedings, how fierce soever, fell short of these, they spar'd him, as a Man who had merited by being so gentle among them. Some time after *Sharp* went to London again, and accus'd Lord *Lauderdale* as a Favourer of Fanaticks; so did this wicked Renegade call the Party, for which he had formerly been a zealous Agent. *Lauderdale* desir'd that *Sharp* might put his Charge in Writing; the King consented to it, and that he shou'd demand it of *Sharp*, which he did in so severe a Tone, that *Sharp* fell a trembling, and retracted what he had said to the King, who presently accus'd the Earl of *Lauderdale* of ill Nature, to press it so heavily on Archbishop *Sharp*, and force him upon giving himself the Lye in such coarse Terms. This *Sharp* is *Skeldon's* Fellow Labourer.

In October, after the Fire of London, *Turner* was commanded to renew his Hostilities in the West of Scotland. The People were alarm'd, and saw they were to be undone: Upon which they met together, and some Ministers came among them. Two Gentlemen who had serv'd in the Wars, Lieutenant Colonel *Wallace*, and Major *Lairmonth*, were the best Officers they had. The chief Gentlemen of that Country had been thrown into Prison, under Pretence of a Dutch Invasion; so the Multitude had no body to head them of more Note than *Wallace* and *Lairmonth*. They were told that all things were in such Confusion after London was burnt, that a vigorous Attempt might be their Deliverance; and truly the Provocations they had met with were intolerable; for besides the Laws before-mention'd, these impious and barbarous Edicts had pass'd by Procurement chiefly of *Middleton* and *Sharp*, two wicked Renegades.

The Word Church us'd as a Charm.

1664.

Sharp's Pride and Wickedness.

Bishop *Burnet*.

His astonishing Wickedness.

A.D. 1668
Earl of Rothes profane saying.

Tyranny.

Burnet.

Further Wickedness of *Sharp*.

The Scot's dragoon'd.

Sharp a Renegade.

Gives him- self the Lye.

Ibid.

Covenanters rise.

Impious Edicts against them.

A. D. 1668

“ 1. An *Act* forbidding all Writing, Remonstrating, Printing, Praying, or Preaching in such Manner as shou'd shew any Dislike of the King's Supremacy in Causes Ecclesiastick, or of the King's Absolute Prerogative in Church-Government, or of Bishops.

“ 2. An *Act* prohibiting any Ministers to preach in Churches publickly, or privately in Families, without Licence first had from the Episcopal Ministers call'd *Curates*, and forbidding all House-Meetings for religious Exercises.

“ 3. An *Act* declaring that all Nonconforming Ministers that shall presume to exercise Ministry in any Manner whatsoever, shall be punish'd as seditious Persons, and ordaining Penalties to all that shou'd withdraw from the publick Worship;” every *Nobleman*, *Gentleman* or *Heritor* one Fourth of his yearly Revenue; every *Teoman* one Fourth of his moveable Goods; every *Burges*s the Loss of his Freedom, leaving it also to the Council to inflict further Punishment, and to provide for the most effectual Execution, which they did by Proclamations of the most *Arbitrary*, *Illegal* and *Tyrannical* Nature. The High Commission Court determin'd Causes without Appeal, where that Perjur'd Apostate *Sharp*, or his Creatures presided. They suspended, depriv'd, excommunicated, imprison'd, condemn'd and tortur'd at Pleasure. A Minister was sentenc'd to Banishment for calling that Lordly Prelate *Sir*, and not *My Lord*. One Mr. *Porterfield*, a Gentleman of a Loyal Family, was banish'd for scrupling the Oath of Supremacy. Mr. *John Levinston*, an eminent Reverend Minister, being banish'd the Kingdom for the same Scruple, *Scot*, a lewd Curate, at that Time under Excommunication, had his Benefice given him, and the Parishioners hating him, as an immoral, scandalous Person, four of them were brought before the *High Commission* for being present when some others of the Parish had express'd their Dissatisfaction at *Scot's* coming to their *Kirk*, for which this detestable Sentence was pronounc'd against them, *That they shou'd be scourg'd thro' the Town, stigmatiz'd on the Forehead with the Letter T at Edinburgh Cross, and sent Slaves to Barbados.*

I cou'd fill Volumes with Instances of the like Injustice and Cruelty exercis'd against the Protestants in *Scotland*; and is it a Wonder that People, who every Day lay expos'd to the Rage and Barbarity of bloody-minded Mercenaries, worse if possible than *French Dragoons*, had rather die with Arms in their Hands, than be starv'd or tortur'd to Death, as was the Fate of those that stay'd and those that fled?

“ If the poor People, *says my Scotch Author*, were by those insupportable Violences made desperate, and driven to all the Extremities of a wild Despair, who can justly reflect upon them? when they read in the Word of God, *That Oppression makes a wise Man mad*: And therefore, were there no other Original of the Insurrection, known by the Name of the *Rising of Pentland*, it was nothing but what the intolerable Oppressions of those Times might have justify'd to all the World; Nature having dictat'd to all People a Right of Self-Defence, when illegally and arbitrarily attack'd in a Manner not justifiable either by the Laws of God, or the Laws of the Country.

“ But besides all this it is evident, that this *Insurrection* was no premeditated Design, but began in the Violence of Military Execution, committed by four Soldiers commanded by Sir *James Turner*, who falling into some Houses in *Galloway* without Commission, or without

Orders from their own Officers, as Sir *James* afterwards all'dg'd, were oppos'd and driven out of their Doors by four or five honest Men of the Inhabitants, in the just Defence of their Wives, Children and Goods, unjustly insulted, and offer'd to be plunder'd by those Soldiers.

We have seen that the *Rising of Pentland* was a rash Action on a sudden, without Concert even with the *Scots* at fifty Miles Distance; yet *Echard*, I desire the Reader to measure the Man's Conscience and Capacity by this Instance, asserts with a surprizing Confidence, that this Insurrection was not on a sudden, but fram'd and rais'd by the Presbyterians in *Scotland*, in Concert with the Presbyterians in *England*, who, says he, were thought to have held too near a Correspondence with them. The *Compleat Historian* is no fairer in his Account of this Rising than Mr *Archdeacon*. They by Degrees form'd an Army, and then with an Insolence which they were taught by the Stinging Acts, the Ministers are put at the Head of them. Most of the Leaders of these Troops were cashier'd Preachers. Let us now read the true History of this Presbyterian Army.

Sir *James Turner* was an Officer of Dragoons, who by Order of the Council was sent with his Troops to quarter at Discretion upon the poor Western People of *Scotland*, because there they found the chief Body of the constant Sufferers for, and Adherers to the true Religion. *Turner* was a Tool to their Minds, a Stranger to the Country, being an *Englishman*, bred to Plunder and Rapine in the Service of the *French*, perfectly void of the Fear of God or Man, and unacquainted either with Religion or Humanity. He had made three Invasions into the *West of Scotland*, where his Exactions and Cruelty had been such as had almost stripp'd the Country, not of its Substance only, but of its Inhabitants, who were oblig'd to quit their Habitations to avoid the Fury and Brutality of the Soldiers. 'Tis impossible to give the Detail of the Cruelties and inhumane Usage the miserable People met with from this *Buccher*, sent among them by *Sharp*. They had patiently suffer'd the merciless Treatment this Man shew'd them many Months, and thereby testify'd more Passive Obedience than most of those who have since upbraided them with Resistance can pretend to, when Sir *James Turner* put an End to their Patience by the following Occasion.

On the 13th of *November*, 1666, he sent four Soldiers from *Dumfries*, where he quarter'd, to a Town call'd *Dalray*, in the Shire of *Galloway*, with Orders to seize upon a poor Man's Goods, who, he pretended, had broken the Laws by not coming to his Parish-Church; and if he had no Goods, to take the Man, and bring him Prisoner to *Dumfries*. The Soldiers, as *Turner* all'dg'd afterwards, went beyond their Instructions, in seizing not only his Goods, but his Person, and binding the old Man Hand and Foot, brought him out like a Beast, and laid him on the Ground while they rifled the House. The Neighbours mov'd with Compassion at the Indignity of this Treatment, and at seeing a poor antient Man lying on the Ground, bound like a Sheep to be carry'd away to the Slaughter, came to the Soldiers, and calmly entreated them to unbind him, and let him go like a Prisoner, and like a Man, not like a Beast. The Soldiers pretended to be affronted at this Motion, fell immediately upon the People with their Swords, and wounded two or three of them; which so enrag'd the rest, that they attack'd the Soldiers, wounded one, and the rest throwing down their Arms, begg'd Quarter.

Tyrannical Government.

Cruelty.

1666.

A. D. 1668

Sir James Turner's Character.

A.D. 1668 This Breach, tho' purely accidental, and by an unforeseen Provocation, being begun, the *Compleat Historian* affirms 'twas a fram'd Design; *Echard*, that it was in Correspondence with the *Engl. sh. Presbyterians*. The Soldiers vow'd Revenge, and preparing to fall upon the whole neighbouring Country, drove the innocent People to the Necessity of gathering together, and standing upon their own Defence; so that when ten or twelve Soldiers return'd with their bloody Resolution of Plunder and Desolation, they were disarm'd and made Prisoners. Upon which some Troops were sent on the same Errand, who found the People too strong to be attack'd; upon which the Cry was presently, A REBELLION, and they sent for more Forces to destroy them. This naturally excited others to run in to the Aid of their Brethren; all which was purely casual; till finding themselves reduc'd by this last Gathering to a Circumstance, that Stay or Go would be fatal to them; if they fell into the Hands of a cruel Government, they saw no Remedy but to stand to it; and inviting all the injur'd and oppress'd People to join with them, they declar'd For Liberty and the Kirk of Scotland. They then enter'd *Dumfries* and seiz'd Sir *James Turner* their Persecutor. Thence they march'd to *Kirkenbright, Aire*, and so to *Lanerick*, where they solemnly renew'd the Covenant, and resolv'd to seal it with their Blood. From *Lanerick* they advanc'd towards *Edinburgh*, where they arriv'd to the Number of about 2000 on the 17th of November; but being not strong enough to attack the City, they posted themselves on the South-West, at the Foot of *Pentland Hills*, waiting for the Conjunction of other Friends. They carry'd Sir *James Turner* Prisoner along with them, intending to make an Exchange of him for others of the Covenanters that might fall into the Enemies Hands, and they us'd him very civilly, as he himself confess'd.

ib. 161.

The Governor of *Carlisle* sent the first Express of this Commotion to Court, and another from *Sharp* follow'd it two Days after. It is not easily to be imagin'd into what Consternation it threw that insolent Prelate and his Instruments; nor were the Court of *England* without those Fears, which are soon mov'd in the Minds of those who have done wrong. Bishop *Burnet* informs us, *Sharp* was in a terrible Fright, and his Observation confirms it, That Cruelty and Cowardice go together: He mov'd that the Privy-Council might shut themselves up in *Edinburgh* Castle; but the rest of the Board were affham'd of his cowardly Council, saying, it was to abandon the Town, and betray an unbecoming Fear. *Dalzeel*, who had learnt his good Manners and good Nature among the *Russians*, whom he had serv'd, was sent against the Covenanters with all the Forces that cou'd be got together. He publish'd a Proclamation of Pardon to all who shou'd return Home in 24 Hours, which reduc'd the Covenanters from 2000 to 800; the major Part of them losing Heart when they saw no body of Note come to them out of *Edinburgh*, and but very few Citizens or People from any other Parts of the Kingdom. The chief Noblemen, as Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Arbol* and *Airly*, pursu'd the Inspirations of *Sharp*, and put themselves and their Vassals in Arms against the Covenanters. The Earl of *Argyle*, who had been restor'd in Blood and Estate, rais'd 1500 Men, but *Sharp* was afraid to trust them, and acting as chief Conductor of the War, sent him no Orders to march; so he was at a vast Charge to levy and maintain his Men to no Purpose. But this Charge, vast as it was, bore no Comparison with the Expence that noble Lord and his Father had been at for

the Service of King *Charles II.* in whose Reign they were both condemn'd to die, after they had expended 40,000 Pounds *Sterling* to serve him, which he promis'd to repay, but never did, and made no other Acknowledgments for it than the Tragical Ones just mention'd. On the 28th of November, during a Cessation proclaim'd for 24 Hours, to give the *Whigs* (so the Covenanters were at this Time first stil'd) Opportunity to retire, *Dalzeel* surpriz'd and attack'd them, and after a very bold Resistance they were at length over-power'd and broken. About 50 were kill'd in the Place, 80 were taken Prisoners, and the rest sav'd themselves by Flight. The King's Forces did not pursue them very vigorously; besides, being weary with long Marches, they had no great Affection to the Service; for, says the Bishop of *Salisbury*, the Covenanters were a poor harmless Company of Men become mad by Oppression. Not above five of the King's Soldiers were slain; and now had the persecuting Scots Prelates a Triumph, which cou'd not but be inexpressibly grateful to them, as giving them an Opportunity to have their Fill of Blood. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, the Archbishops of *St. Andrew's* and *Glasgow* inflam'd the Lord *Rothes*, who came down from *London* full of Rage, and provok'd him to proceed against the Prisoners with the utmost Severity. *Glasgow*, not *Leighton*, advis'd him to hang up all who wou'd not renounce the Covenant. The best of the Episcopal Clergy set upon the Bishops to lay hold upon this Opportunity to recover the Affections of the People by interceding for the Prisoners: But *Sharp* wou'd not be mollify'd. It was a moving Sigh, continues his Lordship, to see ten of them hang'd upon one *Gibbet* at *Edinburgh*. Thirty-five more were sent to their Countries, and hang'd up before their own Doors, the Episcopal Clergy all the while using them hardly, and declaring them Damn'd for their Rebellion. They might have all sav'd their Lives, if they wou'd have renounc'd the Covenant. So they were really a sort of Martyrs for it. They did all at their Death give their Testimony, according to their Phrase, to it, and they express'd great Joy in their Sufferings. *Sharp* publish'd a Proclamation prohibiting the Concealing any of those who fled, under Penalty of High Treason, naming the following Ministers in particular; Mr. *John Welch*, Mr. *James Smith*, Mr. *John Cunningham*, Mr. *Gabriel Semple*, Mr. *Alexander Peddin*, Mr. *William Veach*, Mr. *John Crookshanks*, Mr. *Gabriel Maxwell*, Mr. *John Carstairs*, Mr. *John Guthrie*. The latter was conceal'd in the House of Bishop *Burnet's* Mother, a zealous Covenanter, Sister to the Lord *Warriston*. Mr. *Maccail*, a young Minister, who had been with the Covenanters at *Pentland Hill*, was put to the Torture of the Boot, and for all the Pains of the Rack dy'd in this Rapture of Joy, Farewel Sun, Moon, and Stars; Farewel Kindred and Friends; Farewel World and Time; Farewel weak and frail Body. Welcome Eternity; Welcome Angels and Saints; Welcome Saviour of the World; and Welcome God the Judge of all; which, says Bishop *Burnet*, he spoke with "a Voice and Manner that struck all who heard it.

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Covenanters routed.

Are Martyrs for the Covenant.

Ministers proscrib'd.

Were the *Compleat Historians* sensible of the *Pathetick* and *Sublime* in Eloquence, they wou'd own there is nothing like it in whatever they have seen of Antiquity; and it being a suffering Minister's dying Words, adds a Truth to the Beauty, which cannot be met with in prophane Learning. This is one of the Covenant Martyrs, which the Scots Curates gave over to Damnation. Tho' I doubt not every good Christian, after reading the Divine Exultation of Mr. *Maccail*, will be

A. D. 1668 ready to say to them, Be my Portion with this good Man, and take ye your Lot with one another.

We must now return to the Affairs of *England*, which are our Principal Subject; and we treat of *Scotland* and *Ireland* only as they have Relation to them.

Triple-
League.

The Archdeacon, and most of our Historiographers, speak of the King's entering into a League with *Holland* and *Sweden* for the Preservation of the *Netherlands*, as one of the most Politick Acts of this Politick Reign; and it was certainly grounded on the best Reason that right Judgment cou'd lead Ministers into. *England*, *Holland*, and *Sweden*, being the only Powers who were willing or able to have put a Stop to the *French* King's Conquests, if the King and his Chief Ministers had been as much in earnest as were the People. But King *Charles* had no Pretence left him to ask Money of Parliament, to whom a very slight Pretence wou'd have been sufficient. He had made an inglorious War and Peace, after an Expence of many Millions of Money. He knew the *English* Nation was very jealous of the *French* Acquisitions in *Flanders*, which they justly look'd on as a Barrier to *England*; and any Measures taken to preserve it from falling into *French* Hands, wou'd be very popular, and extremely acceptable to the States-General; so he order'd Sir *William Temple*, his Envoy at *Brusjels*, to repair to the *Hague* in the Beginning of *January*, and conclude a Treaty with the United Provinces; which was perfected and sign'd a few Days after his Arrival, to the great Joy of the two Nations. The Purport of it was, to oblige *France* by Mediation or Force to stop the further Progress of her Army in the *Spanish Netherlands*; and *Sweden* entering into this Alliance soon after the Conclusion of it, 'twas call'd the *Triple-League*. But the *Dutch* only were sincere in it; and *Lewis XIV.* knew the King of *England's* Inclination and Religion too well to be alarm'd at it. All the Ministers of the three Allies, who had the Conduct of this Treaty, were in the *French* Interest, as well in *Holland*, as in *England* and *Sweden*, Sir *William Temple* only excepted, who was as hearty in it as he was diligent. The *French* King knowing that whatever Publick Alliances the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers might conclude, they were still at his Devotion, seem'd to take little Notice of the Conclusion of this; the League being all Grimace in those that were to execute it. For tho' the Pensionary *De Wit* told the Count *D'Estrades*, his Ambassador at the *Hague*, *The States are of Necessity to endeavour for such Securities and Alliances as may shelter them from his Majesty's great Power*; yet he remain'd as much attach'd to the *French* King's Interest as ever, out of Fear of the Prince of *Orange's* Party, who, with the Prince, had been extremely ill us'd by him; and he thought he cou'd not have a better Support against both than the *French* King. Before the *Triple-League* was perfected, the Count *de Lionne*, Secretary of State in *France*, wrote thus to *D'Estrades*, which shews sufficiently that his Master was in no manner of Pain about an Alliance concluded by Potentates whose Ministers he had made sure of. *Live merrily whatever you see happen*, be under no Concern about the *Triple-League*. He knows what he says, and on what Foundation; and *D'Estrades* cou'd not help saying, *It will all vanish in Smoak, and the King my Master will but laugh at it*. The *French* Faction in *England* talk'd after the same Rate. Sir *Thomas Clifford* whisper'd a Gentleman in some Company where this League was highly extoll'd, *Well, for all this Noise, we must yet have another War with the*

Dutch before it be long. This Treaty being little less than *Felonious* on the Part of *England* and *Sweden*, it is not worth dwelling upon, or one might very much enlarge on it out of Sir *William Temple's* Memoirs and Letters. A. D. 1668

The Irruption of *Lewis XIV.* into the *Spanish Netherlands*, very much facilitated the Peace, which was now concluded between *Spain* and *Portugal*; the Earl of *Sandwich*, the King of *England's* Ambassador, acting as a Mediator; which proves that it was no very difficult Negotiation.

On the 10th of *February* the Parliament met, *Parliament* and his Majesty made a Speech to them, wherein he mention'd the *Triple-League*, and wish'd them to think seriously of some Course to beget a better Understanding and Composure in the Minds of his Protestant Subjects, in Matters of Religion; whereby they may be induc'd not only to submit quietly to the Government, but also cheerfully give their Assistance for the Support of it. These Sentiments put in Exercise in the beginning of his Reign, wou'd have prevented the mischievous Consequences of the Lord *Clarendon's* Stinging Acts. The House of Commons order'd a Committee to enquire into the late Miscarriages at Sea, and at *Chatham*, and expell'd Mr. *Brouncker*, before-mention'd, for giving the Orders for slackening Sail. They impeach'd Sir *Peter Pett*, and Sir *William Penn*, Commissioners in his Majesty's Yards, for Irregularities and Embezzlements. These Impeachments serving only to retard Business, says *Echard*, by which he means giving of Money, were never compleated so as to answer the Ends of them: For as yet this Assembly is too full of Pensioners to compleat any thing that the Court does not relish. He then tells us, they had some other Business besides giving Money, and notwithstanding it is but a Year or two before this Parliament will, by a Publick Act, declare that they are sensible of the Growth of Popery, from the Disunion among Protestants, yet does this ingenious Historian assure us now, That the House of Commons were still of the Earl of *Clarendon's* Judgment; that Popery had its Growth under Cover of indulging Protestant Dissenters; tho', in truth, while those Dissenters were most cruelly persecuted, the Papiests were most tenderly indulg'd. But this Assembly had still a Majority of the same Judgment with Sir *John Duncomb*, Sir *John Robinson*, Sir *Courtney Pool*, Sir *Job Charlton*, &c. which Four only had among them 5500 Pounds yearly in Pensions, as will be further made appear in the Sequel. As yet *Sheldon*, *Morley*, and the persecuting Prelates, had an Influence upon them; and they must undergo still more Calamities before their Eyes will be open to see the Beauty of Charity and Moderation. They shew'd their Wisdoms in taking this Way to compose the Minds of the King's Protestant Subjects, the presenting an Address against the Meetings of Nonconformists; they cou'd not well help joining the Papiests too, and a Proclamation was issu'd accordingly.

In this Session of Parliament a Difference hap- Two pen'd between the Two Houses, in the Case of Houses differ in Skinner's Case. Mr. *Thomas Skinner*, a Merchant of *London*; who having receiv'd great Damages from the *East-India* Company, had brought the Matter by Petition into the House of Lords originally, and was reliev'd in 5000 Pounds Costs. This the Commons Voted to be not agreeable to the Laws of the Land, and that *Thomas Skinner*, in procuring Judgment, with Directions, to be serv'd upon the Governor of the *East-India* Company, being a Member of the House, is guilty of a Breach of Privilege, and they order'd him to be taken into Custody of their Serjeant at Arms. This occasion'd

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 tion'd several Conferences. The Lords Voted the Petition of the *East-India* Company to the Commons to be *Scandalous*; the Commons Voted it to be *not Scandalous*, and sent a Message to the Peers, that for promoting a fair Union between the Two Houses, all further Proceedings be forborn upon the Sentence in the Case of *Skinner*; and that Sir *Andrew Riccard*, Sir *Samuel Barnardiston*, Mr. *Rowland Gwynne*, and Mr. *Christopher Boone* be set at Liberty; and Resolv'd, that whoever shall be aiding and assisting in putting in Execution the Sentence of the Lords, in the Case of *Skinner*, against the *East-India* Company, shall be deem'd a Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the Commons, &c. On the same Day that they pass'd this Vote, *May* the 8th, the King sent for them to the House of Peers, and pass'd an Act for raising 301,000 Pounds by an Impost on Wines, and three or four Acts more. *Coke* tells us, the Parliament gave an additional Duty of eight Pounds a Ton on *French* Wines, and Twelve Pounds a Ton on *Spanish* Wines, for eight Years, which amounted to 560,000 Pounds; also an Act for Sale of the *Fee-Farm* Rents, to the Value of 1,500,000 Pounds, which enabled him to stay almost a Year and half without a Session. The Parliament was then adjourn'd to the 11th of *August*, but it was then prorog'd, and again after that; so they met not again till the 19th of *October* in the following Year.

When the Contest was on foot between the Lords and Commons in the Case of *Skinner*, the Lord *Hollis* wrote a Pamphlet on the Side of the House of Peers, in which he seem'd to outdo the highest who had ever written for the Privileges of the House of Lords; which was the more taken Notice of, because it was the Reverse of his Opinion when he was a Member of the House of Commons. For *Ludlow* says, "He so far despis'd the Privileges of the Lords, that at a Conference between the Two Houses, in which the Peers shew'd themselves unwilling to comply with the Commons, he said openly, *If they persist to refuse their Concurrence, the Commons will do the Thing without them.* One of the Members of the House of Commons answer'd Lord *Hollis's* Pamphlet with such Force and Sharpness, that upon Debate, the Commons came to three Resolutions to this Effect: *That divers Things affirm'd in his Book are false and scandalous: That from this Time the Lords shall never originally intermeddle with the Cause of any Commoner; and that what the Lords have done in the Business of Skinner, shall be raz'd out of their Books.* Which Votes being carry'd to the Lords for their Approbation, they return'd for Answer, they wou'd shortly send them a Bill touching that Matter.

A Tumult.
 The History is very thin of Business all this Reign, unless in Prosecution of Protestant Dissenters, and making Plots, and hanging Plotters. But the chief Plot-maker, the Earl of *Clarendon*, being in Exile again, other Work is found out for the Executioner. A Rabble of lewd Fellows, not lewder however than their Betters, assembled the 25th of *March* in a tumultuous Manner, it being in *Easter* Holidays. They broke open several Prisons, and demolish'd the Houses of some Persons who had given them Offence; but the Guards coming, dispers'd them. Several of the Rioters were taken, and this Government knew well what to do with their Prisoners: Four of them were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd at *Tyburn*.

The *French* King having not yet prepar'd Matters for carrying on a War in the *Netherlands*, himself march'd another Way at the Head of an Army of 40,000 Men, and over-ran the *Franche*

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Compte and *Burgundy*, for two excellent Reasons, to forward the Peace with *Spain*, and to secure himself against any Army the Emperor might raise and send into *Burgundy*. *England* and *Holland* were very active in procuring a Peace between *France* and *Spain*; *Aix la Chapelle* was appointed for the Place of Treaty. Sir *William Temple* was the *English* Minister; and the Necessity of the Affairs of *Spain* was such, that she was forc'd to part with *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Dorway*, *Fort de Scarpe*, *Tournay*, *Oudenarde*, *Liste*, *Armentiers*, *Courtray*, *Bergues*, and *Furnes*, with their Dependencies, to *France*. This was the first good Effect of the *Triple-Alliance*; instead of making War, to recover those Cities and Territories in the *Netherlands*, the League joins in giving them up. *Spain* indeed was not very punctual in payment of the Subsidies promis'd to *Sweden*. The King of *England* never intended to make War against *France*, though not only the *Spanish*, but the *Dutch Netherlands* were in Danger; nay, he was so far from any such Intention, that he seem'd more inclin'd to make War against *England*, by the Assistance of the *French* King, as appears by *D'Estrades's* Letter to that King of the 21st of *July*, 1667, when the *Breda* Treaty was just concluded. *If the King of England will take the same Counsel he did when I was Ambassador there, not to pretend to any thing in Flanders, but to assist your Majesty with all his Power to conquer it, provided you wou'd assist him with 10,000 Foot, and some Horse, one need not mind the States.* *Echara*, after *Coke*, tells us, that whatever the *Spaniards* lost, the *English* got something by the *French* Ravages; for they drove one *Brewer* out of *Flanders* into *England*, where he taught the *English* Diers a new Way of dying fine Cloths forty per Cent. cheaper than they cou'd die before; which these two notable Historians tells us only as a Proof of an old Saying, *'Tis a bad Wind*, &c. The Archdeacon then informs us, that Sir *William Temple* thought the *Spirit and Vigour of the great Men in England were enervated*; as if they had ever been nerved since this King came to the Crown! Then out of his great Zeal to the Earl of *Clarendon's* Church, he falls foul upon his Successor in the Ministry, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Associate the Earl of *Rocheester*, who seem'd capable of corrupting any Court in the World but the Court of *England*, which was incapable of Corruption, the Measure of whose Vices were as full as the Vial of Vengeance that threaten'd them. He owns, *That the Court*, following the King's Example, was over-run with Luxury and Extravagance. The Light of Natural Reason led those two Lords into an Opinion that the Cruelty towards Protestant Dissenters was unchristian like, and inhumane, and contrary to the natural Right of Free-born Men. Allow that they did not act from a Principle of Christian Charity, but from meer Humanity and good Nature, those are amiable and laudable Qualities, infinitely preferable to blind Zeal and frantick Bigorry.

The King had express'd his Willingness to have the Minds of the Dissenters compos'd, in his late Speech, and the Duke of *Buckingham* declaring himself for Liberty, they were conniv'd at in *London*; which occasion'd the Country Ministers to hold their Meetings as openly as the *London* Ministers held theirs.

The *Compleat Historian*, among a thousand weak and malicious Reflections, has this: "It cou'd be no great Credit to the Dissenting Party to have had the Earl of *Clarendon* their Opposer, and the Duke of *Buckingham* their Promoter. The first opposing them upon no worse Principle than a Zeal to the establish'd Church," as

A. D. 1668 “ as the most effectual Bulwark against Popery ; and the other appearing in their Interest upon no better Account than a strong Affection to the “ universal Liberty of Opinion and Practice.” If this had been the only foolish Reflection in that History, we wou’d have had Pity on it for its Folly, and have left it undisturb’d where we found it ; but it is so much against common Sense, that one cou’d not well pass it by. Do People under Oppression refuse Relief, unless it comes from a Principle of Conscience ? Do People in Want enquire if the Hands are clean that relieve them ? But which still is most eligible as a Patron, a Man of wicked Principles, or a Man of no Principles ? There is no greater Wickedness than Oppression and Cruelty, and without Principles, a Person may be so well natur’d as to wish well to his Neighbour, and encline to do good for the meer Pleasure of doing it. Read the learned and judicious Dr. Calamy upon this : *I shou’d think, if such Considerations as these are here brought in, the Church will have no great Cause to boast, who was help’d to her strongest Laws against the poor Nonconformists by those who, it appear’d plainly afterwards, were carrying on a Popish Interest : And yet, when they suffer’d under those Laws, they were willing to accept Relief from any Hand, as knowing that whatever Principle they might be of who appear’d for them, there was too much of an implacable Spirit in such as were against them.*

Compleat History wrong.

Echard takes much Delight in repeating Sir William Temple’s Description of Presbyterian Virtue, ‘Tis peaking and formal ; as for peaking, it is no more English in Language than in Sentiment ; and as to formal, one may have a very good Conception of it in Sir William’s Memoirs, which have as much Form and Affectation as the Memoirs of the most errant Frenchman. Presbyterian Virtue includes Piety, which with these Men renders every thing peaking in Morals.

Comprehension for Dissenters.

About this time Mr. Baxter receiv’d a Letter from Dr. Manton, intimating he had been told by Sir John Baber, that the Lord Keeper Bridgman desir’d to confer with them Two about a Comprehension and Toleration. When those two Divines waited on the Lord Keeper, he told them, he had sent for them to think of a Way for their Restoration ; to which End he had some Proposals to offer them, which were a Comprehension for Presbyterians, and an Indulgence for Independents, and the rest. Mr. Baxter propos’d, that not only the Presbyterians, but the Independents, and all sound Christians, might be taken into the Establishment. The Lord Keeper said, *That was a Thing he wou’d not have ; but a Comprehension for the Presbyterians, and an Indulgence for the rest.* The Lord Keeper’s Proposals were much the same as King Charles’s Healing Declaration a few Months before the bitter *Bartholomew Act*, and were drawn up by Bishop Wilkins ; with whom, and Dr. Burton, the Lord Keeper’s Chaplain, Mr. Baxter and Dr. Manton had Conference about the Proposals, and some Additions to be made to them, as against *Re-ordination*, in Case of Comprehension : For Subscription only to the Scriptures, and the Doctrinal Articles of the Church ; for limiting the Power of Bishops, Chancellors, &c. in Suspending and Silencing ; that Meetings for Religious Exercises might not be taken for *Conventicles*. But these Things wou’d not pass, for which Bishop Wilkins express’d himself sorry. Sir Matthew Hale drew up a Bill to be brought into the House of Commons when the Parliament met, to the Purport of the above-mention’d Proposals. And Bishop Wilkins, a candid, ingenious, open-hearted Man, acquainted Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, the old Republican and Covenanter, with the whole Mat-

ter, hoping to have prevail’d for his Concurrence in it ; instead of which, he so bestir’d himself and all his Friends, and made such a Party against it, as that upon putting it to the Vote, it was carry’d, That no Man shou’d bring an Act of that Nature into the House ; which prevented all farther Motion of it.

A. D. 1668
Hinder’d by Ward Bp. of Salisbury.

Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Stillingfleet join’d heartily in this Comprehension Project. All the Earl of Clarendon’s Party cry’d out against it, as an *Undermining and Betraying of the Church* (the Charm again!) *The Cause of the Church is given up ; ’tis unworthy the Church to treat with Enemies.* Bishop Burnet proceeds, *The Fears of Popery, and the Progress that Atheism was making, alarm’d good and wise Men* (What was this Orthodox Parliament then?) *And they thought every thing that cou’d be done without Sin, ought to be done towards the Healing our Divisions.*

Echard, who takes care to bring some Falsity into almost every Fact which concerns Protestant Dissenters, assures us, that Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, &c. were a parcel of *whiffling Fellows*. If he has taken such Liberty with Divines so infinitely superior to him in all good Qualities, why am I so much upon my guard towards him, on account of his being an Ecclesiastick ? *There was nothing of Conscience in all their Pretences.* Here he usurps the Prerogative of the Omniscient, who can only know the Heart of Man. They had nothing but *Tergiversation and Cavils*, false to a Prodigy. I have repeated what they had to say, the whole Matter was agreed upon, and the Act for it had been brought into Parliament, if Ward, and other such Ecclesiasticks, had not stir’d up a Party in the House of Commons, who pass’d a Vote against bringing of it in ; *A very extraordinary Vote!* says my Lord of Sarum ; and most of the Votes of this Parliament have hitherto been indeed very extraordinary.

However, the King, under the Influence of Ministers who were for Moderation, shew’d an Inclination to favour the Nonconformists, and express’d himself, that an Address from them wou’d be accepted ; which Address met with some Opposition from those Ministers who cou’d not have Confidence in the Court. The Substance of it was to thank his Majesty for his Clemency and Forbearance, which seem’d like a Banter to Persons who knew both the King and the Addressors. However, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Dr. *Jacob Dissenters comb,* and Mr. Ennis, presented an Address of *address the King with Thanks.* Thanks, and were very graciously receiv’d. His Majesty told them, *He wou’d do his Utmost to get them comprehended in the Establishment, and wou’d remove all Bars ; for he cou’d wish that there had been no Bounds or Bars at all, but all had been Sea.* He added, “ They might have had Liberty enough, but something must be done for publick Peace. However, they cou’d not be ignorant that this was a Work of Difficulty and Time to get it fully effected for their Assurance. In the mean Time he wish’d they wou’d use their Liberty temperately. He said, their Meetings were too numerous, and so, besides that they were against Law, gave Occasion to many clamorous People to come with Complaints to him, as if their Design was wholly to undermine the Church, and to say, Sir, *These are they that you protest against the Laws.* The King then spoke of *Farrington’s Preaching in the Play-house.* The Ministers told his Majesty they all dislike’d the Action. He instanc’d Mr. Baxter’s drawing in all the Country round about him at *Acton*. Dr. Manton said, “ Mr. Baxter goes to the Publick, and preaches in the Interval between Morning and Evening Service,

A.D. 1668 " Service, beginning at Twelve. That the first Intendment was for the Benefit of his own Family, and the great Company was not invited by him, but intruded upon him; that it was hard to exclude those, who in Charity might be suppos'd to come with a Thirst after the Means of Edification. He alledg'd the general Necessity, and that Nonconformists were not all of a Piece; and if People of unsober Principles in Religion were permitted to preach, a Necessity lay upon them to take the like Liberty; that those who had invincible Scruples against the Publick Way, may not be left as a Prey to those who might leave bad Impressions upon them, which wou'd neither be so safe for Religion nor the publick Peace." The King reply'd, *That the Raffle of the People were not of such Consideration, they being apt to run after every new Teacher; but People of Quality might be entreated to forbear to meet, or at least act in such Multitudes, lest the publick Scandal taken thereby, might obstruct his Intention and Designs for their Good.* His Majesty seem'd well pleas'd when Dr. Manton suggestted, "That their Sobriety of Doctrine, and meddling only with weighty Things, and remembrance of him in their Prayers with Respect, preserv'd an Esteem of his Person and Government in the Hearts of his People; and that probably People of another Humour might season them with worse Infusions." Here the Earl of Arlington, in whose Lodgings the King receiv'd the Divines, pluck'd him by the Coat, as desiring him to note it. The Address was consider'd, and approv'd by the Cabinet Council; but the Ministers did not make it publick, that they might not be thought to open the Door to a Toleration of Papists; and their Care not to give the least shadow of Countenance to such an Indulgence, was probably the main Reason that they had so little Benefit of one.

His Majesty this Year took a Progress, accompany'd by the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, &c. from Newmarket, cross the Country by Bagshot, to Portsmouth; and thence again to Newmarket, Audley-End, Ipswich, Harwich, and the Downs, where he view'd a Squadron of Ships bound for the Straights, commanded by Sir Thomas Allen, who in the Treaty he renew'd with the Algerines, added two or three Articles concerning Tangier, without which the Marine in this Reign wou'd have been seldom mention'd. Ambassadors were sent to several Courts, as Sir William Godolphin to Spain, Sir Edward Sprague to Brussels, both Papists; the Earl of Carlisle to Stockholm, Mr. Ralph Montagu to Paris, Sir Daniel Harvey to Constantinople, Sir William Temple to the Hague. The Kingdom was now so infested with Robbers, that a Proclamation was publish'd the 23d of December, for apprehending *Swissnix, Madox, Daval*, and twenty more, promising a Reward of twenty Pounds for each Man, to be paid by the Sheriffs of the Counties where they were taken. Monsieur Colbert, Ambassador of France at the Treaty of Aix, came to England in the same Quality, and negotiated a Treaty here of a quite contrary Tenor to those of Breda and Aix la Chapelle. Sir John Vaughan, the great Mover in the Lord Clarendon's Impeachment, was made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; the Lord Viscount Fitzharding dying, Sir Thomas Clifford was made Treasurer of the Household; the Duke of Monmouth Captain of the Horse Guards, on the Resignation of the Lord Brandon Gerrard; and Sir John Trevor Secretary of State, on the Resignation of Sir William Morrice, who had 10,000 Pounds given him in lieu of it.

From the Treaty of Aix above-mention'd, to the second Dutch War in this Reign, the French King and his Ministers, us'd all their Arts to break the Triple League, which the three Powers, England, Sweden and Holland, were oblig'd in Honour and Interest to maintain; yet at the same Time France seem'd to have little Regard to the Friendship of England, not that she was afraid of Enmity, but being sure of the King, she valu'd not the People.

The Island of St. Christophers, one of the Caribbees in America, was to be restor'd to the English, yet the French kept it two or three Years, and when they left it, destroy'd all the Plantations, plunder'd and carry'd away all that was portable, leaving it in a much worse Condition than if it had never been planted. They interrupted the Trade of the English in those Parts, assuming to themselves the Sovereignty of the Seas there, not suffering any Ships but their own to sail by or about those Islands. Upon no other ground did they take Prizes, and confiscate several Vessels. Add to all this the great Duties they laid now upon our Merchandise in France, which was as bad as a Prohibition, while we continu'd to trade with them for ready Money, to the Value of a Million yearly loss. And what was more mischievous than all the rest, were their continual Intrigues to poison the Counsels of England, and draw off the Court from the true Interests of the Nation; however, nor Court, nor Country were in such high Esteem with King Charles, and his Brother the Duke of York. The late War between England and Holland, gave the French King an Opportunity to encrease his Shipping and naval Stores as he did, in a scandalous Manner in Holland, by Means of De Wit, and in England, by Means of the French Faction here. In Holland he purchas'd twelve stout Men of War, and as many more great Merchant Men, which he converted to Men of War. Besides this there was exported thence to France, within the Compass of two Years, 400,000 Pounds Weight of Powder, 500,000 Pounds Weight of Match, 200 Casks of Pitch and Tar, 40,000 Weight of Iron for Bullets, 6000 Hand-Granades, 2 Galliots, 13 Fly-Boats, 5 Pinks laden with Plank, Cordage, Masts, Sails, &c. And that he was as well supply'd from England, is to be seen by our Exports to France, in this and the following Years.

Dr. Welwood gives us a very good Account of King Charles's contributing to the Greatness of the French at Sea. "Within these few Weeks," says he, there has something relating to that Subject accidentally come to my Knowledge, which, perhaps, a great Part of the World has not been yet acquainted with. No body doubts but King Charles II. understood Sea Affairs, and the Art of Building Ships, as well almost as any of his Subjects: And I have seen under his own Hand several extraordinary Discoveries and Experiments in that Matter, which speaks him to have been a Prince of great Abilities, as in all other Things that might aggrandize France and level England; so in this Art of building Ships, King Charles was willing to assist his intimate Ally, Lewis XIV. to the utmost of his Power: In order thereto, he not only faithfully communicated to the French King, from Time to Time, all his own Observations and Experiments, but likewise those of the most skillful Persons about him in the Art. Nay such was that King's Zeal for France, and his Care to acquaint the French King with Sea Affairs, that I have lately seen the Doubles of several Letters from King Charles to the French King, about Implements, and new Discoveries in building Ships of War, and at the Foot

A.D. 1669
The King's Friendship with France.

St. Christophers plunder'd by the French.

Loss by the French Trade.

The Dutch furnish the French with Naval Stores.

History of Peace with France.

King Charles instructs the French King in Ship-building.

Ambassadors.

Robbers.

Promotions.

A. D. 1669 of some of the *Doubles* of considerable Lengths, written by King Charles himself to this Purpose, *The Original with my own Hand, sent him such a Day.* Strange! That a Prince so much in love with Ease, and who writes so ill a Hand, cou'd be brought to write near a Sheer of Paper at a Time, meerly to teach an inveterate Enemy of the *English* Nation, a Way to conterd with him the *Dominion of the Seas*, the brightest Jewel of his Crown. But this is not all, King Charles's Love to the People of *England*, went farther yet, for there is to be seen the *Double* of a Letter from him to the *French* King, full of Instructions about this same Subject, dated at a Time when he pretended to concur with other Princes, in obliging that King to make a Peace, &c.

Instead of such Truths as these, the Archdeacon informs us, that Sir *William Temple* took daily Pains to strengthen the *Triple Alliance*, which Monsieur *Colbert*, in *England*, took daily Pains to break in Pieces, and had much more Success in his Endeavours, which was suspected by all Ministers who had the least Insight into Business; and the *French* Court did not stick to say, *That England wou'd certainly fail the Dutch, and was already chang'd in the Course of those Counsels they had taken with Sweden and Holland.* Monsieur *Pufendorf*, the *Swedish* Envoy at *Paris*, was told there, and he told *De Wit* as much, as he pass'd thro' *Holland*, in his Way home. The *Swede* added, that Monsieur *Turenne* shew'd him a Letter from Monsieur *Colbert*, at the Court of *England*, wherein he gave an Account of the happy Successes he had met with in his Negotiation there, of the good Disposition of the Courtiers, and especially those of some of the chief Ministers, with the Addition of these Words, *And I have at last made them sensible of the whole Extent of his Majesty's Liberality.*

Prince of Tuscany in England.

About the End of *March*, arriv'd in *England* *Cosimo de Medicis*, Prince of *Tuscany*, in his Travels over *Europe*. The Earl of *Pembroke* entertain'd him magnificently at his Seat in *Wiltshire*. At *Brentford* he was met and complemented in the King's Name, by the Lord Viscount *Mandeville*. On his Arrival at *London*, he receiv'd Complements from the King, Queen, Duke and Dutchess, by Sir *William Killgrew*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, and Sir *William Powel*.

At the End of the Month, the King, the Duke, and Prince *Rupert*, accompany'd him to *Newmarket*, whence he went to *Cambridge*, and was complemented by the two Divinity Professors, Dr. *Gunning*, and Dr. *Pearson*, the young Noblemen and Magistrates attending them. Dr. *Widdrington*, the University Orator, entertain'd him with a publick Speech at the Gate, which no doubt had in it the usual Spirit of Academical Orations, and as little Fustian and Affectation as is consistent with the Nature of such Harangues. The Prince of *Tuscany* being conducted to the *Regent House*, there was a Congregation held, Degrees in all Faculties created by the King's particular Command, and a *Philosophy Act* was perform'd, to the singular Satisfaction of his *Tuscan* Highness.

On the 3d of *May*, the Prince arriv'd at *Oxford*, and was waited on by Dr. *Fell*, the Vice-Chancellor, at his Lodgings in the *Angel-Inn*, which he prefer'd for Privacy, to the Lodgings offer'd him by the Doctor. Dr. *South*, the publick Orator, made a Speech to him in the Convocation-House, where his Highness sat in a Chair of State, on the right Hand of the Vice-Chancellor, but it is to be question'd, whether *South* complemented his Highness the Prince of *Tuscany* so well as he did his Highness *Oliver Cromwel*.

At Tu Dux pariter Terræ Domitorque profundi
Componunt Laudas cuncta Elementa tuas;
Cui Mens alta subest pelagoque profundior ipso,
Cujus Fama sonat, quam precul Unda sonat.
Si Currum ascendas domito pæne orbe trium-
In Currus, &c. [Phans,

Captain at Land, and Conqu'or of the Main,
All Elements confess your glorious Reign;
Seas are less deep than your capacious Soul,
Your Fame sounds far as founding Waters
[rowl;
The Globe too weak for your triumphant
[Pow'rs,
Bends with your Weight, and both the Poles
[are Yours.

Tho' Dr. *South's* Latin Poetry is not much better than the *English*, it shews his good Will to *Cromwel*. To satisfy his *Tuscan* Highness how Academical Affairs were dispatch'd, his Physician *John Bapt. Gornia*, Doctor of Physick of *Bononia*, was incorporated and admitted to the same Degree. The Prince was then shewn the *New Theatre*, not quite finish'd, and the publick Library, where he had a View of those Manuscripts, &c. which it is so difficult for any one that wou'd make use of them, to obtain an useful View of. He heard a Lecture in *Geometry* read by Dr. *Wallis*, and what must be surprizingly edifying, some *Disputations* in the School of Tongues. In the *Musick-School* he was entertain'd with Vocal and Instrumental Musick, and had an Opportunity to make a Comparison between *Ben. Rogers* and *Corelli*. *Echard* enlarges on these Matters, as if there was something in them, and sure I cannot follow a better Example.

The Prince staid in *England* about nine Weeks, and it is certain he was so well pleas'd with his Reception here, that when afterwards he became great Duke of *Tuscany*, he receiv'd the *English* in his Court, after a more free and distinguishing Manner than any other Nation, and did as long as he liv'd, send Presents of the finest *Florence* Wine, every Year to the Court, the chief Courtiers, and many other Persons of Distinction in *England*.

About *July*, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, after a short Tour in *France*, made a short Tour in *England*. In the same Month, *Sheldon's* Theatre at *Oxford* was open'd, with a Speech by the publick Orator Dr. *South*; and several Panegyrics were pronounc'd by proper Orators, and if those Orations had liv'd till now, they wou'd doubtless have been distinguish'd by fineness of Wit, and delicacy of Thought and Expression, which distinguish the Panegyrics of that Theatre from all others. There was then a Dialogue in Poetry, which continu'd some Time, to the great awakening of the Audience. This was follow'd by another Oration, two Speeches in Poetry, a Discourse in Favour of Learning, a short Speech from the Musick Gallery, ushering in two Odes; after which was another Speech, and so a Conclusion. The History of it is an Entertainment which nothing cou'd equal, but the Hearing of so many ser Speeches in Prose and Verse, for they have generally so much Nature, Truth, Simplicity, Sense, Spirit and Elegance in them, that they must needs be transporting.

When the Parliament met on the 19th of *Octo-ber*, the King made a Speech to them, recommending the Payment of his Debts, and a Union with *Scotland*. The Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* recommended a Union between the two Houses, and spoke of the *Triple League*, as the great Security of the Nation. The Commons, instead of taking the King and Keeper's Speeches into Consideration.

A.D. 1669 Consideration, enquired into Points of Privileges between the two Houses, and the Disposal of the publick Monies, and found one of their Members, who kept some of the publick Accounts, so blameable, that they expell'd him their House. But then, to the great Comfort of Mr. Archdeacon, they thank'd his Majesty for putting in Execution the Law's against Nonconformists, and pass'd a Vote, That they will adhere to his Majesty in the Maintenance of the Church, as it is religiously establish'd by the *Bartholomew Act*, *Five Mile Act*, *Conventicle Act*, and all the other Stinging Acts. This is extremely foolish, considering that the persecuting Protestant Dissenters was persecuting their own Religion, if they were Protestants, and that the Protestant Interest is one in general, under whatever particular Denomination, of which this very Parliament was so sensible, that a Year or two after they, *Nemine contradicente*, voted a Bill to deliver Protestant Dissenters from the Oppression of those very Laws, yet so long as the Spirit of Persecution is so prevalent among them, so long does the Archdeacon never leave off his Encomiums on their Wisdom and Piety. They flatten as that Spirit wears off, as what is false always will. There is something still more foolish to come; Information was given to the House from General Monk, that old rank Republican and Independent, "Of the great Resort of dangerous and disaffected Persons to London, and of the Meetings and Endeavours to disturb the publick Peace, and that he had, and wou'd take Care, what he cou'd, to prevent their Attempts to hear the Word of God, and pray in private Assemblies." This Folly, which, false as it is, is next to Stupidity, was given into by the Majority of the Commons, who resolv'd, That the Thanks of this House be return'd to the Lord General, for his Care, &c. as aforesaid. Why was he not thank'd for his Care in preserving the Fleet by dividing it, and the Ships at *Chatham*, by sinking them, after he had stood on the Shoar and seen eight or ten First and Second Rate Men of War burnt and taken? This old Man has almost both Feet in the Grave, and yet he wants to be some body in the laudable Business of Persecution.

Sir G. C. expell'd.

Monk's idle Mes- sage.

He is thank'd for it.

Skinner's Case again

The House then resum'd the Debates of the Difference between the two Houses in Skinner's Case, and Sir Samuel Barnardiston, Deputy-Governor of the *East-India* Company, having been fin'd 300 Pounds, and order'd into Custody of Sir *John Eyton*, Usher of the Black Rod, till 'twas paid, they voted the Proceedings against him to be contrary to, and a Subversion of their Rights and Privileges, and that the Lords be desir'd to vacate their Judgments against both him and the *East-India* Company. But while these Heats were encreasing, the King by Commission, December the 11th, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 14th of February.

It is worth Remark, that in the Biography of this Year, *Echard*, speaking of Dr. *George Bates*, among other Eulogy, tells us he was Physician to *Charles I.* and to *Oliver Cromwel*, whom, as he insinuates, he poison'd, which is, however false, as much as he intended it in the Doctor's Praise, he gave him a sure Dose. Thus he commends him for an Act, which, had it been true, he ought to have been hang'd for, *Bates* having no Commission that warranted him to murder the Protector. He tells us also of the Death of the Queen-Mother *Henrietta Maria* in France, and that her Heart was put in a Vessel of Silver, and that her Body was carry'd by Friars and Priests with Tapers, and that the Lord *Montague*, who by the way was only *Montague* the Priest, her Almoner, attended the Corpse with a noble

Queen-Mother's Death.

Retinue, and that she was a great Queen. General *Ludlow* speaks of it thus; "About this Time *Henrietta Maria*, Queen-Mother of England, and Aunt to the present King of France, having been formerly an active Instrument in contriving and fomenting the long and bloody Civil War in England, and encouraging the barbarous Massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, and more lately from a Spirit of Revenge and Malice, a principal Adviser of the Cruelties acted in England upon the Alteration of the Government, dy'd at Paris. Her Dissembler at first seem'd not to be dangerous; but upon taking something prescrib'd by the Physicians to procure Sleep, the Potion operated in such a Manner that she wak'd no more. She receiv'd 60,000 Pounds a Year from England, so she had had about 600,000 Pounds since her Son was call'd in, and yet left many and great Debts unpaid: She constantly favour'd the Designs for assassinating the English Refugees in Switzerland and elsewhere." It is as well worth remembering as the rest that *Cassimir*, the abdicated King of Poland, the French King, and a great Number of Princes and Princesses, attended at her Funeral.

A.D. 1669

On the 3d of January dy'd George Monk, 1670. whom the King had made a Duke, giving him the Title of *Albemarle*, which had been held by several Princes of the Blood. *Echard* tells us, he was a Person distinguish'd by the Blessing of Heaven, tho' he knew that the sudden Incident of the Restoration was accomplish'd by repeated Perjury, and the Breach of the most solemn and sacred Promises and Engagements. He was a wonderful Instrument in restoring Happiness to a Nation over-run with Misery. You have seen what a Restorer he was, and what was the Happiness. He preserv'd himself in the Esteem of the Court, and the Affections of the People, which is as great a Falshood as ever Monk himself was guilty of; for neither the King esteem'd, nor the People lov'd him long before his Death. Bishop *Burnet* assures us, He became so useles, that little personal Regard cou'd be paid him. Directly contrary to which, not only *Echard*, but the Compleat Historian asserts, that He all along preserv'd himself in the Esteem of the Court. My Lord of *Sarum* adds, The King despis'd him. The Compleat Writer applauds his Sincerity and Judgment, which were in Truth well match'd. And both these Compleat Writers must certainly flatter his Character so enormously, on account of his giving such Proofs of his Sincerity, as Swearing and Forswearing the Covenant, his joining with and persecuting the Presbyterians, his renouncing King *Charles II.* and his bringing of him in. His Character appears sufficiently in his Actions; so I shall say no more of him, only that King *Charles* was at a great Expence in his Burial, and gave his Son most of his Places, together with his Garter. He was a Man of less Merit than his Father, and dying without Issue, all those dear-bought Honours, together with the Name of Monk, in this Line at least, perish'd in 30 Years Time.

Monk's Death,

p. 98.

and Character.

We must not forget, that by the Beginning of this Year the City of London was rebuilt with more Space and Splendor than has been before seen in England. The Act of Parliament before-mention'd for rebuilding it was drawn by Sir *Matthew Hale*, with so true Judgment and Foresight, that the whole City was rais'd out of its Ashes without any Suits of Law, which, if that Bill had not prevented them, wou'd have brought a second Charge on the City, not much less than the Fire it self had been. And upon that, to the Amazement of all Europe, London was in

London rebuilt.

A.D. 1670 four Years Time rebuilt with so much Beauty and Magnificence, that those who saw it in both States, before and after the Fire, cou'd not reflect on it without wondering where the Wealth cou'd be found to bear so vast a Loss, as was made by the Fire, and so prodigious an Expence as was laid out in the Re-building. This good and great Work was very much forwarded by Sir *William Turner* in his Mayoralty, 1669. He never disturb'd the Nonconformists during all that Time; He so little regarded his own Gain, and fought the Common-good, and punish'd Vice, that no Lord Mayor was ever more honour'd and belov'd, infomuch that at the End of his Year they chose him again, and wou'd have heard of no other, but that he absolutely refus'd, partly as being an unusual Thing, and partly because of a Message from his Superiors, who were displeas'd with his moderate and peaceable Temper.

Lord Roos's Divorce. About this Time an Accident happen'd, which made the Discourse of the Divorce the common Subject of Conversation. The Lord *Roos*, afterwards Earl of *Rutland*, brought Proofs of Adultery against his Wife, and obtain'd a Sentence of Divorce in the Spiritual Court, which amounting only to a Separation from Bed and Board, he mov'd for a Bill to dissolve the Bond, and enable him to marry another Wife. The Duke and all his Party apprehended the Consequences of a Parliamentary Divorce; so they oppos'd this with great Heat, and almost all the Bishops were of that Side, only *Dr. Cosens*, Bishop of *Durham*, and *Dr. Wilkins*, Bishop of *Chester*, were for it. The King was as earnest in setting it on, as the Duke was in opposing it. The Zeal which the two Brothers express'd on that Occasion, mov'd all People to conclude, that they had a particular Concern in the Matter. The Bill pass'd, and upon that Precedent some mov'd the King to order a Bill to be brought in to divorce him from the Queen. But the Duke of *Buckingham* propos'd another Way to rid the King of her. He said he wou'd steal her, and send her to a Plantation, where she shou'd be well and carefully look'd to, but never heard of any more; so it shou'd be given out she had deserted, and upon that it wou'd fall in with some Principles to carry an Act of Divorce. The King wou'd not hear of it, saying, *'Twas wicked to make a poor Lady miserable only because she was his Wife, and had had no Children by him, which was not her Fault.* As if indeed he did not make her miserable enough by living in a constant Course of Adultery with a Company of Concubines, who were no more constant to him than he was to his Queen. But this Year Care was taken to procure him a new Mistress, whose Head shou'd be as full of Politicks as her Heart was of Pleasure, and being a *French* Woman, and consequently devoted to the *French* Interest, she was to draw him into it by the Witchery of her Person and Passion.

King earnest for it. I have more than once spoken very meanly of this Parliament, and I refer to the Reader, whether they cou'd have been guided by any thing but an irregular mercenary Spirit, Bishop *Burnet* informs us, *The House of Commons lost all Respect in the Nation: And again, It was thought the King cou'd never have been prevail'd on to part with a Parliament so much practis'd upon, and where every Man's Price was known; for as a Man rose in his Credit in the House, he rais'd his Price, and expected to be treated accordingly.* Such was the Assembly, who pass'd the *Bartholomew Act*, the *Five Mile Act*, the *Conventicle Act*, and another Act, of which more presently.

Dutchess of Portsmouth.

Pension Parliament.

Notwithstanding the Committee of *Brook-house* had been brow-beaten by the Council, they still went on with their Enquiries, and of the prodigious Sums that had been given since the *Dutch* War, they cou'd find but 800,000 Pounds brought to Account, and that, says Bishop *Burnet*, in most shameful Terms; but, as has been hinted, a good Part of it was distributed among the Members who made the Majority, which carry'd Mr. *Echard's* Bills for the Safety and Honour of the Church. The Bishop proceeds, *The chief Men who promoted the Brook-house Enquiries were taken off, as the Word then was for corrupting Members.* But by those Enquiries the Carelessness and Luxury of the Court came to be so much expos'd, that the King's Temper was much sharpen'd upon it. All the Flatterers about him magnify'd Foreign Governments, where the Princes were absolute, particularly that in *France*. Many to please him said, it was a very easy thing to shake off the Restraints of Law, if the King wou'd but set about it. The Crown of *Denmark* was elective and subject to a Senate, and yet was in one Day, without any visible Force, chang'd to both *Hereditary* and *Absolute*. The King lov'd the Project, but according to my Lord of *Sarum*, resolv'd to keep all things within himself, till it grew clearer, and his Affairs were made easier; so he went balancing one Party with another, to get Money of the Parliament, under the Pretence of the *Triple League*, which was the wooden Leg he us'd to beg with, till he broke it. Money Bills pass'd easily in the House of Commons, but met with Opposition in the House of Lords, who began to complain that Money Bills came on so thick, that it was said, *There was no End of their giving: End signifying Purpose as well as Measure.* This pass'd as a severe Jest. At that Time Sir *John Coventry*, a leading Member of the Country Party in the House of Commons, made a gross Reflection on the King's Amours. He was one of those who struggled much against giving Money. The common Method is, after those who oppose such Bills fail in the main Vote, the next Thing they endeavour is to lay the Money on Funds that will be unacceptable, and will prove deficient. So these Men propos'd the Laying a Tax on the Play-Houses, which according to the Bishop, were in so difficult a Time, become Nests of Prostitution. The Stage was desil'd beyond all Example, Dryden, the greater Master of Dramatick Poesy, which Saying shews his Lordship to be no great Judge of it, was a Monster of Immodesty and Impurity of all Sorts. This was oppos'd by the Court; it was said, *the Players were the King's Servants, and a Part of his Pleasure.* Coventry ask'd, *Whether the King's Pleasure lay among the Men, or the Women that acted?* This was carry'd with great Indignation to the Court. "Twas said, this was the first Time that the King was personally reflected on; if it was pass'd over, more of the same Kind would follow, and it would grow a Fashion to talk so?" What then? Was it not known that the King had two Stage Harlots, *Nell Gwin*, and *Moll Davis* in keeping, besides all the other Female Fry, and must not the People, as the only Losers, have leave to speak? The Bishop proceeds, It was therefore thought fit to take such severe Notice of this, that no body shou'd dare to talk at that rate for the future. The Duke of *York* told one, he said all he cou'd to the King, to divert him from the Resolution he had taken, which was to send some of the Guards, and watch in the Streets where Sir *John* lodg'd, and leave a Mark upon him. Sir *Thomas Santys*, *Charles Obrian*, Esq; *Michael Reeves*,

A.D. 1670

Money squander'd.

King's Temper sour'd,

Love's arbitrary Power.

Coventry Act.

Play-houses lewd.

A.D. 1670 "Reeves, Simon Parry, and some others, went thither, and as Coventry was going home, they drew about him, he stood up to a Wall, snatch'd the Flambeau out of his Servant William Wilkes's Hands, and with that in one Hand, and his Sword in the other, he defended himself so well, that he got more Credit by it than by all the Actions of his Life: He wounded some of them, but was soon disarm'd, and then the Russians cut his Nose to the Bone, to teach him to remember what Respect he ow'd to the King, as the Villains said in doing their Villainy." Let the Reader judge what Respect could be due to a King, who was capable of such an unkingly Action! Sir John Coventry's Wound was so well sew'd up, that the Scar was scarce discernible; but the vile Attempt put even this House of Commons in a furious Uproar. The Russians fled, and a Bill of Banishment pass'd against them, with a Clause in it, that it should nor be in the King's Power to pardon them, as also to make it Death to main any Person maliciously.

Parliament.

Notwithstanding the Dialogue between the King and Dr. Manton, when the before-mention'd Address was presented, the King has upon his Hands another sort of Business, which is to get another Act of Parliament pass'd against his Protestant Subjects, who worshipp'd God in any other Manner, than he and the persecuting Bishops thought fit. The Parliament began their Meeting on the 14th of February, to which Day they had been prorogu'd, and the King, as usual, made them a Speech concerning the securing the Well-being of the Church, and after what has been said of the Committee of Brook-house, and their Enquiries from the Authority of the Bishop of Salisbury, it wou'd be surprizing to the Reader to see what follows, if he had not met with so much of this King's Character before; That no Misrepresentation or Mistakes touching the Expences of the last War may remain with you, I think fit to let you know, that I have fully inform'd my self in that Matter, and do affirm to you, that no Part of those Monies that you gave to me has been diverted to other Uses. Which, if it had not been said by a King, wou'd have been too gross for Remark. He put them in Mind of Supplies and of the Union with Scotland, pursuant to a Declaration of the Parliament of that Kingdom, empowering Commissioners to conclude it. The Lord Keeper Bridgeman spoke to the same Purpose. But the House beginning with a Debate of the contested Case of Skinner, and the King doubting it wou'd hinder the Supplies, interpos'd in the Affair, and made up the Matter between the two Houses, by advising the vacating of all that had pass'd concerning it, which both Houses agreed to; and then with new Delight Echard informs us, That Information had been given of the Dangers of unlawful Meetings, and the House of Commons were rous'd by new Complaints, and had receiv'd Information of a dangerous Conventicle in the West. It wou'd be very ridiculous, if it was not very wicked. He adds, It was observable, that all the Lawes against the Dissenters were made more upon Civil and Political than upon Moral or Religious Accounts: Wherein he speaks a very great Truth, when he intended a very great Falshood.

The Persecution of Protestant Dissenters, and all the Acts made for it, were, it is true, irreligious and immoral, but that the Plots and Rebellions of the Presbyterians made those Acts necessary for the publick Peace, is as false as ever any thing was that came from the Father of Falshood, better known by the Name of the Father of Lies. The Preamble to this sinful Act

A.D. 1670 does not justify him, nor his Brother Historian in their Account of it. See the Substance of it, which they repeat as a Treasure in their Histories; "If any Person upwards of sixteen should be present at any Assembly, Conventicle, or Meeting, under Colour or Pretence of any Exercise of Religion, *Mind the Mocking, and, as Bishop Burnet says, the Lying to God and Man.* Under Colour or Pretence, *These Men knew, and were fully convinc'd, that those Assemblies were for the true Exercises of religious Worship,* in any other Manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of England; where there was five Persons or more, besides those of the said Household; in such Case the Offenders were to pay five Shillings for the first Offence, and ten Shillings for the second; and the Preachers and Teachers in any such Meetings were to forfeit twenty Pounds for the first Offence, and forty for the second Offence. And those who knowingly suffer'd any such Conventicle in their Houses, Barns, Yards, &c. were to forfeit twenty Pounds." I must own, I was very glad to meet with this Act, for having conceiv'd a just Indignation against the former Cruelties of this Assembly, I was glad the Majority that pass'd them into a Law had so expos'd themselves by such a bare-fac'd Defiance of all Christian Virtues, that within a Year or two they were reduc'd to a Necessity of owning the Shame of it, of blushing at what they had been doing, and of endeavouring to atone for it by undoing it, and passing an Act for the Ease of those Dissenters whom they had made thus uneasy. The King solicited the passing of this Bill in the House of Lords. Bishop Wilkins, well satisfy'd that all the pretended Danger from the religious Assemblies of Protestants, were forg'd, argu'd long against the Bill in the House of Lords. Echard argues long for it in his Chronicle. Bishop Burnet tells us, "The King was much for having of it pass, and spoke to Wilkins not to oppose it." The pious Bishop answer'd, I think it an ill thing both in Conscience and Policy. If ill in Conscience it was a Sin: And therefore, both as I am an Englishman and a Bishop, I am bound to oppose it. The King then desir'd him not to come to the House of Lords while it depended. The Bishop answer'd, By the Law and Constitution of England, and by your Majesty's Favour, I have a Right to debate and vote, and I am neither afraid nor asham'd to own my Opinion in this Matter, and to act pursuant to it. Neither is the Archdeacon afraid or asham'd to own his Opinion directly opposite to this reverend and learned Father of the Church, whose Judgment in this, or any other Affair, will weigh more with sober Persons than that of all the persecuting Bishops put together. Not long after this notable Bill was made the Law of the Land, the House of Commons dropp'd the Committee of Brook-house, and all Enquiries into the publick Accounts vanish'd and came to nothing; for having taken the King's Hint to provide thus for the Well-being of the Church, they left it to his Majesty to provide for their own Well-being, and to Chance, to dispose of the publick Affairs.

A severe Act against Protestant Dissenters.

The King solicits that Act.

Oppos'd by Bp. Wilkins.

Prince of Orange in England.

We must not omit, that in this Year the Prince of Orange made his two Uncles, the King, and Duke of York, a Visit. His chief Business was to see how the King intended to pay the great Debt, which had been contracted by his Father, on his Account, and also to try what Offices the King wou'd do, in order to his Advancement to the Stadtholdership. The King treated him very civilly; he assur'd him he wou'd pay the Debt, but did not lay down any Method of doing it. He gave him good Words only, and try'd the Prince

A.D. 1670 in Point of Religion. He spoke of all the Protestants, as of a FACTIOUS Body broken among themselves, ever since they had broken off from the main Body, and wish'd he wou'd take more Pains and look into those Things better, and not to be led by his DUTCH Block-heads. His Highness told all this to Monsieur Zuytlestein, his natural Uncle. They were both amaz'd at it, and wonder'd how the King cou'd trust so great a Secret to so young a Person, the Prince not being twenty. His Highness told Bishop Burnet, he never spoke of this to any other Person, till after the King's Death, but he carry'd it always in his own Mind, and cou'd not hinder himself from judging of all the King's Intentions after that, from the Discovery he had then made of his Sentiments: Nor did he upon his not complying with that Proposition, expect any real Assistance from the King, but general Intercession, which signify'd nothing, and that was all he obtain'd, tho' otherwise he was civilly treated, considering the King had just concluded a Treaty with France, in the Prosecution of which, nothing but the miraculous Providence of God preserv'd him from perishing.

I cou'd very easily prove that the French Jesuit *Orlean's* Revolutions, is as false a History as the Archdeacon's, who tells us, the Jesuit's short Account of the *Cabal* is more material than most of the English Pamphlets and Secret Histories. He refers to my Secret History of Europe, which I shall never be asham'd to own, and, if it were worth while, cou'd prove it to be more authentic than the best Authorities he has made use of. The Introduction to his Account out of *Orleans* is the Reverse of the Truth. The Republican Spirit was insensibly creeping into Parliament again, was the last Act against Protestant Dissenters, just pass'd by them, a Proof of their creeping into Commonwealth Principles? The *Cabal* was so term'd from the Initial Letters of the Names of the five Lords who compos'd it, *Clifford, Ashley-Cooper, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale*, who were Men of great Capacity, but little Virtue, and having got the King into their Hands, they resolv'd to keep him, by giving into all Measures that pleas'd any of his Passions, of which the most flagrant Instance was their humouring him in the second Dutch War, which was now beginning to be projected.

The ingenious Mr. Archdeacon attack'd my Secret History again, for suggesting that the Dutchess of *Orleans* came to visit her Brother, King Charles, at *Dover*, on very ill Errands. His Accounts are some scandalous, some uncertain, &c. The Reader will see presently what a fine Judge he is of Scandal and Truth. The History of *Cornelius* and *John de Wit*, is not a secret One, and yet we there read, "If the King of Sweden was not dazzled with French Gold, it gain'd more on the King of England, by the Perswasions of the Dutchess of *Orleans*, his Sister, supported by Monsieur *Colbert*, the French Ambassador, who made the King believe what he wou'd. A hundred thousand Pistols were remitted to that Minister, which he laid out to Advantage to engage those who had the greatest Interest in the King. The Lords of the *Cabal* had most of the Money; they were known to be the most mortal Enemies of the united Provinces, and Charles II. King of Great-Britain contented with the Name of King, left the Government to them, and seem'd to have no other Inclination but what those base Ministers inspir'd him with. His most Christian Majesty's Bounty had all the Effect that cou'd be expected. This wicked Ministry, who betray'd their Country, and wou'd have betray'd their Master, if they cou'd have got by it, pretended

A.D. 1670 "to give Credit to what the Minister of France told them of the Instances the States, both by Letters, and their Ambassadors had made to the French King, to treat of an Alliance with them, that they might jointly attack England: Accordingly the *Cabal* were perpetually representing to King Charles, that he ought no more to have any thing to do with a Republick that had vow'd his Destruction." It is not to be doubted but this imaginary Proceeding of the States made a very strong Impression on the King's Mind: Thus far the French Author, who seems not to know King Charles so well as he did his Ministers; for there was no need of animating him much to a Rapture, which none of them was so desirous of as himself. The Author of *L'Histoire de Corneille*, and *Jean De Wit*, before-mention'd, puts the following Speech into the Mouth of the *Cabal*, "Your Majesty runs no Risk: These Republicans have made themselves odious to all the Princes of Europe; there's not one who will oppose you in this Undertaking; the most Powerful will be satisfy'd with being Spectators of the War, and with Pleasure see the Pride of that Commonwealth that has brav'd so many Crown'd Heads, humbled. Spain will be so far from assisting them, she will rejoice in the Misfortune of a Nation whom she still looks upon as her rebellious Subjects. Tho' the Emperor should be willing to defend the United Provinces, he dares not undertake it in this difficult Posture of Affairs, the Ottoman Empire arming so mightily as it does, and the Revolt of his Subjects in Hungary, will cut him out Work enough of his own, and hinder his thinking of others. The Court of France by their Money, and the Jealousy they'll take Care to maintain between the two Northern Crowns, will engage them to stand neuter. The War between the Turks and the Poles, will prevent the Elector of Brandenburg assisting them; nay, who does not know but he might be glad of this Opportunity to recover the Towns in the Dutchy of *Cleves*, which the States have so long kept from him? The Elector of *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, desire nothing more than to enter those Provinces with their Armies; will they be in a Condition to resist so many Enemies, attacking them on all Sides, especially at a Time when Faction reigns so much among them? The King of England suffer'd himself to be seduc'd by these and the like Considerations; however, he wou'd not sign the private Treaties with France till he had receiv'd the Money which was promis'd him, amounting to Six Millions, besides 300,000 Crowns a Month to be paid him during the War." *Abbot Primi*, whose Master Monsieur *Colbert* was more in the Secret than the English Secretary himself, gives a good Account of this Matter. As for the King of England he was exceedingly perplex'd; there was need of Money to carry on the Design, and that secretly too, he cou'd raise none at home without calling a Parliament, and that cou'd not be done without acquainting all Europe with his Intentions. There was also great Fear of Opposition, both from the Misunderstandings which in that tumultuous Assembly do for the most Part arise between the two Houses, and from the Intrigues of the Hollanders; for which Reason, the King of France furnish'd him with such Sums of Money as were sufficient to equip a considerable Fleet, and he advis'd the King of England, the better to conceal their Agreements, to keep a fair Correspondence outwardly with the Dutch, to appear firm to the Triple League, and to declare that he set out a Fleet

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Dutchess of
Orleans
at *Dover*.

A.D. 1670 Fleet for no other Reason but because his Neighbours, and especially the French, who made great Preparations in all their Ports upon the Ocean, strengthen'd themselves so very considerably by Sea.

P. 579. The Judicious Acherley lets us farther into those base Intrigues: "The Scheme which King Charles propos'd, and sent to the French King, was, That France shou'd assist him first to subdue England, and introduce Popery, and after that the Protestant States of Holland: But France sent the Dutchess of Orleans in May, 1670, to meet her Brother, King Charles, with a Counter Scheme, viz. First to conquer Holland by invading it with joint Forces by Sea and Land, and to make a Partition, allotting Zealand, and the Sea Coasts to King Charles, and the Inland Countries to France; insinuating, that after Success in that, the rest wou'd be an easy Work, and France wou'd pay King Charles 350,000 Pounds per Annum during the War; and she did pay 700,000 Pounds for the two first Years.

This is the Account which the sincere Echard calls uncertain. He adds, there are no real Proofs; and in the next Page owns, that Abbot Primi tells us, "Henrietta Maria, Dutchess of Orleans, a Princess whose Wit and Capacity was equal to her Beauty, concluded the Treaty at Dover, when she made that mysterious Voyage." I suppose he was in Pain for fear any faucy Reader shou'd mistake what is said in the Secret History to reflect on the Virtue of this Lady. All that I have to say is, that she must needs be a Lady of more than ordinary Virtue, who took so much Care of her Brother, as to supply him with a new Mistress out of her Train, Madam Queroualle, an enchanting Lady, says the Reverend Historian; and her Business became a Princess who lov'd the Country she ow'd her Nativity to, by making use of her Charms and Intrigues to enslave it to the King of Slaves, Lewis XIV. For after Holland was conquer'd, How long cou'd England have preserv'd her Liberty? Bishop Parker, that Renegado Independent and Cromwellian, who afterwards was the most celebrated Champion for Sheldon's Church of England, till he was driven out of the Field by Mr. Marvel, acknowledges, That the Triple-League was basely broken; that King Charles II. united the Knot, and that the Breach was a deadly Sin against the Laws of Nature and Nations. That was the doing of that most Virtuous Princess the Dutchess of Orleans; yet to say she cou'd be guilty of a deadly Sin, is not only very indecorous, but, says Mr. Archdeacon, severe and scandalous. As to other Things, in which Gallantry is concern'd; I will touch upon them as little as may be, that I may not offend the Archdeacon: But Bishop Burnet assures us, The King of France made Love to her, and if she resented it, 'twas when she saw it was only a Pretence to cover his Addresse to Mademoiselle De la Valiere, one of her Maids; that King Charles was so much charm'd with his Sister at Dover, that every Thing she propos'd, and every Favour she ask'd, was granted, the King cou'd deny her nothing; she propos'd an Alliance for the Conquest of Holland. The King had a Mind to have begun at Home. The Conquest of England, to use Mr. Acherley's Words, was look'd upon as secure, easy, and speedy; and the Constitution and Form of Government in England was in Imagination subverted, and the Parliament master'd. Good God! What a Conspiracy was here against the Religion and Liberties of the poor innocent People of England. This is no Sham Plot, and never was a more ruinous one hatch'd in the Infernal Divan. The Dutchess of Orleans diverted his Beginning with the Conquest of his own Subjects, not out of Compassion to them, but because

such a Design wou'd alarm all his People, and perhaps send them with their Wealth and Trade to Holland; which by such an Accession wou'd grow stronger, as he wou'd grow weaker: So she propos'd that he shou'd begin with Holland. A Prince capable of such Counsels to destroy his own Subjects, and in order to it, to destroy his Neighbours who had highly oblig'd him, is a proper Subject for the Eulogy of those Historians only, who were perpetually flattering him while he was passing the Acts for Persecution. Abbot Primi's Book, wherein the Secret of this accurs'd Treaty is laid open, was read by Bishop Burnet at Paris. The Lord Preston, who some Years after was condemn'd for High Treason, was then the King's Ambassador in France, and knowing how great a Prejudice the publishing this wou'd be to his Master's Affairs, he complain'd of it. The Book was upon that suppress'd, and the Writer put in the Bastile for a few Days; but he had drawn it out of the Papers of Monsieur Le Tellier's Office; so, says my Lord of Sarum, There is little Reason to doubt of the Truth of the Thing. But Echard very dogmatically says, 'Tis very uncertain; though he informs us, that Monsieur Colbert paid Primi a Pension for collecting these Memoirs. I have many other Proofs of this Felonious Treaty with France, but I think here are enough, and shall not enlarge upon it farther, but refer to my other Account of it.

Madam's Journey was very fatal to her, and I know not how it comes about, Echard himself does not deny but that her Husband, the Duke of Orleans, conceiv'd an unaccountable Jealousy of her Conduct at Dover; whereas the Reverend Historian had told us, Joy, Mirth and Pleasure Echar'd reign'd without Abatement or Intermission; Love and Gallantry were intermix'd with Comedies, Masks, Musick, Banquetings, and all kind of Diversions. The Duke of Orleans, says Bishop Burnet, had heard such things of her Behaviour, that it was said he order'd a great Dose of Sublimate to be given her in a Glass of Succoury Water; and he then informs us of some of her amorous Intrigues, as with the Marquis des Vardes, wherein she went so far as to tell Madam de Soissons, whom des Vardes had an Amour with, She was her Rival; nay, her Favour to the Count de Treville was so great, that in the Agony she cry'd out, Adieu Treville! These are some of the severe scandalous Things. That she was poison'd, Dutchess appears plainly by the late Duke of Montagu's Letters, who was then Ambassador in France, as in that of the 30th of June. Madam, on Sunday the 29th Instant, being at St. Clou with a great deal of Company, about Five of the Clock in the Afternoon call'd for a Glass of Chicory Water, it that was prescrib'd her to drink, she having for two or three Days after Bathing found herself indispos'd; she had no sooner drank this, but she cry'd out, I am dead, fell into Madam Mascbourg's Arms, and desir'd to be put to Bed, and have a Confessor: She continu'd in the greatest Tortures imaginable till Three o'Clock in the Morning, when she dy'd. In that of the 6th of July the Ambassador writes, I suppose by this time you may have with you the Marechal de Bellefonds, who, besides his Condolance, will endeavour, I believe, to disabuse our Court of Madam's being poison'd; which having so good an Authority as her own saying it several times, makes the Report much more credited: But to me in particular, when I ask'd her several times whether she thought herself poison'd, she wou'd answer nothing; I believe, being willing to spare the Addition of so great a Trouble to the King our Master, which was the Reason why in my first Letter I made no mention of it. The King and the Ministers here seem extremely

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King Charles conspir'd against the Constitution of England.

See History of Europe.

A. D. 1670
 tremably afflicted with the Loss of Madam, and I do not doubt but they are, for they hop'd, upon her Consideration, to bring the King our Master to condescend to Things, and enter into a Friendship with this Crown stricter, perhaps, than they think he will now be's no more. But the Ambassador was at that time none of the Court Confidants. He knew not how many Millions in Hand was to be paid his Master, enough to comfort him for more than the Loss of a Sister, that of his Honour, and the Love of his People. *What was begun, continues he, or what was intended, I will not presume to search into, since your Lordship does not think fit to communicate the least Part of it to me, but I cannot help knowing the Town-Talk: All I desire to know, my Lord, is, that whilst I am here, I may know what Language to hold in Conversation with the other Ministers, that I may not be ridiculous with the Character I have upon me.* P. S. Monsieur complains extremely of the King our Master, for having a Confidence with Madam, and treating Things with her without his knowledge. Whoever has a Mind to see more of this poisoning Affair, will find enough of it in the Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Fayette, and the Secret History of Europe.

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King's Secret League with France.

Monsieur De Wit, Pensionary of Holland, was one of the first who discover'd the Secret League between France and England; but he could hardly be brought to believe the King of England would venture to break the Triple-Alliance, of which the English were so fond. He did not then know what Resource the King had, and as far as his Politicks could direct him, he thought the Parliament would never give him Money to act against a League, which they offer'd to supply him to maintain; and having it always in his Head, that the King of England would one time or other insist upon restoring the Prince of Orange to the Stadtholdership, he seem'd resolv'd to put every thing to venture, rather than submit to what he thought would ruin his Credit and Interest in his Republick: For Sir William Temple was beginning to prepare the Way for the Breach of the Triple-League, by making Demands of new Satisfaction for Damages in the East-Indies, and at Suriman, though he knew not what was intended by our Court's being so impetuous in those Demands.

But the Dutchess of Orleans's Arrival at Dover alarm'd De Wit, and made him hasten away Van Beuningen to England, who had declar'd for the Prince of Orange's Advancement. He found immediately that the Court thought no more of the Triple-League; the Ministry, through Corruption or Ignorance, was gain'd to the French Side: Clifford and Arlington had not Complacency enough for the Dutch to dissemble it. Sir Orlando Bridgeman, then Lord Keeper, was of another Opinion, so were Prince Rupert, the Duke of Ormond, and Sir John Trevor, Secretary of State, who were all remov'd from the Committee of Foreign Affairs, to make room for such as would give themselves entirely up to the Management of France.

Cabinet-Council chang'd.

The Cabal.

As to the Characters of the Cabal, they are as well known as if they had liv'd in our own Time. We may see what was to be expected from Arlington, by one of the Articles in the Earl of Bristol's Charge against the Earl of Clarendon, whom he accuses, for saying on the Removal of Secretary Nicholas, to make room for Bennet, now Earl of Arlington, *That his Majesty had given 10,000 Pounds to remove a zealous Protestant, that he might bring into that Place a conceal'd Papist.* Every one has heard of Clifford's abandoning his Post to own himself a Papist, and of the scandalous Life and Morals of Lauderdale;

Buckingham's various Character is well describ'd by Dryden in his *Abfolom* and *Achitophel*; and Ashley's troublesome and unsettled Humour, will add no great Reputation to that Ministry, who were Men of more Parts than Principles, and of more Ability than Virtue: However, the two latter atton'd for their evil Counsels, by their steady Adherence to the Cause of Liberty afterwards.

A. D. 1670

There was all the Reason in the World for our Court to have kept firm to the Triple-League, which would not only have preserv'd the Netherlands, but have hinder'd the future Power of Lewis XIV. and made King Charles Arbitrer of the Affairs of Europe. But the King and his Courtiers were insensible of every good Sentiment; neither Interest nor Resentment could touch them, or else, after so much Expression of brotherly Love and Tenderness to the Dutchess of Orleans, at the Interview of Dover, her sudden Death would have had other Effects in England.

Notwithstanding, the Duke of Buckingham Duke of was dispatch'd to France, to return Monsieur de Bellefond's Complement, and pursue his Negotiations; yet so well did the Court of England dissemble, that they dissipat'd all Monsieur Van Beuningen's Fears, and made him look on the Voyages of the Marechal and Duke as pure Ceremonies only. The Ambassador writing to Holland it was his Opinion, "That as far as common Appearance would go, he had all the Reason that could be to believe that nothing had been treated by the Marechal or the Duke, nor was ever intended to the Prejudice of King Charles's Alliance with the Dutch."

However, Monsieur De Witt's Jealousies were not cur'd, he declar'd to Sir William Temple, "He had observ'd a Coldness in all our Negotiations ever since Madam's Journey into England, and upon the late Journey of the Duke of Buckingham to Paris, which he could not think was pour voir le Pais, ou apprendre la Langue, to see the Country, or learn the Language. He desir'd Sir William to tell him what he could make of all this laid together; for on the one Side there were Circumstances enough to awaken a suspicious Man, and on the other Side he could never think it possible for any Nation or Court itself to quit so certain a Point of Interest, and so great a Point of Honour, as must be forfeited by our breaking our Alliance with them. He added, His Majesty had engag'd the States in those common Measures, and even prevail'd with them to make a Sacrifice of the antient Kindness and Alliance the States had always before with France, to the Considerations of the present Danger, from the Greatness of that Crown to the rest of Christendom; though they might have had what Terms they pleas'd from her for the dividing of Flanders." True it was, King Charles, put upon it by the Clamours of his Subjects, had engag'd the Dutch in the Triple-League, and drawn on them the Displeasure of France, to which he was now about to join himself for the Destruction of their Republick. Sir William Temple was not let into the Secret, and could only answer the Pensionary, "He confess'd he was apt to make many of those Reflections himself had done, but could not believe it possible for any Crown ever to enter into Councils so destructive to their Honour and Safety. But if such Things should happen, he desir'd Monsieur De Witt to remember what he told him upon the Scruple he had made in trusting our Court in the Negotiations of the Triple-Alliance, of his Majesty's and the Ministers good Resolutions. He continu'd,

A.D. 1670 *tinus*'d, " I cannot believe it possible for them to change in a Point of so evident Interest, and which will be so understood by the whole Nation. However, I can answer for no body besides myself; but this I will assure you, that if ever such a thing shou'd happen, I will never have any Part in it; *which, he said,* he had told the King as well as him, and wou'd make it good." The Ambassador needed not to have taken that Precaution: The Ministry knew he was not a Man to be sent on their wicked Errands, and it was one of their first Steps towards the War, to re-call him. In the mean Time, that upright Minister *Arlington*, was doing his best to deceive *Van Beuningen*, and the other Foreign Ambassadors concern'd in the Support of the *Triple-League*: What a Face he put upon our Court's close Correspondence with *France*, will appear by a Passage in a Letter of his to Sir *William Godolphin* in *Spain*. " Monsieur *Van Beuningen* was with me Yesterday, being full of these Apprehensions, and inferring positively from them, that the Peace wou'd be immediately broken. I told him I cou'd not believe it, because the King our Master had all the moral Assurances that can be receiv'd from his most Christian Majesty, that he will inviolably keep the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*." The Reader is desir'd to observe that this was written two Months after *Madam* had been at *Dover*, where, as she herself told Mr. *Montague*, afterwards Duke, *She had persuaded her Brother, King Charles, to join with France against Holland; and long after Colbert's Treaty was concluded. Wou'd one think it was possible for Gentlemen to be guilty of such double Dealing and Perfidy? Arlington proceeds, In the Confidence of which (of keeping the Treaty of Aix, which they had agreed to break) we live in a perfect good Understanding with that Court, with France, whose Ambition we have agreed to serve at the risk of the Religion and Liberties of England. Again, " Such Civilities pass between the two Kings, as give great Uneasiness to Monsieur Van Beuningen, particularly by his Majesty's sending the Duke of Buckingham to requite the Complement brought hither by the Marschal de Bellesonds."*

*Arlington and Clifford were in the Depth of this ruinous Intrigue, Buckingham and Ashley not admitted so far into it, and Lauderdale was a Tool to be us'd or laid by at Pleasure, being easily contented with the Share he had of the Gallant Ministry, in which he was Prime, while Clifford was at the Head of the Political. The latter being a stanch Papist, cou'd not but bear mortal Harred to the Dutch, as may be seen by what pass'd between him and Sir William Temple, upon Sir William's Return from Holland. He made him stay an Hour and half for his first Audience, and when he enter'd into Discourse with him, after much Anger express'd against the Hollanders, and the Ambassador's strenuous Vindication of his Negotiations, Sir William gives this Account of it himself, in a Letter to his Father, " Being, I confess, a little heated, after so long and unpleasant a Conversation, as well as he, I ask'd him, in the Name of God, What he thought a Man cou'd do more?" Upon this, in a great Rage he answer'd me, *I will tell you what a Man may do more, and what you ought to do more, which is, to let the King and all the World know, how basely and unworthily the States have us'd him, and to declare publickly how their Ministers are a Company of Rogues and Rascals, and not fit for his Majesty, or any other Prince, to have any thing to do with. Pray mind!* This Rogue and Rascal is the Language*

of a Prime Minister, and spoken of another Prime Minister; but that this Language is not so uncourtly, as is generally conceiv'd, let us have recourse to the Example of Kings and Princes: Sir *Thomas Armstrong* came Post from *Paris* as soon as *Madam* was poison'd, to acquaint King *Charles* with it. The King wept, and express'd himself very passionately against *Monsieur*, saying, *He is a Rascal: But Prithee, Tom, don't speak of it.* These *Indecorums* are more outrageous than any the Treachery and Villainy of the Enemies of the Reform'd Religion and *English Liberties* have been able to extort from me, tho' Resentment and Indignation may have suffer'd some warm Expressions to have escap'd me.

When the Peace was actually broken, and the *French King* had invaded the *United Provinces*, the Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands* having assist'd the *Dutch*, *Clifford* undertook to have the Governor check'd, and to get a stop put to the Succours for the future, by a Letter to Sir *William Godolphin* at *Madrid*. " There are now at least 10 or 12,000 Men, Horse and Foot, of theirs, in the *Holland Service* and Garrisons, which is contrary to their Treaty made with us; and tho' they may send Auxiliaries notwithstanding any Treaties they have made with *France*, yet to send such Numbers is so provoking, that it will be a Wonder if the most Christian King doth not march with his Army to *Brussels*; and the World will justify him in it.

These Proceedings of *France* and *England* cou'd not probably have had the desir'd Effect, had *Sweden* continu'd firm in her Alliances with *Holland*. To debauch that Court, Mr. *Coventry* was dispatch'd away Ambassador to *Stockholm*; and he did not find it a very difficult Work to take off the Edge of their Zeal for the Preservation of the Liberties of *Europe*. 'Twas not likely indeed that the *Swedens* wou'd be anxious for others Liberties, who had made their Monarch a Present of their own. Ever since the Irruption of *Gustavus Adolphus* into *Germany*, and the great Subsidies *France* paid to *Sweden*, the Ministers there have been so us'd to touch *French Gold*, that their Party in *Sweden* was far from being inconsiderable.

The Duke of *Buckingham's* Reception at the Court of *France* was calculared to the Vanity and Profusion of his Temper; all was Shew and Pleasure, and he behav'd as one who understood Gallantry as well as the most Gallant of that splendid Court. Having once open'd a Ball with a Lady of the first Rank, which was perform'd by him with wonderful Gaiety and Address, the Ladies were very curious in viewing a Diamond Hatband he wore, and some of 'em, out of Envy, cry'd, *They were counterfeit.* When he had done Dancing, he twisted the Hatband round his Finger, and flung the Diamonds among the Ladies, saying, *See, Ladies, if they are true or no.* The Secret League between the two Kings of *England* and *France* was thus confirm'd, and the *French Army* was order'd to break up, and march toward the new Conquests. The *Dutch Ambassador* at *Paris* demanded of Mr. *de Lionne*, Secretary of State, Whether that Army was to be employ'd against his Masters? *Lionne* assur'd him, If those Troops were employ'd at all, the Storm wou'd fall far enough from their Territories. The Fraud is uppermost still in all their Words and Actions. This Army, under *Crequi*, enter'd *Lorraine*, seiz'd that Duchy, and was within half an Hour of surprizing the Duke, for no other Reason, but his offering to be a Party in the *Triple-League*; and when that Duke's Minister complain'd of it at our Court, he was told, *The present*

Sir Will. Temple's Saying to De Wit.

Arlington's Decis.

Perfidy of the English Court.

Lauderdale Prime Minister for the Ladies.

Clifford ill treats Sir Will. Temple.

Rogue and Rascal Court Language in this Reign.

A D 1670

French and English Fraud

A.D. 1670 sent Violence, like the Mischiefs of a sudden Inundation, must be endur'd at this Time.

Parliament.

However, on the 24th of October the Parliament met, and the King having made a very short Speech, refer'd them to the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*, who was directed to say, among other Things, *Since the Close of the late War, his Majesty hath made several Leagues to his own Honour, and of infinite Advantage to the Nation. One known by the Name of the Triple-League; wherein his Majesty, the Crown of Sweden, and the States of the United Provinces, are engag'd to preserve the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, concerning a Peace between the two warring Princes; which Peace produc'd that Effect, that it quench'd the Fire that was ready to have set all Christendom in a Flame; and besides other great Benefits by it, which she still enjoys, gave Opportunity to transmit those Forces against the Infidels, which wou'd otherwise have been embru'd in Christian Blood. Another between his Majesty and the said States, for a mutual Assistance, with a certain Number of Men and Ships, in case of Invasion by any others.* Prodigious! All these Treaties, upon which the King values himself so much by his Keeper, are not only every one of them broken, but a new one fraudulently and clandestinely made to destroy those very States, and set Christendom in a Flame. The Keeper told them, that since *France* and *Holland* were fitting out Fleets, 'twas necessary the King of *England* shou'd do so too, and demanded 800,000 Pounds for that Expence, which this giving Parliament readily gave his Majesty; and with that Money he put himself in a Condition to break those Treaties for the Maintenance of which it was given him.

Duke of Monmouth.

In the beginning of the Summer, *James Duke of Monmouth*, the King's eldest Son, by Mrs. *Lucy Walters*, or *Barlow*, of *Pembrokeshire*, was admitted into the Privy-Council. He was born at *Rotterdam*, April 9, 1649, at the Time when *Echard* says, the King was as eminent for Continence, as he was for Incontinence afterwards. The Queen Mother, it seems, lik'd him not the worse for his being the Bastard Son of her Son, but took particular Care of his Education, under *Thomas Rojs*, Esq; at *Paris*. At twelve Years old he was brought to *England*, and was created Duke of *Orkney* in *Scotland*, and Duke of *Monmouth* some time after. His Beauty and fine Mien gain'd the Love of the whole Court; his Father was so fond of him, that it created Jealousy in the Duke of *York*. In 1665, he was marry'd to the Lady *Anne*, Daughter and Heir to *Francis Earl of Buccleugh*, generally esteem'd the greatest Beauty and Fortune in the three Kingdoms. He was made Captain of the Horse Guards, Lord Lieutenant of the *East Riding of Yorkshire*, Governor of *Hull*, and afterwards General of all the Land Forces.

Blood's Plot to steal the Duke of Ormond.

In *December* this Year, there was discover'd a horrid and bloody Plot, no sham one, contriv'd by Captain *Blood* of *Ireland*, who, says *Echard*, had been in a Plot there to make himself Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and the *Compleat Historian* says, *Blood's* Design was to force the Duke to sign some Writings to surrender an Estate he had forfeited by Rebellion in *Ireland*, and that he was a desperate Villain. Mr. *Baxter* tells us, He had been a Soldier in the old King's Army against the Parliament. The other Plotters were *Richard Hallowell* of *Frying-pan Alley* in *Petrickoat-lane* without *Bishopsgate* (I am so particular, because it shews how well the *Compleat Historian*, from whom I take it, understands the Dignity and Majesty of History) *Thomas Allen*, *Thomas Hunt*, and *Ralph Alexander*. The Plot was to steal the Duke of *Ormond*, and hang him at

Tyburn, in Revenge of some Plotters whom the Duke had hung in *Ireland*. They way-laid him as he was going to *Dunkirk-House*, in *Piccadilly*, in the Night, and *Blood* taking him out of his Coach, by the Help of *Alexander*, mounted him on Horseback behind his eldest Son, afterwards Lieutenant General *Blood*. The Duke was carry'd as far as *Devonshire-House* before Help got to him; and then he flung himself off the Horse, the Person to whom he was ty'd falling with him. By which time the Duke's Porter, and other Assistance coming up, the Fellow disengag'd himself, mounted, and rode off with the rest of the Plotters. The *Compleat Historian* adds to this Piece of History two Consecrations, that of Dr. *Creighton*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, a virulent Preacher, and that of *Shadwell Church*; as you may see there more at large.

There was a stupid worthless Mechanick, one *Starling*, who had got himself in to the Chair in the City of *London*; he was Mayor the Year before, and join'd with the Archbishop's Nephew, Sir *Joseph Sheldon*, and one Sir *Andrew King*, an obscure Knight, in sending two eminent and worthy Citizens, Mr. *Jekyl*, and Mr. *Hayes*, to Goal, for endeavouring to save some poor Citizens from Prison, who were in danger of it, by being found worshipping God according to Scripture and their own Consciences. *Echard* calls their offering a Crown or two to the Constables, for letting the Protestant Dissenters go about their Business, an Attempt to bribe the Magistrates. The Parliament, who, says Bishop *Burnet*, had lost the Respect of the People, stood by *Starling* and *Sheldon*, against whom Mr. *Hayes* and Mr. *Jekyl* had brought their Action for false Imprisonment, and Voted the Commitment of those Gentlemen, to be for the Preservation of the King; which is as much Nonsense as a Majority of Wrong-heads cou'd be guilty of. Both the *Compleat Historians* take Notice of the great Favour done *Seth Ward*, Bishop of *Sarum*, by making him Chancellor of the Garter, as some Bishops of that See had been formerly; but I must remember that *Covenanting Presbyterian*, *Independent Republican*, and *Cromwellian*, for something else, which I find in *Baxter's* Life. "This Year *Salisbury* Diocese was more fiercely driven on to Conformity by Dr. *Seth Ward*, their Bishop, than any Place else, or than all the Bishops in *England* besides did in theirs. Many Hundreds were persecuted by him with great Industry, and among others, that learned, humble, holy Gentleman, *Thomas Grove*, Esq; an antient Parliament Man, of as great Sincerity and Integrity as almost any Man I ever knew. He stood it out a while in a Law Suit, but was overthrown, and fain to forsake his Country, as many Hundreds more are quickly like to do." Mr. *Grove's* Nephew, Dr. *Robert Grove*, was afterwards the learned and pious Bishop of *Chichester*.

About the same time Dr. *Manton* was sent to the common Goal for preaching the Gospel in his own House, and was kept in the Gate-house six Months.

Such was the State of Religion, and such the sad State of the Publick Affairs: The most Honourable and Safe Leagues were breaking, the most Sober and Religious Protestants in the Nation persecuting, and Popery and Slavery make very quick Approaches; but the Wicked will not always prosper.

Before we proceed farther in the Preparations of a new War, we must look into the Affairs of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

The Papists in *Ireland* had conceiv'd such Hopes of the Establishment of their Religion, that they cou'd not conceal them from the Protestants.

A.D. 1671 testants. 'Twas very remarkable, that in the Year 1668, Peter Talbot, Brother to Tyrconnel, and Titular Archbishop of Dublin, landing from England at a Place call'd the Skerish, within 12 Miles of that City, and being very hospitably entertain'd by one Captain Coddington, with whom he lodg'd one Night, Talbot the next Morning took him aside, and after the most affectionate Expression of Kindness, ask'd him what Title he had to that Estate? For he observ'd he had expended considerably upon its Improvement. Coddington answer'd, 'Twas an old Estate belonging to the Earl of Thomond. Talbot reply'd, *That's nothing; it belongs to the Church, and will all be taken away; therefore I advise you, lay out no more Money upon it, but get what you can and desert it.* All which was offer'd upon strong Injunctions of the most inviolable Secrecy.

Ireland.

The Duke of Ormond was then Lord Lieutenant, and nothing advantageous to their Interests cou'd be manag'd while he continu'd in that Post, which occasion'd several Consultations at Court about his Removal. It had been too palpable for the Popish Party to have appear'd in it; wherefore an Intrigue was then form'd of renewing the antient Animosities between him and the Duke of Buckingham. This was reduc'd to Act, and the Effect was proportionable to the Design. Being recall'd, he left his Son, the Earl of Ossory, to command in his Absence; and no sooner was it known at Dublin that he was remov'd, than the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, the Provost of the College, the Dean of Christ-Church, and many of the principal Citizens and Clergy, waited on the Earl of Ossory, to acknowledge the Benefits they enjoy'd under the good Government of his Father. The next thing to be consider'd was, who shou'd succeed him, which was a Matter that requir'd a very nice and critical Management. They pitch'd upon the Lord Roberts, A. D. 1669, as a Person who had formerly been disappointed of that Station, which begetting a Prejudice in him, and meeting with a vindictive Spirit, whose Temper they knew to be such, wou'd procure him invidiously to inspect into, or else to create Faults in the Government of the Duke of Ormond, which was the End of the Contrivance, and of his Advancement, as knowing that his Uneasiness to those of that Kingdom wou'd serve to prepare a fair Reception for the Lord Berkley, a Man of whose Inclinations to their Interest the Popish Party had the most convincing Assurances.

Antrim an Irish Rebel,

Some Years before the Lord Roberts was made Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Antrim was accus'd of being Actor in the Irish Massacre, and as such, his Estate was to be forfeited. These Articles being prov'd against him: 1. He was in the Conspiracy to surprize the Castle of Dublin with Macquire, Macinabon, who were hang'd, &c. 2. He afterwards join'd the Rebels, particularly Renny O-Moor. 3. He enter'd into the Popish Conspiracy before the Year 1643. 4. He constantly adher'd to the Nuntio's Party. 5. He sat from Time to Time in the Council of Kilkenny. 6. He sign'd the execrable Oath of Association. 7. He acted as Lieutenant General by Commission from that Council. 8. He declar'd he had join'd with Owen Roe, and Neal in opposing the Peace made by the Lord Ormond. These Proofs taken in Ireland were transmitted to King Charles II. who sent back a Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, then the Duke of Ormond, to clear Antrim; in which Letter 'tis all'dg'd, *That the Marquis of Antrim was innocent from any Malice or Rebellious Purpose against the Crown, and that his Transactions with the Irish*

Rebels were by the Instruction of the King his Father, and for his Service; that his Royal Father was well pleas'd with what the Marquis had done, and approv'd the same; and that he, Charles II. cou'd not in Justice deny him this Testimony; that what he did by way of corresponding with the Irish, was in order to the Service of his Royal Father, and warrant'd by his Instructions. This Letter was dated from White-hall July the 10th, 1663, and enter'd at the Signer Office July the 13th following. "Upon this, says Mr. Baxter, the Parliament's old

A.D. 1671

had King Charles I. Commis-

sion. "Adherents grew more confident than ever of the Righteousness of their Wars. And the very Destroyers of the King, whom the first Parliamentarians call'd Rebels, did presume also to justify their Cause, and said, *That the Law of Nature did warrant them.*" It stopp'd not here. The Lord Viscount Massareen, a zealous Protestant, still prosecuted Antrim's Cause, and carry'd it so far, that the Marquis was forc'd to produce in the House of Commons of England a Letter of King Charles I. by which he gave him Order for his taking up Arms against the English Protestants in Ireland; which being read even in this Giving and Taking House, put all the Members into a Silence.

Dr. Calamy very justly complains of the foul Mouths that broke out against him for mentioning this Passage of the Marquis of Antrim after Mr. Baxter, tho' it had been told by several Writers long before Mr. Baxter's Life came out, as by the Author of *Murther will out*, by Lieutenant General Ludlow, &c. Indeed it bears hard on the Memory of Charles the First, and proves, beyond Contradiction, that his Martyrdom cou'd not be for the Protestant Religion, against which he commission'd an Irish Massacre to take Arms. I never thought that King gave a formal Commission to the Irish Papists to cut the Throats of the English Protestants: But I always thought, and always shall think, that if a Commission to take Arms is given, or even countenanc'd, and the Consequence of that Commission is a Massacre, that the Power who gave it, or countenanc'd it, is as much accessary to the Massacre as ever Person was accessary to a Murder, in which there's no Difference in Guilt and Punishment between the Accessary and the Principal.

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Soon after the Lord Roberts's Arrival at Dublin a very unfortunate Accident happen'd there. Most of the Nobility and Gentry being at the Theatre in Dublin to see Ben. Johnson's *Bartholomew Fair* acted, the upper Galleries on a sudden fell all down, and the People out of them into the Pit and lower Boxes. The Lord Lieutenant and his Lady were in the King's Box, or what serves instead of it, in that *Play-house*, but they both escap'd the Danger, part of the Box where they were remaining firm, and so resisting the Fall from above, only his two Sons were found quite bury'd under the Timber. The younger had receiv'd but little Hurt, but the eldest was taken up dead to all Appearance; he was presently let Blood and recover'd. Many of the Audience were dangerously hurt, and seven or eight kill'd out-right. If, like the *Compleat Historian*, we cou'd suffer our Passion to cry out a Judgment on every extraordinary Incident, one might ask why shou'd not this be imputed such, when the Buffoonry of the Stage was play'd against the Purity of Divine Worship; for the fobert religious Puritan was the Jest of the Farce, and a proper Cant put into his Mouth to adapt it to the Times, the lewdest that ever were known in a Country where Profession was made of any Religion at all. Lord Roberts remain'd Lord Lieutenant but about six Months, and then the

A sad Accident.

Lord

A.D. 1671 Lord *Berkley* was sent over in the same Station. He arriv'd April the 2d, 1670. *Richard Talbot*, Brother to *Peter*, and the Duke of *York's* Favourite, went from Court to *Ireland* soon after, where, pretending to retire and live private, he was still engag'd in all the secret Counsels with *Sir Ellis Leighton*, as great a Sinner as his holy Brother, the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, was a Saint, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant *Berkley*.

It was now pretended, that when the King was in Exile, he had oblig'd himself to the *French* King to restore the *Irish* to their Religion and Estates; and lest a Neglect of this shou'd occasion a Breach with *France*, which the King under his new Engagement durst not admit a Thought of, something therefore must be done to satisfy his most Christian Majesty; so it was order'd, notwithstanding the Law, to prefer *Irish* Papists to the Commission of the Peace, in this Year 1671. But they behav'd so partially and insolently, that they became odious to sober Men of their own Party.

The next Year an Attempt was made to regulate *Corporations*. The Lord *Berkley* acting, as he was directed, by the Duke of *York*, or his Agents the *Talbots*, the Lord Lieutenant was empower'd to do it by an Act of the last Parliament there. This was manag'd with such Secrecy, that none were made acquainted with it till a Draft of it was drawn and brought ready to the Council Board. The next Day an Order was sent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin* to call a Common-Council, to turn them out and make a new Government in the City. This *Berkley* and the Privy-Council well understood wou'd make a Disturbance, which they were desirous so to improve among the Citizens, as to render the Protestants disaffected. To this End they labour'd industriously to irritate and provoke them, as the Lord *Berkley* had done the Year before, when a Number of Boys got up in a Tumult to pull down a Bridge, which was erecting contrary to the Desire of the City. The Lord Mayor and Constables having suppress'd them, the Lord Lieutenant order'd Soldiers, as they were carrying them to Prison, to discharge several Shots among the Boys, by which several of them were kill'd.

The Aldermen of *Dublin* gave ready Obedience to the Order, tho' they fear'd the Bottom of the Design; and this Compliance put the Lord Lieutenant on new Measures; for the most considerable Aldermen had been noted for keeping *Papists* from the Freedom of the City, and while they were in Power no *Papists* Design cou'd succeed; wherefore the next Work was to prepossess the Populace with a Prejudice against the Aldermen, representing them as the Authors and Contrivers of this new Model, tho' as it was afterwards prov'd upon an Hearing before the Earl of *Essex* and Council, when he was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, they never heard one Word of that Model till the Order was brought to them upon *Tolsey*, with a Command to put it in Execution. About the same Time, 1672, came over to *Dublin* a Person who assum'd several Names, sometimes *Payne*, sometimes *Nevill*, the same Man who was committed to *Newgate* a few Years after for some High Misdemeanor relating to *Coleman* and the *Papists* Plot. This *Nevill* was sent to *Ireland* by *Coleman*, Secretary to the Duke of *York*, to act as he shou'd receive Instructions from himself and the chief *Papists* of *England*. He kept himself close at first, but at last was receiv'd into the Castle, and appear'd as Under-Secretary to *Sir Ellis Leighton*. His Business was to insuse into the Citizens of *Dublin* an Opinion of

A.D. 1671 the Treachery of their Recorder *Sir William Davis*; and to make the Pretext the more plausible, he had Instructions to add, that the Recorder and the Lord Primate, then Lord Chancellor, counsell'd the Lord *Berkley* to enact those Laws for abolishing the antient Government of the City, and further insinuating, that this was done at the Desire, Instigation, and Contrivance of the chief Aldermen. The impious Suggestion being not only artfully spread, but also too easily credited by the Citizens, they were induc'd to pitch upon *Nevill* as their most proper Agent, and in order to this advanc'd Money, which they presented to *Sir Ellis Leighton*, who, together with *Nevill*, brought the then Lord Mayor *Totty*, with the Sheriffs, to the Lord Lieutenant, who publicly declar'd the Relation above, and promis'd to recal his Order. Upon which he summon'd a Council, but the unravelling of the Business discover'd a *Papist* Intrigue, which occasion'd their not agreeing with the Lord *Berkley*.

However, a Consultation was held by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs with Colonel *Talbot* his Brother, the Titular Archbishop of *Dublin*, as also with *Sir Nicholas Plunket*, the Pope's Knight, at *Talbot's* House, three Miles from *Dublin*, where it was resolv'd, that the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs shou'd call a general Assembly of the City, and by an Act of that Assembly turn out the Recorder, and all the Aldermen and Common-Council-Men, who oppos'd the *Papist* Party. But when the Assembly met, all the four and twenty Aldermen were unanimous, and without them no Act cou'd pass; upon which they sent to the Lord Lieutenant for further Instructions, keeping the Assembly shut up till the Answer came from him, which was, that one of the Sheriffs, and several of the Commons, shou'd deliver a Petition to the Aldermens Court to turn out *Sir William Davis* and seven of the chief Aldermen. One of the Sheriffs, asham'd of these treacherous Proceedings, discover'd the secret Contrivance: *Papery* promoted. And thus the Aldermen had some Time to be on their Guard against it; and they defended themselves so well when the Matter came to be debated, that the adverse Party obtain'd only the Suffrages of two indigent Aldermen; but then the Lord Mayor, who was corrupted by *Leighton* and *Payne*, call'd a private Assembly, at which not one of the seven Aldermen were present. The Commons were call'd into the Aldermens Court, and there, in a tumultuous and irregular Manner, the seven chief Aldermen were turn'd out, and seven of the Rabble put in their Places; *Leighton* was also made Recorder, several *Papists* were brought into the Common-Council. *Talbot*, the Titular Archbishop of *Dublin*, borrowed rich Hangings, Silver Candlesticks, Plate, and other Utensils of the Lord Lieutenant to use at *High Mass*, which *Leighton* got to be sent with this Complement, *That he hop'd to have High Mass at Christ-Church at Christmas*.

In *Berkley's* Time the *Papists* in *Ireland* became so insolent, that *Richard* and *Peter Talbot* were look'd upon as a kind of Favourites at the Castle, and a horrid Conspiracy was on Foot to massacre the Protestants, which was discover'd by the Babling of a Priest, who was come from abroad to forward that blessed Work, as they were pleas'd to call it. Suspicion was taken by Crosses of *Straw*, which the Priests had order'd the *Papists* to fix over their Doors, as a Token of Distinction to save them when the Protestants were destroy'd. The Priest was sought after, but he was convey'd away, and the Government gave no Encouragement to any Enquiry into the Plot, or after the Plotters. The Men who were outed, sent

A. D. 1671 sent Sir *William Davis*, the outed Recorder, to *London*, to lay the State of their Case before the Ministry, which when the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had heard, he swore the Lord Lieutenant was mad, and about a Month after the Earl of *Essex* was appointed to succeed *Berkley* in that Station. The latter went Ambassador to *France*, where he behav'd so poorly, that he was said to have lost his Wits, if ever he had any. The Earl of *Essex*, some Time before this, being at *Paris*, in his Way to *England* from the Waters of *Bourbon*, the Queen-Mother, then living, sent for him, and told him there were Agents from *Ireland*, who desir'd Money and Arms of the *French King* as also some Officers, and they wou'd put that Kingdom into his Hand. But, says Bishop *Burnet*, the *French King* had greater Things in View. However, this is no small Proof of the traitorous Designs of the *Irish* Papists against their King and Country, for they were not as yet let into the Secret of King *Charles's* Religion.

We must in the next Place cast an Eye upon Scotland, which we left after the Tumult at *Pentland-Hill*. The Executions which follow'd it are too bloody and barbarous for a Christian History. Archbishop *Sharp* was the most deeply concern'd in them, insomuch that after he had receiv'd a Letter from the King to stop his Hand, he suffer'd ten Men to be put to Death before he paid Obedience to it. His Majesty having receiv'd Information of the ill State of Affairs in *Scotland* by the Earls of *Tweeddale* and *Kincardin*, who went to *London* on Purpose, was displeas'd at *Sharp's* Tyranny and Cruelty, and order'd the Lord *Rothes* to write to that proud and hated Prelate to stay within his Diocess, and come no more to *Edinburgh*. Upon this he was struck with so deep a Melancholy, that, to use the Lord of *Sarum's* Words, he shew'd as much Abjection under the slight Disgrace, as he had shewn Insolence before, when he had more Favour. He presided in the last Convention, but Duke *Hamilton* was appointed to preside in the next, A. D. 1667. *Sharp* had been order'd to look after the Education of the young Marquis of *Huntly*, and see that he was not bred a Papist; for the Strength of Popery in *Scotland* lay in his Family. *Sharp* car'd not for that; the Earl of *Rothes's* Mistress was related to *Huntly*, and a good Catholick herself, so he let *Huntly's* Mother breed him as she pleas'd; and Bishop

Burnet adds, The Interest which Popery had in Scotland was believ'd to be chiefly owing to *Sharp's* Compliance with the Earl of *Rothes's* Amours, which cou'd not but be very much for the Credit of the Cause he had espous'd at the Expence of his Oaths and his Conscience. That eminent Prelate, his Grace, says *Echard* of him; and the Bishop of *Sarum* does not scruple to stile the very same Man *Infamous*. The Lord *Rothes*, *Sharp's* Patron, sent Colonel *Drummond* with a Message to the King, representing the Necessity of putting to Death all those who wou'd not renounce the *Covenant*. Such an Order was sent, but with it a Letter, commanding the Execution of it to be forborn, unless there was express Command for it from Court; so it serv'd only to make *Rothes*, *Sharp*, and their Party still more odious. *Burnet*, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, got into the Management upon *Sharp's* leaving it; but he drove so furiously, that even *Sharp* was thought a more moderate Counsellor, and accordingly recall'd to the Council-Board, and *Burnet* also grew somewhat tamer. The Bishops, says my Lord of *Salisbury*, seem only concern'd for their Authority and Revenues, and took no Care of regulating Worship and Discipline, which I never did, nor ever shall wonder at. Authority

and Revenues are of the Kingdom of the World in which we live; Religion and Piety are of the Kingdom of *Christ*, which is too remote to have any Attraction on worldly Minds.

All this while Lord *Lauderdale* kept himself pretty much in the good Opinion of the *Presbyterians*; but about eight Years after the Restoration he suffer'd himself to be govern'd by the Countess of *Dyffert*, Wife of Sir *Lionel Talmaish* of *Suffolk*, with whom he had so familiar Commerce in her Husband's Time, that it gave Occasion to Censure. This Woman had Beauty, Wit, and some Learning; but, as Bishop *Burnet* tells us, wou'd stick at nothing to compass her Ends. When *Lauderdale* was a Prisoner after *Worcester* Fight, she sav'd his Life by her Intrigues with *Cromwel*, which was not a little taken Notice of. The Bishop adds, He was certainly fond of her, and she took Care to entertain him in it, till he, finding what was said upon it, broke it off. She liv'd after the Restoration so much with *Lauderdale*, that his Wife left the Kingdom, went to *Paris*, and dy'd there. After which he marry'd Lady *Dyffert*, and deliver'd himself up to all her Humours and Passions; by which Means he fell out with all his best Friends, and among others with the *Presbyterians*, who paid him more than ordinary Respect in Hopes to keep him, if not theirs, at least their Friends. Lord *Tweeddale* had the Commission for *Scotland* after Lord *Rothes*; and to expose the latter, *Turner* the Dragoon was question'd for his Cruelties, which provok'd the People to rise about *Dumfries*. It was expected *Turner* wou'd produce his Warrants, and that then *Rothes* wou'd appear to have been chiefly concern'd in it; but he funk them, and his Commission being taken from him, wou'd not produce any Vouchers to please his Enemies. The wise and virtuous Sir *Robert Murray* was Assitant to the Earl of *Tweeddale* in the Government, and passing through the West of *Scotland* to endeavour to compose Matters a little, he found out the Source of all the Evils which had there happen'd. The Episcopal Clergy in that Country were, as he told the Bishop of *Salisbury*, a Set of Men so ignorant and so scandalous, that it was not possible to support them, unless the greatest Part of them cou'd be turn'd out, and better Men put in their Places. The Archbishop of *Glasgow*, *Burnet*, had put them all in, and they were so link'd together, that none of them cou'd be got to concur in getting Proofs of Crimes brought against their Brethren. How do the Compleat Historians rejoyce at the obtruding of Episcopacy in *Scotland*! and these are, you see, the sweet Effects of it. Sir *Robert Murray* propos'd a Method to purge the Church of such Scandals to it, by erecting a Court, consisting of Clergy and Laity, to examine into the Complaints of the People against their Curares. *Burnet* of *Glasgow* roar'd against this as an Encroachment on his Authority; and his Clergy cry'd out, They were undone. Indeed Sir *Robert Murray's* Project was too pious to succeed in such impious Times. The Lord *Tweeddale* prevail'd on the holy *Leighton* to go to *London*, where he represented to the King the Madness of the Administration of Church Affairs in *Scotland* under *Sharp*, and the Archdeacon's other Scotch Bishops. A Treaty of an Accommodation was propos'd with the *Presbyterians*, but came to nothing. Oppression had wrought the rigid *Presbyterians* into Phrenzy, and they were not soon to be brought into a treating Temper. The more sober Part of them were not averse to it; but so many Difficulties were started, that this Proposal, like all other good Proposals in these bad Times, had no Effect. In the Year 1668,

A. D. 1671 *Sharp* the Archbishop, who was as much hated as it is possible for a Man to be, was shot at in a Coach in *Edinburgh* Street; but the Bullet was intercepted by the Arm of the Bishop of *Orkney*, who was then getting into *Sharp's* Coach. *Echard* asserts, That the Man who shot off the Pistol was a *Conventicle Preacher*. Bishop *Burnet* says, he was shot at by a Man, but does not say he was a Preacher, or a Presbyterian, tho' 'tis very likely he was a *Conventicler*, as that modest, ingenious Historian terms the Protestant Dissenters, and for the Sake of this *Billingsgate*, does he affirm a Falshood, for my Lord of *Sarum* intimates, that the Man, *Mitchel*, whom *Echard* names, was a Shop-keeper. *Sharp* was as much frightened as a wicked Man and a Coward cou'd be. *Mitchel* made off, and was not discover'd 'till six Years after, and how that happen'd is worth knowing, there being a Series of Villainies in the Beginning and End of this Business, which is not easily to be met with in any other History. I take it from the Bishop of *Salisbury*.

P. 413.
Sharp
guilty of a
Series of
Villainies.

"*Sharp* had observ'd a Man that kept a Shop at his Door, who look'd very narrowly on him always as he pass'd by, and he fancy'd he was the Man that had shot at him six Years before; so he order'd him to be taken up and examin'd. It was found he had two Pistols by him, that were deeply charg'd, which encreas'd the Suspicion, yet the Man deny'd all. But *Sharp* got a Friend of his to go to him; and deal with him to make a full Confession, and *Sharp* made solemn Promises that he wou'd procure his Pardon. *Mitchel's* Friend answer'd, he hop'd he did not intend to make use of him to trapan a Man to his Ruin." Now, Reader, fix thy Eyes upon this *Sharp*, and see him in the highest Act of Devotion, telling the most execrable Falshy that ever came from Man's Lips. "*Sharp*, with lifted up Hands, promis'd by the Living God, that no Hurt should come to the Man. The Person went to the Prisoner, who offer'd to tell all, if a Promise was made in the King's Name; upon which *Lauderdale*, then the King's Commissioner, empower'd the Lord *Halton* his Brother, the Lord *Rotbes* and *Primrose* to promise him his Life, which was done, and the Prisoner *Mitchel*, kneeling immediately down, confess'd the Fact. There was but one Person privy to it, and he was then dead. *Echard* insinuates that all the Presbyterians were privy to it." *Sharp* was troubled to see so small a Discovery, and the Man was sent Prisoner to the *Bast*, to be kept there for Life; however, he was sometime after brought into the *Justiciary Court*, upon an Indictment for this Crime, to which it was expected he wou'd plead Guilty, "But the Judge, as he went up the Stairs, passing by the Prisoner, said to him, Confess nothing, unless you are sure of your Limbs as well as your Life. Upon this Hint, he refus'd to confess, which being reported to the Council, an Act was pass'd, that since he had retracted his Confession, they likewise recall'd the Promise of Pardon. *Sharp* would have his Life, *Lauderdale* gave Way to it; and he was brought to *Edinburgh*, in order to his Trial. All were amaz'd at the Proceeding, *Primrose* took a Copy of the Act of Council for *Mitchel's* Pardon, and then going to *Lauderdale*, told him, many thought there had been a Promise of Life given: *Lauderdale* deny'd it stiffly; *Primrose* desir'd the Council Register might be look'd into, to see if there was any Act for it." *Lauderdale* said, he was sure it was not possible. *Lockhart*, Uncle of *Carnarvon*; pleaded for *Mitchel* with such Force and Eloquence, as amaz'd the Audience, but it was

Lauder-
dale's
Falshood.

over-rul'd. Then the Promise of Pardon was insisted on; the Person who went to *Mitchel*, gave Evidence of that Promise from *Sharp*, which *Sharp* for *Sharp*, who had sworn his Promise by the Living sworn God, flatly deny'd. The Duke of *Lauderdale*, the Earl of *Rotbes*, and the Lord *Halton*, deny'd also that there was any Promise of Pardon; at which, all present, were struck with Astonishment. *Lockhart* demanded a Copy of the Council Act, which was register'd. Duke of *Lauderdale*, who was in the Court, only as a Witness, and so had no Right to speak, stood up and said, *I and these other noble Persons, are not brought hither to be accus'd of Perjury, the Books of Scot's Council are the King's Secrets, and no Court shall have the Perusing of them.* So *Mitchel* was cast and condemn'd. *perjur'd.*

As soon as the Court broke up, the Lords of the Council search'd the Register, and to their Shame, found the Act for Pardon enter'd there, and sign'd by Lord *Rotbes*, as President of the Council, whose poor Excuse was, that he sign'd any thing the Clerk put in the Book, upon whom it was then intended to throw it; but he, to clear himself, searches among his Papers, and found the Draught of the Act in *Nisbit*, the King's Advocate's Hand. *Nisbit* being rich, a severe Fine was determin'd to be laid upon him; but he examin'd the Minutes of the Council Book, and spoke to all who were then at the Board, of whom nine happen'd to be in *Edinburgh*, who were ready to depose upon Oath, that when the Council order'd this Act to be drawn, the Clerk of the Council desir'd the Help of the King's Advocate, which he gave him, and his Draught was approv'd by the Council, yet *Lauderdale* still stood to it. Lord *Kincardin* sent a Bishop to him before the Trial, desiring him to consider better of the Matter, and not deny a Thing upon Oath, which he, *Kincardin*, had under both his own, and his Brother *Halton's* Hand, nay the very Letters wherein he desir'd that a Pardon might be ask'd of the King for *Mitchel*, pursuant to the Promise that had been given him. This made some Impression on him, and he was willing to grant a Reprieve, but *Sharp* said, *That was to expose him to any Man who wou'd attempt to murder him.* Then said Duke *Lauderdale* in an *Lauder-impious* jesting Way, *Let Mitchel glorify God in the Grass Market, where he was hang'd; which was the Action, and all that were concern'd in it, were look'd at by all People with Horror.* Bishop *Burnet* adds, *It was such a Complication of Treachery, Perjury and Cruelty, as the like had not perhaps been known,* and I cannot think that all the *Conciergeries* and *Chatelets* in the World, cou'd furnish such a Set of Men as dipp'd their Hands, and their very Souls in the Blood of this Man. Remember *Echard's* Lord Primate, his Grace is at the Head of them. *Lauderdale's* Chaplain, *Hicks*, a Conventicle Preacher, after he was turn'd out of the Deanery of *Worcester*, publish'd a false and partial Account of this Matter, says my Lord *Sarum*, to justify his Master, but his Lordship's Account was sent him by *Primrose*, and every Page sign'd by the Clerk of the Court. To return to the *Scot's* History where we left off. *Sharp*, after this Attempt against him, was sent for to Court, and well receiv'd by the King, whose moderate Measures then taken up, he seem'd to approve, and when he return'd to *Scotland*, he mov'd in Council, that an Indulgence might be granted to some of the *Kirk* Ministers, who wou'd oblige themselves not to speak or preach against Episcopacy, &c. but it had no great, or rather a very ill Effect; for the strict *Covenanters* objected, that if they bound themselves against the Covenant, by which they renounc'd Episcopacy,

A.D. 1671 *pacy*, the Sin was their own; if the King bound them, they had still Liberty left to refuse Obedience, and undergo the Punishment.

The *Militia* of *Scotland*, consisting of 2000 Horse, and 16,000 Foot, were arm'd, train'd and cast into Independent Regiments, under such Orders as they receiv'd from the Council Board; all which was against Law.

Mention has been made of the Scheme for a Union of the two Kingdoms, for which *Scots* Commissioners were appointed, but it went no farther. About Forty Ministers receiv'd Licenses to preach, on the Conditions therein mention'd, but those Ministers who cou'd not comply, look'd on them, as in a *Schism* which divided the *Presbyterian* Interest. The indulg'd *Presbyterians*, and the *Cameronians*, who wou'd not be indulg'd on the Terms of Suspending the *Covenant*, carrying their Prejudices as far as *Excommunication*. The *Scots* Parliament, in the Year 1669, pass'd an Act to assert the King's Supremacy in so high a Strain, that it might have been stretch'd to every thing. Bishop *Leighton* was against it, so were many of the best *Episcopal* Clergy, as *Nairn*, *Charteris*, &c. By another Act, they settled the *Militia*, declaring they shou'd march into any of the King's Dominions, as his Majesty should think necessary, and now having enslav'd both Church and State, *Lauderdale* brag'd of his Merit in it, and told the King in a Letter, *All Scotland is now in your Power*. Notwithstanding the Talk ever now and then of *Moderation*, *Indulgence*, *Comprehension* and *Union*, in the very next Session of the *Scots* Parliament, the Severities against the *Kirk* were increas'd. *Lauderdale*, with his own Hand, put in a Word in the new Act that cover'd *Papists*, the Fines being to be laid only on such of the *Reform'd Religion* as went not to the Church. All *Field Meetings* were declar'd *Treasonable* and *Capital* in the Preacher. The *Landlords* on whose Grounds they were held, were to be severely fin'd, and all who were at them, to be be punish'd Arbitrarily. Half of the Parliament abhorr'd this Act, and the King himself said, *He wou'd never have pass'd it, had he known it before-hand*. In this miserable State we must leave *Scotland*, but shall hardly find any other Part of the *British* Dominions in a better.

At last the Parliament of *England* cou'd see what every one else had seen long before them, and in *March*, presented an Address to the King, setting forth the Causes of the Growth of *Popery*, the great Number of *Priests* and *Jesuits* frequenting the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, their *Chapels* and *Convents* in other Cities and Towns in *England*, their *Schools*, *Books* and *Catechisms*, their enjoying *beneficial* Places, other Persons acting in *Trust* for them, &c. They then propos'd

Remedies against these growing Mischiefs, a Proclamation to banish all *Popish* *Priests* and *Jesuits*, a vigorous Execution of the Laws against *Recusants*, a Check to be given to the great Resort of the *English* to the *Popish* *Chapels* of *Foreign* Ministers, not to admit them to any Employment, *Civil* and *Military*; an Order to apprehend one *Plunket*, who goes under the Name of *Primate of Ireland*, and one *Peter Talbot*, who takes on him the Name of *Archbishop of Dublin*. The *Lords* boggled a little at this Address, when it was first sent up to them, but came into it afterwards, and join'd with the *Commons* in presenting it. His Majesty after a gracious Answer, told them, he wou'd make a *Distinction* between those who had newly chang'd their Religion, and those who had serv'd his Father and himself in the late Wars. It goes against the Grain to do any thing that gives good Ca-

tholicks Offence. However, a Proclamation did come out against *Papists*, and I wonder the Parliament should so gravely mention such a Thing, when not one Proclamation against them had been effectually executed, since this Royal House reign'd in *England*. Dearly did they buy what was so little worth, the gracious Answer to the Address against *Papists*, by a *Subsidy Bill*, an *Excise Bill*, a *Law Bill*, a Bill for *Imposition on foreign Commodities*. Against the *Subsidy Bill*, the old Lord *Lucas* stood up, and made an honest old *English* Speech on the 22d of *February*, which being printed and publish'd, was order'd by the Ministry to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hang-man. This Speech being at large in the *State Tracts*, and *Echard*, I shall refer to it, only take what was said upon it, at the Time it was burnt, out of another Author, "All true *English* Men were griev'd and astonish'd at the " Burning of it, but I dare affirm this barbarous Usage did so little discourage my Lord " *Lucas* from doing his Duty, that he wou'd " have submitted himself to the same Fate, if " his Death might have prevented these approaching Calamities, which have since been " so fatally destructive to this poor Kingdom; " but God has taken him from an ungrateful " Generation, and from the Evil to come, and " left us to lament the Loss of so worthy a " Patriot. Who shall shew his Majesty those " dreadful Precipices, whereon *French Fraud* and " *Popish Malice* have plac'd us, from whence they " daily expect not only to see him fall, but to " dash himself in Pieces? Who shall tell the House " of Peers by what generous Steps their Ancestors " ascended to those immortal Titles of Honour and " Renown? Who shall tell the House of Commons of their profuse and lavish Squandering " the Wealth and Liberties of this now weak " and perishing, but once mighty, and invincible People?" He intends the Felicities of this felicitous Reign, which the *Compleat Historian* so dwells upon. The *Excise Bill*, the *Law Bill*, and the *Subsidy Bill*, only were computed at two Millions and an half. The standing Revenue of the Crown was two Millions yearly; yet all this, and more, wou'd not pay for the Fleet one Summer, and answer the numberless prodigal Calls of the Court. The Duke of *Tork* too had 24,000 Pounds a Year given him this Session, instead of the *Wine Licenses*. The Bill for laying Imposts on certain *Foreign Commodities*, pass'd the House of Commons, notwithstanding the Opposition that was made to it by the *London* Merchants, who follow'd it to the *Lords*, and petition'd them against it, shewing the Inequality and Disproportion of the Rates, and that it wou'd be an irreparable Prejudice to the *English* Plantations; upon which the *Lords* thought it absolutely necessary to make some Alterations in the Bill, and sent it back to the *Commons*, with their Reasons for those Alterations, which the *Commons* wou'd by no Means admit of, and it occasion'd a long Controversy, about the Right or no Right of the *Lords* to alter Money Bills; in which the *Commons* had so far the better of the Argument, that the King was forc'd to put an End to the Session, as the surest Way to cut the Knot which the *Lords* had ty'd; and on the 22d of *April* his Majesty prorogu'd the Parliament to the 16th of the next *April*, almost a whole Year; after which it was prorogu'd again, and made a Recess of twenty-one Months. In this Session the noble Earl of *Clare* made a notable Speech on the King's coming so frequently to the House of Peers, and sitting without his Robes, to influence the most honourable Members of that House, which was done sometimes with so much Indecency,

A.D. 1671

Lord Lucas's Speech burnt.

The King a Parliament Sollicitor.

A.D. 1671 Indecency, that his Majesty wou'd not stick to solicit for or against Bills, as one Lord does another.

On the 31st of March dy'd the Dutchess of York, after a long Indisposition, in the 34th Year of her Age. She was interr'd in the Vault of Mary Queen of Scots, in Henry the VIIth's Chapel, in Westminster-Abbey. It was observ'd that she had not receiv'd the Sacrament in fourteen Months before the Time of her Decease, and that she was upon all Occasions for excusing the Errors which the Church of Rome was charg'd with, giving them the best Colours they were capable of. An unmarried Clergy was a common Topick with her. Bishop Morley was her Father Confessor, she having practis'd secret Confession from the Time she was twelve Years of Age. When Bishop Morley press'd her to receive the Sacrament, she pretended ill Health or Business, protesting she had no Scruples with relation to her Religion. Blandford, then Bishop of Worcester, was her Confessor after Morley was sent from Court: She solemnly engag'd to Morley, that if ever she had any Scruples, she wou'd let him know them; and he protested to Bishop Burnet, that to her Death she never own'd to him she had any Scruples, though she was for some Days entertain'd by him at Farnham, after the Date of the Paper which was publish'd in her Name.

Bishop Burnet writes, "All this pass'd between Morley and me, upon the Duke's shewing me that Paper, all writ in her own Hand, which was afterwards publish'd by Maimbourg. He wou'd not let me take a Copy of it, but gave me Leave to read it, of which I gave Morley an Account immediately; and he concluded that that unhappy Princess had been prevail'd on to give Fallshoods under her Hand, and to pretend that what was contain'd in that Paper, were the Grounds of her Conversion. When she was in the Agony of Death, Blandford was sent for, but before he came, the Queen was come, and sat by her. Blandford was so modest and humble, that he had not Presence of Mind enough to begin Prayers, which probably wou'd have driven the Queen out of the Room: But that not being done, she pretended Kindness, and wou'd not leave her. He happen'd to say, *I hope you continue still in the Truth: Upon which she ask'd, What is Truth? And then her Agony increasing, she repeated the Word Truth, Truth, Truth, often; and, continues the Right Reverend Historian, in a few Minutes after she dy'd, very little below'd or lamented.*" The long Letter her Father, the Earl of Clarendon, wrote her, when he heard of her waverings in her Religion, came not till after her Death. The Duke of York abjur'd the Protestant Religion about the same Time, and in that shew'd he had a little more Conscience than his Brother, and was asham'd, or afraid, of mocking God any longer.

Dutchess of York dies, very little below'd or lamented.

Blood steals the Crown.

On the 9th of May, Major Blood, with two more, his Son, and one Perrot, attempted to steal the Crown, and Crown Jewels, in the Tower. Blood pretended Friendship to the Keeper, suddenly Gag'd the old Man, and when he cry'd out, struck him on the Head, but wou'd not kill him, and so went off with the Crown. As soon as he and the two others were gone, the Keeper's Son comes in, ungags his Father, runs out after them, crying, *Treason! Murder!* Which giving the Alarm to the Warders and Centinels, Blood, his Son, and Perrot, were taken, and the Crown recover'd. It was a little batter'd, and some Stones missing, but they also were found, and brought

back to the Tower. Blood disguis'd himself in a Parson's Gown, which gave occasion to a Rhime which is too well known to be repeated here, tho' one may be provok'd to it, by the Ecclesiasticks representing Blood and his Company as so many Murtherers; for if they wou'd have knock'd the Keeper, Edwards, on the Head, they had infallibly carry'd the Crown away. 'Tis a long History in Echard, from a notable Manuscript of Sir Gilbert Talbot's, which being a Treasure among so much Poverty, I will rob his Work of no more, but say what is not there. Blood was brought to the King, and expected Death; but he spoke so boldly, that, as my Author has it, *all admir'd him.* He told the King, *Many of his Subjects were disoblig'd, and that he himself was one, who took himself to be in a State of Hostility, and had not taken the Crown as a Thief, but as an Enemy, thinking that lawful which was lawful in a War; and that he cou'd many a time have had the King in his Power, but that he thought his Life was better for them than his Death, lest a worse succeed him; and that the Number of resolute Men disoblig'd was so great, that if his own Life was taken away, it wou'd be reveng'd.* What a Mystery does Echard make of the King's pardoning Blood, and his Accomplices? Why 'tis plain they were all frighted at Court, and thought it safer to bribe him than hang him: So, according to Echard, he had 500 Pounds a Year settled upon him in Ireland; but he wou'd not tell us 'twas in Consideration of an Estate which had before been taken from him by the Duke of Ormond. For Blood told the King farther, "That he intended no Harm to the Person of the Duke of Ormond, but because he had taken his Estate from him, he wou'd have forc'd him to restore the Value in Money; and that he never robb'd nor shed Blood, which if he wou'd have done, he cou'd easily have kill'd Ormond, and easily have carry'd away the Crown. My Author concludes thus, "In a Word, he so behav'd himself, that the King did not only release and pardon him, but admitted him frequently to his Presence: Some say, because his Gallantry took much with him, having been a Soldier of his Fathers." The Archdeacon, as honestly and ingeniously as one might expect from him, calls this Blood the Arch-Villain, and tells us, *he pretended great Interest and Sway among the Dissenters; and that the Cause of his engaging in a Plot to murder the King, was for his Majesty's Severity over the Consciences of the GODLY, in suppressing the Freedom of their Religious Assemblies.* Though such Wickedness as this meets not its Reward in this World, it will not fail of it in the next; and 'tis Pity such a Thought as that had not restrain'd the Author. For to insinuate that the Presbyterians were in Conspiracy with Blood, not only to steal the Duke of Ormond, and the Crown, but to assassinate the King, adds Malignity to Uncharitableness, and is what I am really asham'd to meet with in English History. There is however some excellent Memoirs in his Annals of this Year, as these.

Baxter's Life, Fol. 88. Blood's Speech terrifies the King.

p. 89.

Before the King undertook the War, he thought fit to celebrate some great Solemnities relating to the Garier, at his Palace of Windsor, where noble Preparations were made; and on the 23d of April, being the Feast of St. George, the King of Sweden was install'd Knight of the Order by his Proxy the Earl of Carlisle, and the Elector of Saxony, by his Proxy the Earl of Winchelsea; and the Arms of the following defunct Knights were hung up, William Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Earl of Berkshire, Algernon Earl of Northumberland, Thomas Earl of Southampton, Montagu Earl

A.D. 1671 Earl of Lindsey, Edward Earl of Manchester, George Duke of Albemarle. Monk's Garter was given to Christopher his Son, though Objections were made to the Genealogy in Westminster-Hall about twenty Years after. The Feast being over, the King went to Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight; from thence by Sea to Plymouth; thence back by Exeter and Wilton to Windsor and Whitehall; from thence again to Newmarket, Euston-Hall, Yarmouth, and the City of Norwich, where he Knighted the Author of Religio Medici, Dr. Thomas Brown; thence to Sir John Hobart's at Blecking, Sir Robert Paston's at Oxney; to Newmarket and Cambridge, where he Knighted Charles Caesar, Son to Sir Henry Caesar; thence back to Newmarket and London, where, on the Lord Mayor's Day, he and the Court were feasted in the City; and he conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on Jonathan Dawes and Robert Clayton, Esquires, then Sheriffs: One of them, Sir Robert Clayton, treated the same Company in his Shrivality; when the Duke of Buckingham, to whom Clayton was Scrivener, and who understood Gallantry as well as any Courtier in Christendom, missing his Majesty, made such a Discovery as is fit for no History but what is intended to be Secret.

Echard enlarges on these Solemnities, Journies, and Feastings, which are unworthy Historical Remembrance. If any thing of that Hand is met with in good Historians, it refers to great Princes and Conquerors, of whose Actions the curious Reader wou'd let not the least escape him; but the Curiosity ceases when one finds nothing else of more Importance; and if a Prince does not appear concern'd for the Welfare of his People, none of them can have much Concern for his Pleasures and Pastimes. I can't help remembering what the Compleat Historian calls the State of Religion this Year.

p. 185.

Walter, Lord Bishop of Oxford, was, on the 10th of June, at St. Mary Savoy, in the Presence of all the Bishops in Town, translated to the See of Worcester, and did Homage to his Majesty in the usual Forms, on June the 18th.

On June the 27th, for the Historian is extremely exact in the Dates of these Religious Matters, Dr. Nathaniel Crew, Son to the Lord Crew, and Clerk of the Closet to his Majesty, Bishop elect of Oxford, and Dr. Thomas Wood, late Dean of Litchfield, Bishop elect of Coventry and Litchfield, receiv'd their Confirmation at St. Mary Savoy; and on Sunday, July the 2d, were solemnly Consecrated in the Chapel at Lambeth, by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, Worcester, and Rochester.

On Sunday, October the 1st, Dr. Henry Bridgeman, Dean of Chester, was in the Choir of that Cathedral Church consecrated Bishop of Sodor and Man, by the Lord Bishop of Chester, as Substitute of his Grace the Archbishop of York, assisted by the Bishops of Bangor, St. Asaph, and Clougher, in the Presence of many Persons of great Quality, who were afterwards very nobly entertain'd by the new Bishop.

On February the 12th, upon the Vacancy of the Bishoprick of Durham, upon the Death of Dr. John Cosens, Lord Bishop and Count Palatine (this is what the Compleat Historian terms the State of Religion) his Majesty was pleas'd to constitute Sir Gilbert Gerard, Knight and Baronet, to be High Sheriff of the same; as likewise to appoint Sir Francis Goodrick to be Temporal Chancellor, &c. There is more of this Ecclesiastical History in the same Paragraph, but I am not much edify'd by this; and fearing the Reader shou'd make the like Complaint, I have done

with it. This will serve to shew what these Men understand by the State of Religion. The same Historian speaking of the persecuted Dissenters, says, "They shou'd not have complain'd of Persecution, without confessing the true Reasons of it;" and then he continues eight or ten Lines with true Reasons, which has in them as much Falstiy in Fact and Argument, as they cou'd well contain. I will quote him at large, that I may not be thought to have done him Injustice; and here let me observe, that when I animadverted on Echard's History of England, my Design was at first to have taken in also the Compleat History, with which I was well acquainted, having had a considerable Hand in the Publication of both of them, and having made my Objections to both with some Warmth before they were publish'd, as is well known to the Proprietors; but the Compleat History was so incomplete, so immethodical, so mean in Matter and Stile, that I cou'd not think it worth Animadversion, and I am drawn into so much of it now, by this Church History: That concerning the Dissenters follows immediately that concerning the State of Religion, and is thus; "The Laws had impos'd moderate Penalties upon the Dissenters: "The two Houses were express for the Execution of those Laws; the Bishops and Clergy were sincerely zealous in it, but the King and the Ministry were for stopping the legal Proceedings against them, and were in the Secret of dispensing with the Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, for the sake of indulging the Papists and the Nonconformists. This encouraged the Dissenters to defy the Laws, to which they wou'd most of them have submitted, if they had found a steady and impartial Execution of them; and this again provok'd the honest Justices and Magistrates to bear the more hard upon them, when they saw them so bold in despising and evading the Justice of the Nation." There it is! the Page 286— and one may defy the most Bookish Man in Great Britain to match it. Dr. Calamy preserves a Christian Temper on this Occasion, which it wou'd be happy for me, and all Men, if we cou'd imitate, and be calm amidst such a Tempest of Abuse and Railing. He, says the Doctor, our excellent Historian, affirms the Laws impos'd but moderate Penalties upon Dissenters, and that they defy'd the Justice of the Nation; which speaking of them as a Body, and in general, as this compleat charitable Writer does, is notoriously false. Yet all that the Doctor adds upon it, is, He in effect justifies the Severities against them, and if this yields him Consort upon a cool Reflection, I am far from envying him his Satisfaction. I begin with the moderate Penalties, and shall make use of an Author who wrote on the same Side with Atterbury, Sacheverel, &c. in Harley's Time, I mean the Review, he must have no other Name in History; and in his Preface to Delaune's Plea, he has this Passage: I am sorry to say Mr. Delaune is one of the 8000 Dissenters that perish'd in Prison in the Days of that merciful Prince King Charles the Second, and that meerly for dissenting from the Church in Points, which they cou'd give such Reasons for, as this Plea assigns; and for no other Cause were sisted (I had almost said murder'd) in Goals, for their Religion, in the Days of these Gentlemens Power who pretend to abhor Persecution. I shall in the next Place produce the Plea itself, where it speaks of these Penalties, and the defying of the Justice of the Nation. "As for the severe Penalties inflicted on Dissenters, as Seditious and Riotous, for their assembling together to worship God, as though they there by infring'd the Law, and violated the publick

A.D. 1671
Compleat
History
false.

p. 45.

A.D. 1671 "Peace, and for which they have within these
 "three Years suffer'd in their Estates and Trades
 "at least two Millions, which by the way is twice
 "as much as all the Bishops Lands in England are
 "worth at 20 Years Purchase, "contrary to the true
 "Intent and Meaning of those Statutes, if the
 "Maxim of the Law be true, that the Intention
 "makes the legal Trespass, both as to *Treason*,
 "Dissenters " *Felony, Murder, Riot*, 23 Years Experience
 "great suf- " evidences their quiet and peaceable Behaviour,
 "ferings. " and that they have been as far from Sedition
 "and Riot, as the Law defines, as any in the
 "Nation." He then gives the Definition of a
 "Riot out of the great Lawyer *Lambert*. I have
 "a Cloud of Witnesses against the *Compleat Histori-*
 "an, which I am ready to produce, when it is
 "thought necessary; but these two Evidences are,
 "I think, sufficient. He confesses the Bishops and
 "Bishops " Clergy were zealous in persecuting Protestant Dis-
 "and Clergy " senters; but he shou'd have done Justice to those
 "Persecutors " Bishops and Clergy who abhor'd it; as Bishop
 "*Wilkins*, Bishop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr.
 "*Whitcock*, Dr. *Patrick*, Dr. *Grove*, Dr. *Fowler*,
 "&c. And it must here be remember'd, that in
 "the Times of *Whitgift*, *Bancroft* and *Laud*, and
 "now in *Sheldon's* Persecution, the most pious,
 "learned, wise and reverend Fathers, the Bishops,
 "and the most pious, wise and learned Divines of
 "the Church of *England*, declar'd against these
 "Unchristian like Severities, were always for Mo-
 "deration, and as exemplary for Prudence, Tem-
 "per and Charity, as for their Abilities, Learning
 "and Piety; for which they have always been be-
 "lov'd and esteem'd as the Pillars and Glory of
 "the Reformation. The *Compleat Historian* begs
 "the Question, and asserts, that if the Dissenters
 "had been persecuted more, they wou'd have all
 "come in. Does he mean, If they had perish'd
 "all, there had been none left to dissent? And he
 "commends the Justices of Peace, who had the
 "Reform'd Ministers out of their Pulpits; such as
 "*Philips*, *Sheldon*, *Steward*, *Starling*, &c. for
 "their Honesty in so doing, tho' it is well known,
 "that the *Justices*, *Informers*, *Constables*, and all
 "Officers, who busy'd themselves in that infamous
 "Business, were the most lewd, debauch'd, insol-
 "ent, despicable Wretches, pick'd out for doing
 "Work which a truly honest Man wou'd have dy'd
 "before he wou'd have consented to. As to his
 "Bishops and Clergy, we will see an Account of
 "them in Bishop *Burnet's Memoirs*. "The King
 "himself was highly offended at the Behaviour
 "of the Bishops: He took Occasion to vent it at
 "the Council-Board. Upon the Complaints that
 "were made of some Disorders, and of some
 "Conventicles," He said, *The Clergy were chiefly*
 "*to blame for them; for if they had liv'd well,*
 "*we might have read our selves blind before we shou'd*
 "*have found they liv'd ill in such Histories as the*
 "*Compleat one and Echar'd's. If they had gone about*
 "*their Parishes and taken Pains to convince the*
 "*Nonconformists, the Nation might by this Time*
 "*have been well settled; but they thought of no-*
 "*thing but to get good Benefices, and to keep a good*
 "*Table.* Again, His Majesty is still speaking, *If*
 "*the Clergy had done their Part, it had been an*
 "*easy Thing to run down the Dissenters; but they*
 "*will do nothing, and will have me do every thing;*
 "*and most of them do worse than if they did nothing.*
 "*I have a Chaplain who is a very honest Man, but*
 "*a very great Blockhead, to whom I gave a Living*
 "*in Suffolk, which was full of that sort of Peo-*
 "*ple. He went about among them from House to*
 "*House, tho' I can't imagine what he cou'd say to*
 "*them, for he was a very silly Fellow; but I believe*
 "*his Nonsense suited their Nonsense, for he brought*
 "*them all to Church, and in Reward of his Dili-*
 "*gence, I gave him a Bishoprick in Ireland.* This

Bp. Burnet's Account of them.

A.D. 1671 Chaplain one may suppose to be a pious, sober
 Man, which explain'd according to this King's
 Way of living and thinking, must be *Nonsense*, and
 that Meeting with the Sobriety and Piety of the
Suffolk Protestants, which was their *Nonsense*
 also, might produce the Harmony his Majesty
 speaks of.

The *Compleat Historian* knew, at least one ought
 to believe his Knowledge went so far, that the per-
 secuting Acts, the Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil,
 as he styles them, were the Laws of a Set of Mer-
 cenary Pensioners, and so much against natural
 Justice, that the same Parliament vacated them,
 one only excepted, which, many think, deserv'd
 vacating as much as the rest, by their Bill for the
 Ease of *Dissenters*. I do not reckon this a Di-
 gression, as long as it is, because my Design in this
 Undertaking was not so much to tell the Facts,
 as to tell the Causes and Intent of them, and to
 shew what Measures and what Instruments were
 made use of in these Reigns to destroy the true
 reform'd Religion, and the Liberty of the Sub-
 ject, in these Nations. Among those Instruments
 we shall find none more active than the persecut-
 ing Bishops and Clergy, whose Zeal is so highly
 recommended to us by the Author of the *Com-*
pleat History.

We have mention'd Mr. *Coventry's* Negotia-
 tion in *Sweden*. Sir *George Downing* was sent to
Holland to supply Sir *William Temple's* Place:
 The Lord *Arlington* still'd him his *Rough Hand*,
 for his Manners were as rude as those of an *Iro-*
quois, in whose Neighbourhood he was bred, and
 had all the Brutality without the Simplicity of
 those *American* Savages. His Arrival at the
Hague was the sure Preface of a Storm: He fell
 a bullying the States immediately about some-
 thing or nothing, as his thick Scull work'd him.
 He was to demand Satisfaction for Damages
 sustain'd by the *East-India* Company since the
 Treaty of *Breda*. A Committee of that Com-
 pany was sent for to *Whitehall* to warrant that
 Demand by a Complaint; but they gave it under
 their Hands, that since the Treaty of *Breda* they
 knew none. The next Demand was Satisfaction for
 detaining the *English* Planters at *Surinam*. The
Dutch reply'd, that those Planters might go if
 they wou'd; but they knew not where else to get
 a Livelihood. A third Demand was Satisfaction
 for certain Droll Pieces, as the *King* and *Nell*
Grein, *Moll Davis* and his Majesty, a Purse
 without a Penny in it, and the like; which the
 States General knew no more of, than Queen
Anne did of the Printseller's mounting her on a
 Dray-Horse in a Half-Penny Picture. But the
 chief Demand of all was about the Honour of
 the Flag; for you must know, that the Royal
 House of *Stuart* piqu'd themselves in a marvel-
 lous Manner on their Standing up for the Honour
 of the Nation. This however wou'd have been
 made up in a Minute's Conference, if the King
 had not been set upon breaking the Treaty of
Breda, the *Triple League*, and the Treaty of
Aix; all which the *French* King had bought of
 him for 700,000 Pounds, to be paid to Mr. *Chif-*
inch for his *Britanick* Majesty's Use. The
 Particular of the *Flag* is a very merry Incident,
 and is told by Sir *William Temple* in the follow-
 ing Letter to his Father Sir *John Temple*: "In the
 "July the *Dutch* Fleet was floating in the
 "Channel, to shew, I suppose, that they were in
 "Condition to meet any of those Dangers they
 "began to suspect from the Motion of *France*,
 "and from our late Conduct. When the Captain
 "of the *Yatch* that was order'd to convey my
 "Wife over, took his Leave at Court, he had
 "publick Orders given him, if he came in Sight
 "of the *Dutch* Fleet, he shou'd sail thro' them,
 "and

A.D. 1671

Downing
sent to bul-
ly the
States.

Coke, 199.

The King's
weak De-
mand of
the Dutch.

The merry
Incident of
the Flag.

A. D. 1671 " and shoot at those Ships that were next him, till he made them strike Sail, or till they shot at him again, and then pursue his Course. He pass'd, it seems, into *Holland* without seeing them; but as he return'd he met the Fleet, and sailing up to them, made several Shot at those near him; upon which they seem'd at least not to know what he meant, and to believe he might be in some Distress: And the Admiral sent a Boat a-board him to enquire. The Captain told them he had been sent to bring back the *English* Ambassadors with her Family from *Holland*, and had Orders to make the *Dutch* Fleet strike wherever he met with them in the Channel. Upon this Message by the Boat, Vice-Admiral *Ghent* came a-board the *Tacht* upon a Complement to my Wife, which he perform'd very handsomely, and afterwards desir'd to speak with the Captain, of whom he enquir'd the Reason of his shooting, and receiving the same Answer which had been given to the first Boat, He said it was a Point they had receiv'd no Order in from their Masters, and did not know how that Affair was agreed been his Majesty and the States; but tho' it were settled, yet the Captain cou'd not pretend the Fleet and Admiral shou'd strike to a Yacht, which was but a Pleasure-Boat, or at least serv'd only for Passage, and cou'd not pass for one of the King's Men of War. The Captain reply'd, He had his Orders, and was bound to follow them. After *Van Ghent* was gone, the Captain, perplex'd enough, came to my Wife, and desir'd to know what she pleas'd he shou'd do in that Case, which she saw he did not like very well, and wou'd be glad to get out of by her Help. She told him he knew his Orders best, and what he was to do upon them, which she left to him to follow as he thought fit, without any Regard to her and her Children. He pursu'd his Course, and landed her safe; after which she went to Court, and was very well receiv'd, and much commended for her Part in what had pass'd; and at Night Sir *Lionel Jenkins* was sent to take her Information in Form upon the whole Matter of Fact. When I went next to the King's *Levee*, he began to speak of my Wife's Carriage at Sea, and to commend it as much as he blam'd the Captain's, and said she had shew'd more Courage than he." Which I do not understand. Wherein did the Captain shew want of Courage, in not Fighting his Cockboat against the *Dutch* Admiral and 100 Sail of Men of War? " The King falling upon the *Dutch* Insolence, Sir *William Temple* said, That however Matters went, it must be confess'd that there was some Merit in his Family, since he had made the Alliance with *Holland*, and his Wife was like to have the Honour of making the War. The King smil'd as well as he, and it turn'd off the Discourse to something else." Thus was *Christendom* to be made a Scene of Slaughter and Blood out of *Frolick* in one Prince, and *Ambition* in another. The *French* King was not at much Trouble to draw up his Declaration of War; he only told the World he was dissatisfy'd with the *Dutch*, and among other Things about Pictures too, probably that of his beloved Concubine, *Madam Montespan*, whom I have seen in a *Dutch* Print straddling the Globe in a very indecent Posture, assisting *Lewis* to cut his Way through it. But many of the Persons then living liv'd long enough to see his Prime Minister begging a Peace in their Master's Name, in a Corner of one of the Provinces which he had already conquer'd in Imagination.

The Secret League between King *Lewis* and King *Charles* is as well attested as any Historical Event in several Authentick Memoirs; but the Obligation of it is best set forth in a Paper found in the Earl of *Tyrconnel*'s Closet; which Paper is mention'd by his Grace Dr. *King*, Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, in a Thanksgiving Sermon before the Lords Justices of *Ireland*, preach'd in *St. Patrick's* Church in *Dublin* upon the Reduction of that Kingdom. It bears Date the 1st of *July*, this Year 1671, and by it both Kings, *Charles* and *Lewis*, oblige themselves to suppress the Insolency of the *Dutch*, to establish *Popery* in *England*, and make the King absolute Master of his Subjects. My Lord Archbishop produces another Proof of it; the Count *d'Avaux's* Memorial to the States before the Revolution; as also a Letter written by *Malony*, the Popish Bishop of *Killaloo* in *Ireland*, to a Correspondent of his, wherein he states this to be the Design of the *French* King, and expresses great Anger, that some Trimmers about the King, then *James*, did disown any such Treaty with his most Christian Majesty. The learned *Acherly* writes of it thus: As to the Consequences of the BREACH of the Triple League, " In regard that secret End of that Breach, and of the Alliance with *France* to subdue *Holland*, was to make King *Charles* absolute Master of the Parliament, the pleasing Acquisition was in immediate View, by the sure Conquest of *Holland*; it was therefore fit for the King to exercise, and he did exercise some Acts of arbitrary Power, in order to inure the People to bear the Form of his intended new Government, which he experimented thus;

He dispens'd with all Penal Laws against Non-conformists. Dispensing Power.

He shut up the Exchequer; and to use Bishop *Parker's* own Words, He turn'd it into a Place of Robbery. 139. Bp. Parker calls the King Robber.

He caus'd Writs to be sent out for Elections of Members, to fill up vacant Places in the House of Commons in the last Interval of Parliament, &c. shut up. 1672.

On the 2d of *January* the King declar'd in Council, " That seeing all the neighbouring Powers and States were making great Preparations for War both by Sea and Land, he, for the Safety and Government of his People, look'd upon himself as oblig'd to make such Preparations as might be proportionable for the Protection both of the one and the other, and to that End had given Orders for fitting and preparing a very considerable Fleet against next Spring; and considering the great Charges that must attend such Preparations, and not finding any Possibility to defray such unusual Expences by the usual Ways and Means of borrowing Money, by reason his Revenues were so anticipated and engag'd, he was therefore necessitated, contrary to his own Inclinations, upon these Emergencies, and for the publick Safety, to cause a Stop at present to be made of the Payment of any Monies now being, or to be brought into his Exchequer, for the Space of one Year, ending the last Day of *December* next, unto any Person whatsoever; excepting only such Payments as shall grow due upon Orders on the *Subsidy*, according to the Act of Parliament, and Orders and Securities upon the *Fee-Farm Rents*, but Payment of Interest to be duly made in the mean Time at 6 per Cent. At the same Time the King declar'd, that no Person whatsoever shall be defrauded of any thing that is justly due to him, nor shall this Restraint continue longer than the aforesaid last Day of *December*."

A.D. 1672 The Sum stopp'd by this Declaration was 1,400,000 Pounds; the *Restraint* was never taken off, and the Creditors were defrauded of every Farthing, which is an additional Proof to others given before, of his Majesty's being, as he said, a King of his Word. Mr. *Baxter*, who had 1000 Pounds in the *Exchequer* when it was shut up, tells us, *The Murmur and Complaint in the City was very great, that their Estates shou'd be, as they call'd it, so surpriz'd, and the rather, because they took a Year to be Perpetuity, and the Stop to be a Loss of all, seeing Wars use to encrease Necessities, and not to supply them.*

How this Matter came about was not known, till the Publication of the Third Volume of the *Secret History*. I took that Account out of a Manuscript, written by Sir *Joseph Tyley*, the same whose Name is in the Proclamation about the pretended *Presbyterian Plot* at the latter End of this Reign. He went to *Holland*, came back to *England* with the Duke of *Mommouth*, made his Escape after *Sedgmore Fight*, return'd to *Holland*, and from thence came back again to *England* with the Prince of *Orange*, was chosen Citizen in Parliament for *Exeter*, in Opposition to Sir *Edward Seymour* in the Year 1695, and was soon after Knighted by King *William*. He had great Acquaintance with the leading Men of the *Country Party* in this and the following Reign, till his Death, which I speak for the Credit of his Memoirs, wherein I found as follows;

His Majesty, in a private Meeting with the *Cabal*, declar'd, *If any one of them cou'd advise a Method how to raise 1,500,000 Pounds without a Parliament, he shou'd have the White Staff.* The next Day the Lord *Ashley* told Sir *Thomas Clifford* in Confidence, *There was a Way to supply the King immediately with such a Sum, but that it was hazardous to be put in Practice, and might draw with it a Train of ill Consequences, by enflaming both the Parliament and People.* Sir *Thomas* was impatient to know the Secret; he was bold and daring, entirely in the *French* and *Popish Interest*, pleas'd with every thing that might render the King uneasy with Parliaments, to engage him the closer with *France* and *Rome*, which made him eager to know my Lord *Ashley's* Project. He ply'd my Lord with Visits, and having one Night drank him to a Pitch, he insensibly led him into a Conversation of the King's Necessities; and Lord *Ashley* being warm, dropp'd the important Secret. Sir *Thomas* took the Hint immediately, left my Lord as soon as he handsomely cou'd, went directly to *Whitehall*, and without going to Bed attended till the King rose, fell on his Knees, and demanded the *White Staff*, according to his Promise. His Majesty reply'd, *God's-ijb! I'll be as good as my Word, if you can find the Money.* Then Sir *Thomas* told him, *If you will shut up the Exchequer, you may be sure of 1,500,000 Pounds.* The King, who was as quick as any of his Ministers, and had a Conscience of pretty much the same Turn, gave into it presently, and Sir *Thomas Clifford* was made Lord High Treasurer, and a Peer. Lord *Ashley* was sensibly touch'd at being thus circumvented by Lord *Clifford*; but the Thing was done, and he put the best Face he cou'd on it, saying, *Clifford has plough'd with my Heifer.*

The Proposal for shutting up the *Exchequer* was made in Council by Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who said, *The King must have Money to carry on the War against Holland, in which his Honour was engag'd, that he knew no other Means at present than shutting up the Exchequer; and he desir'd none wou'd speak against it, without proposing some Method more certain and expeditious: To which there was no Reply.* So the *Exchequer*

was shut up by Force of the *Prerogative*, to the Surprize of the whole Kingdom, attended with the Tears and Lamentations of the many unfortunate Families concern'd in it, who found themselves ruin'd in a Moment.

The Earl of *Arlington* writing to the Earl of *Sunderland*, then Ambassador in *Spain*, speaks of it thus; *His Majesty has resolv'd this Week in Council to resume his Assignations; a Courtly Term for what Bishop Parker calls Robbery, and possess himself with all his current Revenue; which was not his, but the Merchants, Bankers, and other Mens, who had lent their Money to him, postponing their Debts for a Twelve Month; and paying only 6 per Cent. of what thereof was taken up at Interest. This hath made a great Outcry in the City, and meeting with ill Humours, not to submit patiently to the Oppression and Tyranny of an ill Government is an ill Humour with them, hath begot a great deal of angry Discourse; but we hope, when those who have lent the Bankers Money, shall reflect better upon it, and see their Principle and Interest better secur'd. The Effrontery and Insolence! They never had a Penny of the Money from the Stuart Line, and it was better secur'd, was it nor, in the King's Word, than the Law of the Land? That they will appease themselves, and have no Cause to apprehend those ill Consequences they have forerol'd upon it: All which the Man that says it knew very well wou'd happen. He tells his Correspondent, the Money will be all paid in a Twelve Month, which is not all paid to this Day. He adds, His Majesty having Yesterday conven'd the Bankers before him at the Treasury, after many kind and confident Assurances given them; not one of which was ever perform'd, that he wou'd punctually satisfy his Debt to them, either out of what the Parliament shou'd give in the next Session, or out of his own Revenue, which was appropriated to more gallant Uses, he told them, what follows is as merry as Absurdity can make a Thing, he requir'd of them, that without Delay they take off the Stop they had made of paying the Merchants their current Cash, which lay deposited in their Hands, not to be lent to his Occasions, or for Interest, but for the Security of keeping it, because indeed the Stop of this had occasion'd great Clamour. The King keeps their Money from them, and then commands them to pay those to whom they owe it. His Majesty knew better what Goldsmiths receiv'd current Cash for, than to think it was only to lock it up in an Iron Chest, and tell it out again to the Merchants and others as they wanted it.*

Echar'd has made some Use of Sir *Joseph Tyley's* Memoirs, and particularly where the Shutting up of the *Exchequer* is spoken of, which he also saw in the *Secret History*, and also what follows, which is likewise to be seen in the *State Tracts*. The Treasurer *Clifford* was the most deeply engag'd of any of the Ministers in the *Secret Alliance* with *France*; and tho' the Archdeacon's, and the *Compleat Historian's* Rage against this Ministry, is very remarkable, yet it is not to be imputed to them as a Disgust for these ruinous Measures; not for shutting up the *Exchequer*, but for opening Protestant Meeting-Houses; not for stopping Payments, but for stopping Persecution, tho' the Ministry came into that upon different Views, as will be seen in its Course. Lord *Clifford's* View was well known to every body; he was a *Papist*, tho' he durst not yet own it, he was zealous for *Popery*, and one who wou'd not stick at any thing to promote its Interests. It happen'd, while he had the *Staff*, that the King, the Duke of *York*, and himself, were shut up in a Room

Clifford
too hard;
for Ashley.

He is made
Lord Trea-
surer.

A.D. 1672
Thousands
of People
ruin'd in a
Moment.

A.D. 1672 by themselves, when Sir *William Bucknall*, a Commissioner of the Excise, came to speak with the King, to whom he had free Access, he frequently accommodating his Majesty with Money. In Presumption of his usual Liberty, he went directly to the Room where he heard the King was, and hearing a Discourse, had the Curiosity to get up close to the Door, and hearken to it attentively, which he was excited to do by the King's speaking with some Earnestness, but he could only hear broken and imperfect Expressions: The Duke spoke so low, he could not understand what was said, but *Clifford* spoke loud, as in Publick, answering the King in a very audible and articulate Manner, in these Words, *Sir, If you are driven off upon Fears, you will never be safe, the Work will do, if you declare your self with Resolution, there is enough to stand by you;* the King reply'd, *this Name Popery will never be swallow'd by the People;* which having said, he started from his Seat, crying, *somebody is at the Door.* *Clifford* ran hastily to it, and without speaking a Word, fell furiously upon Sir *William Bucknall*, dragging him to a Pair of Stairs, from whence he kick'd him down, and soon after Sir *William* dy'd, which was not improbably, imputed to that Misfortune.

Clifford advises the setting up Popery.

Sir William Bucknall beaten by Clifford.

Prodigious Tyranny.

Dutch Smyrna Fleet surpriz'd.

If we remember what is told us of the Conduct of *Lauderdale*, *Rothes* and others in the Murder of *Mirchel* at *Edinburgh*, and join it with the Conduct of the Court and Ministry at *London*, We must sink into the Dregs of Language to find Words to express our Sentiments; a Man is there murder'd, thousands are here robb'd by a Conspiracy of the Government, the Crimes of Malefactors receive a Sort of horrid Sanction by the Crimes of Ministers. — There is nothing in History to compare to it.

Mr. Marvel, in his *Growth of Popery*, sets these Things in a good Light, which he was well able to do from his Knowledge of Men and Affairs, being an active Member of this House of Commons. Having spoken of the Robbery at the *Exchequer*, he proceeds to the Attempt to rob the *Dutch Smyrna Fleet*. *There remain'd nothing now but that the Conspirators after this Exploit upon our own Country-men, should manifest their Impartiality to Foreigners, and avoid on both Sides the Reproach of Injustice, by their Equality in the Distribution.* They had now started the Dispute about the Flag, upon the Occasion of the Yatch, and begun the Dispute of *Surinam*, and somewhat of Pictures and Medals, but they handled these Matters so nicely, as Men not less afraid of receiving all Satisfaction therein from the *Hollanders*, than of giving them any Umbrage of arming against them upon those Pretextes. The *Dutch* therefore not being conscious to themselves of any Provocation given to *England*, but of their Readiness, if there had been any to repair it, and relying upon that Faith of Treaties and Alliances, which has been thought sufficient Security, not only among Christians, but even with Infidels, pursu'd their Traffick and Navigation thro' our Seas, and accordingly, a great and rich Fleet of Merchant Men from *Smyrna* and *Spain*, were on there Voyage homeward, near the Isle of *Wight*, &c. All the Excuse *Eckard* makes for this felonious Attempt against those Merchant Ships, before a War declar'd, is, that the King was advis'd to it by the *French*, and brings Sir *Holmes* into Action as if he had been a Hero, not a Felon, as if he was going to Fight, and not to Steal. The softest Term that can be us'd for that Incendiary, is *Sea-Wolf* that preys by stealth, and dives in Danger. However, it must be own'd that this Government knew what Tools were fit for their Work, and were never in

want of any, to the Scandal of the *English* Honesty and Reputation. I will again make use of *Marvel*: "The *Dutch* were under a small Convoy of five or six of their Men of War; the *Smyrna Fleet* was that, in Contemplation of which, the Conspirators had so long deferr'd the War to plunder in Peace; the Wealth of this was that, which by its Weight turn'd the Ballance of all publick Justice and Honour. With this Treasure they imagin'd themselves in Stock for all the Wickedness of which they were capable, and that they should never after this Addition stand in need again, or fear of a Parliament; therefore they had with great Stillness and Expedition, equip'd early in the Year, so many of the King's Ships, as might without Jealousy of the Numbers, yet be of competent Strength for the intended Action;" but if any thing shou'd chance to be wanting, they thought it abundantly supply'd by the Virtue of the Commander, for Sir *Robert Holms* had with the like Number of Ships in the Year 1661, the very next Year after the States had squander'd away between two and three hundred thousands Crowns, in entertaining the King and his Brothers, so timely commenc'd the first Hostility against *Holland*, seizing upon *Cape de Verde*, and other of the *Dutch* Forts, on the Coasts of *Guinea*, in Time of Peace, and the whole new *Netherlands*, with great Success, in Defence of which Conquests the *English* undertook in 1665; the first War against *Holland*. *Clarendon*, *Monk*, *Nicholas*, *Turner*, &c. were then chief Men in both Houses of Parliament, active in the Persecuting Bills, and because they were so good Church Men, in the Opinion of the *Compleat* *Holmes's* *Historians*, therefore do they belie all History, and say as the Archdeacon does of *De Ruyter*, by taking *Cape de Verde*, and the Forts in *Guinea*, which the *English* Buccaneer *Holms* had before taken from the *Dutch*, in Time of Alliance and Friendship, *He ingloriously began a Pyratick War under the sacred Bands of Friendship and Alliance.* And if ever Pyratick War was begun, it was now in the second Pyratical Enterprize of *Holms* against the *Dutch Streights*, and *Smyrna Fleets*. *Marvel* proceeds;

Holmes in the first War, with a proportionable Squadron, signaliz'd himself by burning the *Dutch* Ships and Village of *Brandaris* at *Schelling*. *Eckard* exults upon that Conquest, and in Amplification of *Holmes's* Glory, as he calls it, turns the Village into a City. But continues *Marvel*, That was unfortunately reveng'd upon us at *Chatham*, for these good Reasons, *Holmes* was pitch'd upon, as the Person for understanding Experience, and Courage fittest for a Design of this Nature, and upon the 14th of *March*, as the *Dutch* fail'd on to the Number of 72 Vessels, near our Coast, he fell upon them with his accustomed Bravery, and cou'd not have fail'd of giving a good Account of them, wou'd he have join'd Fortunes with Sir *Edward Sprague*, who was in sight at the same Time with his Squadron, and Captain *Legg* was making all the Sail he cou'd towards him, to acquaint *Sprague* with the Design of falling upon the *Dutch* Merchant Men, but *Holmes*, who was his Admiral, call'd him back by a Gun, which gave Occasion to various Speculations. The most probable is, that he thought himself sure of Victory, and the Spoil. *Sprague* came then from *Algiers*, and had kept Company with the *Dutch* Fleet, 'till they advanc'd near the Isle of *Wight*. By this Means *Sprague* knew nothing of the Secret, and the *Dutch* Convoy, and their Merchant Men did so bestir themselves, that *Holmes*, tho' he shifted his Ship, fell foul on his best Friends, and did all that was possible,

A. D. 1672 unless he cou'd have multiply'd himself, was forc'd to give it over, and all the Prize that was gotten, suttic'd not to pay the Surgeons and Carpenters. *Holmes* was one of the Pensioners in this Parliament, and cou'd very easily prove, that he had never given one Vote in Favour of the Protestant Religion, or *English* Liberty, but a constant Vote for Archbishop *Sheldon's* stinging Acts, and therefore the Archdeacon does not let him come off quite so shamefully. He took one Man of War, and four Merchant Ships, one of which from *Smyrna*, wou'd pay more Carpenters and Surgeons, than his Fleet cou'd find Employment for. Two Days after was publish'd his Majesty's Declaration of Indulgence,

Declaration of Indulgence. An Account of which *Declaration*, *Echard* might have taken out of *Marvel*, *Baxter*, *Calamy*, or even out of the *Compleat History of England*, with good Authority; instead of which, he has Recourse to the most *Lying Memoirs* that ever were publish'd, those of *Orleans*, the *French Jesuit*, and he introduces them with this notable Encomium, He seems to have had from King *James* a clearer Information of this Affair, than the common *English Writers*. I am sure to have my Place among those *Common Writers* in his marshalling of us; but as never History was more prostituted to a Faction, than his own, and never History stuff'd with such pitiful Matter and idle Remarks, we may all comfort ourselves with the Hopes, that the Disgrace he has laid upon us, will last no longer than his Chronicle. It happens, I have by me a clearer Account, than his clearest Account from the *French Priest*, and mine is taken from one of the common Writers, *Mr. Locke*, that Gentleman had it from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who knew more of the Matter, even than King *James*, and is suppos'd to be the

Des Maiz. Pen-man of the *Declaration*. Thus, Sir, says *Mr. Locke*, You have perhaps a better Account of the *Declaration*, than you can receive from any other Hand, and I cou'd have wish'd the *Indulgence* a longer Continuance, and a better Reception than it had, for the *Bishops Sheldon*, *Morley*, *Gunning*, *Wood*, *Sparrow*, *Henchman*, *Dolben*, *Ward*, *Blandford*, *Stern*, *Rainbow*, I name them in full Belief that their Names ought never to be forgotten, took so great Offence at it, that they gave the Alarm of *Popery thro' the whole Nation*, and by their *Emissaries the Clergy*, who by the Contexture and Subordination of their Government, have the Advantage of a quick Dispensing of their Orders, and a sudden and universal Insinuation of whatever they please, rais'd such a Cry, that those good and sober Men, who had really fear'd the Increase and Countenance *Popery* had hitherto receiv'd, began to believe the *Bishops* were in Earnest, their Eyes open'd, and therefore join'd in heartily with them. The

Lord-Shaftsbury for *Toleration*.

Lord-Shaftsbury explaining the Advantages of this *Declaration* to *Mr. Locke*, has these Expressions; As to the Church, I conceive the *Declaration* is extremely for their Interest; for the narrow Bottom they have plac'd themselves upon, and the Measure they have proceeded by, so contrary to the Properties and Liberties of the Nation, must needs in a short Time prove fatal to them, whereas this leads them into another Way to live peaceably with the dissenting and differing Protestants, both at home and abroad. Such Politicks as these never enter'd into the Heads of *Laud*, *Sheldon*, *Morley*, &c. Did they, or does *Mr. Archdeacon* believe that their Severities to *Non-conformists*, plac'd them on a Narrow Bottom, or that their Measures were against the Properties and Liberties of the Nation?

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was a Promoter of the *Toleration*, but not the main Mover in it; *Lord*

Clifford had more Interest at Court, and by means *A. D. 1672* of the Duke of *York*, cou'd do much more with the King than *Shaftsbury*, whom neither the King nor the Duke lov'd. *Baxter* tells us, the *Toleration* was chiefly for the *Papists* Sakes, and one may be assur'd, that *Clifford* had the chief Hand in it. For when the *Declaration* was publish'd, the Protestant Dissenters were so far from taking hold of it greedily, that it was a Question among them, Whether it was adviseable, either in Conscience or Prudence for the *Presbyterians* to take Advantage from his Majesty's *Declaration*? and a reverend Prelate in a Speech about the *Occasional Bill* 1703, told the Lords, it was the *Lord Clifford*, who got a Motion to be made in Favour of the *Non-conformists*, hoping that wou'd have provok'd either the one Side or the other, and that either the Church Party might be offended with the Motion, or the *Dissenters* with the refusing it. But it was stopp'd by *Alderman Love*, one of the Citizens in Parliament for the City of *London*, who was a Dissenter, and desir'd that nothing with Relation to them might intervene to stop the Security the Nation and the Protestant Religion might have by the *Test Act*; and in this he was seconded by most of his Party, so that the Act was obtain'd in some Measure by their Assistance, and instead of the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* proposing the *Toleration*, as the *Jesuit Orleans* very falsely affirms, the *Lord Clifford* propos'd it, as *Mr. Locke* informs us. This Dominion continu'd unto them until the *Lord Clifford*, a Man of a daring ambitious Spirit, made his Way to the chief Ministry of Affairs by other and far different Measures, and took the Opportunity of a War with *Holland*, the King was then engag'd in, to propose the *Declaration of Indulgence*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* presently clos'd with it. *Echard* had an idle Imagination, that because King *James* told *Orleans*, what he tells us, therefore we wou'd, as he does, give implicate Faith to it. We have prov'd it to be diametrically opposite to the Truth, and yet this is what he foolishly and pragmatically calls a clear Account, not in the *Common Writers*.

Two Days after the Publication of the *Indulgence* came out, the *Declaration of the War with Holland*, grounded upon the notable Reason before-mention'd; the *Flag*, which the *Dutch* offer'd to yield up; the *Surinam* Planters, who staid there because they cou'd live no where else; the *Pictures* and *Medals*, which the States knew no more of than the Man in the Moon.

The most admirable Part of the *Declaration* was the winding it up. And whereas we are engag'd by a Treaty to support the Peace made at *Aix la Chapelle*, we do finally declare, that notwithstanding the Prosecution of this War, we will maintain the true Intent and Scope of the said Treaty; which is as good wild Irish as ever was put into Print. Notwithstanding I am going to cut your Throat, I am your most faithful and loving Friend. Again, and that in all Alliances which we have or shall make in the Progress of this War, we have and will take Care to preserve the Ends thereof inviolable; which is as brazen a Bull as was that of *Phalaris*. He has made a Treaty with the *French King* to destroy the States, and take their Country from them; and yet according to this *Declaration*, he has taken care in that very Treaty, to preserve the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle* inviolable. This Bundle of Nonsense is entire in *Mr. Archdeacon's* Collections.

The *Dutch*, who knew that the Bent of the Nation was against this Rupture, fed themselves all along with Hopes that the Ministry durst not take this bold Step; and when *De Wit* receiv'd a certain Account of it in a Letter from *England*, he

A. D. 1672 he fell back upon his Chair almost in a Swoon ; but presently recovering himself, he encourag'd the States to make all necessary Preparations. *It must be own'd*, says *Echard*, the Dutch had been too inflexible in answering the Demands of the English, as to the Flag ; which is as false as the rest of his Chronicle. *Marvel* tells it thus : *The pretended Cause was the not having sail'd the Bonnet to the English Yatch ; though the Dutch had all along, both at Home and here, as carefully endeavour'd to give, as the English Ministers to avoid, the receiving of all Satisfaction, or letting them understand what wou'd do it ; nay, the Council Clock was on purpose set forward, lest their utmost Compliance in the Flag at the Hour appointed, shou'd prevent the Declaration of War by some Minutes.* Yet does *Echard*, with as much Presumption as Gravity assert, *It must be own'd the Dutch were too inflexible, &c.* Another Pretence was intended, if the Intention had succeeded, Colonel *Joyce*, he who when Cornet took the King from *Holmbury*, living in *Holland*, Orders were sent to *Downing* to demand him ; that if the States refus'd it, the Quarrel might be founded upon it, and if they granted it, the Common-wealth Party might be disgusted : But the States were too wise to be caught by our Ministers, they order'd a Warrant for seizing *Joyce*, and at the same time caus'd it to be intimated to the Officer, that he shou'd let him make his Escape. The States, in this Extremity, apply'd the best Remedy they had to their Disease, and presented the Prince of *Orange* with the Command of their Armies, and with the Title of Admiral of the United Provinces, out of which he had been kept by the Intrigues of the *Louvestein* Faction, whose Head was *De Wit*, from his Majority to the two and twentieth Year of his Age. About the same time, in *April* this Year, King *Charles* sent 6000 choice Foot, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*, into *Flanders*, to join the *French* Army, and assist in the intended Conquest of *Holland*.

Arbitrary Measures. Besides the stretching of the Prerogative in the *Excbequer Business*, and the *Toleration*, the King suspended two Acts of *Parliament*, the *Act of Navigation*, and the *Act for Encouragement of Trade*, the *Cabal* affecting those Measures which serv'd to make his Majesty a great King, as their Cant was, as if Power wou'd make a Prince Great, which was not of his own acquiring, and which he had no more Genius to maintain, than he had to acquire in an honourable Way.

The Archdeacon affirms, that to make himself popular, the King took *Henry Marquess of Worcester* into his Privy-Council ; the same Marquess whom the People, by their Representatives, some time after address'd him to remove from his Counsels, and *George Viscount Halifax*, against whom was the like Address, and *Thomas Viscount Falconbridge*, *Oliver's* Son in Law, and *Arthur Earl of Essex*, the Lord *Capel's* Son, and *Sir Thomas Osborn*, afterwards Earl of *Danby* and Duke of *Leeds*, who ran the Gauntlet through two Parliamentary Impeachments. *Sir Thomas Clifford* was created *Baron Clifford of Chudleigh*, *Henry Lord Arlington*, Earl of *Arlington*, *John Earl of Lauderdale*, Duke of *Lauderdale*. The King also made several Knights of the Garter, as *John Duke of Lauderdale*, *Henry Marquess of Worcester*, the Earl of *St. Albans*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Earl of *Osborn*.

The Duke of *York* took upon him the agreeable Command of the Fleet : The Count d' *Estreet*, Vice-Admiral of *France*, commanded the White Squadron ; and *Montagu*, Earl of *Sandwich*, the

Blue Squadron ; the Red being immediately under his Royal Highness. The War being as *Inglorious* as *Unrighteous*, I take no Pleasure in the Detail of it, as *Echard* does, because the Duke has the Command of it. I shall content my self with *Bishop Burnet's* Account of the *Souldbay* Fight at *Souldbay*, between the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets.

De Ruyter had the Glory of surprizing the *English* Fleet, when they were thinking less of engaging the Enemy, than of an extravagant Preparation for the usual Disorders of the *Twentieth* of *May* ; a *Festival* which has produc'd as much *Wickedness*, as another *Statute Holiday* has *Mischief*. Which Disorders *De Ruyter* prevented, by engaging them the 28th of *May*, in one of the most obstinate Sea-Fights that has happen'd in our Age ; in which the *French* took more Care of themselves than became gallant Men, unless they had Orders to look on, and leave the *English* and *Dutch* to fight it out, while they preserv'd the Force of *France* entire. *De Ruyter* disabled the Ship in which the Duke was, whom some blam'd for leaving his Ship too soon ; but *Mr. Archdeacon* informs us, *He left her with great Inrepidity*, very much like the *French* running away at *Blenheim* like *Lions*. Then, says *Duke of Bishop Burnet*, the Duke's Personal Courage began first to be call'd in question. One wou'd think these History Writers affected Falshood out of a meer Spirit of Opposition, or rather, out of meer Hatred to Truth. The Admiral of the Blue Squadron was burnt by a Fire-ship, after a long Engagement with a *Dutch* Ship, much inferior to her in Strength : In it the Earl of *Sandwich* perisht, with a great many about him, who wou'd not leave him, as he wou'd not leave his Ship, by a piece of obstinate Courage, to which he was provok'd by an indecent Reflection the Duke made, on an Advice he had offer'd of drawing nearer the Shoar, and avoiding an Engagement ; as if in that he took more Care of himself, than of the King's Honour. The Fight continu'd from eight in the Morning till Sun-set ; and when it was over, the *French*, according to *Ludlow*, set sail for *Brest*, and the *English* retir'd into *Port*, leaving the *Dutch* Masters at Sea ; and according to *Echard*, *The Dutch stood off, and the Duke sailing after, got the Appearance of a Victory*. He is never without a Laurel for that dear *Papist* Duke of his.

On the English Side were KILL'D,

The Earl of *Sandwich*, *Mr. Digby*, Son to the Earl of *Bristol*, Captain of the *Henry* ; *Sir Fretcheville Hollis*, Capt. of the *Cambridge* ; *Sir John Cox*, Captain of the *Prince* ; Captain *Pearce*, of the *St. George* ; Capt. *Waterworth*, of the *Anne* ; Capt. *Hannam*, of the *Triumph* ; Capt. *Tennes*, of the *Alice* and *Frances* Fire-ship.

WOUNDED,

Lord *Maidstone*, *Mr. Montagu*, *Mr. Richard Nicholls*, *Mr. Roger Vaughan*, *Sir Philip Caret*, *Sir Charles Harbord*, *Mr. Cotterel*, *Mr. Burgh*, Captain *Bromley*, Captain *Bennet*, Captain *Barry*, *Mr. Bowles*, &c.

Of the Dutch were KILL'D,

The Admiral of *Amsterdam*, the Vice-Admiral of *Zealand*, Capt. *Brakes*, and three of *Cornelius de Wit's* Halberdiers near his Person. He had the joint Command of the Fleet with *De Ruyter*, and sat on the Deck in a Chair, dress'd like a Magistrate, with a drawn Sword in his Hand, giving his Commands, with twelve Halberdiers about him for his Guard.

The

A. D. 1672 The States of *Holland* well knowing that the Alliance between the *English* Court and the *French* was not at all pleasing to the People of *England*, publish'd a *Declaration*, to shew that they had been constrain'd to make War against the King, and his private Council, who had design'd and endeavour'd to deprive them of their Commerce and Liberty, and to render the Crown of *England* Absolute and Independent. But that they were ready to consent, that the People of *England* might trade freely, either with them or others, they discharg'd and set at Liberty such Ships, Men, and Merchandize, belonging to the *English* Nation, as they had seiz'd in their Ports, in requital of the Attempt made by that Arch-Pirate *Holmes*, to surprize their Homeward bound *Smyrna* Fleet, before any Declaration of War had been publish'd against them. These things oblig'd the King to promise Restitution of what had been unjustly taken from the *Dutch* before the Date of the said Declaration; but whatever Advantages the *Dutch* might have by Sea, they were infinitely over-balan'd by their Losses at Land.

French Conquests in Holland.

Lewis XIV. having drawn together 120,000 effective Men, divided them into three Bodies; the First consisting of 70,000, he took under his own peculiar Command; at the Head of the Second, which was of 40,000, he plac'd the Prince of *Conde*; and gave 10,000 more to the Count de *Chamilly*, to serve as a flying Camp. All these Forces directing their March towards *Maestricht*, a Council of War was held in the King's Quarters, and a Debate arising about besieging that Place, it was adjudg'd to be an Enterprize so full of Hazard and Difficulty, by reason of the numerous Garrison and good Fortifications about the Town, that they resolv'd to turn their March towards the *Rhine*, where the Places were not in so good Condition; yet it was thought convenient to leave *Chamilly* near *Tongerren*, to prevent the Excursion of the Garrison of *Maestricht*, which was done. The two Armies, commanded by the King and Prince of *Conde*, march'd several Days without seeing an Enemy, except only about two hundred Men, who had entrench'd themselves on the Side of the *Rhine*, and render'd themselves Prisoners after little Resistance: From thence the Prince of *Conde* was sent to besiege *Wesel*, whilst the King besieg'd *Orsoy*, and the Marechal *Turenne*, *Burich*. These three Sieges being undertaken at the same time, caus'd a general Alarm; but when they saw that *Orsoy* had hardly held out twenty-four Hours, and *Burich* and *Wesel* not much longer, the Consternation greatly increas'd. The Governor of *Wesel*, which was accounted a strong Place, was sentenc'd to lose his Head; but having Friends in the Government, the Executioner was order'd only to pass the Sword over him. The Count *D'Estrades* was made Governor of *Wesel*; *Reez*, *Emerick*, *Beavize*, and *Dedekom* follow'd the Example; and an *Irishman*, who commanded in *Rhynberg*, deliver'd the Town without a Shot, and lost his Head for his Cowardice. The *French* King resolving to pass the *Rhine*, was inform'd by a *Dutch* Traitor of a Place where the Water was low, and the Passage safe; which being try'd, and found to be true, this invincible Conqueror express'd himself to rejoice greatly in that Opportunity to shew his Intrepidity. The *Dutch* Officer who was posted there abandon'd his Post; but General *Wurtz* advancing, by command of the Prince of *Orange*, with a good Force to defend it, the *French* King rais'd Batteries, which so gall'd *Wurtz's* Troops, that they were forc'd to shelter themselves in the Woods. Part of a *French* Regiment of Horse pass'd the River first, but was driven back into

They pass the Rhine.

it again by *Wurtz*. The *French* being well seconded, they soon became strong enough to make good their Ground, and put the *Dutch* Cavalry to flight. In this Passage the Duke of *Lonqueville*, the Prince of *Conde's* Nephew, was kill'd, and the Prince himself wounded by a Musket Ball. This is the Passage of the *Rhine*, the Subject of so much *French* Poetry; wherein the *French* King makes a Figure equal to *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, or rather equal to both of them; as if all, says Bishop *Burnet*, had been animated by his Presence, though he was viewing it at a very safe Distance. After this the *French* took the Castle of *Tolhuys*, and laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*; which so terrify'd the *Dutch*, that they abandon'd all their Entrenchments. The King re-passing the *Rhine*, resolv'd to pass the *Yssel*, and was not a little surpriz'd to find the Passage so easy. Having taken *Doesbourg*, Deputies arriv'd in his Camp from *Utrecht*, offering to deliver up their Town. The Duke of *Orleans* took *Zutphen* and *Gueldre*, and the King himself advanc'd to *Utrecht*, having sent *Rocheport*, a Lieutenant-General, with some Troops before him, to take quiet Possession of the Place. Here he receiv'd the *Dutch* Ambassadors, who were sent to know upon what Terms he wou'd treat. In the mean Time the Marechal de *Turenne* possess'd himself of *Arnhem*, and the Fort of *Knotsembourg* and *Nimwegen*; upon this News the *Dutch* abandon'd *Grave*, and *Turenne* seiz'd *Bommel*, and the *Sckinck* *Scans* fell also into the Hands of the *French*. The Bishop of *Munster* took *Droll* and *Daventer*, and the Marquis de *Rocheport* made himself Master of *Naerden*, and other Places. A Hero of any other Make than that of *Lewis* XIV. wou'd have been asham'd of such easy Victories, and not have assum'd to himself the Title of Conqueror, when a Trumpeter wou'd have done the Business every whit as well with such an Army, and against such Enemies. He paid for it before he dy'd, and let him now have his Fill of Vain-glory and Flattery. The *French* King's Success, as my Lord of *Salisbury* observes, "was owing rather to *De Wit's* Errors, than his own Conduct. There was so little Heart or Judgment shewn in his Management of it, that when that Year is set out, as it may well be, it will appear to be one of the least Glorious of his Life; tho' when seen in a false Light, it appears one of the most Glorious in History. The Conquest of the *Netherlands*, at that Time, might have been so easily compass'd, that if his Understanding and his Courage had not been equally defective, he cou'd not have miscarry'd in it." The Bishop adds other Instances of his Deficiency in both, which relate too little to the History of the *Stuarts* to have a Place here.

We have mention'd the Arrival of the *Dutch* Deputies at *Utrecht*, who were humbly to implore his Majesty to grant them a Treaty on his own Conditions, which, however, were so rigorous, that it made the *Dutch* desperate; and Despair recover'd them out of the Distress into which they had been sunk by Deceit and Cowardice. He demanded of them *Maestricht*, *Boisleduc*, *Breda*, and *Bergen op Zoom*, by the Advice of Monsieur *Pomponne*; which certainly the States wou'd have comply'd with, but *Louvois* advis'd him to insist upon an immense Sum of Money for the Charges of the War, and their giving the chief Church in every Town for the Exercise of the *Papish* Religion; that they shou'd put themselves under the Protection of France, and every Year send an Ambassador with a Medal acknowledging it; and shou'd enter into no Treaties or Alliances but by the Directions of the *French* King. One of the *Dutch* Ambassadors swoon'd when he heard those

A. D. 1672

French King's Caution.

Dutch Losses.

French King deficient in Conduct at Utrecht.

His Demands.

A.D. 1672 those extravagant Conditions which were made without any Concert with *England*, though *Lockhart*, the *English* Ambassador, was then in the *French* Court. The States sent *Dykevelt* and *Halewyn* Ambassadors to *England*, to join with *Boreel*, who was still at *London*, and of whom Bishop *Burnet* tells a pleasant Story, which shews the Simplicity of the Man. Some time before the Arrival of these Ambassadors, *Boreel* had Audience of the King, and in Discourse about the War, his Majesty took occasion to upbraid the *Dutch* with their Usage of him and his Brother in the Time of the *Common-wealth* and *Cromwel*. *Boreel* having no Guard on his Expression, reply'd, *Ha! Sire, c'est une autre chose Cromwel estoit un grand Homme, & il se faisoit craindre, & par Terre & par Mer.* "Ah! Sir, that's quite another thing, *Cromwel* was a great Man, and made every body afraid of him both by Sea and Land. The King's Answer was, *Je me feray craindre aussi a mon tour*; "I will also make them afraid of me in my Turn." But as my Lord of *Salisbury* has it, *He was scarce as good as his Word*; and there was not a Prince nor Power in *Europe*, who was ever afraid of any one of the Kings of the Race of the *Stuarts* before the *Revolution*. The *Dutch* Ambassadors were sent to *Hampton-Court*, and told the King they would not treat separately, without his Ally, the *French* King. They met secretly with many in *England*, and inform'd themselves by them of the State of the Nation. They gave Money liberally, and gain'd some in the chief Office to give them Intelligence, which the Court understanding, and that the Nation was much inflam'd, commanded them to go back, and sent the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Arlington* to *Utrecht*, giving it out that they were to put a Stop to the Progress of the *French* in *Holland*. They were come as far as *Muyden*, and had the Keys of the Town deliver'd to them; but they flung them into the Ditch, as an inconsiderable Place, not knowing the Importance of it by the Command of the Water that cou'd drown all to *Amsterdam*. And when the Consequence of the Place was understood, another Party was sent to secure it. These came too late, for the Prince of *Orange* had thrown two Battalions into it, and by that Means *Amsterdam* was preserv'd, where all were trembling, and thought of nothing but Treating and Submitting. And this Check given the *French*, when the States had almost given over all Things for lost, recover'd their Spirits so far, that they began to look about them, and think of defending themselves to the Utmost. The Lord *Hallifax* was sent to *Holland*, after *Buckingham* and *Arlington*; but he was not trusted with the whole Secret. The *Dutch* hearing their Ambassadors were coming from *England* without a Peace, ran together in great Numbers to *Maesland Shuice*, and resolv'd to cut them in Pieces at their Landing, for they heard they were at the *Brill*; but as they were crossing the *Maes*, a little Boat met them, and told them of their Danger, advising them to land at another Place, where Coaches were staying to carry them to the *Hague*; so they miss'd the Storm which broke out fatally the next Day against the two *De Wits*.

The De Wits murdered.

John De Wit going Home one Night from the States, four Persons set on him to murder him: He defended himself so well, that he got out of their Hands with some Wounds. One of them was taken, and condemn'd for it: All *De Wit's* Friends press'd him to save the Man's Life, but he thought such an Attempt on a Person in his Post, was not to be pardon'd; though as to his own Part in the Matter, he very freely forgave him. The young Man confess'd his Crime, and

repented of it, protesting he was led to it by no other Consideration, but that of Zeal for his Country and Religion; and he dy'd as in a Rapture of Devotion, which made great Impressions on the Spectators, and exasperated them still the more against the *De Wits*, *Cornelius* and *John*. At the same Time a Barber accus'd *Cornelius*, *John De Wit's* elder Brother, of a Practice on him, in order to his murdering the Prince of *Orange*: There were so many Improbabilities in his Story, which was supported by no Circumstances, that it seem'd no way credible; yet *Cornelius De Wit* was put to the Torture on it, but stood firm to his Innocence. The Sentence was accommodated rather to the State of Affairs, than to the strict Rules of Justice. In the mean Time, his Brother had resign'd his Charge of *Penjionary*, and was made one of the Judges of the *High Court*. *Cornelius De Wit* was banish'd, which was intended to send him out of the Way, and not as a Punishment. The Barber went about the *Hague*, and told the Populace he had convicted the *Grand Bailly* of *Putten*, such was *Cornelius De Wit's* Title, and he was in Prison under Condemnation. Upon which great Numbers ran thither, and *John De Wit* coming in his Coach to fetch him out, the Populace cry'd out, *Now the two Traitors are together, they shall not escape*. In the Instant, a false Report was spread among the People, that some thousands of *Boors* were coming to plunder the *Hague*, by which Means the two Brothers were depriv'd of all Hopes of Safety; for upon this Report, the Guards that had been plac'd by the Council of State about the Prison, for the Defence of the Prisoner, took Occasion to draw off, and left them to the Mercy of the Rabble; who immediately broke open the Doors, and rush'd into the Chamber where the two Brothers were. *John De Wit*, who was sitting on the Bed-side with a Book in his Hand, demanded of them, *What they wou'd have?* And receiving for Answer, *You shall see if you will go down*. He took his Brother by the Hand, and led him down into the Street, where they were no sooner arriv'd, but the enrag'd Multitude fell upon them, and with a thousand Wounds most barbarously murder'd them: Their Bodies were dragg'd about the Town, and torn to Pieces.

The *Dutch* judging by the plain Reason of our own Interest in their Preservation, welcom'd the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Lord *Hallifax*, as Persons that were come to deliver them out of the desperate Condition they were then in. "The common Belief in *England* and *Holland*, says Sir *William Temple*, made the Subject of their Embassy to be our Jealousy of the *French* Conquests going so fast, while ours were so lame, and great Hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it was to stop their Course or Extent; but these were soon dash'd by the return of the Ambassadors, after having renew'd and fasten'd the Measures formerly taken between the two Crowns. And the Ambassadors were indeed content, as they pass'd through *Holland*, that the First shou'd be thought; which gave Occasion for a good Repartee of the Princess Dowager of *Orange* to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who visited her as he pass'd through the *Hague*; and talking much of their being *Hollanders*, she told him, *That was more than they ask'd, which was only that they shou'd be good Englishmen*. He answer'd, *We are not only so, but good Dutchmen too: Indeed we do not use Holland like a Mistress, but we love her like a Wife*. To which she reply'd, *Urayment je croy que vous nous aimez comme vous aimez la vôtre: Truly, I believe you love Us as you love Yours*." These Ambassadors had Conferences

Princess of Orange's saying to the Duke of Buckingham.

ences with the Deputies of the States, to whom they us'd all Expcitions imaginable both of Kindness to *Holland*, and of Concernment and Trouble to see the *French* so far advanc'd. They gave the *Dutch* Ministers to understand, they wou'd engage that the *French* King shou'd give up all his Conquests for *Maestricht*; or if he wou'd not, they were empower'd to enter into new Measures with the *States*, to prevent the Destruction of that *Common-wealth*. But they did not long keep in this Tone, for they had not been many Hours in the *French* Camp, which was not far off, before their Judgments were better inform'd by Golden Arguments: The Terror of the *French* King's Greatness vanish'd, and the first Message they sent the Prince of *Orange* was, *That the States were to give Satisfaction to both Kings jointly, and that neither Crown cou'd or wou'd treat without it.* The Satisfaction to the *French* King was, as we have seen, a *Toleracion* of Popery, without which the *English* Ambassadors will enter into no Treaty with the *Dutch*; as also the *Admission* of *Papists* into Offices, and *Payment* of *Pensions* to the *Priests*. The *French* King took little Notice of them at first, saying, *The King of England might treat as he pleas'd, what I have got is my own; and what I shall get I will not restore without an Equivalent:* At which the Ambassadors conceiv'd so much Indignation, that they talk'd of compromising Matters with the *Dutch*, till the Extent of the *French* King's Generosity made them alter their Minds. Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, who was dismiss'd the *Committee* for foreign Affairs, because he oppos'd the *French* Interest, wrote the following *Queries*, on Occasion of the *Plenipotentiaries* being sent to the *French* Camp.

English Ambassadors at the French Camp in Holland.

Secretary Trevor's Queries.

" I. Whether they were sent only to promote the *French* Conquests? and it not, how they cou'd think it adviseable by making the Peace impossible to force the *Dutch*, as far as in them lay, to cast themselves into the Arms of the *French* King, and submit themselves to his Domination?

" II. Whether they can deny they knew the joint Proposals tender'd to the *Dutch* shou'd not be granted, since the *French* Demands alone had been unanimously reject'd? And in that Case how agreeable was it to the Interest of *England*, to make it impossible for the *Dutch* to give his Majesty any Satisfaction?

" III. Whether they had not receiv'd, as well from the Prince of *Orange* as from the *States* Commissioners, all publick Assurances of the infinite Desire they had to see his Majesty return to his former Amity with them, and of their Readiness to purchase it at any Rate that the Condition they were in wou'd bear? If so, how faithfully the *Plenipotentiaries* discharg'd their Trust in neglecting those Offers, and entering into a new Engagement, which was so prejudicial to *England*?

" IV. How far those that were join'd in Commission with them did concur with them in their Judgment; and whether all those Considerations, with many others, were not represented to them, and urg'd by some, who had no other End but to serve their Master faithfully?

" V. Whether it was for that Reason they oppos'd so fiercely my Lord *Hallifax*, who came a Day or two after them, his appearing and acting jointly with them, tho' commissionated in as full and as ample a Manner as themselves?

" VI. Who were those, after my Lord *Hallifax* cou'd be kept out no longer, who went private-

ly to the *French* Camp under several Pretences, and had still Negotiations of their own on Foot?

" VII. Whether they had Orders to call the *French* King the King of *France*, and to name him still before their Master, as well as to set in the first Place, the *French* demands before those of his Majesty; as all this was done in the Copies of Agreement they had made, and of both Kings Pretensions, which they sent together to the Prince of *Orange* by Sir *Gabriel Silvius*?

" VIII. and Lastly, How far their Instructions will justify their standing in Behalf of the *French* upon a publick Exercise of the *Roman* *Catholick* Religion in the *United Provinces*, the Churches to be divided, and the *Romish* Priests maintain'd out of the publick Revenue?

Just before the *French* King came to *Utrecht*, which was in the Beginning of *July*, the Prince of *Orange*, notwithstanding the obstinate Opposition of the *De Wits* (for which the Populace made them pay dearly) was restor'd to the Power of *Stadtholder*, and a design'd Defcent upon *Holland*, near the *Hague* or *Harlem*, was prevented by the miraculous Alteration of the Course of the Tide, which flow'd full twelve Hours later than it's natural Order, and giving Time to *De Ruyter* to come up with the *Dutch* Fleet, the *English* and *French* drew off. The variable Temper of the Duke of *Buckingham* appear'd on a very remarkable Occasion while he was in *Holland*: The Prince of *Orange* arguing with him one Day upon the King's Conduct, as the most unaccountable Thing possible, he contributing so much to the Exaltation of *France*, which in Conclusion must prove fatal to himself, which he urg'd in several Particulars, the Duke swore he was in the Right, and offer'd to sign a Peace immediately with the Prince. Lord *Arlington* seem'd amaz'd at his Rashness; yet he persisted in it, and said positively he wou'd do it. Upon which the Prince, not knowing what secret Powers he might have, order'd Articles to be drawn up and engross'd: But before that cou'd be done, *Buckingham's* Mind was chang'd. The Duke at parting press'd him much to put himself in the King's Hands, and assur'd him he wou'd take Care of his Affairs as of his own. The Prince cut him short, saying, *My Country has trusted me, and I will never deceive nor betray them for any base Ends of my own.* The Duke answer'd, *You are not to think any more of your Country, for it is lost. If it shou'd weather out the Summer by reason of the Waters that have drown'd a great Part of it, the Winter's Frost will lay them open.* And he often repeated these Words, *Do not you see it is lost?* The Prince's Answer has more of the Hero in it than whatever is boasted of in Antiquity. *I see it is indeed in great Danger; but there is a sure Way never to saying of see it lost, and that is to die in the last Dyke.* The *French* King having offer'd his Highness the Sovereignty of the *Seven Provinces*, to tempt him to abandon the Defence of them, he reply'd, *I will never betray the Liberty of my Country which my Ancestors have so long defended.* And to one of his Servants, who expostulated this Matter with his Master, asking him, *How he pretended to live after Holland was lost?* The Prince reply'd, *I resolve to live upon my Lands in Germany, and had rather pass my Life in Hunting there, than sell my Country or my Liberty to France at any Price.* The Reader has the History of the *Suarts* before him. Did ever any Saying come from them so Grand, so Heroical as This? The Prince of *Orange* despis'd Power, unless to defend

Duke of Buckingham's variable Temper.

A fine saying of the Prince of Orange.

A.D. 1672 fend Liberty, and he was crown'd with Empire. The *Stuartine* Princes grasp'd at Power to enslave their People, and we have seen, and shall see what was their Fate.

In the Beginning of *July Henry Coventry*, Esq; was made Secretary of State in the Room of Sir *John Trevor*, lately deceas'd. His Merit is told by *Coke*; "At the Instance of the *French King* *Coventry* was sent to the Court of *Sweden* to dissolve the *Triple League*; which he did so effectually, that that King not only stood neuter in the Beginning of the War with the *Dutch*, but in it join'd with the *French* against the Confederates; and for this Business, which put all *Christendom* in a Flame, *Coventry* was made Principal Secretary of State, and, it may be, was presented with his fine Ranger's Place in *Enfield-Chase* too, and that perhaps with thrice more from the *French King*; whereas Sir *William Temple*, who was the principal Instrument in the Peace at *Nimeguen*, lost 2200 Pounds by it, and his only Recompence was to be Secretary of State in *Coventry's* Place, if Sir *William* would give him 10,000 Pounds for it."

Lord Shaftsbury Lord Chancellor

Farthings with a Mottio.

1673. Parliament.

King's Speech for them.

In *November* the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was made Lord Chancellor, upon the Resignation of Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, and *Thomas Lord Clifford* Lord Treasurer; and upon his Enting on that high Office, the Lord Chancellor made a remarkable Speech to him, as full of Flattery as Eloquence. As to other Promotions, there is a long Catalogue of them in the *Compleat History*, copy'd very exactly out of the *Gazette*. In *December* the King, who had declar'd, that the Payments of the *Exchequer* shou'd be stopp'd only for a Year, did now declare, that they shou'd be stopp'd longer, and, as being a King of his Word, He did not doubt but all his loving Subjects had such Trust and Confidence in his Justice, that it will take away all Apprehensions of their being in the least defrauded of any thing that is justly due to them. They were however defrauded of every Penny of it. We shou'd not forget, that instead of a Medal to distinguish the Glories of this Year from those of another in this glorious Reign, there were *Farthings* coin'd, having on one Side the King's Head, and about it *Carolus à Carolo*, and on the Reverse the Figure of a Woman representing *Britain*, with this Inscription, *Quatuor Maria Vindico, The Four Seas are mine*. But these Words were soon after alter'd, on some Marine Successes of the *Dutch*, and only *Britannia* circumscrib'd in the Room.

On the 4th of *February* the Parliament, which had been continu'd under several Prorogations to this Day, met, and the Place of *Speaker of the House of Commons* being void by the Promotion of Sir *Edward Turner* the *Speech-maker* to be Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Job Charlton*, Serjeant at Law, was chosen *Speaker*, and approv'd by the King. At the same Time his Majesty made a Speech, in which he told the two Houses, that he had been forc'd to a most important, necessary and expensive War. How he was forc'd to it, how important it was, how necessary, has been shewn already. He then mention'd his *Declaration of Indulgence*, and telling them he would stick to it, gave another Occasion to shew them how he stuck to his Royal Word: He assur'd them, The Forces he had rais'd were so far from being design'd to controul Law and Property, as was suggested, that he wish'd he had more Forces, and must raise more, for which he desir'd Supplies, and promis'd to preserve the true reform'd Protestant Religion, and the Liberty and Property of every Man in his Kingdom. Having refer'd himself to the Lord Chancellor for other Particulars, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* enlarg'd

with great Bitterness upon the Causes of the War with the *Dutch*. But no Part of his Speech was more amazing than that where he said *Delenda est Carthago*. It must be own'd, that the Chancellor gave into the Court Measures against his Sentiments and Principles, and was the first of the *Cabal* who grew weary of them, and oppos'd them. This Lord, in the Intervals of Parliament, had issued Writs for Elections of Members of the Lower House, which the Commons complain'd of as an Infringement of their Privileges. The King left those Elections to them, and they voted them all irregular, and expell'd the Members so chosen; upon which the Country Party got their Friends elected: The Pensioners cou'd not after that easily carry any thing, and there was a great Clamour against the Chancellor, wherein finding himself ill supported by the Court, he dexterously, tho' secretly, shifted Sides, and secur'd himself an Interest among those that had been his Enemies. One of the most active Members of the House of Commons, Sir *Robert Howard*, was for pushing Matters to an *Impeachment*. The Lord Chancellor had good Intelligence of every Step taken against him, and knew well how to improve it. He was inform'd, that there was a great Club to be such a Night at a certain Tavern near *Charing-Cross*, where 70 or 80 Members of Parliament were to meet, and to come to a Determination on the Affair of the *Impeachment*. The Lord Chancellor employ'd a Friend of his to go to that Tavern and procure a Room next to that where the Meeting was to be. The Gentleman gave the Drawer a Guinea, and the Room was kept for him. At the Hour appointed the Earl went thither in a Hackney-Chair, and his Friend was there ready to shew him up into the Room he had taken. He then left him, and the Lord Chancellor heard Sir *Robert* talk to the Members of the intended *Impeachment*; and having satisfy'd himself of their *Kick* on, he call'd for the Drawer, and bade him whisper Sir *Robert Howard*, that a Gentleman would speak with him in the next Room; Sir *Robert* came immediately, and, to his great Surprize, found the Lord Chancellor, who receiv'd him with a very gay Countenance, and taking no Notice of what was concerting against him, told him, He was so much his Friend that he cou'd not help bringing him good News, which was, That the King had given him the Reversion of the Auditor of the *Exchequer's* Place by his Recommendation, and if he cou'd serve him in any thing else then, or at any other Time, he shou'd always find him ready. Sir *Robert* agreeably pleas'd and surpriz'd with this good Office, unfought for, after having paid the Earl his Compliments upon it, said, I will very frankly own to you, my Lord, I have by no Means deserv'd this Favour at your Hands; on the contrary, I am now the main Contriver and Actor in an *Impeachment* against you; but it is not too late to undo all that has been done, and if your Lordship will but have Patience to stay here but a quarter of an Hour, you shall hear how I will put an End to it. The Lord Chancellor thank'd him very graciously, and Sir *Robert* returning to his Company, renew'd the Discourse against the Lord Chancellor with greater Vehemence than before, entring into the Particulars of the Charge, and aggravating them, to the great Mortification of the Earl: But at last he in the Close made ample Amends for all, telling the Assembly, That truly the Crimes were of a high Nature and dangerous; but he did not see what Effect such a Charge cou'd have without Proof; and he must own he had not heard any tolerable Proof for any one of the Articles; and for some of them not so much as common Fame.

A.D. 1673

Sir Robert Howard bought off by Lord Shaftsbury.

A.D. 1673 *That the Lord Chancellor was a Man of great Abilities and Interest, and as he wou'd soon discover the Weakness of the Charge against him, so he had Friends enough to have it rejected, and he did believe the House of Commons wou'd never be brought to pass it.* The Members finding how it was like to go, and that Sir Robert had left them, went away one after another, without saying a Word, and Sir Robert Howard enjoy'd many Years, the Reward of his Management, the Office of Auditor.

The Parliament fell immediately upon the Declaration of Indulgence, and presented two Addresses against it, which very much perplex'd the King and his Ministers. The Compleat Historians are honest enough in observing the illegal Proceedings, in dispensing with the Laws of the Land, by arbitrary Power, and no doubt the Ease it gave the Dissenters, made them the more quick-sighted in it; but that the Address against the Indulgence, had no Regard to them in particular, is plain, from this good Vote, on the 14th of February.

Resolv'd Nemine Contradicente.

A Bill to ease Dissenters. *That a Bill be brought in for the Ease of his Majesty's Subjects, who are Dissenters in Matters of Religion, from the Church of England.*

The Substance of this Bill was,

1. "That Ease shall be given to his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, dissenting in Matters of Religion, who shall subscribe the Articles of the Doctrine of the Church of England, and shall take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. 2. That the said Protestant Subjects be eas'd from all Pains and Penalties for not coming to Church. 3. That the Clause in the late ACT OF UNIFORMITY, for declaring the Assent and Consent be taken away by this Bill. 4. That the said Protestant Subjects be eas'd from all Pains and Penalties, for meeting together for Performance of any religious Exercise. 5. That every Teacher shall give Notice of the Place where he intends such his Meeting to the respective Quarter Sessions, where in open Court he shall first make such Subscription, and take such Oaths as aforesaid, and receive from thence a Certificate thereof, where all such Proceedings shall remain upon Record. 6. That any such Teacher may exercise as aforesaid, until the next respective Quarter Session, and no longer, in case he shall not first take the Oaths, and make such Subscriptions before two of the neighbouring Justices of the Peace, and shall first give them Notice of the Place of his intended Meeting, and take Certificate thereof, under the said Justices Hands, a Duplicate whereof they are to return into the next Quarter Sessions. 7. The Doors and Passages of all Houses and Places where the said Dissenters do meet, shall be always open and free during the Time of such Exercise. 8. That if any Dissenter refuse to take Church-Wardens Oaths, that then he shall find another fit Person, who is no Dissenter, to execute that Office, and shall pay for his Pains.

Dr. Calamy very justly observes, *The Motion of the lower House in this Affair, was therefore the more remarkable, because it was the same House of Commons, who ten Years before, so warmly voted the Contrary, and who made the Law of the Land, and the Laws of the Land, which the Archdeacon, and the Compleat Historian hang upon so much, and which now unmade them all, as far as they could unmake them.* And because I have more than once, said what many think of the Bartholomew Act, I desire the Reader to take Notice, that this very House of Commons which

pass'd that Act, did now pass an Act to take away the Assent and Consent of that Act, and that it was the Sense of the Nation, as well as the Uniformity Sense of those that cou'd not comply with it, notwithstanding Eckhard and others glory in it, as the Strength and Ornament of the Church. What do now signify the Earl of Clarendon's, Turner the Speaker's, and other Harangues on the Church Acts, as they call them? The House of Commons have voted them all down, the same House of Commons who voted them all up, and methinks those who spoke so much for them, should not be able to read their last Vote without blushing.

The Day after this Vote, Sir Job Charlton, the Speaker, was taken very ill, and on the 19th of February, Mr. Edward Seymour was chosen Speaker, by his Majesty's Recommendation. Both Houses of Parliament join'd in a very warm Address, against the encouraging of Papists and Popery, and his Majesty publish'd once more a Proclamation against Romish Priests and Jesuits. We are all satisfy'd that his Majesty was a Papist himself, and yet he says in his Proclamation, *His Majesty had seriously consider'd of the said Petition, and with much Contentment and Satisfaction did accept, and approve of the great Care of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, for the Preservation of the true Religion establish'd in this Kingdom; to which his Majesty declares, as he hath always adher'd against all Temptations whatsoever, especially when he adjur'd it at Fontenabia, so he will still employ his utmost Care and Zeal in the Maintenance and Defence of it: And therefore strictly charges and commands all Jesuits and Romish Priests to depart the Kingdom; and the Lawes to be put in due Execution, against all Popish Recusants, or justly suspected to be so, &c.* The King had said he wou'd stick to his Declaration of Indulgence; but as his Majesty has not distinguish'd himself by keeping his Word, so we expect this will have the Fate of the rest. The Parliament were for giving the Non-conformists a Legal Toleration, in order to the preventing an illegal one for the Future; and the Act for their Ease wou'd have pass'd the House of Lords, had they fate long enough, as Mr. Locke tells us. They were convinc'd that such a Toleration was needful, tho' ten Years before, they wou'd not yield to it on any Terms. Bishop Burnet, in his Speech about the Occasional Bill, freely ascribes the Mildness of the House of Commons towards the Dissenters at this Time, to their Pleasedness with their Carriage, in giving up the King's Declaration, which wrought so much on the House, that was so zealous for the Church, that they order'd a Bill to be brought in for their Ease; but the Court lik'd their Carriage so little, that 'twas doubtless one Reason of the King's giving up the Declaration also, and breaking the Seal which was affix'd to it, with his own Hand.

The House was not content with this, so a Bill was brought in to disable all Papists from holding any Employment or Place at Court, requiring all Persons in publick Trust, to receive the Sacrament in a Parish Church, and to carry an attested Certificate of that, with Witnesses, to prove it, into Chancery, or the County Sessions, and there to make a Declaration, renouncing Transubstantiation in full and positive Words. Great Pains were taken by the Court to divert this: They propos'd that some Regard might be had to Protestant Dissenters, and that their Meetings might be allow'd. Mr. Love, before-mention'd, mov'd that an effectual Security might be found against Popery, and that nothing might interpose till that was done. When that was over,

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the Dissenters wou'd try to deserve some Favour; but at present, they were willing to lie under the Severity of the Law, rather than clog a more necessary Work with their Concerns. Tho' he was himself a Dissenter, yet he wou'd not accept of Indulgence, if it must be in Conjunction with the Papists. Nay, the Earl of Bristol in the House of Lords, spoke for the Test Act, tho' a Papist, saying, I am a Catholick of the Church of Rome, but not a Catholick of the Court of Rome. The Commons who brought in the Bill, are the best Judges of the Temper of the Nation, and being sensible of what dangerous Effects a general Disturbance of Mens Minds, in the Concernment of Religion, may produce, they have apply'd their Care to obviate by this Bill. A Bill in my Opinion, as full of Moderation towards Catholicks, as of Prudence and Security to the Religion of the State. I am none of those Wherry-Men in Religion, who look one Way and row another: And tho' a Catholick, yet as a Member of a Protestant Parliament, my Advice cannot but go along with the Scope of the Bill, the present Circumstances of Time and Affairs consider'd. The House of Commons was resolv'd to give no Money 'till that Bill was pass'd. The King had rais'd an Army of 20,000 Men, for a Descent upon Holland. Marechal Schomberg was the General, but Fitzgerald, an Irish Papist, Major General. The Duke of Buckingham and Lord Berkley advis'd the King to bring the Army to Town, and they wou'd take out of both Houses, the Members that made the Opposition to the Court. Duke Lauderdale talk'd of bringing the Army from Scotland, 20,000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, and seizing upon Newcastle, Clifford told the King, the People saw thro' all his Designs, and therefore he must resolve to make himself Master at once, or be for ever subject to much Jealousy and Contempt. The Earls of Shaftsbury and Arlington on the other Hand, press'd him to give the Parliament full Content, and undertook to procure him Money to carry on the War; which Opinion being supported by the Advice of Colbert, the French Ambassador, the King gave into it, pass'd the Test Act, and the Parliament gave him 1,250,000 Pounds, but did not give it for carrying on the War, only to supply the King's Necessities. On the 29th of March the King pass'd the Money Bill, the Test Act, and other Acts, and then the Parliament was prorog'd to the 20th of October.

Earl of Bristol, tho' a Papist, for the Test.

Dangerous Counsels.

Duke of York weeps.

Sir Thomas Obborn made Lord Treasurer.

His Character.

Duke of York about a second Marriage.

After the Session was over, the Duke of York carry'd all his Commissions to the King, and wept as he deliver'd them up, but the King shew'd no Concern at all. Lord Clifford left the Treasury, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Osborn, at the Recommendation of Buckingham and Clifford. Bishop Burnet writes of him, *He was a Gentleman of Yorkshire, whose Estate was much sunk: He was a very plausible Speaker, but too copious, and cou'd not easily make an End of his Discourse. He had been always among the high Cavaliers, and missing Preferment, had oppos'd the Court much. He gave himself great Liberties in Discourse, and did not seem to have any Regard to Truth, or so much as the Appearance of it. He put himself at the Head of the rigid Church-men, and labour'd to stretch the Prerogative beyond Law and Conscience. He was made Earl of Danby, and continu'd in Favour longer than any Favourite of this Reign.*

About this Time the Duke of York began to think of marrying. He first thought of Lady Bellasis, Widow to the Lord Bellasis's Son, and went so far in it, as to give her a Promise under his Hand to marry her, and she being a Protestant, he sent Coleman to her, to draw her over to Po-

pery, but she was not to be mov'd. Some of her Friends reproaching her for admitting the Duke so freely to see her, she cou'd not bear it, but said, *I can shew that his Address'es to me are honourable.* When Lord Bellasis, her Father in Law, who was a zealous Papist, heard this, he who knew how intractable the Lady was in those Matters, gave the whole Design of bringing in Popery for lott, if that was not quickly broken off; so he pretending Zeal for the King and the Duke's Honour, went and told the King all that he had heard. The King sent for the Duke, and said to him, *It is too much that you have play'd the Fool once, it is not to be born a second Time, and at such an Age.* The Lady was also so threaten'd, that she gave up the Promise, but kept an attested Copy of it. Then a Marriage was propos'd between the Duke and an Archdutchess of Inspruck, but the Empress happening to die at that Time, the Emperor himself marry'd her. After that a Match was propos'd to the Duke of Modena's Daughter, but the Court of Rome wou'd not at first consent to it, unless she might have a publick Chappel, which the Court of England would not hearken to, and the Duke making, by Lockhart, a Proposal to the Duke de Crequi's Daughter in France; the Pope desirous that he should rather marry an Italian than a French Woman, yielded to the Marriage, without a Chappel, and the Duke was marry'd to Mary d'Este by Proxy. The Earl of Peterborough brought her to England thro' France. Her Portion, about 200,000 Pounds, was paid by the French King, who adopted her a Daughter of France; but when he over-ran Italy, in the Year 1701, he demand'd the Money of her Brother, the Duke of Modena, who was not able to pay him. It is said, she upbraided her Husband at the Instant she heard of the Prince of Orange's Landing, thus; *It is well known I had 400,000 Pounds to my Fortune; if it were possible, I were single again, and had my Money, I would not marry any Prince in Christendom.* When the House of Commons met next, tho' the Earl of Peterborough had brought the Lady as far as Paris in her Way to England, and tho' she had been marry'd to the Duke by Proxy, they presented an Address to the King, to stop the Princess of Modena's coming to England, 'till she shou'd change her Religion. Upon this the Duke mov'd the King to prorogue the Parliament for a Week, and a Commission was order'd for it. The Duke went to the House that Day, to press the Calling up the Commons, before they cou'd have Time to go on to Business. Some Peers were to be brought in. The Duke press'd the Lord Shaftsbury to put that off, and prorogue the Parliament. He said coldly, *There is no haste,* but the Commons made more haste, and quickly came to a Vote for stopping the Marriage, which was such an Affront to the Duke, that he never forgave Shaftsbury, who might have prevented it by a Prorogation. The Parliament presented two Addresses against the Marriage, but the King's Answer was, *His Honour was engag'd,* and a Month after, November, the 21st, the Princess of Modena arriv'd at Dover, where the Duke receiv'd her, and consummated the Marriage; and not long before this arriv'd Madam de Querouaille, a French Papist, to be the King's Mistress. Thus were both King and Duke in the Arms of two intriguing Ladies, entirely in the French Interest.

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Duke of York marries Mary d'Esté.

Parliament oppose it.

In the mean while the Dutch were reduc'd to the last Extremities by the French Conquests, and it was propos'd in an Assembly of the States, to remove as many as cou'd, with their Families and Effects, to the East-Indies. In this Distress there seem'd to be no Soul in any Breast in Holland, but that

A.D. 1673 that of the Prince of Orange, who got the States to call an extraordinary Assembly, the most numerous that has been in this Age. He spoke to them near three Hours to the Amazement of all that heard him. He had got great Materials put into his Hands, of which he made very good Use. He first went thro' the *French* Propositions, and shew'd the Consequence and the Effects that wou'd follow on them; that the accepting them wou'd be certain Ruin, and the very treating about them, wou'd distract and dispirir their People: He therefore concluded, that the Entertaining a Thought of these, was the giving up their Country. If any cou'd hearken to such a Motion, the Lovers of Religion and Liberty must go to the *Indies*, or to any other Country, where they might be free and safe. After he had gone thro' all this near an Hour, he in the next Place shew'd the Possibility of making a Stand, notwithstanding the desperate State to which their Affairs seem'd to be reduc'd. He set forth the Strength of their Allies, and told them *England* cou'd not hold out long without a Parliament, and they were well assur'd a Parliament wou'd draw the King to other Measures. He shew'd the Impossibility of the *French* holding out where they were, and that the *Germans* coming down to the lower *Rhine*, must make them leave those Provinces as fast as they came into them: In all which he shew'd he had a great Insight into the *French* Affairs. He came at last to shew how it was possible to raise Taxes to answer such a vast unavoidable Expence, and set before them a great Variety of Projects for raising Money. He concluded, that if they laid down this for a Foundation, That Religion and Liberty cou'd not be purchas'd at too dear a Rate; every Man among them, and every Minister in the Country ought to infuse into all their People, that they must submit to the present Extremity, and to very extraordinary Taxes: By this Means, as their People wou'd again take Heart, so their Enemies wou'd lose theirs, who built their chief Hopes on that universal Dejection among them, which was but too visible to all the World. Every one that was present seem'd amaz'd to hear so young a Man speak to so many Things with so much Knowledge, and so true a Judgment: It rais'd his Character wonderfully, and contributed not a little to put new Life in a People almost dead with Fear, and dispirited with so many Losses. They all resolv'd to maintain their Liberty to the last, and if Things shou'd run to Extremities, then to carry what Wealth they cou'd with them to the *East-Indies*. The State of the Shipping capable of so long a Voyage was examin'd, and it was reckon'd they cou'd transport above 200,000 People thither.

French King's ill Conduct.

Yet all their Courage wou'd probably have serv'd them in little stead, if the *French* King cou'd have been prevail'd on to stay longer at *Utrecht*: But he made haste to go back to *Paris*: Some said it was the Effect of his Amours, and was hasten'd by some Quarrels among his Mistresses; others thought he made haste to receive the Flatteries which were preparing for him. He left a Garrison in every Place he took, against *Turenne's* Advice, who was for dismantling them, and keeping his Army still about him. That General marching with Part of his Army into the Elector of *Brandenburgh's* Country, the other Part left with the King was so diminish'd, that he cou'd undertake no great Design, and though the Prince of Orange had not above 8000 Men about him, employ'd in keeping a Pass near *Woerden*, yet no Attempt was made to force him from it. Another probable Reason of his returning back so soon, was a Suggestion of the desperate Temper of

the *Dutch*; and that they were capable of under-taking any Design, how black soever, rather than perish. Some told him of *Vaults* under the Streets of *Utrecht*, where Gunpowder might be laid to blow him up as he went over them; and all these were observ'd to be avoided by him. He wou'd never lodge within the Town, and came but seldom to it. Upon one or other of these Motives he went back, and the Prince of *Conde* said, *I see he has not the Soul of a Conqueror; his Ministers are the best Commis-Clerks, but the poorest Ministers in the World; who have not Souls made for great him and Things, or capable of them.* Had he left such a Man as *Turenne* at *Utrecht*, it might have had ill Effects on the Resolutions taken by the *Dutch*. But he left *Luxemburgh*, rather fit to command *Banditti* than Soldiers. *Luxemburgh* had no Regard to Articles, but made all People see what was to be expected when they shou'd come under such a Yoke; which was then so intolerable a Burden, even while it ought to have been recommended to those who were yet free, by a gentle Administration. This put the *Dutch* on those obstinate Resolutions they had taken up: There is this Account of the *French* Barbarities in a modern Author: "Such were the Burnings and Murders committed by the *French* in *Holland*; where, as a Specimen of what the Cities might expect, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* march'd to *Bodegrave* and *Swammerdam*, putting Men, Women, and Children to the Sword, and making a Deluge of Blood in the Streets. In the midst of the lamentable Shrieks of those poor Wretches, *Luxemburgh* gave the Word of Command, *Plunder, Ravish, Massacre, Kill*; which was executed without relenting. These Hellish Outrages spread a Terror over the whole Country, and in this Fright the Lords of *Amsterdam* assembling, deliberated whether they shou'd or shou'd not fend their Keys to the *French* General." There were in the Assembly some so Cowardly as to argue for the *Affirmative*, till Monsieur *Tulip*, one of the *Burgomasters*, a Man of an invincible Spirit, ran to the Window, and vow'd, if they did not lay aside all Thoughts of submitting to *France*, he wou'd call out to the People; who were crowding about the *Stadthouse*, and have them torn to pieces; which put an End to the Dispute. This *Burgomaster* afterwards going the Night-round upon the Ramparts, a Centinel commanded him to stand; he, to try the Vigilance and Fidelity of the Soldier, came forward in the Dark, without answering, upon which the Centinel fir'd, and shot him dead.

The Emperor, *Spain*, and *Brandenburgh*, having enter'd into Alliance with the States of the United Provinces, the Prince of Orange got all his Forces together, and form'd the Siege of *Naerden*; but finding it was like to run to Length, and if he took the Place, it wou'd not clear the Country of the Enemy, so much as a Diversion nearer *France*, he march'd away into *Germany*, join'd a Body of *Orange* Imperialists, and laid down before *Bonne*, which the Elector of *Cologne* had put into the Hands of the *French*, to preserve their Communication between *France* and *Holland*, and it open'd the Communication between *Holland* and *Germany*; which threw the *French* into almost as great a Confusion as the *Dutch* were in before: But they recover'd out of it by the taking of *Maestricht*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* behav'd with so much Gallantry, that he was taken notice of, admir'd, and applauded; as was the Prince of *Orange*, sometime after, for his Behaviour at the Battle of *Seneffe*, where he disputed the Victory with the renown'd Prince of *Conde*; and had

Souches,

A.D. 1673 *Souches*, the Imperial General, behav'd as well, the *French* Army had been cut to Pieces, and an End put to the ambitious Projects of *Lewis le Grand*; for so he now affected to be call'd.

Sea Fights. During these Transactions, the *Dutch* Fleet gave Battle to the *English* and *French*, the 28th of *May*, near the Sands of *Schonevelt*, on the Borders of *Zealand*. Prince *Rupert* commanded the *English* Fleet, consisting of about 140 Sail, and *De Ruyter*, the *Dutch*, of about 120 Sail. The Fight began at 12 o'Clock at Noon, between *Van Tromp* and *Sir Edward Sprague*, and lasted till Night. The *Dutch* had the Advantage, but it was not worth boasting of; they lost Vice-Admiral *Schram*, and Rear-Admiral *Vlugh*: And on the *English* Side were kill'd Captain *Fowles*, Captain *Werden*, and Captain *Finch*. On the 4th of *June* was another Battle, wherein the *Dutch* had again the Advantage; and the *English* lost Captain *White*, Commander of the *Warspight*, and Captain *Sadlington*, Commander of the *Crown*. On the 11th of *August* was a third Battle, near the Mouth of the *Texel*, the Admirals on both Sides still the same, and the same the Success; what little Advantage there was being on the *Dutch* Side, though they lost two Flag-Officers, *De Liefde* and *Sweers*. Of the *English* there fell *Sir Edward Sprague*, who was drown'd as he was shifting Ships, *Sir William Reeves*, and Captain *Heywood*; as also Captain *Le Neve*, and Captain *Merryweather*, two Captains of Foot; for there were 6000 *English* Soldiers a-board, under *Marschal Schomberg*, who were to make a Descent upon *Holland*, if they cou'd; and their not doing it, shew'd they had not been Superior at Sea. In the last Fight the *French* Squadron, commanded by *D'Estrees*, made a Tack to the Eastward, under Pretence of getting the Weather-Gage of the *Dutch*; and *D'Estrees* remain'd Spectator of it to the End of the Engagement. *Monsieur Martel*, Captain of a *French* Man of War, fought bravely, and was thrown into the *Bastile* for it when he came Home. These three little Successes of the *Dutch* strangely animated them, and discourag'd the *English*, who began to clamour loudly against the War with *Holland*, and the League with *France*; which dispos'd our Court to hearken to the Mediation offer'd by *Sweden*, for a Treaty to be holden at *Cologne*, whither the King sent his Ambassadors, the Earl of *Sunderland*, *Sir Lionel Jenkins*, and *Sir Joseph Williamson*: The two latter very heavy Negotiators; the first, a Minister of as great Abilities as any of that Age. But this Treaty was of short Continuance; for the Emperor having order'd the Prince of *Furstenbergh*, *Dean* and *Plenipotentiary* of *Cologne*, to be seiz'd on as a Traitor to the *Empire*, the *French* wou'd not treat till he was set at Liberty.

The French quit the Towns in Holland. In the mean while the *French* evacuated all the Places they had on the *Rhine* and *Tffel*, *Bon* cutting off the Supplies that were expected from that Side, and a few Months after all the three Provinces were evacuated by them; which made the *Electors* of *Cologne*, and *Bishop* of *Munster*, strike up a Peace with the States; and the Prince of *Orange* having taken *Naerden*, and made *Amsterdam* easy, the States General made him *Hereditary Stadtholder*, which none of his *Illustrious* Ancestors had ever been. *Colbert*, the *French* Ambassador, was recall'd, as being too much led by the Earl of *Arlington*; and *Monsieur de Ruvoigny*, the Lord *Gabway's* Father, was sent Ambassador to *London* in his Place; but though he was a Master of Intrigue, he cou'd not hinder the King's concluding a Peace with the *Dutch*, without which he cou'd have no Money.

A.D. 1673 We have observ'd that the Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury* stood in a very tottering Condition, and his Zeal for the *Test Act* was an unpardonable Crime; but what hasten'd his Fall, was a Speech he made in the House of Lords last Sessions of Parliament, on the following Occasion.

Lord *Clifford*, when he was Treasurer, had entertain'd a Project for a perpetual Fund, to render Parliaments usefess, and had prepar'd a set Speech for introducing it. He read his Speech to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who desir'd to hear it again, and upon the second Reading, charg'd his Memory with the Substance of it. This gave him an Opportunity he had wish'd for, to be reveng'd of *Clifford* for stealing the *White Staff* from him by the *Exchequer* Business. *Clifford* made the intended Speech, the King and Duke of *York* being present in the House to countenance the Design. The Country Lords, and those who were not in the *Secret*, star'd at one another; the whole House at the End of the Speech remain'd in an awful Silence, meditating the Fate of poor *England*; when my Lord *Shaftsbury* stood up, and answer'd his Speech from the Beginning to the End, shewing, "That his Propositions were extravagant, that what he aim'd at wou'd end in Confusion and the Ruin of the Government; that it might, perhaps, send the Royal Family abroad again, to spend their Lives in Exile, without Hopes of a Return;" which he spoke with so much Life and Spirit, that he confounded the Court-Counsellors. While he was speaking, the Duke, who was very angry with him, whisper'd the King, *What a Rogue you have of a Lord Chancellor!* The King reply'd, *Gods-fish, What a Fool you have of a Lord Treasurer!* The Debate ended in a Ruffle; *Clifford* narrowly escap'd being sent to the *Tower*, and finding himself thus given up by the King, he declar'd, *He wou'd serve no Prince who had not Courage to avow his Principles, and support his Ministers in the Execution of his Demands.*

Shaftsbury had made himself a new Enemy in the new Lord Treasurer *Osborn*, who coming to take the Oaths as usual in *Chancery*, the Lord Chancellor made a Speech to him, and among other Things said, *Kings are like Gods, they can make Choice of whom they please, yet in this they are like Men, they can only make Choice, but not render him they have chosen adequate to the Employment: You ought to remember that Parturere non minor est Virtus, and I wish you may long enjoy the Honour of your Place, and the King the Satisfaction of his Choice.* The Lord Treasurer thank'd the Lord Chancellor, but the next Day, when he had consider'd the Terms in the Speech, he sent to revoke his Thanks.

In *Michaelmas* Term, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was sent for on a *Sunday* Morning to Court, as was also *Sir Heneage Finch*, Attorney General, to whom the Seal was promis'd. When my Lord came, he went with the King into his Closet, while the *Popish* Faction waited in Triumph to see him return without the Purse. My Lord *Shaftsbury* being alone with the King, said, *Sir, I know you intend to give the Seals to the Attorney General, but I am sure your Majesty never design'd to dismiss me with Contempt.* No, *Gods-fish, my Lord*, reply'd the King, *I will not do it with any such Circumstance as may look like an Affront.* Then, *Sir*, says the Earl, *I desire your Majesty will permit me to carry the Seals before you to Chapel, and send them afterwards from my own House:* To which his Majesty, who wanted not good Nature on certain Occasions, agreed. The Earl entertain'd the King with *News*, and other

A.D. 1673 other diverting Stories, till the very Minute he was to go to Church, on purpose to amuse the Courtiers, and his Successor, whom he knew to be on the Rack, for fear the Earl shou'd prevail on the King to change his Mind. His Majesty and my Lord came out of the Closet talking together, and smiling, and went to Church, which extremely surpriz'd them all, who cou'd have no Opportunity to inform themselves what was to be expected. Some ran immediately to tell the Duke all their Measures were broken, and the Attorney General was inconsolable. After Sermon, my Lord went Home with the Seals, and sending them from his House, that Evening the King gave them to the Attorney, who was hardly yet recover'd out of the Fright the Closet-Conversation had put him into. But before the Earl of Shaftsbury was remov'd, the Court permitted him to open the Session of Parliament on the 20th of October with a Speech, wherein he endeavour'd to explain away the Malignity of the Expression, *Delenda est Carthago*, which he had us'd in a former Speech, by referring it to the *Louvestein* Faction, whom he now terms the *Carthaginian Party* in *Holland*. But this, says my Lord of Sarum, made him as ridiculous, as the other had made him odious.

Sir He-
neage
Finch
made Lord
Keeper.

*Lords ad-
vise to send
away the
Duke of
York.* About this Time the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Arlington, the Earl of Shaftsbury, and Secretary Coventry, offer'd Advice to the King to send the Duke of York for some time from the Court, as a good Expedient for himself and the Duke. The King hearken'd so far to it, that he sent them to move it to his Brother, who was highly incens'd at it, saying, *I will obey all the King's Orders, but will look on those as my Enemies who offer him such Advices.* And he never forgave this to any of them, no not to Coventry, for all his good Opinion of him, and the good Services Coventry had done the Popish and French Faction. Colonel Birch reflected on him in the House of Commons, for being zealous, before he was Secretary, to grant the King a Supply to support the Triple League, when at the same Time he knew the two Crowns, England and Sweden, had determin'd to dissolve it. There was just Reason to believe the Charge was true, and Coventry sitting near the Bar, rose up in a Flame, and with great Affeuerations deny'd it, saying, *If an Angel that came from Heaven shou'd reproach him with it, he wou'd prevent his going back if 'twere in his Power.*

Secretary
Coven-
try's Treachery.

Parlia-
ment Voted
against gi-
ving Mo-
ney.

This Year Sir Tobias Bridges took the Island of Tobago, in the West-Indies, from the Dutch, and the latter took the Island of St. Helena from the English, but it was re-taken by Capt. Mundy. On the 31st of October, the House of Commons being in a Grand Committee, RESOLV'D, "That considering the present Condition of the Nation, this House will not take into further Debate the Consideration of any Aid or Supply, or Charge upon the Subject, before the Time of Payment of the last Assessment be expir'd, except it shall appear that the Obstinacy of the Dutch shall render it necessary; nor before this Kingdom be effectually secur'd from Popery and Popish Counsellors, and the other present Grievances be redress'd." They also Voted the Standing Army to be a Grievance, and prepar'd an Address to his Majesty, shewing, *That the Standing Army was a Grievance and a Burthen to the Nation.* They intended to present this Address on the 4th of November, when the King unexpectedly came to the House of Lords, and sent the Usher of the Black Rod to the Commons to command the Attendance of the Speaker, and that House; but it happen'd that the Speaker

and the Usher met both at the Door of the House of Commons, and the Speaker being within the House, some of the Members suddenly shut the Door, and cry'd out, *To the Chair, to the Chair*; others cry'd, *The Black Rod is at the Door*: The Speaker Seymour was immediately hurry'd to the Chair, and then it was mov'd, 1. *That our Alliance with France is a Grievance*; 2. *That the Evil Counsellors about the King are a Grievance*; 3. *That the Duke of Lauderdale is a Grievance, and not fit to be trusted or employed in any Office or Place of Trust.* Upon which there was a general Cry, *To the Question, to the Question*; but the Black Rod knocking earnestly at the Door, Seymour, the Speaker, leap'd out of the Chair, and the House rose in great Confusion. Being come to the House of Peers, the King made a Speech to them, which shews that his Ministers were as weak as his Enemies need wish: For the Nation now detested the Dutch War, and the Contrivers of it; yet he mentions it as if he had Hopes that they wou'd pay him for it, *A Support against our only Competitor at Sea*; and assures them that he (who is himself a Papist) will not be wanting to let all his Subjects see that no Care can be greater than his own, in the effectual suppressing of Popery. Then the Parliament was prorogu'd to the 7th of January.

A.D. 1673

Some time in this Session, a Wooden Shoe, with some Beads, was laid in the Parliament-House, near the Speaker's Chair; 'twas such as the Peasants wear in France. On one End were drawn the *Fleurs de Lis*, and on the other the Arms of England; between the two Arms was written, *Utrum horum major accipe*. The House of Commons intended to keep a Day of Humiliation on account of the Growth of Popery, and solemnly to celebrate the 5th of November, the Anniversary of the Powder Plot, Dr. Stillingfleet being desir'd to preach before them; but the King prorogu'd the Parliament the Day before, Nov. 4.

The Cabal being broken, a Junto succeeded, *A Junto* consisting of Finch, Danby, Lauderdale, Arlington, and Coventry, whose Abilities were by no means equal to those of the Cabal. Bishop Burnet gives this Character of the Lord Keeper Finch: *Finch; He had no sort of Knowledge in Foreign Affairs, and yet he lov'd to talk of them perpetually, by which he expos'd himself to those who understood them. He thought he was bound to justify the Court in all Debates in the House of Lords, which he did with the Vehemency of a Pleader, rather than with the Solemnity of a Senator: He was long much admir'd for his Eloquence, but it was labour'd and affected, and he saw it as much despis'd before he dy'd. He was too eloquent on the Bench, in the House of Lords, and in common Conversation, &c. It is Bishop Burnet says it, and it behoves me to produce Authorities for my Characters now I draw so near Home; for no body will bear to hear any thing said of a Person that belongs to them, but what is to his Praise, in which, as well as in a few other Things, we differ from the Spirit and Manners of the old Romans. From this Keeper's Administration one may expect a stricter Hand over the Nonconformists, as far as his Counsel and Authority cou'd go. As to the Chancery, he was a very good Judge, and highly to be commended for his Probity and Resolution.*

His Majesty sent for the two Chief Justices, and the Chief Baron, and commanded them to consider of the most effectual Means for putting the Laws in Execution against Papists; and an Order was made that no Roman Catholick shou'd presume to come into his Presence, or to his Palace, or to the Place where his Court shall be; which

A.D. 1673

which extended not however to his Mistresses, who were most of them stanch Papists, and zealous for that Religion; particularly the Dutcheffes of *Cleveland* and *Portsmouth*. The former, whose Lust was insatiable, to please the King, or some other Gallant, turn'd *Papist*; and *William Pen* the Quaker having the first News of it, went to *Dr. Stillingfleet* with it, to mortify him, as he said to me, with the Loss of so considerable a Member of the Church: But when he had told his News to the Doctor, *Stillingfleet* retorted, *If the Church of Rome has got by her no more than the Church of England has lost, the Matter is not much.* This Woman was so infamous in her Amours, that she made no Scruple of owning her Lovers; among whom was *Goodman* the Player, who so narrowly escap'd the Gallows some Years after; and the Fellow was so insolent upon it, that one Night, when the Queen was at the *Theatre*, and the Curtain, as usual, was immediately order'd to be drawn up, *Goodman* cry'd, *Is my Dutcheff come?* and being answer'd, *No*, he swore terribly the Curtain shou'd not be drawn till the Dutcheffs came, which was at the Instant, and sav'd the Affront to the Queen.

Dr. Stillingfleet's Saying of the Dutcheffs of Cleveland.

1674.

On the 7th of *January* the Parliament met, and the King and Keeper made Speeches as usual. *Echard* assures us upon his Word and Judgment, that the new Lord Keeper's Speeches were not only long, but eloquent: What sort of Eloquence it was *Bishop Burnet* knew, and told us. He made some fulsom Complements on the King, upon his being punctual to his Word, which the Reader by this Time is very well apprised of: On his making the Laws the Measure of his Power, *as by his dispensing with those Laws*: On his strenuous Proceedings against the Papists, and forbidding them to come within his Palace, *at the same time that his Lordship and all the World knew they were the most welcome there of any People.* The rest being Eloquence so pure and simple, so free from affected Flowers and Graces, ought not to be omitted, as *Mr. Archdeacon* observes; "These are not single and transient Acts, but such as flow from Habits: These are not *Leaves* and *Blossoms*, but true, solid, and lasting Fruits. Long, long, may that Royal Tree live and flourish upon which these Fruits do grow." *Habits* and *Fruits* being all one in Logick, we proceed, "And yet his Majesty's Indulgence to you rests not here; he gives you Leave to study and contrive your own Assurance. *The very Essence of Parliaments is the Preservation of the Common-wealth; and the King gives them Leave to do what they necessarily must do as long as they are together; extremely Gracious and Tender!* Again, "You have free Leave to make any reasonable Proposition, and his gracious Promise that he will receive it: This is a Satisfaction equal to all your Wishes. Now if ever your Joys are full, there wants no more to the Improvement of this Happiness, but the Wisdom of the Parliament to use the Advantage with due Moderation. If therefore, upon Enquiry, you shall think it needful to apply any other Remedies, it is extremely to be wish'd that those Remedies may be few, and withal, that they be gentle and easy too; for the Sick perish as often by too many Remedies, as by none at all." By which Sophistical Argument the Use of all Physick is damn'd, because sometimes too many Remedies are us'd, therefore use none at all. Thus are the Commons treated like a Company of Quacks, who are in danger of prescribing without Judgment, and more likely to Kill than to Cure. Again, "But none fall so fatally and so finally as they who, being enter'd into some Degrees of Convalescence, resolve to recover it in

Lord Keeper's Eloquence.

"an Instant; and had rather make some great Effort, or try some bold Experiment upon themselves, than observe the Methods, or attend those gradual Progressions which are necessary to perfect that Health, and compleat that Recovery." If one had been so happy as to have known what is meant by this Metaphorical Doctorship, some Account might have been given of it: The Growth of *Popery*, and the Progress of the *French Arms*, were the Things chiefly complain'd of: Both of them had those Progressions which threaten'd Convulsion and Dissolution; but according to this Prescription, the Physick must be gentle, easy, and slow: There must be no new Law against *Papists*, nor Proceedings against Evil Counsellors, nor Breach of the Alliance with *France*; they are bold Experiments, &c. I shall meddle with no more of these Speeches, and only hint these Things, to shew what Sincerity, as well as Elegance there are in them. The King told the Parliament, *He had no Treaty with France, but what was and shou'd be made known.* *Madam's* Journey to *Dover*, and *Abbot Primi's* Memoirs of *Cobbert's* Negotiations, are, we suppose, the Proofs of it. Notwithstanding this eloquent Harangue upon the King's Care of the Protestant Religion, the House of Lords presented an Address, that Papists might be banish'd ten Miles from *London*, and a Proclamation was issu'd pursuant to it. Both Lords and Commons then join'd in an Address for a *General Fast*, wherein were very strong Expressions against both the War and *Popery*. The King comply'd with this Address, and the 4th of *February* was appointed for the Day of *Humiliation*. The House of Commons resolv'd, "That they wou'd in the first Place proceed to have their Grievances effectually redress'd, the Protestant Religion, their Liberties and Properties effectually secur'd, and to suppress *Popery*, and remove all Persons and Counsellors popishly affected, or otherwise obnoxious or dangerous to the Government. They also order'd another Address to his Majesty, "That the *Militia* of *London* and *Middlesex* may be in Readiness at an Hour's Warning, and the *Militia* of all other Counties of *England* at a Day's Warning, for suppressing all tumultuous Insurrections which may be occasion'd by *Papists*, &c." The King's Answer was, *He wou'd take a special Care, as well for the Preservation of their Persons, as of their Liberties and Properties.* The King's extream Necessities obliging him to these Compliances with the Parliament, and his being too lukewarm in Matters of Religion, did about this Time very much disgust the *Papists*; and it is thought that *Coleman* now enter'd into the most criminal Part of his Correspondence with the *French Court*; and from hence some date the Beginnings of the *Popish Plot*, though it is to be suppos'd that the *Papists* have not been without Plots ever since the Reformation.

A.D. 1674

A Fast.

The Beginning of the Popish Plot.

The House of Commons pass'd a Vote, That *Lauderdale* the Princes of the Blood Royal shou'd all marry Protestants; they resolv'd to fall on the Ministry, and began with the Duke of *Lauderdale*, against whom they voted an Address to remove him from the King's Presence and Council for ever. They went next upon the Duke of *Buckingham*; and it being mov'd, in his Name, that the House wou'd hear him, he was admitted. The first Day of his being there, he fell into such a Disorder, that he pretended to be taken ill, and desir'd to be admitted again, which was granted; and in his Speech next Day, he thank'd the House for the Honour they had twice done him, especially expressing himself so ill Yesterday. He justify'd his own Designs, laying all the ill Counsels upon others,

Duke of Buckingham's Speech to the Commons.

A.D. 1674 others, chiefly on Lord *Arlington*; intimating plainly that the Root of all Errors was in the King and the Duke, and that there was a closer Intelligence between the Court of *England* and that of *France*, than King *Charles* had made known to his Parliament. When we were to consider what to do, we were to advise with the French Ambassador; Who was it that was so often lock'd up with the French Ambassador? My Spirit moves me to tell you, he said, Hunting is a good Diversion, but if a Man will hunt with a Brace of Lobsters, he will have but ill Sport; which he apply'd to Prince *Rupert* and Lord *Arlington*, in a Conversation with Bishop *Burnet*, but it was now understood to mean the King and his Brother. He was examin'd to several Interrogatories after his Speech; but he gave so little Satisfaction to the House, either in his Speech or his Answers, that they voted an Address to remove him from the King's Presence and Councils. Then they attack'd the Lord *Arlington*, who was also heard in the House, and spoke much better than was expected. He excus'd himself, without blackning the King; which had so good an Effect, that tho' he, as Secretary of State, was more expos'd than any other, by the many Warrants and Orders he sign'd, yet he was acquitted by a very small Majority. He had lately been very complaisant to the Nonconformists, and they in Gratitude did him what Service they cou'd in the Parliament, who were resolv'd to force the King to a Peace with the *Dutch*. He wou'd have done any thing, and parted with any Persons, if that wou'd have procur'd him Money for carrying on the War, but there was no Hope of it; so the Earl of *Arlington* press'd the Spanish Ambassador, the Marquis of *Fresnoy*, to procure an Order from his Court to their Ambassadors at the Hague, to excite the States and the Prince of *Orange* to get a Proposition of Peace set on Foot. And that it might have some Shew of a Peace both begg'd and bought, he propos'd that the States shou'd offer the King a Sum of Money, which shou'd be made over by him to the Prince for Payment of the Debt the King ow'd him. *Ruigny* the French Ambassador press'd the King much to give this Parliament Satisfaction in Point of Religion. The King answer'd him, If it was not for my Brother's Folly, La Sortife de mon Frere, I wou'd get out of all my Difficulties.

Address'd against.

Arlington acquitted.

The King blames the Duke of York's Folly.

Sir William Temple employ'd to conclude a Peace with the Dutch.

Sir *William Temple* was sent for to Court to negotiate the Peace with the *Dutch*. Lord *Arlington* told him, He wou'd not pretend to the Merit of having nam'd him on this Occasion, or whether the King or the Lord Treasurer did it first, but that the whole Committee of Council join'd in it. He concluded, Since a Peace was to be made, no other Person was so fit to make it; therefore the King, with many kind Expressions, gave Order to Sir *William* to prepare for his Journey to *Holland*, and the Secretary drew up his Instructions. However, he cou'd not make so much Haste, but the *Dutch* made more, and sent over Powers to *Fresnoy*, the Spanish Minister, to treat and conclude a Peace with the King; which Powers arriv'd three Days after the *Junto* had sent for Sir *William Temple*, who advis'd the putting off his Journey to *Holland*, and to begin the Treaty at *London*, as much more for his Majesty's Honour; to which the King agreed, adding, tho' Sir *William* does not treat the Peace at the Hague, he shall at *London*: And the whole Treaty was concluded at three Meetings between *Fresnoy* and *Temple*. The two Points of greatest Difficulty were the Flag, and the recalling the *English* Troops out of the *French* Service. The Flag had been given up in former

Treaties, and the *Dutch* hesitating about it now, A.D. 1674 wou'd have had very ill Effects; so it was given up again, and it was stipulated, that the *English* Bravery of Troops in the *French* Service shou'd wear out the *English* without any Recruits: Which Stipulation was so far from being observ'd by the King of *England*, that *English* Men were press'd to recruit them; and to these Troops does Sir *William Temple*, and the *Germans* too, ascribe the Glory of all the *French* Conquests in the Campaigns in which they serv'd; for those Troops, not only in *Turenne's* Life, but at his Death too, sav'd the whole *French* Army. Read *Coke* on this Article, "If this be as Sir *William* says, the King hereby, instead of being a Protector, becomes a Murderer of his Subjects, in permitting them to kill one another on both Sides; for it is impossible the War shou'd be just on both Sides; nor do I believe the like Precedent can be shew'd, unless by the King's Grandfather, James I."

This hasty Peace, huddl'd up in less than four Days, between the 5th, 6th and 9th of *February*, wou'd not admit of the Establishment of a *Marine* Treaty and Regulation of the *East-India* Trade between the *English* and *Dutch*. By this Treaty that of *Breda* was confirm'd. The *Dutch* were to pay 800,000 *Patacoons*, and had made over to them the Islands of *Amboyna* and *Polle-ronne*, which they had ravish'd from the *English*, and by which they not only supply *Europe*, but *India* and *Persia* with *Spice*. *Surinam* was also confirm'd to them. The Arrears of 30,000 Pounds a Year for the Fishery were discharg'd, as were the Damages sustain'd by their Pyritical Capture of Sir *Paul Pindar* and Sir *William Courton's* Ships, the *Bona Esperanza* and *Henry Bonaventure*, valu'd at 150,000 Pounds. The Peace was sign'd at Lord *Arlington's* Office, and the King went immediately to the Withdrawing Room, where, seeing Monsieur *Ruigny*, he took him aside and told him, He had been doing a Thing which went more to his Heart than the losing his Right-Hand: He had sign'd a Peace with the *Dutch* upon a Project brought him by the Spanish Ambassador. He saw nothing cou'd content the House of Commons, or draw Money from them: And Lord *Arlington* had press'd him so hard, that he stood out till he was weary of his Life. *Ruigny* told him, That what was done cou'd not be help'd, but he wou'd let him see how faithfully he wou'd serve him on this Occasion. He doubted not his Master wou'd submit all his Pretensions to him, and make him the Arbitrer and Mediator of the Peace." Which the King receiv'd with great Joy, and said it wou'd be the most acceptable Service that cou'd be done him. Upon all which Bishop *Burnet* reflects thus, "And so the King got out of the War very little to his Honour, having both engag'd in it upon unjust Grounds, and ill manag'd it all along with ill Conduct and bad Success;" as we read in *Acherley*, The Time for the *French* King's making King *Charles* absolute Master of his Parliament was respited till a more seasonable Opportunity.

The House of Commons continuing their Debates for keeping out *Popery*, order'd a severe Bill to be brought in with a new Test, renouncing *Transubstantiation*, &c. but they had not Time to pass it into a Law. The King had laid a Copy of the Project of Peace, brought by the Spanish Ambassador, before the Parliament; and the latter having thank'd him for it, they humbly advis'd him to proceed in it. On the Beginning of *February* they resolv'd, "That the Continuance of any Standing Force in this Nation, other

A.D. 1674 Bravery of the English in the French Service.

Peace concluded dishonourable to the King.

The Dutch War unjust and ill manag'd.

A.D. 1674 "other than the Militia, is a great Grievance and Vexation to the People, and it is the humble Petition and Address of this House to his Majesty, that he will immediately cause to be disbanded that Part of them that were rais'd since the 1st Day of January, 1663."

Reasons against the King's Horse-Guards.

They also address'd against the Horse-Guards, and gave several Reasons for breaking them; among others was this, *That the Life-Guard is a Place of Refuge and Retreat for Papists, and Men Popishly affected, and a School and Nursery for Men of debauch'd and arbitrary Principles, and Favourers of the French Government, as it did too plainly appear in the Case of Sir John Coventry.* On the 11th of February the King came to the House, and made a Speech to both Houses, wherein he acquainted them with his having made a Peace with the Dutch, a Speedy, Honourable, and Lasting Peace, and that he had given Orders for disbanding the Army, which they thank'd him for. But still the Commons gave no Money, tho' the King again and again desir'd some for building great Men of War; instead of which they appointed a Committee to inspect the Laws lately made in Scotland, whereby an Army is authoriz'd to march into England or Ireland, and peruse such other Laws as do tend to the Breach of the Union of the two Nations. They likewise in a Grand Committee shortly after took into Consideration the State and Condition of the Kingdom of Ireland, and Resolv'd, "That a Committee be appointed to inspect the State and Condition of that Kingdom, and more especially to consider of the State of Religion, and the Militia and the Forces of that Kingdom, and examine the Matters of Fact relating thereunto." Another Committee was appointed, "To inspect the Laws, and to consider how the King may commit any Subject by his immediate Warrant, as the Law now stands, and to report their Opinions. And further, they were order'd to consider how the Law now stands touching the committing of Persons by the Council-Table, and to report the same." Upon which Occasion they brought in a particular Bill concerning Writs of Habeas Corpus; a Bill much for the Liberty of the Subject, which was read three Times, and pass'd the House of Commons. But these vigorous Proceedings allarm'd the Junto, and on the 24th of February the King coming to the House of Peers, made still new Protestations of his Care for the Security of the Protestant Religion, and then the Lord Keeper prorogu'd the Parliament to the 10th of November. *Echard* closes up these Transactions with a Reflection which lets us into the very Depths of his Politicks: "Here it is observable, that in the last War, when the English contended with all the Power of Holland and France, they had greater Success in their Battles than now, when they had join'd with the Power of France against Holland alone." In the first War the French left the Dutch as they left the English in the second; and both English and Dutch were rather the worse than the better for such false and unnatural Allies. A School-Boy cou'd have made a better Observation.

Parliament upon Scotland and Ireland.

Habeas Corpus Act.

Sir William Temple sent to act as Plenipotentiary Mediator.

We have mention'd *Ruvigny's* Saying to King Charles concerning his Mediation, which soon after was offer'd in Form to the Powers engag'd in the War. Sir William Temple was sent Ambassador to the Hague and Brussels, to make that Offer to the States and the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. What Opinion Spain and Holland had of King Charles's Sincerity with them, appears by a Passage in a Letter Sir William Temple wrote from Brussels, *The Spaniards in-*

terpret very ill the Offers of his Majesty's Mediation I made at the Hague, and believe it upon Concert with France, and to the End of inducing Holland to a separate Peace from them. I cannot but respect upon the strange Difference I found in the Consideration I left of his Majesty in those Countries; and what I meet now, which is grounded upon a Belief of his being too much in with France, which our Court took no great Pains to conceal; nay, one of the Junto being put to it how to answer some Objections made against their Conduct, with respect to the Partial Mediation for France, as against the Interest of England, was so weak and so impudent as to say, *Faut il que tout se fasse par Politique rien par Amitie, Must every thing be done out of Policy, and nothing for Friendship.*

A.D. 1674

The King not trusted abroad.

I shall not enter into the Detail of Sir William Temple's private Discourse with the King before he went on the Embassy of Mediation; 'tis a Repetition of the ill Steps taken in Favour of Popery, France; and Arbitrary Power, only the latter Part of it will give us another Instance of his Majesty's keeping his Word. "I never knew but one Foreigner, said Sir William, who understood England well, and that was Monsieur Gourville, who, when he was at Brussels the first Dutch War, and heard the Parliament grew weary of it, said, *The King has nothing to do but to make Peace*; adding, *I have been long enough in England, seen enough of the Court, and People, and Parliament, to conclude, That a King of England, who will be the M A N of his People, is the greatest King in the World; but if he will be something more, By - - - he is nothing at all.* The King heard Sir William very attentively, but seem'd a little impatient at first; yet at last he declar'd, *Sir William had Reason, and so had Gourville*; and then laying his Hand upon Sir William's, he added, *And I will be the M A N of my People*; in which he came off, as when he said, *He wou'd also make the World afraid of him in his Turn.*

Sir William Temple found but a cold Reception in Holland, and a colder in Flanders. Both the Prince of Orange and the Spaniards look'd on the King's Mediation as an Interruption to the Success they expected by their Arms; and had there been a better Understanding amongst the Confederate Generals, of whom *Zouche* the Imperial General left the Prince at the Siege of Audenard, that Mediation wou'd not have been so long in Being as it prov'd to be.

In May, this Year, came out a Proclamation of that Kind, which discovers the State of the Government; for when it is so bad that nothing good can be said of it, 'tis convenient that nothing at all shou'd be said. The Proclamation was chiefly to suppress a Report that the King intended to dissolve the Parliament, whereas he only intended that they shou'd not sit in a Twelve Month; then all Writing or Speaking any false News, or intermeddling with the Affairs of State or Government, or with the Persons of any of his Majesty's Counsellors or Ministers, are prohibited in common and ordinary Discourse. A Proclamation, with a Reward of Five Pounds, was publish'd for apprehending and transporting Priests and Jesuits. The King din'd with Sir Robert Vyner, Lord Mayor, at Guild-hall, October the 29th, and accepted of the Freedom of the City, out of the Chamberlain's Office, and a Copy of it was presented to him by the Lord Mayor and Sir Thomas Player Chamberlain, on their Knees in the Banqueting-House; which, according to my Author, was an unparell'd Favour and Honour

A.D. 1674 *nour done the City by his Majesty, beyond the Example of all his Progenitors.* They made the same Present also to the Duke of York, and instead of a fine Description of it, as in *Echard*, Mr. *Marvel* celebrated it in a Poem, which alluding to the Apprentices taking out their Freedom, has this Stanza among others of the like Nature;

Marvel's Verses on the King's ill Conduct.

He ne'er knew, not he, to serve or be free,
Tho' he has pass'd thro' so many Adventures;
And e'er since he was Bound, that is, he was
[Crown'd,
He has every Day broke his Indentures.

Monsieur *Ruvigny*, the French Ambassador, being a Protestant, the Duke of York and his Party look'd on him with an evil Eye, finding that their Designs were not the forwarder by the Presence of such a Minister: So they dispatch'd Sir *William Throgmorton* secretly to Paris to have him recall'd; which was done, and Monsieur *Courtin* sent to succeed him.

The Figure the King makes abroad.

This Minister was very industrious, and extended his Master's Liberality among the English Courtiers, while our late Confederates, to Day the Dutch, to Morrow the French, are cutting one anothers Throats, without our using any other Endeavours to part them, but crying out, Pray Gentlemen be quiet.

What Bp. Parker says of breaking the Triple League.

There is an Author which speaks of King *Charles's* breaking the *Triple Alliance* in a Manner which sets that fraudulent and fatal Transaction in its true Light. It is Bishop *Parker*, who was at this time writing against the *Presbyterians* in England as furiously as the French were fighting against them in Holland. He tells us,

"To that Breach is to be attributed all the Havock which ought at this Day to be lamented. That as soon as it was broken, the French King invaded every Place, attacking those separately whom he durst not attack jointly; so that Europe was suddenly in a Conflagration; and first of all Holland was, as it were in an Instant, over-run as far as Amsterdam with a great Slaughter.

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"This Proceeding oblig'd all the People of Europe, from their several Habitations, far and wide, except Britain, to defend themselves against this overgrown Warrior; whence there was so vast a Deluge of Christian Blood, as never before happen'd in so short a Time. The bloody Wars in the North wag'd by Brandenburg and Denmark against Sweden, who being incens'd at the Baseness of the Violation of the Triple League, had enter'd into an Alliance with France, were occasion'd by that Breach. The Incurision of the Turks and Tartars into Poland, the Rebellion of Messina against the Spaniards, and the Rebellion in Hungary against the Emperor, did all of them arise from the Breach of the Triple Alliance, and swept away prodigious Numbers with dreadful Slaughters. The Invasion of the Turks, their Siege of Vienna, and their subsequent Wars in Hungary, proceeded from the same Fountain, the Breach of the Triple Alliance. The bloody Battles fought on the Rhine between Turenne and the Duke of Lorraine, and Turenne and Lorge against the German General Montecuculi, and in Flanders between the Princes of Orange and Conde at Senefse, besides numerous and bloody Sieges, were Evils which the Breach of the Triple Alliance brought upon the European World.

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The bloody Effects of King Charles's breaking it.

The Charge is brought against King *Charles II.* by Dr. *Samuel Parker*, made Bishop of Oxford by his Brother King *James II.* and it being so true in Fact and Consequence, what can be said to justify this Conduct? Indeed what *Marvel* adds in the same Poem is not more Satyrical than it is Just;

Tho' oft bound to the Peace, yet he never wou'd
[cease
To vex his poor Neighbours with Quarrels;
And when he was beat, he still made his Re-
[treat
To his Cleavelands, his Nells, and his Car-
[wels.
Beyond Sea he began, where such a Riot he ran,
That every one there did leave him:
And now he's come o'er ten times worse than
[before,
When none but such Fools wou'd receive him.

I know very well that small Criticks agree we shou'd never mingle Satyr with History, and the Criticism is just, if it is against Historical Truth: But if it is preserv'd in it, the best Judges allow one may, and ought to make use of them. *Menage*, who was a very great Critick, says, *Un Recueil des Vaudevilles est un piece de plus necessaire a un Historien qui veut ecrire sincerement.* A Collection of Lampoons is very necessary for an Historian, who wou'd write sincerely: But I shall forbear, and only recommend to the Reader the State Poems, particularly Mr. *Marvel's*, and of his, particularly his *Historical Poem*, which begins thus;

Of a tall Stature, and of Sable Hue,
Much like the Son of Kish.

P. 97.

Soon after Peace was made with the Dutch, Sir Anthony Dean the King's chief Ship-BUILDER, was sent to France with the Model of a Man of War, which he carry'd by Water to Roan; from whence it was convey'd by Land to Versailles, and the French King had it launch'd in his great Pond in those Gardens, where he came on Board, and had much Conference with Sir Anthony upon it. Several Carpenters, and vast Quantities of Naval Stores were also sent to his Yards; insomuch that *Coke* tells us, King *Charles* emptied his own Magazines to fill the French King's, who in Return, not only exorbitantly enlarg'd his Impositions on the English in their Trade to France, but let loose his Privateers upon them, as if there had been no Peace, who plunder'd and murder'd English Merchants and Mariners, and made Prize of their Effects, block'd up our Harbours, and took our Ships out of their very Ports. If Complaints were made, they were baffled, except some French Ships that were redeem'd by Sir *Ellis Leighton*, Secretary to the Lord *Berkley*, then Ambassador at Paris, who made a second Prize of them. Indeed the French Court treated that of England, as Men treat those that hang upon them. Sir *William Lockhart*, when he was Ambassador for King *Charles*, complain'd that his Business met not with such Dispatch as he was us'd to meet with in *Cromwel's* Time; but we may say as *Boreel* did, *Ab! c'est une autre chose, Ab! that's another Thing*; for certainly there was as much Difference between the two Genius's, as there is between *Glory* and *Pleasure*. We will leave foreign Affairs this Year with Mr. *Acherley's* Account of them, during the Campaigns of 1674, and 1675. The French King, by his own single Power, carried on the War against Holland, Spain, the Empire, &c. with great Success, and shew'd

" he

A.D. 1674 " he was an Over-match for them all. In which
 " the English Forces, which King Charles sent to
 " assist him, perform'd extraordinary Services;
 " and turn'd King Charles's Mediation at Ni-
 " meguen for a Peace, into a meer Amusement,
 " whilst the French King, with the under-hand
 " Assistance of King Charles, carried on his Mi-
 " litary Undertakings." And whilst the Duke of
 " York, and his Secretary Coleman, carried on a trea-
 " sonable Correspondence with Ferrier, the French
 " King's Confessor, to bring us under Popery and
 " Tyranny, in which they went a good Way: Whilst
 " also Sheldon and his Brethren of the same Stamp,
 " were labouring to cure the English Court of all Dis-
 " positions to Moderation, and exciting them to re-
 " new the Persecution against Protestant Dissenters,
 " which they had more at Heart than Religion
 " and Liberty, so jealous were they of every thing
 " that touch'd their Dignities, Powers and Revenues,
 " Edward Coleman, Secretary to the Duke of York,
 " having put himself at the Head of Affairs in
 " England, for the Advancement of Popery, made
 " Application for his Support to the French King,
 " by his Confessor, and the Pope's Inter-nuncio at
 " Paris, to whom he wrote several Letters, particu-
 " larly one dated the 29th of June this Year,
 " wherein he said, " The Duke of York was very
 " sensible of his most Christian Majesty's Friend-
 " ship, and has done him all the good Offices he
 " is capable of; that he is of his Majesty's Opini-
 " on about recalling the Parliament, and thinks
 " it not to be useful, but very dangerous; that
 " the House of Commons had a Design to lessen
 " the Duke, and root out the Catholick Religion,
 " as much as is in their Power; That the Duke
 " doubts not but it is absolutely necessary for
 " the Interest of his Majesty, and for his own,
 " to hinder the Meeting of the Parliament. He
 " then desires his most Christian Majesty to write
 " freely to his Britannick Majesty, and make him
 " some generous Offers of his Purse, if he will
 " dissolve the Parliament, in which he shall be
 " assisted in England." In another Letter, dated
 " in September, 'tis said, " The Duke will govern
 " himself according to the Advices he receives
 " from France, and will treat of nothing concern-
 " ing the Catholick Religion, with Monsieur Ru-
 " vigny, nor with any other but the French
 " King's Confessor. His most Christian Maje-
 " sty has made a very generous Offer of his
 " Purse to the Duke, and his Assistance is at
 " present necessary to subdue entirely those, who
 " being exasperated against him as much as
 " against the Duke, and are angry with the Duke,
 " only because he is unalterably addicted to the
 " Interest of his most Christian Majesty, will ex-
 " ercise their Malice, and their Rage, with more
 " Brutality than ever." Thus, after pressing for
 " more Money, to give the Duke Credit, with his
 " Brother the King, the Traitor Coleman adds,
 " There will nothing more remain to be fear'd, by
 " his most Christian Majesty, but his Royal High-
 " ness will be able to dissolve the Parliament with
 " Ease, and afterwards in recompence of such As-
 " sistance, will perform on his Part, all that his
 " most Christian Majesty shall ask of him, and will
 " proceed with Sincerity, upon the Word of a
 " Prince, for the Interest of his most Christian Ma-
 " jesty. The Reader cannot help observing, that
 " here is the presumptive Heir of the Crown in
 " a horrid Conspiracy with the most implacable,
 " powerful and cruel Enemy of our Religion and
 " Liberty, to destroy both; for he has promis'd to
 " do whatever the French King shall bid him; yet
 " when the best and wisest Men of the Nation
 " were for excluding him the Succession four or five
 " Years afterwards, how do the Compleat Histori-

Duke of
 York in
 League
 with the
 French
 King a-
 gainst
 England.

Coleman's
 Letters.

Duke of
 York gives
 himself up
 entirely to
 France.

ans thunder out their Anathemas against them!
 In his Letter of the 4th of the same Month, A.D. 1674
 Coleman says, If the Treasure of the Church is
 ever to be made use of, it ought to be now, for
 they can demand nothing which the Duke will not
 be capable to do, for the Pope's Friends, and
 without their Aid, he will run great Hazard of
 being lost, both himself and his Associates. In a
 Letter of the 4th of October, to the Inter-nuncio,
 Coleman writes, You agree with me, that Money is
 the only Means of bringing the King into the Duke's
 Interest, and of disengaging him from the Par-
 liament; yet forsooth, this Traitor must not be
 hang'd when he is call'd to an Account for this
 Treason. If it had been prov'd upon his Master,
 then a Subject, and there had been Justice and
 Spirit enough in the Nation to have made him
 accountable, much Argument, much Trouble,
 much Treasure, and much Blood had been sav'd.
 The Plot we see plainly was to put an End to
 Parliaments for ever, to establish Popery, and lay
 this Nation at the Mercy of France. Again, You
 must also agree with me, that nothing can more
 promote the Interest of the Catholick Party, which
 is the principal Object of the Duke's Care and
 Affection, and of the Hatred of the Parliament,
 and which must hope or fear, according as the one
 or the other of them encrease in Power. ----- No-
 thing in the World is more certain, than that the
 King has a good Inclination towards the Duke and
 the Catholicks. Pray mind how often his Majesty
 gave the Parliament Assurances of his Zeal and
 Care for the Protestant Religion, and won'd join
 himself willingly and inseparably to the Interests
 of his Royal Highness and the Catholicks, if he
 did not apprehend some Danger from such an
 Union, which however he would not have Cause to
 fear, if he found their Interest, and consequently
 their Power so far advanc'd above that of their
 Adversaries, that they should neither have the
 Power, nor the Boldness to contest any thing with
 them, which the King cou'd see in a very little
 Time. Here the Mask is taken quite off; if the
 Pope and the French King will assist the Duke of
 York as he desires, the Parliament shall neither
 have the Power, nor the Boldness to contend any
 longer for their Religion and Liberties. Again,
 I am certain Money cou'd not fail of perswading
 the King to it, and then the Traitor speaks but too
 truly of him, For there is nothing it cannot make
 him do, tho' it were as much to his Prejudice as
 this we endeavour to perswade him to, is to his
 Advantage. These, and other Genuine Letters of
 Coleman's, are sufficient Proofs of the Popish Plot
 in general, and the Objection that is made to it,
 on account of the King's being a Papist, is re-
 mov'd, if we consider the Opinion the Papists
 had of him, that he would do any thing for
 Money; that he car'd not what became of Reli-
 gion, if he had Ease and Pleasure; that every
 Parliament brought them into Peril of utter Ruin;
 if they would open the Peoples Purses, that the
 next Successor was their own; and tho' his Mo-
 rals were not very good, his Principles were Po-
 pish and Flaming. It is no wonder therefore that
 they consented to take off one Popish Brother,
 from whose Indolence they expected nothing good
 to them, and to place another Popish Brother on
 the Throne, from whose Bigotry they expected
 every thing.
 Echar'd tells us, that John Earl of Mulgrave,
 late Duke of Buckingham, was this Year made
 a Knight of the Garter, by the Favour of the
 Dutchess of Cleaveland, the Earls of Sunder-
 land, Peterborough and Strafford, Privy Counsellors,
 the Earl of Arlington, Lord Chamberlain,
 Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, and the
 Duke

A.D. 1674

The Duke's
 Plot

against the
 Protestants

Religion

and Eng-
 lish Liber-

ty

The King

and hearty for

Popery.

plotted

against

him.

A.D. 1674 Duke of Monmouth, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, who some Years after burnt his Picture, as a grateful Acknowledgment of the Honour he had done them.

Proposals of the Dissenters for a Union. During the last Session of Parliament, the Earl of Orrery desir'd Mr. Baxter to draw up short Proposals of the Terms and Means which he thought wou'd satisfy the Non-conformists, so far as to unite all Protestants against Popery, professing he had met with many great Men, who were much for it, particularly Sir Thomas Osborn, the new Lord Treasurer, and Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester, who vehemently press'd his Desires of it. Dr. Fulwood and other Divines, had been with Mr. Baxter, to the like Purpose, testifying the Bishop's Resolution about it. Mr. Baxter told them all, that he wish'd they would tell Morley, he had done so much to the Contrary, and never any thing this Way, since his Professions of this Sort; that 'till his real Endeavours convinc'd Men, it wou'd not be believ'd he was serious. However, Baxter drew up Proposals as Lord Orrery desir'd him, and that Lord return'd them with Bishop Morley's Strictures, or Animadversions; by which he made it appear fully, that all his Professions for Abatement and Concord were, according to Mr. Baxter, deceitful Snares, and that no such Thing at all was intended by him. The Reverend Minister last mention'd, answer'd his Animadversions, as may be seen at large in his Life.

Bishop Morley distrustful.

Part III. p. 100. seq. He opposes the Union.

The Bishop began to shew how healing his Temper was by his first Stricture; that all Proposals of Abatement was overthrowing or undermining Church Government; by which means he makes the Cross in Baptism, Kneeling at the Sacrament, the Objections to the Office of Burial, &c. to concern Church Government. I do not repeat Mr. Baxter's Answers to the Bishop's Animadversions, for I do not think them worth the Pains he took about them. What the Bishop says about God-Fathers and God-Mothers, must not be omitted, *The Church in Favour to Infants appoints others, in case the Parent should die, or neglect their Duty, to have a Paternal Care of them, in order to their Education, for the Performance of their Baptismal Covenant,* and how well those the Church appoints for that Duty perform it, is too well known to leave any Doubt of the Use, and even Necessity of such Sureties. In another of his Strictures, he charges Mr. Baxter with aiming to set up *Auricular Confession*, whereas he wou'd doubtless have as soon set up *Bell and the Dragon* in his Meeting-House; but the Bishop has no where shewn his Piety and Judgment, more than in his Eulogy on the *Church Catechism, What is your Name, &c.*

I know no need it hath of Mending, nor who are wise enough to mend it.

Mr. Baxter's Answer to this was short and pithy, *I am sorry for it, but cannot help it.* It wou'd bear no more. In a Debate about the *Five Mile Act* Oath next Year, the Lord Shaftsbury speaking of the Catechism said, *I really think it may be mended, and durst declare to your Lordships, it is not well that there is not a better made.* Whose Judgment will the Reader take, Lord Shaftsbury's, or Bishop Morley's? The Bishop's will not be much recommended to him by his Definition of the *Protestant Religion* in that Debate. *It is comprehended in the XXXIX Articles, the Common-Prayer, the Catechism, the Homilies, and the Canons.* Is it reasonable to expect one shou'd enter into Controversy with such *Argumentators*?

Des Maiz Col. p. 111.

Some time after this, a leading Man in the House of Commons, drew up a Bill for Accommodation between *Conformists* and *Non-confor-*

mists, to take off *Oaths, Subscriptions* and *Declarations*, except the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and Subscriptions to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, according to the 13th of *Elizabeth*; but shewing it to the Bishop of *Winchester*, he so manag'd Matters, that he broke Morley the Design, yet that he might not seem to be for nothing of what he so oft pretended towards a peaceable Disposition, he further'd an Act only to take off *Assent* and *Consent*, and the *Renunciation of the Covenant*; but when other Bishops were against, even this shew of Abatement, he told them openly in the House, *Had it been but a double to abate them a Ceremony, I wou'd not have spoken to it; but I knew they were bound to the same Things still, by other Clauses or Obligations, if these were repeal'd.* It is to be hop'd he went not out of the World in Impenitence, for such double Dealing with God and Man, wou'd then make one tremble to think of its Reward.

The King found the Dissenters wou'd not play his Cards, and having it in his Power to be even with them, he summon'd the Bishops to Court, to give him Advice what was to be done for securing of Religion, and they after several Consultations with the Lord Keeper, Osborn the Treasurer, Sir Joseph Williamson the Secretary, and others of the *Junto*, advis'd him to recal his *Licences*, and put the Laws against Protestant Dissenters in Execution; which was done by a *Declaration* and *Proclamation*, and many infamous Persons were immediately set about the Work, some as Informers, some as Justices, &c. Yet Morley, and even *Ward* pretended still to be sensible of the Danger of *Popery*, and very forward for *Accommodation* with the Non-conformists. They mov'd it to many, and at length Dr. *Tilolson* and Dr. *Stillingsfleet* desir'd a Meeting with Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Pool*, and Mr. *Baxter*, in order to it, saying, they had Encouragement of several Lords, Spiritual and Temporal. These Divines met, and at last agreed on a Draught to be presented to the Bishops; which was no sooner done, then there was an end of the Treaty, and instead of *Accommodation*, they were fallen upon by the Pulpit, Press, by Persecution, Violence and Oppression. There was now a new Party struck up, consisting of the persecuting Clergy and the old Cavaliers. The Church was presently said to be in *Danger*, and the Nation running back to *Forty One*, for which in Truth, there was not Spirit left in it. *Forty One* was a *Bug-bear*, made use of to frighten the Oppress'd; whereas we remember that the Parliament who brought in the King, in a most solemn Manner, justify'd the Proceedings in *Forty One*, and had not the Hearts of the People been cow'd with Calamities of all Kinds, they might have thunder'd out *Forty One* with no more Success than Boys sling Squibs to terrify old Women and Children.

Mr. *Locke*, speaking of the last Session of Parliament, tells us, "The Bishops continu'd their Zeal against the *Papists*, and seem'd to carry on, in joining with the Country Lords, many excellent Votes in order to a Bill; but the Favour to *Dissenting* Protestants was gone, and they attempted a Bargain with the Country Lords, with whom they then join'd, not to promote any thing of that Nature. But the whole Clergy were instructed to declare that there was now no more Danger of the *Papists*, The *Fanatick*, for so they call the *Dissenting* Protestant, is again become the only dangerous Enemy, and the Bishops had found a *Scotch* Lord, *Lauderdale*, and two new Ministers, or rather great Officers of *England*, *Finch* and *Osborn*, who were desperate and rash."

Mr. Locke of Finch, Osborn and Lauderdale.

A.D. 1674 " rash enough to put their Master's Business upon so narrow and weak a Bottom: And that old Covenanter *Lauderdale* is become the Patron of the Church, and has his Coach and Table fill'd with Bishops. The *Keeper* and the *Treasurer* are of a just Size to this Affair; for it is a certain Rule with the *Churchmen* to endure, as seldom as they can, in Business Men abler than themselves. But his Grace of *Scotland* was least to be excus'd of the three; for having fallen from *Presbytery, Protestant Religion*, and all Principles of publick Good and private Friendship, he now betakes himself to a Set of Men, who never forgive any Man the having been once in the Right; and such Men who wou'd do the worst of Things by the worst of Means, enslave their Country, and betray them under the Mask of Religion, which they have the publick Pay for, and the Charge of, *so feeding the Kid in the Mother's Milk*. Our Statesmen and Bishops being now as well agreed as in old *Laud's* Time, on the same Principles, with the same Passion to attain their End; they in the first place give Order to the Judges in all their Circuits, to quicken the Execution of the Laws against Protestant Dissenters." And they had got a Set of Judges fit for the Business they were pick'd out for; as *Sir Francis North*, made Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas; *Sir Richard Rainsford*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench; *William Montague*, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; *Sir William Scroggs*, Justice of the Common-Pleas; *Sir Thomas Jones*, Justice of the King's-Bench, &c. for propagating this holy Cause, says *Coke*.

In what follows from *Mr. Locke* we shall see the Formation of the *Tory* Faction from the very Egg, and in what putrid Matter it was generated.

" A Commission comes down, directed to the principal Gentlemen of each County, to seize the Estates of both *Papists* and *Fanaticks*, mention'd in a List annex'd, wherein, by great Misfortune or Skill, the Name of *Papists*, of best Quality and Fortune, and so best known, were mistaken, and the Commission render'd ineffectual as to them. Besides this, the great Ministers of State, *Osborn, Lauderdale, &c.* did in their common Talk assure the Party, that all the Places of Profit, Command and Trust shou'd only be given to the *Old Cavalier*. No man that had serv'd or been of the contrary Party, shou'd be left in any of them. And a Direction is issued to the great Ministers before-mention'd, and six or seven of the Bishops, to meet at *Lambeth-house*, who were, like the Lords of Articles in *Scotland*, to prepare their compleat Model for the next Session of Parliament." Of which we shall then hear enough; and in Expectation of dividing all the Places of Profit, Command and Trust, the *Old Cavalier* and the Persecuting Church-men stuck together against the Protestant Religion and *English Liberty*, till they fell into the Pit they had themselves dug for others. *Mr. Marvel*, in his *Growth of Popery*, writes of it thus; *The old Cavalier Party were told all was at Stake, Church and State; that the Nation was running again into Forty one; that this was the Time to refresh their antient Merit, and receive the Recompence double of all their Loyalty; and that henceforward the Cavaliers shou'd have the Lottery of all the great or small Places in the Kingdom, and not so much as Sir Joseph Williamson have a Share in it.*

The Earl of *Arlington* finding the *Keeper* and *Treasurer* were too many for him, and that he had no longer any Weight in the *Junto*, thought of supporting himself by a foreign Interest, and by gaining the Prince of *Orange* to recover the Ground he had lost. He offer'd to go over to *Holland* with the Earl of *Offory*, who, as well as himself, had marry'd a Daughter of the *Heer Beverwaerd*, one of the chief Nobles of the Province, who was in high Favour with the Prince, as these two Lords fancy'd, they shou'd be by *Beverwaerd's* Means: They both carry'd their Ladies with them. His Highness had always a particular Affection to Lord *Offory*, who was a very gallant Man, and no Slave to the Court. The Earl of *Arlington* said he wou'd go to the Bottom of every thing with the Prince, and did not doubt but he wou'd bring him into an entire Dependance on the King, and particularly dispose him to a general Peace, upon which his Majesty was much set; but not so much for the Security of the *Netherlands* and the *United Provinces*, as to oblige *France*, whose Pride had involv'd her in a War of prodigious Expence; and tho' she was herself successful, yet her Ally *Sweden* was like to lose all the Dominions she had in *Germany*, and the *French King* had no Way to prevent it but by a Peace. It was believ'd the Earl of *Arlington* had Leave to give the Prince Hope of marrying that Princess whom he afterwards marry'd, tho' the Duke of *York* declar'd he knew nothing of the Matter, but had heard that the Lord *Arlington* talk'd as if the managing that Affair was his chief Errand. Upon which the Duke ask'd the King if there was any thing in it, and his Majesty assur'd him he had a positive Order not so much as to speak of it. Contrary to this we read in *Echard*, That it was the Bent of the Lord *Arlington* to draw the Prince into Hopes, or Designs of a Match with the Duke of *York's* eldest Daughter, which his Highness took no more Notice of than to say, *His Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife*. *Echard* adds, That only the Lord *Offory* mention'd the Duke's Daughter, whereas *Bishop Burnet* assures us, That whether he had a secret Order, or did it without Order, the Earl of *Arlington* certainly talk'd a great deal of it to the Prince as a Thing he might depend on, if he wou'd in all other Things be govern'd by the King.

We have spoken of *Sir William Temple's* being sent Ambassador to *Holland* and the *Netherlands* upon Conclusion of the *Dutch Peace*, and of his being coldly receiv'd on Account of his Errand, which tended to a dishonourable Peace with *France* on the Side of the Confederates, and if he cou'd not procure a general Peace, to bring the *Dutch* to a separate one. The Prince wou'd not see him till the End of the Campaign, and he was not a little mortify'd at *Arlington's* coming over; for that Lord had thrown him off, when himself went into the *French Interest*: And, says my Lord of *Sarum*, *Temple was too proud to bear Contempt, or forget such an Injury. He was a vain Man, much blown up in his own Conceit, which he shew'd too indecently on all Occasions*. But the ingenious Archdeacon cou'd not perceive any thing of that Kind, and has therefore copy'd him Word for Word; tho' it is very plain, that when *Sir William Temple* brings Lord *Arlington* into the Scene, 'tis to make him act an Under-Part, and be a Foil to his own Figure. The Prince certainly preferr'd *Temple's* Judgment and Honesty to *Arlington's* Dissimulation and Inconstancy, and had a very mean Opinion of the Earl's Negotiations; which being treated of

A. D. 1675 of at large in Sir William Temple's Letters, I refer to them, where it appears, that the Prince of Orange, even while so young and so little practis'd in Affairs, had so clear and so just a View of them, that nothing cou'd misguide him, and that the bad Prospect he had from the ill Condition he was in, did not frighten him to accept of any mean Terms of Peace. His Fidelity to his Country and the publick Interest was so firm, that no private Considerations of his own cou'd bias him, or indeed be much consider'd by him. Holland was in great Expectation, when they saw two such Men as the Earls of Ossory and Arlington come over together with Lord Latimer, the Treasurer's eldest Son, who only made the Shew a little greater: But the Shew was all. When Arlington attempted to justify the Part the King had in the late War, his Highness answer'd him, as one who knew that Matter as well as himself, in a dry, sullen, and uneasy Manner. And as to the War he was then engag'd in, he said all at once, *The King may bring me out of it with Honour, if he pleases, and with Safety to Europe; if not, it must go on till the Fortunes of the Parties changing make Way for other Thoughts.* Lord Arlington for some Days insisted vehemently on the Prince's dismissing *Du Moulin*, who had discover'd the Secrets of his Office to him. The Prince at last comply'd in that, and sent *Du Moulin* to the Plantations. As to all other Things, *Arlington* talk'd to his Highness in the Strain of a Governor, and seem'd to presume too much on his Youth, and on his Want of Experience. But instead of gaining over the Prince, he lost him so entirely, that all his Endeavours afterwards cou'd never beget any Confidence in him: So he came back, and reckoning this his last Essay, which succeeded so ill, he ever after that withdrew from all Business; but made himself easy to the King, who marry'd one of his natural Sons to his Daughter, and continu'd to be still very kind to him. *Echard* tells us, That *Talbot*, afterwards Duke of *Tyrconnel*, interceded with the King for him, which, if it was true, wou'd shew us at once what *Arlington* was, and what the King, *Tyrconnel* being the most bigoted and hated of all *Irish* Papists.

Parliament.

The Way being pav'd by a new Proclamation against *Papist* Priests, Father *Huddleston* excepted, who gave the *Consecrated Waser* and *Extreme Unction* to his Majesty a little before he dy'd, both Houses of Parliament met the 13th of April. They shou'd have met the 10th of November; but, as *Coke* tells us, *The Instructions from France were not then sufficiently ripen'd.* His Majesty made a Speech, wherein he reflected on those who had reported that this Parliament shou'd meet no more. He told them *He had done as much on his Part as was possible, to extinguish the Fears and Jealousies of Popery.* He is all the while himself a *Papist*, and will leave nothing undone, that may shew the World his Zeal to the Protestant Religion as it is establish'd in the Church of England, from which he will never depart, tho', as his Brother publish'd after his Death, he was so zealous a *Papist*, that he wrote a Pamphlet in Defence of Popery, wherein he endeavour'd to prove the Necessity of a visible Church and Guide, which cou'd be no other than the Church of Rome. Do these Men think there is Death, and after Death Judgment? That they must account at the great Day before a God that will not, that cannot be mock'd? And that the Word *Church* will there signify nothing, if the Society of the Pious, Virtuous, Charitable, and Faithful is not meant by it? Such Thoughts as these wou'd surely strike them dead with Con-

King Charles writes against the Church of England.

fusion and Shame! The King recommended the Fleet to them, the old Wooden Leg made use of to beg with in those Days, and left the rest to the Lord Keeper, who has an admirable Expression in his Speech, if it had not been plac'd just after others, which made it a Contradiction. Having spoken of his Majesty's transcendent Zeal to the Protestant Religion, and at the same time of his reviving all the cruel Laws against Protestants dissenting from the *National Church*, he tells the Parliament as true a Thing as ever was told them: *When we consider Religion in Parliament, we are suppos'd to consider it as a Parliament shou'd do, and as a Parliament in all Ages have done. For as it works upon the Conscience, as it is an inward Principle of the Divine Life, by which good Men do govern all their Actions, the State has nothing to do with it. 'Tis a Thing which belongs to another kind of Commission than that by which we sit here.* He had just told them what the State had to do with the Consciences of Protestant Dissenters; and he has a Bill by him ready drawn, which made the State have to do with the Consciences of Men of all Denominations in Religion. Besides the Fleet, I do not find any thing else very remarkable in this Speech, unless this Quibble may be so reckon'd, *You serve a Prince, in whose Stile Dei Gratia seems not to be written by a vulgar Pen, but by the Arm of Omnipotence it self.* To write with an Arm is not very much in Propriety of Speech; yet this is what Mr. *Archdeacon* calls Eloquence, tho' *Dei Gratia* is on the Rim of the French King *Louis's*, as well as on King *Charles's* Guinea's, and was, doubtless, written alike by a mortal Penman. The Parliament having thank'd the King for what he said concerning his extraordinary Zeal to the Protestant Religion, as in the Church of England, proceeded to several vigorous Resolves against *Romish* Priests; and then they fell again upon Duke *Lauder-
Lauderdale*, who had been acting the Tyrant with so much Infamy in Scotland, that many wonder'd at his getting into England again. Some of his Tyrannical Doings will be mention'd hereafter.

A. D. 1675
Lauder-
dale again
address'd
against.

Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, then Preacher at the Rolls, and Lecturer of St. *Clements*, was examin'd by the House of Commons in *Lauderdale's* Cafe. The Doctor, afterwards Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, tells it thus in his Memoirs: "The House of Com-
mons fell upon Duke *Lauderdale*, and those
" who knew what had pass'd between him and
" me, mov'd that I shou'd be examin'd before a
" Committee. I was brought before them; I told
" them how I had been commanded out of Town:
" But though that was Illegal, yet since it had
" been let fall, it was not insisted upon. I was
" next examin'd concerning the Design of Arm-
" ing the *Irish* Papists. I said, I, as well as others,
" had heard him say, *He wish'd the Presbyteri-
" ans in Scotland wou'd rebel, that he might
" bring over the IRISH Papists to cut their
" Throats.*" The Man who said this dy'd in his
" Bed, and one can't well say a worse Thing of
" this Reign: A Gibbet had been too good for
" him, and yet he's continu'd at the Council-Board.
" Dr. *Burnet* proceeds, "I was next examin'd con-
" cerning the Designs of bringing the *Scottish* Ar-
" my into England. I desir'd to be excus'd as to
" what had pass'd in private Conversation, to
" which I thought I was not bound to answer, un-
" less it were *High Treason.* They press'd me
" long, and I wou'd give them no Answer, so
" they all concluded that I knew great Matters,
" and reported this specially to the House. Up-
" on that I was sent for, and brought before the
" House.

Dr. Bur-
net exam-
in'd by
the House
of Com-
mons.

Lauder-
dale for
cutting the
Presbyteri-
ans Throats

A.D. 1675 " Houfe. I flood upon it, as I had done at the
 " Committee, *That nothing had pass'd that was*
 " *Treason, and as to all other Things, I did not*
 " *think my self bound to discover them.* I said
 " farther, I knew Duke Lauderdale was apt to
 " say Things in a Heat, which he did not intend
 " to do; and since he had us'd myself so ill, I
 " thought myself the more oblig'd not to say any
 " thing which look'd like Revenge, for what I
 " had met with from him. I was brought four
 " times to the Bar; at last I was told the Houfe
 " thought they had a Right to examine into every
 " thing that concern'd the Safety of the Nation,
 " as well as into Matters of *Treason*, and
 " they look'd on me as bound to satisfy them;
 " otherwise they wou'd make me feel the Weight
 " of their heavy Displeasure, as one that conceal'd
 " what they thought was necessary to be known:
 " Upon this I yielded, and gave an Account of the
 " Discourie between Duke Lauderdale and me." *That coming into England the first Saturday in September, 1673, I went to visit the Duke of Lauderdale at his Lodgings in Whitehall, where the Duke and I discours'd of the Affairs of England and Scotland, and particularly of the Proceedings of Parliament, concerning the Declaration for suspending Penal Laws in Matters Ecclesiastical. And being afterwards ask'd, Whether, if Scotland being call'd to assist the King, they wou'd assist him or not? I answer'd, I think they will not; but the Duke reply'd, I believe they will.* Then asking me of the Affairs of Scotland, I answer'd, *The People in Scotland, that are at such a Distance, cannot imagine what to think of the King's Speech and Declaration.* Whereunto the Duke reply'd, *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ, and all have forsaken the King, but Lord Clifford and my self.* Upon this; and other Informations, the Parliament drew up a very warm Address against Lauderdale; the King in his Answer pleaded the *General Pardon* for him: Upon which they resolv'd upon another Address against him, which prov'd abortive, as did their Proceedings against the Lord Treasurer Danby, who coming into the Treasury poor and insolvent, cou'd not well avoid the Displeasure of the Commons. They accus'd him for putting the Revenue into Confusion, and a wasteful Way of Expence: For laying aside the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whereby all Comptrolls are avoided: For Arresting a Gentleman by a Secretary's Warrant, to prevent his being an Evidence in a Law-Suit, and procuring the said Gentleman to be examin'd before the King, which induc'd him to speak Things contrary to his Knowledge and Conscience, that the Treasurer's Son might be marry'd to an Heiress: For receiving far greater Sums than had ever been issu'd out for secret Service, without Account, the King's Debts remaining unpaid, the Stores unfurnish'd, and the Navy unrepair'd: For assuming the Management of the Irish Affairs, which shou'd pass in Council, thereby to enable himself to convert great Sums of Money out of Ireland to his own Use: For procuring Gifts and Grants from the Crown, &c. The Corruption of this Treasurer appear'd so fully afterwards, as leaves no room to doubt of this, though he had a Majority in the Houfe to clear him of these Articles when it was put to the Vote.

Osborn, Earl of Danby, his ill Practices as Treasurer.

Address to recall the English in the French Service.

Then the Parliament address'd the King to recall his Subjects out of the French King's Service; but he answer'd, that he thought he cou'd not do it in Honour; however, he wou'd hinder any more going over to recruit the English Forces in the French Army. The Parliament not satisfy'd, prepar'd a second Address, with this Addition, *That the Officers of the several Ports do*

take Care for binding any more going over for that Service for the future.

We have mention'd a Conclave to be held at Lambeth, of six or seven Bishops, and the Chief Ministers of State, who were to prepare fit Bills about the Test. The Grand Debate about the Test. to pass, for the strengthening the new Party, to whom the King was resolv'd to give himself, consisting of the High Episcopal Men, and the Cavaliers. And as the Fruit of their sage and Christian-like Counsels, an Act was presented to the House of Peers by the Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain, entitled, *An Act to prevent the Damages which may arise from Persons disaffected to the present Government.* People that do ill are always afraid of every thing, and a bad Government can no more help Disaffection, than Fire can help Heat. Thence it is that ill Powers, and ill Ministers, are for chaining up Peoples Consciences with Oaths, at the same time that they bind their Hands and Feet with Iron: Thence it is that Edicts fly about against Writing or Speaking of State Affairs, and the like. By this monstrous Bill, all Persons enjoying any beneficial Office or Employment, Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military, to which were added Privy-Counsellors and Members of Parliament, were under a Penalty to take this following Oath: *I Gilbert Sheldon do declare, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King, and that I do abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are commission'd by him, in pursuance of such Commission: And I do swear, that I will not at any Time endeavour the Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. So help me God.* This execrable Oath had been in Part introduc'd in the Corporation Act, then in the Militia Act, and afterwards in full in the Five Mile Act against Dissenting Teachers, says Echard, he will not call them Ministers: But as his good Word is no Praise, his bad one is no Scandal. His Account of this Debate is taken from a Tract, entitled, *A Letter from a Person of Quality.* He did not know the Author of it, who was Mr. Locke, and therefore has treated it as a Pamphlet, which was at his Discretion. Let us see what the ingenious Monsieur Des Mairzeaux says upon this: Mr. Echard, in his History of England, hath transcrib'd several Paragraphs out of this Letter, though he never cites it, and ends his Account of the Debate thus: "The Debates lasted sixteen or seventeen Days, the House, of Judgment. " ten sitting till Nine at Night, and sometimes " till Midnight, in the Conclusion of which the " Duke of Buckingham, as General of the Party, " and last in the Field, made a famous Speech, " consisting of eloquent, regular, and well plac'd " Nonfence, hoping that that might prevail when " nothing else would, and so brought Confusion " into the House; where, besides the Unaccuracy of bringing into his Narrative, and making his own the Expression which the Author of the Letter has us'd by way of Compliment or Encomium, and thereby misrepresenting the Matter, he affirms, that the Debate was put to an End by the Confusion which the Duke of Buckingham's Speech brought into the House; whereas it appears by the Letter itself, that no Confusion was brought into the House; but on the contrary, that after a short Reply of the Earl of Winchelsea, the Question was put regularly to the Vote, and carry'd as the Court and Bishops wou'd have it.

I shall now make use of Mr. Locke's admirable Letter, and be the larger upon it, because the Argument between Liberty and Slavery is there fully stated; and all the Efforts of good English-men to defend their dear Liberties, both Spiritual and Temporal,

A.D. 1675 Temporal, against Persecution and Tyranny, are justly'd and recommended. Mr. Locke begins with telling us what Preparations were made for introducing this wicked Bill; and now comes this memorable Session of April 13, 1675, than which never any came with more Expectation of the Court, or Dread and Apprehension of the Country. The Officers, Court Lords, and Bishops were clearly the major Vote in the House of Lords; and they assur'd themselves to have the House of Commons as much at their Disposal, when they reckon'd the Number of the Courtiers, Officers, Pensioners, encreas'd by the Addition of the Church and Cavalier Party; besides the Address they had made to Men of the best Quality there, by hopes of Honour, great Employment, and such Things as wou'd take. In a Word, the French King's Ministers, who are the great Chapmen of the World, did not outdo ours at this Time; and yet the over-ruling Hand of God has blown upon their Politicks, and the Nation is escap'd this Session, like a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowler.

Courts-
Bishops for
Tyranny, Mr. Locke proceeds: In this Session the Bishops wholly laid aside their Zeal against Popery; the Committee of the whole House for Religion, which the Country Lords had caus'd to be set up again, by the Example of the former Sessions, cou'd hardly get, at any Time, a Day appointed for their sitting: And the main Thing design'd for a Bill voted in the former Session, the marrying our Princes to none but Protestants, was rejected, and carry'd in the Negative, by the unanimous Votes of the Bishops Bench. For, continues Mr. Locke, I must acquaint you that our great Prelates were so near an Infallibility, that they were always found in the Session of one Mind in the Lords House: Yet the Lay-Lords not understanding from how excellent a Principle this proceeded, commonly call'd them, for that Reason, the DEAD WEIGHT; and they really prov'd so in the following Business, the Test, we are about to treat of. It is but Justice to the Memory of that Dead Weight, to see and remember who they were that compos'd it.

Their
Names, Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Isaac Barrow, Bishop of St. Asaph; Dr. Humphry Lloyd, Bishop of Bangor; Dr. Peter Mew, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Dr. Guy Carlton, Bishop of Bristol; Dr. Peter Gunning, Bishop of Chichester; Dr. Thomas Wood, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield; Dr. Benjamin Lany, Bishop of Ely; Dr. Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter; Dr. John Prichard, Bishop of Gloucester; Dr. Herbert Crofts, Bishop of Hereford; Dr. Francis Davies, Bishop of Llandaff; Dr. William Fuller, Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Humphry Henchman, Bishop of London; Dr. Henry Compton, Bishop of Oxford; Dr. John Dolben, Bishop of Peterborough; Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury; Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Winchester; Dr. Walter Blanford, Bishop of Worcester; Dr. Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York; Dr. Edward Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle; Dr. Nebemiah Crew, Bishop of Durham. I mention no more of the then Reigning Prelates, for the rest were truly Right Reverend Fathers of the Protestant Church of England; Bishop Lucy, Bishop Reynolds, Bishop Pearson, Prelates equally celebrated for Piety and Learning, whose Names are too precious to be enroll'd in the List of the Dead Weight, of which they were not deem'd a Part.

The Test Act receiv'd its first Reading, and was appointed for the Second without much Opposition: At the second Reading, the Lord Keeper Finch, and the Court Lords, recommended the Bill to the House in set elaborate Speeches, the Keeper calling it, A moderate Security to the

Church and State, and that no honest Man cou'd refuse it; and whosoever did, gave great Suspicion of dangerous and Anti-monarchical Principles. The other Lords declaim'd very much upon the Rebellion of the late Times, the great Number of Fanaticks, the dangerous Principles of Rebellion still remaining. The Earl of Shaftsbury, and some other Country Lords, earnestly press'd that the Bill might be laid aside, and that they might not be engag'd in the Debate of it; or else, that that Freedom they shou'd be forc'd to use in the necessary Defence of their Opinion, and the preserving of their Laws, Rights, and Liberties, might not be misconstru'd. What they spoke, had so much Reason in it, that all the Lords who were at Liberty from Court Engagements, resolv'd to oppose to the uttermost a Bill of so dangerous Consequence. When it was carry'd by Numbers to go upon it, the following Lords enter'd their Protests against it, with their Reasons for it.

“ We whose Names are under-written, being Lords Pro-
“ Peers of this Realm, do, according to our Rights, test against
“ and the antient Usage of Parliaments, declare, it.
“ that the Question having been put, Whether
“ the Bill, entitled, An Act to prevent, &c. doth
“ so far intrench upon the Privileges of this House,
“ that it ought therefore to be cast out, it being
“ resolv'd in the Negative. We do humbly con-
“ ceive that any Bill which imposeth an Oath
“ upon the Peers, with a Penalty, as this doth,
“ that upon Refusal of that Oath, they shall be
“ made incapable of Sitting and Voting in this
“ House. As it is a Thing unprecedented in for-
“ mer Times, so it is in our humble Opinion the
“ highest Invasion of the Liberties and Privileges
“ of the Peerage that possibly may be, and most
“ destructive of the Freedom which they ought
“ to enjoy as Members of Parliament; because
“ the Privileges of Sitting and Voting in a Par-
“ liament, is an Honour they have by Birth, and
“ a Right so inherent in them, and inseparable
“ from them, as that nothing can take it away,
“ but what the Laws of the Land must withal
“ take away their Lives, and corrupt their Blood;
“ upon which Ground, we do here enter our Dis-
“ sent from that Vote, and our Protestation a-
“ gainst it.

Buckingham, Bridgewater, Winchester, Salis-
bury, Bedford, Dorset, Ailesbury, Bristol, Den-
beigh, Paget, Hollis, Petre, Howard Earl of
Berks, Mohun, Stamford, Halifax, De la Mer,
Eure, Shaftsbury, Clarendon, Grey Roll. Say and
Sele, Wharton.

Notwithstanding this, the great Officers and Bishops call'd out for the Question, of referring the Bill to a Committee, which the Country Lords oppos'd, in a Debate that lasted five Days, and then it was committed: Against which the following Protestation was enter'd.

The Question being put, Whether the Bill, en- Another.
titled, An Act to prevent the Dangers, &c. shou'd
be committed, it being carry'd in the Affirmative;
and though after several Day's Debates, we are
in no manner satisfy'd, but still apprehending that
this Bill doth not only subvert the Privilege and
Birth-right of the Peers, by imposing an Oath up-
on them, with the Penalty of losing their Places
in Parliament; but also, as we humbly conceive,
strike at the very Root of Government, it being
necessary to Governments to have Freedom of Votes
and Debates, in those who have Power to alter and
make Laws; and besides, the express Words of the
Bill obliging every Man to abjure all Endeavours
to alter the Government in the Church, without
Regard to any thing that Rules of Prudence in the
Government,

A.D. 1675 *Government, or Christian Compassion to Protestant Dissenters, as the Necessity of Affairs at any Time shall or may require; upon these Considerations, we humbly think it to be of dangerous Consequence to have any Bill of this Nature so much as committed, and do enter our Dissent to that Vote, and Protestation against it.*

Buckingham, Winton, Salisbury, Denbigh, Howard of Berks, Bristol, Clarendon, Stamford, Shaftsbury, Wharton, Mohun, De la Mer.

The Court Lords and Bishops fell furiously on the Protesters, endeavouring not only to get severe Proceedings against their Persons, but to take away the Liberty of *Protesting*, with Reasons, which *Denzil Lord Holles* defended with so great Ability and Learning, that all the opposite Party cou'd obtain by a Debate of several Hours, was a Vote, *That the Reasons given in the said Protestation, did reflect upon the Honour of the House, and were of dangerous Consequence.* There happen'd something in this Debate, so very much to the Honour

Lord Holles's publick Spirit.

of the Lord *Holles*, that I cannot pass it by: For when it was at the Height, and the *Protesting* Lords in danger of the *Tower*, he begg'd Leave of the House to put his Name to that *Protest*, and take his Fortune with those Lords; because his Sickness had forc'd him out of the House the Day before; and not being at the Question, he cou'd not by the Rules of the House sign it. You see what Affection the Promoters of this *Test* had to their own and their Fellow-Subjects Liberties; what Spirit the Sticklers for the divine, indefeasible, and unalienable Right of Princes, have always been animated by; how naturally such Doctrines lead Men to every thing that is Slavish and Arbitrary: And had not the Fate of King *James* made it a Jest for *Church-men* to preach as they do, the same Sanction wou'd have been still fix'd on them. One of the Bishops then living, liv'd long enough not only to unswear what was to be sworn by this impious Oath, but actually to take Arms, not only against those commission'd by the King, but against the King himself. The Treasurer *Danby* did not only unswear what was by this impious Oath to be sworn, but did actually take Arms against the King, against those commission'd by him, and give his Vote for *Abdicating* one King, and *Crowning* another, twelve or thirteen Years after he labour'd so much to have this *Test* impos'd upon the Nation. The Country Lords resenting the Vote pass'd against their *Protestation*, enter'd another in these Words:

Danby's Inconsistency.

"Whereas it is the undoubted Privilege of each Peer in Parliament, when a Question is pass'd contrary to his Vote and Judgment, to enter his Protestation against it; and that in pursuance thereof, the Bill, entitled, *An Act to prevent the Dangers, &c.* being conceiv'd by some Lords to be of so dangerous Nature, as that it was not fit to receive the Countenance of a Commitment, those Lords did *protest* against the Commitment of the said Bill; and the House having taken Exception at some Expressions in their *Protestation*, those Lords who were present at the Debate, did all of them severally and voluntarily declare, that they had no Intention to reflect upon any Member, much less upon the whole House, which is humbly conceiv'd was more than in Strictness did consist with that absolute Freedom of *protesting*, which is inseparable from every Member of this House, and was done by them meerly out of their great Respect to the House, and their earnest Desire to give all Satisfaction concerning themselves, and the Clearness of their In-

tentions: Yet the House not satisfy'd with this their Declaration, but proceeding to a Vote, *That the Reasons given in the said Protestation do reflect upon the Honour of the House, and are of dangerous Consequence.* We whose Names are under-written, conceiving our selves, and the whole House of Peers extremely concern'd, that this great Wound shou'd be given (as we humbly apprehend, to so essential a Privilege of the whole Pcentage of this Realm, as that of *protesting*) do now, according to our unquestionable Right, make use of the same Liberty to enter this our *Dissent* from, and *Protestation* against the said Vote.

Bucks, Winton, Bedford, Dorset, Salisbury, Bridgewater, Denbigh, Berks, Clarendon, Ailsbury, Shaftsbury, Say and Sele, Halifax, Audley, Fitzwater, Eure, Wharton, Mohun, Holles, De la Mer, Grey Roll.

It is with Pleasure we meet with so many illustrious Names vigorously withstanding a Bill contriv'd by the Bishops against the Liberty of a Free People. It must give one a Horror of those mad Proceedings in the Days of *Anarchy*, when an Assembly, full of so many noble Patriots as the House of Peers, was voted *Useless* and *Dangerous*. The Use and Safety of them have eminently appear'd in later Times; and there is not a good *English-man*, who does not reflect with the deepest Sense of Gratitude on the gallant Stand they have made, when more than once the Designs of ill Men had taken Effect without it, as in the Time of the last Treasurer, the *Utrecht Peace*, &c. It cannot be said, that these protesting Lords were *Schismatics* and *Fanatics*, were the Lords *Dorset, Berks, Clarendon, Ailsbury, Halifax, Bristol, &c.* charg'd with *Schismatical* or *Antimonarchical Principles*? Did they not carry the Prerogatives of the *Church* and Crown as high as the Highest? and only refus'd to sacrifice their Understandings, and their Birth-rights to the Advancement of them. There seems to be no greater Complement to the Crown, than an *unlimited* Obedience; but that Complement is paid by those who attack it in Essentials, and wou'd deprive it of its *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*, which shews us for what Reason it was, that an absolute Dominion was so furiously preach'd up in King *Charles's*, King *James*, and the latter Part of Queen *Anne's* Reign, when the Ministers were as bad as in the Reigns of those Kings. That Dominion was not to center in the Prince only, but to be divided by the *Priesthood*. If the Power of the Crown was allow'd to be boundless, the *Church* was at the same time declar'd to be *Independant*, and the Obedience of these Men is consequently of no more Extent than they think fit, they being themselves their own Judges, and, as they pretend, the *State* having no Right to bring them to Judgment.

The Lords against the Bill, after it was committed to a Committee of the whole House, obtain'd two previous Votes which much enervated it, "That no Oath should be impos'd by any Bill upon the Peers, with the Penalty, in Case of Refusal, to lose their Places or Votes in Parliament, or Liberty to debate therein." In this Debate it was urg'd, that the Penalty shou'd be a *Præmunire*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* laugh'd that out of the House, by a Speech, *Duke of Buckingham* laugh'd to this Effect: *He desir'd their Lordships to consider what a Præmunire was, which they were to be under, if they did not take the Oaths, tho' they were to keep their Seats in Parliament. By a Præmunire we are to be stripp'd of all we have, and as we go along the Streets, any body may take*

A.D. 1675

House of Peers great Patriots in the worst of Times.

laugh'd the Præmunire out of the Bill.

A. D. 1675 our Cloaths from us, saying, You are in a Præmunire. If any one in Compassion should give a Lord a new Coat to cover his Nakedness, the next Man he meets, may take it away again, saying, You are in a Præmunire, and have right to nothing: However, the stripp'd Peer has his Seat in Parliament still, and may sit here without Wastecoat or Breeches; which set the House a laughing, and was the Occasion of dropping that Penalty.

The other previous Vote was, "That there should be nothing in this Bill which should extend to deprive either of the Houses of Parliament, or any of their Members, of their just and antient Freedom and Privileges, of Debating any Matter or Business, which shall be propos'd or debated in either of the said Houses, or at any Conference or Committee of both, or either of the said Houses of Parliament, touching the Repeal or Alteration of any old, or preparing any new Laws, or the Redressing any publick Grievance; but that the said Members of either of the said Houses, and the Assistants of the House of Peers, and every of them shall have the said Freedom of Speech, and all other Privileges whatsoever they had before the making of this Act."—However, upon the Report from the Committee, a Vote pass'd, *That all Persons who have, or shall have Right to sit and vote, in either House of Parliament, shall have the Oath impos'd upon them; against which the following Lords protested.*

Bucks, Bedford, Winton, Salisbury, Berks, Bridgewater, Stamford, Clarendon, Denbigh, Dorset, Shaftsbury, Wharton, Eure, De la Mer, Paget, Mobun.

It was observ'd by the Earl of *Bolingbroke*, a Man of great Abilities, and learned in the Laws, that tho' there was a Proviso to preserve the Freedom of Debates, yet the Oath remain'd notwithstanding that Proviso upon all Men that shall take it as a Prohibition, either by Speech or Writing, to endeavour any Alteration in Religion, Church or State, even upon the Members of both Houses, otherwise than as they Speak and Vote in open Parliaments or Committees. This was seconded by my Lord *De la Mer*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* presently drew up some Words for preserving the same Rights, Privileges and Freedoms which Men then enjoy'd by Law. It was now that the Court Lords and Bishops shew'd with the greatest Plainness what they aim'd at, insomuch that the Duke of *Lauderdale*, tho' under the Load of two Addresses, told the Committee, as did also the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and Lord Treasurer *Danby*, they intended to PREVENT Caballing against the Government. A good Government fears no Caballing; nothing can be said of it but what is good; and a bad one, such as this was, cannot prevent it. He that's oppress'd will speak, as he that's in Pain will moan. Several strong Reasons were urg'd against depriving People of their natural Right, the Use of their Tongue; the Laws had sufficiently bound them already, they cou'd not speak disrespectfully of the Government without Punishment, and now they cannot speak it without Perjury. It is monstrous to think that this Bill was carry'd thro' every Question by Bishops, without whom the Country Lords wou'd have been the Majority.

To prevent any more Protestations, the House for the Future, reported not the Votes of the Committee, and Parts of the Bill as they pass'd them, but took the same Order as is observ'd in other Bills, not to report to the House, till they had gone thro' with it, and then to report all the Amendments together. The Bill being read, the

Lord *Hallifax* spoke admirably against Oaths of any Kind. "That as there really was no Security to any State by Oaths, so also no private Persons, much less States-Men, wou'd ever order his Affairs, as relying on it. No Man wou'd ever sleep with open Doors, or unlock'd up Treasure, shou'd all the Town be sworn not to rob: So that the Use of Multiplying Oaths had been most commonly to exclude or disturb some honest conscientious Men, who wou'd not have prejudic'd the Government." *Con'd not the Bishops think of this, those whose Function it was to direct Mens Consciences right, cou'd they not forbear misguiding or disturbing them?* His Lordship insifted, "That the Oath impos'd by the Bill, contain'd three Clauses, the two former Assertory, and the last Promissary, and that it was worthy the Consideration of the Bishops, whether Assertory Oaths, which were properly appointed to give Testimony of Matter of Fact, of which a Man is capable of being assur'd by the Evidence of his Sense, be lawfully to be made use of, to confirm or invalidate Doctrinal Propositions; and whether that Legislative Power which imposes such an Oath, doth not necessarily assume to itself Infallibility? And as for Promissary Oaths, it was desir'd that those learned Prelates wou'd consider the Opinion of *Grotius, de Jure Belli & Pacis*, who seems to make it plain that those kind of Oaths are forbidden by our Saviour; and whether it wou'd not become the Fathers of our Church, when they have well weigh'd the Place he notes out of the New Testament, to be more tender in multiplying Oaths, than hitherto the great Men of the Church have been." But whatever this Lord, and others, cou'd say to the contrary, the Bishops, says Mr. *Locke*, carry'd the Point, and an Oath was order'd by the major Vote.

The next Part of the Debate was about Members of Parliament, &c. and the previous Votes were urg'd in their Behalf; but the Lord Keeper, who mov'd to have them inserted, said, with equal Resolution and Eloquence, the House was Master of their own Orders, and the Interpretation of them.

When these Words, *I A. B. do declare, that it Debate of is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King*, came to be consider'd, the Lords against the Bill urg'd, that it might introduce a great Change of Government, to oblige all Men in great Trust in England, to declare the exact Boundary and Extent of the Oath of Allegiance, and enforce some Things to be stated, that are much better involv'd in Generals. There is a Law of 25 Edward III. *That Arms shall not be taken up against the King*, and that it is Treason to do so, and it is a just and reasonable Law, but it is an idle Question at best, to ask whether Arms in any Case, can be taken up against a lawful Prince? because it unnecessarily brings in the Debate in every Man's Mind, how there can be a Distinction then left, between absolute and bounded Monarchies, if Monarchs have only the Fear of God, and no Fear of Humane Resistance to restrain them? The Arguments are of that Length, that I can only give the Reader a Hint of them; the Strength of them was such, that the Court, and Court Lords took Care to have them burnt as soon as made publick.

The next Thing in the Debate was, that Part of the Test, from whence it took the Name of the Oath of Abhorrence. *I do abhor that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person*: To which it was objected, that the

and

A. D. 1675 *Position*, as here laid down, is *Universal*, and yet in most Cases, it is not to be *abhorr'd* by *honest* and *wise* Men. For there is but one Case, and that never likely to happen again, where this *Position* is like to be *traiterous*, and that is the Case of the *Long Parliament*, made *Perpetual* by the King's own Act, by which the Government was perfectly alter'd, and made inconsistent with it's self. Then Instances were given, wherein this *Position* was so far from being *Traiterous*, that it was both necessary and a *Duty*: As in the two Cases of *Henry VI. of England* and *Charles VI. of France*, who were both in the Hands of their Enemies, and not to have taken Arms against those who assum'd their Authority, and had their Persons for their Warrant, wou'd certainly have been a Breach of their Allegiance. In these and the like Cases it was not pretended but that the strict Letter of the Law might be otherwise construed, and the old Bishop of *Winchester* said, *That to take up Arms in such Cases is not against, but for the Person of the King.* In which his Lordship did not seem to be entirely of the same Mind with the Lord Keeper, who, to testify his own Abhorrency, had this Expression in a Speech of his, *Away with that ill-meant Distinction between Natural and Political Capacities.* To which Mr. *Marvel* thus replies, "He is too well read to be ignorant that without that Distinction there wou'd be no Law, nor Reason of Law left in *England.* To which End it was, and to put all out of Doubt that this *Test* requires to declare Men's *Abhorrency* as of a *Traiterous Position*, to take Arms against those that are commission'd by him in Pursuance of such Commission, and yet neither the Tenor nor Rule of any such Commission specify'd, nor the Qualifications of those that shall be arm'd with such Commission express'd or limited. Never was so much Sense contain'd in so few Words. No Conveyancer cou'd in mote compendious or binding Terms have drawn a *Dissettlement* of the whole Birth-right of *England.*" This naturally brings me to the third Part of the *Test*, or against those that are commission'd by them. Upon this it was observ'd, That if any King hereafter should, contrary to the *Petition of Right*, demand or levy Money by *Privy-Seal* or otherwise, and cause Soldiers to enter and distrain for such illegal Taxes; in such a Case any Man might defend his House against them, and yet this is contrary to the Words of the Declaration made in this *Test.* The Lord Keeper said, these were *remote Instances.* But a Man of as much Sense, and much more Wit than the Lord Keeper, says the quite contrary. *These things*, to use *Marvel's* Words, are no *Nice-ries* or *remote Considerations*: And he was still better told by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *They will not hereafter prove so, when this Declaration has made the Practice of them justifiable.* Here, according to Mr. *Locke*, the Mask was plainly pluck'd off, *Arbitrary Government* appear'd bare-fac'd, and a *Standing Army* was to be establish'd by Act of Parliament. For it was said by several of the Lords, *That if whatever is by the King's Commission be not oppos'd by the King's Authority, then a Standing Army is Law, whenever the King pleases*; and yet the King's Commission was never thought sufficient to protect or justify any Man, where it is against his Authority, which is the Law. This allow'd, alters the whole Law of *England* in the most Essential and Fundamental Parts of it, and makes the whole Law of Property become *Arbitrary* and without Effect whenever the King pleases.

Against those commission'd by the King.

It is to be wish'd, that all good *English-men* wou'd seriously consider who were the Men, and what their Principles, that wou'd have reduc'd us to the Condition of the *Swedes* and *Danes*, to have depended on the *Will of the Prince*; and the worst Princes are ever fond of such Dependence upon them. One cannot have a better Notion of the fatal Consequences which must have attended this *Test*, if it prevail'd, than by what *Andrew Marvel* writes of it; *For as to the Commission, if it be to take away any Man's Estate or his Life by Force, yet it is the King's Commission. Or if the Person commission'd be under never so many Disabilities by Act of Parliament, yet his taking this Oath removes all those Incapacities, or his Commission makes it not disputable. But if a Man stood upon his Defence, a good Judge for the Purpose, and good Judges, as we have seen, were provided, finding that the Position was Traiterous, will declare that, by this Law he is to be executed for Treason.* As strong as the Court Party and Bishops were in the House, such was the Power of Truth, that they cou'd not carry this abominable Declaration, without adding against those that are commission'd by him according to Law in Time of Rebellion and War.

A. D. 1675

We come now to what will fully evidence the Designs of the Clergy by such unwarrantable Complacency to the Court. The *Church Government* must not on any Account be alter'd no more than the State. *I do swear, that I will not at any Time endeavour the Alteration of the Government in Church or State.* Against which the Objection lay most plain and strong at the first Entrance of the Oath; that there was no Care taken of the *Doctrine*, but only of the *Discipline* of the Church, which points out to one as much as with a Finger, what the Bishops had then chiefly in View. The *Papists* need not scruple the taking this *Oath*, for *Episcopacy* remain'd in it's full Lustre, tho' the *Papish Religion* was introduc'd. But the King's *Supremacy* is jostled aside by this Oath, and makes better Room for an Ecclesiastical one; insomuch that the Party were forc'd immediately to have it thus worded, *I will not endeavour to alter the Protestant Religion, or the Government of Church and State.* And they valu'd themselves so much on their Condescension in the Matter, that they now call'd their *Test* a *Security for the Protestant Religion.* Mr. *Locke* expresses himself thus on this Occasion, *But the Country Lords wonder'd at their Confidence in this, since they had never thought of it before, and had been by pure Shame compell'd to this Addition; for it was not unknown to them, that some of the Bishops themselves had told some Roman Catholic Lords of the House, that Care had been taken that it might be such an Oath as might not bear upon them.* There was a great Struggle against the Words *Endeavour to alter.* The Earl of *Shaftsbury* said, *It is a far different Thing to believe, or to be fully persuaded of the Truth of the Doctrine of our Church, and to swear never to endeavour to alter, which last must be utterly unlawful, unless you place an Infallibility in the Church or your self; you being otherwise oblig'd to alter, whenever a clearer or better Light comes to you.* And he desir'd Leave to ask, *Where are the Boundaries? or, Where shall we find how much is meant by the Protestant Religion?* The Lord Keeper thinking he had got an Advantage, desires it might not be told in Gath, nor publish'd in the Streets of *Askelon*, that a Lord of so great Parts and Eminence, and professing himself for the Church of *England*, shou'd not know what is meant by the *Protestant Religion*: And I must desire

No Care of Doctrine.

Bishops satisfaction in this, since they had never thought of it before, and had been by pure Shame compell'd to Papists.

Earl of Shaftsbury's Speech.

AD. 1673

Bishop
Morley's
rare Defi-
nition of
the Prote-
stant Reli-
gion.Earl of
Shaftsbur-
y's An-
swer.Objections
to several
of the xxxix
Articles,to Ordi-
nation.Foreign
Protestants
un-
church'd
by us.Homilies
objected
against.

desire that it may be told in *Gath*, and publish'd in the Streets of *Askelon*, that whatever the Lord Keeper might do, the Bishop of *Winchester* did not know what is meant by the Protestant Religion, by his Definition of it, *the Thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Catechism, the Homilies, and the Canons*; there not being one Protestant Doctor of the Reform'd Church in all Christendom, who wou'd have so interpreted it on the Continent. But the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, in his Reply, shew'd he knew more of the Matter than both the *Bishop* and the *Keeper*.

"I beg to much Charity of you to believe that I know the Protestant Religion so well, and am so confirm'd in it, that I hope I shou'd burn for the Witness of it, if Providence shou'd call me to it. But I may perhaps think some Things not necessary which you account essential: Nay, I may think some Things not true, or agreeable to Scripture, which you may call *Doctrines of the Church*. Besides, when I am to swear never to endeavour to alter, it is certainly necessary to know how far the Extent of this Oath is; but since you have told me that the Protestant Religion is in those *Five Tracts*, I have still Power to ask, Whether you mean those whole *Tracts* were the Protestant Religion, or only that the Protestant Religion is contain'd in all these, but that every Part of these are not the Protestant Religion? If you mean the former of these, then I am extreamly in the Dark to find the Doctrine of *Predestination* in the seventeenth and eighteenth Articles, to be own'd by so few great Doctors of the Church, and to find the nineteenth Article to define the Church directly as the *Independants* do. Besides, the twentieth Article stating the Authority of the Church, is very dark, and either contradicts itself, or says nothing, or what is contrary to the known Laws of the Land. Further, Several other Things in the thirty-nine Articles have been preach'd and written against by Men of great Favour, Power, and Preferment in the Church.

"I humbly conceive the *Liturgy* is not so Sacred, being made by Men the other Day, and thought to be more differing from the *Dissenting Protestants*, and less easy to be comply'd with, upon the Advantage of a Pretence well known to us all, of making *Abatements* as might the better invite them, instead of which, there's scarce one Alteration but widens the Breach, and no Ordination allow'd by it here (as it now stands last Reform'd by the Act of Uniformity) but what is *Episcopal*. So that a *Papish* Priest, when converted, is capable of any Church Preferment, without *Re-ordination*; but a Protestant Minister, not *Episcopally* Ordain'd, is requir'd to be *Re-ordin'd*. As much as in us lies, unchurching all the Foreign Protestants that have not *Bishops*, though the contrary was both allow'd and practis'd from the Beginning of the Reformation to the Time of that Act, and several Bishops made of such as were never ordain'd Priests by *Bishops*; and I think, to endeavour to alter and restore the *Liturgy* to what it was in Queen *Elizabeth's* Days, may consist with my being a very good Protestant. As to the *Catechism*, I really think it may be amend'd, and dare declare to you, it is not well that there is not a better made. For the *Homilies*, I believe there may be a better Book made; and *Homily* the third, of *Repairing and keeping Clean Churches*, may be omitted. What is yet stronger than all this, the *Canons* of our Church are directly the old *Papish* Canons, which are full in Force, and no other, as will

"appear, if you turn to *Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 10.* confirm'd and renew'd by *1 Eliz.* where all those *Canons* are establish'd, till an Alteration shall be made by the King in pursuance of that Act; which was attempted by *Edward VI.* but not perfected, and let alone ever since, for what Reason the Lords the Bishops can best tell; and it is very hard to be oblig'd by Oath not to endeavour to alter either the *English Common-Prayer*, or the *Canon of the Mass*. The Reasons of this Lord, and others, who spoke to the same Thing, were so cogent, that the House seem'd convinc'd of the Necessity of an Expedient.

The Lord *Wharton* offer'd, as a Cure to the whole Oath, and what might make it pass in all the Parts of it, to add these Words at the latter End, *As the same is, or shall be establish'd by Act of Parliament*: But, says Mr. *Locke*, this was not endur'd at all. The Lord *Grey* of *Rollestone* offer'd another Expedient, which was the Addition of these Words, by Force or Fraud, and then it wou'd have run thus: *I do swear not to endeavour by Force or Fraud to alter*: This was also a Cure that wou'd have pass'd the whole Oath, the Duke of *York* and Bishop of *Rockester* both seconding it; but the Lord Treasurer, who, says Mr. *Locke*, had privately before consented to it, speaking against it, gave the Word and Sign to that Party; and it being put to the Question, the major Vote answer'd all Arguments. This Lord Treasurer is the same who, when Sir *Thomas Osborn*, had been a main Instrument in rejecting this very Test at *Oxford*; but his Staff was so beneficial to his small Fortunes, which stood in indispensable Need of Recruits, that he abandon'd all his Sentiments of Liberty, and became the Tool of Arbitrary Power. The Conspirators were so flush'd by their Majority, that without considering the Remainder of the Test, they wou'd have it put to the Question entire; which was oppos'd by the Lord *Mohun*, and afterwards by as great Disorder in the House as ever had been seen there, proceeding, to use Mr. *Locke's* Words, from the Rage those unreasonable Practices had caus'd in the Country Lords, who stood up in a Body, and cry'd out, ADJOURN, ADJOURN, with so loud a continued Voice, that when Silence was obtain'd, Fear did what Reason cou'd not do, and put off the Question for the whole Test.

Now comes the Consideration of the latter Part of the Oath. The Lords against the Bill objected, That it was not agreeable to the King's Crown and Dignity, to have his Subjects sworn to the Government of the Church equally as to himself; that it ought to be well understood before such an Act pass'd, what the Government of the Church was, and what the Boundaries; whether it derives no Power, nor Authority, nor the Exercise of any Power, Authority, or Function, but from the King, as Head of the Church; and from God, as through him all his other Officers do; otherwise there wou'd be *Imperium in Imperio*, and two distinct supream Powers, inconsistent with each other, in the same Place, and over the same Persons. Mr. *Locke* tells us, The Bishops alleg'd, that the Priesthood, their Power and Authorities, were deriv'd immediately from God; but that the Licence of exercising that Authority and Power in any Country, is deriv'd from the Civil Magistrate. To which it was reply'd, That it was dangerous to secure by Oath and Act of Parliament those in the Exercise of an Authority and Power in the King's Country, and over his Subjects, which being receiv'd from Christ himself, cannot be alter'd or limited by the King's Law; and that this was directly to set the Mitre above the Crown.

A. D. 1675 It was further offer'd, that this Oath was the greatest Attempt that had been made against the King's Supremacy since the Reformation. For the King in Parliament may alter, diminish, or enlarge, or take away any Bishoprick: He may take away any Part of a Diocess, or a whole Diocess, and put them under Deans or other Persons; for if this be not lawful, but that *Episcopacy* should be *Jure Divino*, the maintaining the Government as it is now is unlawful; so that, at best, the Government wants *Alteration* that is so imperfectly settled.

The Lord *Stafford*, whose Fate afterwards is so well known, as great a Bigot as he was to Popery, though he had till now been for the Bill, yet such was the Strength of the Reasons against it, with respect to this Part of the *Test*, that he freely declar'd, *There ought to be an Addition to it, for preserving the Freedom of Debates in Parliament*; which was also strongly supported by the Earls of *Bridgewater*, *Clarendon*, *Denbigh*, and *Ailesbury*; and the opposite Party was in the End oblig'd to agree that the Oath should run thus: *I A. B. do swear, that I will not endeavour to alter the Protestant Religion, nor by Law establish'd in the Church of England; nor the Government of the Kingdom, in Church or State, as it is now by Law establish'd.* And a *Proviso* for Freedom of Debates in Parliament was mention'd, which breaking the main Design of the Bill, it was from thence forward manag'd with less Warmth by the Favourers of it. The Marquess of *Winchester*, before the finishing of the Oath, tender'd an additional one, which would have been very serviceable to the Publick if it could have pass'd.

M. of Winton's Oath against Places and Pensions.
 Lord Keeper's nauseous Speech.
 He is answer'd.

I A. B. do swear, that I will never by Threats, Injunctions, Promises, Advantages, or Invitation, by or from any Person whatsoever, nor from the Hopes or Prospect of any Gift, Place, Office, or Benefit whatsoever, give my Vote other than according to my Opinion and Conscience, as I shall be truly and really persuaded upon the Debate of any Business in Parliament. So help me God. This was intended only to be taken by the Members of Both Houses. To this the Lord Keeper seem'd very averse, and declar'd it in a Speech that has so much Flattery in it, 'tis perfectly nauseous. *It is an useless Oath; for all Gifts, Places, and Offices, are likeliest to come from the King; and no Member of Parliament in either House can do too much for the King, or be too much of his Side; and Men may lawfully and worthily have in their Prospect such Offices or Benefits from him.* When such Doctrine as this was taught in so august an Assembly, was it not wonderful that we preserv'd our Liberties! But there was a noble Band of Peers who stood in the Breach, and defended their Birth-right with equal Reason and Courage. These reply'd, "That Men had been, might, and were likely to be, in either House, too much for the King, as they call'd it, and that who ever endeavour'd to give more Power to the King than the Law and Constitution of the Government had given, especially if it tended to the introducing an absolute and arbitrary Government, might justly be said to do too much for the King, and to be detected in his Judgment by the Prospect of Advantages and Rewards; though when it is consider'd, that every Deviation of the Crown towards absolute Power, lessens the King in the Love and Affection of his People, making him become less in their Interest, a wise Prince will not think it a Service done him." Which modest and just Reasoning, shews what little need Truth has of any Authority but its own to support it. The

A. D. 1675 Debate having been spun on to this Length, the Court-Lords found it was in vain for them to contend with the Country-Lords, who had the Right and the Reason on their Side; so they resolv'd to give up the Field of Argument, and rely on their major Vote, which the Duke of *Buckingham* endeavour'd to put off by a Speech made late at Night, consisting of eloquent and well-plac'd *Nonsense*. But the Earl of *Winchelsea* perceiving what he aim'd at, cry'd out, *The Question, the Question*; and, as Mr. *Locke* phrases it, the major Vote, *Ultima Ratio Senatuum & Conciliorum*, carry'd it as the Court and Clergy would have it.

The Debate lasted seventeen whole Days, the House during that Time sat often till Midnight; but the Opposition this Bill met with, and a Dispute about Privilege arising between the two Houses, were the Occasion that the Lords who were for the Bill took so little Care of it afterwards, that 'twas never reported from the Committee to the House.

Never was there shewn, since the Restoration, such a Spirit of Liberty as on this Occasion: This Bill would for ever have put an End to any in England. What is most inglorious to the Lords who call'd themselves Protestants, and yet gave this Countenance to *Despotick* Power, is, that the very *Roman Catholics* join'd heartily with the other Lords who so resolutely defended their own and the People's Liberties. Besides the Lord *Stafford* before-mention'd, the Lord *Petre* was warm against this Bill, and spoke often, as did the Lord *Audley*, and both are to be found among the *Protesting Lords*; which occasion'd this very just Observation of Mr. *Locke*, *But thus much I shall say of the Roman Catholick Peers, That if they were safe in their Estates, and yet kept out of Office, their Votes in that House would not be the most unsafe to England of any Sort of Men in it.* And I have the Honour to know a *Roman Catholick* Peer whom I have more than once heard speak with Indignation of those base Men, who would sacrifice the Interest and Glory of their Country to Party and Prejudice. I cannot close this Matter, without remembering the Zeal of some other Lords, as indeed there was Reason for it, their *All* being at Stake. We find the Earls of *Bedford*, *Devonshire*, *Burlington*, *Stamford*, the Lord *Say* and *Sele*, the Lord *Paget*, the Lord Viscount *Hereford*, the Lord Viscount *Townshend*, distinguish'd themselves on this Occasion. The Earl of *Carnarvon* came out of the Country on purpose to give his Vote against this Bill. The Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Sandys*, the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, the Lord *North*, and the Lord *Crew*, sent their Proxies. But to deliver all their Names to Posterity in Records worthy their Merit, must be the Business of some immortal Pen; to which I shall be proud to be assisting, by handing them to it as far as they have come to my Knowledge: For these that follow were not all, but their Weight and Number became so important a Cause.

Duke of *Buckingham*, Marquess of *Winchester*, Earl of *Rutland*, Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Devonshire*, Earl of *Bridgewater*, Earl of *Bolingbroke*, Earl of *Berks*, Earl of *Bristol*, Earl of *Carnarvon*, Earl of *Ailesbury*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Stamford*, Earl of *Clarendon*, Earl of *Shafesbury*, Earl of *Burlington*, Lord Viscount *Hereford*, Lord Viscount *Say* and *Sele*, Lord Viscount *Townshend*, Lord Viscount *Stafford*, Lord Viscount *Hallifax*, Lord *Audley*, Lord *Fitzwater*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Eure*, Lord *Pagett*, Lord *Mokun*,

A.D. 1675 *Mokun, Lord Sandys, Lord Herbert of Chisbury, Lord Grey of Rolleston, Lord North, Lord Crew, Lord Petre, Lord Holkes, Lord De la Mer.*

At the Close of this famous Contest, there hap-
pen'd as warm a one between the two Houses
about Appeals, in the Case of *Fagg and Shirley*.
The latter, Dr. *Shirley*, brought an Appeal in
the House of Lords from a Decree in *Chancery*,
against Sir *John Fagg*, a Member of the House
of Commons, which that House look'd upon as
an open Infringement of their Privileges: Accord-
ingly they order'd Dr. *Shirley* to be taken into
Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and the first
Account they heard of him, was, that their War-
rant for taking the Doctor into Custody, was for-
cibly taken from the Serjeant's Deputy by the
Lord *Mokun*. The Commons demanded Justice
against the Lord *Mokun*; the Lords justify'd him.
The Commons voted against any Commoner's
pleading at the Lord's Bar against any Member
of their House, and committed Serjeant *Pember-
ton*, Serjeant *Peck*, Sir *John Churchill*, and Mr.
Porter, Council for *Shirley*, to the Custody of their
Serjeant, and Sir *John Fagg* to the *Tower*, for his
Compliance with the Lords.

On this Occasion the King summon'd both
Houses to attend him at *Whitehall*, and told them,
he look'd on their Difference about Appeals, to be
a malicious Design against the *Church*: For ever
since the *New Faction* has been form'd, of the *Higb
Episcopal Men* and the *Old Cavaliers*, they have
taken upon them the Name of the *Church*. When-
ever they have been in Danger, the *Church* has
been in Danger; whenever they have flourish'd by
*Bartholomew Acts, Five Mile Acts, Schism Acts,
Occasional Acts*, the *Church* has been flourishing.
One wou'd think that *Shirley* and *Fagg's* Case had
no more to do with the *Church of England* than
with the *Church of Geneva*; but it is solemnly
said from the Throne. Bishop *Burnet* seems to
think the Case of the Appeal was no Design a-
gainst the *Church*, but that it happen'd in Course,
though it produc'd great Effects: For both Houses
standing on their Privileges, and no likelihood ap-
pearing of any Accommodation, the King, *June*
the 9th, prorogu'd the Parliament to the *13th* of
October. The Commons had voted 300,000 Pounds
for building of Ships, but at the same time had
resolv'd to appropriate *Tonnage* and *Poundage*,
amounting to 400,000 Pounds a Year, to the Use
of the Navy, as it was first design'd, which was
not at all to the good liking of the Court; who
had rather lose the other 300,000 Pounds, than
admit of a Fund to be appropriated to the Navy,
which they had appropriated so long to more gal-
lant Uses. Besides, 'twas visible enough that the
Pensioners in the House wou'd not be able to sup-
port the Treasurer *Danby*, and that a great Party
had agreed to give no Money while the present
Lord Treasurer continu'd in his Office.

Echard enlarges on Sir *William Temple's* Ne-
gotiations concerning King *Charles's* Mediation;
Nimeguen was named by *Temple*, to be the Place
of Treaty: But *Mareschal de Turenne* being kill'd
this Year by a Cannon-Ball in a Skirmish, *Triers*
taken by the *Germans*, and some other Advan-
tages happening on the Side of the Confederates,
the King writes immediately to *Temple* to induce
the Prince of *Orange* to a Peace by a new Argu-
ment, the Greatness of the House of *Austria*, which
no doubt was dictated by the *French Court*. The
Prince answer'd that Chimerical Argument with
good Sense: *There is no Fear of that till they go
beyond the Peace of the Pyrenees; whenever that
shall happen, I shall be as good a French-man as
I am now a Spaniard.* An excellent Saying, if

Wisdom had had any Weight in our Counsels. *Temple* tells us of Discourie he had with the
King about the Affairs abroad, in which there
does not appear much Depth of Policy; and he
must take Sir *William* to know less than he did
of Men and Things, to think to impose what he
said as good Reason on a Minister of his Capa-
city and Experience. *Some of the Leaders in both
Houses have a Mind to engage me in a War with
France, which they shall not do for many Rea-
sons, and among the rest, because I am sure if they
did, they wou'd leave me in it, and make use of
it to ruin my Ministers.* He knew they wou'd
not leave him in it, if he was in earnest, and did
not misapply the Money they gave him for the
War, on his Women and extravagant Pleasures.
And as to his Ministers, if they had serv'd him,
given him faithful Counsel, and manag'd his Re-
venues as they ought to have done, he wou'd have
parted with them as freely as with his Parliament.
The true Reason, of which he said not a Word,
was, that he had a Pension from the *French King*,
and lov'd his Religion and Government, which
by the private League between them were to be
establish'd in *England*. Bishop *Burnet* tells us,
He had round Sums of Money sent him. The King
desir'd Sir *William Temple* to reconcile *Arlington* *The King's*
and *Danby*, which was no grateful Employment; *French*
for *Arlington* hated *Temple* as a Creature of *Dan-*
by's, and his Endeavours were ineffectual. *Pensioner.*

There is very little Business done now in *Eng-
land*, but what relates to the Parliament, which
the Court was afraid of losing, after they had
been at such Expence to keep them *Staunch*. Sir
Harbottle Grimston took Occasion, on a Debate
about Grievances, to say, *That considering the
Extent of Privilege, he look'd on a standing Par-
liament as the greatest Grievance of the Nation,
so many Men being exempted from Justice, and
from the Demands of their Creditors, for so long,
and so indefinite a Time.* Though this Motion was
let fall, it was not forgot, as we shall see in the
Sequel.

We have made some mention of the *Popish Plot*.
Plot, as it was carry'd on by *Coleman* in Gener-
als, before the Particulars broke out; and by his
Letter to the Pope's *Inter-nuntio* of the 30th of
August this Year, we find it thrives amain. "The *Cole-*
" Duke hath almost surmounted all the Difficul-
" ties which have oppos'd his Establishment; the
" Face of Affairs are well chang'd: For we now
" passionately wish to see the coming on of the
" Parliament, which we have so much fear'd be-
" fore; and while it was held doubtful whether
" it ought to meet or no, we employ'd all our
" Power to bring it on; which Point we have
" gain'd but within these few Days: And for my
" Part, I no ways doubt but that we shall receive
" as much Good by it, as we apprehend Ill, pro-
" vided that the Duke fail not in the Execution
" of the good Resolutions he hath taken.

In a long Letter to *La Chaise*, the *French King's* and to
Confessor, he says thus: "I take our Case to be
" much the same as it was the last Sessions; if
" we can advance the Duke's Interest one Step
" forward, we shall put him out of the Reach of
" all Chances for ever, and all wou'd come over
" to him, as the only steady Centre of our Go-
" vernment." It is from hence very plain that
they look'd not on King *Charles* as a steady Cen-
tre; and being impatient to have a Prince on the
Throne who was steady to them, 'tis not strange
that they resolv'd to remove the *unsteady* One, to
place him upon it, whose Steadiness they were
sure of. He proceeds, "In order to this, we have
" two great Designs to attempt the next Sessions:
" 1. That which we went about before, viz. To gainst the
" put King.

Fagg and
Shirley's
Case.

Shirley
and Fagg's
Case, the
Church.

Pensioner's
base
Ground.

An excel-
lent Say-
ing of the
Prince of
Orange.

A.D. 1675

Why the
Papists a-
gainst the
put King.

A.D. 1675 " put the Parliament upon making it their humble Request to the King, that the Fleet may be put to his Royal Highness's Care. 2. To get an Act for a general Liberty of Conscience. If we carry these two, or either of them, we shall in Effect do what we list afterwards.—Therefore if his most Christian Majesty would stand by us a little in this Conjunction, and help us to such a Sum as 20,000 Pounds, which is no great Matter to venture upon such an Undertaking as this, I would be content to be sacrificed to the utmost Malice of my Enemies if I did not succeed. I have propos'd this several Times to Monsieur Ruvigny, who seems always of my Opinion; but I know not, being a Protestant, whether he will be as zealous in this Point as a Catholic would be; because our prevailing in these things will give the greatest Blow to the Protestant Religion, that ever it receiv'd since its Birth.

Here *Echard*, after a Popish Author, assures us, there was not so much as a Snip of Paper discover'd against the Papists who suffer'd for the Plot. *Coleman* was one of them, and never did Traitor leave such a Snip of Treason behind him. He writes for 20,000 Pounds, to enable him to destroy the Religion of his Country; and again, *Ruvigny*, perhaps, would not be very glad to see it destroy'd, especially when he believes there is another way of doing his Master's Business without it, which is by a Dissolution of the Parliament. But I think our Case extremely alter'd from what it was a Year ago, in relation to a Dissolution; for then the Body of our governing Ministers, all but the Earl of Arlington, was entirely united to the Duke, and would have govern'd his Way, if they had been free from all Fear and Control, as they would have been, if the Parliament had been dissolv'd. But having since then been engag'd in quite different Counsels, and embark'd themselves and Interests upon other Bottoms, having declar'd themselves against Popery, &c. to dissolve the Parliament simply, and without any other Step made, will leave them to govern what way they list. Soon after, and a little before the Meeting of the Parliament, he sent another Letter to the same Confessor, which when discover'd, made a mighty Impression upon the Nation; and the more, because he told him of writing after a Way invisible to other People by the Juice of a Lemon. In which Letter he has these treasonable Words; *We have here a mighty Work upon our Hands, no less than the Conversion of three Kingdoms, and by that, perhaps, the subduing of a Pessilent Heresy. Not a Snip of Paper, says Mr. Archdeacon, which has domineer'd over a great Part of the Northern World a long Time. There were never such Hopes of Success since the Death of Queen Mary, as now in our Days; when God has given us a Prince who is become (may I say a Miracle) zealous of being the Author and Instrument of so glorious a Work; but the Opposition we are sure to meet with, is also like to be great; so that it imports us to get all the Aid and Assistance we can; for the Harvest is great, and the Labourers but few.* If the Duke of York had a Share in this Treason, equal to what his Secretary vouches for him, what fine Protestants were those, who after the Discovery of it, treated the Bill of Exclusion as *Echard* treats it, a Work of Sedition and Rebellion? The Prince to be excluded is in a Conspiracy against the Religion of the Country he is to reign over, and zealous for its Destruction: Yet the Compleat Historians cannot bear to have his Heirship interrupted, tho' there was no other Way of saving the Church, of which they were Members, if not Ministers.

On the 18th of October the Parliament met, and the King made a Speech to them, wherein he desir'd they would lay aside, or postpone the Contest in *Shirley* and *Fagg's* Case, between the two Houses: He recommended to them the Security of the Protestant Religion, himself still a Papist, and the providing for the Anticipations of his Funds, and for Building of Ships, promising for the future to be a better Husband than he finds he has been, though we shall not find it in the future Accounts. There is so little Conscience in the Length of the Keeper's Speech, that I shall leave it entire in *Echard's* Chronicle, who boasts that he has crowded it in all, without Abridgment or Mutilation. He forgets not the King's unwearied Zeal for the Reformed Religion, nor the Anticipations, nor the Building of Ships; but since, as the Reverend Historian informs us, *Neither his Rhetorick, nor his Promises, avail'd much with the House of Commons*: We will see what they did.

They began with re-assuming such publick Bills as they cou'd not compleat last Session; as the Habeas Corpus Act, the Act against sending Men Prisoners beyond Sea; another against raising Money without Consent of Parliament; a fourth against Papists sitting in either House; another for speedier convicting of Papists; another for recalling the King's Subjects out of the French Service. And as to the Supply, they proceeded in the former Method of the two Bills, one for raising 300,000 Pounds, and the other for appropriating Tonnage and Poundage for the Use of the Navy. In the Lord's House there was a good Disposition towards Things of publick Interest. But, says Mr. *Marvel*, 300,000 Pounds was so inspid a Thing to those that had been continually regal'd with Millions; and the Act of Appropriation, with some others, went so much against Stomach, that there wanted only an Opportunity to reject them, and that which was readiest at Hand was the late Quarrel betwixt the House of Lords and the Commons; which was reviv'd and *Shirley* carry'd on with more Heat than ever in the last and *Fagg* Session. In the House of Commons the Debates ran high about the Supply; the Pensioners were for giving more than was propos'd, knowing that nothing cou'd come to them out of that. 'Twas said the King had not enough in his Hands to maintain the Government, and secure the Nation, tho' our Neutrality at that Time made Trade flow in upon us, so that the Customs rose higher than ever. On the other Side 'twas said, if Anticipations were once admitted as a Reason for a Supply, the Court would never want that Reason. It was therefore fitter to examine by whose Means, and on what Designs those Anticipations were made. At last the Question was put, and the Vote being then stated, the previous Question was also put, whether the main Question should be then put or not? The Votes happening to be equal, Sir *Charles Harbord*, Chairman of the Committee, gave it for putting the main Question. But some of the Country Party coming in between the two Questions, the main Question was lost by two or three Votes, which made the Court very indifferent as to their sitting. Sir *Charles Harbord* was much blam'd for his Rashness. His Excuse was, that it was the Duty of the Chair always to set Matters forward, and so he ought to have given it for putting the main Question; and if there had been the same Equality, he said *He would have given it for the Court*. He was rich and covetous, and had known some of the Extent of the King's Liberality. His Son, Mr. *William Harbord*, Privy-Counsellor to King *William*, was talk'd of for a smart Repartee he made

His Treason.

A. D. 1675 made to his Father in this Debate. Sir Charles had said, *The right Way to gain the King is to lay your Hands on your Purfes and deal roundly with him.* His Son, Mr. William Harbord, said, *I second the Motion; but I mean, we shou'd lay our Hands on our Purfes as I my self do,* holding his Pocket very fast, and keeping it close shut. The Earl of Danby was much disappointed at this. The Court had try'd their whole Strength to keep off the *Petition of Appeal*, till they saw what might be expected from the Commons; and as soon as their grand Vote was lost, the Lords went upon the *Petition*; and the Commons, as has been hinted, opposing them vigorously, it was visible that the Parliament wou'd be quickly prorogu'd. Upon this it was propos'd in the House of Lords to address the King for Dissolving the present Parliament. 'Twas evident the two Houses cou'd no longer maintain the Correspondence that was necessary; the Contest about the Appeal wou'd drop with this Parliament, but cou'd not while this lasted. It was said a *Standing Parliament* chang'd the Constitution of England. The King did no more consult with his People, nor know them. But he had now a *Cabal* of single Persons to deal with, &c. The Majority of the Temporal Lords were for it; but the *Bench of Bishops*, says my Lord of Sarum, *was against it*, and so it was not carry'd, tho' the Duke of York voted for it, and we having before us

A LIST of the Lords who were present at the Vote for an Address to the King for Dissolving the Parliament, November the 20th, we shall insert it.

For the ADDRESS.

Lords for and against the Dissolving Address. His Royal Highness, Duke of Buckingham, Marquess of Winchester, Earl-Marshal, Earl of Norwich, Earl of Kent, Earl of Dorset, Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Bridgewater, Earl of Westmorland, Earl of Bolingbroke, Earl of Chesterfield, Earl of Stamford, Earl of Peterborough, Earl of Manchester, Earl of Berks, Earl of Mulgrave, Earl of Scarisdale, Earl of Sunderland, Earl of Clarendon, Earl of Essex, Earl of Cardigan, Earl of Shaftsbury, Earl of Powis, Lord Viscount Falkenberg, Lord Viscount Halifax, Lord Viscount Yarmouth, Lord Viscount Newport, Lord Sanays, Lord Morley, Lord Stourton, Lord Wharton, Lord Petre, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lord Lovelace, Lord Tenham, Lord Mohun, Lord Bellasis, Lord Carington, Lord De la Mer, Lord Townshend, Lord Grey of Rolleston.

Lords present 41. Gave Proxies 7.—Total 48.

Lords absent and sick that gave Proxies for this Question.

Earl of Denbigh, Lord Holles.

Other Lords absent that were for the Address.

Earl of Bedford, Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Fitzwater, Lord Eure.

Against the ADDRESS.

Lord Keeper Finch, Lord Treasurer, Earl of Danby, Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of Anglesey, Lord Great Chamberlain, Earl of Lindsey, Earl of Northampton, Earl of Bristol, Earl of Bath, Earl of Craven, Earl of Ailesbury, Earl of Guildford, Duke of Lauderdale, Lord Windsor, Lord Paulet, Lord Maynard, Lord Howard of Escrick, Lord Biron, Lord Lucas, Lord Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, Lord Gerard, Lord Fretchville, Lord Butler, Earl of Ossory, Lord Arundel of Trecice,

21 Lay Lords, 13 Bishops, who were all that were in the House. A. D. 1675

Lords present 34. Gave Proxies 16.—Total 50.

I cannot close the History of this Session of Parliament without remembering Part of a Speech of the Earl of Shaftsbury's, about the Appeal; and a whole Speech of the Duke of Buckingham's, about a *Toleration for Dissenters*. The Reader will in both find Strength of Reason, and Beauty of Style, uncorrupted with the Paint of Affectation, as in the Lord Keeper's Harangues.

The first is the Beginning of the Earl of Shaftsbury's Speech, the 20th of October.

My Lords,

"Our All is at Stake, and therefore you must give me Leave to speak freely before we part with it. My Lord Bishop of Salisbury is of my Opinion, *That we shou'd rather appoint a Day to consider what to do upon the Petition of Appeal, than to appoint a Day of Hearing*; And my Lord Keeper, for I may name them at a Committee of the whole House, tells us in very eloquent and study'd Language, *That he will propose us a Way less liable to Exception, and much less offensive and ruinous to our own Privileges than that of appointing a Day of Hearing*. And, I beseech your Lordships, did not you, after all these fine Words, expect some admirable Proposal? But it ended in this, *That your Lordships shou'd appoint a Day, nay a very long Day, to consider what you wou'd do in it*. And my Lord hath undertaken to convince you, that this is your only Course by several undeniable Reasons; the first of which is, *That 'tis against your Judicature to hear this Cause, which is not proper before us, nor ought to be reliev'd by us*. To this, my Lords, give me Leave to answer, *That I did not expect from a Man professing the Law, that after no Answer by Order of the Court was put in, and a Day had been appointed for hearing, which by some Accident was set aside, and the Plaintiff moving for a second Day to be assign'd, that even without Council on both Sides, the Court did enter into the Merits of the Cause; and if your Lordships shou'd do it here in a Cause attended with the Circumstances this is, it wou'd not only be an apparent Injustice, but a plain Subterfuge, to avoid a Point you durst not maintain*.

The Speech is not too long to be inserted without Mutilation; but this Year has already given too much Length to our History. The Duke of Buckingham's is the more worth repeating; for that it is full of those Sentiments of Piety and Charity, which wou'd have been more natural in the Bishops, but they did not drop a Hint of that Kind in all this long Parliament.

My Lords,

There is a thing call'd Property (whatever Duke of some Men may think) that the People of England are fondest of. It is that they will never part with, and it is that his Majesty in his Speech has promis'd to take particular Care of. This, my Lords, in my Opinion, can never be done without an Indulgence to all Protestant Dissenters. It is certainly a very uneasy kind of Life to any Man that has either Christian Charity, Good Nature, or Humanity, to see his Fellow Subjects daily abus'd, divested of their Liberty and Birth-rights, and miserably thrown out of their Possessions and Free-holds, only because they cannot agree with others

A.D. 1675 others in the same Opinions and Niceries of Religion, which their Consciences will not give them Leave to consent to, and which even by the Consent of those who wou'd impose them, are no way necessary to Salvation.

But, my Lords, besides this, and all that may be said upon it, in order to the Improvement of our Trade, and the Encrease of the Wealth, Strength and Greatness of this Nation, which, with your Leave, I shall presume to discourse of at some other Time, there is, methinks, in this Notion of Persecution, a very gross Mistake, both as to the Point of Government and Religion.

There is so, as to the Point of Government, because it makes every Man's Safety depend upon the wrong Place, not upon the Governor, or a Man's living well towards the Civil Government establish'd by Law, but upon his being transported with Zeal for every Opinion that is held by those that have Power in the Church that is in Fashion.

And I perceive it's a Mistake in Religion, for that it is positively against the express Doctrine and Example of Jesus Christ: Nay, my Lords, as to our Protestant Religion, there is something yet worse; for we Protestants maintain, that none of these Opinions, which Christians here differ about, are Infallible; therefore in us it is somewhat an unexcusable Conception, that Men ought to be depriv'd of their Inheritance, and all their certain Conveniencies and Advantages of Life, because they will not agree with us in our uncertain Opinions of Religion.

My humble Motion to your Lordships therefore is, That you will give me Leave to bring in a Bill of Indulgence to all Protestant DISSENTERS. I know very well, that every Peer of the Realm has a Right to bring into Parliament any Bill which he conceives to be useful to this Nation. But I thought it more respectful to your Lordships to ask your Leave for it before, and I cannot think that doing of it will be any Prejudice to the Bill, because I am confident the Reason, the Prudence, and the Charitableness of it will be able to justify it to this House and the whole World.

Accordingly the House gave the Duke of Buckingham Leave to bring in a Bill six Days before the Parliament was prorogu'd to the 15th of February, 1677, almost a Year and three Months.

As we have taken Notice of some leading Members of the House of Peers, who distinguish'd themselves in the two last Sessions of Parliament by their Zeal for the Protestant Religion and Liberty, so shou'd we also remember some leading Members of the House of Commons in the same Sessions, as Sir Harbottle Grimston, Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir William Coventry, Col. Birch, Sir Thomas Littleton, Sir Thomas Lee, Mr. Powle, Mr. Waller, Mr. Vaughan, &c. who, by their good Sense, Experience, Steadiness and Courage, weather'd all the Tempests that were rais'd by the Intrigues of the Enemies to their Country, and sate in that House so long, that they at length became a Part of that Majority, which, before this Parliament was dissolv'd, became as good Patriots as were in the succeeding Assemblies.

About a Month after this Sessions was over, the King having created Sir Heneage Finch Baron of Daventry, chang'd his Title of Lord Keeper into that of Lord High Chancellor of England. Some Time before this he appointed John Lord Berkley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Lionel Jenkins, to be his Ambassadors Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty of Nimeguen. In the

Christmas Holidays a Proclamation was publish'd against Coffee-houses, as Places of Resort for idle and disaffected Persons; but the Coffee-men giving 500 Pounds Bond not to suffer any Libels, that is, News to be read in their Houses, they were permitted to sell Coffee by Licence. The Ministry was not satisfy'd with this Care against seditious Libels, by which was understood every Pamphlet that did not flatter them; so a Proclamation was issu'd for the better Discovery of Libellers, with a Promise of 50 Pounds Reward for each Discovery. Mr. Locke's Account of the Debates about the Test of Abhorrence was one of the State Libels, against whom these Proclamations were intended. We must not omit that this Year his Majesty was visited by the Prince of Newburgh, attended with a Train of fifty Persons of Quality and Servants.

We shall borrow the Promotions this Year from Mr. Archdeacon, where they appear more ornamented; Giles Strangeways, Esq; Christopher Duke of Albemarle, and Dr. Compton were made Privy-Counsellors. Thomas Povey, Esq; Matter of Requests, in the Room of Sir Thomas Beverley, deceas'd. Sir Richard Bulstrode, Resident at Brussels. And this Year also, we read in the same History, the two young Princesses, Lady Mary and Lady Anne, were confirm'd in the King's Chapel, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of all who had any Fears and Apprehensions of Popery.

In a Design of this Nature 'twas impossible to be so copious upon the Affairs of Scotland and Ireland, as the Gentlemen Natives of those Kingdoms may expect. The History of England, and of the Design form'd against the Religion, Rights and Liberties of English-men since the Stuartine Government, was the original Intention of this Work, and to take in what relates to Scotland and Ireland no farther than the Affairs there have Connection with those in England, and with the Contrivances of the common Enemy to destroy the Constitution in Church and State, as establish'd in the three Kingdoms.

After the Executions for the Tumult at Pentland-Hill, in Scotland, were pretty well over, the King, says Bishop Burnet, was more gentle than the Bishops. Dalziel, who commanded the King's Forces, threaten'd to spit Men, and roast them: Some he kill'd in cold, or rather hot Blood; for he was drunk when he order'd one to be hang'd, because he wou'd not tell where his Father was. When he heard of any who did not go to Church, he did not as the new Laws enjoin'd, set a Fine upon them, but he set as many Soldiers on them as shou'd eat them up in a Night. By this means all People were struck with such a Terror, that they came regularly to Church; and my Lord of Sarum tells us, The Clergy were so delighted with it, that they us'd to speak of those Times, as the Poets do of the Golden Age. They never interceded for any Compassion to their People, nor did they take care to live more regularly, or to labour more carefully. They look'd on the Soldiery as their Patrons; they were ever in their Company, complying with their Excesses; and if they were not much wrong'd, they rather led them into them, than check'd them for them. Dalziel himself, and his Officers, were so disgusted with them, that they encreas'd the Complaints, which had now more Credit from them, than from those of the Country, who were look'd on as their Enemies. Things of so strange a Pitch in Vice were told of them, that they seem'd scarce credible. What a fine Change the Scots Bishops made since the Restoration in the Ministry of the Gospel!

A.D. 1675

Proclamation against Coffee-houses.

1676.

Scotland.

Scots Priests ill Character.

Worse than the Dracons.

Members of the House of Commons in the publick Interest.

I mention

A.D. 1676 I mention not the Treaty of Accommodation between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Parties in Scotland, in the Year 1669, because it succeeded not; nor the Project of Union between the two Kingdoms, for the same Reason. The turning out of *Burnet*, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and putting the pious *Leighton* into his *See*, might have produc'd good Effects in that Part of Scotland, had the *Kirk-men* been ever so little dispos'd to moderate Compliances; but they generally look'd upon themselves as under the Obligation of the *Covenant*, from whence they cou'd not deviate without Sin; to which, whatever they had, 'tis plain their Opponents had no Regard; for such a Crew was never thrust into any Church or Temple, as the *Scots* Curates were, whom the *Scots* Bishops brought along with them into that Protestant Church. But instead of the *Comprehension*, which holy *Leighton* desir'd, there were still severer Acts pass'd by the Government; and besides the arbitrary Fines put on those who did not come to hear those vitious Curates, Conversions were made by Dragoons, in Imitation of the *French* King's military Missions. There was an Act pass'd in the Year 1670, making all Field-Meetings Treason: Though half of the Parliament abhor'd the Act, yet so abject were they in their Submissions to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, who manag'd all things, that only the young Earl of *Cassilis* voted in the Negative. Some Ministers took our Licences from the Bishop of the Diocess, to preach under the before-mention'd Restrictions; one of which was so contrary to the Principles of Presbytery, that the most zealous and religious *Kirk-men* cou'd not comply; and they, and their Pastors, met to worship God in the Fields. The Presbyterians were for a while cajol'd, in order to bring them to accept of the pretended *Indulgence* granted by a dispensing Power in Scotland, as in *England*, but few were drawn in by it. Those that refus'd the Licences were now call'd *Whiggs*, some say, *the Whiggs*, from a Drink compos'd of Water and soure Milk, us'd by the meaner Sort of People; and were represented to his Majesty as a Party who were not to be suffer'd in any Government, but ought to be rooted off from the Face of the Earth. They were look'd on as Rebels, and if they wou'd meet to worship God, it must be in a Body, and in Arms, their Enemies being every where ready to cut them to pieces. Their *Field-Assemblies* were the *Field-Conventicles*, so much rail'd at by such as knew nothing of them; nor that they were only Religious Assemblies, hateful to none but Men of no Religion, or a Religion worse than none, which every Religion is, that renounces Charity and Mercy. The People who thus met in the Fields, were now term'd *Cameronians*, from one Mr. *Cameron*, whom my Author calls a zealous Assertor of the Sovereignty of Conscience over the *Laws of Men*: Words which have as much Truth in them as Spirit. Let us see what the same Author adds, "If the Persecution was cruel and furious before, it was now raging and unsufferable, carry'd on with such Madnes, and with such an unsatisfy'd Thirst of Blood, that I believe none of the *Heathen Persecutions* in the Primitive Times cou'd go beyond it in all its Parts. It is true, they did not immediately torment the Body by Fire, by Racks, and a vast variety of instrumental Torments; though they had Cruelty enough that Way too, as in those dreadful Engines of Barbarity, the *Boot* and the *Thumbkins*, than which a more exquisite Torture cou'd not easily be devis'd. But they had Torments beyond the Cruelty of Death, which they forc'd the poor persecuted Protestants to suffer, driving them from their

Persecution worse than Pagan.

"Dwellings into Mountains and Hills, into Dens, Holes, and Caves of the Earth, attended with unsufferable, insupportable Hunger and Cold, in a Climate the most unhospitable, and Places most barren and empty of Sustenance or Relief of any in these Parts of the World." The Horror is already too strong, and I cannot go through the rest of it; but when I consider by what Hands this Hellish Work was done, I am astonish'd, beyond Conception, that any Christian Senate shou'd have put it into their Power, or indeed have suffer'd such a merciless Blood-thirsty Generation to have had a Being or Countenance within their Jurisdiction. I shall close this Account of the barbarous Persecution, in the Words of the former Historian: "I have talk'd with many sober and judicious Persons, who then liv'd in that Part of the Country, and were Eye-witnesses to much of it. I find they all agree in this, that many Thousands of people perish'd under the violent Hands of these, besides those that were kill'd under Pretence of being in Rebellion. One Reverend Minister assur'd me, that taking in the People who dy'd in Prisons, and in Banishment, they had an Account of above 18,000 Persons, whose Blood these Persecutors have to account for, &c." By the before-mention'd Act, All Persons of what Quality, Age, Sex, or Sex whatsoever, were oblig'd to answer upon Oath, and depose all they knew of Field Meetings, and to answer the Questions that shou'd be ask'd them upon Oath; which Questions, the Officers and Dragoons were authoriz'd to put to them, and to use them at Discretion, if they were not satisfi'd with the Answers that were given them; in Consequence of which Power and Persecution, all these Horrors were committed. As to the Conferences between *Leighton* on one Side, and *Hutchinson* on the other, about Terms of Accommodation, mention'd at large by Bishop *Burnet*, I do not enter into the Particulars of it, under Conviction, that tho' *Leighton's* Design was doubtless very honest, yet there was no Thought of accommodating Matters in the other Bishops, who had the King's and the Commissioners Ear much more than *Leighton*. As to the Commissioner *Lauderdale*, he was such a Composition of Lewdness, Tyranny, Corruption, Dissimulation, and all Vices, that 'tis a Disgrace to History to have to do with him. We have seen what an Act he has pass'd in Scotland, and yet before he went to Scotland, he signify'd to Mr. *Baxter*, that there was a Purpose of taking off the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and all Impositions of Conformity there, save only that it shou'd be necessary to sit in Presbyteries and Synods with the Bishops and Moderators. *Lauderdale* inform'd him, he had the King's Consent to offer him what Place in Scotland he wou'd choose, either a Church or a Colledge in one of the Universities, or a Bishoprick; but he excus'd himself on account of Inter-disposition, and the Circumstances of his Family. After *Lauderdale* was in Scotland, Sir *Robert Murray*, a Man of great Worth, Learning, and Honour, sent Mr. *Baxter* the Frame of a Body of Church-Discipline for Scotland, and desir'd his Animadversions; which whoever will read in *Baxter's* Life at large, will not think *Hutchinson*, and the zealous Presbyterians so much to blame, as the Bishop of *Salisbury* represents them, in refusing *Leighton's* Propositions, which are most of them consider'd accidentally in those Animadversions. Some time after the passing of that Tyrannical Act against Field Meetings, *Lauderdale* return'd to London, where he stay'd till after the *French* Conquests in *Holland*; and when he came back to *Edinburgh*, he seem'd much lifted up with

A.D. 1676

Mem. Ch. Scot.

Dreadful Tyranny.

Mr. Baxter offer'd a Bishoprick.

A.D. 1676 with them, and talk'd of *De Wit's* Fate with fo much Pleasure, that it cou'd not be heard without Horror. He treated all People so scornfully, that his Behaviour was insufferable. He carry'd his Dutcheſs in a fort of Triumph about the Country with him, and he was every where receiv'd with as much Reſpect as if the King had been there in Perſon; which enrag'd the Nobility, and they made great Applications to Duke Hamilton to head a Party againſt him. His Wife behav'd as inſolently towards the Ladies and Gentlewomen, as he did towards the Lords and Gentlemen. He expected an Addreſs from the Presbyterians for a Toleration, as it was in England in the Year 1672; but, ſays my Lord of Sarum, *The Presbyterians underſtanding they were only to be made uſe of in order to the introducing of Popery, reſolv'd to be paſſive and ſilent.* Upon this he broke out into Fury and Rage againſt them. The Biſhop adds, *I viſited ſome of them in Priſon, and ſaw in them the blind Madneſs of ill ground'd Zeal;* which has as much Sophiſtry in it, as any of the Arguments us'd by Gunning, Morley, &c. If the Men were Mad, they were Mad, and conſequently blind with a Witneſs; if they were not Mad, but did really believe that the Solemn League and Covenant, which they had ſworn, oblig'd their Conſciences, and they cou'd not break it without Perjury, nor be perjur'd without endangering the Salvation of their Souls, there was no Blindneſs nor Madneſs in their Zeal, but a Sincerity and Warmth which may well enough paſs for Folly or Frenzy in Minds that gravitate eternally to the Centre of this World.

Biſhop Burnet answer'd.

Duke Lauderdale held a Parliament at Edinburgh in 1675; and Duke Hamilton, join'd by the Earls of Rothes, Tweeddale, Argyle, and other Principal Lords, fell immediately upon Grievances, which ſtruck Lauderdale as one dead; and he declar'd in the Privy-Council, that he had Power, and was ready to redreſs all the Grievances complain'd of. In the mean time, he referr'd the Complaints to the Lords of the Articles, as the Words of an Act impower'd him to do. And thoſe Lords who were to prepare Things for the Parliament, being moſtly of the King's making, the Matter was kept in Suſpence by the Prerogative, though in Truth thoſe Lords were only a Committee of Parliament, to put Motions into the Form of Acts, the Parliament having ſtill an entire Authority to examine into the State of the Nation.

The Houſe of Commons in England fell upon Lauderdale for his evil Counſels, and enquir'd, as far as it concern'd the Safety of England, inro his Conduct in Scotland. During theſe Enquiries, the King wrote to Duke Hamilton to come up to London; and when he and Lord Tweeddale arriv'd at Court, they were ſo well receiv'd, that they hop'd to carry their Point againſt Lauderdale: But the King's Deſign in it was to make the Houſe of Commons believe he wou'd part with Lauderdale, if they wou'd give him Money, and employ thoſe other two Lords; in which they and the Scots Nation being diſappointed, it enrag'd a violent Party ſo much, that Propoſitions were offer'd for deſtroying Lauderdale and his Adherents, but it was rejected with Abhorrence. The Duke of Lauderdale ſtood his Ground at Court, notwithstanding the Houſe of Commons addreſs'd againſt him. Biſhop Burnet informs us, that he ſet up himſelf as a Champion for the Church of England, though, as the Duke of York ſaid of him, *He wou'd do any thing to ſave himſelf.* He brought Sharp with him to London, who went about aſſuring all People, *That the Party ſet up in Scotland againſt Lauderdale, was likewiſe ſet againſt the Church.* Which, to uſe my

Sharp makes Lauderdale the Church.

Lord of Sarum's Words, was notoriously falſe; and I obſerve whenever that ſame Sharp is mention'd in his Lordſhip's Hiſtory, there is almoſt always ſomething coming very falſe and very wicked.

A.D. 1676

His Falſhood and Wickedneſs.

Lord Kincardin coming to Court, wou'd have given the King ſome further Light into Lauderdale's ill Government, but it was a String his Maſteſty wou'd not ſuffer to be touch'd: That Flatterer having not only ſaid at the Council-Board, *That his Edicts were Laws,* but told the King, *There was a Spirit of Rebellion that ran through all Sorts of People, and it muſt be ſubdu'd by Acts of Power, tho' neither legal nor juſt.* The Man who ſaid it dy'd in his Bed. Lauderdale demand'd of the King, that Kincardin ſhou'd be ſent Home: His Maſteſty reply'd, *He ſaw no Reaſon for it, and wou'd not do it.* Upon which he goes to his Apartment, and fell into a Fit of Diſtraction, gather'd up all his Commiſſions and Papers, and was about carrying 'em to the King. But the Marqueſs of Athol went to his Maſteſty, and told him, *He had ſent Duke Lauderdale Home half mad,* and begg'd his Maſteſty to take Pity upon him: So the Earl of Kincardin was order'd down to Scotland. What a Genius for Government had this Monarch, who uſes a good Subject ill to humour a Sycophant loaden with the Curſes of all honeſt Men in the three Kingdoms?

Affairs in Ireland went not better than in England and Scotland: When the Source is corrupted, let the Stream divide itſelf into ever ſo many Branches, they will all participate of the original Corruption. That buſy Agent for the Iriſh Rebels, Richard Talbot, in 1671, deliver'd a Petition to the King for a Re-heating of the former Judgments againſt the Papists, many of whom had been diſpoſſeſs'd of their Lands by the Act of Settlement; at which the Houſe of Commons in England taking Offence, Talbot's Agency and boaſted Intereſt prov'd very inſignificant.

We have mention'd the Earl of Effex's being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, of whom we read thus in Biſhop Burnet's Memoirs. He cou'd never underſtand how he came to be rais'd to that Poſt, for he had never pretended to it; and he was a violent Enemy to Popery, not ſo much from any fix'd Principle in Religion, in which, ſays the Biſhop, *he was too looſe, as becauſe he look'd on it as an Invaſion made on the Freedom of humane Nature.* In his Government of Ireland he exceeded all that had gone before him, and is ſtill Effex's confider'd as a Pattern to all that came after him. He ſtudy'd to underſtand exactly well the Conſtitution and Intereſt of the Nation: He read over all their Council-Books, and made large Abſtracts out of them to guide him, ſo as to advance every thing that had been at any time ſet on Foot for the Good of the Kingdom. He made ſeveral Volumes of Tables of the Eſtates and Perſons that were in every County and Town, and got true Characters of all that were capable to ſerve the Publick. He prefer'd Men always for their Merit, without any Application from themſelves; and watch'd over all about him, that there ſhou'd be no Bribes going among his Servants.

The Revenue of Ireland was then in the Earl of Ranelagh's Management, one of the ableſt Men that Iſland had bred, capable of all Affairs, even in the miſt of a looſe Run of Pleaſure. He had undertaken to furniſh the King with Money for the building of Windſor, out of the Revenue of Ireland; and it was believ'd the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth had a great yearly Penſion out of his Office. By this Means Payments in Ireland were not regularly made, of which the Earl of Effex complain'd. The King wou'd not own however, how much he had of Lord Ranelagh, but prefs'd Lord Effex to paſs his Accounts,

A. D. 1676 counts. My Lord *Essex* reply'd, *I cannot pass 'em as Accomps; but if the King will forgive Lord Ranelagh, I will pass a Discharge, but not an ill Accompt.* His Majesty was not pleas'd with this, nor with his Exactness in that Government, it reproach'd his own too much. It was not an uncommon Thing for this King to cheat himself, that is, take a small Sum for his Privy-Purse to defraud the *Exchequer*; for what was carry'd thither was not so easily to be manag'd as what he had in his Pocket. A Courtier being apply'd to by the *East-India* Company only to have a Word or two alter'd in their Charter, begg'd it of the King, representing it as a small Business, that he might get something by it. His Majesty ask'd him what he was to have for it. The Courtier reply'd, *Ten thousand Pounds.* God's-fish, cry'd the King, *'tis too little; 'tis worth Twenty thousand Pounds, Half mine, Half thine.* The Business was done, and the Money divided accordingly. The Earl of *Essex* telling Bishop *Burnet* a Story like it relating to *Ireland*, put me in Mind of this, which I had from a Person concern'd in it. Secretary *Coventry* told the Earl of *Essex*, that there was once a *Plantation* Cause at the Council-Board, which the King espous'd so openly, he was troubled to see it, and told him secretly, *'Twas a very bad Cause which he was supporting.* The King answer'd him, *But I have good Money for doing it.*

King
cheats
himself.

Sir J. B.

About this Time 1675, there was a Proposition made for farming the Revenue of *Ireland*. The Lord *Danby* seem'd sometime to favour one Set of Men, who offer'd to farm it, but on a sudden, he turn'd to another. The Secret of this broke out, and that he was to have great Advantages by the second Proposition. The Matter was brought to the Council Table, and some were examin'd upon Oath. Lord *Widdrington* confess'd he had made an Offer of a round Sum to Lord *Danby*, which was not accepted. Lord *Hallifax* observ'd, that the Lord Treasurer had reject'd that Offer very mildly, but not so as to discourage a second Attempt, adding, *It would be somewhat strange if a Man shou'd ask the Use of another Man's Wife, and if the other shou'd indeed refuse it, but with great Civility.* So far we have copy'd Bishop *Burnet's* Memoirs. But in others we find that the Person employ'd in this Farm was one *Thomas Sheridan*, who having been bred in *Trinity* College in *Dublin*, and being in Deacon's Orders, left very fair Hopes of rising in the Church to be Collector of *Cork* in *Ireland*. A Post procur'd him, as it was suppos'd, by a *Popish* Interest, as being a proper Station for him to receive Intelligence from abroad, which he cou'd easily hand about to the *Irish* Papists at home. The Farmers were then *London* Brewers, and being wealthy, moderate Citizens, were call'd the *Fanatick* Farmers, whose Time of Farm being expir'd, the *Papists* put in for it, by Lord *Widdrington* first, and afterwards by this *Sheridan*, who coming from *Ireland* just before the *London* Brewers Farm was out, fell in with *Coleman*, and by his Means with the Duke of *York*, and was ever after an active Tool for his Faction: However, he was not suffer'd to throw off the Mask at once. He continu'd in Appearance so good a *Protestant*, that he was thought a *Presbyterian*, and being not well enough known in *London*, *Muschamp*, one of the old Farmers, and Sir *J. S.* another of them, and a greater Projector, had the Conduct of the Affair. These apply'd to Sir *William Petty*, a Man of a large Estate in *Ireland*, and so willing to encrease it, that he was not over-nice in the Methods of doing it. Sir *W. P.* engaging in it, *Sheridan* acquainted the Duke and *Coleman* with

A. D. 1676 it; and one *Ryder*, a young Man who had 20,000 Pounds of his own and his Sister's Fortune, was drawn in to embrace it; so there was Money and Sir *W. Petty's* Credit ready for them to set the Project on Foot. The Earl of *Essex* had Intelligence from Court, and some Spies of the *Popish* Clergy in *Ireland*, that the Project of the Farm was only Part of the Design to get him remov'd; so he obtain'd Leave to come to Court, and left the Lord Primate and the Lord *Granard* Justices in his Absence, and tho' the new Farmers carry'd their Scheme, yet he got so far into the good Graces of the Duke of *Tork*, to whom he made assiduous Court, that he was permitted to return Lord Lieutenant to *Ireland*, and very happily prevented the Machinations of the *Irish* taking Effect so soon as was intended. These were some Incidents whose Springs appear not in the common History, as *Lechard* calls all Histories but his own, which is, I must confess, the most uncommon one that ever was written by Historiographer; but in his and other such Pieces one may find the Address of the Parliament of *England* concerning the Grievances in *Ireland* about a Year after the Earl of *Essex* went over Lord Lieutenant; and it is not to be doubted but his Lordship, by his Friends in *England*, furnish'd some of the Materials for it, which sufficiently set forth the Contrivances of the Papists to introduce Tyranny and Poperly in *Ireland*. It specifies the great Calamities which had befallen the Protestants in that Kingdom from the *Papists*, profess'd Enemies to their Religion and the *English* Interest; how they abuse his Majesty's Clemency, and are become more insolent and presumptuous than formerly, to the apparent Danger of that Kingdom, and his Majesty's Protestant Subjects there; the Consequence of which may prove very fatal to *England*, if not timely prevented. In order to which the Parliament in all Humility present his Majesty with these Petitions; "That for establishing and quieting the Possessions of his Majesty's Subjects in that Kingdom, his Majesty wou'd be pleas'd to maintain the Act of Settlement, and Explanatory Act thereupon, and to recal the Commission of Enquiry into Irish Affairs, bearing Date the 17th Day of January, 1671-2, as containing many new and extraordinary Powers, not only to the Prejudice of particular Persons, whose Estates and Titles are thereby made liable to be question'd, but in a Manner to the Overthrow of the Act of Settlement; and if pursu'd, may be the Occasion of great Charge and Attendance to many of your Subjects in *Ireland*, and shake the Peace and Security of the whole. 2. That your Majesty will give Order that no *Papist* be either continu'd, or be hereafter admitted to be Judges, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Coroners, or Mayors, Sovereigns or Portreeves in the Kingdom. 3. That the Titular *Popish* Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Abbots, and all other exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by the Pope's Authority, and in particular *Peter Talbot*, pretended Archbishop of *Dublin*, for his notorious Disloyalty to your Majesty, and Disobedience and Contempt of your Laws, may be commanded by Proclamation forthwith to depart out of *Ireland*, and all other your Majesty's Dominions, or otherwise to be prosecuted according to Law. And that all Convents, Seminaries, and publick *Popish* Schools may be dissolv'd and suppress'd, and the regular Priests commanded to depart under the like Penalties. 4. That no *Irish* *Papist* be admitted to inhabit in any Corporation in that Kingdom, unless duly licens'd according to the aforesaid Act of Settlement; and that your Majesty wou'd be pleas'd

" to

A.D. 1676 " to recall your Letters of the 26th of February, 1671-2, and your Proclamation thereupon, whereby general Licence is given such Papists as inhabit in Corporations there. 5. That your Majesty's Letters of the 28th of September, 1672, and the Order of Council thereupon, whereby your Subjects are requir'd not to prosecute any Actions against the IRISH, for any Wrongs or Injuries committed during the late Rebellion, may likewise be recall'd. 6. That Col. Richard Talbot, who hath notoriously assum'd to himself the Title of Agent for the Roman Catholics in Ireland, be immediately dismiss'd out of all Command, either Civil or Military, and forbid any Access to your Majesty's Court. 7. That your Majesty wou'd be pleas'd from Time to Time, out of your Princely Wisdom, to give such further Orders and Directions to the Lord Lieutenant, as may best conduce to the Encouragement of the English Planters, and Protestant Interest, and the Suppression of the Infolencies and Disorders of the Irish Papists there — *These our humble Desires we present to your Majesty, as the best Means to preserve the Peace and Safety of that your Kingdom, which hath been so much of late in Danger from the Practices of the said Irish Papists, and particularly of the said Richard and Peter Talbot.*" All the Answer to this very reasonable Address was, *That he wou'd before the next Meeting of Parliament take such effectual Care, that no Man shou'd have Reason to complain:* Which was leaving Matters just as they were; and so we shall certainly find them, when we visit that Kingdom again; and besides all this, there was an Order sent to the Lord Lieutenant in 1672, to dispense with the Papists wearing Arms.

Such are the Happineses of the glorious Reign we are writing of; they are dispens'd with so equal a Hand over the three Kingdoms, that it is indeed difficult to determine which was most happy.

In England very little is to be done by the Ministry this Year, and not much more abroad by her Ambassadors, Mediators at Nimeguen, where the Plenipotentiaries had Leisure enough to amuse themselves with all Kinds of Diversions; for none of the Parties seem'd very forward to treat. The Confederates were in Hopes to draw in the King of England, and thereby procure at least better Terms of France; and the King of England was all the while in full Pension from the French King, which he cou'd not live without as long as he liv'd without a Parliament, and both the Monarchs knew well enough how the English Nation were inclin'd. The Pension was 1,200,000 Crowns a Year, of which 600,000 Crowns were paid down, and 600,000 Crowns by way of Donative; and in case of Rebellion, it was to be augmented to 12 Millions of Livres a Year; and 25 Millions of Livres were bid by the Court of France for the Princess Mary, the Duke's eldest Daughter. There was a Fund of 20 Millions assign'd by the French King for these three Kingdoms, out of which sometimes the King, sometimes the Duke, sometimes the Ministers, and sometimes the Leaders of Parties, had Donatives, according as the French Ambassador and French Emilaries represented the State of Affairs. Four, six and eight Millions of Livres have been yearly remitted from France to Scotland and Ireland. The French were fortunate, and cou'd the better afford to pay. Lewis XIV. began the Campaign in Person with the Siege of Conde, and finish'd it with that of Bouchain about the latter End of May. Those two small Towns having crown'd him with fresh Laurels, he hasten'd back

A.D. 1676 to Paris, leaving the Command of his Army in the Netherlands to Marechal Schomberg, who took Aire, and march'd to the Relief of Maestrich, besieg'd by the Prince of Orange, who not being join'd as he expected by the Forces of Munster and Lunenburg, and having a sick Army before the Place, thought fit not to engage the Enemy at such a Disadvantage, and rais'd the Siege. About the Beginning of this Year the Dutcheffs of Mazarine arriv'd in England from Savoy, where she had liv'd two or three Years with her Sister, Wife of the Constable de Colonna, who had left her Husband, as the Dutcheffs of Mazarine had left hers. They were both Nieces to Cardinal Mazarine, Daughters of his Sister Hieronima Mazarini Mancini, who was Aunt to Mary d'Este, Dutcheffs of York. King Charles wou'd feign have marry'd Hortensia Mazarini Mancini, now Dutcheffs of Mazarine, when he was in Exile; but the Cardinal wou'd not hear of it, in such Fear was he of Cromwel and the Common-wealth. The Marquess of Ormond made the Proposal to the Cardinal while the King was turning Papist at Fontarabia; but Mazarine rejected it: Yet after the Restoration he wou'd have set a Marriage-Treaty on Foot, and prevail'd with the Queen-Mother of England to undertake it, under Pretence of congratulating her Son upon his being restor'd. She had a Commission to offer him twenty Millions of Livres Portion with Hortensia Mancini; but he was a King of three Kingdoms, and had Ladies enough at his Devotion. Monsieur St. Evremond mentions this Treaty in the Funeral Oration for Madame de Mazarine. When the latter arriv'd in England, she was in the Zenith of her Charms, and the Dutcheffs of Portsmouth grown sickly; by which Means Mazarine began to gain very much upon the King; but she was far from being a prudent, or faithful Mistress. The Prince of Monaco coming to the Court of England in the Bloom and Vigour of Youth, she cast her Eye upon him as much as he did upon her. Monsieur St. Evremond saw it immediately, and fearing she might not only lose the King, but the 4000 Pounds a Year Pension he allow'd her, us'd all the Force of his Reason and Eloquence to dissuade her from any Gallantry with the Prince of Monaco; which it seems was quite contrary to the Design of those who were Instruments of bringing her into England, as we read in the Life of Monsieur de St. Evremond. The Duke of Buckingham put the Dutcheffs of Portsmouth upon King Charles II. to out the Dutcheffs of Cleaveland; and the present Ministry got over the Dutcheffs of Mazarine to out the Dutcheffs of Portsmouth. Let us see how the French Author runs in English: " I have already spoken of the Power the Dutcheffs of Portsmouth had over King Charles, whose natural Indolence, and his Love of Women, deliver'd him up to his Mistresses, and Madam de Portsmouth was the Favourite Mistress; she govern'd him as she was instructed by the Court of France. It is a Frenchman who writes thus, and who makes a better Judgment of this King and his Government, than all our Compleat Historians, who are so dazzled with his Majesty's Zeal for the Church, that they have no Eyes for his Vices and Weaknesses." The King of England forgetting the true Interest of his Kingdom, and even his own Interest, became shamefully a Pensioner of Lewis XIV. The Friends to Liberty were turn'd out of all Employments, and excluded the Management of Affairs, which put them upon several Contrivances to deliver their Country from such an infamous Bargain and Sale: All which not succeeding, they at last consider'd that the only Way

Dutcheffs of Mazarine comes to England.

The King wou'd have marry'd her.

p. 171.

King Charles govern'd as France wou'd have him.

A.D. 1676 " Way wou'd be to disgrace the Dutchess of
 " *Portsmouth*, and to put in her Place another
 " Woman, in whom they might confide. They
 " cast their Eyes on the Dutchess of *Mazarine*,
 " who was superior to *Portsmouth* both in Beau-
 " ty and Wit." It is to be suppos'd, that Mon-
 " sieur St. *Evremond* had a Hand in the Contrivance,
 " and that he was on that Account the more sollicitous
 " for her keeping her Ground at Court; but her Fondness
 " for *Monaco* disgusted the King, who took away her
 " Pension, which however was restor'd to her not long
 " after, and her House near St. *James's* was the Rendezvous
 " of all the Men of Letters and Pleasure to the Day
 " of her Death. She brought over with her the celebrated
 " Abbot de St. *Real*, whose Works are in such Esteem
 " with the Ingenious.

This Digression is the less Impertinent, for that it gives one a very good Idea of the Happiness of our Church to have such a Head, and of our Kingdom to have such a King.

Sir William Temple complies with a French Interest.

One may perceive, that as well vers'd as Sir *William Temple* was in Negotiations, and as well as he was dispos'd to the publick Interest, yet he gave up sometimes his own Judgment to his Master's, or rather to his Master's Pleasure, and was as forward in promoting a separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*, as King *Charles* could desire. He went so far, as to tell the Prince of *Orange*, he knew not a Man in *Holland*, who was not of his Mind; Yes, reply'd his Highness, I am sure I know One, and that is my Self, and I'll hinder it as long as I can, but if any thing should happen to me, I know it would be done in two Days. Sir *William Temple*, who was as polite as able, maintain'd his Master's Character, and the Ceremonial, with great Punctilio and Elegance; but his Mediation was little heeded by the Confederates, who were too wise not to observe that King *Charles* waited for Opportunities, rather to do them ill Offices than good, or indeed equal Offices. Sir *William* urging the Necessity of a separate Peace from the dilatory Proceedings of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, the Prince of *Orange* said, The Appearances are very ill for the next Campaign, but Campaigns do not always end as they begin, that Accidents may happen, which no Man can foresee, and if we come to one fair Battle, none can answer for the Event. The Hero still, and how unlike his Uncle does he talk? The King of *England* may make a Peace when he pleases, before it begins, but if he is so indifferent as to let that Season pass, for my Part, I am oblig'd to go on and take my Fortune. I this very Morning saw a poor old Man tugging alone in his little Boat, with his Oar against the Eddy of a Stream, upon a Canal, and when with the last Effort, he was just got up to the Place intended, the Force of the Eddy carry'd him quite back again, and thus three or four Times, while I saw him. This old Man's Business and mine are too like one another; however, we ought to do just as the old Man did, without knowing what will succeed, any more than what did in the poor Man's Case.

The Business of the *Stuartine* Princes, was generally done by Proclamations, which were minded or not minded, according as the Court were inclin'd: Two were at this Time publish'd, one against *English* Officers and Seamen entering into Foreign Services; another against the committing Acts of Hostility, under the Protection of the *English* Coasts and Ports, in which the *French* were not only insolent against the *Dutch*, with whom they were in War, but against the *English* themselves, with whom they pretended to be in Peace, and it is suppos'd they endamag'd the *English* Merchants much more by their Cap-

French rob the English at Sea.

A.D. 1676 tures, than the Amount of King *Charles's* Pension came to, which was little consider'd by him or his Ministers, 'till at last a loud and general Clamour reach'd their Ears, and they were forc'd to do something towards satisfying the injur'd People.

The Merchants of *London* presented a Petition to the King and Council, in *May* this Year, concerning the Ships taken by *French Privateers*; wherein they complain'd, 1. That the Delay and Charge of prosecuting the Law in *France*, does commonly make the Owners become Losers of half the Value, whenever they are most successful. 2. That there's no Reparation ever gotten from *Privateers* for what they plunder and imbezzele, which makes them freely seize upon all they meet; and perpetually molest the *English* Navigation.

Upon Complaint of this Grievance in the *French* Court, the Method of Redress prov'd a new Oppression; for Sir *Ellis Leighton*, Secretary to the Lord *Berkley*, the *English* Ambassador in the Court of *France*, being appointed to sollicite there the Restitution of the *English* Ships, was as great a Villain as his Brother the Archbishop was a Saint, and behav'd so corruptly in his Negotiation, by receiving Bribes, and making Bargains for Restitutions, that the *English* Merchants were discourag'd in their Applications for Reparation of Damages. Being convicted of this Villainy, he was sent for home and examin'd; 'twas intended to prosecute him, but he kept out of the Way, and the Search for him was not over diligent. When he was under Examination, he was so impudent as to say, He wonder'd how these Merchants dar'd to speak any thing against the greatest King in Europe, as the King of *France* was! The Council heard him with Indignation, and he was order'd to be committed when caught. The Merchants Petition being refer'd to the Lords Committee of Trade, they gave it as their Opinion, That his Majesty had just Occasion from the Injuries pass'd, and those which are now depending, and which do every Day encrease, to make a very serious Representation of all unto his most Christian Majesty, and not only press for some better Method of repairing the Grievances mention'd, but earnestly to insist on the Calling in of all *Privateers*, or else your Majesty must do Right, and give Defence to your Subjects from all the Insolencies which they so frequently meet. Sign'd by *Finch*, *Anglesey*, *Bridgewater*, *Bath*, *Craven*, *H. Coventry*, *G. Carteret*, *J. Ernie*.

The Ships and Cargoes were said to be worth near a Million Sterling. I have a List of the Ships and their Owners, as the *St. John*, *John St. John* Master, belonging to the Earl of *Bolingbroke*, the *Sherrard* of *Boston*, to the Lord *Sherrard*, the *Lady of Virginia*, to Sir *Arthur Ingram*, the *Oak* to Sir *John Frederick*, &c. some of which were taken with this insolent Circumstance, Go tell your King of it.

Secretary *Coventry* was upon this order'd to transmit a Copy of the Report of the Lords Committees of Trade to the *English* Ambassador in *France*, and to attend the *French* Ambassador in *England* with it likewise, that the Evils complain'd of may be redress'd. Instead of which, *Marvel* tells us, the *French* *Picaroons* continu'd to murder, plunder and confiscate *English* Merchants, their Ships and Cargoes, 'till the Time of the Parliaments sitting, insomuch that it was doubted whether the Ministers were not Complices in the Matter: " And yet all this while, that they made these intolerable and barbarous Piracies and Depredations upon his Majesty's Subjects, they were from *England* more diligently than ever supply'd with Recruits, and those that wou'd go voluntarily into the *French* Service

A.D. 1676 " Service were encourag'd, others that would not, pref'd, imprison'd, and carry'd over by main Force, and constrain'd; even as the Parliament here was ready to sit down, notwithstanding all their former frequent Applications to the contrary; and his Majesty's Magazines were daily empty'd to furnish the *French* with all Sorts of Ammunition, &c." while the King was, by his Ministers, acting the Part of Mediator between *France* and the Confederates.

Echard and the *Compleat Historians* remember how the King was allarm'd at the Growth of *Poper*y, and order'd the Secretaries of State to let foreign Ambassadors know, that he will not have Masses said, nor Sermons preach'd in *English* in their Houses or Chappels; which Farce was as often play'd, as there was a Game to play, but was the Subject of Ridicule to all sober thinking People of whatever Denomination.

I must, for my Part, own, that every Thing in this Administration appears to me so base and dishonourable, that I cannot with Pleasure dwell on the Decorations of it, by Promotions and Preferments, but the *Compleat Historian* and *Echard* speak of them, as if they had been the Reward of Merit and Virtue, in virtuous and worthy Times.

Dr. *Blandford* dying, Dr. *James Fleetwood* is made Bishop of *Worcester*. I will repeat the *Compleat Historian's* Words, that the Reader may see what Materials he picks up for his important History.

" On Sunday the 29th of August, his Lordship elect was consecrated in St. Peter's Church in Broadstreet, London, by the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Rochester, his Grace of Canterbury's Commissioner for that Purpose, being assisted by the Bishops of Ely, Chichester and Lincoln. And after the Performance and Solemnity, their Lordships, with many of the Nobility, and other Persons of Quality, were entertain'd at Drapers-Hall." Where will you meet with such Passages in *Thucydides*, or *Livy*, and what a Fund of Curiosity must a Man have to be entertain'd with them?

On the Death of Dr. *Henckman*, Dr. *Compton* was made Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Fell*, Bishop of *Oxford*, and the two Sheriffs of *London*, *John Peak* and *Thomas Stamp* were Knighted. The King and Queen, the Duke and Dutchess of *York*, the Lady *Mary*, and Lady *Ann*, din'd at Guild-Hall on the Lord Mayor's Day; and Sir *Edward Walker* being dead, Sir *Thomas Doleman* was made Clerk of the Council, and the Bishop of *Durham*, a Privy-Counsellor. I own my self indebted for these Events, to Mr. Archdeacon and the *Compleat Historian*: To the latter, I owe what follows of the *Case of the Dissenters* this Year, which for its Ingenuity and Truth deserves Remembrance. " The Dissenters had now some Advantage of improving in popular Reputation, by being generally averse to the Measures conducing to *Poper*y, and the Grandeur of *France*, and by falling in with those Patriots in both Houses of Parliament, who seem'd most zealous in the Love and Service of their Country." So far has the Truth prevail'd, and a Confession of their Deserts is extorted, but then comes, *And yet their own History has little to boast of, but the Prosecution of some of their Teachers, and a Story of Judgments upon some of the Informers.* Never were two Monosyllables guilty of so much Nonsense as his *And yet*. The *Dissenters* boasted not of their Love to their Country, to the Protestant Religion and Liberty, and yet they boasted of being beggar'd and jail'd, which indeed was the very Boast of their Enemies, who jail'd them and beggar'd them, *and yet here* is intended, for

some of that awkward Raillery which we meet with in *Fable*: 'Tis a Pretence to Mirth without Wit, and History without Fact. He tells us then a Story of thirteen Bishops, and Sir *Nathaniel Hern*, Sheriff of *London*, which he took from *Baxter*, where he might have learn'd better, if he had thought it possible for any one to teach him. He had seen in *Baxter's Life*, what a Crew of Rascals and Scoundrels, Justices and Informers were set to work to ruin dissenting Ministers and People; such Justices as *Ross of Brentford*, *Phillips*, Archbishop *Sheldon's* Man, *Starling*, *Sheldon*, *Davis* of *London*, *Parry*, one of the Ruffians who slit Sir *John Coventry's* Nose, made a Justice for this *Drudgery*, *Grey*, Sir *Philip Matthews*, &c. such Informers as *Keling*, *Marshall* and *Strowd*, Fellows possess'd with so many Devils, the Horrors of their Consciences, that the Fate of the Swine would have been a Blessing to them; yet how tenderly does the *Compleat Historian* speak of them?

On the 15th of *February* the Parliament met, and great were the Expectations of the People of all Religions and Parties. There had been a warm Argument without Doors, concerning the Validity of the intended Session; some arguing that by the antient Laws of *England*, the Parliament was dissolv'd by so long a Prorogation, as fifteen Months: This was argu'd within Doors, as soon as the Session was open'd, which I shall give an Account of in Mr. *Marvel's* Words.

" His Majesty demanded of the Parliament, *Debates* in his Speech, a Supply for building of Ships, about the " and the further Continuance of the additional Being of " Excise upon Beer and Ale, which was to expire the Parlia- " the 24th of June, 1677, and recommended ear- ment. " nestly a good Correspondence between the two " Houses, representing their last Differences, as " the Reason of so long a Prorogation, to allay " them." After this, The Lord Chancellor, says *Echard*, made a long and eloquent Speech, the greatest Part of which seems necessary to be remember'd; and knowing what a good Judge he is of such Eloquence, and such Necessity, I lay him and the Chancellor's Speech aside, to see what *Marvel* writes of them both. " The Lord " Chancellor, as is usual with him, spoil'd all " which the King had said so well, with strain- " ing to do it better; for indeed the Mischances Lord " of all the Sessions, since he had the Seals, may *Chancellor* " in great Part be ascrib'd to his indiscreet and *Finch's* " unlucky Eloquence, and had not the Lord *Eloquence* " Treasurer a far more effectual Way of Perswa- *unlucky* " sion with the Commons, who were in *Pen-* *and in-* " sion, there had been the same Danger of the ill *discreet.* " Success of this Meeting, as of those formerly."

Each House being now seated, the Case of this long Prorogation had taken Place so far without Doors, and was of that Consequence to the Constitution of all Parliaments, and the Validity of all Proceedings in this Session, that even the Commons, tho' much against their Wills, cou'd not pass it by, but they handled it so tenderly, as if they were afraid to touch it.

The first Day, instead of the Question whether the Parliament were by this unprecedented Prorogation indeed dissolv'd, it was propos'd, something ridiculously, says *Marvel*, whether this Prorogation were not an Adjournment? and this Debate too they adjourn'd till next Day, and from thence till a longer time, when those who had propos'd it, before they would enter upon the Debate, ask'd, whether they might have Liberty? As if that had not been more than imply'd before, by adjourning the Debate, and as if Freedom of Speech was not a Concession of Right, which the King grants at the first Opening of all Parliaments; but by this Faintness, they taught the House to deny them

A.D. 1677 them it, and the Matter was wrapp'd up in a cleanly Question, *Whether their Grand Committees shou'd sit?* Which involving the Legitimacy of the Houses sitting, was carry'd in the Affirmative. But it went otherwise in the Lords House, where the Duke of Buckingham argu'd by all the Laws of Parliament, and with great Strength of Reason, that this Prorogation was Null, and this Parliament consequently dissolv'd; offering to maintain it to all the Judges, and desiring, as had been usual in such Cases, but wou'd not here be admitted, that even *They* might give their Opinions. My Lord Fretchville cry'd out, *To the Bar*, the only Argument he was capable of expressing, which was oppos'd by the Earl of Salisbury, with the Height of *Cecilian* Courage and Reason, and the Duke of Buckingham's Proposal asserted. Then Lord Arundel of *Treice* cry'd out, *To the Bar*, but that was not minded; and the Courtiers of the House of Commons brought up Advice every Moment, that the Matter was yet in Agitation among them; by which means the Earl of Shaftsbury had Opportunity to appear with such extraordinary Vigour, both in what concern'd the Duke of Buckingham's Person, and his Proposal, that as the Duke of Buckingham might have stood single in any rational Contest, so the Earl of Shaftsbury was more properly another Principal. The Lord Chancellor, in answer, undertook to make the Prorogation look very formal, laying, says *Marvel*, the best Colours upon it, after his manner when Advocate, that the Cause wou'd bear. So that upon the Question, it was carry'd for the Prorogation; and the Court-Lords being thus flush'd, but not satisfy'd with their Victory, fell upon their Adversaries in cool Blood, questioning such as they thought fit that same Night, and the next Morning sentencing them; the Duke of Bucks, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Shaftsbury, and the Lord Wharton, to be committed to the Tower during his Majesty's and the House's Pleasure. The Duke of Buckingham finding how 'twas likely to go with them, slipp'd out of the House while the Earl of Anglesey was arguing against committing them. The House understanding he had withdrawn himself, were in a Rage, and intended to address the King for a Proclamation against him; but the Duke knowing it was only a Tower Business for a Week or two, wou'd not give them so much Trouble, and the next Day appear'd in his Place. The Court-Lords immediately cry'd out, *To the Bar*. The Duke, who had the happiest Way in the World to turn any thing serious into a Jest, and extricate himself out of Difficulties, rose up, and said, *I beg your Lordships Pardon for retiring the Night before: You very well know the exact Occasion I keep in my Family, and perceiving your Lordships intended I shou'd be some time in another Place, I only went Home to set my House in Order, and am now come to submit myself to your Lordship's Pleasure*; which was to send him to the Tower after the other three Lords. I have been told that the Earl of Shaftsbury, who was jealous of the Duke of Buckingham's setting himself up for the Head of his Party, us'd to speak slightly of him, as a Man that was inconstant, giddy, and had his Head full of Whimsies, suitable to the Character of him in *Absolom* and *Achitophel*; which the Duke was inform'd of, and resent'd. It happen'd that the Earl of Salisbury, the Lord Wharton, and himself, were discharg'd on their Submission, and only the Earl of Shaftsbury remain'd in the Tower. The Earl look'd out of Window as the Duke of Buckingham was taking Coach, and cry'd, *What, my Lord, are you going to leave us?* *Ay, my Lord*, says he, *such giddy-headed Fellows as I can never stay long in a Place.*

Duke of Buckingham speaks for the Dissolution,

and Lord Shaftsbury.

The Duke of Bucks, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Shaftsbury, and the Lord Wharton sent to the Tower.

Duke of Buckingham's Repartee to Shaftsbury.

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The sending these Lords to the Tower was reckon'd a very rash and unjustifiable Action. Lord Halifax said, *If an idle Motion was made, and check'd at first, he that made it might be censur'd for it, tho' it was seldom, if ever, to be practis'd in a Free Council, where every Man was not bound to be wise, nor to make an impertinent Motion.* But when the Motion was entertain'd, and the Debate follow'd, and a Question was put upon it, it was destructive to the Freedom of Publick Councils to call any one to account for it: *They might with the same Justice call them to account for their Debates and Votes; so that no Man was safe, unless he cou'd know where the Majority wou'd be.* Here wou'd be a Precedent to tip down so many Lords at a time, and garble the House, as often as any Party shou'd have a Majority. Upon this the House first order'd them to ask Pardon as Delinquents, which they refus'd. The Earl of Shaftsbury was the first who was call'd on, probably by the Management of the Lord Chancellor, who had succeeded him in the Chancery, with very unequal Merit, which naturally leads to Envy, and that to Injustice. King Charles himself had said of Lord Shaftsbury, when he had the Seals, *That King he had a Chancellor who knew as much Law as any of his Judges, and as much Divinity as any of his Bishops*; which was not the Lord Chancellor Finch's Character. The Earl of Shaftsbury desir'd he might have his Servants to wait on him in the Tower, and the first he nam'd was his Cook, as had been concerted with the Duke of Bucks; but Lord Wharton was too grave for so ludicrous a thing, which the King highly resent'd. These Lords were much visited in the Tower, and to put a Stop to it, they were made close Prisoners, not to be visited without Leave from the King, or the House; and particular Observations were made of all who ask'd Leave, which was much cry'd out against. The three Lords that were discharg'd lay there some Months, and got out by petitioning the King. Lord Shaftsbury wou'd not petition, but mov'd for a Discharge in the King's-Bench. The Ministry was not so weak as not to know who were fit Tools for the Work they had to do, and every Bench of Judges, Bishops, &c. were well supply'd with Persons who were ready to do whatever the Court requir'd of them. *Scroggs* the Chief Justice, and his Brethren, said, the Earl of Shaftsbury was committed by an Order of the House of Lords, which was a superior Court to them, and they cou'd not take Cognizance of the Matter. The Lord Treasurer *Danby* censur'd this Motion highly, as done in Contempt of the House of Lords, who were then under Prorogation: He threaten'd to make use of it against the Lord Shaftsbury next Session of Parliament, yet he himself was afterwards forc'd to make the same Motion at the King's-Bench Bar, and complain'd of the Injustice of that Court, for refusing to bail or discharge him; tho' in that they follow'd the Precedent, which at this Time was directed by himself.

Lord Halifax vindicates these Lords.

Saying in Praise of Lord Shaftsbury.

The Debate about the Dissolution had the Effect in the House of Commons which was foreseen, for that House was much inflam'd against Lord Shaftsbury and his Party; which being compos'd of moderate Church-men and Dissenters, has very much reconcil'd the Compleat Historian to this Session. The Commons voted 600,000 Pounds for building thirty Ships; however, a Clause was put in the Bill by the Country-Party, with Intent to lose it, which was, that the Money shou'd be accounted for to them, in hopes the Lords wou'd alter that Clause, and make it accountable to both Houses; which was done by the

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the Peers, and Conferences held upon it. The Lords thought that since they paid a Share of the Tax, it was not reasonable to exclude them from the Account. The Commons adher'd to their Clause, and the Bill was in great Danger of being lost; but some of the Tools just mention'd, being set to work to prevail with the Majority of the Peers, they receded. The Parliament continu'd the additional Excise three Years longer, but things did not go so swimmingly to the End of the Session; for the Progress of the French King's Arms in the *Netherlands* made such an Impression on the Parliament, that they wou'd not be contented without some Measures were taken by our Court to give a Check to them. *Valenciennes* being taken, and *St. Omer* in Danger, the Prince of *Orange* march'd thither, and too rashly ventur'd a Battel with the Duke of *Orleans*. Some Regiments of Marines, on whom the Prince depended much, basely ran away; yet the other Bodies fought so well, that he lost not much, besides the Honour of the Day. But *St. Omer* immediately capitulated, and *Cambray* soon after. Upon which Sir *William Coventry* open'd the Business in the House of Commons, and shew'd the Danger of all the *Spanish Netherlands* falling under the Power of *France*, which must end in the Ruin of the *United Provinces*, if a timely Stop was not put to the *French* Conquests. He demonstrated that the Interest of *England* made it necessary for the King to withdraw his *Mediation*, and enter into the Alliance against *France*. The whole House went into this: Great Complaints were made of the Regiments the King kept in the *French* Army, and of the great Service that was done by them. 'Tis true, the King suffer'd the *Dutch* to make Levies, but there was another sort of Encouragement given to the Levies for *France*, particularly in *Scotland*, where it look'd more like a *Press* than a *Levy*. They had not only the publick Goals given them to keep their Men in, but when the Goals were full, they had the Castle of *Edinburgh* assign'd them. Some of the *Presbyterians* taken at Meetings were deliver'd to the *French* Officers. The *Spanish* Ambassador complain'd of it, but the infamous *Lauderdale* kept up those Levies, notwithstanding a Proclamation to the contrary. The *Presbyterians*, and other Recruits, were hasten'd a-board before the Proclamation came down to *Scotland*; yet they were not fail'd then, and the Proclamation was conceal'd till they were fail'd: So apparently, says Bishop *Burnet*, was the Kingdom in a French Management.

Sir William Coventry's Speech for a War with France.

Scots Presbyterians sent into the French Service.

The House of Commons press'd the King, by repeated Addresses, to fall into the Interest of *Europe*, as well as into his own, which made him uneasy; and he sent them several angry Answers. For one must do this Justice to the *Stuartine* Princes, to observe, that though they were afraid to give any Foreigners an angry Word, they never wanted Courage to insult their Parliaments. His Majesty said, *Peace and War were undoubtedly Matters within his Prerogative, in which they ought not to meddle.* Which is every whit as whimsical, as if when a House is on Fire, and a Neighbour shou'd come to assist the Owner in putting of it out, he shou'd bid him *Hold his Tongue and his Hand, the House is his, and what has he to do with it?* tho' his Neighbour is sure to have the same Fate with his own. To talk of *Prerogative*, when the Enemy is at the Gates, argues as much want of Sense as Decency: 'Tis my Prerogative to ruin my self, if I think fit, and you too. And if the one cou'd have been done without the other, the Parliament wou'd have been in the wrong to have expos'd themselves to such ill Treatment for doing their Duty only. Bishop *Burnet* tells us,

"The King in common Discourse remember'd often the Parliament's engaging his Father and Grand-father in the Affairs of *Germany*, and to break the Match with *Spain*, which prov'd fatal to them; and he resolv'd not to be serv'd in such a manner." We hear very much of this King's Wit, but the Proofs of it are ever in Jest and Repartees. Cou'd he think to palm such Reasoning on Men who knew Fact and Argument? The Parliament wou'd have engag'd his Grand-father in War with the Emperor, if they had found him sincere in it, and had not squander'd away the Money they gave him for it on Minions and Flatterers. The Match with *Spain* was broken off only to make a worse Match with *France*, and that was the Ruin of his Father. He durst not tell the People that he was in *Pension*, that he took the *French* King's Money, and if he fell out with him shou'd have no more. 'Tis honestly, though not very elegantly said by a modern Author: "I cannot, my Lord, without some Reluctancy, think that a King, who for near twenty Years had had the greatest Opporunity of any of his Predecessors to make himself great both at Home and Abroad, shou'd fall to so abject a State, as to become a *French Pensioner*; which, without the Addition of any other Crime, is more than enough eternally to blast the Memory of an *English* Monarch."

S. J.

The King demanded 600,000 Pounds more than the Commons had given him, to enable him to enter into Alliances, which they had all the Reason in the World to think he did not intend, but to spend that Money, as he had spent the immense Sums already given him. His Phrase was, *To enable him to speak more effectually*; but the Parliament very justly distrust'd him, and the thing being unparliamentary, to give Money to maintain Alliances and Wars, before those Alliances or Wars are made, the other 600,000 Pounds was deny'd; upon which he dismiss'd them for five Weeks. On the 22d of *May* the Parliament met again, and great Debates arose about the Aversion of the Ministers to enter into Alliances against *France*; upon which the Parliament resolv'd on a vigorous Address, wherein they represent'd the *Purse and Power* of *France* to be too great to be contend'd with by this Nation singly; neither cou'd the *Dutch* withstand them, but both together might; and the Charges and Inconveniencies that wou'd fall on the Kingdom, if the *Dutch*, for want of timely Encouragement and Assistance shou'd make a separate Peace, wou'd be insupportable: And therefore they advis'd, and humbly pray'd his Majesty, to enter into a League Offensive and Defensive with the *Dutch*, and with others, against *France*, for saving the *Spanish Netherlands*, as the only Means to defend *Britain*: Assuring him, That the Sequel of such Alliance wou'd end in Safety, in regard his People were unanimous in the Cause; and they promis'd to support those Alliances with all their Power.

But Bishop *Parker* informs us, the *Popish* Cabal cou'd see Safety and not Danger from the Growth of the *French* Power; and pursuant to the Advice of the Cabal, the King in a Speech to the Commons told them, in a Style that wou'd have better become the *Plantagenets*, Their Address contain'd Things unfit for them to meddle with, for they entrenched on his undoubted Prerogative of making Peace and War; which had never, when the Sword was not drawn, been so dangerously invaded. The Word *dangerously* is extremely proper, because the Tenor of the Address was to bring him and his People out of Danger. They did not content themselves with desiring him to enter into Leagues, but tell him what sort of Leagues they must be, and with whom; and he

A warm Address against France.

p. 409, 410.

was

A.D. 1677 was very much hurt by it. A Traveller out of his Way, amid Darknefs and Precipices, meets with a Perfon, who not only tells him he is out of his Way, but puts him into the right Path, and the Traveller fays, *These are things unfit for you to meddle with; if I go out of the Way, and tumble down the Precipice, it is my Prerogative: Besides, you might have told me I'm wrong, and defir'd me to take care not to tumble, but what had you to do to fet me right?* Common Sense is fufficient to avoid fuch falfe Reasoning, and what follows only aggravates it. *If I fhould fuffer that Fundamental Power of making War and Peace, to be fo invaded, as to have the Manner and Circumftances of Leagues prefcrib'd, no Prince or Potentate wou'd longer believe the Sovereignty of England refts in the Crown; wherefore no Condition fhall make me depart from fo effential a Part of the Monarchy. Sovereignty, Crown, and Monarchy, make up the Reason of this Sentence: The Interest and Safety of England, and all Europe, the Proteftant Religion, and the Liberty of Nations, have no Weight in this Reasoning. Let us read what the Learned Acherley writes upon it:*

“By the Fundamental Conftitution of Parliament, and by the exprefs Words of the original Summons to it, they had a Right to enquire into the State of the Nation, and to advife the King what to do, what Wars to make, and what Alliances to enter into, in cafe thofe Wars, and thofe Alliances were neceffary for the Defence of the Nation: For who cou'd be more proper to give Advice about that Defence, than thofe who were to bear the Charges, and to fuffer moft for want of that Defence? And if this were not reasonable, the Conftitution and the Form of this Government were egregioufly infirm and defective. Many Precedents might be produc'd to fupport this Argument, As to the Sentiments of neighbouring Princes and Potentates, it was argu'd, That Reputation was the Life of Government, and Difreputation the Bane of it; and that every Prince in Europe was well appriz'd, that the Acts of the King's Sovereignty, whether thofe Acts were War or Peace, without the good-liking or Consent of his Parliament, were half-form'd Things, without Sinews or Strength to defend this Nation's Friends, or offend it's Enemies.”

When we follow a learned Lawyer, we tread on fure Ground; and the Court Sophiftry, which like an *Ignis Fatuus* mifguides the *Compleat Historians*, appears naked and fhamelefs. The Parliament was adjourn'd to the 16th of July, to give the French King a full Swing of Devaftation and Ruin in Flanders. We fhall prove in the Sequel, that King Charles was at this very Juncture chaffering, by his Minifters in France, for more Money; and that one Reason given for it, was, *That he had been abfolutely the Occafion of the French King's Conquefts in Flanders.* There were two or three good Acts pafs'd before the Adjournment; as 1. *The Act for preventing Frauds and Perjuries.* 2. *An Act for taking away the Writ de Heretico Comburendo, &c.* And the Adjournment itfelf was a very extraordinary one; for upon his Majesty's fignifying his Pleafure that it fhould be fo, Mr. Edward Seymour, afterwards Sir Edward, the Speaker, without the Consent of the Houfe, or fo much as putting the Queftion, adjourn'd them; tho' Sir John Finch, the Chancellor's Uncle, was for the fame thing impeach'd of High Treafon in Parliament, 1640. So that if the Parliament was not difsolvd by the laft Prorogation, it made it a Queftion now, whether it was not difsolvd by their Separation, without Prorogation or legal Adjournment?

A.D. 1677 *De Salinas*, the Spanifh Envoy in England, having heard that King Charles had call'd the Parliament a *Company of Rogues*, he took care to let fome of the Members know it, it being on Account of the Address they had prefented for an Alliance againft France, which that Minifter came to forward; and the King reſented his telling it fo much, that he was order'd to depart the Kingdom. *A Company of Rogues* is not very courtly Language for the Representatives of the Nation. I abhor Ribaldry as much as any Man, and I have never been provok'd to hard Names, but when I am ſpeaking of Criminals that deſerve Punifhment rather by the Hangman than the Historian.

At this Time Sir William Temple was ſent for into England, under the Notion of preferring him to be Secretary of State; but it was on Condition he laid down 10,000 Pounds for it, after ſo many Services, and after he had ſpent much of his own Fortune in his Embaſſies. The King diſcour'd him frequently about the general Peace, and the Prince of Orange's intended Journey into England, the latter of which his Majesty did not at all deſire. He ſaid, *The Parliament wou'd never be quiet or eaſy with him while the War laſted abroad; that they had got it into their Heads to draw him into it whether he wou'd or no; that they pretended Publick Ends, and Dangers from France, and there might be both meant by a great many honeſt Men amongſt them, but the Heads had been rais'd by ſome Faction's Leaders, who thought more of themſelves than any thing elſe, and had a Mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unleſs they might have their Terms in removing and filling up Places, and he was very unwilling to be ſo much at their Mercy. That beſides, he ſaw the longer it continu'd, the worſe it wou'd be for the Confederates; and therefore he wou'd ſain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they wou'd not do it for themſelves; and if he and the Prince cou'd fall into the Terms of it, he was ſure it might be done.* Sir William Temple represented the Inflexibility of the Prince in the Point of the Treaty, without the joint Concurrence and Satisfaction of all the Confederates; and if his Majesty wou'd try another Hand in the Negotiation, Mr. Hyde was a very proper Perſon to be employ'd: To which the King conſented, and Mr. Hyde was diſpatch'd to his Highneſs, whom he found at the Camp, firm and reſolute againſt the Peace, on any other Conditions than in Holland. *Mr. Hyde ſent to Concert with the Allies.*

The Prince's Marriage with the Lady Mary, was ſo great a Bleſſing to theſe three Kingdoms, that 'tis no Wonder ſo many claim a Share of the Merit of it; which ſeems to be owing moſtly to the Earl of Danby, who had run himſelf ſo much into the ill Will of the People, that he ſaw his Ruin wou'd be inevitable, if he did not make his Peace by ſome very popular Action; and there were two Steps to be taken which cou'd not fail of appeaſing them; the one was a good Peace between France and the Confederates, the other the Marriage of the Princeſs Mary, the Duke's eldeſt Daughter, to the Prince of Orange. Sir William Temple was in great Confidence with Danby, and the latter gave Temple full Assurance that he might ſpeak of it to the Prince, without Fear of giving Offence either to the King or Duke. Great Offers were made to the latter, to draw him into the Alliance; and that of commanding the Confederate Army ſtagger'd him ſo much, that the French Emiſſaries were allarm'd: However, cautious Men were ſtill jealous of the Lord Treafurer in theſe Matters. Some thought the Talk of an Alliance with Holland, in caſe France did not conclude a Peace before the next Campaign,

A.D. 1677 was only an Artifice to draw Money from the Parliament for raising an Army; which when it was rais'd, might be sold again to France for a greater Sum of Money, or made use of to master Parliaments, and the whole Nation. 'Twas whisper'd that was the Scheme by which he maintain'd himself in the King and the Duke's Confidence, even when he declar'd himself an open Enemy to that which they were still supporting; which he did with so little Decency, that at Archbishop Sancroft's Consecration-Dinner, Sheldon being lately dead, he drank Confusion to all who were not for a War with France; which not only lets us into the false Character of that Minister, but into the Custom of Consecration-Dinners in those Days, so much boasted of by the Compleat Historian. It was the Earl of Danby who got the Prince of Orange to send Bentinck to England, to ask the King Leave to come over at the End of the Campaign; with which the Court of France was not pleas'd, suspecting a Design for the Marriage. But the King assur'd Barillon, who was sent Ambassador from France chiefly on that Account, that there was not a Thought of it; and that the Prince of Orange had only a Mind to talk with him: As also, that he hop'd he shou'd bring him into such Measures as wou'd produce a speedy Peace.

Earl of Danby's great Share in it.

The Prince of Orange comes to England.

The Campaign ended unsuccessfully to the Prince, who fate down before Charleroy, but was forc'd to raise the Siege. When that was over, he came to England, and stay'd some Time here talking to his two Uncles about a Peace; but they cou'd not bring him to their Terms. He was a Man of Honour and Resolution. He knew Men and Business; and there was no Likelihood of his two Uncles working on such a Prince as he, who was more than a Match for both of them in Politicks, notwithstanding they were almost as old again as their Nephew. After a fruitless Stay of some Weeks, he intended to go back without proposing Marriage. He had no Mind to be deny'd; and he saw no Hope of succeeding, unless he wou'd enter more entirely into his Uncle's Measures. The King, who judg'd of the Prince by himself, thought his Nephew's Head and Heart wou'd have been set upon the young Lady, whom tho' his Highness lov'd and esteem'd, yet he prefer'd his Honour to his Passion, a Sentiment which his Majesty cou'd not be sensible of, and therefore treated with the Prince as with a young Man who wanted a Wife as much as he did a Mistress, and wou'd be brought to any thing for a fair Bed-fellow. But the Prince's wife Conduct taught him another Lesson. The Earl of Danby finding his Highness wou'd not be put off, and fearing to lose the Merit of this Marriage, press'd him to stay two or three Days longer, and leave the Management of that Matter to him. So next Monday Morning, after he had taken Care by all his Creatures about the King to put him in a very good Humour, he came to his Majesty and told him he had receiv'd Letters from all the best Friends he had in England, and shew'd a Bundle of them, in which he was pretty sure the King wou'd not trouble himself to look, and they all agreed in the same Advice, that the Duke's Daughter be marry'd to the Prince of Orange, for they all believe he came over on that Account; and if he went away without her, no body wou'd doubt but that he had propos'd a Marriage, and had been deny'd; upon which the Parliament wou'd certainly make Addresses to the King for it; and if the Marriage was made upon that, his Majesty wou'd lose the Grace and Thanks of it: But if it was still deny'd, even after the Addresses of both

Houses, it wou'd raise Jealousies which might have very ill Consequences; whereas, if the King did it of his own Motion, he wou'd have the Honour of it, and by so doing bring the Prince into a greater Dependance upon himself, and beget in the Nation such a good Opinion of him, as wou'd lay a Foundation for a mutual Confidence. This he enforc'd with all the Topicks he cou'd think of. His Majesty said, *The Prince has not so much as propos'd it.* The Lord Danby reply'd, *He has spoke of it only to me, because he apprehended he shou'd not succeed in it.* My Brother, reply'd his Majesty, *will never consent to it.* *May be not,* says Lord Danby, *unless you take upon you to command it, and I think it is the Duke's Interest to have it done more than your Majesty's. All People are now possess'd of his being a Papist, and are very apprehensive of it; but if they see his Daughter given to one who is at the Head of the Protestant Party, it will very much soften those Apprehensions, when it appears that his Religion is only a personal Thing, not to be deriv'd to his Children after him.* By which Discourse the King was convinc'd, and sent for the Duke, the Earl of Danby staying still with him. When the Duke came, the King said, *I have sent for you to desire you would consent to a Thing, which I am sure is as much for your Interest as for my Quiet and Satisfaction.* The Duke, without asking what it was, reply'd, *I will be always ready to comply with the King's Pleasure in every thing.* Upon which the King left it to the Lord Treasurer to say over all he had said on that Head to himself; at which the Duke seem'd much concern'd. But his Majesty saying, *I desire it of you for my sake as well as for your own,* his Royal Highness consented to it; so Lord Danby sent immediately for the Prince, and in the King's Name order'd a Council to be summon'd. As soon as the Prince came, the King in a very obliging Manner said to him, *Nephew, It is not good for Man to be alone, I will give you a Help-meet for you,* telling him he wou'd bestow his Neece on him. And the Duke in as obliging a Manner, and with seeming Heartiness, gave his Consent. The King adding, *Nephew, Remember Love and War do not agree very well together.* This happy Agreement was made the 23d of October; and the News of the intended Marriage was soon spread in Court and City; all, except the French and Popish Faction, joyc'd mightily at it. Barillon was amaz'd: He flew to the Dutcheffs of Portsmouth, and got her to send all her Creatures to desire to speak with the King. She wrote him several Billets to the same Purpose. But the Earl of Danby having taken Care to have a Council summon'd, took Care also that neither the King nor the Duke shou'd be spoke to till the Matter was declar'd at that Board. And when that was done the King presented the Prince to the young Lady as the Person he design'd shou'd be her Husband. When Barillon saw it was gone so far, he sent a Courier to the Court of France with the News; upon whose Arrival Mr. Montagu, afterwards Duke of Montagu, King Charles's Ambassador, was sent for. When he came to Versailles he saw the King the most mov'd that he had ever observ'd him to be. He ask'd him when the Marriage was to be made? Mr. Montagu understood not what he meant. Upon which the most Christian King explain'd all to him. The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the whole Matter. The King said, *I always believ'd the Journey wou'd end in that.* And he seem'd to think the Court of England had now forsaken him, which made him the

A.D. 1677 Lord Danby's Discourse with the King about the Marriage.

King and Duke give their Consent.

How the French King receiv'd the News.

A.D. 1677 more generous in his Money Negotiations to prevent it. He spoke of the King's Part in it with Decency, but expostulated severely on the Duke's Part, who had now given his Daughter to the greatest Enemy he had in the World. Mr. *Montagu* had no Answer to make; but next Night he had a Courier with Letters from the King, the Duke, and the Prince, to the *French King*. The Prince wou'd have avoided this Piece of Courtship, but his Uncle oblig'd him to it, as a Civility due to Kindred and Blood. The King assur'd his Brother of *France*, he had made the Match with a Design to engage the Prince to be more tractable in the Treaty which was now going on at *Nimeguen*. The *French King* receiv'd these Letters civilly, but did not seem much satisfy'd with them. Mr. *Montagu* was call'd over soon after this to get new Instructions; and the Lord Treasurer ask'd him how the *French King* receiv'd the News of the Marriage. He answer'd, *As he wou'd have done the Loss of an Army. He spoke very hardly of the Duke for consenting to it, and not at least acquainting him with it.* The Earl of *Danby* reply'd, *He wrong'd him, for the Duke did not know it an Hour before it was publish'd, and the King himself not above two Hours.*

Lord Danby's Account of it different from Sir William Temple's.

This Account entirely differs from Sir *William Temple's*, who makes himself to be the sole Agent in the Success of this momentous Affair; whereas, according to this Account, which the Duke of *Montagu* told Bishop *Burnet*, Sir *William Temple* was not present when the King was persuaded to consent to it, when the Duke was sent for by the King, when the Prince came to them, and the Lord Treasurer, and when the Princess was given to him. Lord *Montagu* was known to be no Friend of Lord *Danby's*; yet he does this Justice to him; and the Lord *Danby*, when Duke of *Leeds*, said, *He wou'd not suffer that Part of his Service to be buried in Oblivion.* Had it not been for the personal Virtues and Graces of her Royal Highness the Princess, and for the Interest the Marriage gave the Prince of *Orange* in the Parliament and People of *England*, and the strengthening of the Protestant Interest in Christendom, the Princess's Portion cou'd not have tempted the Prince, it being but 40,000 Pounds, and the Jointure of the Dowager of *Orange* was 12 or 14,000 Pounds a Year. A Day or two after the Marriage was agreed on, the King and Queen, the Duke (the Dutchess lay in at that Time of the Duke of *Cambridge*) and the two Princesses his Daughters, saw the Lord Mayor's *Shew*, and afterwards din'd with him, then Sir *Francis Chaplin*, at *Guild-hall*. 'Twas about this Time, if not at this very Feast, that Sir *Nicholas Butler* a Quack, who had renounc'd *Baptism* in *Oliver's* Time, and was now a Court Spy, afterwards a Privy-Counsellor, came to the King and told him he had just discover'd a Conspiracy against his Life, and that the *Fanaticks*, himself a *Baptist*, had resolv'd to execute it on the Lord Mayor's Day, that they had prepar'd a *Cross-Bow* for that Purpose, which had the Force of a Gun, and with it they intended to shoot him from *Bow Steeple*, as he stood in the Balcony at the *Angel* in *Cheapside* to see the *Pageants*. Upon this Sir *Robert Southwel*, then one of the Clerks of the Council, was sent to *Bow Church* early in the Morning to observe the Conspirators, that on a Signal given they might be seiz'd. Sir *Robert* got up into the Church at the Place assign'd by *Butler*, and there attended till the *Pageants* were come into *Cheapside*, when he perceiv'd a lusty, rugged Fellow press forward to

Sir Nicholas Butler the Quack Privy-Counsellor.

Sir J. T. his false Tale of a Plot.

A.D. 1677 look into the Street, with a Great-Coat on, and something strutting out under it. Sir *Robert Southwel* presently concluded that was the Person he wanted; so he got near him, and with as little Suspicion as might be endeavour'd to feel for the *Cross-Bow*. The Man finding him fumbling about his Cloaths, star'd at him; and if Sir *Robert's* Aspect and Dress had not shewn him to be a Person of Quality, he fancy'd the Fellow wou'd have secur'd him for a *Pick-Pocket*. But at last *Southwel* spy'd the fatal Engine under his Coat. It seems the Man was a Carpenter, and had a great Rule stuck into his Girdle. It was about this Time also that the Court began to hearken to Whispers of *dark Designs* of the Dissenters, as *Echard* calls them, tho', God knows, they had no other Design than to procure, if they cou'd, Friends enough in Parliament to repeal those cruel and unnatural Laws that depriv'd them of their Liberty Spiritual and Temporal, the Birth-right of every good *English-man* and *Protestant*. We shall see hereafter what Tragedies those Whispers produc'd.

The Prince of *Orange's* Marriage with the Princess *Mary* was consummated the 4th of *November*; and a few Days after the King, the Duke, the Prince, the Lord Treasurer, and Sir *William Temple*, enter'd in Earnest on the Debate of the Peace, the Terms of which were at last agreed upon, "That *France* shou'd restore to the Emperor all that had been taken from him; the Dutchy of *Lorraine* to the Duke; and all on both Sides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Audenard*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, *St. Guistain* and *Binch*." These Conditions were sent to *France* by the Lord *Duras*, afterwards Earl of *Feversham*; and the King assur'd his Highness, *He wou'd never part from the least Point of the Scheme*, tho' even *Echard* is forc'd to own, *That the Business* came to be drawn out into so many Messages from *England*, and Returns from *France*, that it diminish'd into nothing. The Reader cannot forget that his Majesty immediately after his breaking his Word with the *Presbyterians*, valu'd himself to his Parliament on his Sincerity, and that the Chancellor *Hyde* spoke very much of his being a King of his Word. Mr. *Acherley* assures us the Matter of the Scheme was spun out into dilatory Expostulations by Concert with *Duras* himself, who carry'd it over. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of *Orange* embark'd for *Holland* as soon as the Terms of the Peace were adjusted.

When the Parliament met on the 16th of *July*, Secretary *Coventry* signify'd they shou'd be adjourn'd to the 3d of *December*, which Mr. Speaker *Seymour* did again by his own Authority: But before that the King issu'd out his Proclamation, that he expected not the Members Attendance. When the House met the 3d of *December*, the Secretary deliver'd a Message from the King, that they shou'd adjourn to the 15th of *January*, which Speaker *Seymour* did a third Time. The King thought himself pretty sure of the Parliament's meeting him in a good Humour, upon the Marriage of his Neece to a Protestant Prince; and to be still surer of it, he sent Mr. *Thynne* to *Holland* with a Draught of a *June Alliance* to be made with the States General, in order to compel *France* and *Spain* to fall in with the Scheme agreed upon, which he knew *France* wou'd never consent to, nor did he ever intend to compel her, but was even continuing his Demands of Money from the *French King* for the Services he had done, and was to do him,

A.D. 1678 as will be prov'd hereafter. Hyde was come from Nimeguen, where he was added to the Number of the English Plenipotentiaries Mediators, to wait on the Princess of Orange; and the Treaty Thymne brought over, was sign'd the 16th of January.

1678. Having at the Close of the last Year omitted the Promotions and Preferments, which are the darling Ornaments of our Compleat Histories, I shall adorn mine out of *Echard* in the Beginning of this. His Grace *Henry Duke of Newcastle*, and Earl *Danby* Lord Treasurer, were made Knights of the Garter in the Room of two Knights deceas'd, *William Duke of Newcastle*, and *George Earl of Bristol*. The Duke of *Ormond* was again made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the Room of the Earl of *Essex*, who, as the *Archdeacon* tells us with singular Satisfaction, began now to decline in the King's Favour, who had been long declining in that of the Publick. In the Beginning of *January* his Majesty was pleas'd to make *George Wharton*, Esq; a Baronet, and some Weeks before to confer the Honour of Knighthood on *William Royston* and *Thomas Beckford*, Citizens of *London*. I must confess I do affect a Negligence of Chronology in such Memoirs as these, which are to have no more Room than we can spare, and to take it where it happens.

Honours that are the Reward of illustrious Actions and exalted Worth, deserve Immortality, if our Histories were to be immortal, and wou'd eternally be read with Pleasure: But in such Times as these, the Streams must participate of the Source, and to let them, like some Rivers, lose themselves in the Sands of Oblivion, wou'd have been our Choice, had we not been misled by the Compleat Historians.

Parliament. The Parliament met on the 15th of *January*, and by the King's Directions adjourn'd for thirteen Days, within which Time his Majesty shou'd, as he intimated, have Matters of great Importance to impart to them. And when they met, he acquainted them with ordinary Matters touching the Prince's Marriage, and with the Alliance he had made with *Holland* against *France*. The Money-Treaty was then actually on Foot at *Paris*. He demanded Supplies to raise 30,000 Men, and for a Fleet of 90 Men of War, in order to declare and carry on a War vigorously against *France*. Sir *William Coventry* shew'd the great Inconvenience of raising a Land-Army, the Danger that might follow on it, the little Use cou'd be made of it, and the great Charge it must put the Nation to. He was for hiring Troops from the *German Princes*, and for assisting the *Dutch* with Money. He mov'd to recall our Forces out of the *French Service*, and put them into the *Dutch*. He thought it did more properly belong to *England* to set out a great Fleet, and to cut off the *French Trade* every where, than to keep up a Land-Army; for the *French* were then very high in Manufactures and Commerce; their People were ingenious as well as industrious; they wrought hard, and liv'd low, so they sold cheaper than others cou'd do; and it was found that we sent very near a Million in *Specie* every Year for the Balance of our Trade with them. This is the Reign so much cry'd up for the Flourishing Trade! This is the Monarch so extoll'd for his Care of the Church and Commerce! But, says *Bishop Burnet*, "The King had promis'd so many Commissions to Men of Quality in both Houses, that it was carry'd for a Land-Force.

Sir William Coventry's Speech about the French Trade.

A.D. 1678 The Commons believing now the King to be in Earnest, address'd him not to admit of any Treaty of Peace, whereby the *French King* shou'd be left in Possession of any greater Dominion or Power than was left him by the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and to stop all Commerce with *France*. The latter he consented to by a severe Act, prohibiting the Importation of *French Manufactures* or Growth for three Years, and to the next Session of Parliament after that. This Prohibition was well look'd to for a Year; but the Court was too much *French* (to use *Bishop Burnet's* Words) not to connive at the Breach of it afterwards. The Address about the Terms of the Treaty try'd the *Popish Cabal* to the Quick, and the King, by a Message in Writing sent the 4th of *February*, reviv'd his Quarrels with the Commons about their meddling with Matters which were not fit for them, such as the Security of their Religion, Liberties and Propertie's, and invading his Prerogative, to destroy them by a War or a Peace, as he thought fit, without taking their Advice in the Matter: He told them they had taken no Notice of his Speech when he adjourn'd them in *May*, but had added to their former ill Conduct new Invasions of his Prerogatives, adding, That the Rights of making and managing War and Peace were his; and if they thought he wou'd depart from any Part of those Rights, they were mistaken. A Thread-bare Topick too much worn to deserve further Observation. Whoever question'd the Prerogative of making and managing Peace and War? And whoever doubted the Right of the Parliament to address and advise in both Cases as the Necessity of Affairs requir'd? *Acherly*, after *Bishop Parker*, informs us, The King threaten'd the Commons, if they wou'd not grant the Money demanded, he wou'd immediately relinquish the War. Upon which they pass'd the Poll-Bill to raise one Million; but at the same Time, on the 14th of *March*, they prepar'd an Address, to proclaim War against *France* instantly, and to dismiss the *French Ambassador*. Which Address they sent to the Lords for their Concurrence. But before the Address cou'd be perfect'd in the Lord's House, the *Popish Cabal*, says *Acherly*, hasten'd the King to anticipate it, and to secure against all Events the Money-Bill, which he did by passing it on the 20th of *March*, and on that Day dismiss'd their Sitting for a Month. In this Manner, according to *Bishop Parker*, the King at length, with much Ado, extorted from the Commons that Supply, which he had, without Effect, desir'd for a whole Year together.

Trade with France prohibited.

P. 593.

In the Preamble of the before-mention'd Act of Prohibition, it was set forth that we were in actual War with *France*, which was accepted to as not true in Fact. But the Ministry, not very scrupulous as to the Truth of their Facts, affirm'd that we were already engag'd so far with the Allies, that it was really a War, and that our Troops were recall'd from *France*. Secretary *Coventry*, one of the Ministers, said in some Heat, The King was engag'd, and he wou'd rather be guilty of the Murder of forty Men, than do any thing to retard the Progress of the War. An odd Expression, which was often objected to him afterwards. It must not be forgot, that *Echard* tells us, the King prepar'd for this Session of Parliament, by doing some terrible Things as well as popular, to shew his Authority as well as Clemency in suppressing Libels and seditious Discourses, particularly Mr. *Andrew Marvel's Growth of Popery*, which is as full of Truth as the Addresses publish'd in his Majesty's Gazette some Time after were full

A. D. 1678 full of Fallhood. Another Thing omitted by me at the Opening of this Session, was a Vote upon a Motion of the Lord *Obrian*, who had marry'd the Earl of *Danby's* Daughter, for 70,000 Pounds for a solemn Funeral of his late Majesty King *Charles I.* whose Corpse, by the Way, they never cou'd find, and to erect a Monument for the said Prince of *Glorious Memory*: The said Sum to be rais'd by a Two Month's Tax, to begin at the Expiration of the present Tax for erecting Men of War. The Archdeacon says, the Nation had stood oblig'd to do this for many Years; and the Bond is not yet cancell'd, for the Thing is not yet done.

A Poll being granted, the additional Customs continu'd, and 600,000 Pounds given for Land-Forces, an Army of 20,000 effective Men was rais'd and cloath'd in six Weeks Time. The Spanish Ambassador solicited to have a Body of them sent immediately into *Flanders*, and offer'd to put *Ostend* and *Newport* into the Hands of the English. But our Court were ever dilatory in all Engagements with the Confederates.

At this Time the French King made a Step, which struck Terror into the Dutch and Louvois, who was the Contriver of it, gain'd the Credit with him, which he maintain'd so long afterwards. He propos'd to him the taking of *Ghent*, which being so near the Dutch wou'd, he thought, immediately dispose them to a separate Peace; but how to accomplish it did not appear very easy, without being observ'd, which wou'd have certainly oblig'd the King of England to have sent Troops to re-inforce that Garrison. Wherefore *Louvois* laid such a Scheme of Marches and Counter-marches, as did amuse all the Allies.

A fine Scheme of Louvois.

Sometimes the Design seem'd to be on the *Rhine*, sometimes on *Luxemburgh*. And while the Confederate Forces were sent to defend those Places where they apprehended the Design was laid, and none of the French Generals themselves did apprehend what the true Design was, the French Army on a sudden invests *Ghent*, which Town and Cittadel were quickly taken. This was *Louvois's* Master-piece. It had the Effect intended, and brought the Dutch to resolve on a Peace. The French King might have taken *Bruges*, *Ostend* and *Newport*; but he only took *Ypres*, for he had no Mind to provoke the English. He was sure of his Point by the Fright this put the *Hollanders* into. The English were equally frighten'd, and the Duke of *Monmouth* was dispatch'd away with some of the Guards to join their Army, while a large Detachment was preparing to follow them.

English Troops sent to Flanders.

Echard tells us what Care was taken to prevent the Publishing of Pamphlets in Favour of the Reform'd Religion, and the Rights, Properties and Liberties of English Men, but he did not tell us that the most execrable Libeller, who ever sold Lies and Scandal, *Roger L'Estrange*, was licens'd to break open Houses and Closets on Suspicion only of any such good Pamphlet, and that the King's terrifying Speech about his Prerogative, was publish'd in the next News-Book that came out after the Parliament was adjourn'd, such an equal Hand was carry'd in this just Administration.

On the 11th of April the Parliament met again, and adjourn'd to the Monday following; at which time, by the King's particular Appointment, they chose a new Speaker in the Houle of Commons. Sir *Robert Sawyer*, of whom *Echard* says the very Best he can, that he was one of the King's Council, learned, and a great Practicer in the Exchequer, but being troubled with the Stone, Mr. *Edward Seymour* was again re-instated in the

Chair; and these Times, as we may perceive, being very godly, he informs us there was a strict Fast kept all over England. The Archdeacon seems to have found out the Lord Chancellor at last; for he brings his long Speech, as he calls it, into five or six Lines: The chief Thing in it was an Intimation of a Peace between the French King and the States; upon which the Commons voted, May the 4th, to give their humble Advice to his Majesty, that he would forthwith enter into the present Alliance with the Confederates, and an actual War with France, and again, by a Majority of sixteen Voices, that the late Leagues made with the States General of the United Provinces, are not pursuant to the Addresses of this House, nor consistent with the Good and Safety of the Kingdom. Rare Management! The King being disoblig'd, cries *Echard*, return'd them this Answer, That having been acquainted with the Votes of the 4th Instant, his Majesty is very much surpriz'd, both with the Matter and Manner of them, but if he had had Exceptions to neither, yet his Majesty having ask'd the Advice of both the Houses, doth not think fit to give any Answer to any thing of that Nature, 'till he hath the concurrent Advice of both Houses. Mr. Archdeacon goes sweetly on with such Messages and Answers, as if there was no Harm said or done, and he did, or perhaps cou'd not see, that if the Advice was good, the Answer should have been so too, and that the King knew better than any Man, that the Lords would not have fail'd to have given their Concurrence.

The next Address, May 11th, shew'd that the Pensioners in this House, either wanted their Pay, or were weary, and asham'd of voting always against their Consciences, as the King was often told in a joking Way, and would laugh at what does not seem very laughable. The Commons humbly thank'd his Majesty for demanding their Advice, which accordingly they had given, and besought him to communicate to them his Resolutions thereupon; and whereas they conceive that the Inconveniencies and Dangers which the Kingdom now lies under, might totally, or in a great Measure have been prevented, in case his Majesty had accepted of the Advice by them given in their Addresses, that therefore he would be pleas'd to remove those Counsellors who advis'd him to give those Answers which he did to the said Addresses, and in fine, that he would be pleas'd to remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from his Presence and Councils. Bravely said! like Britons! like Protestants! and now at last, after eighteen Years incessant Apprehension, Anxiety, Perplexity, Perfection, Danger, and almost Despair, we have an English Parliament, nay that very Parliament who pass'd the *Bartholomew Act*, the *Militia Act*, the *Corporation Act*, the *Five Mile Act*, and that repeal'd the *Triennial Act*; that very Parliament is at last become English, and as long as they have fate, the Nation were willing to keep them longer. The King's Answer was, *En Maistre*, I am surpriz'd at the Extravagancy of your Address, and unwilling at present to give it such a due Answer as it deserves. Well said, Mr. Archdeacon will say, if he says any thing, but he may very well apply to himself, with Respect to this Government, what a fine Wit said of the Dispensary.

I view thee always with a Lover's Eye,
Thou hast no Fault, or I no Fault can spy;
Thou art all Beauty, or all Blindness I.

It is not so with me, I never look'd upon it with the Eye of a Lover, I never saw any Charms, but eternally meet with Blemishes.

His

A.D. 1678 His Majesty, after his last excellent Speech, on the 13th of May, prorog'd the Parliament to the 23d of May. We are told that what the King refused most, was a Vote, at the Motion of Sir Thomas Clarges, Monk's Wife's Brother, that no Money should be given, 'till Satisfaction was given in Matters of Religion. *Eichard*, who does not know when Sir *William Temple* is good, and when he is not, copies him, and calls this an *unlucky peevish Vote*; whereas, both Sir *William* and he too, might have call'd it a *crooked lean Vote*. They had trusted the King so long, that they could trust him no longer, without putting every thing that was dear to them to the Hazard. To desire a little Security, is to be peevish to make a sensible Motion, and to carry it, is to be *unlucky*; what follows after *Temple*, is not more important. The King reproach'd Sir *William* with his popular Notions of War, and ask'd him, how he thought he cou'd trust a House of Commons to carry him through the War, if he should engage; if Sir *William* cou'd not have thought how, he cou'd not think at all. He might have trusted them as Men are to be trusted to do a Thing; on the doing of which depend whatever is valuable to them in this Life, or whatever they believe of another. I repeat no more of his Copy after *Temple*, it being only equal to that Author, in the worst Parts of his Writings, where they are affected and superficial.

The Vote for the last Address was so distasteful, and indeed disgraceful to the Court, that the Earl of *Danby* muste'r'd his whole Army of Pensioners, to form a Majority on their Side; but he cou'd not accomplish it, tho' in an Opinion that he had, he got the King to send a Message, desiring an additional Revenue of 300,000 Pounds a Year, during Life. This set the House in a Flame. It was said, Here's no Demand for a War, but for a Revenue, which would furnish the King so well, that there would be no more need of Parliaments. The Court Party thought such a Gift as this would make them useless, so the Matter was rejected without a Division. The Lord Treasurer was much censur'd for this rash Attempt, which too bare-facedly discover'd the Designs of the Court.

Bishop *Burnet* informs us, that he at the same time order'd Mr. *Montagu* to treat with the Court of France for a Peace, in case they would engage to pay the King 300,000 Pounds a Year for three Years; which when it came afterwards to be known, was generally believ'd to be a Design to keep up and model the Army now rais'd. The King reckon'd there would be Money enough to pay them, till the Nation shou'd be brought under a military Government; which was the Intention of the Court, and fully proves the Conspiracy of the *Stuartine* Princes against the British Constitution. It is confess'd by *Jonathan Swift*, D. D. who among ten thousand Scandals published by him in his *Tales of Tubbs*, *Gullivers*, *Profundities*, &c. has given the World one Piece of Secret History, for which they are much oblig'd to him; for it will teach them as much in Politicks, as his *Tale of a Tub* will corrupt them in Conscience. It is quoted by *Eichard* himself: "Swift acquaints us that France, in order to break the Force of the Confederates, and elude all just Conditions of a general Peace, resolv'd by any means to enter into separate Measures with *Holland*; to which End it was absolutely necessary to engage the good Offices of the King of *England*, who was look'd upon as the Master of the Peace whenever he pleas'd (and so any Monarch of a Princely Genius would have

been in his Circumstances) "The Bargain was struck for three or four hundred thousand Pounds, *What a Royal House we had!* But when all was agreed, Monsieur *Barillon*, the French Ambassador, told the King, that he had Orders from his Master, before Payment, to add a private Article, by which his Majesty shou'd be engag'd never to keep above 8000 Men of standing Troops in his three Kingdoms. This unexpected Proposal put the King in a Rage, and made him say, *Gods-fish, Does my Brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his Promises to make me absolute Master of my Parliaments come to this? Or does he think that a Thing to be done with 8000 Men?"* There's the Proof; *Jonathan Swift*, Dean of *St. Patrick's*, gives Evidence, that King *Charles II.* was in a Secret League with King *Lewis XIV.* to enslave the three Free Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Sir *William Temple*, to whom *Swift* was Chaplain, tells us, that the Prince of *Orange* having sent *Van Leeuwen* over to *England*, to fit into the Intentions of our Court, by which the States would be determin'd as to Peace or War. The *Hollander* told him, that notwithstanding the general Disposition to Peace in *Holland*, yet if the King would immediately declare the War, he believ'd the States would pursue it, and put a stop to the Treaty of Peace. Sir *William Temple* told the King of it, but the Opportunity was lost. He shou'd have taken hold of it on the Return of the Lord *Duras* from *France*, before the Parliament had conceiv'd such a Jealousy of his Conduct. His Majesty saw his Time was slip'd; but the Turn he gave it, was, *Since the Dutch will have a Peace upon the French Terms, and France offers Money for my Consent to what I can't help, I don't know why I shou'd not get the Money.* Sir *William Temple*, and Archdeacon *Eichard*, thinks this a witty Turn. I don't see any Appearance of Wit, but a Certainty of something else, for which I have a Name if I durst speak it. He cou'd help the Peace if he would, *Van Leeuwen* declar'd, *The States would still go on with the War, if he would immediately enter into it*; that would have help'd it. Indeed, there's generally thought to be a great deal of Wit in getting Money, and in that Sense the Turn was extremely witty. But when the Matter was blown, as it was not long after, the Lord Treasurer became the most hated Minister that had ever been about the King. All People said now, they saw the Secret of that high Favour he had been in, and the black Design he was contriving. At this Time Expresses went very frequently between *England* and *France*, and the State of Foreign Affairs vary'd every Post; so that it was visible we were in a Secret Negotiation. Mr. *Montagu*, who was a Man of Pleasure, had an Intrigue with the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, who was quite cast off by the King, and was then at *Paris*. His Majesty had order'd him to find out an *Astrologer*, of whom he had a good Opinion, for he had long before his Restoration foretold he shou'd enter *London* on the 29th of *May*: He was yet living, and Mr. *Montagu* found him out. He saw he was capable of being corrupted, so he resolv'd to prompt him to send the King such Hints as would serve his own Ends; but he was so bewitch'd with the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, that he trusted her with the Secret; and she growing jealous of a new Amour, took all the Ways she cou'd think of to ruin him, reserving this of the *Astrologer* for her last Shift, by which she compass'd her Ends: For Mr. *Montagu* was entirely lost upon it with the King, and coming over with-

Rash Counsel of Danby.

The King a Pensioner to France.

His Design against the Constitution.

Mr. Montagu's Intrigue with the Dutchess of Cleveland in France.

A. D. 1678 out being recall'd, the Earl of *Sunderland* was sent Ambassador in his room.

All this while the Treaty went on at *Nimeguen*, Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* being the *English* Plenipotentiaries there, and Mr. *Hyde* and Mr. *Godolphin* manag'd at the *Hague*. The States were resolv'd to have a Peace, which the Prince of *Orange* did all he cou'd to hinder. *De Witt's* Party began to get Strength again, and infus'd a Jealousy in all People, that the Prince intended to keep up the War for his own Ends. A Peace might be now had, by restoring all that belong'd to the States, and by a tolerable Barrier in *Flanders*. 'Tis true, the great Difficulty was concerning their Allies, the King of *Denmark*, and Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had fallen on the *Swede*, and beaten him out of *Germany*, upon that King's declaring for *France*. No Peace cou'd be had unless the *Swede* was restor'd: The Princes, who had been quite exhausted by that War, wou'd not consent to this; but pres'd the States to stick by them, who had stuck so fast by the States in their Extremity. This was the Prince of *Orange's* constant Topick, *How cou'd they expect any of their Allies wou'd adhere to them, if they now forsok such faithful Friends?* But nothing cou'd prevent it. It was given out in *Holland*, that no Dependance cou'd be made on *England*, that Court being so entirely in a *French* Interest, that they expected they wou'd, as they had once done, sell them again to *France*. Which Report was believ'd to be spread by the *French* Ministers themselves, who, to come at their Ends, were apt enough to give up even those that sacrific'd every thing to them. It was said the Court of *France* wou'd consider both *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*, and repay the Charge of the War against *Sweden*; which was thought to be a Design to force those Princes into a Dependance upon *France*, who wou'd not continue those Payments so much for past, as for future Services.

Prince of Orange beats *Luxemburg* at *Mons*.

In the mean time the *French* had block'd up *Mons*, and the Prince of *Orange* march'd thither to drive them from their Posts. *Luxemburg* commanded the *French* Army, and seem'd to be in full Expectation of a Peace when the Prince came and attack'd him on the 14th of *August*; and notwithstanding the Advantage of his Situation, it appear'd how much the *Dutch* Army was now superior to the *French*, for they beat them out of several Entrenchments. The Prince had no Order to stop, but knew however that the Peace was just upon a Conclusion, though it had not been yet formally intimated to him; which made it lawful for him to take all Advantages, and he was not apprehensive of a new Embroilment, but rather wish'd it. The *French* Treasure was so exhausted, and their King so weary of the War, that no Notice was taken of the Business of *Mons*, where the Duke of *Monmouth*, who commanded a Body of 10,000 *English*, signaliz'd himself so much, that he acquir'd a great Character as a General and a Soldier. The Treaty of *Nimeguen* was concluded about the 20th of *August*, and ratify'd the 20th of *September*; but our Ambassadors Mediators had no better Part in it than that of Form and Title. The Ministers of the Confederates took no more Notice of them than they were forc'd to: New Difficulties arose after the Conclusion of the Treaty, upon the *French* King's refusing to evacuate *Ghent*, *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, and *Limburgh*, the six Cities which were to be restor'd to *Spain*, till Restitution was made to *Sweden* of all that had been taken from her. Upon this the *English* struck in again, and even the Duke of *York* declar'd in the Foreign Committee,

Duke of Monmouth signalizes himself.

That it was plain by this Step, that France was not sincere in the Business of the Peace; that they aim'd at the Universal Monarchy, and none but the King cou'd hinder them from it, in the Posture that Christendom then stood. In this Disposition Sir *William Temple*, who had been sometime in *England*, was sent to *Holland* with *Van Leven*, and an Alliance was enter'd into with the *Dutch*, by a Treaty form'd in five or six Days; upon which the *French* evacuated the six Towns, and got *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* into their Dependance, under Pretence of repaying the Charge of the War. A general Peace quickly follow'd, and there was no more Occasion for our Troops beyond Seas. The *French* was so apprehensive of them, that young *Ruvigny*, afterwards Earl of *Gakway*, was sent over to *England* to get the Army disbanded: And the Force of Money was so strong, that he had Orders to offer six Millions of *Livres*, in case the Army was disbanded in *August*. Monsieur *Ruvigny* had such an ill Opinion of the Designs of our Court, if the Army was kept up, that he insist'd on fixing a Day for disbanding it; at which the Duke of *York* was very uneasy, and the Army not being disbanded at the Time prefix'd, the *French* King sav'd his Money. The Troops were brought into *England*, and kept up under Colour of wanting Money to pay them.

The *French* King's Money did not only pass in *England* about the Time of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, it was current in *Holland* also; and tho' the Prince of *Orange* told Sir *William Temple*, *He wou'd hinder the Peace as long as he cou'd, yet the Lowestein Party, and many of their principal Men, push'd hard for it, and the Clamour ran high against prolonging the War; for which Mr. Montagu, then the English Ambassador in France, gives us this Reason: The King of France is in very good Humour, upon the Assurances, I believe, he has of having such a Peace from the Dutch as he desires; which has been manag'd under-hand by great Presents to those that are not Well-wishers to the Prince of Orange.* The Pensioner *Fagel* surpriz'd an original Letter from Mr. *Louvois* to Mr. *D'Estrades*, in which he bids him tell those of his Correspondents in *Holland*, from whence the late Advices came, *That in case they gave him no better, he wou'd certainly stop their Pensions; and he had daily good Advices thence. His Emisaries insinuated to the People of the United Provinces, that since the Prince of Orange's Marriage, the King and Duke had drawn over the Prince to the Interest of France; and that there was a private Understanding between them; to the Danger of the Liberties of Holland, which at length had the Effect they desir'd. It made the Dutch jealous of the Prince, destroy'd the Confidence in him which he deserv'd, and prepar'd the Way for the Dutch to comply with the hard Terms impos'd upon them and their Confederates in the Treaty of Nimeguen. The Prince did all he cou'd, without making a Breach in the Constitution, to oppose that Peace; but as a very good Author informs us, The Conduct of King Charles had spread such a Humour and Diffidence in the States, that it was not to be avoided. Their Allies loudly exclaim'd at the arbitrary Terms to which they were, as it were, commanded to submit by LEWIS XIV. as a Conqueror. They cry'd out they were abandon'd and betray'd into so fatal a Conjunction. Their Complaints avail'd no more than the Parliament's Addresses; the Peace was concluded, and France gain'd her Ends.* Thus, continues the same Author, in six Months time it cost the Kingdom a Million to procure such a Peace with *Holland*.

Dutch Ministers brib'd.

Sir W. T.

The ill Effects of the King's War

A. D. 1672 as the French desir'd; and such was the End of the fatal War begun by England and France, against the Dutch and their Confederates, in 1672, by which the FRENCH King dissolv'd the Confederacy against him, extended his Dominions, seiz'd on great Tracts of Land, had Time given him to refresh his Troops, and maintain great Part of them by his Conquests, to make a very considerable Addition to his Fleet, to settle a better Oeconomy in his Finances, and replenish it with Treasure; the deplorable Effects of all which we have groan'd under ever since.

All Europe saw plainly that the King of England acted only as he was directed by the Counsels of France, and his Ambassadors at Nimeguen were look'd on rather as Ambassadors from an Ally. Sir William Temple was honest, and wou'd gladly have serv'd the Confederates if he cou'd. Sir Lionel Jenkins every one knew to be a Court Tool, of mean Parts, with much Pedantry, and good *Staunch* Principles of Religion and Government. There was an Account of the Treaty of Nimeguen written in French, by Monsieur d'Avaux's Secretary, in which the two British Ministers are thus spoken of: Sir William Temple, says the French-man, was too much a Friend to the Allies, and too little a Friend to us; nay, he cou'd not be brought to consent to some things in our Favour, which the King his Master had allow'd him to do; but Sir Lionel Jenkins was a good Mediator.

Papish Plot.

Having dispatch'd Foreign Affairs, we must review those of England, where we are on the Brink of a Discovery which struck the three Kingdoms with Terror and Amazement. The Papists had been all this while branching out Coleman's general Conspiracy, and several Agents had receiv'd Instructions as to several Parts of it; but before any Particulars were known, they buzz'd about, that the Dissenters were plotting against the Government, and the Presbyterians, who brought in the King, were going to turn him out again. John Claypole, Esq; of Northamptonshire, a Gentleman of a most mild, peaceable Disposition, was pitch'd upon to be the Head of this Plot. He was accordingly apprehended, and hurry'd away to the Tower in June. His great Crime, Appearance, being his having marry'd one of Oliver's Daughters, and the King, as we have remember'd, wou'd very gladly have marry'd another, if he cou'd have recover'd his Crown by it. Mr. Claypole had an Habeas Corpus to the King's Bench, and was brought up in order to be bail'd, and produc'd Persons of Worth to bail him; but Scroggs, lately made Chief Justice for that and other such Jobs, set the Penalty of the Bail so high, that those Persons excus'd themselves, and Mr. Claypole was remanded to the Tower. But the Term after, when the Conspiracy against the Government appear'd to be the Design of the Papists, he was let go, and no further Enquiry was made on whose, or on what Evidence he was committed.

Sham Plot against the Government, and the Presbyterians.

Mr. Claypole imprison'd.

Suddenly discharg'd.

I am far from being visionary, or over credulous: I cou'd as soon believe the Story of Mahomet and his Pigeon, as Echar'd's Tale of Oliver Cromwel and the Devil. I do not think we are justify'd in imputing to the First Cause, what Second Causes may very naturally produce, which makes me very cautious in interpreting common Incidents as Judgments. I am not over fond of conjecturing as to the Springs and Wheels that move the State-Machine, and all Political Events, but I don't think 'tis wild guessing to suspect that this Fanatical Plot was inventing, in order to throw the Popish Plot upon the Fanatics, if it had been put in Execution. For in the Gunpowder

Plot, there was such a devilish Design, and another Northamptonshire Gentleman, Mr. Pickering, a noted Puritan, was pitch'd upon to be the Head of, as is elsewhere mention'd.

A. D. 1678

In the mean time the Parliament met, on the 23d of May, and his Majesty, in a short Speech, desir'd them to raise Money for maintaining or disbanding the Army, and gave them a Caution against tacking together several Matters in one Bill. Echar'd tells us, that the Lord Chancellor made a long Speech again; and truly a long one it was, and it had been well if that had been its only Fault: The Flattery is so fulsome, that there is nothing like it in the Harangues of the French Academicans on their Grand Monarch, who, however, had the Superficies of a Hero, and that's enough for Flatterers. The English Nation were now in the lowest Degree of Reputation and Interest Abroad; the People at Home, unless we except the persecuting Prelates, their Justices and Informers, were in the greatest Anxiety, through their Fears of a French Government and Religion. Yet does the Lord Chancellor call upon the three Kingdoms, with all the Pomp of puffy Eloquence, to shew a Time, if they can, since the Lord World began, and these Islands were first inhabited (The Phrase is, Since this Nation was first inhabited, which bordering upon Nonsense, made bold to correct; to inhabit a Nation, being in my humble Conception not so good as to inhabit an Island) Let them shew the Time, says his Lordship, when there were fewer Grievances, or less Cause of Complaint, than at this present Time: Nay, let them search all Ages and Places, and tell us when and where there was ever found a happier People than we are at this Day, having the Purse and Seal in our Possession. He added something about the Money, and against the Tack; he then bids them Embellish the History of this Parliament, which had several Embellishments in his Predecessor Clarendon's Time.

The Peace was not then concluded at Nimeguen, and the Commons resolv'd to support the King, if he wou'd enter into a War with France; if not, to provide for the speedy disbanding of the Army, which they voted the next Day, and on the 4th of June pass'd a Vote for 200,000 Pounds, for disbanding the Army by the End of this present June, and 200,000 Pounds for the Expence of the Fleet. They continu'd the Time of Disbanding till the latter End of July, and the King in a second Speech, June the 18th, having told them that if they desir'd he shou'd live in Quiet, they must add 300,000 Pounds a Year for Life to his Revenue, they gave a total Denial to it. Upon a Motion to give the King a Compensation for what Customs he lost by the Act of Prohibition, it pass'd also in the Negative. Yeas 145, Noes 202. On the 15th of July, his Majesty coming to the House, pass'd the Supply Bill, amounting to 619,000 Pounds, for disbanding the Army, for the Fleet, and Algiers, with which Government the King had been almost in continual War, these Pyrates having lost the Terror they had of the English Maritime Power in the Time of Blake; and several other Bills, particularly the Act for burying in Woollen. Then the Lord Chancellor prorog'd the Parliament to the first of August, but they met not till the 21st of October.

It was happy for England that the Papists were under Infatuation, blinded by Bigotry and Rage, which stirr'd them up to commit a most horrid Murder on the Person of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Brother and Uncle to Messieurs Godfrey, late Merchants in London, and a zealous Justice of Peace against Papists, within the Liberties of Westminster; der'd.

A.D. 1678 *Westminster*; for this bloody Attempt of theirs breaking out about the Time of the Discovery of the Popish Plot, very much confirm'd People in the Belief of that *damnable Conspiracy*. *Echard*, who has carefully study'd the most lying Libeller that ever wrote, *Roger L'Estrange*, endeavours in several Places of his History to ridicule, though very aukardly, not only the *Popish Plot*, but the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, whom he calls that *melancholly Gentleman*, to intimate, that in his *Melancholly* he stabb'd himself. I will take the Liberty with *L'Estrange* which his Character justifies; There's no Decency towards a *Villain*, that had a hundred times deserv'd the Gallows, which he was condemn'd to thirty Years before. The Lord L - - - in a Speech in the House of Peers, gives a lively Picture of this Scribler; who, without the least Knoweldge of the Strength, Purity, and Elegance of Stile, was cy'd up, at our two famous Universities, as a Master of the *English Tongue*. He publish'd a Heap of Libels and Lampons to rail away the *Popish Plot*, and Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey's* Murder, in Language which wou'd be a *Shame* to our Markets; and his Lordship takes this Notice of him.

Lord L - -
Speech a-
gainst L'E-
strange.

I wou'd not have so much as a Popish Man nor a Popish Woman to remain here, nor so much as a Popish Dog nor a Popish Bitch, nor so much as a Popish Cat that shou'd pur or mew about the King. We are in a Labyrinth of Evils, and must carefully endeavour to get out of them; and the greatest Dangers of all amongst us, are concerning Protestants; who notwithstanding the many Evidences of the Plot, have been industrious to revile the King's Witnesses; and such a one is ROGER L'ESTRANGE, who now disappears, being one of the greatest VILLAINS upon Earth, a ROGUE beyond my Skill to delineate; who has been the Bugbear of the Protestant Religion, and traduc'd the King and Kingdom's Evidences by his notorious Scribling Writings, and has endeavour'd, as much as in him lay, to eclipse the Glory of the English Nation. He is a dangerous rank Papist, prov'd by good and substantial Evidence; for which, since he has walk'd under another Disguise, he deserves of all Men to be HANG'D, and I believe I shall live to see that be his Fate. He has scandaliz'd several of the Nobility, and detracted from the Rights of his Majesty's great Council, the Parliament: He is now fled from Justice, by which he confesses the Charge against him, and that shewes him to be guilty. This wretched Fellow was made a Justice of Peace, to persecute Protestant Dissenters with his Power as well as with his Pen. He was afterwards dubb'd, and one of King James's House of Commons, whom *Echard* so highly honours for their great Fortunes and Virtues. From his Invectives does that Historian take his Ribaldry against the Discovery of the *Popish Plot*, as will be observ'd in the Sequel.

Dr.
Tongue
the first
Evidence
of the Plot.

Bishop Burnet informs us, that Dr. *Tongue*, a Clergy-man of the Church of *England*, brought the first Information of the Plot to him, on the 26th of September, and that he had always look'd upon him as a sincere Man. Now let us see how he is characteris'd by *Echard*, to discredit the Conspiracy he was about to discover. He had a Prolifick Brain, was of a restless humourous Temper, full of Variety of Projects, and scarce ever without a Pen in his Hand, and a Plot in his Head. The Wickedness of the Infimulation is thus continu'd: He seem'd to entertain Titus Oates out of Charity, who then went by the Name of Ambrose; and complaining that he knew not where to get Bread, the Doctor took him to his House, gave him Cloaths, Lodging, and Diet, and told him he wou'd put

him in a Way. Thus does he very honestly in- A.D. 1678
troduce his Discovery of the Plot, as if it was a
Contrivance of Dr. *Tongue's*, who put *Oates* upon
forming one out of his Conversation with Papists
at *St. Omers*, and in *London*. For *Oates*, who had
had his Education in the same University with
Archdeacon *Echard*, and got a Living in *Sussex*,
turn'd Papist, and was initiated into the Romish
Idolarrous Mysteries at *Salamanca* in *Spain*, and
St. Omer in *Flanders*; but his Father having been
an Anabaptist Teacher, afterwards Parson of *Ha-*
stings in *Sussex*, was the chief Reason that some
did not give Credit to his Son's Evidence. I knew
Oates, he was dull enough, and as impudent as
dull, no more capable of forming the Plot, even
as *Echard* has copied it, than of writing *Paradise*
Lost. The Design in general was by Fire and
Sword, when all other Means fail'd, to subvert
the establish'd Government and Religion of these
Kingdoms, and introduce Popery. The Pope, in
a Congregation de Propaganda Fide, consisting of
above three hundred Persons, held about Decem-
ber, 1677, declar'd the King of *England's* Do-
minions to be Part of *St. Peter's* Patrimony, as
forfeited to the Holy See for Heresy, and so to be
dispos'd of as he shou'd think fit. Cardinal *How-*
ard, nominal Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was ac-
cordingly appointed Legate of *England*, to take
Possession of it in the Pope's Name; he was also
to have 40,000 Crowns a Year Augmentation, for
the Maintenance of his Legatine Authority.

Oates's
Birth and
Education.

Perrot was made Archbishop of *Tork*; *Corker*,
Bishop of *London*; *Whitebread*, Bishop of *Win-*
chester; *Strange*, Bishop of *Durham*; *Godden*, Bi-
shop of *Salisbury*; *Napper*, Bishop of *Norwich*; *Shops* in
Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, Lord Chancellor of Eng-
land; Lord *Powis*, Lord Treasurer; Sir *Willi-*
am Godolphin, Lord Privy-Seal; *Edward Cole-*
man, Esq; Secretary of State; Lord *Bellasis*, Ge-
neral of the Army; *John Lambert*, Esq; Adju-
tant-General; *Richard Langhorn*, Esq; Advo-
cate-General.

The Lay-Officers had all Commissions sent
them ready seal'd by *Johannes Paulus de Oliva*,
Father-General of the Jesuit's Society residing at
Rome, who was to give Directions to the Provin-
cial of the Jesuits at *London*, how to proceed in
this Affair. *Pedro de Jeronimo de Corduba*, Pro-
vincial of the Jesuits in *Spain*, was to assist with
Counsel and Money, and misrepresent the ACTIONS
of his Britannick Majesty to the Spanish Court;
which likewise was to be done by a Jesuit, Con-
fessor to the Emperor, in relation to *England* and
that Court. The Correspondence for *France* was
carry'd on between *Coleman* and Father *Terriers*
first, and afterwards Father *La Chaise*, Confessor
to the French King. And that the Duke of *York*
approv'd of, and even authoris'd that Correspond-
ence for destroying our Religion and Liberties,
appears by his own Letter to *La Chaise*, begin-
ning thus. The 2d. of June last past, 1674, his
most Christian Majesty offer'd me most generously
his Friendship, and the use of his Purse, against
the Designs of my Enemies and his, and protested
to me that his Interest and mine were so closely
link'd together; that those that oppos'd the one shou'd
be look'd upon as Enemies to the other; and told
me, it was his Opinion that that Parliament was
neither in his Interest nor mine, &c. He refer'd
himself for further Explanations to Sir *William*
Throgmorton, who was sent to *France* on purpose,
and to *Coleman*.

The Duke
of York
in it.

The Conspirators having their several Parts al-
lotted them, *Grove* and *Pickering* were to shoot
the King; *Coniers* and *Anderton*, two Monks,
and four Irish Ruffians, to stab him; Sir *George*
Wakeman,
King.

Grove
and Pick-
ering to
shoot the
King.

A.D. 1678 *Wakeman*, the Queen's Physician, to poison him; for it does not appear that the general Rising was to be till after they had made away with the King, who, tho' a Papist, and their own, yet he had too little Religion to hazard his Crown, or even his Pleasures, by hastening on their Work, as they wou'd have had him. 5000 Pounds were enter'd in their Books as paid to *Wakeman* in part of 15,000 Pounds which he was to have for poisoning the King. They were to make use of the Duke's Name and Interest, if he wou'd comply with these Conditions. "1. To accept of the three Kingdoms as a Gift from the *Pope*, and hold them in Fee of him, and confirm their Settlement of the Church and State. Next, if he wou'd exterminate all Protestants, if he wou'd pardon the Murderers of his Brother, the Murderers of his People, and those who shou'd fire the remaining Part of the City and Suburbs. "2. For that was the second Particular of their Work, to fire *London* and *Westminster*, and the adjacent Places, as also other the chief Cities and Towns of *England* immediately on the Killing of his Majesty, and then lay the whole Load both of the Murder and Firing on the *Presbyterians* and *Fanaticks*, thereby provoking the Episcopal Men to join with them and cut them off, that so Protestants being weaken'd by their own Feuds, they might have the better Opportunity and easier Task to subdue them all. "3. By a general Massacre; to which Purpose they are said to have form'd an Army, consisting of 50,000 Men, to be rais'd about *London*, the Officers all resolute *Papists*, and for the most part *French* and *Irish*. These they gave out were enough to cut the Throats of 100,000 Protestants, especially being taken upon a Surprize, when the *Militia* of *London* were unprovided and undisciplin'd, and the Country generally disarm'd. The Conspirators were besides to have 10,000 *French* Soldiers from *Flanders*, and 30,000 Pilgrims and Lay-Brothers from *Spain*, to assist them. "4. In *Ireland* the *Pope* had made *Talbot*, the Titular Archbishop of *Dublin*, his Legate, to take Possession for him of that Kingdom, whose Brother was to be General of all the Forces there, consisting of 70,000 *Papists*, besides the *French* Auxiliaries. There it was to be carry'd on by a general Rebellion and Massacre of the Protestants, as in 1641, which they call'd *Demonstrating of their Zeal for the Catholick Faith*. Four Jesuits undertook to assassinate the Duke of *Ormond*, and the better to carry on the whole, the *Pope* was to contribute 800,000 Crowns; and the *French* had privately sent over some Supplies of Men and Arms, and were to furnish them with more as soon as they shou'd be in Action, *La Chaise* having a great Influence in promoting all these Transactions. Such, says *Echard*, was the Sum and Substance of this formidable Plot, of which all these, with many other Particulars, were formally and solemnly given in upon Oath, not at once, or all together, but at several Times, and by several Parcels, who seem'd to start up exactly as the Stories met with Credit and Encouragement, and by their Oaths and Narratives for a while bore down all Opposition. Now comes the wise Reflections of this Wise One, spoken with an Air, as if it had been his own, and not borrow'd from *L'Esrange*, or the scandalous Writer of the *Compendium*. And yet after all the strictest and coolest Examinations, and after a full Length of Time, the Government could find very little Foundation to support so vast a Fabrick, besides downright Swearing and Assurance. Now he imitates their wretched Railery,

and hooks in the *Gunpowder Plot*, to take its Share of his vile Mirth; not a Gun, not a Sword, not a Dagger, not a Flash of Powder, or a Dark-Lantern, to effect the strange Villainy, and, excepting *Coleman's Writing*, not one Snip of an original Letter or Commission.

The King, who knew what a good Friend he had been to *Popery*, was not easily brought to take any Notice of this *Popish Plot*. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, Dr. *Tongue* came to him the 26th of *September*, and told him of strange Designs against the King's Person; which he acquainted Dr. *Lloyd*, afterwards Bishop *Lloyd* with. The latter going to the Secretary's Office, found *Tongue* had been there making Discoveries; and on the 27th of *September*, *Titus Oates* was brought before the Council, having first sworn to his Narrative of the Plot before Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*. *Kirby*, a Chymist in the King's Laboratory, had been long acquainted with *Tongue*, as *Tongue* had been with *Oates*, and by *Kirby's* Means *Tongue* had Audience of the King himself, to whom he repeated most of the Passages above-mention'd. His Majesty said, he knew not what to make of it. However, he refer'd him to the Earl of *Danby*, who, according to my Lord of *Sarum*, handled the Matter too remissly. And the King himself, when all the Town was in a terrible Alarm at the Rumour of a *Popish Plot*, heeded it so little, that he went to the Horse-Races at *Newmarket*. *Oates* deliver'd his Narrative to the Council, most of whom believ'd his Evidence so far, as to issue Warrants for apprehending several Plotters nam'd by him, as Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Physician; Mr. *Edward Coleman*, Secretary to the Duke of *York*; Mr. *Langhorn*, of the *Inner-Temple*; *Thomas Whitebread*, Provincial of the *Jesuits* in *England*; *John Gaven*, *William Ireland*, *Anthony Turner*, *William Marshall*, *William Rumsley*, *James Corker*, *Thomas Pickering*. I know not upon what Humour it was, that Bishop *Burnet* makes Slight of this Plot; but I can never think he had any Reason for it, by *Oates's* calling Father *La Chaise* Father *le Sbee*, in his Testimony concerning *Coleman's* treasonable Correspondence with the *French King's* Confessor, the Mistake being very easy. *Oates* was a passionate, rash, half-witted Fellow, and his want of Judgment might run him a little too far into Particulars: But that there was a treasonable Plot in general, &c. that the Persons he accus'd were particularly engag'd in it, there is no Room to question. *Oates*, at the Opening of the Plot, refer'd himself to *Coleman's* Letters, which sufficiently prov'd that he knew there were such Letters, and Treason in them. The Court cou'd not help enquiring into this, but proceeded so slowly in it, that *Coleman* had Time enough to convey away all his Papers relating to the last two Years, when the Conspiracy was branching and ripening. But his Servant *Boatman* being examin'd, depos'd, That he saw *Coleman's* Book of Entries for the two last Years but two Days before he was made Prisoner, and that he had usually Letters every Post from beyond Sea. However, the Letters that were found, the Contents of which are in the preceding Pages, are sufficient to prove him a Traitor, and to confirm one in an entire Belief of the Plot; and my Lord of *Sarum* observes, they gain'd Universal Credit. At the same Time a Packet of dangerous Letters were directed to Father *Bedingsfield*, the Duke's Confessor at *Windsor*, which fully corroborated the traitorous Designs discover'd by *Oates*; but they were suspected not to have been genuine by *Bedingsfield's* shewing them himself, and declaring he knew not what they meant, nor whom they came from.

A. D. 1678 Titus Oates going to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey to make Oath to his Narrative before he gave it to the Council, was a Diffidence of them, that they wou'd not prosecute it, and Sir Edmund was chid for meddling in the Matter, which so irritated the Papists and Conspirators, that they resolv'd to destroy him: Bishop Burnet says, *'Tis certain Godfrey grew apprehensive; for meeting me in the Street after some Discourse of the present State of Affairs, he said, I believe my self shall be knock'd on the Head: Yet he took no Care of himself, and went about according to his own Maxim still without a Servant; for he us'd to say, the Servants in London are corrupted by the Illness and ill Company they fall into while they attend on their Masters. Saturday the 12th of October, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went abroad in the Morning, and was seen about One o'Clock near St. Clement's Church in the Strand, but was never seen any more. The execrable L'Estrange has endeavour'd to render the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey a Self-Murder, and collected some Lies injurious to that Gentleman's Character. One cou'd not expect better from a mercenary Scribler. But it is not excusable in the Archdeacon to tell us, that Sir Edmund was a Favourer of the Papists; whereas Bishop Burnet assures us, He was a zealous Protestant, and had kind Thoughts of the Dissenters. He was a punctual Man in all his Ways, and therefore it was the more taken Notice of when he was missing. The Council sate upon it, and were going to order a Search of all the Houses about Town, but were diverted from it by many Stories that were brought them by the Duke of Norfolk. Sometimes it was said he was indecently marry'd, and the Scene of the Places where it was reported to be, was often shifted, and the last Place he was seen at, being near Arundel-House, it brought the Duke under Suspicion; At length, on Thursday the 17th of October 'twas given out that his Body was found in a Ditch near Pancras Church, with his Sword thrust through it; but no Blood was on his Cloaths, or about him. His Shoes were clean, his Money was in his Pocket, but nothing was about his Neck, and a Mark an Inch broad was all round it, which shew'd he was strangled. His Breast also was mark'd all over with Bruises, and his Neck broken. A Melancholy Man, as Echard calls him, cou'd not do all this to himself. Dr. Lloyd, Dr. Burnet, late Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, saw the Body, and what follows of their Evidence gives one more than Suspicion that Priests were concern'd in the Murder. There were many Drops of White Wax Lights on his Breeches, which he never us'd in his House; and since only Persons of Quality or Priests use those Lights, this made all People conclude in whose Hands he must have been. 'Twas visible he was first strangled, then carry'd to that Place. The King was easily made believe that he was Hypochondriacal, and had stab'd himself; upon which Dr. Lloyd went and told him what he had seen. Nothing in the World cou'd have happen'd to give so much Credit to the Popish Plot as this horrid Murder of a worthy Magistrate, just as it was discover'd. Coke gives a pretty good Account of Sir Edmundbury's Assassination.*

Some Time before it Le Faire, Pritchard, and two or three Priests more, treated with one Bedloe to be assisting in the taking him off. Bedloe promis'd to do it for a Sum of Money; but relenting, afterwards fail'd them, and came not at the Time appointed. Two Days after, October the 4th, he met Le Faire in Red-Lion-Court, and he charg'd him with being worse than his Word. Bedloe made some Excuses, and Le Faire seem'd

to be satisfy'd; Bedloe promising to meet Le Faire at Somerset-House at 9 o'Clock that Night, where the Priest told him Sir Edmund was kill'd, and if he wou'd help carry him off, he shou'd still have a good Part of the Sum agreed upon. Bedloe demanded to see the Body, which he did, and then they consulted how to dispose of it. Bedloe advis'd the sinking it in the River with Weights; and while they were talking about it Prance comes in. He was a Silver-Smith, who work'd for the Priests in Somerset-House, and assist'd at the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. His Neighbours observing he had absented himself from his House about the Time of the Assassination, represented it to some Members of Parliament as Matter of Suspicion, upon which he was order'd to be seiz'd, and brought before the House of Commons, who order'd Sir Richard Everard and Sir Charles Harbord to examine him.

In the mean while Bedloe goes to Bristol, in order to ship himself for Ireland; but whether he was really troubled in Conscience for concealing the Murder, or was set upon it in Hopes of a Reward for the Discovery, he surrender'd himself as an Evidence to the Mayor of Bristol, John Lloyd, Esq; who sent him to London, where he was carry'd before a Committee of the House of Lords to be examin'd. He there found Prance in the Lobby, whom he had never seen before, but at Somerset-House, and that by Candle-Light, and in a Wig, yet he knew him at Sight, and discover'd him, and upon Search the Wig was found about him; so Prance made a full Discovery of the Murder: And as Prance and Bedloe did not act in Concert, or indeed know one another, the Evidence is as clear as plain Truth can make it, tho' L'Estrange and Echard have very impotently endeavour'd to disguise it with Grimace and Ridicule. The Murderers were Le Faire, Pritchard, Kelly and Fitzgerald, Popish Priests, Berry the Porter at Somerset-House, Green, Cushion-Man to the Queen's Chappel, Lawrence Hill, Servant to Dr. Godden, Treasurer of the Chappel, Father Lewson, Vernattis, &c. Notwithstanding that, by the Evidence of two Bishops it is prov'd, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was strangled, and that Bedloe's Evidence is the strongest Confirmation of Prance's, how awkward and shocking is the Archdeacon's poor Pretences to Wit, which is however borrow'd from other Pretenders! It was found exceeding useful to tack the Murder to the Plot, and make one a Part, or rather a Support of the other. They pitch'd upon Somerset-House, and adher'd at last to that as a Popish Palace, tho' two Miles from that where the Body was found. Suppose it had been ten Miles, when they had got the Body out of Town, they might drop it where they pleas'd, and think it safer two Miles off than two Quarters of a Mile. His whole Representation is one continu'd Falshood, larded with dull Jest not his own, for they wou'd then have been duller still. I do not see the least Reason in the World to doubt his being murder'd, and by Priests, or Persons who trade in Wax-Lights; or that the Murderers were not the same whom Bedloe and Prance charg'd with it.

In the midst of this Affright and Indignation the Parliament met the 21st of October. The King was hard put to it to tell what he had to say. He believ'd not a Word of the Plot, and the Generality of both Houses believ'd every Word of it. He own'd he had been inform'd of a Design against his Person by Jesuits, of which he shou'd forbear any Opinion, lest he might seem to say too much or too little. But it was hazarding too much to tell them, as he did after, The French had impos'd such a scandalous Peace

Sir Edmundbury Godfrey murder'd by Papists.

Duke of Norfolk suspected.

The Body found.

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Danby brings the Plot into Parliament.

on the Confederates with his Coniivance, for which he had Money from France: *That the Part he had in the Preservation of his Neighbourhood, and the well securing Flanders, was sufficiently known.* The Lord Chancellor made another long Speech, and mention'd the Plot, but not in the Stile of the House of Commons, as we shall see presently. Mr. Archdeacon, as well as the common Writers, informs us, that the King wou'd not have had the Plot brought into Parliament, but the Lord Danby wou'd do it, and no doubt it was to ingratiate himself with the People, who had a kind of Abhorrence for him, that he laid Oates's Informations before the House of Peers the first Day of their Meeting. The King told him, *Tho' you do not believe it, you shall find you have given the Parliament a Handle to ruin your self, as well as to disturb all my Affairs, and that you will live to repent it.* The Politicks of which are to me incomprehensible. He gave them no Handle to ruin him by laying the *Popish* Plot before them; the Handle was his chaffering with France for Money, to engage the King to abandon the Confederates. He might indeed repent afterwards of what he had done to make the Papists his Enemies, when he found that he cou'd not make the Protestants his Friends. *Echard* takes a great deal of Pains to prove that the King did not believe the Plot. I am apt to believe he *durst not believe it*, and that the Papists knew too much of him for him to quarrel with them. But I have better Authority to be confirm'd in the Belief of it, than the King had to be confirm'd in the Disbelief, upon a Tavern Contest between *Oates* and *Tongue* about the Merit of the Discovery. My Authority is that of Archbishop *Tilloison*, who had it from *Langhorn's* Wife, as zealous a Protestant as her Husband was a Papist, that before *Oates* had spoken a Word of Commissions, or had accus'd her Husband, she engag'd her Son, a hot, indiscreet Papist in Discourse, on the Designs of the Catholics; he said, they were so well laid, it was impossible they cou'd miscarry, and that his Father wou'd be one of the greatest Men in *England*; for he had seen a Commission from the Pope constituting him *Advocate General*: The very Commission mention'd for *Langhorn* in *Oates's* Narrative. However, there are still two other Evidences in *Bishop Burnet's* Memoirs, two Snips of Paper, though the Archdeacon protests there was not one to corroborate *Oates's* Testimony. "Amongst the Papers of the *Jesuits* that were seiz'd on when they were clapp'd up, two Letters were found, which seem'd to confirm all; one from *Rome*, which mention'd the sending over the Patents, of which 'twas said in the Letter, that they guess'd the Contents, tho' their Patrons there carry'd their Matters so secretly, that nothing was known but as they thought fit. Another Letter was written to a *Jesuit* in the Country, citing him to come to *London* by the 24th of *April*, which was the Day on which *Oates* swore they held their Consult, and that fifty of them had sign'd the Resolution of killing the King, which was to be executed by *Grove* and *Pickering*. In the End of that Letter it was added, *I need not enjoin Secrecy, for the Nature of the Thing requires it.*

Before any of the Conspirators for the Plot came to Trial, one *Staley*, a Goldsmith in *Coven-Garden*, was taken on an Information given against him by *Cartairs* a *Scots-man*, who came to *London* to accuse *Duke Lauderdale* of Male-

Administration in *Scotland*. *Staley* being at a Publick-House in his Neighbourhood, and *Cartairs* in another Room of the same House, he made Oath that he heard *Staley* say in French, *The King is a Rogue, and persecutes the People of God, and he himself would stab him if no body else would*: Which Information happening about the Time of *Bedloe's* coming in with his Evidence, continu'd the Ferment the Nation was in against the Papists. *Tongue*, *Oates* and *Bedloe* were lodg'd and liberally maintain'd at the publick Charge, and Guards order'd to attend them for the Security of their Persons. Both Houses petition'd the King for a Day of General Fast and Humiliation, to implore the Mercy and Protection of Almighty God to his Majesty's Royal Person, and in him to all his Loyal Subjects; and it was appointed by Proclamation, and celebrated the 13th of *November*. The next Address was for ordering all Papists to depart the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and Parts adjacent; another to forbid suspicious Persons the Court, and to set Guards of the Train'd-Bands in *London*, *Westminster* and *Southwark*.

On the 24th of *October* *Oates's* Examination was taken in the House of Peers by the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, who there seal'd twenty six Warrants against several Lords and others mention'd in that Examination. Upon which the Lord *Porwis*, the Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Petre*, the Lord *Bellasis*, and Sir *Henry Tichburne* were taken into Custody, and shortly after committed to the Tower, as were several others to *Newgate*; but the 31st of *October* the House of Commons

Resolv'd, *Nemine contradicente*,

That there is, and hath been a Damnable and Hellish Plot contriv'd and carry'd on by Popish Recusants, for Assassinating and Murdering the King, for subverting the Government, and Rooting out and Destroying the Protestant Religion.

To which Vote the Lords readily agreed, *Nemine contradicente*; but *Echard*, wiser than the Lords and Commons of *England*, cou'd, after his most serious Consideration, see no Foundation for it. The Lords desir'd the Commons to sit *de Die in Diem*, Forenoon and Afternoon, as their Lordships had resolv'd to do, to consider what is necessary for preventing imminent Dangers: And on the same Day the People were strangely affected with the Sight of the Funeral of Sir *Edmundsbury Godfrey*. The Solemnity proceeded from *Bridewell* to *St. Martin's in the Fields*. Seventy two *London* Divines went in Procession before the Corpse, and above a Thousand Persons of Quality and principal Citizens follow'd after it. *Dr. Lloyd*, afterwards Bishop of *Worcester*, preach'd the Funeral Sermon. It went very much against the Grain; but the general Disposition of the People oblig'd the King to issue out a Proclamation against the Papists, wherein he says, *The Lords and Commons having taken into their serious Consideration the bloody and traitorous Designs of Popish Recusants against his Majesty's Sacred Person and Government, therefore he commanded them to depart &c.*

Walter Herbert, Esq; Secretary to Prince *Rupert*, a Member of the House of Commons, mov'd in this, or the last Session of Parliament, for an Act to repeal the Statute *de Hæretico comburendo*. The House immediately order'd such a Bill to be brought in, and wonder'd that it had not been done before. It pass'd

Nemine

Mr. Langhorn's Discovery to Archbishop Tilloison.

Staley seiz'd.

His Treason.

Popish Lords Plotters.

Notes.

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Nemine contrahente, and *Herbert* had the Thanks of the House: But it met with Opposition from the Bishops in the House of Lords, not one of them voting for it, except the very learned and reverend Dr. *Barlow*, Bishop of *Lincoln*.

The Lord *Shaftsbury* having upon his Submission got out of the *Tower*, was very active in the Prosecution of the *Plot*, so were the Dukes of *Monmouth* and *Buckingham*, the Lord *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Essex*, and the leading Members of both Houses. Many hard Things were said against the Duke of *York*. The Danger of his Succession was in every one's Mouth; but the Thought of *Exclusion* was not yet mature: The Commons debated an Address to send him away from Court; but it was not determin'd.

While Examinations were going on, and Preparations were making for the Trial of the Prisoners, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, requiring all Members of either House, and all such as might come into the King's Court or Presence, to take a *Test* against Popery; in which not only *Transubstantiation* was renounc'd, but the Worship of the *Virgin Mary* and the *Saints*, as it was practis'd in the Church of *Rome*, was declar'd to be Idolatrous. This pass'd in the House of Commons without any Difficulty. But we are come now to a new Discovery, which is, that the persecuting Prelates, who pretended to be such good Churchmen, were really *Romanists*; for *Gunning*, Bishop of *Ely*, maintain'd, *That the Church of Rome was not Idolatrous*. Dr. *Barlow*, the very learned and reverend Bishop of *Lincoln*, answer'd him; and it has been the great Happiness of the Church of *England*, that she has never wanted learned and pious Bishops to assert the Reformation, when the *Bancrofts*, the *Lauds*, the *Sheltons*, the *Morleys*, the *Wards*, the *Gunnings*, the *Mews*, the *Keus* would have run her back to Popery. This is the *Gunning* who pretended to dispute with Mr. *Baxter*; but instead of Reason and Argument, made use of Insolence and Passion. Bishop *Burnet* says the Lords did not much mind him; and *Echard* assures us, that the Charge against him of favouring Popery was false and malicious. My Lord of *Sarum* adds, *Gunning* declar'd he cou'd not take the *Test* with a good Conscience; yet as soon as the Bill pass'd he took it in the Crowd. *Echard* assures us he was a Man of exemplary Piety, and diffusive Charity, and a great deal more in the same Strain, which is as much his own Picture as *Gunning's*. The Duke got a *Proviso* to be put in the Bill for excepting himself: He spoke upon that Occasion with great Earnestness and Tears in his Eyes, saying, *I am now to cast my self on your Favour in the greatest Concern I can have in this World, and I solemnly protest, that whatever my Religion may be, it shall only be a private Thing between God and my own Soul, and that no Effect of it shou'd ever appear in the Government*. This too is a Prince of his Word; and to make it good as soon as 'twas in his Power, he made *Papish* Privy-Counsellors, Generals and Admirals, Judges, Heads and Fellows of Colleges, and put the Government into the Hands of *Papists*. He spoke much of his Duty to the King, and of his Zeal for the Nation, which he shew'd sufficiently in his Secret League with *France*. The *Proviso* was carry'd for him by a few Voices only. This Bill being sent back to the House of Commons with Alterations, they pass'd them, but not without great Difficulty; for Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, and

Bishop
Gunning
for Popery.

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Mr. *Ass* being violently heated in the Debate, opprobrious Words pass'd between them, which provok'd the Knight so much, that he gave Mr. *Ass* a Box on the Ear, which *Ass* return'd with a Slap over the Face, and both put their Hands to their Swords. Upon which the House sent *Trelawny* to the *Tower*, and the Speaker, by their Order, reprimanded *Ass*. There was another *Proviso* to except nine Ladies about the Queen; and she said she would have all the Ladies of that Religion cast Lots who should be comprehended: Only she nam'd the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* as one whom she would not expose to the Uncertainty of a Lot, which was not thought very decent in her.

On the 9th of *November* the King came to Parliament, and made a Speech to both Houses, wherein he assur'd them he would concur in any Bills for the Security of the Protestant Religion, which did not alter the Succession; for which the House of Commons thank'd him, and he thank'd them for their Thanks.

After this *Echard* tells us, the Credit of the *Plot* began to sink, and then he brings *Bedloe* on the Stage, himself speaking a Prologue for him to open his Character, *A Fellow who went by a false Name, a Son of a Whore, a poor Foot-Boy* (one of Lord *Bellasis's* Livery-Men) *a Fail-Bird for his Villainy, a Letter-Carrier, skilful in all the Arts of Cheating, to get Watches, Coats, Horses, to bilk Vintners, a Liar, a Romanncer, a wild Arab, who liv'd upon Prey, a notorious Impostor; in Sum, an admirable Second to help out Oates*. The Stupidity of this Writer is equal to his Assurance: He cou'd not see that *L'Estrange* and the *Papists* had scrap'd together as much Scandal as their lewd Inventions cou'd produce, to bespatter the King's Evidences, and turn their Plot into a Sham, so he carefully disperses the Filth they had heap'd up; and drudges in the same Dunghil his Predecessor *Roger L'Estrange* had labour'd in before. Did these Men ever hear of Persons of Honour and Wisdom, who engag'd in Conspiracies to cut Throats, and destroy Religion and Government? How can you come at Villainy but by Villainy? and in the most wicked Conspiracies there are Degrees of Guilt in the Conspirators. *Oates* and *Bedloe* might be at first taken in, by accompanying themselves with the other Conspirators, and the Hopes of sharing their Fortunes; but being wicked Persons, and having not so much Zeal for Popery as the rest had upon finding themselves neglected, the Hopes of Reward and Revenge did very naturally lead them to make the most of what they knew; and as they cou'd not counterfeit *Coleman's* Letters, nor the *Jesuits* Letters before-mention'd, nor Mrs. *Langborn's* Information, and all those Letters agreeing with their Evidence, besides a hundred other corroborating Circumstances in their several Trials, there is enough to satisfy any reasonable Man, that there was a *Popish Plot*, and that those Men who suffer'd for it, were engag'd in it so far as to deserve the Punishment they met with. Nothing is more foolish than the Objection these Libellers make to *Oates's* and *Bedloe's* Evidence, on account of their adding to it from Time to Time, as if in a hundred Consultations. In a hundred several Places many Passages might be forgotten, which they might upon Recollection recover, especially when the Memory is awaken'd by pertinent Interrogatories: But in short, it was the King's Interest, and the Interest of all *Papists* and their Abettors, to have this *Plot* believ'd; for if full Credit was given to it, and it had been fully trac'd to

it's

A.D. 1678 it's Original, the *Assassination* Part had probably been fatten'd on Particulars; but the general Design to alter our Religion and Government by the Assistance of the *French King*, wou'd, it is to be fear'd, have been found out very near the Throne, which confirm'd the Saying of a witty Courtier, *That the King knew more of the Plot than any of his Evidences.*

The King knew of it.

Upon *Bedloe's* Examination before the House of Lords, Warrants were issu'd for apprehending *Coniers*, a *Benedictine Monk*, *Le Faire*, *Summonds*, *Waisb*, *Pritchard*, and others, as Persons guilty of the DAMNABLE and HELLISH PLOT, the Terms made use of seriously by the Parliament, but by *Echard* with a Fleer, as if any thing cou'd be more *Hellish* and *Damnable* than Application to the *French King* for Money to enable the Conspirators to subvert the Constitution, and destroy our Religion and Liberties; which, if the Duke of *York's* Letter to *La Chaise* does not fully prove, *Coleman's* Letter to that Jesuit does. *Bedloe* was exact in that Part of the Evidence relating to an Army from *Spain* under the Notion of Pilgrims, and the Parliament address'd the King to recall *Sir William Godolphin*, his Ambassador at *Madrid*, who was accus'd of *High-Treason*, and that a Commission might be issu'd to render the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* to all the King's and the Duke's Servants, and all Persons of the Inns of Court. The House of Commons had address'd his Majesty for banishing Papists ten Miles from *London*; but the Proclamation coming out without any such Restriction, they presented another Address, wherein they say, *That so great a Neglect would be a great Discouragement to this Kingdom, and Papists would from thence take Occasion to say, That all our Fears were groundless. It is too great a Countenance to the dangerous Factions, which are already come to that Height, that it renders all Manner of Discouragement on that Side necessary: It is against the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, which, as they are preserv'd and maintain'd by your Majesty's Authority, so we assure our selves, you will not suffer them to be thus violated by your Family and Royal Presence, upon the account of Popish Recusants.* A few Days after, *November* the 18th, the House was inform'd, that there were several Commissions granted to *Papists*, and Warrants that they shou'd be muster'd, notwithstanding they had not taken the Oaths, and subscrib'd the *Declaration*, as the Statute enjoins. Here's dispensing Power and Popery with a Witness! These Commissions were countersign'd by *Sir Joseph Williamson*, Secretary of State, whom, as a Member of their House, they sent to the *Tower*. But the King sent for them to the *Banqueting-House*, where he told them, *Tho' you have committed my Servant without acquainting me, yet I intend to deal more freely with you, and acquaint you with my Intentions to release my Secretary*; which he did so hastily, that he was releas'd before the Commons cou'd get an Address against it drawn up and presented, and then the Answer was, *It came too late.*

Commons Address against Papists.

Dispensing Power and Popery. Sir Joseph Williamson sent to the Tower.

On the 25th of *November* the King made another Speech to the Parliament, to desire a second Supply for Disbanding the Army, he having, as he said, spent the first in keeping it up for the Honour and Interest of the Nation, which had not been enough consider'd in this Reign to be a Topick to beg Money upon. The Parliament immediately address'd his Majesty to recall his Troops from *Flanders*, and to

to disband all Forces rais'd since *Michaelmas*, A.D. 1678 1677.

A general Alarm.

The Nation was now so much alarm'd, that all People furnish'd themselves with Arms, which heightned the Jealousy of the Court. A Bill pass'd in both Houses, for raising all the *Militia*, and for keeping it together for six Weeks, a third Part being to serve a Fortnight, and so round. This Bill the King totally rejected, alledging, *that it was to put the Militia out of his Power, which thing he would not do*, no not for an Hour; but if the Commons wou'd assist him with Money for that, he wou'd take Care to raise such a Part of the *Militia* as should secure the Peace of the Government, and his own Person. If *Echard* cou'd have found out a worse Libeller than *L'Esfrange* to discredit this Plot, he wou'd have made use of him, as he does of the Jesuit *Orleans*, after whom he tells us, much *Injustice* was committed in the Prosecution of it. He then comes to the Trial of *William Staley* the Goldsmith, before spoken of, who was try'd before the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, the 21st of *November*; and *Echard's* own Account of it proves, that that Traitor had much Justice done him. The Witnesses, *William Carstairs* and *Alexander Sutherland*, positively swore the Words as spoken in this Manner. *Staley* was at an Eating-House in *Convent-Garden*, with one *Fromante* a *French-man*, who said in *French*, *The King of England is a great Tormenter of the People of God.* A Discourse very natural, when so many good Catholics were in Jail for *Treason*, *Murder*, &c. *Staley* answer'd, *The King of England, furiously repeating the Words, is a grand Heretick, and the greatest Rogue in the World; here's the Heart*, striking his Hand upon his Breast, and *here's the Hand that will kill him myself.* There was a third Witness, who swore he heard *Staley* speak something with great Earnestness, and *Captain Carstairs* told him at the Instant, that in *English* it was, *He would kill the King.* As slight as *L'Esfrange*, *Echard*, and other Writers make of this Crime of *Staley's*, 'tis with me of the last Importance, for we shall find by the Blunders in *Staley's* Defence, that a *King* and *Killing* was talk'd of, and if so there, in a *Cook's Shop*, it was doubtless much more deliberated, and concerted in their Cabals, and dark Meetings. *Staley* own'd he was then there with *Fromante*, but deny'd he spoke the Words, affirming, they only spoke of the *French King*, and the Words sworn by the Witnesses in *French*, must signify, *I will kill myself, rather than I will kill him myself.* But to this the Court observ'd, "First, that the Witnesses swore directly that it was the King of *England* he spoke of, and nam'd him twice, nor did he count the *French King* a Heretick; and as to the Second, they observ'd that after he had given the King such *feurilous Names*, it could not be Sense to say, *He would kill himself.*" The Prisoner having little more to say, the Jury found him *Guilty*, without going from the Bar, and he was condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd. *Dr. Lloyd* visited him after his Condemnation, and he was offer'd a Pardon, if he wou'd make Discoveries, which probably he cou'd not do in *Particulars*, and as for *Generals*, there was more than enough already discover'd. I wonder *Bishop Burnet* took so much Pains as he said he did, to save *Staley*, for if the two *Scots-men* were profligate Fellows, 'twas not likely the *English-man* would be drawn in by them to forswear himself, and *Staley* confessing that *King* was spoken of, and *Killing* also, is such a

William Staley try'd.

He is condemn'd

A.D. 1678
and execu-
ted.

Corroboration of their Evidence, that there's no room left to doubt it. *Staley* was executed at *Tyburn* the 26th of *November*; he carry'd himself seriously and discreetly. His Majesty gave his Quarters to his Friends, who bury'd them in *Convent-Garden* Church, after having caus'd Masses to be said, and other Popish Ceremonies to be perform'd over the Quarters, which a great Number of Papists attended at the Funeral, and Information of it being given to the State, the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, *Sir Richard How* and *Sir John Chapman*, were order'd to cause them to be taken up, and put on the City Gates.

Coleman
try'd.

The next Trial was that of *Coleman*, who was brought to the King's-Bench Bar the 27th of *November*. The Charge against him was, for conspiring the Death of the King, and endeavouring to subvert the Government of England, and the Protestant Religion. To blacken the Prosecution, *Echard* opens the Evidence with Reflections on *Dr. Oates* and *Capt. Bedloe*, who both swore, that they had carry'd treasonable Letters from *Coleman* to *La Chaise*. Such Letters were found upon the Prisoner, and given in Evidence also; they are mention'd in the preceding Pages. The Contents were to give the greatest Blow to the Protestant Religion it ever had receiv'd, that they had a mighty Work, the Conversion of three Kingdoms upon their Hands, and the utter subduing a Pesticilent Heresy; that the Opposition they shall meet with, requires them to get all Aid and Assistance. I think we need go no farther, tho' *Echard*, as weakly, and as wrongfully as one might expect from such a Champion, for such a Cause, endeavours to extenuate *Coleman's* Guilt, by saying, there was no mention in the Letters of making use of any Foreign Power besides Money, the very Sinews of War, and that in one Letter, he demanded of the French King but 300,000 Pounds; he acknowledges he made other Demands in other Letters. Supposing that the Evidence of his Conspiring the Death of the King, was not so clear as was pretended, that which was prov'd upon him, his Endeavour to destroy the Government and Religion of his Country, had as much Proof as a Man's own Inditing and Writing a Thing can give it. *Echard* hangs still upon *Oates* and *Bedloe's* Rashness in their Swearing, and after *Coleman* has own'd his Letters, would bring him off, by passing the Expressions in them, as extravagant only; but it was an Extravagance that would have brought Popery and Slavery upon us; and according to *Dr. Welwood*, *Coleman's* Letters alone, without any other concurring Evidence, are more than sufficient to put the Matter out of Doubt, and the Jury, Men of so good a Character, that *Coleman* did not pretend to except against one of the whole Pannel, was so well satisfy'd with the Testimony that was given, that they brought him in Guilty, after a short Deliberation. *Echard* catches the last Sayings of the Popish Traitors, as so many Reflections on the Justice of the Nation, in prosecuting this Plot, tho' he could not but have heard that the Popish Priests have a Power to absolve their Penitents from the Guilt of all Falshood, and even Perjury, which is for the Good of their Church, and I wish no other Priests may not carry the Doctrine of Absolution too far. Three of them, *Cook*, *Snat* and *Collier*, did so in King *William's* Reign, and absolv'd an Assassin at the Gallows, who was in a Plot to murder that Prince. *Echard* tells us, that one of the last Things *Coleman*

Condem-
ned.

Absolution
abus'd.

said to the Lord Chief Justice, who ask'd if he had not laid aside any Book or Paper? No, by the living God, reply'd *Coleman*; whereas his Man *Boatman* had sworn, that his Book of Entries for the two last Years, was remov'd a Day or two before he was apprehended. After Sentence, many were sent to *Coleman* from both Houses, offering to interpose for his Pardon, if he would confess, but he still protested his Innocence, and took great Care to vindicate his Master the Duke. He own'd he had himself receiv'd 2500 Guineas of the French Ambassador, to gain some Persons to the Duke's Interest, but had kept them himself. *Sir Thomas Littleton*, and other Members of Parliament, were with him, not long before his Execution. He seem'd willing to be question'd about the King, but *Bishop Burnet* says, they did not think fit to do it, nor to report what he said concerning it, which is a Hint that will occasion great Speculation among speculative Readers. It was then given out, that *Coleman* was kept from making Confessions, by Hopes the Duke of *York* sent him of a Pardon; and that when he saw there was none like to come, he shou'd say, *There is no Faith in Man*; which I doubt not would have been true enough, if he had said it: For as he kept Correspondence with *La Chaise*, by Command of the Duke, and as the Duke refers *La Chaise* to him in his own Letter, one can make no Question, but he was authoriz'd to say what he did, and whether the Duke of *York* would engage in such a dangerous Correspondence, without being sure of his Brother's Approbation, let the Reader determine. He was executed at *Tyburn* the 3d of *December*, and suffer'd with great Devotion and Composedness. The King gave back his Estate to his Wife and Children, and his Quarters to be bury'd. I shall not enlarge upon *Oates* and *Bedloe's* Accusation of the Queen, for I do not much give into it, having Occasion to know more of that Princess than the common Writers, as the Archdeacon has it. For some of the last Words she said before her Death, at *Lisbon*, were, to an English Physician, from whom I had it, The Queen sitting up in her Bed, call'd to him to hold her while she said softly to this Effect, *That when she was in England, she had been wrongfully charg'd with endeavouring to bring in Popery; that she never had desir'd any more Favour for those of her own Religion, than was granted them by her Marriage Articles; that she had never been a Promoter of the French Interest; on the Contrary, that it was one of her greatest Grievs, at her going out of the World, to think that when she was gone, the French Faction, in her Brother's Court, might do the Confederates ill Offices, for it was she that had kept him firm to them.*

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Coleman
executed.

Dr. Cr.

Queen
Dowager
against the
French
Interest.

Bishop
Burnet's
Discourse
with the
King.

The Conversation between King *Charles* and *Dr. Burnet* at this Juncture, is worth repeating entire. "I waited often on him all the Month of *December*, he came to me to *Chiffincks's*, a Page of the Back-Stairs, and kept the Time he had assign'd me to a Minute. He was alone, and talk'd much, and very free with me. He suspected some had set on *Oates*, and instructed him, naming the Earl of *Shaftsbury*: I was of another Mind, thinking the many gross Things in his Narrative shew'd there was no abler Head than *Oates* or *Tonge* in the framing it. *Oates* in his first Story had cover'd the Duke and Ministers so much, that from thence it seem'd clear, that Lord *Shaftsbury* had no Hand in it.

The

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The King must not be a very good Judge of *Design* and *Expression*, to think *Oates's* Narrative had a Word in it from the Pen of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, that Rhapsody had its Growth among the Dregs of the People, as appears by the base Thoughts, and baser Language, and there's a Rage in it, which borders pretty near upon Frenzy, the Effect of *Oates* and *Tonge's* Want of both Sense and Judgment, but I'm apt to think they two had Helps in the Contrivance and Formation of the Narrative, which had they had more Judgment and Sense, they would not have let pass as it is. I may go so far as to believe a great Part of it is Invention, without giving any one Cause to suspect the Whole; for as some Parts were prov'd by *Coleman*, and the Jesuits Letters, so others which might have been prov'd further by the Letters and Papers that were sunk, should not be wholly condemn'd. Dr. *Burner's* Conversation with his Majesty continu'd thus.

"The King fancied there was a Design of a Rebellion on Foot, I assur'd him I saw no Appearances of it; I told him there was a Report breaking out that he intended to legitimate the Duke of *Monmouth*. He answer'd quick, *As well as I love him, I had rather see him hang'd*; yet he apprehended a Rebellion not so much that he seem'd ill pleas'd, that the Party who was so zealous about the Plot, should flatter themselves with great Imaginations, hoping that wou'd keep them quiet, in a Dependence upon himself; and he suffer'd the Duke of *Monmouth* to use all Methods to make himself popular, reckoning that he cou'd keep him in his own Management. He was surpriz'd when I told him *Coleman* had insinuated, that he knew of all their Foreign Negotiations, or at least, he seem'd so to me. I press'd him much to oblige the Duke to enter into Conferences with some of our Divines, and to be present at them himself, which wou'd very much clear him of Jealousy, and might have a good Effect on his Brother; at least it would give the World some Hopes, like what *Henry IV.* of *France*, his Grand-father did, which kept a Party firm to him for some time before he chang'd; the King answer'd, *My Brother has neither Henry IV's Understanding, nor his Conscience*; for he believ'd that King was always indifferent as to those Matters. The King spoke much to me concerning *Oates's* accusing the Queen, and acquainted me with the whole Progress of it. He said she was a weak Woman, and had some disagreeable Humours, but was not capable of a wicked Thing, and considering his Faultiness towards her in other Things, he thought it a horrid Thing to abandon her. I told him there was no Possibility of laying the Heat that was now rais'd, but by changing his Ministry; that the Earl of *Danby* was universally odious, and there was a Design against him, but I knew not the Particulars; he said, *that lies at the Bottom*.

King Charles's mean Opinion of the Duke of York's Under- standing.

Danby universally odious.

An Address against the Queen.

On the same Day that *Coleman* was try'd, came out a Proclamation, pursuant to an Address of the House of Lords, declaring in these Words, "That if any Person or Persons shall before the 25th Day of *December* next, make any further Discovery of the late horrid Design, &c. he shall for every such Discovery, receive the Reward of 200 Pounds;" and the Commons gave such Credit to *Oates* and *Bedloe's* Accusation of the Queen, that they address'd his Majesty to remove her, and all her

Family, and all reputed Papists from *Whitehall*, which was follow'd with another Address, to have all Papists and reputed Papists, in all Parts of *England*, apprehended and secur'd. The King resenting *Oates's* accusing the Queen, order'd a stricter Guard upon him than ever, which occasion'd the Commons to order another Address, *That Oates might be freed from his Restraint, attended by his own Servants, and a competent Allowance be appointed for his Maintenance*, and on the 5th of *December*, they resolv'd to impeach the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, the Lord *Powis*, the Lord *Petre*, Lord *Bellasis*, Lord *Viscount Stafford*, severally of High-Treason; which several Impeachments were carry'd up to the Lords by several Members of the House of Commons. These Lords had two Days before been found guilty by special Indictments, to the same Purpose, by the Grand Jury of *Middlesex*, before special Commissioners sitting at *Westminster*, and had they been arraign'd and try'd, *Oates* and *Bedloe's* Evidence would have charg'd every one of them with *Treason*; but now for some Reasons, those Proceedings were wav'd, and it was thought more effectual to proceed by way of Impeachment before the House of Lords.

Papists Lords impeach'd.

On the 17th of *December*, *William Ireland* Ireland, and *Thomas Pickering*, both Priests, and *John Pickering* and *Grove* Grove, a Lay-Brother, were arraign'd at the *Old-Bailey*, together with *Thomas Whitebread* and *John Fenwick*, two Jesuits: The three first were charg'd particularly with conspiring the King's Death. *Oates* swore that the Murder of the King was resolv'd on at the great Meeting, on the 24th of *April*, mention'd also in the Jesuits Letter. This Meeting was at the *White-Horse* in the *Strand*, *Ireland* was present at it; *Pickering* was to have 30,000 Masses, and *Grove* 1500 Pounds, to which Agreement *Ireland* consented, and sign'd it in *Oates's* Presence, as did also *Pickering* and *Grove*. *Oates* depos'd further, that in Pursuance of this Resolve, he saw *Pickering* and *Grove* walk several Times in the Park together, with screw'd Pistols, longer than ordinary ones, and shorter than Carabines; that they had Silver Bullets to shoot with, and *Grove* wou'd have had them champ'd, to render the Wound incurable. This *Assassination* Plot was prov'd with other Circumstances by *Bedloe's* Evidence also, who swore that one *Knight* was to have kill'd the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *Pritchard* the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Oneal* the Earl of *Ossory*, *Obrian* the Duke of *Ormond*, &c. The three Assassins deny'd every Part of the Evidence against them, or that they had so much as any Knowledge of the King's Witnesses. *Ireland* offer'd to prove by twenty Witnesses, that he was in *Staffordshire* and *Cheshire* the whole Month of *August* and *September*, when it was sworn he was in *London*; but *Sarah Payne*, formerly a Servant to *Grove*, swore that she saw Mr. *Ireland* at a *Scrivener's* Door in *Fetter-Lane*, about the 12th or 13th of *August*; and whatever has been, or may be said against *Oates* and *Bedloe's* Evidence, at the Trial of *Ireland*, *Pickering* and *Grove*, it is certain, the Witnesses for the Prisoners had so little to say for them, that 'twas of no Service to them. The Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, in summing up the Evidence to the Jury, had these remarkable Expressions. *If they had not murder'd Kings, I would not say they would have done ours, but when it hath been their Practice so to do, when they have debauch'd Mens Understandings, overturn'd all Morals, and destroy'd all Divinity, what shall I say of them?*

Ireland, Pickering and Grove try'd.

Great Lords to be murder'd.

Lord Chief Justice Scroggs's Speech against the Plotters.

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them? When their Humility is such, that they tread upon the Necks of Emperors, their Charity such as to kill Princes, and their Vows of Poverty, such as to covet Kingdoms, what shall I judge of them? When they have Licences to lye, and Indulgences for Falshood; nay, when they can make him a Saint, that dies in One, and then pray to it, as the Carpenter first makes an Image, and then worships it; and can they think to bring in that Wooden Religion of theirs amongst us in this Nation, what shall I think of them? What shall I say to them? What shall I do with them? They eat their God, they kill their King and Saint the Murthurer; they indulge all sorts of Sins, and no humane Bonds can hold them. *Jefferies*, Recorder of London, the greatest Butcher afterwards that ever was stain'd with Blood, made a long Speech when he pass'd Sentence upon them, and said in it, among other Flourishes of his, *You must e'er long appear before the great Tribunal, where your Masses will not signify so many Groats to you, no not one Farthing. I must say, for the Sake of those silly People, whom you have impos'd upon with such Fallacies, that the Masses can no more save you from a future Damnation, than they do from a present Condemnation.* In another Place he advis'd them not to relie upon their Masses, Tricks and Trumperies; and afterwards proceeded thus, *I am sorry with all my Soul to hear a Lay-man should with so much Malice declare, That a Bullet, if round and smooth, was not safe enough to execute his Villainies by. But he must be sure not only to set his peyssonous Invention on work about it, but he must add thereto his peyssonous Teeth, for Fear, if the Bullet were smooth, it might light in some Part where the Wound might be cur'd. But such is the Height of some Mens Malice, that they will put all the Venom and Malice they can into their Actions. I am sure this was so horrid a Design, that nothing but a Conclave of Devils in Hell, or a College of such Jesuits as yours on Earth, could have thought upon it.* In Conclusion, he sentenc'd them to be drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd: However, he deferr'd issuing a Warrant for Execution so long, that the House of Commons sent for him to give an Account why it was not done. He said he had as yet receiv'd no Order from the King, and no Order came till the 15th of January, when Ireland and Grove were hang'd at Tyburn; but *Pickering* was not executed till the 9th of May. They all deny'd the Fact to the last. We have spoken already, and shall still speak of the Validity of such Denials from Persons who depend more on the Priest's Absolution and the Prayers of the Church, than on Repentance, or Innocence, or the Merits of our Saviour. While the *Po-pish Plot* was under Prosecution, a great Design was laid to ruin the Earl of *Danby*, Lord Treasurer, who, to prevent it, laid another Design to ruin Mr. *Montagu*, late Ambassador in France, who was too cunning and too quick for him. *Echard* assures us, the French Ambassador and the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* join'd with the Lord *Russel*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earls of *Shafsbury* and *Essex*, in the Design against *Danby*, which is as likely as many other Events of his. The Lord *Russel* caballing with the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, *Barillon* the French Ambassador, with the Earl of *Shafsbury*, and the late Earl of *Galway* with both *Russel* and *Portsmouth*. Let us see how it is represented by Bishop *Burnet*.

Danby being conscious of his criminal Correspondence with *Montagu*, then Ambassador

in France, and fearing the Letter he had written him might be produc'd in Evidence against him, resolv'd to be before-hand, and accuse *Montagu*, but first to secure his own Letters. In order to this, the Court Tool, *Jenkins*, who was the Shadow of an Ambassador at *Nimeguen*, was directed to write over, that he understood Mr. *Montagu* had been engag'd in dangerous Practices with *Con*, the Pope's Nuntio at *Paris*, who was indeed the Pope's Agent there, a crafty covetous Fellow, who sold *Montagu* some Secrets which were worth his Money. Upon the Receipt of *Jenkins*'s Letters, Orders were given for seizing Mr. *Montagu*'s Papers; but as he had got himself chosen a Member of the House of Commons for the Borough of *Northampton*, to strengthen his Interest against the Treasurer, so he had foreseen the other's Design against him, and remov'd his most valuable Papers; among which were several Letters of *Danby*'s about the Money Affair, the most scandalous that a King was ever concern'd in; and a King who wou'd sell his Subjects for a little French Gold, might very well make no Conscience of persecuting and oppressing them for Conscience sake, at the Instigation of *Sheldon* and such Bishops, who had a Party in the House of Commons that was ready to give him any thing, if he wou'd give them Laws against Protestant Dissenters. *Montagu*, says Bishop *Burnet*, understood the Arts of a Court too well to be caught by *Danby*, and had put the Box, with the Treasurer's Letters in them, in a safe Place. As soon as Orders were issu'd for seizing *Montagu*'s Papers, his Majesty sent a Message to the House of Commons concerning *Jenkins*'s Information against him, and that he had order'd his Papers to be seiz'd. The House did not much approve of those Orders, and desir'd to know, *Whether the Information was upon Oath, and of what Nature the Offence was?* Upon which Mr. *Montagu* sat silent, and a Debate ensu'd that lasted very long: At the End of it Mr. *Montagu* stood up, and said, *He had a Box in which were some Papers of very great Importance; if the House thought fit, he wou'd send for them.* Three of the Members were immediately appointed to fetch them; when it was come, he open'd it, and took out two Letters of the Lord *Danby*'s, that contain'd Instructions to him to treat with the King of France for 300,000 Pounds a Year, for three Years, if a Peace succeeded, since it wou'd not be convenient for the King to meet a Parliament in all that Time; and he was charg'd to mention no Part of this to the Secretary of State. What ado did *Echard* make with the Kingdom's Happinens in having such a King, when he was passing the good *Staunck Acts* before-mention'd? And how did the two Chancellors, *Hyde* and *Finch*, cry up the Blessings he brought in with him to the English Nation? The Measure of them is now compleat, and our Parliaments fit or not fit, according as the Money comes from France. It was easy to foresee he wou'd prove such a King as this, from his Religion and Morals, and the People of England ow'd it all to trusting him at his Restoration. The first Letter which *Montagu* produc'd, was dated the 17th of January, 1677, and contains as follows. *Yesterday young Ruvigny came to me, with Monsieur Barillon (having given me his Father's Letters the Day before) and discours'd much upon the Confidence the French King hath of the Firmness of Ours to him (This was at the very Instant when King Charles was earnestly pressing his Parliament to give him Money to act vigorously against him)*

and

Jefferies's
Speech
against
them.

Mr. *Montagu* produces his Letters about Money from France.

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and of the good Opinion his Master has of me ; of his King's Resolution to condescend to any thing that is not infamous to him, for the Satisfaction of our King. How certainly our King may depend upon all Assistance and Supplies from his Master, in case the Friendship be preserv'd — The main of their Drift was, to engage me to prevail with the Prince of Orange, as to the Town of Tournay. The King must come to some Declaration of his Mind to the Parliament when it meets. That which makes the Hopes of Peace less probable, is, that the Duke grows every Day less inclin'd to it, and has created a greater Indifferency in the King than I could have imagin'd ; which being added to the French King's Resolutions not to part with Tournay, does, I confess, make me despair of any Accommodation. Nevertheless, I am assur'd that one principal Cause of this Adjournment for Thirteen Days, hath been to see if any Expedient for the Peace could have been found in that Time ; and the Effect of the Adjournment hath hitherto been, that no body will believe other than that the Peace is already concluded. The second Letter produc'd by Mr. Montagu, was dated March 25, 1678, and it is worth noting, that this Letter was written four or five Days after the Parliament pass'd the Poll Bill, to raise a Naval and Land Force for an actual War with the French King. In it were these Expressions ; In case the Conditions of Peace shall be accepted, the King expects to have Six Millions of Livres a Year for three Years, from the Time that this Agreement shall be sign'd betwixt his Majesty and the King of France, because it will probably be two or three Years before the Parliament will be in Humour to give him any Supplies after the making any Peace with France. For my Part, it is astonishing to think to what a Degree of — — — the Word is too foul to be nam'd, a King and Ministry must be come to, that could look a Parliament in the Face, after such a Discovery. A Secret League with a profess'd Enemy to their Religion and Liberties, which both King and Ministers were sworn to defend. How base, how despicable must it appear to brave, generous Minds ! A Plantagenet would sooner have robb'd a Shrine, than have taken a Bribe of a Foreign Enemy against his own People. The French Ambassador here has always agreed to that Sum, but not for so long a Time. If you find the Peace will not be accepted, you are not to mention the Money at all ; and all possible Care must be taken to have this whole Negotiation as private as is possible, for fear of giving Offence at Home. Honest Men are not afraid of giving Offence by their Actions, nor asham'd of shewing them to the Sun : Poor England ! That ever it should have been thy Misfortune to fall into such Hands. At the Bottom of this Letter are these Words, THIS LETTER WAS WRIT BY MY ORDER,

C. R.

These Letters being read in the House of Commons, Sir Francis Winnington, then Solicitor General, fell severely upon them. He said, Here was a Minister, who going out of the Affairs of his own Province, was directing the King's Ambassadors, and excluding the Secretary of State, whose Office it was, from the Knowledge of it : For that also was in the last Letter, You must not say a Syllable to the Secretary. Here was the Faith of England, added Winnington, to our Allies, and our Interest likewise set to Sale for French Money, and that to keep

off a Session of Parliament. This was a Design to sell the Nation, and subvert the Government, and is HIGH TREASON. It being my original Design to prove this upon the Stuartine Race, I have reason to desire that the Testimony of King Charles's own Solicitor here may be taken Notice of.

We'll see what the learned Lawyer writes on this Occasion : It was argu'd in the House of Commons, That now it was evident that there was a Secret League with France ; that King Charles was to have Assistance and Supplies from thence against Some-body ; which could not be against Holland or Spain, and therefore it must be against his own People. And yet this Assistance or Supplies were not to be had but upon Condition, If the Friendship should be preserv'd. King Charles must either comply with whatsoever France impos'd, or break the Friendship. Again, These Letters shew'd the Secret League subsisted and was carrying on at the very Time when the Parliament was, on the 15th of January, 1677, directed to adjourn for thirteen Days, to be then acquainted with a Matter of great Importance : The meaning of which was, That the Expedient for the Peace was the settling the Price for it ; for the Matter of great Importance, when it came out, was no more, but that his Majesty had, on the 16th of January, 1677, made an Alliance with the Dutch against France. It was therefore agreed, That it was plain the Army of 20,000 Men, lately rais'd, was rais'd for some Purpose, but not to make War against France. That from these Letters might be collected, that there was some DARK Meaning in the King's desiring a Continuance of these new rais'd Forces ; and above all it was plain, that the Reasons why his Majesty refus'd to make Alliances and War against France, were to preserve his Friendship with Lewis XIV. in hopes of Assistance and Supplies against Some-body. And upon the whole, the Alliance with the Dutch, and the late Speeches and Messages to the Parliament, touching the Defence of the Nation, could proceed from no other Cause but Insincerity ; which proves, that the British State was under the Influence of Those who were engag'd in an Interest against it.

The Question being put, after a Debate, Whether the Earl of Danby should be Impeach'd of High Treason, it was carry'd by a Majority of above Seventy Voices, and the Impeachment was the next Day carry'd up to the Lords by Sir Henry Capel, Brother to the Earl of Essex, with a Desire that the said Thomas Earl of Danby might be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to Custody. But the Majority of the Lords were against committing him, till the Articles were exhibited, and Proof of them produc'd. Upon this it was visible the Commons would have complain'd that the Lords deny'd them Justice, so there was no making up the Matter ; and on Monday the 30th of December, the King came to the House and prorog'd the Parliament till the 4th of February, but they never sat more. Their Continuance from first to last, was seventeen Years, seven Months, and twenty-two Days.

To imitate the Compleat Historians, I should close the Year with Honours and Preferments ; but I shall abridge their Account for Reasons before hinted.

Privy-Counsellors made this Year, George Lord Berkeley, James Earl of Salisbury, Henry Earl of Clarendon. James Earl of Arran, Duke Hamilton's Son was sworn Gentleman of the Bed-chamber. Robert Earl of Sunderland bought

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Acherley
p. 597.
A Secret
League
with the
French
King.

Earl of
Danby
impeach'd
of High
Treason.

Parlia-
ment pro-
rog'd.

Prefer-
ments.

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the Secretary's Place of Sir Joseph Williamfon; it had been promis'd to Sir William Temple, but he did not care to buy it. The Earl of Danby lost the Treasurer's Staff, and the Earl of Essex, Lawrence Hyde, Esq; Sir John Ernle, Sir Edward Deering, and Sydney Godolphin, Esq; were made Lords of the Treasury.

Mr. Foulkes the Minister hang'd.

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Green, Berry, and Hill try'd for the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

The Penitent Death of Mr. Robert Foulkes, a Shropshire Minister, who was hang'd for murdering a Bastard Child, ought always to be remember'd, as well as the Manner of it.

When the Archdeacon comes to the Trials of the Murderers of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, his Account is one continu'd false Representation in Favour of Prance, and the other Murderers. 'Tis no Matter that he has copy'd *L'Es-trange*, or any such villainous Libeller; he takes their Guilt upon himself, and is accountable for it to the Truth. He tells us, he deny'd the first Evidence he had given of Sir Edmundbury's Murder by Green, Berry, Hill, &c. before the King; and being oblig'd to tell us, that he afterwards recanted that Denial, he imputes it to the barbarous Usage of him in Newgate, which he represents as a sort of Torture, to force a new Confession from him. He stood firm in his Denial, against all Terrors and Temptations, for about twelve Days, says Mr. Archdeacon. Bishop Burnet says, As soon as he was carry'd back to Prison, he sent the Keeper of Newgate to the King, to tell him, that all he had sworn was true, but that the Horror and Confusion he was in put him on denying it. He assures us, Prance's Story was a strange one: Bishop Burnet, That it was a consisting Story, supported by collateral Proofs, as it will appear to be in a Paragraph or two; and the former's treating that Consistency, as an extravagant incredible Piece of Forgery, calling the Assassins, the reputed Murderers, deserves other sort of Correction than the Lash of a Pen, as being a flagrant Affront on the Justice of the Nation, in the Punishment of those Criminals, for whom he pleads as earnestly, as if he had been see'd for it. The following Account is taken from my Lord of Sarum.

On the 10th of February came on the Trial of Green, Berry, and Hill, for the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; thus related by Prance, a Goldsmith, that wrought for the Queen's Chappel. This Prance having absented himself from his House two or three Days, about the Time when the Murder was committed, a Lodger in his House calling it to mind, upon Bedloe's swearing he saw the Body in Somerset-House, fancy'd that it was the very Time in which he was from Home, and that he might be concern'd in it, though it appear'd afterwards that his Absence was a Week before. On this Information he was seiz'd, and carry'd to Westminster. Bedloe accidentally passing by, not knowing any thing concerning him, or whether he was a Papist or a Protestant, at first Sight charg'd some-body to seize on him, for he was not appriz'd that he was already in Custody, attesting that he was one of those he saw about Godfrey's Body. Yet for some Days he deny'd every thing; however, at length he confess'd all as follows. Girald and Kelly, two Priests, drew him and three others into it: Green, who belong'd to the Queen's Chappel, Hill, who had serv'd Godden, the most celebrated Writer among the Papists, and Berry the Porter of Somerset-House. These all, except Berry, had several Meetings, in which the Priests persuaded them it was no Sin, but a meritorious Action, to dispatch Godfrey, who had been a busy Man in taking Depositions a-

gainst them; and that the taking him off wou'd terrify others. Prance nam'd an Ale-house where they us'd to meet, and the People of that House did confirm this of their meeting there. After they had resolv'd on it, they follow'd Sir Edmund for several Days. The Morning before they kill'd him, Hill went to his House, to see if he was yet gone out, and spoke to his Maid; but finding he was not at Home, they stay'd for his coming. This was confirm'd by the Maid, who, upon Hill's being taken up, went to Newgate, and in a Crowd of Prisoners distinguish'd him, crying, He's the Person who ask'd for my Master, the Morning before he was lost. Prance gives in Evidence, that the Murderers met at such an Ale-house, 'tis confirm'd by the Ale-house-keepers. Prance swears, that Hill enquir'd for Sir Edmundbury the Morning before he went out; 'tis confirm'd by the Maid, who knew not Hill but by his coming to enquire for her Master. Here is no Concert, and no Proof can be better circumstantiated and confirm'd. Prance goes on, they dogg'd him into a Place near St. Clement's Church, where he was kept till Night; when Prance was appointed to wait at Somerset-House, and as Godfrey went by the Water-Gate, two of them pretended to be hot in a Quarrel, one run out to call a Magistrate, who press'd Sir Edmundbury to go in and part them, which he was not very ready to do, yet at last they prevail'd with him; then Green got behind him, and pull'd a Cravat about his Neck, drew him down to the Ground, and strangled him. Upon that Girald wou'd have run him through, but the rest diverted him from it, representing the Danger of a Discovery by the Blood's being seen there. Upon which they carry'd his Body up to Godden's Room, who was then in France, and Hill kept the Key. Two Days after they remov'd it to a Room cross the upper Court, and that not being found a convenient Place, they carry'd it back to Godden's Lodgings; from whence they resolv'd to remove it by Night, in a Sedan, to the remote Parts of the Town, and fling it into some Ditch. On Wednesday a Sedan was provided; and one of the Centinels swore he saw a Sedan brought in. Prance said he was carry'd out, and Green having got a Horse ready, he was laid upon his Back as soon as they got clear of the Town; and from thence convey'd, as he believ'd, to the Place where he was found. Prance added another Particular, that some Days after the Fact, those who had been concern'd in it, and two others who were in the Secret, appointed to meet at Bow, where they talk'd much of this Matter; which was confirm'd by a Servant at that House, who was coming in and out to them, and heard them often mention Godfrey's Name, upon which he stood at the Door out of Curiosity to hearken; but one of them came out, and threaten'd him for it. This full Evidence is what Eckard makes Grimaces at, though it is hardly possible to get more Light in so dark and devilish a Business. He confess'd all this before he deny'd his Confession to the King; he deny'd his Denial: He afterwards again deny'd his Confession, and again deny'd his Denial to Dr. Lloyd, late Bishop of Worcester, to whom he confess'd this whole Matter again, and stood to his Confession at the Trial of the Murderers; and he did it in such a manner, that Bishop Lloyd said, It was not possible for him to doubt of Prance's Sincerity. And now let the Reader turn to that good Protestant, Eckard's, Account of him.

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L. C. J.
Scroggs
his Speech
to the Jury.

Denials of
Papists at
their
Death not
to be mind-
ed.

I shall not repeat *Bedloe's* Evidence, there being no occasion for it after *Prance's*, That and the others was more than sufficient to convict the Assassins, who were sentenc'd to be hang'd by the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*. There's an Expression of his to the Jury upon their bringing them in guilty, which deserves remembrance: *Gentlemen, you have found the same Verdict that I would have found, if I had been one with you; and, if it were the last Word I were to speak in this world, I should have pronounced them guilty,* At which Words the whole Assembly in *Westminster-Hall* gave a great Shout of Applause. *Hill and Green* were hang'd at *Tyburn* on the 21st of *February*, and *Berry* a Week after. They all died hard, as the Cant is, and deny'd the Fact to the last, which *Echard* lays great Stress upon. So should I too, if their wicked Practices had not prov'd, that as they could do, so they could say any thing; and *Berry's* being an Apostate to Popery, and saying he was still a Protestant in his Heart, does not at all mend the Matter. It behov'd the Papists and their Abettors, I mean the persecuting Church-men, to do all that in them lay to prevent the belief of *Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's* Murther, there being nothing in the world which so much supported the belief of the *Popish Plot*; and there were many lying Libels publish'd by *L'Estrange*, and others, to ridicule and vilify the Prosecution of the *Plot-ers* and the *Murtherers*: But the Characters of those Scriblers are so profligate, that no Man of common Sense, and common Honesty, ever made use of them. My Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, in his Memoirs, argues very justly on the little Dependence that is to be made upon the Denials of *Popish* Malefactors, even with their last Breath, when Facts have been prov'd upon them. "The visible Evidences that appear'd, made all People conclude there was great plotting among them. And it was generally believ'd, that the Bulk of what was sworn by the Witnesses was true, tho' they had by all appearance dress'd it up with incredible Circumstances. What the Men of Learning knew concerning their Principles, both of deposing of Kings, and of the Lawfulness of murthing them, when so depos'd, made them easily conclude, that since they saw the Duke was so entirely theirs, and that the King was so little to be depended upon, they might think the present Conjunction was not to be lost: And since the Duke's eldest Daughter was already out of their hands, they might make the more haste to set the Duke on the Throne. The Tempers, as well as the Morals of the Jesuits, made it reasonable to believe, that they were not apt to neglect such Advantages, nor to stick at any sort of Falshood, in order to their own Defence. The Doctrine of Probability, besides many other Maxims that are current amongst them, made many give little Credit to their Witnesses, or to their most solemn Denials, even at their Execution. Many things were brought to shew, that by the casuistical Divinity taught amongst them, and publish'd by them to the World, there was no Practice so bad, but that the Doctrines of Probability, and of ordering the Intention, might justify it." Instead of this just Reasoning, their Advocate *Echard* tells us, One of the Murderers said, *he was as innocent as the Child new-born*, and all of them continually deny'd they had any knowledge of it. He ends his own Narrative with tacking *Oates's* and *Bedloe's* Bill of Charges to it and this Jest, *Many Persons have since thought that their Bills and their Narratives were equally credible*: and he grounds this dull Raillery upon *Oates's* Sum total l.678: 12: 6.

which is so far from being incredible, that I myself, in one Cause only, was fore'd to expend near a Third of that Sum on account of the Publick, where there was not a third Part of the Number of Witnesses, but the like Difficulty in getting them to speak what they knew; and all the World knows what a hard Matter it is to get People, who are not willing to give Evidence, to swear to even the most notorious Truth. *Echard* takes particular notice of *Oates's* Perjury, in swearing *Ireland* to have been in *London*, when forty Witnesses testify'd he was in *Staffordshire* He would not tell us that *Jennison*, a Gentleman of good Family and Estate, observing that *Ireland* had defended himself against *Oates* chiefly by this, that he was in *Staffordshire* from the beginning of *August*, till the 12th of *September*, and died, affirming this to be true, seem'd much surpris'd at it, and, as Bishop *Burnet* informs us, turn'd Protestant upon it. For he said, *he saw him in London on the 19th of August*; on which Day he fix'd upon this account, *that he saw him the Day before he went down in the Stage-Coach to York*, which was prov'd by the Entry-Books of the Coach to be the 20th of *August*. He affirm'd he was come to Town from *Windsor*; and going to see him, found him drawing off his Boots. *Ireland* ask'd him, *What News?* and in particular, *How the King was attended at Windsor?* *Jennison* answering, *He walks about very carelessly, with few about him.* Then said *Ireland*, *It would be easy to take him off.* To which *Jennison* reply'd, *God forbid*; and *Ireland* said, *I do not mean it can lawfully be done.* *Jennison* produc'd one *Smith*, a Priest, who had also turn'd Protestant, and depos'd, *He was told at Rome, that there was a Design to kill the King.*

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Jennison's
Evidence
confirms
Oates's.

Besides *Jennison*, came in one *Dugdale*, who had been the Lord *Aston's* Bailiff, and liv'd in fair Reputation in the Country, and discover'd a Correspondence that *Evers*, the Lord *Aston's* Jesuit, held with the Jesuits in *London*, who had writ to *Evers* of the Design of killing the King, and desir'd him to find out Men proper to execute it, whether they were Gentlemen or not. This he swore was writ plain in a Letter from *Whitebread* the Provincial, directed to himself, but he knew it was meant for *Evers*. *Evers*, and *Gavan*, another Jesuit, press'd *Dugdale* to undertake it, promising he should be canonized for it. Bishop *Burnet* says he was a Man of Sense and Temper, and behav'd himself decently, having somewhat in his Air and Deportment which dispos'd People to believe him, Insomuch that the King himself began to believe there was something more than he knew of in the Plot, tho' *Tom Killigrew* said, *Your Majesty knows more of it than any one else, and your Discovery of it will quickly satisfy your People.* There was one Circumstance which confirm'd *Dugdale's* Evidence: He had talk'd of a Justice of Peace in *Westminster*, that was kill'd on the *Tuesday* after *Godfrey* was miss'd; so that the News of this must have been writ from *London* on the *Saturday-Night's* Post. He did not think it a Secret, but talk'd of it as News in an Ale-house, and several Persons swore they heard him tell it. He depos'd, he saw this in a Letter writ by *Harcourt* the Jesuit to *Evers*, in which *Godfrey* was nam'd. He added, that the Duke of *York* sent to *Coleman*, when he was in *Newgate*, to persuade him to discover nothing, and desired to know whether he had made any discovery of their Designs to any other Person; and *Coleman* sending back answer, he had spoke of them to *Godfrey*, the Duke gave order to kill him. The Earl of *Essex* declar'd that *Dugdale* swore this at his first Examination; but since it was only

Dugdale
does the
same.

Tom Killigrew's
saying of
the King's
Knowledge
of the Plot.

Duke of
York knew
of *Godfrey's*
Death.

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hear-say from *Evers*, and nothing in Law, it was not made a part of it, because it would heighten the Fury against the Duke, and the King charg'd *Dugdale* not to speak of it. This *Dugdale*, doubtless, was a Kinsman, as well as Countryman of the *Herald Dugdale*, whose *View of the Troubles*, tho' now waste Paper, was thought by one of our Universities a valuable Present for the Queen.

The Fury of the People was so fierce against the Duke, that the King himself thought his absence was the surest way to allay it. The Duke did not care to stir. The Earl of *Danby* persuaded the King to send him beyond Sea, that there might be no colour for suspecting the Counsels were influenc'd by him. He urg'd to the Duke, that if the King, and the new Parliament that was to be, came to an Agreement, he might depend on the Promise his Majesty would make to recall him immediately; and if they did not agree, no part of the Blame would be cast on him. No matter for that, he stuck close still, and would not go, till the King told him positively, *It is for both our service, and must be done.*

The Duke
sent a-
broad.King de-
nies his
Marriage
with the
Duke of
Mon-
mouth's
Mother.

Before he went away, his Majesty gave him all possible Satisfaction with relation to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was become very popular, and his Creatures gave out, he was the King's lawful Son. Upon which, his Majesty made a solemn Declaration in Council, and both sign'd and swore it, that he was never marry'd, nor contracted to that Duke's Mother, nor to any other Woman, except to his present Queen. The Duke of *York* went first to *Holland*, and then to *Brussels*, where he was not very welcome, as appear'd by the Coldness of their Carriage towards him.

New Par-
liament
call'd.

Upon the Dissolution of the last Parliament, which was done by Proclamation the 24th of *January*, Writs were issued for calling a new one to meet the 6th of *March* following; and three or four Days after the Parliament was dissolv'd, *Roger Earl of Castlemain*, *Mr. Daniel Arthur of London*, Merchant, and — *Sheldon Esq;* who had been taken up for the *Popish-Plot*, were discharg'd upon Bail. Papists flock'd to *London* from all parts of the Kingdom, and behav'd so insolently, that the Government was oblig'd to command them to depart by another Proclamation; and by another, a Reward of 200*l.* was promis'd to every new Discoverer of the *Popish-Plot*: the King and his Ministers being resolv'd to value themselves to the new Parliament on their Zeal for such Discoveries.

The *Compleat Historian* tells us, *The Dissenters knew how to make some Advantages of the Popish-Plot*; that is, they fell in with those that were for a vigorous Prosecution of it, and what was the Advantage they could make of it, more than they had a natural Right to, Liberty of Conscience, and to be freed from those stinging Laws, which *Sheldon*, *Morley*, and other such Prelates procur'd against them? 'Tis a shame not only to Christianity, but to Humanity, that such Laws were ever made, and a shame it is to find Writers speaking of them without Horror and Detestation. The *Dissenters* did their utmost to get a good Protestant Parliament; and moderate Church-men joining in with them, such a Parliament was chosen, as would have made *England* happy in any other Reign. They met the 6th of *March*, and the King told them what great Things he had already done, for preventing the Progress of the *Popish-Plot*; as the Exclusion of the *Popish* Lords from their Seats in Parliament, and the Execution of several Men upon the score of the *Plot*, as well as the Murder of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*; but above all,

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that he had commanded his Brother from him, because he would not leave malicious Men room to say, he had not remov'd all Causes which could be pretended to influence him toward *Popish* Counsels; and as he had not been slack in putting the present Laws in execution against *Papists*, so he was ready to join in making such further Laws, as might be necessary for the securing the Kingdom. He then demanded a Supply, and concluded with a Desire to have this a *Healing Parliament*. The Lord Chancellor's Speech was long, and, if we could take *Echard's* Word for it, *eloquent*; but he thinks Length is Eloquent, tho' it must be confess'd, that this Speech of the Chancellor's, is the best he ever made, and the only one that cannot justly be called too long. I shall insert part of it as a full Answer to all *Echard's* Insinuations of the Forgery of the Plot: "We had need look about us, for his Majesty's Royal Person hath been in danger, by a Conspiracy against his sacred Life, maliciously contriv'd, and industriously carry'd on by those Seminary Priests and Jesuits, and their Adherents, who think themselves under some Obligations of Conscience to effect it; and having vow'd the Subversion of the True Religion amongst us, find no way so likely to compass it, as to wound us in the Head, and to kill the *Defender of the Faith*. His Majesty wanted no sufficient Evidence of his Zeal for our Religion, (*we must remember he was all the while a Papist*.) without this Testimony from his Enemies, who were about to sacrifice him for it: But it hath ever been the Practice of those *Votaries*, first to murder the *Fame* of Princes, and then their *Persons*; first to slander them to their People, as if they favour'd *Papists*, and then to assassinate them for being *too zealous Protestants*." His Majesty is not only a *zealous*, but a *too zealous* Protestant. "And thus, by all the Ways and Means which our Law calls *Treason*, and their *Divinity* calls *Merit* and *Martyrdom*, they are trying to set up the Dominion and the Supremacy of the *Pope*; as if the Dignity of the Triple Crown could never be sufficiently advanc'd, unless these three Kingdoms were added unto him, and all brought back again under that Yoke, which neither we nor our Forefathers were able to bear."

The Commons being to chuse a Speaker, *Col. Birch* nam'd *Mr. Seymour*, who in the last Parliament had struck in with such Heat against *Poperly*, that he was become popular. The Court nam'd *Sir Thomas Meers*, but *Mr. Seymour* carry'd it by a great Majority. When he was next day presented to the King, his Majesty refus'd to confirm the Election. He said, *He had other Occasions for him, which could not be dispens'd with*. Upon this, a long and warm Debate ensu'd, and several Members spoke: as,

Mr. Sacheverell.

It was never known that a Person should be excepted against, and no Reason at all given. It is done on purpose to gratify some particular Person, for Mr. Seymour is a Man who perform'd on it the Service formerly without Complaint; and as he would not consent to the Prejudice of one Hair of the Crown, or Prerogative, so he will not infringe the Liberty of the People, in parting with the least of their just Rights.

Mr. Williams.

This seems to be a Question of Right; for a hundred Years past, it has not been known that any Speaker presented to the Kings or Queens of England, were ever excepted against, without some Reason given, or for some great Cause;

A. D. 1679. Cause; and the Thing in itself of presenting him to the King, is, I humbly conceive, but a bare Compliment. If we suffer this, we shall be put upon daily. Let us adjourn for the present.

Sir Thomas Clarges.

Sir Thomas Clarges's. There were Parliaments long before there were Speakers chosen; and afterwards, for the Ease of the House, among themselves, they pitch'd upon a Speaker. Besides, I can prove, not long since, that Parliaments have adjourn'd themselves de Die in Diem, for fourteen Days together, without any Speaker among them; and the Clerk of the House always put the Word for Adjournment. Gentlemen, all our Lives and Liberties are to be preserv'd by this House, and therefore we are to preserve the Liberties of it.

Mr. Garraway.

Mr. Garraway's. If you admit this, you would admit any thing. If Mr. Seymour be rejected from being Speaker, and no Reason given, pray who must chuse the Speaker, the King or us? It's plain, not us. I remember, when Popham was Speaker, he was rejected; but the Reason was given, because he had been wounded, and was sickly; and another, for not being able to endure, by reason of Disability of Body: but nothing of this can be objected against Mr. Seymour, he being an approv'd Person by his Majesty the last Parliament.

Sir Thomas Lee.

Sir Thomas Lee's. I cannot forget how we address'd ourselves to his Majesty last Parliament, as fearing his Person to be in danger, by reason of the Plot; but we receiv'd no Answer at all in a whole Week, from Monday to Monday, when we were immediately prorog'd unexpectedly, and immediately after dissolv'd as unexpectedly; and, I suppose, the same Persons that gave that Advice, gave this also. To except against a Speaker, without giving a Reason, is to do any thing that may set us together by the Ears, and then they have their design'd Ends; but I shall not consent to part with the least Right that belongs to my Country, for whom I am chosen a Representative.

Col. Birch.

Col. Birch's. He that advis'd this, will readily advise more, I'll warrant you. This is only a Bone cast amongst us. I thought we could not have oblig'd his Majesty more, than to pitch upon a Privy Counsellor, and one in so great Favour with his Majesty, and in several great Places and Employments under him: Besides, yesterday he was at Whitehall, after we had chosen him Speaker, to acquaint his Majesty with it, and then his Majesty was very well pleas'd with the Choice, and for the Truth of this I appeal to Mr. Seymour himself; but this ill Advice is given since by some, I fear, too near the King. I shall not touch upon Prerogative; but let's think of Adjournment at present.

Mr. Powle.

M. Powle's. This is an ominous Thing to stumble at the Threshold, before we are in the House: but this Advice must proceed from some who are too near the King, and fearful we should agree; but I hope there is no Man here, a Representative of his Country, that is fearful of speaking his Mind freely, in favour of those whom he represents, nor yet afraid of being dissolv'd, if it be to-morrow, for maintaining the Right of those who chuse them to sit here for them. I will not invade Prerogative, neither will I consent to the Infringement of the least Liberty of my Country; but let us do nothing hastily, but consider Precedents, and adjourn ourselves till to-morrow Nine a-clock. To which the whole House agreed. A Temper was found at last; Seymour's

Election was let fall, but the Point was settled, that the Right of Electing was in the House, and that the Confirmation was a thing of course; after which, William Gregory Esq; Sergeant at Law, was recommended to the House by the Lord Russell, and chosen Speaker. This Parliament began where the last left off, and appointed a Committee of Secrecy to take Informations, prepare Evidence, and draw up Articles against the impeach'd Lords in the Tower. They also sent a Message to the House of Peers, to put them in mind of the Impeachment of High Treason exhibited again Thomas Earl of Danby, and to desire that he may be committed to safe Custody: Resolving again, "That it

Earl of Danby's Impeachment. "be refer'd to the Committee of Secrecy to draw up further Articles against him." However, the Letters produc'd against the Earl, being written by the King's particular Command, and some private Papers being necessary for his Defence, which his Majesty would not suffer to be made publick, he at last resolv'd to adhere to the Benefit of the Pardon the King had granted him, and to keep himself out of the way as long as he could. His Conduct is much condemn'd by Bishop Burnet, both as to Discretion and Probity. "When he was leaving the Treasury, he made great Advantage by several Payments, which he got the King to order, that were due upon such slight Pretences, that it was believ'd he had a large Share of them to himself. He advis'd his Majesty to reject Seymour the Speaker; for which the House fell upon him immediately, and he sharpen'd them against him by it. Those who intended to serve him, said, The Heat that Dispute had rais'd, which was wholly imputed to him, on account of a private Quarrel he had with Seymour, had put it out of their power to do it. He took out a Pardon under the Great Seal. The Lord Chancellor durst not venture to pass it; so the King order'd the Seal to be put to the Pardon in his own presence. And thus, according to the Lord Finch's Figure, when he was afterwards question'd about it, It did not pass thro' the ordinary Methods of Production, but was an immediate Effect of his Majesty's Power of creating." He also took out a Warrant to be Marquis of Carmarthen, which Title he took afterwards by Patent from King William. The King told the Parliament, the Earl of Danby had done nothing but by his Order, and therefore he had pardon'd him; and if there was any Deference in his Pardon, he would pass it over and the Parliamt. over again, till it should be quite legal. But this was not a Parliament to be talk'd to at that rate; nor was he a Monarch of that high Character, as to give himself those Airs.

The House of Commons had debated the Impeachment with great Warmth; and Mr. Powle particularly said,

Mr. Speaker,

I should have been pleas'd to have heard some what omitted, needful to have been spoken unto from some other Member of this House, rather than gainst him. M. Powle's speech against him. it is concerning the Earl of Danby, who stands impeach'd by the Commons of England of High Treason.

The Person to whom we owe the Dangers and Fears of the French King against us.

The Person to whom we owe the Threats and severe Answers to those humble Addresses we made the last Sessions of Parliament.

The Person to whom we owe the Ruin of this Nation, and exhausting the King's Revenue.

The Person to whom we owe the Expence of 200000 Pounds and upwards, within a Year, unaccounted for. The

A. D.
1679.The King
designs to
enslave
England.

The Person to whom we owe the raising of a standing Army, to be kept up by the Receipt of six Millions of Livres yearly, for three Years together, to enslave us and our Religion.

The Person to whom we owe the late Bone that was thrown in the Sitting of the last Parliament, to hinder the good Issue that might have come by their Proceedings, who is now laying down his Staff, and making up his Accounts in the Treasury as he pleases, to enrich himself out of the Spoils of the People, and so depart.

My humble Motion is, that a Message be sent immediately to the Lords from the Commons of England, to desire their Lordships, that Thomas Earl of Danby be immediately committed to safe Custody, he being impeach'd by the Commons of England of High Treason. And the Lords voting he should be committed, he withdrew, and a Bill of Banishment past the House of Peers, and was sent down to the House of Commons, where Sir Francis Winnington fell upon it furiously; he said, "It was an Act to let all Ministers see the worst Thing that could happen to them, after they had been engag'd in the blackest Designs, and had got great Rewards of Wealth and Honour. All they could suffer was, to be oblig'd to live beyond Sea." This set the House in a flame, and the Court, to quench it, offer'd a Bill to degrade the Earl of Danby from his Peerage, as well as to banish him, and to declare, that, for the future, no Pardon should be pleaded in Bar of an Impeachment: But the House was so exasperated against him, that nothing less than a Prosecution for High Treason would content them. They threw out the Bill of Banishment, and instead of it, order'd a Bill of Attainder to be brought in. The Earl of Essex had been made first Commissioner of the Treasury, and he and the Earl of Sunderland join'd with the Duke of Monmouth, to press the King to change his Councils, and turn to another Method of Government. Who his Counsellors were, will be seen by the following Order.

Bill to banish him.

At the Court at White-hall,

January 17th, 1678-9.

Present,

The King's most Excellent Majesty.

The King's
Privy
Council.

Prince Rupert.
Lord Chancellor Finch.
Lord Treasurer Danby.
Lord Privy Seal Anglesey.
Duke of Monmouth.
Lord Chamberlain Arlington.
Earl of Oxford.
Earl of Salisbury.
Earl of Bridgewater.
Earl of Peterborough.
Earl of Sunderland.
Earl of Clarendon.
Earl of Bath.
Earl of Craven.
Earl of Ailesbury.
Earl of Carbery.
Lord Viscount Falconberg.
Lord Bishop of London.
Lord Bishop of Durham.
Lord Berkeley.
Lord Maynard.
Mr. Secretary Coventry.
Mr. Secretary Williamson.
Sir John Ernle, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Matter of the Ordnance.
Mr. Edward Seymour.

There having been lately presented by the Justices of the Peace six Queries to his Majesty in Council; viz.

A. D.
1679.

- I. "Whether Foreigners, Popish Recufants, that are, and have long been here settled House-keepers, and are Tradesmen; viz. Chirurgeons, Taylors, Perriwig Makers, or ordinary Shop-keepers, following Employments for their own Advantage, but not otherwise Merchants; but are certify'd to be Merchant Strangers, shall be excus'd from taking the Oaths, or finding Sureties, or either of them?"
- II. "Whether such Foreigners, being certify'd by Ambassadors, or other Foreign Ministers to be their Servants, at this Time shall be excus'd?"
- III. "Whether Foreigners, Popish Recufants, settled here House-keepers, but neither are Tradesmen, Travellers, or Foreign Ministers Servants shall be excus'd?"
- IV. "Whether native Subjects of our Sovereign Lord, that are menial Servants of Foreign Ministers shall be excus'd?"
- V. "Whether marry'd Women being Popish Recufants, but their Husbands Protestants, shall be excus'd?"
- VI. "Whether Popish Recufants that have taken the Oaths, found Sureties, have appear'd, and are convict, shall find new Sureties, or be continu'd over."

His Majesty receiv'd Answer from the Judges in Writing, in the following Words,

May it please your Majesty,

"We have met and consider'd of the Questions propos'd to us, and do hereby humbly return our Opinions.

To the First we are of Opinion,

I. "That Foreigners, being Popish Recufants, and exercising ordinary Trades, but no Merchants, are not excus'd from taking the Oaths, or finding Sureties.

II. To the Second, "That Foreigners, tho' certified by Ambassadors to be their Servants, except they are their menial Servants, are not excus'd.

III. To the Third, "That Foreigners, tho' settled House-keepers, being no Travellers or Foreign Ministers Servants, are not excus'd.

IV. To the Fourth, "That the King's native Subjects are not excus'd from taking the Oaths, being menial Servants to Foreign Ministers.

V. To the Fifth, "We find no Law that excuses a Feme Covert, being a Papist, from taking the Oaths, tho' her Husband be a Protestant."

VI. To the Sixth, "That a Popish Recufant having taken the Oaths, is not bound to find new Sureties, unless upon a new Tender of the Oaths he shall refuse to take them.

All which, with great Humility, we submit to your Majesty's Judgment.

Will. Scroggs.	Robert Atkins.
Fra. North.	V. Bertie.
W. Montague.	Fra. Bramstone.
W. Wylde.	Thomas Jones.
Tim. Littleton.	W. Dolben.
Hugh Wyndham.	

This Report of the Judges was sent to the Custos of every County, to be communicated to the Justices of the Peace. Sir Robert Southwell, the Clerk of the Council, was accus'd by one Mr. Chetwins of being negligent in the Matter of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. One John Nalson, a Law Doctor, and History Writer, was taken into Custody by the Sergeant at Arms attending the House of Commons for writing a Libel against Mr. Montagu. Col. Edward Sackville was expell'd.

Nalson the
Libeller
apprehended.

A. D. 1679. the House of Commons, for saying, *They were Sons of Whores that said there was a Plot, and he was a lying Rogue that said it*: You have a Sketch of the good Sense and good Manners of the *Popish* Faction in *Sackville's Ribaldry*. *Bedloe* gave Evidence against *Danby*, that he took him one day into his Closet, and ask'd him, *Whether the Duke of Buckingham, or Lord Shaftesbury, or any of the Members of the House of Commons, had desir'd him to say any thing against him, and to tell him who they were, and he would reward him, and to know if he would desist from giving Evidence against the — and the Lords in the Tower.*

Danby tamperers with *Bedloe*. To which *Bedloe* answer'd, *That he had been an ill Man, and desir'd to be so no more.* The Earl reply'd, *You may have a great Sum of Money, and live in another Country, as Geneva, Sweden, or New England; and should have what Money he would ask to maintain him there*: But *Bedloe* refusing, *Danby* began to threaten him, saying, *There's a Boat and a Yatch ready to carry you far enough for telling of Tales.* After this the Guards were as Spies upon him, and he was very ill us'd till he was remedy'd by the Parliament's Address to the King in his behalf, both as to Safety and Reward. *Oates* also declar'd, that being one day in the *Privy Garden*, the Earl of

And insults *Oates*. *Danby* passing by, reflected upon him, saying, *There goes one of the Saviours of England, but I hope to see him hang'd within a month*; for it was a very courtly Business to ridicule the *Plot*: and probably, had the Truth been fully discover'd, the Courtiers would have been found among the Plotters, who were indefatigable in their Endeavours to cry down, and bribe off the Witnesses. One *Reading* a Lawyer, Solicitor for the *Popish* Lords in the Tower, insinuated himself into *Bedloe's* Confidence, and was much in his Company, always pressing him before others to tell all he knew: He lent him Money very freely, which *Bedloe* often wanted to support his Extravagancies; and he seem'd at first to design only to find out somewhat that should destroy the Credit of his Testimony: But he ventur'd on other Practices, and offer'd him much Money, if he wou'd turn his Evidence against the *Popish* Lords into Hearsay, so that it should not come home against them. *Bedloe* acquainted both *Prince Rupert* and the Earl of *Essex* with the whole Negotiation, and plac'd two Witnesses secretly in his Chamber, when *Reading* was to come to him; at which time, he drew him into Discourses, which discover'd the whole Practice of that Corruption. *Reading* had got a Paper ready drawn, containing Instructions how he should soften his Depositions, so as not to affect the Lords: With these Witnesses, and this Paper, *Bedloe* charg'd *Reading*. The Witnesses were *Wiggins* his Man, and one S — a worthless Branch of a very worthy Family, who was some Years ago employ'd in a Villainous Affair against the Writer of this History, and by a greater Villain than *Bedloe*. The whole Matter concerning *Reading's* Subornation was prov'd beyond Contradiction; and as this rais'd *Bedloe's* Credit, so it laid a heavy Load on the *Popish* Lords, of whom the Lord *Stafford* only offer'd 300 Pounds for this Service. The Proofs were plain against *Reading*, and he was put in the Pillory, where the Multitude sufficiently pelted him.

Danby's Servants tamper with *Oates's*. The Conspirators took another Way to destroy *Oates's* Evidence; one of the Earl of *Danby's* Servants swore that *Oates* made an abominable Attempt upon him, too foul for the Purity of History. Another of them depos'd, that *Oates's* Servants told them many odious things of the

King, which look'd like one that intended rather to ruin than to save him. *Oates's* Servants deny'd every Word of it, but fasten'd what was said upon those who had been with him, as a Practice of their's; for which they were pillory'd and pelted, as *Reading* had been: And to put things of a Sort together, as my Lord of *Sarum* does, tho' they happen'd not all at once, one *Tasborough*, who belong'd to the Duke of *York*, enter'd into a Correspondence with *Dugdale*, who was courting a Kinswoman of his. 'Twas propos'd that *Dugdale* should sign a Paper, re-*Dugdale* trasting all he had formerly sworn, and should tamper'd upon that go beyond Sea; for which he was wish by promis'd in the Duke's Name a considerable Re-*Tasborough* ward: He had written the Paper, as was de-rough. fir'd, but he was too cunning for *Tasborough*, and he prov'd his Practices upon him; for which *Tasborough* was fin'd, and put in the Pillory. These Contrivances to corrupt the Witnesses, carry'd on by the Duke of *York's*, and the Lord Treasurer's Servants, and by the *Popish* impeach'd Lords Solicitor, is sufficient to convince any reasonable Man, that they were all conscious of the Validity of the Evidence, and endeavour'd to have it stifled by Subornation and Perjury.

The Bill to attain the Earl of *Danby* having easily pass the House of Commons, was the first of *April* sent up to the Lords by Sir *Robert Peyton*, but had not so easy a Passage in that House; there were no less than three Conferences upon it: The first and third manag'd for the Lords by the Earl of *Anglesey*, and other Lords; the second by the Earl of *Huntington*, and other Peers; upon whose Report, their Lordships thought fit to pass the Bill, and the Earl surrender'd himself: Upon which he was committed to the Tower, there being a Clause in the Bill, which allow'd him a Trial, if he surrender'd himself by a Time therein mention'd. The Earl, by Advice of the celebrated Lawyer Mr. *Pollexfen*, insisted upon his Pardon; for a Trial must have brought the *French* Money-Letters on the Stage, and what a Figure his Majesty would then have made there, is easy to imagine.

Mention has been made of the King's Intention to change his Counsels, and Counsellors; which was chiefly owing to the Advice of Sir *William Temple*, as he represents it; but the Bishop of *Salisbury* gives the Merit of it to the Duke of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Essex*, and Earl of *Sunderland*. Lord *Hallifax* told the Bishop, the King would be very willing to have Lord *Shaftesbury* brought in; for he thought he was only angry in revenge, because he was not employ'd: Sir *William Temple* tells us, he oppos'd it even with Passion; but his Majesty would not only have him of the Council, but that he should be President of it. The old Council was all made up of *Danby's* Creatures; the new, of the chief Men of both Houses of Parliament. This was carry'd with such Secrecy, that it was not so much as suspected, till the Day before it was done. The King was weary of the Vexation he had been long in, and desir'd to be at ease: He would have done any thing at that time, as Bishop *Burnet* observes, to put an end to the *Plot*, which lost him what little Credit he had both at home and abroad: He was forc'd at home to dissemble an extraordinary Zeal in the Prosecution of it, at the same time that he could not help ridiculing it upon all Occasions; and his Friends abroad, who knew him to be as much a Papist, as a Man so much a Libertine in Principle and Practice could be, must be shock'd at his giving up so many good Catholics, as were executed for that Conspiracy.

On the 20th of *April*, the Privy Council were extraordinarily assembled, and the Lord Chan-

A. D. cellor having read the King's Declaration of his
1679. Intention to govern for the future with the Ad-
vice of a new Privy-Council, form'd after a new
manner, Half of Officers of the Crown, and Half
of the principal Members of the two Houses of
Parliament, the King dissolv'd that Council
then assembled, and the next Day summon'd his
new Privy Council ; viz.

*A new
Privy-
Council.*

Prince *Rupert*.
William Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*.
Heneage, Lord *Finch*, Lord Chancellor.
Anthony Earl of *Shaftesbury*, Lord President.
Arthur Earl of *Anglesey*, Lord Privy Seal.
Christopher Duke of *Albemarle*.
James Duke of *Monmouth*, Master of the Horse.
Henry Duke of *Norfolk*.
John Duke of *Lauderdale*, Secretary of State
for *Scotland*.
James Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the
Household.
Charles Lord Marquis of *Winchester*.
Henry Lord Marquis of *Worcester*.
Henry Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain
of the Household.
James Earl of *Salisbury*.
John Earl of *Bridgewater*.
Robert Earl of *Sunderland*, Secretary of State.
Arthur Earl of *Essex*, First Lord Commis-
sioner of the Treasury.
John Earl of *Bath*, Groom of the Stole.
Thomas Lord Viscount *Falconberg*.
George Lord Viscount *Hallifax*.
Henry Lord Bishop of *London*.
John Lord *Roberts*.
Denzil Lord *Hollis*.
William Lord *Russel*.
William Lord *Cavendish*.
Henry *Coventry* Esq; Secretary of State.
Sir Francis *North*, Lord Chief Justice of the
Common Pleas.
Sir Henry *Capel*, First Commissioner of the
Admiralty.
Sir John *Ernie*, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Sir Thomas *Chichele*, Master of the Ordnance.
Sir William *Temple*.
Edward *Seymour* Esq;
Henry *Porcle* Esq;

*A Popular
Step.*

This being one of the most popular Steps the
King ever took, he went immediately to the
House of Lords, and sending for the Commons, told
them what he had done, which was not receiv'd
with such general Satisfaction, as might have been
expected, because they had no Confidence in the
Doer. The Duke's Creatures were so excluded
out of all Commissions, as well as out of the
Council, that they gave both him and themselves
for lost: Yet the King's Inflexibility in the
Point of the *Succession*, shews he was still go-
vern'd by his Brother's Maxims; to whose Coun-
sels, it was not long before he gave himself up
entirely. Many wise Men suspected all that was
doing; they said the King was what he was be-
fore, no Change appear'd in him; and all this
was only an Artifice to lay the Heat the Nation
was in, to gain so many Members over to him,
and draw Money from the Commons; in which,
however, he had not the Success he hop'd for.
Bishop Burnet says, "no Part of the Change
" that was then made, was more acceptable than
" that of the Judges; the Lord *Danby* had
" brought in some sad Creatures to those impor-
" tant Posts, as *Scroggs*, *North*, *Bertie*, *Wynd-*
" *ham*, *Bramstone*, &c." but they were not all
remov'd. " *Sir William Jones* had the new
" modelling of the Bench; and he put in very
" worthy Men in the room of those ignorant
" Judges that were now dismiss'd."

*Bad
Judges.*

We have mention'd the Change in the Admi-
rality: That Commission was given to *Sir Henry*
Capel, *Sir Humphry Winch*, *Sir Thomas Meers*,
Daniel Finch, *Edward Vaughan*, and *Edward*
Hales, Esqs;

A. D.
1679.
Lords of
the Admi-
rality.

On the 1st of *May*, the Commons reviv'd a
Committee to consider what Part of the Money gi-
ven for disbanding the Army is yet undispos'd of,
and remaining in the Exchequer; and a Week
after, an Act pass'd the Royal Assent, to raise
206462*l.* for disbanding the Forces rais'd since
the 29th of *September* 1677. and the Commis-
sioners appointed to disband them were *Sir Gilbert*
Gerrard, *Sir Thomas Player*, *Col. Birch*, and
Col. Whitley.

On the 5th of *May* the House of Commons re-
solv'd, "That the Pardon pleaded by the Earl
" of *Danby*, was illegal and void, and ought not
" to be allow'd, in bar of the Impeachment of
" the Commons of *England*;" which one would
think a small Portion of Understanding and Ho-
nesty might have led People into; for then such
Impeachments, which are the greatest Security
they have for their Rights and Liberties, would
be of no more Force than the Court pleas'd, and
ill Ministers might as easily procure a Pardon for
the Crimes they committed, as they had procur'd
the Power to commit them. The same
Day the Speaker, with the House, went up to
the Lords Bar, and demanded Judgment against
the Earl, who stood to his Plea of Pardon; and
the Lords *Petre*, *Bellasis*, *Stafford*, *Arundel*,
and *Powis*, having given in their Answers to the
Commons Impeachment, a Difference arose be-
tween the two Houses, about the Bishops being
present at the Trials of these Lords. The Bi-
shops had stuck close to the King and his Coun-
sels, and his Majesty was very desirous to stick
to them as his fast Friends. Many of them had
been promoted by *Danby's* Interest, and these
were sure to be a Part of the *Dead Weight* on all
Occasions, when Spiritual and Temporal Liberty
was in question. It was said that tho the Bishops
had no Right to vote in the final Judgment; yet
they might vote in all Preliminaries: In the Case
of the Earl of *Danby*, the allowing or not allow-
ing the Pardon to be good was but preliminary;
and yet the whole Matter was concluded by it:
which induc'd the Commons to insist upon it,
That the Bishops ought not to have any Vote in
any Proceedings upon Impeachments against
the Lords in the Tower. The Lords voted that
they had a Right to stay in Court in Capital Ca-
ses, till the Court gave Judgment; which Vote
was strenuously oppos'd by the Earl of *Shaftes-*
bury, Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Hollis*, and other
Peers; and as strenuously espous'd by the Lord
Chancellor, Lord *Roberts*, &c.

Judgment
demanded
against
Danby.

Bishops
stick close to
the King,
and the
King to
them.

Several noble Patriots enter'd their Dissent a-
gainst the Vote for the Right of the Bishops to
sit in Capital Cases, till Judgment is given; as,
The

Duke of <i>Buckingham</i> .	Lord <i>Gray</i> .
Earl of <i>Huntington</i> .	Lord Viscount <i>Newport</i> .
Earl of <i>Kent</i> .	Lord Viscount <i>Say</i> and <i>Seale</i> .
Earl of <i>Shaftesbury</i> .	Earl of <i>Leicester</i> .
Earl of <i>Clare</i> .	Lord <i>Wharton</i> .
Earl of <i>Bedford</i> .	Earl of <i>Scarsdale</i> .
Marquis of <i>Winchester</i> .	Earl of <i>Strafford</i> .]
Earl of <i>Rocheſter</i> .	Earl of <i>Derby</i> .
Lord <i>North</i> and <i>Gray</i> .	Lord <i>De la Mer</i> .
Lord <i>Howard</i> .	Lord <i>Paget</i> .
Earl of <i>Suffolk</i> .	Lord <i>Windsor</i> .
Earl of <i>Stamford</i> .	Lord Viscount <i>Falcon-</i> <i>berg</i> .
Lord <i>Lovelace</i> .	Earl of <i>Salisbury</i> .
Lord <i>Townshend</i> .	
Lord <i>Herbert</i> .	

There

A. D. 1679. There was one *Thomas Hunt*, Esq; a doughty Author, who wrote for the Affirmative in this grand Question; but in the Negative appear'd the Lord *Hollis*, assisted by those famous Antiquaries, *William Petty*, Esq; of the *Inner Temple*; and Mr. *Atwood*, of *Gray's Inn*: but I have often thought how *Titus*, *Timothy*, and the Primitive Christian Bishops, would have taken it to have been put upon Trials in Cases of Blood; and yet the Then Bishops were very hard to be persuaded to withdraw in such a Case, which there is not one Layman in a thousand, but would be glad to be excused from, it being a kind of *Jury* upon Life and Death. The Commons were not satisfy'd with their involuntary withdrawing, and leaving a Protest behind them, that it was their Right to assist in Trials of Blood; and resolv'd on the 24th of *May*, that they would not proceed to the Trial of the *Popish* Lords, before Judgment be given on the Earl of *Danby's* Pardon. They also voted, that no Commoner should plead the Validity of that Pardon at the Lords Bar; and upon this Difference between the two Houses, his Majesty three Days after prorogu'd them to the 24th of *August*, as well to screen the five *Popish* impeach'd Lords, as the Earl of *Danby*. The Force of whose Prosecution, says the judicious *Acherley*, could not be avoided or baffled, but by resorting to that inglorious Practice of dispersing the Parliament, and deserting the Course of Justice.

Lord Hollis writes against Hunt.

Bishops censured.

The Bishops Behaviour on this occasion was much censur'd, and they lost the Good-will of the People so generally, that they thought of securing their Honour, Revenues, Powers, and Prerogatives, by asserting the unlimited Authority of the Sovereign, and the indispensable Duty of the Subject in *Passive Obedience*. My Lord of *Sarum* acknowledges, the Bishops were exposed to the Popular Fury, and every where censur'd, as a Set of Men, that for their own Ends, and for every Punctilio that they pretended to, would expose the Nation, and the Protestant Religion to ruin. The greater part of the Clergy delivered themselves up to much Heat and Indiscretion, which was vented both in their Pulpits, and common Conversation, and most particularly at the Elections of Parliament-Men, which drew much Hatred and Censure upon them: They seem'd now to lay down all Fears and Apprehensions of Popery; and nothing was so common in their Mouths, as the *Year Forty-One*; being so ignorant and stupid, as not to know, that the very Parliament that brought in the King, justify'd the Cause of the *Forty-One* Parliament, till the Force was put on them by the Soldiery, and that it was founded in Right and Reason. But indeed, the Stupidity and Ignorance of those Pulpiteers, were equal to their Malice and Rage; Bishop *Burnet* informs us, that they learn'd their Lessons of the execrable *L'Estrange*, who corrupted them, and the vilest Part of the People, with his Penny Papers; and out of this Corruption grew that odious Faction, call'd *Tories*, a Name given to the wildest of the *Wild Irish*.

Tories.

Moderate Churchmen, and Protestant Dissenters, thought it high time to oppose those dangerous Tenets, which insensibly led them to Popery and Slavery; and this they did with great Zeal in and out of Parliament; for which their lewd Adversaries fix'd the Term *Whig* upon them, by way of Reproach, as being such another Sort of Men, as the *Cameronian* Covenanters in *Scotland*: And from these Beginnings rose at this time, the two Parties which have since divided the Nation.

Whigs.

Before the Prorogation of the Parliament, the Bill of Exclusion was brought into the House of

Commons, as the only way to quiet Peoples Fears on account of the Duke's Succession. The Leaders in both Houses who were for it, had well consider'd the Matter before this bold, but necessary Step, was agreed upon. The Earl of *Shaftesbury's* Project was for excluding him simply, and making the Succession to go on as if he was dead, as the only Mean which was easy and safe both for the Crown and the People. This was nothing but the disinheriting the next Heir; which certainly the King and Parliament might do, says the Bishop of *Salisbury*, as well as any private Man might disinherit his next Heir, if he had a mind to it. The King would not consent to this. He had faithfully promis'd the Duke that he never would. And he thought if Acts of Exclusion were once begun, it would not be easy to stop them, but that upon any Discontent at the next Heir, they would be set a-foot. But the King's Thoughts ran upon every thing more than the Security of the Religion and Liberty of his Country. People will never be discontented at the next Heir, unless their Liberty and Religion are in the utmost danger, and then to set a-foot Exclusion, is both just and necessary. People are not so delighted with the Difficulties and Dangers in altering Successions, as to run into it out of Humour or Wantonness. The truth is, King *Charles* hated the Constitution of *England*, as it is Free and Protestant, and did not care what became of it, as long as his Family was in the Saddle. The Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Hallifax* propos'd such Limitations of the Duke's Authority, when the Crown should devolve to him, as would disable him from doing any Harm either to Church or State: Such as the taking out of his hands all Power in Ecclesiastical Matters, the Disposal of the publick Money, with the Power of Peace and War: All these to be lodg'd in both Houses of Parliament; and that whatever Parliament was in being, or the last that had been in being at the King's Death, should meet without a new Summons; which, with other Limitations, was by the King's Command propos'd to the Parliament in a Speech of the Lord *Finch's*. The Lord *Shaftesbury* argu'd against it, as much more prejudicial to the Crown, than the Exclusion of one Heir; for this chang'd the whole Government, and set up a Democracy instead of a Monarchy. Bishop *Burnet* observes, "That Lord *Hallifax's* arguing so much against the Danger of turning the Monarchy to be elective, was the more extraordinary in him, because he had made an Hereditary Monarchy the Subject of his Mirth; and had often said, *Who takes a Coach-man to drive him, because his Father was a good Coachman?* Yet he was now jealous of a small Slip in the Succession; but he at the same time study'd to infuse into some a Zeal for a Commonwealth, of which, as appears by his Writings, he thought as favourably as a Man could do, who expected still more Honours from the King; who, in good Reigns, is the Fountain of all Honour. Upon this Difference of Opinion, a Faction was quickly form'd in the new Council. The Lords *Essex*, *Sunderland*, and *Hallifax*, were for Limitations. The Lord *Shaftesbury*, Lord *Russel*, and Mr. *Powle*, were for the Exclusion. Sir *William Temple* all this while trimm'd between both. He was probably in opinion for the Exclusion; but finding the King so inflexibly against it, he talk'd to him of Limitations only. The Duke was struck almost dead when he heard the News at *Brussels*, that the Lord Chancellor had propos'd the Limitations to both Houses of Parliament: My Lord of *Sarum* informs us, That he saw a Letter

A. D. 1679.

A. D. 1679. ter written by his Dutcheſs the next Day, where-
in ſhe wrote, *That as for all the HIGH Things*
which were ſaid by their Enemies, they look'd
for them; but the Speech of the Lord Chancellor
was a Surprise, and a great Mortification
to them. Their Apprehenſions of that did not
hang long upon them. The Excluſion became
the popular Expedient. Accordingly, after much
debating, a Bill was order'd for excluding the
Duke of York. Indeed the Limitations ſeem'd
to be, as was then ſaid, *Hedging in the Cuckow*
by the Wiſe Men of Gotham. Were not the
Practices of the *Stuartine Race* too well known
for them to be truſted again in the Bonds of Acts
of Parliament? Had not all of thoſe Princes
broke thro' all ſuch Obligations? Nay, had not
this very King been limited by the *Triennial*
Act, which Limitation he ſoon got over, and
inſtead of three Years, kept his Parliament twice
three times three Years? I do not repeat the
Biſhop of *Salisbury's* many Arguments for and
againſt the *Excluſion Bill*, becauſe we who have
liv'd ſince, and have ſeen the want of that Exclu-
ſion make an Abdication Act neceſſary, after
great Tyranny and Oppreſſion, muſt deteſt or
deſpiſe all Arguments againſt it; and for it, is
to be added, every Argument that was for the
Revolution. When the Queſtion was put in the
Houſe for committing the Bill of Excluſion, the
Yea's were 207, the *No's* 128; but it went no far-
ther that Seſſion.

Before I proceed to the Inquiry into the State
of the *Penſion* Affair in the laſt Parliament, I
muſt correct an Error in Biſhop *Burnet's* Me-
moirs relating to the Biſhops Votes in capital
Caſes. The reverend Author tells us, that
Dr. *Stillingfleet* gave, upon this Occaſion, a great
Proof of his being able to make himſelf Maſter
of any Argument which he undertook. If the
Biſhop of *Salisbury* ever read his Controverſy
with Mr. *Locke*, he could not but ſee he was not
Maſter of that Argument; and we are told, his
being baffled in it was one means of ſhortening
his Days. In this Argument, he did not drive
Lord *Hollis* off the Stage, as Biſhop *Burnet* tells
us; After the Lord *Hollis* and others had writ
many Books about it, *Stillingfleet* publiſh'd a
Treatiſe that discover'd more Skill: whereas that
Lord wrote after Dr. *Stillingfleet*, whom he men-
tions in the Preface to his *Conſiderations*, in an-
ſwer to the Doctor's grand Queſtion.

Penſioners
in the laſt
Parlia-
ments. In May the Houſe of Commons inquired into
the Affair of the Penſioners in the laſt Parlia-
ment, when they were paſſing the excellent
Church Acts, ſo often mention'd. On which ac-
count it is, that *Echard* is not willing to think
the following Journal of that Houſe true.

Die Veneris 23 Maij 1679.

" Ordered, That Sir *John Hotbam*, Sir *Robert*
Peyton, and Sir *John Holman*, go and bring
Sir *Stephen Fox*, and his Books of Account,
immediatly to the Houſe.

" They returning, reported, That Sir *Stephen*
Fox was come to the Houſe.

" Ordered, That the ſame Members go with
Sir *Stephen Fox* to his Houſe, and bring his
Ledger-Journal and his Caſh-Books with him,
and the Receipts that the Members of the laſt
Parliament gave him for any Money they have
received, and that Sir *Stephen Fox* do not go
out of their company, but return with them to
the Houſe.

" Sir *John Hotbam* reports, That ſo ſoon as
they came to Sir *Stephen Fox's*, the Lord
Chamberlain came in and told them, That he
durſt not ſuffer any Books or Papers that con-
cern'd the King to go out of his Houſe, with-
out the King's ſpecial Leave.

3

" Ordered, That Sir *Stephen Fox* do name
ſuch Members of the laſt Parliament, as he
could remember, that received any Money
for ſecret Service.

" Ordered, That Sir *Francis Winnington* re-
port to-morrow, what Members of the laſt
Parliament the *Secret Committee* knows re-
ceived any Penſion.

" Ordered, That the Clerk read over the
Roll, and that Sir *Stephen Fox* anſwer to every
Name.

per Ann.
Sir *Char. Wheeler* 400 l. Sir *Phil. Mountain* 300 l.
Francis Roberts 500 l. Upon Account.
Sir *James Smith* 500 l.
Sir *Ric. Wiſeman* 500 l. Sir *Job. Robiſon* 1500 l.
Thomas Price 400 l. Mr. *Rogers* 200 l.
Humph. Cornwall 200 l. Col. *Whitley* 300 l.
Sir *Lionel Walden* 300 l. Sir *Jonathan Trelaw-*
Dan. Collingswood 300 l. ney 500 l.
Robert Philips 300 l. Sir *Phil. Howard* 500 l.
Receiv'd at a time. Sir *Courtney Poole* 1000 l.
Col. *King* 200 l.
Sir *George Reeves* 500 l. Mr. *Westphaling* 200 l.
Sir *Job. Duncomb* 2000 l. Sir *John Barnaby* 300 l.
Sir *Tho. Woodcock* 200 l. Sir *Job. Charlton* 1000 l.
Henry Clark 400 l. Mr. *Knolls* 200 l.
Sir *John Talbot* 500 l. *Randolph Egerton* 500 l.

Die Sabbati 24 Maij 1679.

" Sir *Francis Winnington* reports, That there
was annually paid out of the Excife 20000 l.
for Penſions, manag'd by Mr. *Charles Bertie*
by Patent, for which he was to give no ac-
count, but for ſecret Service; that Sir *Richard*
Wiſeman received 400 l. per Ann. for himſelf,
and 400 l. per Ann. for three more: That
Sir *Joſeph Tredenham*, Mr. *Piercy Goring*,
Sir *Robert Holt*, Mr. *Glaſcock*, and Sir *John*
Johnſon, were alſo Penſioners.

" Ordered, That the Auditors of the Excife
bring in a Liſt of the Farmers of the Excife,
that were before the great Farmers came in.

" Ordered, That Mr. *Johnſon* and Mr. *Lent*
be ſent for to attend the Houſe, they having
paid ſeveral of theſe Penſions, and that the
Speaker iſſue forth his Warrant for any Wit-
neſſes that any Member of this Houſe ſhall
inform him of.

" Ordered, That the further Conſideration of
this Debate be adjourn'd till *Tueſday* next.

Thursday May 1, 1679.

" Ordered, That a Bill be brought in to-
morrow, that no Members receive any Pen-
ſions, or Places of Profit, during this Seſſions
of Parliament.

May 8, 1679.

" A Bill for hindering any Members from ac-
cepting any Office or Employment from the
King, during this Seſſion of Parliament, was
read a ſecond Time."

Theſe Members are the ſame of whom
Echard ſaid, when they were paſſing the afore-
ſaid Acts, they were the richeſt, the wiſeſt, and
worthieſt Gentlemen in the Kingdom.

The Practice was, that, beſides a Dinner, when
they had done any Piece of eminent Service, e-
very one found under his Plate ſuch a Parcel of
Guineas, as it was thought his Day's Work had
merited. Sir *Richard Wiſeman* and Sir *John*
Copleſtone, were allow'd to keep Open-Houſe at
the foot of the Parliament Stairs. So numerous
were theſe *Hirclings* in that Aſſembly, that if
any Point was carry'd there on the Side of the
Country, it was often but by the poor Majority
of two or three Voices. An Inſtance of their In-
tegrity and Uprightneſs, appears in Mr. *Bertie's*
Caſe,

A. D. 1679. Case, at a Committee of Elections between him and Mr. *Trenhard*: It being carry'd for Mr. *Bertie*, the Lord *Obrian*, who was related to the then Lord Treasurer the Earl of *Danby*, came to him in triumph with the News, crying out, *My Lord, we have carry'd the Day, and voted thirteen more than one-and-twenty.* The Charges of the Election of the Pensioners were defray'd, that of *Northampton* amounting to 14000 l. They all knew their Pay-day, insomuch that a great Officer was pleas'd to say, *They came about him like so many Jackdaws for Cheese, at the End of every Sessions.* But many of these Pensioners, finding at last that all was at stake, and that whatever they had of their own, as well as whatever they had got out of the Court, was in danger of being made a Prey to the *French* and *Papists*, began to be resty; and, tho' late, to atone for their past Errors, by their Zeal against both the *Papists* and the *French*. His Majesty himself ask'd a lofty *West-Saxon*, the Captain of the Band, *What was the reason of this Revolt of some of the Troops?* The *West-Saxon* reply'd, *They had been of late neglected, and the Beasts only bellow'd for Fodder.*

By the Records of the Exchequer, under the Article of *Secret Service*, it appears there was paid in three Years 294,916 l. 11 s. 4 d. in Mr. *Bertie's* Name, besides 84,640 l. to be distributed by him in New-Year's Gifts, as he should be privately directed.

On the 10th of May, both Houses of Parliament address'd the King, that for the Security of the City against the Designs of the *Papists*, the *Militia* be immediately rais'd. And the next Day being *Sunday*, the Commons resolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente, That in defence of the King's Person, and the Protestant Religion, this House doth declare, That they will stand by his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majesty should come by any violent Death, they will revenge it to the utmost upon the Papists.* Which Vote was drawn up in form of an Address, and presented to the King; whose Answer was, *Gentlemen, I thank you for your Zeal for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and of my Person. And I assure you I shall do what in me lies, to secure the Protestant Religion, and am willing to do all such Things as may tend to the Good and Benefit of my Subjects.* Three Days after, Mr. *Powle* brought a Message from him for Money for a Fleet, but the Commons put off the Debate of it, tho' they seem'd to have more Care of the King than he had of himself: For as *Coke* observes, *He not only countenanc'd the Plotters, but ridicul'd the Plot.* In his Speech at the opening of this Parliament, he told them, He had not been idle in discovering the *Plot*; and in the last, told Sir *William Temple* he was displeas'd with the Earl of *Danby*, for bringng it into Parliament against his absolute Command. This is what the Archdeacon calls his fine *Talent of Dissimulation*; which is as inconsistent with Honour, as Fraud is with Honesty. But he did not so well dissemble as not to be perceiv'd. *Coke* adds, *Oliver's Professions and Actions never appear'd so hypocritical and deceitful, as this King's.* As to the *Plot*, the same Author proceeds; "It was prov'd by a Cloud of Witnesses, agreeing in the Manner and Circumstances of it; many of whom had never seen one another before they gave their Testimonies." Then he answers a threadbare *Objection*, much insisted upon by Mr. *Echard*, and not a little by Bishop *Burnet*. Tho' they both seem to me to object superciliously, because they would not be thought credulous, and to have weak Minds, which are soon impos'd on. The

Warm Vote against the Papists.

The King's Dissimulation.

Objection is, *The Witnesses were of suspected Fame, and therefore no Credit ought to be given to them*; which, according to *Coke*, will admit of a two-fold Answer.

"First, *Truth* is one, and consists in entire Parts; whereas Error and Fallhood are finite; and therefore it had been impossible, that *Mowbray* and *Bolton*, two of the Witnesses, who had never seen *Oates* and *Bedloe*, two other Witnesses, before they gave their Testimonies; and *Bedloe*, who had never known *Mowbray*, *Bolton*, nor *Oates*, should concur not only in the Design of killing the King, but in the Manner, Place and Circumstances of it.

"Secondly, Admit these Mens Evidences might not have been credited in other Cases; but it is fit to distinguish Cases Criminal from Cases Civil. In Civil Cases, Men may make Elections of what Witnesses they please; and it is their fault if they make not use of Men of known Integrity and Repute, that more Credit may be given to their Evidence; and the End of Civil Actions and Contracts is, that they may be known: but immoral and wicked Actions are Deeds of Darkeness, and contriv'd so as that they may not be known; and one never comes to the Knowledge of them, unless by accident, or from the Conspirators themselves. Suppose one Man only sees a Murderer, or a Thief kill or rob another, if his Testimony shall not be taken, because he is otherwise an ill Man, multitudes of Murders and Thefts might pass unpunished. Thus, if *Cicero*, when *Fulvia* first discover'd *Catiline's* Conspiracy to him, had told her she was a *Whore*, and no Credit was to be given to any thing she said, *Rome* might have been in a flame as *London* was, and all the Senators Throats might have been cut.

"But admit no Credit could be given to any or all these Mens Testimonies, who were all *Roman Catholicks*, I would know what *Objection* could be against Mr. *Jennison*, a Gentleman of Birth and Fortune, who gave no Evidence at *Ireland's*, *Wakeman's*, *Pickering's* or *Grove's* Trials; and chang'd his Religion, when he heard that *Ireland*, who was his Father Confessor, at his Death, deny'd he was in *Town*, but in *Staffordshire*, when *Oates* and *Grove's* Maid said he was in *London* in August 1678; whereas he knew the contrary, and depos'd, that in August 1678, when *Ireland*, at his Death, declar'd he was in *Staffordshire*, *Ireland* told Mr. *Jennison* in *London*, when he was newly return'd from *Windsor*, how easily the King might be taken off, and ask'd Mr. *Jennison* if he would be one of them, who should go to *Windsor*, and assist at the taking off the King, proffering to remit 200 Pounds, which *Jennison* ow'd *Ireland*, if he would. Then *Ireland* ask'd if he knew any stout *Irish* Men; *Jennison* answer'd, he knew Capt. *Lavalian*, Mr. *Kerney*, *Brobal* and *Wilson*. *Ireland* told him, he knew *Lavalian* and *Wilson*, and ask'd him again if he would go with them, and assist them in taking off the King. He then said he was going to the Club, where Mr. *Coleman*, Mr. *Lavalian* and *Kerney* would be, and he wanted 80 Pounds, which he desir'd *Jennison* to return him. The latter farther depos'd, That his Brother Mr. *Thomas Jennison*, a Jesuit, said, *If C. R. will not be R. C. he shall not be long C. R.* which he interpreted to be, *Si Carolus Rex non esset Rex Catholicus, non diu foret Rex Catholicus.* *If King Charles will not be a Catho-*

Mr. Jennison's Evidence.

A. D.
1679.

lick King, he shall not be long King Charles; and that it was no great Sin to take him off. Jennison desiring a Commission in the new-raised Army, his Brother the Jesuit told him, he would procure him one from the Duke of York; and that there was another Army to be raised after the King was killed. About this time there was a general Rumour of a Page being stabbed upon a Couch in the Night at Windsor. The King, who had been drinking very hard, lay down upon it, wrapt up in his Cloak; but Prince Rupert coming to him, with some difficulty prevail'd on him to go to Bed. The King throws off his Cloak, which a Page seeing on the Couch, wrapt himself up in it, and lay down on the Couch, where 'tis suppos'd he was stabbed in mistake for the King, who had been dogg'd to that Place."

Being come to the Trials of more of the Plotters, I was willing to clear up the Evidence against them still further; and this of Jennison proves the Lye in Ireland's Mouth, even with his last Breath; and that he propos'd the killing of the King to him in London, at the very time when, with his last Words, he declar'd he was in Staffordshire. The Particulars of Jennison's Testimony have that Air of Nature and Truth, that 'tis impossible not to be convinc'd by them; and as it confirms the Testimonies of Oates, Bedloe, Dugdale, &c. there is no room to suspect Impossibility in the latter. What said an ingenious Writer, contemporary with these Facts! *These and innumerable other Discouragements both the Plot met with, which, being observ'd, together with the due Circumstances of the Evidence, I think, no Man that is not in the whole or part of the Plot himself, can doubt the Truth of it. Indeed, at the first, many thought to cast a Suspicion upon what Oates and Bedloe inform'd, as being two Persons of vicious Life and Conversation. But how ridiculous is this? As if such Rogues would trust such a Villany with honest Men, or any but those that had been as bad as themselves; you might as well expect a Highway-man should go and acquaint my Lord Chief Justice, when and where he meant to commit the next Robbery. So that from the Nature of the Evidence, or Credit of the Informants, no Man can take exception against the Information of Dr. Oates, or Mr. Bedloe, or any of the rest, to whom Mr. Jennison has lately given no small Credit, in discovering the four Villains, that, as Mr. Oates had said, were to have assassinated his Majesty.*

The King
sullen.

The King, upon the Prorogation of the Parliament, became sullen and thoughtful. He found he had to do with People that could neither be manag'd nor frighten'd. From this time his Temper was observ'd to change very visibly. He began to give hard Names to Things and Persons, and the Plot hanging on him still, he knew not how to meet his Parliament, without continuing the Prosecution of the Plotters; so five of the Jesuits that had been accus'd of it, were brought to their Trial: They were, Thomas Whitebread, their Provincial; William Harcourt, the reputed Rector of London; John Fenwick, their Procurator in England; John Gawen and Anthony Turner, Men of great Gravity and Learning, says Echard. Oates repeated against them his former Evidence, and they prepar'd a great Defence against it. For sixteen People came over from their House at St. Omers, who testify'd, that Oates had stay'd among them all the while, from December 77, till June 78; so that he could not possibly be in London in the April between, at those Consultations, where it was resolv'd to kill the King, as he had sworn. This they re-

Five Je-
suits,
White-
bread,
Harcourt,
Fenwick,
Gawen,
Turner.

member'd the more particularly, because he sat at the Table by himself in the Refectory, which made his being there to be the more observ'd; for as he was not mix'd with the Scholars, so neither was he admitted to the Jesuit's Table. They said he was among them every day, except one or two, in which he was in the Infirmary. They also testified, that some of those, whom he swore came over with him into England, to the Grand Consultation in April, staid all that Summer in Flanders. This Evidence gives great Satisfaction to Mr. Archdeacon, who does not seem to be at all pleas'd with what follows. Oates produc'd seven or eight Persons, who depos'd, that they saw him in England about the beginning of May, and that he being known formerly to them in a Clergyman's Habit, they had observ'd him so much the more, by reason of the Change in his Dress; with one of these he had din'd. Echard adds the Testimony of an Islington Schoolmaster to the same purpose, only because he afterwards retracted it. *Tho' then he spoke home, which no body else did, a notorious Falshity; for the Person who swore Oates din'd with him, at the time the St. Omers Boys swore he din'd in Flanders, spoke home. But there was another Evidence that spoke still more home, and that was an old Dominican Friar, who was still of the Church and Order, and depos'd, that he saw him, and spoke frequently with him at that very time. By this, says Bishop Burnet, the Credit of the St. Omers Scholars was quite blasted. There was no reason to mistrust those who had no Interest in the matter, and swore, that they saw Oates about that time; whereas the Evidence given by the Scholars bred in the Jesuits College, when it was to save the Lives of some of their Order, was liable to a very just Suspicion. Oates, says Echard, produc'd one, and but one Witness, who did affirm, they saw Ireland in London, when he swore he was there; but I can produce two Witnesses, as Grove's Maid, and Mr. Jennison, both before mention'd. Bedloe swore the Plot for killing the King, and raising a Popish Army, against them all; and Prance swore it against Harcourt. Dugdale gave in the Evidence before spoken of, the Letter from Whitebread to Evers, about the Assassins hir'd to kill the King. He also mention'd the Letter he had receiv'd concerning Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's Murther, which the Lord Chief Justice took particular notice of, in summing up the Evidence; and when he spoke to the Prisoners: *This will stick, I assure you, Sirs, upon all your Party. While this Gentleman's Blood lies upon you, it must be yet further told you, that in what you did do, you have given us a Specimen of what you would do. We have a Testimony, that, for promoting your Cause, you would not stick at the Protestants' Blood. You began with Sir Edmondbury Godfrey; but who knows where you would have made an end? It was this Man you kill'd in his Person, but in Effigy, the whole Nation. It was in one Man's Blood your Hands were imbrued; but your Souls were dipt in the Blood of us all. This was a Handseel only of what was to follow; and so long as we are convinc'd you kill'd him, we cannot but believe you would also kill the King. We cannot but believe you would make us all away, that stand in the way of your Religion. A Religion which, according to what it is, you would bring in upon us, by a Conversion of us with Blood; and by a Baptism with Fire. God keep the Land from one, and the City from the other.* The Jury, after a short Consideration, brought all the five Prisoners in guilty. But Sentence was respited till the next day, June 14th.*

A. D.
1679:St. Omers
Men per-
jur'd.L. C. J.
Scroggs's
Speech to
the Jesuits.They are
found guilt-
y.
When

A. D. 1679. When Richard Langhorn Esq; Counsellor at Law, of the Temple, and a bigotted Papist, was brought to his Trial at the Old Bailey. Oates swore he saw a Letter of his to a Foreign Papist, where he had written with his own Hand, *We have now a fair Opportunity to begin or give the Blow;* that by order of Whitebread, he gave Mr. Langhorn an Account of the Resolve at the Grand Consult, April the 24th, to kill the King; and that Langhorn lifting up his Hands and Eyes, said, *God give you a good Success.* That he saw several Commissions in his Chambers, sign'd by *Johannes Paulus de Oliva*, by virtue of a Brief from the Pope; as one to Lord Arundel, to be Lord Chancellor; to Lord Poceis, to be Treasurer; and to Langhorn himself, to be Advocate General; that he was disgusted that G. Wakeman was not content with 10000 Pounds to poison the King. Bedloe swore that he brought Letters from Harcourt to Langhorn, specifying, *that the Lord Bellasis, and the rest concern'd, should be ready, for that their Spanish Correspondents had sent some Irish disbanded-Soldiers to land at Milford, &c.* Langhorn made use of the St. Omers Boys; but their Evidence seem'd to be so baffled, that it serv'd him in no stead; and the Jury having brought him in Guilty, he and the five Jesuits receiv'd Sentence together, to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, at the pronouncing of which there was a very great Acclamation in the Hall. They all of them suffer'd at Tyburn; and went off like Ireland, denying the Facts prov'd against them with their last Breath; but their Denials made no Impression on the People, the Belief being general, that they thought it lawful to utter the greatest Falshoods and Lyes in favour of their Religion and Cause.

Scroggs check'd. The Court began to grow weary of indulging the zealous Protestants in the Prosecution of the Plot; and it was intimated to Scroggs, the Chief Justice, that he must abate of his Fury, if he hop'd for Favour; and we shall find he will change his Tone in the Trial of Sir George Wakeman, and turn his Rage against the Witnesses, which he had hitherto very inhumanly employ'd against the Criminals.

Turns against the Evidence. The Division in the new Privy Council, made the King as uneasy as the ill Humour of the Parliament. The Time of the Prorogation being almost expir'd, and Matters not very well prepar'd for their Meeting, most of the Lords of the Council were for putting off the Session to October, and a Day was appointed for considering the Matter in full Council. The Earls of Sunderland, Essex, the Lord Hallifax, and Sir William Temple, were for dissolving this Parliament, and calling a new one. The Duke of Monmouth, now in the height of his Glory and Interest, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Lord Russell, and Lord Cavendish, were for the Parliament's meeting; so was the Lord Chancellor Finch, and the first that spoke against the Dissolution, in which he was powerfully seconded by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and even by the Marquis of Worcester, the Earls of Arlington and Anglesey, who had not been consulted with before hand, and knew nothing of the King's Intention, which being explain'd to them by Sir William Temple, 'twas carry'd, that the Parliament should be dissolv'd, and his Majesty order'd the Chancellor to draw up a Proclamation for it, the 10th of July; in which also a new Parliament was summond to meet the 19th of October. But the Dissolution gave general Disgust; and I do not see wherein Sir William Temple and his three Associates, Essex, Sunderland and Hallifax, shew'd their Wisdom or their Love to their Country, by

putting the King upon it. What a senseless Reflection have we in Echard, on the Zeal of the Protestant Party against Papists in the new Elections. *The Leaders increas'd the Noise of Popery, French Pensioners, and Arbitrary Government;* as if Matters, so well known, and prov'd, were nothing but the Noise and Clamour of Faction. Had the King no Pension from France? Had the Commons, who void the persecuting Acts, no Pensions from the King? Was not the late perpetual Prorogations and Dissolutions of Parliaments, Arbitrary Government?

The Trial of Sir George Wakeman, Physician to the Queen, William Marshal and James Wakecorker, two Benedictine Monks, and William Runsey, a Lay-Brother of that Order, came on at the Old Baily, the 18th of July, before Scroggs Lord Chief Justice, and other Judges, who had been acquainted with the Disposition of the Court in this Matter. Oates swore, *That the Prisoner, in the Month of July 78. sending a Letter to Ashby the Jesuit, of Instructions, how he should order himself, before he went to and at the Bath, whither he was going, did afterwards in the same Letter write, The Queen will assist me to poison the King; which he knew to be his Hand-writing, because, some two days after, he saw Sir George at Ashby's Lodging, sit in a writing Posture, and then lay by his Pen, and rose up, and going away, left behind him a written Paper wet with the Ink, being an Apothecary's Bill; and the Hand of this Paper, so left by Sir George, was the same with that of the foremention'd Letter to Ashby.* He further swore, that he was to have 15000 Pounds for poisoning the King; and that he saw a Receipt sign'd by Wakeman, for 5000 Pounds, part of the 15000. And Bedloe depos'd, that he heard Harcourt and Wakeman treat about poisoning the King, and saw Harcourt deliver Wakeman a Bill for 2000 Pounds, part of the 15000, saying, *Sir George, this must be well follow'd, because so much depends upon it; for if we should miss to kill him at Windfor, or you miss in your way, we will do it at Newmarket.* Echard owns, that as soon as Bedloe had given this Evidence, Wakeman said privately to his Fellow Prisoners, *There is my Business done.* The Testimony given by Oates is very plain and positive; so is Bedloe's, nothing can be plainer; and the first Proof Wakeman produc'd against it, was as weak and trifling as one as ever was produc'd by Guilt, a piece of a Letter of Directions to Ashby, wherein the Queen was not nam'd; and when Oates said that was not the Letter he saw, Wakeman, says Echard, argued, *how improbable it was, he should write two Letters about the same Thing.* Tho' nothing is more probable, than that a Physician might write two Letters about the same Thing to his Patient, at the latter's Importunity or Desire to have some Particulars farther explain'd, or on some Alteration in the Distemper, or Miscarriage of a former Letter, or that a Letter might be written on purpose to confront Oates's Evidence. As to Sir Philip Floyd's witnessing, that Oates had, before the Council, declar'd the Letter about Wakeman's poisoning the King, was from Whitebread to Fenwick; and that with Hands up-listed, Oates should say, *God forbid I should accuse Sir George Wakeman, for I know nothing more of him;* 'tis too Theatrical to be genuine; but if it were, every one knew that Oates had then past thro' a long fatiguing Examination, that his Spirits were quite spent. Coke tells us, *Oates was then so tir'd, weak, and confounded with his other Evidence, that he was scarce able to stand; and his Head not being the most clear, at the best, it is not at all strange, that it was then so*

A. D. 1679. A new one call'd.

A. D. 1679. confus'd, as to forget many Passages, which he recover'd upon Recollection. The truth is this:

Scroggs was a lewd, insolent, mercenary Wretch, who would not have been suffer'd on a Bench of Justice in better Times; and it is astonishing that he did ever let his Rage loose against the *Popish* Assassins and Conspirators. The Court permitted him at first to cajole the People; but as soon as he understood it was not pleasing to the King, he endeavour'd to atone for the past, by his shameless Behaviour towards the Witnesses for the future. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, this wicked Judge was more valu'd for a Readiness in Speaking, than either for Learning in his Profession, or any moral Virtue. His Life was indecently scandalous, and his Fortunes were very low. He was rais'd by the *Earl of Danby's* Favour. And it was a melancholy thing to see so bad, so ignorant, so poor a Man rais'd up to that great Post. When he saw the King had an ill Opinion of the Plot, he grew cold in the Pursuit of it. He began to neglect and check the Witnesses. This is the unjust Judge, whom *Echard* extols for his strict Carriage, and a bragging Speech he made concerning *Wakeman's* Trial, upon the first day of *Michaelmas* Term; That he was neither afraid nor asham'd of what he had done. And the Reverend Historian adds, Master Justice *Jones*, and Master Justice *Dolben*, appear'd as Compurgators of the Honesty and Integrity of the Chief Justice. If there is one Minister or Magistrate viler than another, he does not fail to load him with Eulogy. Sir *William Jones*, the supposed Author of the just and modest Vindication of the two last Parliaments, and the greatest Lawyer of his Time, says, not only *Scroggs*, but his Compurgators behav'd themselves very unlike the same Men they were. Nor did they fear the Perversion of Justice, but the Misapplication of Mercy, &c. *Wakeman* and the Priests were by their nefarious Conduct acquitted; but *Wakeman* did not think fit to trust again to his Innocence; for he fled out of *England* as soon as he got his Liberty. I have intimated elsewhere, that I believe People were mistaken in their Censures of the Queen, with respect to the *Popish* Plot; but it is very natural to think, that the chief Plotters gave out they were countenanc'd by her, to engage and hearten others in the Plot. The Queen got a Man of great Quality to be sent over Ambassador from *Portugal*, not knowing how much she might stand in need of such a Protection. For both *Oates* and *Bedloe* had depos'd at *Wakeman's* Trial, that they were told, she was to assist him to poison the King. The Ambassador went the next day, with great State, to thank *Scroggs*, and probably to pay him for his good Offices in that Trial. The Bishop of *Salisbury* writes of it; If he meant well by this Compliment, it was very unadvisedly done; for the Chief Justice was expos'd to much Censure by it.

An Incident or two of great Importance happening now in *Scotland*, we must review the Transactions in that Kingdom, and in *Ireland*, from the Time where we left off.

Scotland.

The Duke of *Lauderdale* had master'd all Opposition in *Scotland* so entirely, that there seem'd no room for the least hope of Relief against the Tyranny of a Person universally hated and abhorr'd. The Field-Meetings encreas'd mightily. Men came to them arm'd, and great Numbers were out-law'd upon it. A Writ was issu'd, which was in the obsolete Laws, call'd *Intercommuning*, because it made all who harbour'd such Persons, or did not seize them when they had it in their power, to be involv'd in the same Guilt. By this means many apprehending

A. D. 1679. a severe Prosecution, left their Houses, and went about in Bands, which the Privy Council pretended was a State of War.

And upon an old Statute, which was almost quite forgotten, it was maintain'd, that the King had a Power to take any Castle, that lay convenient for his Forces, and put a Garrison in it: Thus twelve Houses were mark'd out, of which, two were the chief Dwelling-Houses of two Peers: The rest were the Houses of Gentlemen, who had gone into the Party against Duke *Lauderdale*. And tho' these were Houses of no strength, and not at all properly situated for the suppressing of Field Meetings; yet they were taken, and Soldiers put in them, whom the Countries about were requir'd to furnish with all Necessaries, which was against the express Words of the Law, that had lately settled the Militia; and an Act of Tyranny, as enormous as ever was committed by *Lewis XIV.* Great Opposition was made to it; yet it was kept up above a Year, till the Houses were quite ruin'd by the rude Soldiers; who understood, that the more Waste they made, it would be the more acceptable. One *Carstairs*, a loose sort of a Gentleman, propos'd to *Sharp*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, to go disguis'd to the Field Meetings, and carry some Persons with him, to witness against Preachers, and others whom they saw there. Among others, *Carstairs* happen'd to see a noted Minister, one Mr. *Kirkton*, who was a very cautious Man, and had been very seldom at those Meetings: *Carstairs* seeing him afterwards in *Edinburgh*, pretended he had a Warrant, and would carry him to Gaol, unless he would give him Money, which *Kirkton* refusing, *Carstairs* offer'd Violence; and the famous Mr. *Baillie*, of *Ferriewood*, Brother-in-Law to *Kirkton*, deliver'd the latter out of his hands; for which, the Privy Council fin'd Mr. *Baillie* 500 l. tho' *Carstairs* had no Warrant to seize *Kirkton*. 'Tis true, he got one afterwards, and it was antedated, but he was asham'd to shew it: Duke *Hamilton*, and Lord *Kincardin* were turn'd out of the Council, for opposing this Injustice. We have mention'd the cruel Proceedings against Mr. *Mitchel* for an Assault on *Sharp*, which so irritated a disgusted People against him, that he might well be apprehensive of some other such Attempt; especially considering, that the Protestants in *Scotland* were now labouring under greater Hardships than the Protestants in *France*.

The Field Meetings continuing, and encreasing, Duke *Lauderdale* threaten'd to extirpate them, and ruin the whole Country if a stop was not put to them; tho' the neighbouring Gentlemen represent'd to him, that the *Covenanters* dispers'd themselves quietly to their several Habitations, after Praying and Preaching were over, so they said there was no harm done; which not satisfying *Lauderdale*, a new Motion was set on foot in the Western Parts of *Scotland*: All Landlords were requir'd to enter into Bonds for themselves, their Wives, Children, Servants, Tenants, and all that liv'd upon their Estates; that they should not go to the Field Meetings, nor harbour any vagrant Teachers, or any intercommun'd Persons. This was generally refus'd by them, as a thing they could not perform; they could not be answerable for their Servants, much less their Tenants; and if any of their Tenants, or Servants, did, tho' out of spite, and to do them a mischief, get into such an Assembly, their Bond would be forfeited. Upon which, *Lauderdale* wrote to the King, that the Country was in a State of Rebellion, and that it was necessary to proceed to Hostilities. Accordingly all the Forces then in *Scotland* were sent into the West

A. D. 1679. West Country, with some Cannon, as if they were going on some dangerous Expedition: Letters were written to the Lords in the Highlands, to send all the Strength they could, to assist the King's Army. The Marquis of Athol, never backward in any such righteous Cause, sent 2400 Men; the Earl of Braidalbin, 1700; and others so many, that 8000 Highlanders were brought into the Country; and, as my Lord of Sarum informs us, *let loose upon free Quarter. Here was an Army, but no Enemy appear'd.* The Highlanders were very unruly, and stole and robb'd every where. The Gentlemen of the Country were requir'd to deliver up their Arms, and to keep no Horse above four Pounds Price. The Gentlemen look'd on, and would do nothing, which put *Lauderdale* into such a Frenzy, that at the Council-Table He, that old rank Presbyterian Covenanter, made bare his Arms above his Elbow, and swore by *Jehovah*, he would make them enter into those Bonds. Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who were vex'd to see such Waste made on their Estates, especially in Plowing-Time, went to *Edinburgh*, to try if it was possible to mollify him: But a Proclamation was issued out, requiring all the Inhabitants of those Countries to go to their Houses, to be assis- tant to the King's Host; and to obey such Orders, as should be sent them: And by another Procla- mation, all Men were forbidden to go out of the Kingdom, without Leave from the Council, who were only Tools to the Monster that was at the Head of them. Bishop *Burnet* writes, *These things seem'd done to force a Rebellion, which they thought would be soon quash'd;* and give a Colour to keep up a standing Army, which Duke *Lauderdale's* Party depended on so much, that they began to divide in their Hopes the confiscated Estates among them: So that on *Valentine's* Day, instead of drawing *Mistresses*, they drew *Estates*; and great Joy appear'd in their Looks, upon a false Alarm that was brought them of an Insurrection; and they were as much dejected, when they knew it was false.

Lauder- dale's Ty- ranny.

To force a Rebellion.

These *Ruffians* and *Robbers* are all this while pretending Zeal for Episcopacy, and that they will extirpate the *Presbyterians*, if they cannot extirpate *Presbytery*. Can a Set of Villains without Morals, without Principles sacred or civil, have any Regard to Religion? The Brutality of the persecuting Pagans equals not that of *Lauderdale*. The arbitrary Acts of the Governments of *Morocco*, or *Moscow*, come not up to those in *Scotland*. in the Reign of *Charles* the II^d, and in the Ministry of that loath'd Wretch *Lauderdale*, who is using all his damnable Arts, to drive the *Scotch* Protestants into Rebellion, that he might afterwards murder and plunder them. Bishop *Burnet* says, "It was happy for the publick Peace, that the People were universally pos- sels'd with this Opinion; for when they saw a Rebellion was desir'd, they bore the present Oppression more quietly, than perhaps they would have done." The next Project of *Lauderdale's* to force a Rebellion, was the putting in suit an old obsolete Writ, call'd *Lazv Borough*, because us'd chiefly in Boroughs, by which all who were serv'd with it, were oblig'd to give Sureties for the good Behaviour, not only of themselves, but of their Families. Duke *Hamilton*, who had notice that it was design'd to serve it upon him, took with him about twelve Noble- men, and fifty Gentlemen of Quality, and went to *London* to complain of all this; which, says the Bishop, look'd like *French*, or rather like *Turkish* Government. *Lauderdale* being alarm'd at it, dismiss'd the *Highlanders*, after they had wasted the West of *Scotland* above two Months;

but he was more afraid than he needed have been, for the King took all his arbitrary Acts upon himself, by refusing to see Duke *Hamilton*, and the *Scots* Noblemen; and he was so delight- ed with *Lauderdale's* Management, that tho' he believ'd he was crazy, he would not disown him. My Lord Bishop adds, *All People said, that by the Management in SCOTLAND, it appear'd what was the Spirit of the Government, and what would be done in England, as soon as the Designs of the Court were brought to a greater Perfection.* He observes further, that the Lord Chancellor *Finch* oppos'd the *Scots* Noblemen and Gentlemen, when they were allow'd a Hear- ing before the Council. And *Lauderdale*, in their absence, on a sudden summon'd a Convention of the Estates, among whom, by Corruption, he got a great Majority; who gave Money for main- taining a greater Force, and wrote a Letter to the King, not only justifying, but magnifying Duke *Lauderdale's* Government; *so base and so object a Thing, that it brought the whole Nation under great Contempt!*

A. D. 1679.

Upon the Discovery of the *Popish-Plot* in Eng- land, the Disgrace of the Earl of *Danby*, and the Removal of the Duke of *York*, who were *Lau- derdale's* chief Supporters, the *Scots* Lords and Gentlemen renew'd their Complaints against him, and were allow'd a Hearing by the King; and it was prov'd, that his giving free Quarter to the Soldiers and *Highlanders* in the West of *Scot- land*, was against the whole Constitution and ex- press Laws of the Kingdom. The Earls of *Es- sex* and *Hallifax*, who were at the hearing, told Bishop *Burnet*, *That every thing was made out fully;* and Mr. *May* said, he asking the King in a familiar way, *What do you think now of your Lauderdale?* His Majesty answer'd, *They have objected many damn'd Things he has done against them, but there is nothing objected that is against my Service.* My Lord of *Sarum* reflects thus upon it: "Such are the Notions that many Kings drink in, by which they set up an In- terest for themselves, in opposition to the In- terest of the People. And as soon as the Peo- ple observe that, which they will do sooner or later, they will then naturally mind their own Interest, and set it up as much in opposition to the Prince. And in this Contest, the People will grow always too hard for the Prince."

In the mean time, all the Year 1677 and 1678, *Lauderdale's* Tyranny continu'd to provoke the People to Action, which they carefully avoided; but whenever they held their Field-Meetings, they had always a Party of 30, 40, 50 or 60 young Men, who were Scouts, to observe the E- nemy, and give notice to the Assembly to separ- ate; or, in case of surprize, to make Resistance while the old Men, Women, and Children got off: And this Bravery of theirs for some time gave a Check to the Fury of the Prelates and their Instruments, such as *Graham* Laird of *Claverhouse*, afterwards Viscount *Dundee*, who died by the Sword at the Battle of *Gillicranky* in King *William's* Reign, when it was hop'd by all good Men, that he had been reserv'd for the Hal- ber: his Hands having been so often stain'd with the Blood of Innocents, that it is said he kill'd a-
Dundee's Cruelty.
above 100 Men in cold Blood, making it his busi- ness to pursue poor Protestants with a Crew of Dragoons and Highlanders. These military Ex- ecutions so exasperated some resolute Men a- mong the *Covenanters*, that they resolv'd to take vengeance on one of their chief Persecutors, the Laird of ——— a cruel bloody Man, who a few days before had butcher'd several of their Ere- thren in *Fife*. The *Cameronians* had not then thought of the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, who

The Field- Meeting.

A. D.
1679.Sharp
kill'd.

happen'd to be passing on the Road in his Coach as the five Covenanters were looking after this Laird: Whom missing, they resolv'd that *Sharp* the Archbishop should not escape them. So they rode after him, and coming up to his Coach, quickly stopp'd it, disarm'd his Servants, and gave him notice of their Resolutions; letting him know his Offences, his Apostacy, Perjury, Pride, Cruelty and Injustice, and exhorting him to make confession of his Guilt, to repent heartily of the Wickedness of his Life, and the innocent Blood he had shed, the Time being come that he was to die for the same.

It was some time before they could convince him they were in earnest, and he seem'd to smile at what they said about the Wickedness of his Life. His Daughter also, who was with him in the Coach, rail'd at them with much foul Language: But they caus'd her to come out of the Coach, and let him know that his Moments were very few; that they would wait for him yet a little while, and admonish'd him not to trifle with his Soul, but to call upon God for Mercy. After which, seeing them indeed in earnest, he began to beg for Life. But they soon gave him to understand, they were not to be put by their Purpose, and that there was no Mercy to be shewn to him who had shewn no Mercy. Upon which he began to think of Death; but instead of putting up Prayers to God, as his own Heart directed him, he pull'd a little Prayer-Book out of his Pocket, and was about to read over some Words to himself; at which those *extempore* Cameronians conceiv'd such Indignation, that they were all ready to fire at him. However, they waited yet a little longer, and call'd again upon him to commend his Soul to God's Mercy, for that he should immediately die; and accordingly they immediately fir'd upon him with their Pistols; and to rid him of Life with as little Torture as might be, they ran him thro' also with their Swords, the 3d of May. *Echard's* Account of this Incident, is a String of Falsities. He tells us, the Cameronians enquired after the Archbishop in a Village, whereas they met him accidentally on a Moor; that there were twelve Horsemen with Pistols, whereas there were but five; that they wounded the Postillion, and shot or hamstring'd the Coach-Horses; that they call'd him *Dog*, and, which I believe they might, *Apostate, Betrayer of the Godly, Persecutor of Christ's Church*: All which was literally true. *That his Daughter came out of the Coach, and upon her Knees movingly begg'd her Father's Life*; instead of which, she treated them with provoking Language, and came not out of the Coach till they caus'd her to do it; *That the Reverence of his Person, and his compos'd Carriage surpriz'd them*.

I am weary of repeating so many Untruths in favour of a Prelate, who, tho' he did not deserve to die by these Hands, deserv'd to die by the Hands of the *Hangman*, for his barbarous and deceitful dealing with Mr. *Mitchel* before-mention'd; and we may remember a Saying of Bishop *Burner's* on that occasion, *What Sharp did then to preserve himself from such Practices, was probably that which both in the just Judgment of God, and the inflam'd Fury of Men, brought him two Years after to such a dismal End*. *Echard* introduces this Story with setting forth what an Influence the Earl of *Shaftesbury's* Speech in the House of Lords at *Westminster*, had on the depress'd Party in *Scotland*, insinuating, that the Impression it made on the Minds of the *Scotts* *Presbyterians*, produc'd such a terrible Effect, and he introduces his Account of the ensuing Tumult with a Falsity still more notorious; for

he assures us, Mr. *Huckston* of *Rathbiller*, who join'd the *Cameronians* upon *Loudon-Hill* about a Month after, was one of those that shot the Archbishop. Now *Huckston* was the only Man among them who endeavour'd to dissuade those that were looking after the Laird of — from meddling with *Sharp*; and when he could not prevail with them, he rode off, and would have no hand in it, as our Author informs us, who takes his Account from one of the Persons concern'd in that Business. From the same Author, I shall borrow the Story of the *Bothwell-Brig* War, which *Echard* makes so formidable, and offers it as another Effect of the Lord *Shaftesbury's* Speech; being so blind as not to see that the Scribler who made that Insinuation before him, did it to blacken that Lord, who had but too much reason to complain in his Speech, *We have a little Sister*, &c. of the tyrannical Government in *Scotland*, and the Insolence of the *Papists* in *Ireland*. A. D. 1679. from Mem. Ch. Scotl. p. 209. Ib. 195.

There was a very great Meeting of the persecuted People in the *Fields* near *Loudon-Hill*, where, by report, many Thousands met together. Their Intention was to have had the *Communion*, and to have made it a Day both of Humiliation and Rejoicing; a Day of Humiliation for the *Apostacy* of their Brethren, and for the Sins of the Land: And a Day of solemn Joy, for the Liberty of, and Affection of the People to, the Service and Worship of God.

As it was a very great Meeting, so the Number of Men was greater than were in Arms for their Defence, than was usual on other and ordinary Occasions, there being about 200 Men with Fire-Arms prepar'd for, and resolv'd to do their Parts with the Enemy, if they came, as was threaten'd, to disturb them.

Claverhouse, afterwards *Dundee*, having Information of this Assembly, prepar'd also to attack them, boasting what havock he would make of the *Cameronians* on that occasion. It seems he said, *I hear they have some Fire-Men among them; but if they offer to make one Shot at my Men, I will save the Council and Courts of Justice the trouble of prosecuting my Prisoners with the Formality of the Law, for I will immediately hang up every one of them that falls into my hand, tho' I take 500 of them*. It was confidently reported, that some of the Soldiers of his own Troops gave private notice of this, and of the Measures he had taken for assaulting the Meeting. For tho', generally speaking, the Soldiers were as barbarous and cruel as their Officers could desire, yet it was often found they were less so than their Officers. However it was, the poor persecuted Protestants had receiv'd Information, that *Claverhouse*, with 300 Dragoons, was resolv'd to surround the Meeting, and put them all to the Sword. This Account came not to them till after they were assembled, and their Worship was actually begun. Upon which, the Men who had the Guard of the Meeting, far from being surpriz'd, consulted what they should do, whether they should disperse for that time, and appoint another Meeting at another Place and Time, or what Course they should take.

They had not many Hours to deliberate, much less to put in execution what they should resolve. But, in a word, it was concluded the People should be desir'd to sit still, and compose themselves, whatever should happen, leaving the Event to Providence, and the good Pleasure of God, and that they should send for Help to all the neighbouring Places. The Covenanters sat each'd.

Thus we see how execrably false is the Archdeacon's Relation of this Meeting. He boldly affirms, that upon the arrival of the Lord *Shaftesbury's*

A. D. 1679. *bury's* Speech, and the Commons Address against *Lauderdale*, the Dread of Punishment for the Murder of so illustrious a Person as the Archbishop of St. Andrews his Grace, a Privy-Counsellor, and in hopes of Assistance from England, they came on the 29th of May and proclaim'd the Covenant at Ragland, burnt several Acts of Parliament made since the RESTORATION, which should have been burnt indeed by other Hands, fix'd a Rebellious Declaration to the Market-Cross, and attempted the like at Glasgow, but were prevented by some of the King's Forces. On Sunday the 1st of June, they rendezvous'd upon Loudon-Hill. Thus does he make them commit several rebellious Acts before the great Meeting on Loudon-Hill; where, in the defence of the natural Liberty, which every Soul has to worship God Almighty as his Conscience directs, they did rebel, as far as resisting a barbarous Butcher of innocent religious People is Rebellion. The Covenanters had 250 Men well arm'd at their first Muster, and by the Assistance that came in to them, they made 400. The Assembly was great, and the People far all on the Ground upon the side of a steep Hill, the Minister preaching to them from a little Tent near the bottom of the Hill. The bloody *Claverhouse*, with his Dragoons, came on with great Fury, and not expecting Resistance, kept no Scouts before him: When on a sudden they were challeng'd and bid stand, by an Out-Guard of the Persecuted; who, finding them come on, fired at them, and retreated to the main Body. But the Dragoons were a second time surpriz'd, when they advanced to that Body, and found it large and advantageously posted. The first Line of whom fir'd a Volly of Shot upon them, killing and wounding 16 or 17 Men, with some Horses.

This brought them to halt, and prepare for a Battle: but finding a large Ditch cast up in the front of the Persecuted, with a low, old, ruin'd Wall, which serv'd them as a Parapet, from whence they fir'd with more security, the Dragoons stood but two or three Fires, and retreated, having lost about 30 Men. In this Action, Mr. *Cleeland*, a young Gentleman, who, 18 Years after, was Lieutenant-Colonel to the Earl of *Angus's* Regiment, and distinguish'd himself in several gallant Actions; laid hands on the Bridle of *Claverhouse's* Horse, and had certainly taken him Prisoner, if he had been well seconded. The Defeat of the Dragoons, made the Persecuted terrible to the Council at *Edinburgh*; and had they continu'd to have acted on the Defensive only, it was thought they would in time have ruin'd all the Troops of their Persecutors: But their pushing things to extremity, ruin'd them.

The Council at *Edinburgh* sent the Earl of *Linlithgow* against them, with a Force much greater than was necessary to disperse that Company of raw undisciplin'd Men. However, *Linlithgow* did not venture to engage them; and some impute his Retreat to an Understanding he had with *Lauderdale*, who was willing that the *Cameronians* should increase in number, not only to have the more Blood and Confiscations, but that their Desperation might justify the Violences he had committed. *Echard* assures us, all Things were ripe for an Insurrection. Which is so false, that Bishop *Burnet* assures us, It appear'd there were no Designs form'd for a Rebellion, since none came into it but those desperate inter-communed Men, who were hunted from their Houses. The Persecuted publish'd a sort of Manifesto, complaining of the Oppressions they lay under, asserting the Obligation of the Covenant, and demanding a free Parliament. Mr. Arch-

deacon informs us, that their Manifesto was in a Stile as barbarous as if it had been drawn up by a *Hottentot*; for that it imperiously commanded the Magistrates to turn out all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Curates, with their Bairns, &c. When the News of this Insurrection came to England, the King was for suppressing it immediately by Forces from England, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*. The Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Hallifax*, and those of the Council who hated *Shaftesbury*, were jealous of *Monmouth's* Greatness, as he was that Lord's Friend: but the Necessity of the Affair requiring dispatch, they were all forc'd to fall in with his Majesty's Opinion, and send away the Duke of *Monmouth* to Scotland with such Troops as were ready, but they could not follow him fast enough to be in that Service; for the Duke setting out from London the 20th of June, rode three hundred Miles on that Day and the two next, and on the 23d put himself at the Head of the Earl of *Linlithgow's* and other Forces in Scotland, attack'd the *Cameronians* at *Bothwell-Bridge*, while they were irresolute, and consulting whether to yield or defend themselves, and entirely defeated them, killing about 400, and taking 1200 Prisoners. The rest escap'd, and dispers'd themselves as well as they could; nor were the Persecutors at all satisfy'd with the Duke of *Monmouth's* Conduct, who refus'd, at their request, to let the poor People be pursu'd and massacred by the Dragoons. If ever Men in the world had Right to Resistance, it was the Right of these *Cameronians*, whom the King had given up to the brutal Rage of that detested Apostate and Tyrant *Lauderdale*: and the Slaughter and Execution of these Persecuted Protestants, was as much a Massacre as those in *France* and *Ireland*, with regard to the Cruelty and Injustice. *Lauderdale's* Faction complain'd against the Duke of *Monmouth* to the Court of England, for giving a check to the Dragoons in the intended Butchery.

It was believ'd that the King, who found he could not manage His new Council as he had done the old one, and could not bear the Influence the Earl of *Shaftesbury* had upon it, sent the Duke of *Monmouth* into Scotland with a double Prospect, That he might destroy the *Covenanters*, and disoblige their Friends in England, for they could not want Friends in a Free Protestant Nation: and that still acting in concert with his Brother, tho' in a pretended Banishment, he was resolv'd to take hold of the Complaints against *Monmouth*, to pick a Quarrel with him, and recall his Brother.

After the Suppression of the Insurrection in Scotland, "The Persecutors, to use the Words of my Mem. Ch. Scots Author, gave themselves a full swing in all their bloody Measures, letting loose the most cruel and furious Agents of Tyranny, to execute whatever their private Rage, as well as publick could dictate to them. Under the pretence of rooting out Rebellion, and of executing Justice, they pursu'd the Innocent as well as the Guilty, and put to death hundreds of People by all manner of Cruelties, and on the meanest Pretences imaginable, nay, often without any pretences at all, and that in the most barbarous manner." I must continue the Memoirs of this Writer a Paragraph or two, for it will prove to us, that this Reign in Scotland, and under the execrable *Lauderdale*, was *Nerone Neronior*, more tyrannical than that of *Nero*; and that this Reign in England, under the Duke of *York* was not much better, will appear in the Sequel. "If I should take all verbal Relations that I have met with, in conversing amongst those that were Eye-

A. D. 1679.

Duke of Monmouth sent against the Cameronians.

Routs them at Bothwell-Bridge.

The King displeas'd with him.

Mem. Ch. Scotl. 199, & seq.

" Wit-

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1679.

“Witnesses of the Cruelties of that Time, it would exceed, if we consider the Smallness of the Country, and Numbers of the People concern’d; I say, it would exceed all that ever was set down in any History of all Persecutions, whether of *Popish* or Heathen Tyrants.”

“The first Year after this Insurrection, 1680, was wholly taken up in searching after, and pursuing those who were actually in the Army, but had by the Mismanagement, as they call’d it, of the Duke of *Monmouth*, made their Escape. For, by the way, their Desire was, that when the Body that defended *Bothwell*-Bridge was defeated, and the rest began to disperse, they should have been all surrounded and cut in pieces, or pursu’d, and no Quarter given them, till not a Man of them had been left to carry News to *Glasgow* of their Defeat. And this having fail’d, they resolv’d, if possible, to find out every Man that had been at *Bothwell*, and put them to death, wherever they found them, upon the very Spot.

“In order to this, they neither requir’d much Evidence of the Fact, nor took the pains to examine the Persons themselves. But if any one told them, such a Man, or such Men had been at *Bothwell* Bridge, they immediately sent Soldiers to their Houses, who were to ask them no Questions, but seize upon them, drag them just out of the Doors, and shoot them dead in a moment. How many poor innocent Men, after protesting in the most solemn manner, *That they had not been any way concern’d in the Bothwell* Affair, have they shot to Death, with those Protestations in their Mouths; and when they have fallen on their Knees, and begg’d for a Minute’s time to commend their Souls to God, have deny’d them, and shot them kneeling, as they were with that Request in their Mouths!”

These Tormentors and Butchers were the Men whom the *Scots* Prelates encourag’d in their sanguinary Missions. These were the Means made use of to make the *Persecuted* renounce the Reform’d Religion, and profess themselves Members of the Apostate *Sharp’s* Church. The Heathens look’d on the primitive Christians as impious in denying Adoration to their Deities. The *Scots* Covenanters were of the same Religion, with respect to Faith and Doctrine, but deny’d Adoration to the Prelates. Good God! what infinite Difference there is between the Case of the Heathens and Christians, and that of the Bishops and Presbyters! Yet did the *Scots* Bishops patronize the Persecution of their Countrymen, of the same Faith and Doctrine, in a manner more barbarous than the Heathen Persecutions, purely because they prefer’d the Discipline of *Presbyters* to *Theirs*. Where is there now such a Religion in the World, that is not under the Papal Tyranny? Where are such Tyrants and Tormentors to be met, since our glorious King *William* the Third, of Blessed and Immortal Memory, deliver’d us from them? I could take many Sheets out of my *Scots* Author on the same Subject; but I am both weary and ashamed of it.

When the Duke of *Monmouth* return’d to *London*, he was receiv’d by the People with so much Joy, that the King’s Jealousy increas’d daily; and at last he was prevail’d upon by the Earl of *Effex*, and the Earl of *Hallifax*, to recall his Brother from *Brussels*. The Duke of *York* talk’d of *Monmouth’s* Expedition in *Scotland*, as a courting the People there, and their Friends in *England*, by his sparing those that were left alive. The King himself said to his Son, *If I had been there, we would not have had the trouble*

of Prisoners. Monmouth answer’d, *I cannot kill Men in cold Blood, that’s work only for Butchers.* Duke *Lauderdale’s* Creatures press’d the keeping the Army some time in that Country, with a design to have them eat it up: But the Duke of *Monmouth* sent home the *Miliria*, and put the Troops under Discipline, so that all the Country was sensible he had preserv’d them from Ruin. He mov’d the King to grant an Indemnity for what was past, and a Liberty to hold Meetings under the King’s Licence; but these softening Measures fell with him, and Rage and Slaughter reign’d again under the Duke of *York*, to whom, some Months after, was given the Government of *Scotland*.

We left the Earl of *Effex* in the Government of *Ireland*, *A. D.* 1676, when *Sheridan’s* new Farmers had got Possession of the Revenue there. The Earl had a difficult Game to play. He had, as it is believ’d, made fair Promises of being kind to the *Irish*, and to stand by *Sheridan’s* Farmers. To the first he gave good Words, and receiv’d them well at Court; but the Farmers beginning to make great Changes in their Officers, he thought fit to put a stop to it, otherwise all the Ports in that Kingdom would soon have been in the hands of *Papists*, which must have had very dangerous Consequences; and the first Step he took towards it, was, to put the Lord *Granard* upon moving at the Council-Board, that Enquiry should be made into the Farmers Securities, which *Danby* had pass’d in *England* too easily. The Earl of *Effex* seem’d to oppose this Motion, and put off that Enquiry, of which he gave the Duke of *York* an Account, tho’ he underhand encourag’d Complaints against them, which he declin’d hearing for a while; but at last, as if over-power’d by their Weight and Number, he sent the Objections to the Farmers, who were all the Duke of *York’s* Creatures, to the King, and a Commission of Inspection was issu’d. Some time after the *Popish* Plot broke out in *England*, upon which *Sheridan*, having spoken some Words in favour of his Friend *Coleman*, was sent for to *England*, and examin’d at the Bar of the House of Commons, where he had the Impudence to declare himself to be descended from the *O Sheridans*, ancient Kings of *Ulster*; whereas his Father was a Bishop’s Turnspit. He got himself out of that Affair by his Impudence and Cunning, neither of which he wanted. But the Earl of *Effex* lost so far the Duke’s Favour, that he soon after lost his Government. The Earl of *Burlington* was nam’d for his Successor, on condition, He who was rich, would lend the King Money; and *Talbot* was to manage this Affair, by means of the Earl of *Orrery*, who thought himself oblig’d by Lord *Effex*. The Earl of *Burlington* lik’d the Lieutenantancy of *Ireland* very well; but he lik’d not to part with his Money for it. So the Lord *Effex* was continu’d a little longer.

Just before the breaking out of the *Popish* Plot, it was design’d, that the *French* King should demand the Performance of the Articles he had made with King *Charles* the Second, in behalf of the *Irish*; and the King of *England* was to admit some *French* Forces to join those *Irish*, which the Earl of *Tyrone* and the Lord *Brittas* were to raise, in order to make a Diversion in *Ireland*, while the Conspirators were at work in *England*: But the whole of the Intrigue was kept from the King. He knew only so much of it as refer’d to the *French* King’s demanding the Promises made by him, when in Exile, in favour of the *Irish*. The Duke undertook to qualify the King, if any Discovery was made of the intended Insurrection of the *Irish*. But some

A. D.
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Duke of
Mon-
mouth’s
Saying to
the King.

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1679.

of them divulg'd it, and the King was hardly prevail'd on to believe it. Every one thought the Duke of Ormond the most proper Person for the Lieutenantcy of Ireland, on account of his great Knowledge of the Country and People, and his great Interest in both. But this Duke having at last observ'd, that the King and his Brother were bent on subverting the Constitution both in Church and State, fell in heartily with those who were for preserving it, and had therefore been kept out of the Government of Ireland by the Duke of York's Intrigues against him, which he was now afraid to continue; and it being mov'd in Council, that the Duke of Ormond should succeed the Earl of Essex, it was not oppos'd by any one; so he went over Lord-Lieutenant once more, and behav'd with great Prudence and Courage. For the Duke of York having prevail'd with the King to order the raising some Irish Forces, under the notion of Foreign Service, the Duke of Ormond would not let them have Arms, and so they were exercis'd with Sticks. Upon the Discovery of the Popish Plot in England, they were all disbanded, and Orders came from England to the Lord-Lieutenant to disarm the Papists; but they had such timely notice of it by their Friends at Court, that there were not found 200 Arms in all Ireland: The Irish having a Contrivance to conceal their Arms by thrusting them into Bogs, filling the Barrels of their Guns with Butter, which prevents their taking any harm; and as for the Locks, they can easily hide them. The Lord Brittas, and other Conspirators, made their Escape; but the Earl of Tyrone was taken, and committed to the Gatehouse; Sheridan was seiz'd in London, and Talbot, afterwards Tyrconnel, in Ireland, where he was imprison'd in the Castle of Dublin, together with his Brother the titular Archbishop, who died there.

The Earl of Orrery, at this time, obtain'd Leave of the King to fortify his House Castle Marjyr; he put a small Garison into it, and maintain'd it at his own Charge, being apprehensive of the like Designs in Ireland as in England; for he gave entire Credit to the Plot from the first Discovery of it, founding his Belief in his Experience of Popish Treachery and Cruelty. He writ to the Council, time after time, to have the Militia settled, but could not prevail till March 1679, and then those that appear'd were not half arm'd. Some time before this, the Earl had notice, that the Papists and their Abettors had sent the King Information, that the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland were forming themselves into a Body, in order to make a Disturbance, because the Plot was not duly prosecuted, and that the Earl knew of it: But he wrote to the Council in very pertinent Terms, that the Information was false and groundless, and he challeng'd any one to prove it, representing how ready the Dissenters of all Denominations, were to do as they were directed by the Government, of which those in his Neighbourhood had given him Assurance. Upon this the Information was trac'd to the Informer, who, on strict Examination, confess'd he was mistaken; but 'twas seen by this, how the Papists were contriving to turn the Plot off from themselves, and charge it upon the Dissenters, as they were contriving to do in England; where the Discovery of the Meal-Tub by Dangerfield, prov'd that damnable Design beyond all question.

Papists
contrive to
turn the
Plot on the
Dissenters.

He depos'd before Sir Robert Clayton the Lord Mayor, October 31. That having been discharg'd

out of Newgate, by means of Mrs. Cellier, a Popish Midwife, he was sent for to the Tower, whither he went in disguise, and after much Discourse with my Lord Powis, he was carry'd into a Room where my Lord Arundel was, who having talk'd to him some time, ask'd him, If he would do any thing to make his Fortune; Dangerfield said, Yes, I will do any thing. Well then, said he, will you kill the King for a good Reward? You jest, Sir, says Dangerfield. Lord Arundel ask'd him again; he reply'd, Any body but the King and his Royal Brother. No, says my Lord, I don't mean so; but tell me, will you do it? The Man answer'd, No, without taking time to consider on't. Then said Lord Powis, No, no; come, come, my Lord Arundel does only this to try you: and pray, my Lord Arundel, continues Lord Powis, what will you give him to do so? 'Tis worth, said Lord Arundel, two thousand Pounds. No, no, says Lord Powis, you shall do that to my Lord Shaftesbury, and shall have 500 Pounds for your Reward. This Discovery of his is introduc'd, with some of Echard's Grimace, and pitiful Railery on the Discoverer's Character; of which kind of Reflections enough has already been said. That clear-headed Writer would have the Actors in these devilish Plots, to be Men of Integrity and Honour, that their Words might go as far as other Mens Oaths; when, as I have said, it is impossible for Villany to be carry'd on and discover'd by any but Villains. Dangerfield, quoth he, appear'd to be as great a Cheat as Bedloe, tho' he had not the Fortune to draw as much Blood. Could he go so far in this Story, without knowing the Reason why he drew it not? He was detected before his Plot was ripe, and his Evidence was afterwards brow-beaten and ridicul'd, because the King and his Brother were in the Plot. The Wickedness of vilifying Dangerfield's Testimony about the Meal-Tub, is the more shocking because no Plot was ever plainer, none ever better discover'd. Yet Echard tells us with a wry Mouth, This dark Intrigue came seasonably for the support of the Credit of the Grand Plot. The bare Relation of the Meal-Tub Plot is sufficient to gain the Reader's Credit; and never was anything more diabolical contriv'd in an infernal Divan. I shall take it up where I set it down, the Offer of 500 Pounds to murder my Lord Shaftesbury, which Dangerfield promis'd to undertake. I make use of Echard's Abridgment of Dangerfield's Narrative, printed by order of the House of Commons, to shew that, if he was capable of Conviction, the very telling it only would have convinc'd him of the Villany.

"Whereupon they told him of one Rigaut, a Virginia Merchant, that would advise with him about it, and secure him the Money; and the next day, waiting on the Lord Castlemain, he appear'd much enrag'd, saying, Why were you so unwilling to do what you were taken out of Prison for? Whereupon he made haste away; but Mrs. Cellier excus'd his Lordship's Passion at that time. Soon after he went to meet Sir Robert Peyton at Gadbury's the Astrologer, where Gadbury appear'd very angry, because he refus'd to kill the King; adding, That he had calculated his Nativity, and found him a fit Person for that Enterprize, and that he might come off with safety. Then the Countess of Powis dictated to him Remarks of four Clubs in the Tower, and Names of several Persons to be chief Officers and Commanders in an Insurrection, which was intended by the Presbyterians.

A. D.
1679.

Danger-
field em-
ploy'd in it.

A. D.
1679.

Duke of Buckingham.
Earl of Shaftesbury.
Earl of Essex.
Earl of Radnor.
Earl of Halifax.
Lord Wharton.
Duke of Monmouth.
Earl of Macclesfield.
Lord Brandon Gerrard.
Lord Gray.
Sir Thomas Armstrong.
Col. Blood.
Sir William Waller.

} The Council.
General.
} Lieutenant Generals.
} Major Generals.

Worcester.
Bridgewater.
Falconbridge.
Francis North.

Henry Coventry.
Henry Capel.
Henry Powle.
John Nicholas.

A. D.
1679.

To the Keeper of Newgate, or his Deputy.

We are coming now to a new Proof of this Hellish Contrivance, for Sir William Waller, a Justice of Peace, and a zealous Protestant, searching the House of Mrs. Cellier, where Dangerfield was taken, found a Bundle of Papers, being Copies of the above-mention'd Letters and List, in a Meal-Tub, where her Maid swore they were put by her Order. Here are several Snips of Paper for Mr. Archdeacon. Here's a Confirmation of Evidence, as strong as that of Sense can make it. Yet he calls it a dark Intrigue, a little Accident to keep up the Heat and Ferour too against the Popish Plot. Here's a Conspiracy against the most noble Blood in England, carry'd on in concert with the Popish Lords in the Tower, yet they must not be suspected of Conspiring. What frontless Partiality is this! The Papists and Tories, for they are now tack'd together, had in view the Destruction of the whole Presbyterian Party in this cursed Contrivance. It was the first Plot call'd Presbyterian, tho' with their wonted Stupidity, they pick'd up a Parcel of Names, among whom there was not one Presbyterian, but the Lord Wharton.

The same Day that Dangerfield was sent to Newgate, Mrs. Cellier was sent thither also; and the former being afraid he should be brought to an Account for the Guilt of the Libel and List, confess'd the whole Intrigue to the Lord Mayor four days after. Cellier behav'd herself before the King and Council with all the Impudence imaginable. I shall not enter into the Detail of her Examination, but only take notice of one Passage, which seems to shew the Assurance of this Female Plotter, and the good Humour of the Prince that was present when she was examin'd.

Adams was one of the Evidences against her.

Adams. *Your bawdy Story I left out of the Depositions, I was ashamed to speak it.*

King. *What can she speak Bawdy too?*

Adams. *Yes indeed she did.*

Lord Chancellor. *Ay, she's fit for any thing.*

Cellier. *My Lord I never spoke an immodest Word in my Life; Mrs. Adams, tho' you contrive to take away my Life, do not take away my Honour. What did I say?*

King. *What did she say, come tell us the Story.*

Adams. *She said—she said—she said, that—she said—that if she did not lose her Hands, she could get Money as long as—*

Adams made as if she was ashamed, and could not speak such Words.

Cell. *I said, if I did not lose my Hands, I should get Money as long as Men kiss'd their Wives.*

Adams. *By the Oath I have taken, she said their Mistresses too.*

Cell. *Did I so! Pray what else do they keep them for.*

Ld Chanc. *That was but witty.*

King. *'Twas but her natural Practice.*

'Tis observable, that tho' she was several times examin'd by the Council, the King being present; yet his Majesty did not in Person manage any Part of the Examination, but this relating to the Bawdy.

Upon Dangerfield's Discovery, the Earl of Castlemain was committed to the Tower, from whence he had been bail'd before, as having been charg'd only by Oates. Mr. Rigaut was sent to Newgate; Gadbury, Fellow-Labourer with Roger L'Estrange, to the Gatehouse; Lady Powis to the Tower, for High Treason, of which 'tis very evident she was most guilty.

With more such treasonable Hints, and many more Names of Managers at Coffee-Houses and Taverns, in a Paper, of which more presently.

Dangerfield with the Duke of York and the King. "Dangerfield was introduc'd by the Lord Peterborough to the Duke of York, and acquainted him with this Presbyterian Plot; the Duke gave him twenty Guineas with his own Hand, and brought him to the King, who order'd him forty Pounds. About the same time, in pursuance of the Lords Instructions, he went twice to murder the Earl of Shaftesbury, arm'd with a Dagger given him by Mrs. Cellier, pretending Business from her and the Lady Powis; but was both times prevented by People's coming in, and his own guilty Fears; for which the Countess call'd him Coward, and Mrs. Cellier said, *She would go and let the World know, that some of her Sex were more brave than Men;*" but she could not meet with a fair Opportunity. Then Dangerfield put the treasonable Letters, which the Lady Powis had dictated to him, directed to the chief Protestant Lords and Gentlemen, and the List of the pretended Officers Civil and Military above-mention'd into a Bundle, which he design'd to drop in some proper Place, and then to have them found upon Search, and produc'd as a Proof to confirm the Information he had given the King and Duke, who very greedily swallow'd this Plot tho' they would not smell to the Popish one. These Papers did Dangerfield carry to the Lodgings of Coll. Roderick Mansel in Axe-Yard, Westminster; for which purpose, he had taken Lodgings in the same House; having done this, he inform'd two Custom-House Officers, that there was Lace lodg'd in Mansel's Room, to the Value of 2000 Pounds, and put them upon searching for it, himself accompanying them. The Officers finding nothing, he bad them remove the Bed, and they would find something, for he had pinn'd the Papers behind Mansel's Bed's Head; and himself first discovering them there, cry'd out, *here is Treason;* adding, the Papers must be carry'd to the Secretary of State: but the Custom-House Officers knowing their Duty better, carry'd them first to their Masters, the Commissioners of the Customs, which Coll. Mansel bearing of, he immediately apply'd to that Board; and those Gentlemen, like Men of Honour, order'd them to be deliver'd to the Colonel, whose next Work was to find out Dangerfield, who went then by the Name of Willoughby, and finding him four Days after at Mrs. Cellier's House, he had him brought before the Council, who having taken a full Examination of this horrid Conspiracy, made this Warrant for his Commitment. *These are in his Majesty's Name to require you to take into Custody the Person of Thomas Willoughby herewith sent you, for forging of Letters importing High Treason, and fixing the same privately at Mr. Mansel's Chamber, to render him guilty thereof without Cause; and you are to keep him safe till he shall be delivered by due Course of Law; for which, this shall be your Warrant.*

Council Chamber, Whitehall, October 27. 1679.

Some

A. D. 1679. Some time before this, the King fell sick at Windsor, and his Life began to be in danger, which occasion'd a general Consternation. The People, says Echard very prettily, looking upon any thing that should happen ill to the King, as the End of the World. The Earls of Essex and Hallifax having mov'd his Majesty to send for the Duke of York from Brussels, he immediately embark'd for England, and arriv'd at Windsor the second of September, to the great Mortification of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Duke of Monmouth's Party, who were farther mortify'd, by that Duke's losing his Place of Captain General, and the Earl of Shaftesbury that of President of the Council. The Duke of York, on the King's Recovery return'd to Brussels; the Duke of Monmouth having before been order'd to pass over to Holland. The Lord Russell, the Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powle, finding the King's Head and Heart were against popular Councils, and being not willing to serve him against the Interest of their Country, went to him together, and desir'd him to excuse their Attendance any more upon him at Council. The King, who was weary of such faithful Counsellors, and wanted such as would promote his arbitrary Measures, reply'd, with all my Heart. The Earl of Essex quitted the Treasury. Mr. Lawrence Hyde, and Mr. Sydney Godolphin, were sworn of the Privy Council; Monk's Son, Christopher Duke of Albemarle, as great a Soldier as Politician, was made Captain of the Life-Guard; the Earl of Radnor, President of the Council; and Sir Stephen Fox, one of the Lords of the Treasury.

On Thursday the 27th of November, the Duke of Monmouth return'd to London; and tho' it was Mid-night when he arriv'd, yet the Watch having spread the News of it, the City was presently illuminated with Bonfires; and the Bells rang every where to express the Citizens great Joy. The Duke of York, with his Dutcheffs, and his Daughter, the Lady Anne, went to Scotland, where he arriv'd the 4th of December; and govern'd that Kingdom in such a manner, as increas'd the Apprehensions People had of his Succession. The King would not see the Duke of Monmouth, because he came home without leave, and requir'd him to go back again; for he was now quite gone over to the Popish Party, and had put himself into the worst hands he could think of, his Brother, the Duke of York's, whose Emisaries had the Government of him, when he was not present to govern him himself.

Some of Monmouth's Friends advis'd him to comply, but the Earl of Shaftesbury's Advice prevail'd; and that was to stay in England, and trust to the Affections of the People; accordingly he went round many Parts of England, pretending it was for Hunting, and Horse-Matches; many Thousands coming together in most Places to see him, particularly in Somersetshire, where, when he came to Sir William Portman's, near Taunton, it was thought he had not many less than 20000 Men with him, most on horseback; but this was a sandy Foundation for him to build upon, especially since his Architect, the Lord Shaftesbury, consider'd nothing in the Counsels he gave him, but gratifying his own Ambition and Revenge. He set on foot Petitions for a Parliament, in order to the securing the King's Person, and the Protestant Religion; and Multitudes in all Parts of the Nation set their Hands to those

Petitions, which were presented to his Majesty by Persons of the best Quality. The Petition from London was subscrib'd by above 20000 Hands. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, accompany'd with eight Gentlemen of Note, and several eminent Citizens, presented a Petition from some Thousands of his

Majesty's Subjects in London, Westminster, and Parts adjacent, for the Sitting of the Parliament: In which Petition were these Expressions; There is a most damnable and bellish Popish Plot, branch'd forth into the most horrid Villanies against his Majesty's most sacred Person, the Protestant Religion, and the well-establish'd Government of this Realm; for which, several of the principal Conspirators stand impeach'd by Parliament: Therefore in such a time, when his Majesty's Person, as also the Protestant Religion, and the Government of the Nation are in most imminent Danger, we most humbly and earnestly pray, that the Parliament, which is prorogu'd until the 26th Day of January may then sit to try the Offenders, and to redress all the most important Grievances, no otherwise to be redress'd. The Roll of Names to this Petition was above 100 Yards in Length. To which the King return'd this Answer, I look upon myself to be the Head of the Government, and the only Judge of what is fit to be done in such Cases; and I will do what I think most for the Good of myself and my People. Then turning to Sir Gilbert, he said, I did not expect to find one of your Name, and particularly you, in such a thing, and I am sorry for it; which Sir Gilbert Gerrard was not, but would have vindicated what he had done, if the King would have staid to have heard him. The Wilshire Petition was deliver'd by the famous Thomas Thynne, Esq; accompany'd by Sir Walter St. John, Grandfather to the late Lord Bolingbroke, and Sir Edward Hungerford. The King ask'd them, Whether they had their Directions from the Grand Jury. But what was a pack'd Grand Jury, such as abhorr'd these Petitions, to such Men as Mr. Thynne, Sir Walter St. John, and Sir Edward Hungerford? Mr. Thynne answer'd, no: The King presently reply'd, what indeed I am ashamed to repeat, considering to whom he spoke; Why say you then that you come from the County? You come from a Company of loose People: Protestant Dissenters, and sower Churchmen. What do you take me to be? I know well enough, but I care not to tell it. What do you take yourselves to be, I admire Gentlemen of your Estates should animate People to Mutiny and Rebellion. You see, to petition the Stuartine Princes is to rebel. You would not take it well I should meddle with your Affairs, and I desire you would not meddle with mine, especially with a Matter, which is so essential a Part of my Prerogative. How they do hang upon that Word, and upon all occasions bring it in by the Head and Shoulders? His Majesty's Answer to Sir Robert Barrington, Colonel Mildmay, and Mr. Honeywood, who presented the Essex Petition, is still worse: I am extremely surpriz'd to see you meddle with Matters that so immediately concern the Crown and me, and that against the Sense of the best and chiefest Men of the County; I believe some of you, who have sign'd the Petition may mean well, but they are abus'd by those who do not. I am not willing to call to mind Things past, yet I cannot but remember the Act of Oblivion, tho' not as some do; and those who had stood in need of that Act, would do well not to take such Courses as might need another; I very well remember FORTY: and so, says Echard, he turn'd away; and indeed he might very well be willing to get out of the Hearing of an Answer. To the Gentlemen from the Justices of the Peace in Berkshire, he said, We will agree this Matter over a Cup of Ale, when we meet at Windsor; tho' I wonder my Neighbours will meddle with my Business: As if the Gentlemen of England had nothing to do in the Security of their Religion, Rights, Liberties, and Properties, which he was so far from taking care of, that he was an Enemy to their Religion; and

A. D. 1679. London Petition.

King sick at Windsor.
Duke of York returns.
Duke of Monmouth disgrac'd.
Changes at Court.
Duke of York goes to Scotland.
The King gives himself up to the Popish Party.
Duke of Monmouth's Progresses.
Petitions for a Parliament.

A. D. 1679. and as to their temporal Concerns, his secret Engagements with the *French King*, shew what was his Concern for them. The Petitions from *Tork, Surry, &c.* were sign'd by many Thousands of Freeholders. The King endeavour'd to put a stop to that from *London*, by sending an Order to the Lord Mayor, *December* the 20th, *not to suffer Persons to go about to get Hands*; but to seize them, and bring them before the Council Board, where they were sure to meet with good Usage from *Mr. Lawrence Hyde*, the Marquis of *Worcester*, and those that kept their Places there, after the Protestant Lords were gone. Two days after, the King put forth a *Proclamation* against Petitioning, of which, we shall hear more hereafter; and another to declare his Intention to prorogue the Parliament, which seems to be done to spite the Petitioners; and it has been observ'd of the *Stuartine Kings*, that when the People have been very earnest for, or against any thing, they always would be as earnest against it, or for it. One cannot by their Actions think they did really know what the Duty of a King was, that a good Prince has in truth no separate Interest of his own, and that the Interest of the People, is the Interest of the King. It is not in common Sense to suppose that the well-being of eight or ten Millions of Souls in this World, and the next, must depend on the Passion or Folly of one Person: Nor is it common Sense to imagine, that People when they suffer have not a Right to complain, or to petition when they are aggriev'd. But the *Stuartine Kings* always treated their Subjects, as if they took them to be Fools as well as Slaves, tho' they had of all Princes that ever reign'd the least Pretence to do so, from the Strength or Extent of their Genius; for I defy the greatest Bigot to the Race to produce one wise step in all their History, which was not forced from them, I will not say by the Petitions, but by the Clamours of the People. *North*, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, drew up the Proclamation against Petitioning, *as contrary to the common and known Law of the Land, and tending to raise Rebellion*. A Word these Kings and their Ministers made use of to frighten the People, as Nurses and old Women do of *raw Head* and *bloody Bones* to frighten Children.

The Stuartine Princes thwart the People.

1680.

A. D. 1680.

WE have already mention'd the Petitions from several Cities and Counties for the Meeting of the Parliament, and the King's neglecting them; insomuch, that on the 26th of *January*, the Day to which the Parliament was prorogu'd, he came to the House of Lords, and sending for the Commons, told both Houses, that the Distractions and Jealousies at home were of such a nature, and so heighten'd and improv'd by the Malice and Industry of ill Men, that he is unalterably of opinion, that a longer Interval of Parliament will be absolutely necessary; accordingly the Lord Chancellor, by his Command, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 15th of *April*: one of the fine Strokes in Politics in this Reign. The People were in a general Ferment under the Apprehensions of Popery. The Parliament's vigorous Resolutions could only quiet their Minds. They earnestly petition'd, and impatiently waited for a Session. *A longer Interval of Parliament is absolutely necessary for composing and quieting of Men's Minds*.

King prorogues the Parliament.

The Judges were well instructed, and the Popish Conspirators might now venture to take their Trials. *Sir Thomas Gascoigne*, an old *Torkshire* Knight, was arraign'd at the King's-Bench Bar in *Westminster-Hall*, upon an Information of *High Treason*, in conspiring the Death of the King,

and the Subversion of the Government. The chief Evidence against him were *Zolron*, who had been Bailiff of his Colepius, and one *Morobray*, who had belong'd to his Family, who both swore home; but *Sir Thomas Hudson*, Foreman, and the rest of a *Torkshire* Jury, clear'd him, giving more credit to the Prisoner than to the Witnesses.

About the same time was try'd *William Laud*, of note only for his Name and his Crime, the tearing a Petition for the sitting of the Parliament, as it was handing about for Subscription; but the Jury would not find him guilty, nor his two Accomplices *Whitfield* and *Smallbones*: but they convicted *Ben. Harris*, the Publisher of the *Weekly Domestic Intelligence*, for publishing the *Appeal from the Country to the City*; and the Court sentenc'd him to be pillory'd, to pay 50*l.* Fine, and he imprison'd a Year. *Francis Smith* and *Langley Curtis* were also convicted of publishing a Pamphlet for the Country Party, as was *Henry Care* the Author.

However, the Duke of *Tork* did not think fit to stand it out against the Clamour of the People, but to absent himself some time longer, under colour of the Commission of *Scotland*, which Kingdom is highly recommended by him in a Speech he made to the Privy Council there, for a brave and loyal Nobility and Gentry, a regular Privy Council, for Judicatures fill'd with upright Judges; and for some other the like Blessings under his auspicious Government, which the Scots cannot think of to this day without Terror and Trembling. He left *Edinburgh* in *February*, and there being no Parliament sitting, he made use of the Interval to return to Court, where the King receiv'd him with the greater Tokens of Affection, for that he knew it would mortify the Protestants. We have just mention'd the Conviction of Booksellers and others, for certain Pamphlets in Vindication of the Protestant Religion, and the People's Rights and Liberties, which began now to be openly attack'd, and to quash all Attempts in Defence of those dear Liberties and Rights, and our most holy Religion. The Judges were directed to declare, *That the King might prohibit the Printing and Publishing of all News-Books and Pamphlets*; and presently a Proclamation was issu'd, to suppress all Pamphlets and News-Books that had not the Royal Licence. There cannot be a surer Mark of an ill Government, than its being afraid of the Press: Honesty fears no Slander, but Guilt starts at a Whisper.

Archdeacon *Echard* tells us, the very Counties that had address'd for the Parliament's sitting, grew ashamed of what they had done, and sent up Addresses of Abhorrence of those Petitions. One as blind as himself might have seen that those Counter-Petitions were extorted from those Counties by Menaces, or that they were wheedled out of them by Fraud: for can any thing be more unnatural, than for a Free People to petition to be Slaves, to destroy the Fences of their Liberty, or make way for Tyranny to destroy them, which would be the natural Consequence of the Subversion of our Parliamentary Constitution. The *Grand-Jury* of *Westminster* was very forward with their abhorring Petition, which was presented by *Withens* the Lawyer, one of their Parliament Men. There came the like Petitions from *Surrey, Essex, Middlesex, and Norfolk*: Which last mention'd County sent his Majesty *their humble Thanks for recalling the Duke from Flanders*. His Majesty knighted *Withens*, and several other Abhorrrers were dubb'd, to encourage the Work all over *England*.

I have seen a very particular Account of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother's pretended Marriage

A. D. 1680. riage to the King; 'twas said to be printed at Cologne, where the Author would have us believe the Marriage was consummated; but it is a Heap of Falsities and Inconsistencies. The King's Amour with her was some Years before he was at Cologne, nay, at the very time that his Father was about to be try'd, condemn'd, and executed, the Duke being born at Rotterdam a few Months after. But it was now rumour'd, that Sir Gilbert Gerrard had Proofs of that Marriage in a Black Box, which, upon examination, he solemnly deny'd before the King and Council; and it is most certain, that Rumour was only rais'd to puzzle the Duke of York's Cause still more, and encrease the Party of the Duke of Monmouth, tho' the Fallhood of it was the occasion that it had quite contrary Effects. The King made three Declarations one after another, that he was never marry'd to any Woman but Queen Catherine; and considering how little Credit was given to this false Rumour, he seems to over-act in this Part to shew how unalterably he was attach'd to his Brother's and the Popish Interest. The Earl of Shaftesbury was thought to be at the bottom of this Rumour, tho' it is by no means worthy his great Genius for Politicks.

Rumour of the King's Marriage to the Duke of Monmouth's Mother.

The Lord Chief Justice Scroggs makes use of this Interval of Parliament, to discharge the Popish Prisoners as fast as they are brought before him. The Grand-Jury of Middlesex brought in the Bill against the Countess of Powis Ignoramus, and sav'd him the Drudgery of bringing her off. Richard Tasborough Esq; of Suffolk, was try'd for conspiring the Death of the King; and after a long Hearing to no purpose, says Eckard, he was acquitted. Sir Henry Tickbourne, Mr. Roper, and John Caryl Esq; were bail'd, because there was no Witnesses against them but Dr. Oates. And the Countess of Powis, Sir Robert Peyton, and one Bedingfield were absolutely discharged of all Attendance; tho' as to the Countess, Fact is not capable of better Proof, than that she set Dangerfield on the Discovery of Mansel's Presbyterian Plot, that the Letters she dictated were treasonable, and that the Guilt and Punishment due to Forgery did of right belong to her. Mrs. Cellier was also acquitted on account of Dangerfield's being outlaw'd for Felony, and consequently his Evidence was not good. But Dangerfield had a Pardon which render'd him *reus in Curia*; and as impudent as Cellier was, she never had the Impudence to deny the treasonable Papers found in her Meal-Tub, Copies of those that were found in Col. Mansel's Lodgings. Eckard is her Advocate against Dangerfield, that Great and Infamous Criminal, says he: but what says Mr. Baxter of that very Dangerfield? He confess'd all, and was a steadfast Convert and Protestant. Is it necessarily once a Rogue and always a Rogue, as is said of a Captain? But so much has been urg'd in vindication of such Evidence, and that Villany cannot be otherwise evidenc'd than by Villains, that we shall say no more of it. This is a grateful Period of Time with Mr. Archdeacon. Others *that were to be try'd about the Popish-Plot, were some bail'd, some absolutely discharg'd*; as

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Papists clear'd.

Lord Aston.	Sir John Gage.
Sir James Symonds.	Mr. Howard.
Father Petre.	Mr. Heveningham.
Needham, a Priest.	Langborn junr.

Sir Anthony Dean and Mr. Pepys were discharg'd from further Attendance, and the Earl of Castlemain, on his Trial was acquitted by the Jury; which, to use the reverend Historian's own Phrase, was follow'd with great Shouts and Ac-

clamations to the Disappointment and Mortification of many at that time.

A. D. 1680.

Bedloe died at Bristol the 20th of August; and the Lord Chief Justice North being then there in his Circuit, he visited him before his Death; and with his last Words, Bedloe attested, That the Duke of York was engag'd in the Plot; That Anderton and Lodge, two Jesuits at Rome, own'd to him the King was to be made away with, and that every Word he had sworn against any of the Conspirators was true, and rather less than more than the Truth. North took the Deposition of this dying Man; yet Eckard, who laid to great stress on the last Words of Green, Berry, Hill, and Staley, knows not how to speak justly of the dying Words of one harden'd by so many Years Villanies: and then to justify his uncharitable Censure, he remembers us of his changing and contradicting his Evidence. He had certainly no Occasion, no Temptation to depose a Confirmation of all of it before a Judge, just as he was going out of the World. He had no Cause to credit by it, as the Papists had by denying the Crimes they were charg'd with. The Papists could be absolv'd. Bedloe could have no Absolution for his lying in the last Moment of his Life; yet so very tender is Mr. Archdeacon of the Popish Interest, that he will not speak charitably, or indeed humanely of a Person who had born his Testimony against it.

Bedloe confirms all at his Death.

The Juries impannel'd by Raymond and Lewis, Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, had lately appear'd to be so much at the Direction of the Judges, that the Citizens of London resolv'd to resume their ancient Right; and instead of taking a Sheriff, because the Lord-Mayor drank to a Man, to chuse two substantial discreet Citizens to discharge that Office. The Court was alarm'd at this Proceeding, and instructed their Creatures to make a vigorous Opposition, that they might keep Juries still in dependance upon them. The honest Citizens put up Slingsby Bethel Esq; who wrote that excellent Treatise of the Interest of Princes, wherein is mote good Policy, than in the Earl of Clarendon's three Folio's, and Alderman Henry Cornish. The Election of these two Citizens was oppos'd by the Persecuting Party, who demanded a Poll for Mr. Box and Mr. Nicholson: and Eckard pretends, the honest Livery-Men were forc'd to use Violence in procuring a Majority, tho' the Numbers for Bethel and Cornish were really almost double to those for Box and Nicholson.

Bethel and Cornish chosen Sheriffs.

Cornish — 2483	Nicholson — 1230
Bethel — 2276	Box — 1428

Which Votes were declar'd to stand thus at a Common Hall, July 29th; tho' to animate those who poll'd against Bethel and Cornish, the King himself came into the City, and supp'd with Sir Simon Lewis the Sheriff; who being check'd by Mr. Osborn the Draper for some unwarrantable Proceeding, it was immediately call'd a Riot, and the King immediately order'd a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to be issu'd out for the trial of the said Riot; so hasty was he in pursuing these fatal Measures, that led directly to the Subversion of the People's Religion and Liberty.

The Duke of York continuing to shew by all his Conduct abroad and at home, that he was the most obstinate and inveterate Enemy of Liberty and Religion, several Persons of the greatest Eminence in the Kingdom for Birth, Quality, Fortune and Merit, presented Reasons for indicting him to the Grand-Jury of Middlesex, June 26, 1680. Two of which are as follow:

8 B

“ That

A. D.
1680.

“ That there have been divers Letters read in both Houses of Parliament, and at the Secret Committees of both Houses, from several Cardinals, and others of Rome; and also from other Popish Bishops and Agents of the Pope in other foreign Parts, which do apparently shew the great Correspondencies between the Duke of York and the Pope. And how the Pope could not choose but weep for joy at the reading some of the Duke's Letters, and what great Satisfaction it was to the Pope to hear the Duke was advanc'd to the Catholick Religion. That the Pope has granted Brevets to the Duke, sent him Beads, ample Indulgences, with much more to this purpose. That the whole House of Commons have declar'd him to be a Papist in their Votes, Sunday, April 6, 1679.”

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That the Duke of York being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming such to the Crown, has given the greatest Countenance and Encouragement to the present Conspiracy, and Designs of the Papists against the King and the Protestant Religion. What this Conspiracy and Design is, will appear by a Declaration made by both Houses of Parliament, March 25, 1679.

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, That they do declare that they are fully satisfy'd by the Proofs they have heard; that there now is, and for divers Years last past, hath been a horrid and treasonable Plot and Conspiracy contriv'd and carry'd on, by those of the Popish Religion for the murdering of his Majesty's sacred Person, and for subverting the Protestant Religion, and the ancient well establish'd Government of this Realm.

These and other Reasons for the Indictment of the Duke of York, were sign'd by

Huntington.	Thomas Thynne Esq;
Shaftesbury.	William Forrester Esq;
Grey of Werk.	John Trenchard Esq;
Lord Ruffel.	Thomas Wharton Esq;
Lord Cavendish.	Sir William Cowper
Lord Brandon.	Bar ^t .
Sir Edw. Hungerford.	Sir Gilbert Gerrard
Sir Hen. Calverly K ^t .	Bar ^t .
of the Bath.	Sir Scroop How.

The *Fury* was sent for up to the Court of Bing's-Bench, whilst they were on this Indictment, and dismiss'd; so that nothing further was done upon it, excepting that the *Fury* receiv'd the Presentment; and by dismissing them, a very great Number of Indictments were discharge'd: *A Thing scarcely to be parallel'd*, says my Author; and of very ill Consequence, not only to many private Persons, but chiefly to the Publick. The Duke was gone again to Scotland to be out of the Parliament's way, tho' he sat in the House of Lords when the Parliament was prorog'd from the 15th of April to the 17th of May, and from thence, by several Prorogations, to the 21st of October. This Presentment was a terrible Mortification to him, and he and his Party must then have sunk, had not the King his Brother been as much of his Religion as of his Blood, with respect to Faith and Principle, tho' not to Bigotry and Zeal. As soon as the Duke was departed for Scotland, the Party for the Exclusion Bill began to work all their Engines for accomplishing it. The Chief of this Party were the Dutchess of Portsmouth, who was to manage with the King and the Earl of Sunderland. Mr. Godolphin, Lord Hallifax, and others, were for Limitations; and with these the King join'd so heartily, that he would have a-

greed to any Limitations that should leave the Title of King to the Duke, tho' it should be little more than a mere Title: But he was positive and fix'd against the Exclusion. The Duke was obstinate against all Limitations; and that was acting a sincere Part, and letting the World see he was resolv'd to be limied by nothing but his Will and Pleasure. Mr. Hyde, and Sir Lionel Jenkins, lately made Secretary of State in the room of Mr. Coventry, were at the head of those that oppos'd the Bill of Exclusion in the House of Commons. But what are those Names to the following, who strenuously promoted it by their strong Arguments and strong Interest?

Lord Ruffel.	Thomas Wharton Esq;
Lord Cavendish.	Henry Booth Esq;
Sir Henry Capel.	Charles Harbord Esq;
Mr. Porole.	Henry Mildmay Esq;
Sir William Jones.	Sydney Godolphin Esq;
Sir Gilbert Gerrard.	Paul Foley Esq;
Sir Thomas Lee.	John Trenchard Esq;
Sir William Ellis.	Ralph Montagu Esq;
Sir Richard Onslow.	George Treby Esq;
Sir Edward Harley.	Thomas Thynne Esq;
Sir Scrope How.	Edward Ruffel Esq;
Sir Sam. Barnardiston.	Hugh Boscarwen Esq;
Sir Henry Calverley.	Col. Birch.
Sir John Pelham.	Col. Titus.
Will. Sacheverell Esq;	Richard Hampden Esq;
Thomas Bennet Esq;	William Forrester Esq;
Serjeant Maynard.	Sir Francis Winnington.

And a great Majority of the Members and Patriots, who were all for the Exclusion Bill.

Sir Lionel Jenkins, the Stickler against this Bill, makes a sorry Figure in Sir William Temple's Memoirs: and Bishop Burnet tells us, he was a dull Man, as is plain enough by his Speeches in Echar'd against the Exclusion; but he does not escape the Archdeacon's Panegyricks on account of his Zeal for a Popish Successor.

About this time the Prince of Orange projected an Alliance against France, and most of the German Princes were dispos'd to come into it. For the French had set up a new Court at Metz, in which many Princes were, under pretence of Dependencies, and some old forgot or forg'd Titles, adjudg'd to lose their Territories, as belonging to the French Conquests. This, as my Lord of Sarum phrases it, was a mean as well as the perfidious Practice, in which the Court of France rais'd much more Jealousy and Hatred against themselves, than could be ever ballanc'd by such small Accessions as were adjudg'd by that Mock-Court. Had King Charles fallen in with this Disposition of the German Princes; such a Confederacy might have been form'd, as would have given a Check to the exorbitant Power of France. But he was deep in another dark Confederacy, to master his Parliaments by the help of French Money and French Forces, upon occasion, which made him deaf to all Proposals that were not consistent with his Engagements with Lewis the XIVth, who, according to Acherley, “ grew up to a View of Universal Monarchy, to a Puissance able to reduce even England as well as the Empire, Holland, &c. under an absolute Subjection, which could not afterwards be avoided, but by their uniting against that Potentate in two long and bloody Wars; the one in the Reign of King William III. and the other in the Reign of Queen Anne, in which their Liberty was put in doubt, their Wealth exhausted, and those Nations involv'd in Debts almost insuperable.” These are the Blessings the two last Stuartine Kings entail'd on these Nations: These the Legacy they left us. All projected which

A. D.
1680.Members
for the Ex-
clusion.P. 481.
Sir Lionel
Jenkins
dull Man.French
King's
mean and
perfidious
Practices.

P. 601.

A League

against him

A. D. 1680. which would have been prevented, and the English Liberties, and the Liberties of Europe, as well as the Protestant Religion, have been secur'd, by the Bill of Exclusion.

The Earl of Sunderland enter'd into a particular Confidence with the Prince of Orange, which he manag'd by his Uncle Mr. Sydney, afterwards Earl of Romney, who was sent Envoy to Holland. The Prince, according to Bishop Burnet, was confident, that if England would have come heartily into a Confederacy against France, a strong one might be form'd; but Van Beuning, who was then in England, wrote to the Town of Amsterdam, that they could not depend on the Faith or Assistance of England, for the Court was still in the French Interest. He thought the Jealousy between the Court and the Country Party then so high, that he did not believe it possible to heal Matters, so as to encourage the King to enter into any Alliance which might draw on a War. For the King seem'd to set that up for a Maxim, that his going into a War, was the putting himself into the hands of his Parliament, and was firmly resolv'd against it, tho' not for Van Beuning's Reason, so much as in consideration of his Secret League with that very Prince, who, at the same time, had in conception already subjected the British Empire. No body can think that, when he had reduc'd the Spanish Netherlands and Holland, he would have confin'd his Conquests to the Continent; and Lord Holles, who was Ambassador in France, thinks he intimated his intended Invasion of England, when he said once, *I will bring my Men to a Place, where there are neither Gates nor Bars*: And that Lord Holles did really believe he meant England, appears by this Expression in his Letter to the before mention'd Van Beuning; *The wisest and greatest Men are not always so guarded, but that in their Gayeties their future Intentions drop out of their Mouths; and wicked Men do not only express their Natures in their wicked Sayings, by which Men may take Warning of them; but they live after their Deaths in those Sayings, as King Charles the Second does in this; God would not damn him for taking a little pleasure out of the way, which we have elsewhere mention'd after Bishop Burnet. Lord Holles, in the same Letter, gives us a just Character of the Government of England, since it fell into the hands of the Stuarts.*

French King design'd to invade England.

Baldwin's State-Tractions. p. 458.

Two Grand Maxims of our Government; one was, *That we should always keep the Balance of Christendom equal and steady, England only having the natural Advantage to do that; and this grew up with us from the Norman Conquest, for above 600 Years since. The other was, That we should always make ourselves the Head and Protection of the Protestant Interest, a Maxim that we took from the Reformation, and which we shew'd the World in Queen Elizabeth's Time. How we have kept to these two Maxims, our entering into a League to subvert and destroy the Protestant Religion, and to break the Bonds, and remove the Land-Marks of States and Kingdoms, will sufficiently declare unto you.* Such was the Circumstances of the English, with respect to Foreign Affairs; and they are not more secure and honourable, with respect to Domestick; in which the rigid Clergy behav'd very indecently and unwarrantably, as that great Lawyer Sir John Hawkes intimates; *Many of the Clergy of the Church of England had been prevail'd with, to cry up the Popish as a Fanatick Plot. The Papists and the Church of England being, in the late Times, equally Sufferers, and oppress'd by the Fanaticks, they naturally grew to have a*

kindness for each other, and both join'd in bating the Fanaticks; and therefore pretended, at least, that they did not believe any thing of the Popish Plot, but that that Report was given out by the Fanaticks while they themselves were designing something against the Church of England. So far the Ecclesiastical Writer of the *Compleat History* goes; but he sinks what follows in Sir John Hawkes's Remarks on Fitzharris's Trial. *The Papists having so great a part of the Clergy of the Church of England ready to believe any thing of a Fanatick Plot which they should forge; and observing, that that which gave Credit to the Popish Plot, was Writings, (not a Snip of Paper, says another Ecclesiastical Historian) concurring with oral Testimony, which it did; mind how Echar'd and all of them endeavour to ridicule and baffle the Evidence: For very little of the Truth of the Popish Plot depended on the Credit of Oates, Bedloe, or any other Person. Mr. Archdeacon affirms, it all depended upon it, most of the Facts of that Design, when discover'd, proving themselves. To instance in one, Oates discover'd Coleman had Intelligence with Le Chaise, of a Design on England, and that Coleman had Papers testifying as much; when those Papers were seiz'd, and own'd by Coleman, and the purport of them was what Oates said they were, it was not material whether Oates was a Man of Truth or not, the Papers without Oates's Evidence sufficiently prov'd the Design.* The Heads of the two reverend Historians were not clear enough to admit such solid Reasoning. Instead of this, one of them, an Archdeacon, writes with amazing Confidence, *The Minds of the Parliament were fill'd and heated with the Fears and Apprehensions of Popery, Plots and Conspiracies. And now all sorts of Plot-Discoverers apply'd themselves with their Narratives and Relations, and never fail'd of proportionable Encouragement.* Dangerfield began with giving in his Information, which he treats as ludicrously, as if there had been much Mirrh in a horrid Design against the Lives of the greatest and worthiest Men in the Kingdom. Sir John Hawkes speaks of it thus, *"Dangerfield was made use of to leave Papers in Col. Mansel's Lodgings, he being an Acquaintance of my Lord Shaftesbury's, importing a Plot; but that was so foolishly carried on, and the then Attorney General, who had the Examination of that Matter, not being qualify'd with the Assurance his Successor had, to carry on a Thing that had neither Sense nor Honesty in it, made such a scurvy Report of the Matter to the King and Council, that they were forc'd to vote Mansel innocent."* However, Mr. Archdeacon is in a very good humour, that Mrs. Cellier, an Accomplice with Dangerfield in that hellish Contrivance, was clear'd, which so spirited that Bawd, that she publish'd a Narrative in opposition to Dangerfield's, call'd, *Malice Defeated*; wherein she scandalously reflected on several Persons of Eminence and Worth, and did not spare some in Power; and being try'd for publishing this Libel, Justice overtook her, and she was condemn'd to stand thrice in the Pillory, to pay Mrs. Cellier 1000 Pounds Fine, and to be imprison'd till all was perform'd, which, as to the Pillory part, was to the endangering her Life, the Populace pelting her without Mercy; and tho' she richly deserv'd a Gibbet, yet the Mob were nor to be her Executioners. I leave Sir William Temple's Account of the Lord Effex's Impatience to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland again; and Lord Shaftesbury's saying to him, *My Lord, if you will come in to us, never trouble yourself, we will*

A. D. 1680. Sir John Hawkes's Account of the Clergy's Behaviour as to the Plot.

make

A. D. 1680. make you Lieutenant, &c. in the place where Echar'd found them, being apprehensive that we have not the whole Truth.

On the 20th of October, the Duke and Dutch-
 efs of York began their Journey to Scotland by
 Sea; the King accompanying them as low as
 Woolwich, and giving him, no doubt, all Affur-
 rances, that he would never consent to alter the
 Succession. Next day the Parliament met, af-
 ter several Prorogations, when the King made
 a Speech to both Houses, wherein, after the
 Benefits, which *Christendom* as well as *England*
 may reap by the Alliances the King had made,
 he thought fit to renew all Assurance that can be
 desir'd for Security of the Protestant Religion,
 which he is resolv'd to maintain against the Con-
 spiracies of our Enemies. We all know the
 Prince who said it, to be a Papist, and with what
 Conscience could he say it? *Coke* is a little coarse
 in his Expression, but he's honest, and therefore
 I sometimes make use of him; "Can any Man,
 " who reads the Transactions between the Pro-
 " rogation of the last Parliament, and the Meet-
 " ing of this, force a Belief of this?" *And con-
 cur with any new Remedies which shall be pro-
 pos'd, which may consist with preserving the Suc-
 cession of the Crown in its due and legal Course;*
 " that is, Let the Wolf be Shepherd, and let
 " the Sheep make what Laws they please." Then
 the King recommends to them a strict In-
 quiry into the *Popish Plot*, and that the Lords
 in the Tower be brought to a speedy Trial, with-
 out which, he did not think himself or the Parlia-
 ment safe. *Coke* upon this. "The constant
 " Vogue was, That the King dissolv'd the two
 " last Parliaments, to preserve the Lords in the
 " Tower from being brought to a Trial; and I
 " am sure that you will soon hear that the King
 " did not believe his and the Nation's Safety did
 " consist in the Trial of the Lords in the Tower."
 He told the Parliament, what danger *Tangier*
 was in, and what vast Expence he must be at to
 keep it. "And that the Commons, last Parlia-
 " ment, drew up an Act, to settle it upon the
 " Imperial Crown of *England*; and that they
 " who did advise the King to part with *Tangier*
 " to any Foreign Prince or State, or were in-
 " strumental therein, ought to be accounted
 " Enemies to the King and Kingdom." *Coke*
 again, "What care the King took to keep it,
 " will soon appear, tho' 'twas said the Parlia-
 " ment (I think it was out of the Chimney-Mo-
 " ney) gave him 40000 Pounds per Ann. to-
 " wards the Preservation of it, to the Crown of
 " *England*." The King goes on, and says,
*That above all the Treasure in the World, which
 he was sure would give him greater Strength,
 both at home and abroad, than any Treasure can
 do, is a perfect Union among ourselves. Yet, says
 Coke, "he does not say wherein we should unite.
 " Truth and Unity are one, and consist in
 " entire Parts; but Falshood and Discord are
 " infinite. What Truth or Unity could be in
 " the King's loose and irregular Actions, so con-
 " founding, and every day varying from what
 " he had promis'd before? Or how is it possible
 " for the Nation to unite under Terms which
 " are inconsistent and impossible; viz. Unite
 " to preserve the Constitutions of the King-
 " dom, and yet be at no Discord with the King,
 " who, they were morally certain, would make
 " it his Business to subvert them?" Here's e-
 " nough of it, considering the Speech was so ill
 " grounded, and the Art so little hid, that the
 " Commons would not deign to debate one Para-
 " graph. Nay, the Lord Chancellor was at so
 " great a loss how to give it any Flourishes, that
 " he chose rather to say nothing, but as his Ma-*

King's
 Speech to
 the Par-
 liament.

P. 251.

King Cha.
 designs to
 subvert
 the Consti-
 tution,
 P. 254.

jefty commanded, directed them to proceed to
 the Choice of a Speaker, and they unanimously
 chose *William Williams*, Esq; of *Gray's-Inn*,
 Recorder of *Chester*; who being approv'd of
 by his Majesty, the House agreed upon an
 Address, wherein they express'd their Resolution
 to pursue, with a strict and impartial Inquiry,
 the execrable *Popish-Plot*; and six Days after
 they proceeded to Votes about the before-men-
 tion'd Petitions.

A. D.
 1680.

Wi. Wil-
 liams cho-
 sen Speaker.

The Right
 of Petiti-
 oning as-
 serted.

"Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That it
 " is, and ever hath been the undoubted Right
 " of the Subjects of *England*, to petition the
 " King for the Calling and Sitting of Parlia-
 " ments, and redressing Grievances. Resolved,
 " That to traduce such Petitioning as a Viola-
 " tion of Duty, and to represent it to his Ma-
 " jesty as tumultuary and seditious, is to betray
 " the Liberty of the Subject, and contributes
 " to the Design of subverting the ancient legal
 " Constitution of this Kingdom, and introdu-
 " cing arbitrary Power." They order'd a Com-
 mittee the next day to inquire of all such Per-
 sons, as have offended against these Rights of
 the Subject.

And the next Day, October 28th, Sir Francis
Wythens, Head Steward of *Westminster*, and Ci-
 tizen in Parliament for that City, being found
 guilty in particular, they voted him a *Betrayer*
 of the undoubted Rights of the Subjects of *En-
 gland*, and order'd him to be expell'd the House,
 having first receiv'd their Censure upon his Knees
 at the Bar, which he suffer'd with great De-
 jection, both of Look and Mind. The infamous
Jefferies was next question'd; he was Recorder
 of *London*, and the City petition'd the House
 against him. A Committee being order'd, they
 pass'd this Vote the 13th of November: Resol-
 ved, "That this Committee is of opinion, that
 " by the Evidence given to this Committee, it
 " does appear, that Sir George *Jefferies*, Recor-
 " der of the City of *London*, by traducing and
 " obstructing Petitioning for the Sitting of the
 " Parliament, hath betray'd the Rights of the
 " Subject;" to which the House agreed, and 'twas
 order'd, That an humble Address be made to his
 Majesty, to remove him out of all publick Offices.
 They further order'd, that the Committee should
 enquire into all such Persons as had been advi-
 sing or promoting of the late Proclamation, stil'd,
A Proclamation against tumultuous Petitioning.
 The Grand Juries of the Counties of *Somerset*
 and *Devon* having express'd their Abhorrence of
 such Petitioning, the House, on the 19th of No-
 vember, order'd, that the two Foremen of the
 said Juries, *William Coleman* Esq; and *Henry
 Walrond* Esq; should be sent for in custody of
 the Sergeant at Arms; as were also Sir *Giles
 Philips*, Capt. *William Castle*, *William Starvel*
 Esq; Mr. *John Hutchinson*, Mr. *Thomas Sta-
 ples*, and Sir *Thomas Holt*, Sergeant at Law.
 The next day they voted *Thomas Herbert* Esq;
 of *Monmouthshire*, to be sent for in custody for
 prosecuting *John Arnold* Esq; Knight of that
 Shire at the Council-Table, for promoting Pe-
 titioning, and procuring Subscriptions. *Echar'd*
 highly resents these vigorous Proceedings, and
 especially the keeping an *Irish Man* five Weeks
 in Prison upon bare Suspicion. This *Irish Man*
 is *Thomas Sheridan* before mention'd, whom he
 calls a Gentleman of a good Family; that the
 Injustice of the Parliament might be the more
 crying in this Gentleman's Case, who, in truth,
 was a notorious Villain, the Son of a Bishop's
Turnspit, who had been bred up by Charity, and
 becoming a Deacon, was so zealous a Protestant,
 that *Oliver*, when he was in *Ireland*, order'd a
 Maintenance for himself and his three Sons, of
 whom

Sir Fran-
 cis Wy-
 thens ex-
 pell'd.

An Ad-
 dress a-
 gainst the
 infamous
 Jefferies.

Abhorers
 taken into
 Custody.

A. D. 1680. whom one was this same *Sberidan*, whose Sisters were seen by my Author in *Brogues* and *Kirchiefs*, and the Family was of the *Scologues*, a ragged Crew of wild *Irisb*. But this Man being an Agent for the *Papists*, and even for the very worst sort of *Papists*, is so civilly treated by Mr. Archdeacon, tho' the best Name his Countryman *Tyrconnel* could give him, was, *Traytor*, *Cheat*, *Rogue*. If one was to compliment such a vile Fellow as this, methinks one should be very careful not to say a false thing in his favour. We shall have occasion to speak further of these Parliamentary Prosecutions in the Sequel, and must now give a short Account of the grand Debate about the Bill of Exclusion. The noble Patriot *William Lord Russel* open'd it *October* the 26th, saying, *It is my opinion, that the Life of the King, the Safety of the Nation, and the Protestant Religion, are in great danger from Popery; and that either the Parliament must suppress the Growth and Power thereof, or else Popery will soon destroy not only Parliaments, but all that is near and dear to Us. Wherefore I humbly move, that we may in the first place take into Consideration how to suppress Popery, and prevent a Popish Successor.* His Lordship's Motion was seconded by the wise and honourable *Sir Henry Capel*, afterwards *Lord Capel*, who related, in a long Speech, *How the Popish Party made it their Endeavours, by their diabolical Counsels, to weaken the Protestant Interest, in order to a general Destruction of it, by engaging us in a War against Holland; as also dividing our Fleet under Prince Rupert and General Monk, with a design to destroy them, as well as our Navy at Chatham. How when the City of London was burnt in 1666, those who were taken in carrying on that wicked Act, were discharged without Trial. Pray call to mind what the Archdeacon said directly contrary to this, that he had weigh'd all Circumstances, and found that no mortal Man had any hand in it, but that it was the Judgment of Heaven.* *Sir Henry Capel's* Speech is as good as it is long; but what follows is entirely omitted by the reverend Historian, and his Partiality in it is shameless.

Sir Henry Capel's Speech. *Sir Henry*, speaking of the *Faction that obtain'd the Oxford Act, and some others against the Dissenters*, adds, *Great Endeavours were us'd to have them executed severely, in expectation that the Dissenters would so be made weary of living quietly under them, and in the end be glad of a Toleration; but the Dissenters deceiv'd them, and submitted to the Laws, insomuch, that in the Year 1670, till 1671, there was hardly a Conventicle to be heard of in England.* *Echard* positively asserts, *they had now their open Meetings more full and frequent.* *Sir H. C.* again, *And might never have been more, if that Party had not been afraid of a great Disappointment thereby; wherefore, to revive our Divisions; and to bring in, as they hop'd, their own Religion, they employ'd all their Force again to get a Toleration.* I say, *they did it, because it cannot be imagin'd it could be from any Protestant Interest, both Church-men and Dissenters publicly declaring their Detestation of it.* I do not mention his and other Members Reasons for the Exclusion, because there was not one Reason against it; and that it is now the greatest Nonsense in the World to argue against excluding a Prince, whom we abdicated eight Years after: For if the abdicating him, when he had been several Years in possession of the Throne, was rightful and lawful, it was much more so to exclude him, before he posses'd it, he having shewn his Disposition to do what he did, as evidently as if he had already done it; and 'twas apparent that he had

enter'd into a Conspiracy against the Religion, Rights and Liberties of the *English Nation*, long before the Parliament talk'd of an Exclusion, which being High Treason by our Laws, would have had worse Effects had he been brought to a Trial while he was a Subject. What was his employing *Coleman* to correspond with *La Chaise* about a Project for destroying the *Pestilent Heresy*? What his own Letter to *La Chaise* for Supplies from *France*? What his Endeavours to stifle the *Popish Plot*? What his Tampering with *Dangerfield* about a sham *Presbyterian Plot*, and a great variety of other such Offences, not so much as mention'd in the Arguments for excluding him? I shall only name the Gentlemen who spoke heartily and reasonably for the Exclusion, as,

<i>Lord Russel.</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Player.</i>
<i>Sir Henry Capel.</i>	<i>Sir William Jones.</i>
<i>Mr. Harbord.</i>	<i>Mr. Boscawen.</i>
<i>Col. Titus.</i>	<i>Mr. Trenchard.</i>
<i>Mr. Thomas Bennet.</i>	<i>Mr. Montagu.</i>
<i>Sir Francis Winnington.</i>	<i>Col. Sidney.</i>

Speakers for and against the Exclusion Bill.

Against the Bill.

<i>Sir Lionel Jenkins.</i>	<i>Mr. Daniel Finch.</i>
<i>Mr. Laurence Hyde.</i>	<i>Mr. Garraway.</i>
<i>Mr. Edward Seymour.</i>	<i>Sir Richard Graham.</i>

The Strength and Weakness of this Cause cannot be put into a better Light, than by shewing the Advocates for and against it in the Contrast.

Pro Con

<i>Sir William Jones.</i>	<i>Mr. Edward Seymour.</i>
<i>Mr. Trenchard.</i>	<i>Sir Lionel Jenkins.</i>
<i>Mr. Montagu.</i>	<i>Mr. Hyde.</i>
<i>Sir Henry Capel.</i>	<i>Mr. Finch.</i>
<i>Mr. Harbord.</i>	<i>Mr. Garraway.</i>
<i>Sir Francis Winnington.</i>	<i>Sir Richard Graham.</i>

Bishop Burnet says of *Jenkins*, *He neither spoke nor writ well, and all his Arguments were heard with Indignation.* They may be read in *Echard's* History, in which such sort of Speeches are carefully preserv'd; and it was mov'd in some of them, that the Duke of *York's* Daughters might be nam'd in the Bill of Exclusion as the next in Succession: But it was said that was not necessary, for since the Duke was only personally disabled, as if he had been actually dead, that carried the Succession over to his Daughters. However, tho' they would not name the Duke's Daughters, yet they sent such Assurances to the Prince of *Orange*, that nothing thus propos'd could be to his prejudice, that he believ'd them, and declar'd his Desire that the King would satisfy his Parliament. The States sent over Memorials to the King, pressing him to consent to the Exclusion. The Prince did not openly appear in this. But it being manag'd by *Fagel*, it was understood that he approv'd of it, which created a Hatred in the Duke to him that was never remov'd. The Earl of *Sunderland*, by means of *Mr. Sidney*, brought the States into it, but it had no Effect.

Prince of Orange for the Exclusion.

And the States.

Upon the first Debate of the *Exclusion Bill* this Sessions, the Duke's Friends were not prepar'd to speak for him, and when they spoke, their Arguments were extremely weak. *Mr. Garraway* was for having him heard, as if he could have spoke better for himself, than they did for him; or could vindicate the Charge brought against him by a Person of Quality, *For making up the Match for the King, as foreseeing the Queen would have no Children; for the Loss of the Earl of Sandwich; for clearing of Persons taken in the Fire of London; the Death of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, &c.* as in *Echard.* *Mr. Hyde* was

A. D. 1682. for hearing him, and said, he doubted the Act would not be binding to him, and to a great many

Loyal Persons, who, if they had oppos'd it when it had the Royal Assent, would have been REBELS; and I believe there is not a Person in England, now so weak as to doubt, whether there is a Subject in the three Kingdoms, whom an Act of Parliament will not bind. Mr. Edward Seymour spoke more nervously and politely, *I have been shot at by Wind guns, have we not great Experience of the Duke's Love for this Nation*, in his Endeavours to destroy the Dutch, whose Interests are inseparable from ours; in his inveterate Enmity to our Religion; in his Abhorrence of English Liberty, and the like? *Can so indiscreet an Attempt as the Alteration of the establish'd Religion, be made by a Prince so abounding in Prudence and Wisdom?* It may be a sufficient Answer to this Interrogatory, that the same Mr. Seymour some time after took Arms against him for attempting it. Mr. Seymour said also, *the Bill would not bind Ireland*, as was experienc'd by the Bill for settling the Crown on King William and Queen Mary. Mr. F—— told the House, *He never heard of any Law, which made an Opinion in Religion a Cause to be dispossest of Right*. Did he never see or hear of any Man dispossest of his Right for being a Presbyterian? Excellent Logic! Because it may not be very equitable to dispossest a Man of his Right for an Opinion in Religion; or in other Words, to take away a private Man's Estate, because he is a Papist, since his Religion has no relation to any other Man's, or to any other Man's Liberty or Property; therefore it is not lawful to dispossest a Prince of his Right of Succession for his Opinion in Religion, tho' that Opinion brings every other Man's Religion into Danger, and his Principle is to subvert the Government, to which he pretends an Inheritance. One cannot imagine that such doughty Arguments as these, would sway much with a House that was full of the ablest Heads in the Kingdom. The Bill intitled, *an Act to disable the Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm*, was read the first time the 4th of November, and pass'd by a great Majority about ten Days after, when it was sent to the House of Lords by William Lord Russel, attended by the Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and indeed by almost the whole House of Commons. The Earls of Shaftesbury, Essex, and Sunderland, were zealous for it, but the Lord Halifax deserted the Country Party, and appear'd with equal Zeal against it. Upon the first Reading it was carry'd in the Affirmative for a second by two Votes only, according to the Archdeacon. At the second Reading it was strenuously debated, the King being present all the time, to awe and influence the Members, so that on a Division it was thrown out by a Majority of thirty-three Voices; the Tale standing thus, No's 63. Yea's 30.

The Exclusion Bill sent to the Lords.

Thrown out.

P. 482.

16.

Of the No's Bishop Burnet tells us was the whole Bishops Bench; and Philips says, all the Bishops then present were for the Negative. Echar'd can't help falsifying Fact here too, by telling us, that we must except three of the Bishops. The House of Commons was inflam'd when they saw the Fate of their Bill, which Bishop Burnet says was thrown out at the first Reading.

After the Bill was rejected, a noble Lord, one of the Minor Vote, spoke as follows.

My Lords,

"This noble Lord near me hath found fault with that Precedent that he supposes I offer'd your Lordships concerning the chargeable La-

dies at Court; but I remember no such thing A. D. 1680. I said: but if I must speak of them, I shall say, as the Prophet did to King Saul, *What means the Bleating of this kind of Cattle*; and I hope the King will make me the same Answer, *That he preserves them for Sacrifice*. For there must be, in plain English, my Lords, a Change; we must neither have Popish Wife, nor Popish Favourite, nor Popish Mistress, nor Popish Counsellor at Court."

The last Paragraph of this Speech was extremely bold.

"However, we know who hears, and I am glad of this, that you have dealt so honourably, and so clearly in the King's Presence; and in the King's Hearing, that he cannot say he wants a right State of things; he hath it before him, and may take Counsel as he thinks fit."

While this Bill was in Debate in the House of Commons, the King sent them a Message, offering them any Security, but that without which they could never be secure, as was found by woful Experience. By another Message he demanded Supplies for the Defence of Tangier, besieged by the King of Fez: Upon which, the House resolv'd upon a Remonstrance, which was presented to the King the 13th of November, and was very unacceptable to him, as containing several Particulars of Misgovernment, and all the Grievances in his Reign, with relation to Popery.

That Tangier had been several times under the Command of Popish Governors, that the Garrison was made up of Popish Officers and Irish Papists; that the bloody and restless Popish Party had found Protection from the Laws made against them, and were become able to influence Matters of State and Government; that the Continuance and Prorogation of Parliaments had been accommodated to serve the Purposes of that Party; Money rais'd upon the People to supply his Majesty's extraordinary Occasions, had by the Prevalence of Popish Counsels been employ'd to make War upon a Protestant State, and to advance and augment the dreadful Power of the French King; that great Numbers of his Majesty's Subjects were sent into, and continu'd in the Service of that King; and even the Ministers of England were made Instruments to press the States of Holland to accept of a Demand from the French King of admitting the publick Exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion; that if ever any Command was given and Eng-lish Liberties for the Laws to be put in execution against the Papists, even from thence they gain'd Advantages. rage, while the Edge of those Laws were turn'd against Protestant Dissenters, and the Papists escap'd in a manner untouch'd; that the Test Act had little Effect; for the Papists, either by Dispensations obtain'd from Rome, submitted to those Tests, and held their Offices themselves, or those put in their Places were so favourable to the same Interests, that Popery itself had rather gain'd than lost ground since that Act."

And many other the like Articles, among which, the Prosecution of Henry Care was one, *That because a Pamphlet came forth Weekly, call'd, The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome, exposing Popery as ridiculous to the People as it deserves, a new arbitrary Rule of Court was made in the King's Bench, rather like a Star-Chamber Court, in King Charles the First's Reign, than a Court of Law, that the same should not for the future be printed*. You see the Tyranny of the arbitrary Courts suppress'd in the former Reign is reviv'd in this, and the Designs against

A. D. 1680. against our Religion and Liberty carry'd on in the Stuartic Line; yet Sir *Lionel Jenkins* was so simple as to recommend the Duke of York to the Succession purely because he was Brother to King *Charles II.* and Son to King *Charles I.* The Remonstrance, full of such intolerable Grievances, had no better Effect than such Remonstrances were wont to have since this Royal House began to rule these Realms, and the Carelessness of the Government amidst so much Disquiet and Danger, could not but augment the Heat that was in the House of Commons, who proceeded to the Trial of one of the Popish Lords, *William Viscount Stafford*, who on the 30th of November was brought before the Peers, then sitting for that purpose in *Westminster-Hall*. The Lord Chancellor *Finch* was made Lord High Steward on this occasion, and a Committee of the House of Commons were the Managers against him. They open'd the Cause with great Copiousness and Eloquence, they began with the Plot in general, and laid open the Malice, Wickedness and Horror of so dreadful, bloody, and hellish a Design. They strenuously insisted on the express positive Oaths of the Witnesses: Upon whom, says *Echard*, the credit of the Plot chiefly depended; false and stupid to a Prodigy! The learned Solicitor General Sir *John Hawles* writes, very little of the Truth of the Popish Plot depended on the Credit of Oates, Bedloe, or any other Person.

Lord Stafford's Trial.

The Managers expatiated upon *Coleman's* Letters, and others, *Echard* assures us, there was not a Snip of Paper besides those Letters, clearly proving the Design and Activity of the Writers: They press'd home the execrable Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* charg'd upon the Papists, as well by the Oaths of *Self-acknowledg'd* Partners in the Fact, as by a Letter from *London* to *Tickshall*, intimating this very Murder the third Day after 'twas committed. The Managers fully explain'd the Sham-Plots and Counter-Contrivances whereby the Papists would have suborn'd the King's Evidence, and turn'd all the Guilt upon his Majesty's most loyal Subjects. They urg'd the firing of the City, the burning the Navy, &c. And produced Witnesses to make the particular Charge against the Lord *Stafford*. *Dugdale* a Papist swore positively that the Lord *Stafford* was at a Meeting about the Beginning of September 1678, at *Tickshall* in *Staffordshire* with Lord *Aston* and others, and did in his presence give his full Consent to take away the King's Life, and introduce the Popish Religion. That on the 20th or 21st of September in the Forenoon the Lord *Stafford* sent for him to his Chamber whilst he was dressing, and turning out his Servants, offer'd him 500*l.* to take away the King's Life, saying, *You shall have a free Pardon of all your Sins, and be sainted; for the King has been excommunicated, and is likewise a Traytor and Rebel, and an Enemy to Jesus Christ.* Dr. *Oates* swore he saw several Letters, both in *Spain* and *St. Omers* sign'd *Stafford*; wherein his Lordship assur'd the Jesuits of his Fidelity and Zeal in promoting the Catholick Cause. That being in *London* in 1678, the Lord *Stafford* came to Father *Fenwick's* Chamber, and there in his Presence receiv'd a Commission from him to be *Pay-Master-General* of the Army: Upon which, his Lordship said, *I must of necessity go down into the Country, to take account how Affairs stand there; and do not doubt but at my return Grove shall do the Business;* adding, *he has deceiv'd us a great while, speaking of the King, and we can bear no longer.* The third Evidence was *Turberville*, to blacken whom, *Echard* says he was a profligate indigent Person. *Turberville* gave the Court an Account how he became indigent, he had dis-

oblig'd his Friends by leaving his Fryer's Habit at *Doway*; and thereupon going into France in the Year 75, where he got acquainted with the Lord *Stafford* at Paris, and his Lordship propos'd to him a way both to retrieve his Credit with his Friends, and make himself happy; which was, by taking away the Life of the King, who was an Heretick, and a Rebel against God Almighty. Much the same with what he said to *Dugdale*; That when he took leave of him, his Lordship appointed him to meet him at *London*; but he soon after return'd into France, not being willing to undertake the Proposal, and was discountenanc'd by his Friends, and reduc'd to Poverty. When afterwards this Wretch was suborn'd to swear against *Colledge*, *Echard* says not a word of his Indigence, or his being a Scoundrel. The best Defence made by the Lord *Stafford*, was his charging the three Witnesses against him with Poverty, and his declaring in the Presence of God and his Angels, that he was innocent. The Witnesses to such a Crime were not likely to be Men of great Fortunes. His Lordship would not have offer'd a rich Man 500*l.* to kill the King, nor was it likely that any but profligate Persons would be thought Workmen for such Work.

The Managers for the Commons brought new Proofs of the Plot in general. One *Smith* swore he had heard Discourse at *Rome* of killing the King. An Irish Priest, who had been long in *Spain*, confirm'd many Particulars in *Oates's* Narrative, as we are told by my Lord of *Sarum*; and that the Lord *Stafford* said little in his Defence: And as to the Credit of the Witnesses, Sir *William Jones* made it very clear, that *Dugdale* and *Turberville* were good Evidences, and not at all discredited by any thing that was brought against them. The Trial was very august, and continu'd five Days; and when Judgment was to be given, 55 Peers pronounced him Guilty, and 31 not Guilty. Of the latter, 'tis said a noble Lord should say aloud, *Not Guilty, upon my Honour*: And softly to another, *Guilty, upon my Conscience.* Which, if true, makes the Evidence to be very clear, and that the Archdeacon's vilifying it, shews more Zeal for the Cause than for the Truth. We read in *Bishop Burnet's* Memoirs, "Four of the *Howards*, his Kin-wards Duke of *Norfolk*, tho' in Enmity with him, acquitted him. Duke *Lauderdale* condemn'd him. So did the Earl of *Nottingham* and Earl of *Anglesey*. The Lord *Hallifax* acquitted him. The Lord Chancellor, when he gave Judgment, made a Speech, in which he committed one great Indecency: for he said, *Who can doubt any longer that London was burnt by Papists, tho' there was not one Word in the whole Trial relating to it?*" *Bishop Burnet* visited him after his Condemnation at his Request, and the Lord *Stafford* own'd to him, he could discover many things that were more material than any that were yet known, and for which the Duke would never forgive him: but upon his Examination before the Lords, he spoke only of the Endeavours of the Papists to get a Toleration, and that Lord *Shaftesbury* had undertaken to promote it. When he nam'd him, he was order'd to withdraw, and the Lords would hear no more from him. The Sentence against him being, that he should be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, the two Sheriffs, Alderman *Cornish* and Mr. *Bethel*, upon the King's changing the Execution to beheading, apply'd to the Parliament with these following Queries: 1. *Whether the King, being neither Judge nor Party, can order the Execution?* 2. *Whether the Lords can award the Execution?* 3. *Whether the King*

A. D. 1680.

He is condemn'd.

London burnt by Papists.

Sheriffs Application to the Commons.

A. D. 1680. *can dispense with any Part of the Execution?*
 4. *If the King can dispense with some Part, why not All? Some were stock'd with these Queries, says Mr. Archdeacon; and Sir William Jones was for dropping them, lest the Parliament's making any opposition might prevent the Execution of the Lord Stafford.*

The Lord Stafford executed.

On the 29th of *September*, he was brought to a Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he made a Speech; in which, among other things, he said, *I aver, upon my Death and Salvation, That I never spoke one Word either to Oates or Turberville; and for Dugdale, I never spoke to him but about some trivial Matters, and was never alone with him.* The Bishop of *Salisbury* writes, *Many Proofs were brought that he was often in Lord Stafford's Company, of which many more Affidavits were made after that Lord's Death.* Bishop *Burnet* informs us, That *Turberville*, when he was dying, sent for Mr. *Harves*, Curate of *St. Martin's*, who found his Understanding and Memory no way affected by his Disease, and advis'd him to confess his Sins, and glorify God, tho' to his shame. *Turberville*, both in Discourse, and when he receiv'd the Sacrament, protested that he had sworn nothing but the Truth against *Lord Stafford*, and renounc'd the Mercies of God, and the Benefit of the Death of Christ, if he did not speak the plain and naked Truth, without any Reservation. Yet *Echard* hangs upon the *Lord Stafford's* denying he had ever seen *Turberville*. And so much has been said of Popish Declarations of Innocence on the Scaffold, or at the Gallows, that there's no need of further Reflection upon it.

Comet.

I wonder the Reverend Historian omitted the *Blazing Star*, which appear'd about this time. The *Star* itself, as it was call'd, seem'd small, but the Tail or Stream of Light was of great Magnitude. It seem'd not much above the Horizon when first discover'd, but every Night afterwards it appear'd higher and higher in the beginning of the Night, and consequently setting later and later, its Lustre and Extent gradually decay'd, till it was no more seen. The Archdeacon lost a happy Occasion to apply this *Comet* to the Death of *Lord Stafford*, which he treats as a sort of Martyrdom for the Cause.

King's Speech.

On the 15th of *December* the King came to the Parliament, and made a Speech to both Houses, wherein, as he takes notice he had done before, he promises to concur with them in any Remedies for securing the Protestant Religion, which might consist with preserving the Succession in its due and legal Course of Descent. The Commons, in a long Answer to this Speech on the 18th of *December*, tell him, "That no Interruption of that Descent has been endeavour'd by them, except only the Descent upon the Person of the Duke of *York*; who, by the wicked Instruments of the Church of *Rome*, has been manifestly perverted to their Religion; that his Succession is utterly inconsistent with the Safety of his Majesty's Person, the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Property, Peace, and Welfare of his Protestant Subjects." They also came to these Resolutions upon it.

Votes against the Duke of York.

Resolved, "That 'tis the Opinion of this House, that there is no Security or Safety for the Protestant Religion, the King's Life, or the well constituted and establish'd Government of this Kingdom, without passing a Bill for disabling *James Duke of York* to inherit the Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*: And to rely upon any other Means or Remedies without such a Bill, is not only insufficient, but dangerous."

A. D. 1680. The House of Commons pass'd a Vote, That all Anticipations on any Branches of the Revenue are against Law, and that whosoever lent any Money upon those Anticipations, were publick Enemies to the Kingdom: for they look on the Revenue as a publick Treasure, that was to be kept clear of all Anticipations, and not as a private Estate that might be mortgag'd. They thought when all other Means of Supply, except by Parliament, were stopp'd, the King would certainly be brought to their Terms. They also pass'd a Vote for an Association, copy'd from that in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, for the revenging the King's Death upon all Papists, if he should happen to be kill'd.

Association.

I have mention'd the Dutches of *Portsmouth's* falling in with the Majority of the House of Commons for the Exclusion Bill; and I must explain the Mystery of a *French* Papist's being against the Duke of *York*, who was a fast Friend to *Popery* and *France*. It was propos'd to her, that if she could bring the King to the Exclusion, and to some other popular Things, the Parliament would go next to prepare a Bill for securing the King's Person, in which should be a Clause, that the King might declare the Successor to the Crown, as had been done in *Henry the VIIIth's* Time. This would very much raise the King's Authority, and would be no Breach with the Prince of *Orange*, but would rather oblige him to a greater Dependance on the King. And if such an Act could be carry'd, she might prevail on the King to declare her Son his Successor. It was further suggested to her, that in order to the strengthening her Son's Interest, she might treat for a Match with the *French* King's natural Daughter. The Duke of *Monmouth* easily gave into this Scheme, as flattering himself that nobody would be prefer'd to him in the Succession by his Father. Thus were the Duke of *Monmouth* and Dutches of *Portsmouth* brought to an Agreement to carry on the Exclusion, tho' with different Views; and the Parliament engag'd in it with still another View, the Prince's of *Orange's* Succession. The Dutches not only acted heartily in this matter, but she once drew the King to consent to it, if he might have had 800000 Pounds for it, which was afterwards brought down to 600000 Pounds. But the House of Commons were so jealous of the King, that the Managers durst not move for giving Money, till the Bill of Exclusion was pass'd, lest they should lose their Credit, and his Majesty would not trust them. So near, says the Bishop of *Salisbury*, was this Point brought to an Agreement, if the Duke of *Montagu* told me true. *Welwood* tells us, the *French* King outbid the Country Party in favour of the Duke of *York*, and by giving more Money, got the King to persist in the Opposition he gave to the Bill. When it was thrown out of the House of Lords, the King told his Brother, that the Dutches of *Portsmouth* did all by his Order, that so she might have Credit with the Party, and see into their Designs, which the Duke of *York* believing, or seeming to believe, he was easily reconcil'd with her.

The Lord *Hallifax* press'd the House of Lords to go on the Limitations; and he began with one, That the Duke should be oblig'd to live 500 Miles out of *England*, during the King's Life. The Earl of *Essex* mov'd, that an Association should be enter'd into to maintain whatever Limitations should be agreed upon, and that some cautionary Towns should be put into the hands of the Associators during the King's Life, to make them good after his Death, which the King look'd upon as a Deposing of himself.

The

A. D. 1682. The Earl of Shaftesbury and his Party laugh'd at all Expedients, and those that were propos'd carry'd so many Difficulties with them, that the Necessity of the Exclusion was daily more apparent to People of the least Penetration and Foresight, who had any Concern for the Religion and Liberty of their Country.

A. D. 1681. and Calvin built on that blessed Foundation; and to speak truth, prodigious Impudence! All his Disciples are season'd with such a Sharpness, that it mostly concerns Magistrates to keep a strict Hand over them. Upon which, an ingenious Writer observes, "It was then the grand Artifice to represent All, who would not do what the Courtiers then would have them, as Fanaticks." Which Mr. Archdeacon has very happily endeavour'd to imitate. Weston proceeds, And now they are restless, amusing us with Fears, and nothing will serve them but a Parliament: For my part, I know no Representative of the Nation but the King. The last cited Author takes notice, None of his Kidney knew any other in those Days. Weston again, All Power centers in the King. 'Tis true, he does intrust it with his Ministers, but he is the sole Representative, and i'faith he has Wisdom enough to intrust it no more in these Men, who have given us such late Examples of their Wisdom and Faithfulness. Several Witnesses prov'd these Words upon him, some of whom put them immediately in writing: And it was Resolv'd,

"That the said Expressions in the said Charge given by the said Baron Weston, were a Scandal to the Reformation, in Derogation of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and tending to raise Discord between his Majesty and his Subjects." What sort of Churchmen and Bishops there were in those Days, we may see by Speech made in the House of Commons, in the Debate of another Message from his Majesty the Day before these Proceedings. I remember before the last Session of Parliament, there was a Council held at Lambeth, and there hatch'd a Bill against Popery. It was for the breeding of Children of a Popish Successor, which admitted the Thing, and it was call'd a Bill against Popery, but we call'd it the Popish Bill. I am for the Church of England, but not for such Churchmen as the late Bishop of St. Asaph, who, on his Death-bed could hardly forbear declaring himself, which his Epitaph did, Ora pro Anima, Pray for the Soul, order'd to be written upon his Tomb.

Baron Weston and this Bishop shew us how our Church and Law-Benches were then fill'd: The former were the well known Dead Weight, the latter are well set out in their proper Colours by the following Speech in Parliament. The two great Pillars of the Government are Parliaments and Juries. It is this gives us the Title of Free-born Englishmen; for my Notion of FREE-BORN ENGLISHMEN is this, that they are rul'd by Laws of their own making, and try'd by Men of the same Condition. The two great and undoubted Privileges of the People have been lately invaded by the Judges that now sit at Westminster. They have espous'd Proclamations against Law, they have discountenanc'd and oppos'd several legal Acts, that tended to the Sitting of this Honourable House; they have grasp'd the Legislative Power into their own hands, as in that Instance of Printing: the Parliament was considering that matter, but they in the Interim made their private Opinion to be Law, to supersede the Judgment of this House. They have discharg'd Juries on purpose to quell their Presentments, and shelter great Criminals from Justice; and when Juries have presented their Petitions for the sitting of the Parliament, they have in disdain thrown them at their feet, telling them, They would be no Messengers to carry such Petitions; and yet in a few days after, would have encourag'd all that would spit their Venom at the Constitution. They have serv'd an Ignorant and Arbitrary Faction, and been the Messengers of Abhorrences to the King. Rare Tools these,

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Tho' the Commons could not carry that Bill, they endeavour'd to supply the loss of it with some vigorous Votes: As, 1. For a Bill to banish all Papists. 2. Another, For the more effectual securing of the Meetings and Sittings of Parliaments. 3. Another, For the Judges to hold their Places quam diu se bene getterint. 4. Another, For uniting his Majesty's Protestant Subjects: And on a Debate of Freedom of Voting, and of the Corruption and Partiality occasion'd by Offices and Pensions, they Resolved, December the 30th, That no Member of this House shall accept of any Office or Place of Profit from the Crown, without the Leave of this House, nor any Promise of any such Office or Place of Profit, during such time as he shall continue a Member of the House.

1681. ON Wednesday the 5th of January, the Commons order'd an Impeachment against Sir Francis North, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas; Sir William Scroggs, Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench; Sir Thomas Jones, one of the Justices of the same Bench; and Sir Richard Weston, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. And it is a melancholy Reflection, that in the former Reign, and this, the Crown never wanted a Bench of Bishops and a Bench of Judges to promote the Designs which were form'd against the Reform'd Religion, and the Liberties of England. The Lawyers must know better, or they knew not the Law; and the Bishops know otherwise, or they knew not the Gospel. Sir Francis North's Crime was, That he, as appear'd by the Confession of the Attorney General before the House, was advising and assisting in drawing up, and passing the Proclamations against tumultuous Petitions. There were a great many Complaints against Sir William Scroggs, and Sir Thomas Jones, which occasion'd many Resolutions of the House, and Votes against them. One of those Complaints was, that when the Grand-Jury which serv'd for the Hundred of Ossulston in the County of Middlesex, attended the King's-Bench with a Petition, which they desir'd the Court to present in their Name to his Majesty, for the Sitting of the Parliament, the Chief Justice Scroggs said he would dispatch them presently; that the Court took it ill to have a Petition offer'd to alter the King's Mind contrary to his Proclamation. Observe what sober Reasoning there is amongst them! 'Twas further urg'd against Scroggs, That when there were several Presentments against Papists, among which was the Bill against the Duke of York for not coming to Church, he and his Brother Judges discharg'd the Grand-Jury four Days before the End of the Term, which was never done before. The Parliament voted their doing it, Arbitrary, Illegal, and a High Misdemeanor, the 22d of November, several Days before the Impeachment was order'd. One of Baron Weston's great Crimes was, That in an extraordinary kind of Charge given the Assizes before at Kingston, he inveigh'd very much against Farel, Luther, Calvin and Zuinglius, condemning them as Authors of the Reformation, which was against their Princes Minds, and then adding to this purpose, Zuinglius set up his Fanaticisms, (the stupid Wretch mistakes Piety and Purity for the Dreams of distemper'd Brains,)

A. D. 1682.

Good Votes.

Judges impeach'd.

Complaints against Sir Francis North.

Sir Will. Scroggs.

Baron Weston's Speech against the Protestant Religion.

A. D. 1681.

Constitution of England.

A Speech about B-Council held at Lambeth, and there hatch'd a shops.

St. Asaph

Liberty de- fin'd.

A. D. 1681. these, to do the Persecuting Bishops Work, and to harras and ruin *Protestant Dissenters*; and it had been well, if they had not dipp'd their Hands deep in the Blood of *Protestant Churchmen* a Year or two after. Another worthy Member spoke thus:

Speech about the Ministry. "His Majesty is inclos'd by a sort of Ministers, who endeavour to destroy the Constitution, and I hope to move against them before we rise; and tho' we have lost our Bill, we have not lost our Courage and Hearts."

Another, said to be the Lord *Ruffel*, on the Demand of Money for *Tangier*, by the Message of the 4th of *January*, spoke as follows:

Lord Ruffel's Speech against Popery and the Popish Duke. *I'll never be for giving of Money to promote Popery, and a Successor a publick Enemy to the Kingdom, and a Slave to the Pope. While he has Eleven to Seven in Council, and Sixty-four to Thirty-one in the House of Lords, we are not secure. If my own Father had been one of the Sixty-four, I should have voted him an Enemy to the King and Kingdom; and if we cannot live Protestants, I hope we shall die so.* It is thought this Speech was one of the Provocations that hasten'd the Murder of this excellent and beloved Patriot, as soon as the Court could get Sheriffs and Juries that were fit for such Butchery.

Another Speech made the same Day, has something in it very extraordinary, and discovers a Secret, which further explains the unwarrantable Correspondences and Practices of the Ministers at this Juncture.

Speech about Tangier and Popery. *I am of opinion that POPERY may be aim'd at by keeping Tangier, and our Councils are manag'd at Rome; from whence I saw a Letter from a Friend dated the 21st of October, the Day on which this Parliament met, with the Heads of the King's Speech in it, to this effect: "That his Majesty would command them not to meddle with the Succession, that he would keep Tangier to draw on Expences."*

Such was King *Charles* the 11th's Government, such his Ministers, such his Bishops, such his Judges, such his Zeal for the Protestant Church of *England*, and such his Affection to the *English* Liberty. To prevent the Ruin of which, as far as in them lay, the Parliament voted on *January* the 7th, "That his Majesty in his last Message having assur'd this House of his Readiness to concur in all other means, but the altering the Course of Succession; this House doth declare, That until a Bill be likewise pass'd for the excluding the Duke of *York*, this House cannot give any Supply to his Majesty, without Danger to his Majesty's Person, extream Hazard to the Protestant Religion, and Unfaithfulness to those by whom this House is trusted.

Resolved, "That all Persons who advis'd his Majesty in his last Message to this House, to insist upon an Opinion against the Bill for excluding the Duke of *York*, have given pernicious Counsel to his Majesty, and are Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom:" And as such they name,

George Earl of *Hallifax*.
Henry Marquis of *Worcester*.
Henry Earl of *Clarendon*.
Lewis Earl of *Fewersham*.
Laurence Hyde Esq;

Lords voted Enemies to the Kingdom.

Against whom they order'd Addresses to be presented to the King, to remove them from his Presence and Councils. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, *Hyde* spoke so vehemently to vindicate himself from the suspicion of Popery, that he cry'd in his Speech; and Sir *William Jones*, upon the score of old Friendship, got the Words relating

to Popery to be struck out of the Address against him. The Commons also impeach'd that Eminent Orthodox Senator Mr. *Edward Seymour*, for Corruption and Male-Administration in the Office of Treasurer of the Navy, and order'd an Address to remove him from his Majesty's Council and Presence; but the Parliament was prorogu'd before they could get it presented. *Seroggs's* Impeachment being sent to the Lords, they rejected it, alledging the Charge against him amounted not to *High-Treason*, as 'twas laid in that Impeachment. This was carry'd chiefly by the Earl of *Danby's* Party, and in favour to him.

The City of *Bristol* never wanted a Party in the worst of Times, to contribute as much as they could to what made them so bad as they were. One may guess at their Temper now, by Cann and their chusing a Person of very small Fame, Sir *Thompson Robert Cann*, to be their Representative, who, however, made himself famous by his Crime and his Punishment. He was question'd for saying, *There was no Popish Plot, but a Presbyterian Plot*, and the Expression is the lively Image of his Capacity. The House order'd him to receive their Censure upon his Knees at the Bar, to be expell'd, and committed to the Tower; and his Expulsion is said to be in so homely a Phrase as this from the Speaker, *That the House spew'd him out.* *Richard Thompson*, Parson of *St. Thomas's* Church in *Bristol*, a noisy, insolent, ignorant Priest, I take the more liberty with him because I knew him, said also in a Sermon preach'd in the Church of *St. Thomas*, 30th of *January* 1679, *There is no Popish Plot, but a Presbyterian Plot.* He was a great Stickler against Petitions for the Sitting of the Parliament. Being sent for into custody, he was brought on his Knees in the House of Commons, and committed to Prison. He was examin'd very strictly, and gave the House of Commons so little Satisfaction in his Answers, that they order'd an Impeachment against him, but discharg'd his Commitment on his giving Security to answer the Charge against him when call'd upon His Majesty, to shew how little he valu'd the Sentiments of the Representatives of the Nation, soon after made this *Richard Thompson* Dean of *Bristol*; *Laurence Hyde*, Earl of *Rockester*; Earl of *Hallifax*, Marquis of *Hallifax*; and the Marquis of *Worcester*, Duke of *Beaufort*. Nay, he so much affect'd to let the People see he acted in despight, that he advanc'd and favour'd every Man that had given offence to the Parliament, by betraying the Liberties of their Country. The House *Resolv'd*, "That whosoever shall hereafter lend, or cause to be lent, by way of Advance, any Money upon the Branches of the King's Revenue arising by Custom, Excise, or Hearth-Money, shall be adjudg'd to hinder the Sitting of Parliaments, and shall be responsible for the same in Parliament." And having notice that there would be a sudden Prorogation to hinder their perfecting the good Bills that were passing, and the bringing their good Votes into Bills, they, on the 10th of *January*, *resolv'd*, "That who-soever advis'd his Majesty to prorogue this Parliament to any other purpose, than in order to the passing of a Bill for the Exclusion of *James Duke of York*, is a Betrayer of the King, the Protestant Religion, and of the Kingdom of *England*, a Promoter of the French Interest, and a Pensioner to *France*." They also *Resolv'd*, "That the Thanks of this House be given to the City of *London*, for their manifest Loyalty to the King; their Care, Charge and Vigilancy for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person, and of the Pro-

A. D. 1681.

son of Bristol,

Censur'd.

Votes against lending Money.

stant

A. D. 1681. " *testant Religion.*" In this the House of Commons refer to two City Petitions ; the one for the Sitting of the Parliament ; the other, That the Parliament might sit till *Protestantism* was secur'd. The Commons Resolv'd, " That it is

Notes against the Persecuting Acts.

Speech for them.

" the Opinion of this House, that the Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James, against *Popish Recusants*, ought not to be extended against *Protestant Dissenters*. Resolv'd, That it is the Opinion of this House, that the Prosecution of *Protestant Dissenters* upon the Penal Laws is, at this time, grievous to the Subjects, a weakening the *Protestant Interest*, an Encouragement to *Popery*, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom." One would think this Vote was occasion'd by an Apprehension of the Loss of the Bill for uniting his Majesty's *Protestant Subjects*, which was brought in and debated. In this Debate will be seen what solid Reasons the Enemies to *Protestant Dissenters* had, to justify their persecuting them. There are a sort of Men, said one of the Members, who will neither be advis'd nor over-rul'd, but under the pretence of Conscience, break violently through all Laws whatsoever, to the great Disturbance both of Church and State ; therefore I think it more convenient to have a Law for forcing the *Dissenters* to yield to the Church, and not to force the Church to yield to them. Eckard is ashamed of the Man's Name, and well he may. If I could tell who he was, the Reader should know it, that his Memory might receive the homage that's due to so much Merit. He says the *Dissenters* will break every Act of Parliament in the Statute-Books, rather than they will go to Church ; and tho' they might be banish'd, and in some cases hang'd, by the Statute 35 Elizabeth, yet he is for making more Laws to force the *Dissenters* to yield to the Common Prayer-Book, to the Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, to Godfathers and Godmothers, and to thirty or forty other such Articles which he calls the Church, and which is the Charm my Lord Bishop of Sarum speaks of. Another Member, who had as much Sense as the former, but not quite so much Courage, said, I am afraid, if once the Government begin to yield to *Dissenters*, it will be as in Forty One ; when there were no *Dissenters* in England but *Papists* and *Enthusiasts*. Nothing will serve but an utter Subversion ; he means, that to unite *Protestants*, is to subvert the *Protestant Religion*. The receiving of one thing will give occasion for demanding more ; and it will be impossible to give them any satisfaction, without laying all open, and running into confusion. The Archdeacon printed all these *Idiotisms*, after the possibility of it had been experimented between 40 and 50 Years, and the *Dissenters* had receiv'd Satisfaction without the least Confusion imaginable. But the noble Cause is equal to the noble Defenders of it, who have generally been Men of the same size with these two worthy Senators for Capacity and Merit. Such Speeches as these could not be made without Answers in such a Place as St. Stephen's Chapel. One worthy Member said, Sir, this Bill is intended for the Preservation of the Church, and I am of opinion it is the best Bill that can be made in order thereto ; our Circumstances consider'd, I think this is a very good time to try whether the *Dissenters* will be drawn with the Cords of Love or no, and the Bill will be very agreeable to that Christian Charity, which our Church professes ; and I hope, that in the time of this imminent Danger, they will consider their own Safety, and the Safety of the *Protestant Religion*, and not longer keep on foot the unhappy

Speeches against them.

Divisions among us, on which the *Papists* ground their Hopes : But rather seeing the Church so far condescend as to dispense with the Surplice ; a very great Condescension truly, considering what a handsome and necessary thing it is, the same Gentleman expects, They will submit to the rest that is enjoin'd by Law, that so we may unite against the common Enemy. Another Member said, What real Love, Friendship, or Obedience can the Church expect from such Persons, as by the Execution of such Laws, may be forc'd to come to Church? How can they be depended on, or the Church be strengthen'd by them? You may prevent their Meetings, and force them either to come to Church, or pay Fines, or be imprison'd ; but you cannot expect that their Opinions or Affections should be alter'd by such Proceedings, without which the Church can never be the stronger. Hath the Oxford Act, or that of the 35th of Queen Elizabeth, or any other against the *Dissenters* been executed in favour of the Church? Are not the *Dissenters* as many, if not more than ever? Is there any thing more visible, than that these Laws have been made use of to serve the *Popish Interest*, or as Engines rather for the State than the Church? When in the Year 1670, by the severe Execution of these Laws, all Meetings and Conventicles were prevented, and many *Dissenters* came to Church, did not the Toleration happen thereupon? And if this Toleration had been intended for the Advantage of the *Protestant Religion*, why were not the Churchmen, or *Dissenters* of any kind pleas'd with it? And if the Oxford Act, and other Laws against *Dissenters*, were projected in favour of the *Protestant Religion*, it was strange that they were so much promoted by Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir Solomon Swale, and Sir Roger Strickland, who have since all appear'd to be *Papists*?

A. D. 1681.

Eckard boasts, That tho' this Bill was committed it would not pass ; but he does not tell us why. It was so drawn, that it did not please the *Dissenters*, whose Party in the House, according to Bishop Burnet, did not seem concerned to promote it ; on the contrary, they neglected it.

The leading Men of that Party in the House of Commons, were

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|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Mr. Boscawen. | Sir Richard Temple. |
| Paul Foley Esq ; | Col. Birch. |
| Sir Nicholas Carew. | Col. Titus. |
| Richard Hampden Esq ; | Sir Francis Warrington. |
| Sir John Maynard. | |

Nay, Sir Thomas Clarges and Mr. Finch spoke for this *Uniting Bill* ; and it is said one of those Gentlemen made the following Speech : Mr. Speaker, " I would not open my Mouth in favour of this Bill, if I thought it would any ways prejudice the Church or Church-Government ; but I believe it may have a quite contrary effect, and tend more for the Preference and Safety of the Church and Church-Government, than any Bill whatsoever that could be contriv'd.

" The *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and all other *Dissenters*, may be more in number than the *Papists*, and may be willing enough to have the Church Government alter'd, if not destroy'd ; yet, being they cannot have any Succour from abroad, nor from the Government here at home, I cannot see any great danger of them. For it is not probable that they shall ever have a King of their Opinion, nor a Parliament by the Discovery they made of their Strength in the last Elections ; for, according to the best Calculation I can make, they could not bring in above one in twenty ; and therefore because they have not such

A. D.
1681.A. D.
1681.Act of 35
Eliz. re-
peal'd.

Stolen.

Vote in
favour of
the Dif-
fenters.Votes for
the Dif-
fenters
justify'd.

“ such bloody, desperate Principles as the Pa-
pists, and because we agree in Points of Faith,
and so no such great danger from them as from
the Papists, I think we have reason to con-
clude, that the Church is most in danger from
the Papists, and that therefore we ought to
take care of them in the first place; and we
cannot do that by any way more likely to prove
effectual, than by some such Bill as this; be-
cause, if it should have the Effect design'd, of
bringing in many of the Dissenters into the
Church, it would disappoint them of the
great Hopes they have grounded on our Di-
visions, and make the Church stronger, not
only to oppose the Papists, but such Dissenters
as may not come in. And if we should not
have this Success, I do not understand it will
any way weaken the Church Government.”

I cannot reconcile two reverend Historians on this Subject. The compleat one says, the Majority of the House fell in heartily with this Bill; and Mr. Archdeacon thought it would not pass, which is not at all consistent with a Majority. 'Tis certain that it did not pass, and that another Act did, entitul'd, *An Act to repeal the Statute of 35 of Elizabeth*, as far as it related to Protestant Dissenters, against whom it had been severely executed, tho' the reverend Historians own it was apparently made against Popish Recusants. This charitable Bill was strenuously oppos'd in the House of Lords by the Bishops. However, the Temporal Lords carry'd it against them. And on the day of Prorogation, *January 10*, it ought to have been offer'd to the King; but the Clerk of the Crown, by the King's particular Order, according to Bishop Burnet, withdrew the Bill. His Lordship calls this Method indiscreet; but as most of the Methods of this Government did, it deserv'd a much harder Name; for it was very base to direct the scaling away an Act of Parliament, when there was not Courage enough to reject it, nor Honour enough to pass it. All the future cruel tyrannical Proceedings against Protestant Dissenters in the *Spiritual* and other Courts, was, in a great measure, supported by this vile Treachery, or rather *Larceny*. For had the repealing Act pass'd, it had taken away the Edge of the Laws against them, of which this was the most keev, as extending to Death in some Cases. The Commons having private notice, that they were to be prorogu'd, assembled early in the Morning, and before the Usher of the Black Rod came in, they resolv'd, *That it is the Opinion of this House, that the Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James against Popish Recusants, ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters.* After which the House of Commons were sent for up to the Lords, where his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to an Act about *Irish Cattle*; and another about *burying in Woollen*. And then the Lord Chancellor prorogu'd the Parliament to the 20th of *January*, but it never sat more.

The Bishop of *Salisbury*, as moderate as he was in his Principles, cannot help remembering, that the Vote against executing the Penal Laws on Dissenters, was thought a great Invasion of the Legislature, when one House pretended to suspend the Execution of Laws, which was to act like Dictators in the State; and instead of being a Kindness to the Nonconformists, rais'd a new Storm against them over all the Nation, insinuating they had brought the Storm on themselves, by endeavouring to provide a Shelter. The Author of the *Vindication of the two last Parliaments*, suppos'd to be *Sir William Jones*, the greatest Lawyer in *England*, speaks of this

Matter with much more Reason and Judgment, in these Words, *Is it a suspending an Act of Parliament, if the House of Commons declare a Law to be grievous and dangerous in their Opinion, before they set about the Repeal of it? And is there any ground to doubt, but that a Bill would have pass'd that House pursuant to this Vote, had it not been prevented by a Dissolution? Nor was there the least Direction or Signification to the Judges, contrary to Bishop Burnet's Insinuation. They meant that Courts and Juries should govern themselves by the Opinion they now gave; such Practices are laid to the Charge of the Court; and my Author adds, Judges ought not to break them in reverence to Votes, nor in respect to any Command from the King or Favourites; then we should have no more Letters from Secretaries of State to Judges sitting on the Bench; then we should have no more Proclamations, like that of the 14th of October 1662, forbidding the Execution of the Laws concerning the High Ways; nor that of the 10th of May 1672, dispensing with divers Clauses in the Acts of Parliament for Increase of Shipping; nor any more Declarations, like that of the 15th of March 1672, suspending the Penal Laws in Matters Ecclesiastical. Tho' the Judges are sworn to execute all Laws, yet there is no obligation upon any man to inform against another; and therefore, tho' the Ministers prevented the Repeal of those Laws, 'tis to be hop'd that this Vote will restrain Englishmen from prosecuting Protestants, when so wise and great a Body have declar'd the pernicious Effects of such a Prosecution. 'Tis most true, that in England no Law is abrogated by Desuetude, but 'tis no less true that there are many Laws still not executed, which are never executed, nor can be, without publick Derriment. The Judges know of many such dormant Laws, and yet they do not quicken the People to put them in execution, nor think themselves guilty of Perjury, that they do not. Such are the Laws for wearing Caps, for keeping Lent, those concerning Bows and Arrows, about Calves and Lambs, and many others. And those who vex Men by Informations on such antiquated Laws as the 35th Eliz. with respect to Dissenters, have been ever look'd upon as infamous. What then were all the persecuting Prelates, such as *Gunning, Ward, Mew, &c.* Hence it is that there are no Names remember'd with greater Detestation than those of *Empson and Dudley*, the whole Kingdom a-hor'd them as Monsters, and they were punish'd as Traytors.*

Three Days after the Prorogation of the Parliament, the Lord Mayor, *Sir Patience Ward*, with a Court of Common Council, order'd a Petition to be drawn up to be presented to the King, praying, that the Parliament might sit at the Day appointed, *January 20th*, in order to try the Popish Lords in the Tower, to carry on the Impeachment against *L. C. J. Scroggs*, and settle the Nation; which Petition was order'd to be deliver'd that Night by the Lord Mayor, attended by the new Recorder, *George Treby Esq;* and certain Members of the Court of Aldermen and Common Council: But the King took no more notice of it, than he did of the other Petitions about the sitting of Parliaments; on the contrary, he dissolv'd them five Days after by Proclamation, in which he also declar'd his Intention to call another, to meet on the 21st of *New March* at *Oxford*, in despite to the City of *London*. Against this ill-concerted Removal of the Parliament from the Metropolis of the Kingdom, to crowd them up in a Place which was equally inconvenient and disagreeable to them, several noble Lords drew up a Petition, representing to his

A. D. 1681. his Majesty, "The many Misfortunes attending the untimely Prorogations, Dissolutions, and Discontinuations of Parliaments of late, at a time when the whole Nation was in imminent Danger from *Papists*: And now at last, his Majesty had been prevail'd on to call another Parliament at *Oxford*, where neither Lords nor Commons could be in Safety; but would be daily expos'd to the Sword of the *Papists*, and their Adherents, of whom too many had crept into his Majesty's *Guards*. The Liberty of speaking according to their Consciences would be thereby destroy'd, and the Validity of their Acts and Proceedings left disputable. The Straitness of the Place no ways admitted of such a Concourse of Persons as now follow'd every Parliament, and the Witnesses which were necessary to give Evidence upon the Commons Impeachment, were unable to bear the Charges of such a Journey, and unwilling to trust themselves under the Protection of a Parliament, that was itself evidently under the Power of *Guards* and *Soldiers*." They say in the Close, *The Premises consider'd, we your Majesty's Petitioners, out of just Abhorrence of such a dangerous and pernicious Counsel, which the Authors have not dar'd to avow, and the direful Apprehensions of the Calamities and Miseries that may ensue thereupon, do make it our most humble Prayer and Advice, that the Parliament may not sit at a Place where it cannot be able to act with that Freedom which is necessary, and especially to give unto their Acts and Proceedings that Authority which they ought to have among the People, and have ever had, unless impair'd by some Awe upon them, of which there wants not Precedents; and that your Majesty would be graciously pleas'd to order it to sit at Westminster, it being the usual Place, and where they may consult with Safety and Freedom. And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.*

<i>Monmouth.</i>	<i>Shaftesbury.</i>
<i>Kent.</i>	<i>Mordaunt.</i>
<i>Huntington.</i>	<i>Eure.</i>
<i>Bedford.</i>	<i>Paget.</i>
<i>Salisbury.</i>	<i>Grey.</i>
<i>Clare.</i>	<i>Herbert.</i>
<i>Stamford.</i>	<i>Howard.</i>
<i>Essex.</i>	<i>Delamer.</i>

The Lord *Essex* made the following Speech at the Delivery of it.

May it please your Majesty,

Earl of Essex's Speech to the King against it. "The Lords here present, together with divers other Peers, taking notice that by your late Proclamation your Majesty had declar'd an Intention of calling a Parliament at *Oxford*, and observing from History and Records how unfortunate many Assemblies have been, when call'd at a Place remote from the Capital City; as particularly the Congress in *Henry II's* Time at *Clarendon*; three several Parliaments at *Oxford* in *Henry III's* Time, and at *Coventry* in *Henry VI's* Time, with divers others, which prov'd very fatal to those Kings, and have been follow'd with great Mischief to the whole Kingdom: And considering the present Posture of Affairs, the many Jealousies and Discontents which are amongst the People, we have great cause to apprehend, that the Consequences of a Parliament now at *Oxford*, may be as fatal to your Majesty, and the Nation, as those others mention'd have been to the then reigning Kings. And therefore we do conceive that we cannot answer it to God, to your Majesty, or to the People, if we, being

"Peers of the Realm, should not, on so important an Occasion, humbly offer our Advice to your Majesty, that, if possible, your Majesty may be prevail'd with to alter this, as we apprehend, *unseasonable Resolution*. The Grounds and Reasons of our Opinion are contain'd in this our *Petition*, which we humbly present to your Majesty;" and which the King receiv'd with a Frown, as he knew well how to do when he was in an ill Humour; and his Majesty's Face seem'd to be well made for it.

A few Days before the King went to *Oxford*, *Fitzharris*, an *Irish* *Papist*, was taken up for framing a malicious treasonable Libel against the King, and his whole Family: He had met with one *Everard*, who pretended to make Discoveries; but it was in general Terms, and he descended not to so many Particulars as the Witnesses had done. *Fitzharris* and he had been acquainted in *France*, and on confidence of old Acquaintance, he shew'd him his *Libel*. He made an Appointment to come to *Everard's* Chamber, who thought he intended to trapan him, and plac'd Witnesses to over-hear all that past. *Fitzharris* left the *Libel* with him all writ with his own Hand. *Everard* went with the Paper and his Evidence, and inform'd against *Fitzharris*, who upon that was committed to *Newgate* the 28th of *February*. And seeing the Proof against him was like to be full, he said the *Libel* was drawn by *Everard*, and only copied by himself; but he had no sort of Proof to support this. *Bishop Burnet* proceeds, "*Cornish* the Sheriff going to see him, *Fitzharris* desir'd he would bring him a Justice of Peace, for he could make a great Discovery of the Plot, far beyond all that was yet known. *Cornish*, in the Simplicity of his Heart, went and acquainted the King with this, for which he was much blam'd; for it was said, by this means that Discovery might have been stop'd. But his going first with it to the Court prov'd afterwards a great Happiness to himself, and a great many others. The Secretaries and some Privy Counsellors were upon that sent to examine *Fitzharris*, to whom he gave a Relation of a Practice to kill the King in which the Duke was concerned, with many other Particulars, which were all a Fiction. The Secretaries came to him a second time to examine him farther; he boldly stood to all he had said, and desir'd that some Justice of the City might be brought to him. So *Sir Robert Clayton* and *Sir George Treby* went to him; and he made the same pretended Discovery to them over again, insinuating he was glad it was now in safe hands that would not stifle it. The King was highly offended at this, since it plainly shew'd a Distrust of his Ministers; and so *Fitzharris* was remov'd to the *Tower*, which the Court resolv'd to make the Prison for all Offenders till there should be Sheriffs chosen more at the King's devotion; yet the Deposition made to *Clayton* and *Treby* was in all points the same that he made to the Secretaries, so that there was no colour for the Pretence afterward put on this, as if they had practis'd on him." What then will the Reader say of the Honesty and Conscience of a reverend Historian, who affirms that they did practise on him. *Sir Robert Clayton* ask'd him what he could say to *Godfrey's Murder*; he answer'd, something. Upon which *Clayton* reply'd, it may be you are in Confusion, recollect yourself. *Sir George Treby* kept him three Hours, press'd him about *Godfrey's Death*, and declar'd, unless he could speak to that Murder he could say nothing. Then saying something he had heard from others, he ask'd him if he could say no more.

A. D. 1681. He reply'd, *is not this enough to save my Life? am I not Rogue enough?* Hereupon the Recorder, Sir George Treby, a vertuous and sober, as well as learned and judicious Gentleman, swore God's Zounds! it is Mr. Archdeacon who says it, *what were you ever but a Rogue?* Then he enter'd upon the Heads of the Examination, and told him, *All this would not save his Life, unless he would speak to the Libel, which was a Court-Trick, and it was not for nothing that he had been so often seen at the Lady Portsmouth's.* Bishop Burnet says there was not the least colour to pretend to such tampering; Fitzharris's Libel tended to excite the People to Rebellion against the King, whom it represented as a Tyrant and a Papist, and the Duke of York to be still worse, if possible. Notwithstanding the ill Success of the Meal-Tub Plot, the Faction compos'd of Papists and Tories resolv'd not to give over; and therefore in this second Contrivance, fram'd to bring the Protestant Party, moderate Churchmen and Dissenters, now call'd Whigs, into another Conspiracy: For this treasonable Libel was to be dispers'd by the Penny-Post among the chief Protestant Lords and Gentlemen, whose Houses and Persons were then to be search'd; and upon finding of the Libel they were to be apprehended, and proceeded against as Traytors. It is confess'd that the King gave Dangerfield Money before the Discovery of the Meal-Tub Treason, and now Everard swore positively, that the Court had a hand in it, and that the King had given Fitzharris Money. Sir William Waller, who was very active in discovering both Dangerfield's and Fitzharris's Treasons, said, *when he acquainted the King with the apprehending of Fitzharris, his Majesty told him, he had done the greatest piece of Service he had ever done in his Life; but he was no sooner gone, than two Gentlemen told him the King said, he had broken his Measures, and he would have him taken off one way or other.* Lord Conway, one of the Secretaries of State, own'd the giving of Fitzharris Money, but it was for some trifling Business; an Irish Papist to be clostetted by the King, and to be rewarded by him, must needs be for a Trifle: Mrs. Wall, the Dutcheffs of Portsmouth's useful Handmaid, marry'd afterwards to Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, depos'd, that he had 250*l.* at once given him for that trifling Business. *Is it not a Wonder,* says a modern Historian, *that after the Detection of two such monstrous and horrid Designs, Dangerfield's and Fitzharris's, any one should believe the Presbyterian Plot, which murder'd the greatest Patriots in Britain, Lord Russel, Col. Sidney, &c? It is very reasonably suspected, that the last mention'd Presbyterian Plot was a Branch of this of Fitzharris, and that the stifling the full Discovery of Fitzharris's made way for those Murders.* The great Lawyer, Sir John Hawles, seems to be of that Opinion: *I am apt to think if that Matter had been thoroughly look'd into, some Persons, afterwards Witnesses in the Lord Russel's, Col. Sidney's, and Mr. Hampden's Trials, had either never been produc'd, or had not been credited if produc'd; nor would my Lord of Essex's Throat have been cut, and my Lord Russel and Col. Sydney might have worn their Heads on their Shoulders to this day.* The Oxford Parliament were for looking into the Matter thoroughly, and we shall presently see how they were prevented.

The King knew of it.

Fitzharris's the Ground-work of the Presbyterian Plot.

Lord Essex's Throat cut.

Now it was the Faction took into Pay the mercenary Pen of Heraclitus Riden's, who, says Everard, *wrote in favour of the King and Court. It was a notable Paper, and fill'd with uncommon Wit and Humour,* by which, as with a Rule, one may measure the Extent of his Understand-

ing, and have a just Conception of the Delicacy of his Taste, there having never been publish'd a more scurrilous and impudent Libel against the Protestant Religion, the Liberties of the British Nation, and all sober Persons and Things. The same was done by the Libeller's Fellow-Labourer, Roger L'Estrange, of whom a Poet, then living, thus sung:

*When you return'd, you fell to work amain,
And took up your old scribbling Trade again.
Some sorry Scandal on Dissenters thrown,
And wiler Canting upon Forty-one;
You thought yourself the Buttress of the Crown.
Now for the Church of England you declare,
And wage with the Fanaticks furious War.
Tho' the two lewd Diurnals you dispense,
Alike are void of Reason, Truth and Sense.*

Again,

*While you at Sam's, like a grave Doctor sate,
Teaching the Minor Clergy how to prate,
Who lick'd your Spittle up, and then came down,
And shed the nasty Drivel o'er the Town.*

Which is a filthy, but a natural Image of what the Author would represent to us. For we read every where, that the Success of Heraclitus Riden's and L'Estrange's Papers, was among the Minor Clergy, and no wonder the reverend Historian brags of it.

In the mean time the Elections went on all over England, and in most Places the former Members were re-elected, or others chosen that were of the same Principles, both as to Church and State. The Election for London was at Guildhall, February 4. and the Choice fell upon Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Tho. Player, Tho. Pilkington Esq; and William Love Esq; the same Members as in the last Parliament; but it is a general Mistake, that there were few new Members in this Parliament; for there were near 220 new Members, tho' they were for the most part of the same Principles with the Majority of the last Parliament; and it shews what a disposition the People were generally in all over the Kingdom, to preserve their Religion and Liberties, tho' the Papists, the Minor Clergy above mention'd, the Court, their Creatures and Adherents, were then sapping the Foundations of the Constitution of England, and would in time have utterly destroy'd it, had not the Genius of Liberty exerted itself at the Revolution. A Member of this Oxford Parliament, told a Person of Honour, from whom I had it, that there were 200 Members in that House of Commons, which the King's Revenue could not bribe; and we shall presently see how handsomely his Majesty treated them. When the above mention'd four Citizens were chosen for London, a Paper was presented to them in the Name of the Common Hall, containing a Return of their most hearty Thanks for their faithful and most unwearied Endeavours in the two last Parliaments, to search into, and discover the Depth of the Plot, to preserve his Majesty's Royal Person, the Protestant Religion, and the well-establish'd Government of this Realm, to secure the Meeting and Sitting of frequent Parliaments, to assert our undoubted Rights of Petitioning, to promote the long wish'd-for Union of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects; to repeal the 35 Eliz. and the Corporation Act; and more especially for their Endeavours in promoting the Bill of Exclusion of James Duke of York. In fine, they conclude, that being confidently assured, that they the said Members for the City will never consent to the granting any Money-Supply, till they have effectually secur'd us against Popery and Arbitrary Power, they

A. D. 1681.

Citizens for London.

Receive a Paper from the Common Hall.

A. D. 1681. they resolve, by God's Assistance, to stand by their said Members with their Lives and Fortunes.

The City thank the Earl of Essex and the other Lords. After this, another Paper was presented to the two Sheriffs, requesting them in the Name of all the said Citizens, then assembled in *Common Hall*, to return their grateful Acknowledgement to the Earl of *Essex*, and by him to the rest of the Lords, who presented the late *Petition* and *Advice* to his Majesty.

The like Papers of Address were presented to the Members chosen for Counties, Cities and Boroughs; and so zealous were the Freeholders and Electors all over the Kingdom, that, contrary to the old Custom of Parliament-Men treating the Country where they stood, now the Country in most Places treated them, or, at least, every Man bore his own Charges.

I pass over the Compliments paid to the King and Queen at their Arrival in *Oxfordshire*, and at *Oxford*, by the Lord *Norreys* Lord Lieutenant of the County, who, a few Months after, very officiously assisted at the Trial of poor *Colledge*, by *Bowel* Mayor of *Oxford*, and by the Vice-Chancellor *Dr. Halton*, Provost of *Queen's*; which the King, Queen, and Court, were so well pleas'd with, that Mr. Archdeacon *Echard* tells us 'twas publish'd in print, *That this University is no less renown'd abroad as well as at home for its Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty, than for its Learning and sound Religion*; the Nonsense of which is pretty remarkable. Does *Salamanca* and the *Sorbonne*, *Geneva* and *Leyden*, admire the Renown of the University of *Oxford* for Soundness of Religion? The Presents they made the King and Queen were extremely acceptable. To the King they gave a large *Oxford Bible*; to the Queen, the Cuts of the History of the University. They came thither a Week before the Session of Parliament open'd. Many Members of the House of *Commons*, especially those of *London*, were attended with great Retinues, Friends, Dependents and Servants on horseback, not being without Apprehensions of some ill Design against them, by the King's persisting so obstinately to have them meet in that City.

Parliament meet at Oxford. On the 21st of *March* the Parliament met, the House of Lords in the Gallery at the publick Schools; the House of Commons in the Convocation-Room; to both whom, the complete Historian says, his Majesty made a most gracious Speech, which began most graciously thus: *My Lords and Gentlemen*, "The unwarrantable Proceedings of the last House of Commons." As I observ'd in the Reign of King *Charles I.* that there seem'd to be a Fatality in all his Counsels, tending to Confusion and Destruction, so in the Counsels of this King there is something very much like it. For he and his Ministers knew very well that this Parliament would be rather more than less zealous in those very Proceedings, which he calls *unwarrantable*, than were the last. What a hopeful Beginning was this then! Bishop *Burnet* takes notice, that he severely reflected on the last Parliament. He propos'd Expedients instead of the *Succession* Bill, and desir'd Supplies for *Tangier*, and to support his Alliances, tho' he could not but be sensible that they would not give him a Penny without the *Exclusion-Bill*, instead of which he propos'd, that the Administration of the Government should remain in *Protestant* Hands. This was explain'd by Sir *John Ernley* and Sir *Thomas Littleton*, to be meant of a *Prince Regent*, with whom the regal Authority should be lodg'd during the Duke's Life. But before that Debate was enter'd upon, the House of Commons took up Business where the last Parliament

left it; As a Bill against the Duke of York's *Succession*, another to repeal the Act of 35 *Eliz.* Preparations were to be made for the Prosecution against the *impeach'd* Lords in the Tower; and an Inquiry into the Affair of *Fitzbarris*. A Motion being made for printing the *Votes*, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* oppos'd it, as not consistent with the Gravity of the House, of which he was one of the gravest Members in *Dr. Littleton's* Sense of the word *Grave*. The major Vote pass for printing. Another Motion was made, to inquire into the Miscarriage of the last Bill, for repealing the Statute 35 of *Elizabeth*, which, said the Mover, *I look upon as a Breach of the Constitution of the Government*. The Debate being adjourn'd to the next Day, *March 25*, a worthy Member mov'd, that, *That for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, a Bill be brought in to prevent a Popish Successor, in particular against James Duke of York; and that it be the same Bill which pass'd the last Parliament*. Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who represented the University of *Oxford*, stood up, and said, *I must give my Negative to this Motion, and my Reason why I do so is, because the King hath declar'd in his Speech, that as to the Point of altering the Succession, he cannot depart from what he has so often declar'd, the King has given his Vote against it, and therefore I must do so too*. This is one of *Echard's* brisk Speakers, and the Member, who seconded him, spoke every whit as briskly. *The King's Speech* gives us a Latitude for Expedients, and therefore we should not have the Bill any more put to the hazard of Rejection, but think of some Expedients. *Broom Whorwood Esq;* who represented the City of *Oxford*, said, *They who advis'd the King's Speech, must answer for it. The Words of the Speech are, If any other way can be found out, &c. I think those about the King have done enough to ruin him and us; but I would have the King see we are so far from putting him upon that stress, that we would help him out. I think that Speech they read to us, to have nothing of the King in it; he is a better Man, and a better Protestant, than to do it of himself, therefore I would not put on a Resolution; as flat and as short as that is in the King's Speech. The King has gone so far as this Resolution comes to in his Declaration about Dissenters formerly; and yet from the Reasons from hence he was perswaded to revoke it. If Persons have been so prevalent, as to put the King upon this Speech, let me see those Persons so forward in bringing the King into a Thing, to help him out; if they do not, I hope the King will lay the blame at their doors, and not at ours*. Yet such was the Moderation of this great Assembly, notwithstanding their just Zeal for the Security of their Religion, Rights and Properties, they agreed, *That in order to pay his Majesty all the Respect that might be, they would set apart a time, to consider of Expedients*; and accordingly they appointed *Saturday* the 26th, for the Debate of them.

The next Day there was a Motion in the House of Commons, which was much taken notice of for the novelty of it: 'Twas to return Thanks to those Places, who had generously and without Expence chosen their Members; and the Members so freely elected, were order'd to send their particular Thanks to those that chose them. Then they proceeded to resume yesterday's Debate, upon the loss of the Bill for the Repeal of the Act of the 35th of *Elizabeth*: Upon which, Sir *William Jones* spoke thus: "This Matter Jones's deserves mature Consideration, whether in respect of the loss of the Bill, or the shaking of the very Constitution of Parliament. The
" Bill 35 *Eliz.*

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Two Speeches against the Exclusion. Mr. B. Whorwood's Speech for it, and against the King's.

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“ Bill that is lost is of great Moment, and of great Service to the Country, and perhaps to their Lives in the time of a *Popish Successor*. Those Men that hinder'd the passing the Bill had a prospect of thar, and if it be sent up again, we are like to meet with great Opposition. But be the Bill what it will, the *Precedent* is of the highest Consequence. The King has his *Negative* to all Bills, but I never knew that the Clerk of the Parliament had a *Negative*. No Man that knows Law or History but can tell, that to Bills grateful and popular, the King gives his Consent to them: But if this way be found out, that Bills shall be thrown by, it may be hereafter said, *They were forgot and laid by*, and we shall never know whether the King would pass them or no.” If this be suffer'd, 'tis in vain to spend time here, and 'tis a Scandal to the *English Name*, that a Law pass'd by the Peers and Representatives of the Nation should be stolen out of the House of Lords, and the Thief remain unpunish'd. Antiquity has no Parallel to this Baseness, and the Theft is the more base and detestable, because by that means many Thousands of pious Protestants were ruin'd afterwards on the Pretence of the Statute 35 *Eliz.* which the Clerk of the Crown or Parliament stole away from among the Bills that were ready for the Royal Assent. The House of Commons next read the Information concerning *Fitzharris's* Treason, a Preparation for the Presbyterian Plot; and a Member of former Parliaments reported, how that one *Hubert* confess'd he had fir'd the City of *London*; upon which the House resolv'd to examine him next Morning: but before the House sat, *Hubert* was hang'd to prevent it. It was also remember'd, that there had been a Design to try the *Popish Lords* in the Tower by Indictment, to prevent which, the Commons exhibited general Impeachments against them so successfully, that the Lords were never try'd upon Indictments, and the Judges gave their Opinion that they could not. Upon which the House order'd an Impeachment against *Fitzharris*, and *Sir Lionel Jenkins* to carry it up; which he at first refus'd, saying, *The sending me upon this Messoge reflects upon my Master, and do what you will with me, I will not go*. The House took him immediately to task; and to prevent the ill Consequences of their Resentment, he submitted to their Order, some say, weeping, and carry'd the Impeachment to the House of Peers, who threw it out, *Bishop Burnet* says, upon a Pretence which the *Earl of Nottingham*, Lord Chancellor, furnish'd them with, that *Edward III.* had got some Commoners to be condemn'd by the Lords; of which, when the House of Commons complain'd, an Order was made that no such thing should be done for the future. But the Bishop proves his *Earl* to be in the wrong, for that related only to Proceedings at the King's Suit, and it could not be meant that an Impeachment from the Commons did not lie against a Commoner. The House the next Day ran high in their Debates upon it. *Sir Thomas Littleton* said, *This was to have no further use of a Parliament, but to serve a Purpose*. Another, Indictments were brought against the Lords in the Tower, yet that was no Impediment to their Impeachment in the Lords House; and the last Day of the last Sessions of Parliament, the Lords accepted an Impeachment against the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, and that this Denial of Justice by the Lords was greater than *Scroggs's* Denial of taking Presentments from the Grand Jury of *Middlesex*, by how much the Commons of Parliament are the great Inquest of

Fitzharris's Impeachment thrown out by the Lords.

the Nation. Another, *This is a new Plot against the Protestants of which Fitzharris is accused*; the Commons impeach him, and the Lords say, We will not hear it. If it were not for the Speech of *Lords*, *Fitzharris* might have discover'd all the Conspiracy, and the Protestant Religion might have been sav'd; wherefore I move that the denying this Impeachment, tends to the Subversion of the Constitution of the Parliament, and of the Protestant Religion. *Sir William Jones* did not only exclaim against the other House, but against the Bishops in particular, declaring, *They had no Right to vote in this Case*. *Serjeant Maynard* cry'd, *Our All is at stake; and if we must not prosecute, Holland and Flanders must submit to the French, and they over-run all*. Another spoke thus; *This is a Confirmation of the Design to murder the King, and the Duke's consenting to destroy his own Brother; and therefore I move*, “ That if any Judge, Justice, or Jury proceed upon *Fitzharris*, and he be found guilty, that the House would declare him and them guilty of his Murther, and *Be-trayers of the Rights of the Commons of England*.” To which was added, upon the Motion of *Sir William Jones*, “ Or that any inferior Court shall proceed, &c.” which was pass'd. The reason of this Vote was, that if *Fitzharris* was try'd upon an Indictment, he must have been try'd singly upon the Fact, whether he were guilty or not of the contriving and dispersing the *Libel*; whereas upon an Impeachment, the Commons might inquire into the whole Conspiracy, which would most certainly have involv'd the Court in the Guilt of it; and it is certain they would not otherwise have precipitated his Trial in an inferior Court as they did, nor would they have directed their Creatures in the House of Lords, among which were almost the whole Bench of Bishops, to have oppos'd the Impeachment on purpose to hinder an Inquiry into that dark Mystery of Iniquity, which not many Months after let out some of the best Blood in the Nation, which cry'd aloud for Vengeance on the Heads of those that were concern'd, and the righteous Vengeance of Heaven most apparently and terribly pursu'd them.

I have hinted that *Sir John Ernley* propos'd to the House the Expedient of a Regency: *Up-Poultney* on which *Sir William Poultney* said, *Consider what is a Regency; I never heard of it, but of a Prince in possession in Minority or Lunacy, and it has generally been very unfortunate: But to talk of a Regency in futuro, in Condition and Limitation of Time, I never heard of. This Expedient does not answer the King's Speech, nor your former Bill. They make the King but a Shadow, and they divide Person from Power, our Law will not endure it. The Person divided from the Power, both will be courted. The King leads you to consider Expedients, but such as will consist with the Safety and Dignity of Monarchy. This must be two Kings at the same time, one by Law, and another by Right. The former Bill has been under Consideration of all the People of England, and perhaps all the Protestants of Europe. All the Wits of Learned Men have made their Objections against it, yet notwithstanding all People are still of the same mind. And now we run upon the most misshapen Thing, which it may be two or three Years before we understand it, and we may expect to have an Operation of it nobody knows when. Mr. H. C. spoke for Expedients; “ If the Exclusion of the Duke be the best way to preserve Religion, this House cannot do it alone. If we cannot have that best way, we are guilty to our Country if we take none. If a Man be sick, and so order'd* “ that

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roduce a Change of Government. No great matter that, if it was for the better, and it could not well be for the worse. *If the Duke will try to cut this Law with his Sword, he would have had the same Success as when he endeavour'd afterwards to cut the Abdicating Law with the Sword. If he overcome, he will have the same Power to set aside all Laws, both for Religion and Property,* as he attempted afterwards, without overcoming. *The Power will be in the hands of the Conqueror, and certainly he will change the Government. It is against Religion,* (the Popish one it was against) *and the Oaths of the Nation.* Here Mr. Secretary began to be not quite so fearless as at first, saying, *Possibly I am too tedious, and not willingly heard: if the Bill be against the Religion oblig'd by Oaths, against the Government, and the Wisdom of the Nation, I hope you will throw it out.* Never did Man hope so, when he saw almost every body all round him impatient for the passing the Bill, and so little notice was taken of what he said, that Mr. T. B. spoke thus: *Mr. Secretary has mov'd to throw out the Bill, and desir'd to be heard patiently, I find nobody seconds him, pray let him go on and second himself.* They had no doubt a very mean Opinion of him, or they would not have heard any thing so contemptuously said of him, without taking some notice of it. The Bill was order'd a second Reading; and as they were resum'g the Debate about Fitzharris, on a sudden the Uther of the Black-Rod commanded their Attendance in the House of Lords; where the King told them, *He perceiv'd there were great Heats between the Lords and Commons, and their Beginnings had been such, as he could expect no good Success of this Parliament, and therefore thought fit to dissolve them;* which the Lord Chancellor did accordingly, and King Charles never met a Parliament more.

Echar'd here begins a new Period, and he opens it with some idle Reflections, which are as much an Affront to common Sense as the present Constitution, and it is amazing that he should have the Confidence to make a Present of it to his late Majesty. He tells the World he's about to treat of the King's Success, after he had so rashly dissolv'd the Oxford Parliament with unusual Courage. *He set up a more independent Administration; he acted more like an absolute Monarch; he resolv'd to exert his Authority, and to get Supplies by other than Parliamentary Methods; he was tired out with endless Stories of the Plot; he grew more tricking and artful in his Proceedings; and having satiated himself with Blood, grew more sanguinary in his Temper.* This, and a great deal more of it, is what he calls his Majesty's Success in his Administration. The Ingenious Author of *The History of standing Armies*, describes his Success thus: " No Man could be employ'd in Church or State, till he had declar'd himself an open Enemy to our Constitution, by asserting despotick Power under that nonsensical Phrase of *Passive Obedience*, which was more preach'd up than all the Laws of God and Man. The Hellish, Popish Plot was stifled, prov'd since too true by fatal Experience; and in the room of it Protestant ones were forg'd, and Men trapann'd into others, as the *Meal-Tub*, *Fitzharris*, *Ryehouse*, *Newmarket*, and *Black beath Plots*; and by these Pretences, and the help of pack'd Juries and Judges, they butcher'd some of the best Men in England." This is what the reverend Historian calls his Majesty's Success, and when he comes to those very Butheries, he gives his Verdict, and pronounces the bloody Sentence after those Juries and Judges. The abovemention'd

Sir Lionel says Mr. Archdeacon, and said, (not elegantly or wisely, but fearlessly,) what follows: No Bill was ever offer'd to the Parliament of the like nature, so much against the Justice of the Nation: It condemns a Man unheard, and by a Law made Ex post Facto. They excluded him after he had turn'd Papist. Would Mr. Secretary have had them exclude him before he turn'd Papist? Is it against the Justice of the Nation to provide for the Security of their Religion, Rights, Properties and Liberties? He fearlessly goes on, It is not only against the fundamental Justice, but against the Wisdom of the Nation: None but Fools are for Self-Preservation. Again, And will in-

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ingenious Author proceeds; "They set immoderate Fines upon others, gave probable Suspicion of cutting the Lord *Effex's* Throat; and to finish our Destruction, they took away the Charters, as fast as they were able, of all the Corporations in *England* that would not chuse the Members that were prescrib'd them." How successful was this blessed King in his Attempt to destroy the Constitution! But the Archdeacon, who is extremely ignorant of the Causes and Springs of Action, and Counsels in these calamitous Times, mistook King *Charles's* Success for his Brother the Duke of *York's*: read the judicious *Acherley*. "The King declar'd, He would live on his own Revenues, and never more trouble Parliaments, who had trusted him with that Revenue. At this time commenc'd a new *Æra*, and an intire Alteration, in order to strike at the Root, and over-turn the Constitution; for the King dismiss'd himself in a manner from the Government, and delegated over the whole Administration into the hands of his Brother the Duke of *York*, who undertook to secure his own Succession, without giving the King any more Disturbance; and the careless King was glad of being eas'd of the trouble, and to stand by as unconcern'd at his Brother's Management of the Government, contenting himself to be attended at his *Levees* and in his *Walks* like a Duke, whilst the Duke was at his *Levees* and in his *Walks* attended like a King: insomuch that from this time, April 1, 1681, during the rest of King *Charles's* Reign, the Duke may be look'd upon as King in *Potentia*, except the Name. As soon as this was known, the Eagerness to exclude him chang'd into courting and magnifying of him, and into a manifest Coldness towards the King. You see what Success he had, all Applications were made to the Duke for Preferments in Church and State, he made the *Bishops*, and garbled the Judges; till he had made a Sett to his Mind; of whom, some of them acted more like furious Prosecutors than Judges."

Duke of
York governs all.

P. 602.

The Duke's
Tyranny.

I shall continue *Echard's* Success still farther, not only because it proves the Weakness of his Understanding, or of his Integrity, but because it also proves what I have all along intended, that the *Stuartine* Race were from the first to the last of them in a Conspiracy against the *British* Constitution Ecclesiastical and Civil. *Dr. Welwood* writes thus of it: "The Charters of the City of *London* and other Corporations stood in the way of an absolute Government, and it was resolv'd to break thro' this Barrier: in order to which, *Quo Warranto's* were brought against them, and in progress of time, they were either surrender'd or vacated by a Sett of Judges pick'd out for that Purpose; and it was resolv'd thereby to make one of the Estates of Parliament depend entirely upon the Will and Nomination of the Prince. While these *Quo Warranto's* were going on, whole Peals of *Anathema* were rung out against those Patriots who had stood up for the Liberties of their Country in the preceding Parliaments, and it was look'd upon as a Crime against the State for any one to regret the approaching Fate of his Country; even the *Holy Scriptures* themselves were made a Stale for Arbitrary Power. This was a Time never to be forgotten, when Heaven itself was rank'd upon our Enemies side by some that pretended to expound its Will. In some places a new kind of Funeral Harangues came in fashion, our *Laws*, our *Liberties*, our *Parliaments*, our *Native Rights* were to be buried; but in-

Clergy assist him in it.

stead of dropping a Tear at their Funeral, full some Panegyricks were made upon their Murders, and Curses denounc'd against those that would have retriev'd them from Destruction."

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Bishop *Burnet* gives further Proof of the Design to enslave us, and all this laid together, says his Lordship, the whole look'd like an extravagant Fit of Madness; yet no Part of it was so unaccountable, as the high Strains to which the Universities, and most of the Clergy were carry'd. We shall have too much occasion to speak of this boasted Success of King *Charles* in the following Pages.

The King left *Oxford* the same Day he dissolv'd the Parliament, with an apparent Affectation of Haste, as if he thought he was in danger there, and it was to countenance a Design form'd to prosecute a *Presbyterian* Plot, tho' *Fitzbarris* was to be hang'd for contriving it; and King *Charles* did indeed carry on that Prosecution with great Success; for which, according to *Echard*, he gain'd more Authority and Reverence, and more Love and Affection than he had met with for several Years before, which he imputes chiefly to the Effects of a well-penn'd Declaration publish'd by him soon after he dissolv'd the *Oxford* Parliament; but as he knows little of the well or ill-penning of any such Piece, the Reader will not be prejudic'd by what he says against the Answer to it, which was first drawn up by *Col. Algernon Sidney*, then improv'd by the late Lord *Somers*, and last of all corrected by the very eminent *Sir William Jones*; in a Treatise entitled, *A just and modest Vindication of the two last Parliaments*, of which mention has been made. *Echard* affirms, he began by Art and Smoothness; Bishop *Burnet*, He reckon'd up all the hard things that had been done by three Parliaments; as the Vote not to lend Money, that against prosecuting Dissenters, &c. Tho' this Declaration is not quite so wordy as Lord *Clarendon's* and Lord *Nottingham's* Speeches; yet it is too redundant to be inserted intire, unless there had been more Sincerity in it. Enough of it will be seen by repeating a few Paragraphs of the Vindication, wherein there's more Law, Reason, and good Argument, than in all the Harangues and Declarations that the Court-Party had publish'd since the Restoration.

It prov'd, that by the Statutes of this Kingdom Parliaments should not be prorog'd or dissolv'd, till all the Petitions and Bills before them were answer'd and redress'd: That the Manner of dissolving the *Oxford* Parliament was unwarranted by the Precedent of former Times: That the King doth not act any considerable Act of Regal Power, till it be first debated and resolv'd in Council, and the Peers at *Oxford* were so wholly ignorant of the Counsel, that they never thought of a Dissolution till they heard it pronounc'd; yet the *Duchess of Mazarine* publish'd the News at *St. James's* many Hours before it was done; for that not only the Dissolution, but the subsequent Declaration were both coin'd in a *French* Mint, no body questions, and it will appear still plainer, by what follows out of the Vindication.

"Tho' to the Dishonour of our Country it appears, that some Englishmen were concern'd in the unhappy Advice of breaking the two last Parliaments, and setting up this pretended Defence of it; yet the *Gallicisms* which are found in the Paper, shew the Writer to have been of another Nation, or at least to have had his Thoughts so much taken up for the Interests of France, (whilst he was labouring this way to heighten and perpetuate the Differences between the King and the People) that he could

"not

Answer'd
in the just
and modest
Vindication.

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“ not exprefs himself in any other *Idiom* than theirs; he would not otherwise have introduc'd the King saying, *That it was a Matter extremely sensible to us*, a Form of Speech peculiar to the *French*, and unknown to any other Nation. The Reader who understands that Language, will observe so many more of this kind, as will give him just Cause to doubt whether the whole Paper was not a Translation, and whether the *English* one, or that which was publish'd in *French* was the Original?

“ Let us then no longer wonder that the Time of *dissolving* our Parliaments is known at *Paris* sooner than at *London*, since 'tis probable the Reasons now given for it, were formed there too. The *Declaration* was not communicated to the Privy-Council till *Friday* the 8th of *April*, when his Majesty, according to the late Method, did graciously declare to them his Pleasure, to set it forth without desiring from them any Advice in the Matter; but Monsieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambassador, did not only read it to a Gentleman the 5th of *April*, but advised with him about it, and demanded his Opinion of it.” *Echard* owns this, and sinks what comes after, “ Which his Excellency will the better remember, because of the great Liberty which the Person took in ridiculing it to his Face.” Here the *Vindicator* modestly exclaims, *Good God! to what a Condition is this Kingdom reduc'd, when the Ministers and Agents of the only Prince in the World, who can have Designs against us, or of whom we ought to be afraid, are not only made acquainted with the most secret Passages of State, but are made our chief Ministers too, and have the principal Conduct of our Affairs!* As fully as this Declaration is answer'd in the before-cited *Vindication*, which the Bishop of *Salisbury* says was the best Paper that had been publish'd, *writ with Spirit and true Judgment*, *Echard* commends the Declaration as very popular. *Sancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, mov'd in Council that this *French* Memorial might be read in all Churches and Chappels; and the Minor Clergy executed the Order they receiv'd concerning it with singular Delectation. This Declaration rais'd over *England* a Humour of making *Addresses* to the King, returning him Thanks for it. There was an *impartial Account* of these *Addresses* publish'd at the Time when the Addressers were crowding to Court with them, and the Author sets us right in the Matter: “ Should any in the List of the late *Thanksgivers* be hereafter found to have promoted *Addresses* with a Prospect of introducing either Tyranny or Popery, the Names and Pretences of Law and the Protestant Religion, which they have not only flourish'd their Papers with, but made his Majesty's Promise of preserving them the Grounds of their Acknowledgments, and the Foundation of the Tenders which they have made of their Lives and Fortunes, will entail an everlasting Infamy upon them. The Number of the Subscribers is not so considerable as to bear any Proportion to those that are against them.” *L'Estrange* call'd them the *Thirty to One*, “ For tho' a few busy People have made a great Noise and Buz in several Places of the Kingdom; yet all of them put together make not so great a Number, as we have seen not long since to *one* Petition for a Parliament; so that it is matter of Wonder, that the Government for its own Reputation hath not in some publick way prohibited and forbid them, and especially when it finds that after all the Neglect and Scorn which the *Addressers* are expos'd unto for their Paucity and Fewness, yet

Addresses.

Scorn'd.

“ they have not the Discretion to forbear and desist” The *complete Historian* confesses they were procur'd by Sollicitations from the Court, and their Sollicitations produc'd a Cartload of Folly, Stupidity, Fustian, Impudence and Impertinence, too well known to need expatiating upon it. It is not strange that the Archdeacon flourishes on these *Addresses*, and particularly on that from *Norwich*, which he tells us reflected on the *Exorbitancies* of the late House of Commons, who, if Sir *William Jones*, the Lord *Somers* and Col. *Sidney* knew what belong'd to such things, committed no *Exorbitancy*. The *Staffmen* of *Norwich* thank'd the King most solemnly for giving his two last Parliaments such timely *Dissolutions*. The Author of the *impartial Account* of *Addresses*, tells us, *Most of the Clergy did not only interest themselves in countenancing, but were Sticklers for them*, of whom Lord *Hallifax* said pleasantly, *The Petitioners for a Parliament spit in the King's Face*, but the *Addressers* spit in his Mouth. Tho' the Papers that were extorted or procur'd by Artifice from Counties, Cities and Boroughs were equally dull and fulsome, bombast and impertinent; yet every Mortal that accompany'd them had the Honour to kiss his Majesty's Hand, and many of them were dubb'd, who had not wherewithal to pay the Fees of Knighthood.

John Dryden is now brought into the Archdeacon's History, for lashing a Pamphlet concerning his Majesty's Declaration in a Lampoon, wherein Mr. *Bayes* was pleas'd to say, *The Commons may make Spaniels of the Lords, throw them a Man, and bid them go judge him, as we command a Dog to fetch and carry*. He could not see that the Simile was Nonsense, but it was Impudence; and he has more than once mistaken that for Wit. He then extols *Heraclitus Ridens* once more, and writes another Panegyrick on that Hireling *L'Estrange*, against whom were many Writers, when they could get any one to print their Writings, which was not easily to be done; infomuch that it is said, *Andrew Marvel*, who had more Wit than *Dryden*, *L'Estrange*, *Heraclitus*, and all of them, was forc'd to compose his own Pieces himself, and to work them off at a little Press, which he had contriv'd on purpose: For as another sweet Effect of Tyranny and arbitrary Power, the Writers, Printers and Publishers on the Side of the Country were put down and silenc'd, and *Francis Smith*, one of them, thrown into *Newgate*; while *L'Estrange* was suffer'd to insult the religious and wise Part of the Nation, to vilify the Reformation and the free Constitution of *England*, not only with Impunity, but with Reward, tho' there was really no more Wit than Truth in his Writings. In one of his Papers he prophesy'd indeed, as well he might, being let into the Secret of the intended Murders, *if it should please God*, said the prophane Hireling, to send us seasonable Sheriffs, and fair play for our Money, there are set on foot so many Titles in competition for the Gallows, that it would be a hard matter to settle their Claims, and say who should go first. What sort of Men he thinks would make seasonable Sheriffs we may discover by what he says elsewhere, *Wilt thou set their Cornish and Bethel, their Pilkington and Shute, against our North and Rich, our Daniel and Dashwood?* And in another place he says, *A Citizen's Skull is but a thing to try the Temper of a Soldier's Sword upon*.

This wretched Buffoonry does the Archdeacon mistake for Wit, and honour it with his Applause, on account of the Cause he is engag'd in; he also highly extolls *Dryden* for his *Abalom* and *Achitophel*, a lewd Satyr on the Lord *Shaftesbury*, and

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Lord Hallifax's witty saying of them.

L'Estrange's Impudence and Villainy.

A. D.
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and other noble Patriots. He knew not that *Dryden's* Character, as a Poet, is wearing, and that he is valu'd only for his Versification. I have repeated a Couplet or two of the Satyrs written by Mr. *Marvel*, and others of the Country Party, whose Humour and Wit were infinitely superior to *Echard's*, *Heraclitus*, and *Roger L'Esrange*. Whoever has a mind to make the Comparison, need only turn to the four Volumes of *State Poems*. If the Archdeacon had as just Conceptions of Persons and Things as *Bishop Burnet*, he would not have mention'd so lewd a Verifier as *Dryden* without Animadversion. He was a Monster of Immodesty, says my Lord of *Sarum*, and a Monster of Impurity of all sorts. He fell upon the Church afterwards in his *Hind* and *Pantber*, but the Reverend Historian forgives him for his falling upon the *Presbyterians*, when they were fallen upon by the Government, and the Priesthood preach'd more against them than against Drunkards and Adulterers, who were forgotten in the Fury of their Zeal. The Pulpits were every where defil'd with Railing and Invectives, with Reproaches and Curles. The

Clergy deep in the per-
secuting
Business. Clergy, 'tis *Bishop Burnet* who says it, struck up to a higher Note with such Zeal for the Duke's Succession, as if a Popish King had been a Blessing from Heaven to be much long'd for by a Protestant Church. They likewise gave themselves such a Loose against Nonconformists, as if nothing was so formidable as that Party; so that in all their Sermons Popery was quite forgot, and the Force of their Zeal was turn'd almost wholly against Dissenters, who were now by Order from the Court to suffer Persecution. There was also a great Change made in the Commissions all over England, none were left either on the Bench, or in the Militia, that did not with Zeal go into the Humour of the Court; and such of the Clergy as would not engage in that Fury, which were not many, were cry'd out upon as Betrayers of the Church. I shall add other Instances of the Happiness of the Times, upon which *Roger* and *Heraclitus* wasted so much Paper in dull Panegyrics, and *Echard* praises them for praising the Felicities of this felicitous Reign; I find them in the *State Tracts*. The Author is speaking of the *Tories*, whose Tools I have just mention'd. "As to their original Rise, 'tis cer-

Vol. II.
P. 378.Tories their
Rise.

"tain they owe their being known in the World
"to the horrid and execrable Designs of the two
"late Kings to set up *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery*
"amongst us. Then were all the Jails,
"Brothels and Kennels rak'd for Villains of
"fear'd Consciences, and desperate Fortunes.
"Your *Arms*, *Cliffs*, *Of* were then
"thought upon for Ministers of State, and un-
"der them were bred such a pack of Wretches
"as the Court of *Tiberius* would have been a-
"sham'd of. In the *Law* they were of the same
"fort with the Ministry. What Age can par-
"allel their *N*—, their *N*—*ts*, their *Jefferies*,
"*Scroggs*, *Rainsfords*, *Wrights*, &c. and
"their Under-Managers *Graham* and *Burton*.
"Then as to the Pillars of what they then call'd
"the Church of *England*, tho' so disguis'd at
"that time, that it was scarce known by its most
"dutiful, most affectionate, and most pious
"Children, I need say no more of them, than
"that they were compos'd of Bishops, and a
"Clergy prefer'd by two Kings, who were about
"to set up Popery and Tyranny, and therefore
"were to chuse such Men into the Government of
"the Church, as they thought would be most com-
"plying with those Purposes, and whose Looseness
"of Morals might bring most Discredit upon the
"Protestant Religion. And whoever remem-
"bers *Mew*, *Parker*, *Cartwright*, *White*, *Wat-*

"son, &c. will, I think, be of the Opinion they were
"not ill chosen for the Works they were to do." A. D.
1681.

Dr. *Welwood* observes, About this time a certain Set of Men began a second time to adopt into our Religion a Mahometan Principle, under the Names of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, which, since the Time of that Impostor, who first broach'd it, has been the Means to enslave a great part of the World. I could very much enlarge on this Subject, to prove that the tyrannical Proceedings of the Government in these bad Times, were much encourag'd by an immoral and illiterate Clergy, in hopes of Church-Preferments, which were liberally bestow'd on them, while the learned, pious and orthodox Divines were neglected and despis'd for their Charity and Moderation; such as *Tillotson*, *Patrick*, *Fowler*, *Kidder*, *Meriton*, *Hall*, *Lloyd*, *Tenison*, *Grove*, *Williams*, and many others, Fathers and Doctors of our Church, which, by God's Blessing, has never wanted religious and worthy Ministers, to preach the Purity of the Christian Faith in opposition to Superstition and Persecution; such have been a very considerable Body of the Clergy since the Revolution, Men of Protestant and English Principles, who cannot be too much respected by English Men and Protestants.

I have been led into this Digression by *Echard's* ridiculous Encomiums on two wretched Scriblers, Betrayers of our Religion and Liberties, after the Dissolution of the *Oxford* Parliament. We have seen what honourable Times these were, and we must now see what Honours were distributed in them.

Laurence Hyde Esq; Viscount *Hyde of Kennelworth*, Baron of *Wootton Bassett*.

Charles Duke of *Richmond*, Knight of the Garter.

Heneage Lord *Finch*, Lord Chancellor, Earl of *Nottingham*.

Sir Francis Pemberton, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, to give the better colour to *Fitz-Harris's* Trial; *Pemberton* being, till then, thought a Man of some Probity.

In *Easter* Term, a Bill of *High Treason* was prefer'd against him to the Grand Jury of *Middlesex*, *Fitz-Harris's* Trial. *Mr. Godfrey*, Brother and Heir to *Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey*, being Foreman. They hesitated as to receiving of it, because he was impeach'd by the Commons; but the new Judge *Pemberton* and his Brother Judges remov'd that Hesitation, by declaring they might lawfully proceed. The Bill being found, *Fitz-Harris* pleaded the *Impeachment*, and that he could not be try'd by that Court. He had Counsel assign'd him, and considering who they were; he had the Advantage as to pleading; for *Sir William Williams*, *Mr. Pollexfen*, *Sir Francis Winnington*, and *Mr. Wallop*, had no hard Task to deal with *Sir Robert Sawyer* the Attorney-General, and *Mr. Finch* Solicitor-General; but the Court was determin'd, and notwithstanding the strong Arguments of *Fitz-Harris's* Counsel, and the weak Arguments of the King's, *Pemberton*, *Jones* and *Raymond*, gave their Opinion, that *Fitz-Harris's* Plea was insufficient; but gave no Reasons for it, which they ought to have done, as we are taught by the very learned *Sir John Hawles* in his Remarks on this Trial. *Fitz-Harris* then pleaded *Not guilty*; and having a Witness in *Holland*, he was not try'd till the 9th of *June*.

Very wickedly is this Trial introduc'd in the History we have so often animadverted upon. The Whigs took great pains in the making of a Jury; whereas the pains was taken by the Attorney-General *Sawyer*, who excepted against several

A. D. 1681. several of the Pannel without cause, and challeng'd John Kent, Giles Shute, Nathaniel Grant-ham, and others as no Freeholders, and his Challenge was allow'd by the Court. Tho' in the Lord Ruffel's Case the Court adjudg'd, that no Freehold was a good Challenge. The Proof of the Libel upon him was too plain to be contest-ed, and Fitz-Harris said he did it by order of his Superiors, the Lord Howard of Eserick joining with him in it. Nay, it was the general Report, that Lord Howard indicted the Libel; but, as Bishop Burnet says, it was too meanly drawn to come from that Lord. Echard owns the Tories were for hanging him, and to that end the new Judge and his Brother Judges summ'd up the Evidence unfairly, to use Sir John Hawkes's own Words, and he was convicted and condemn'd. The Archdeacon, who is Counsel against Fitz-Harris, produces one of the King's Concubines, and her Woman Mrs. Wall too, as Witnesses for the King, tho' call'd by the Prisoner. They deny'd what he chiefly wanted them to affirm, that they employ'd him in such Business. Now Wall's Evidence was likely to be good, she swore he was never admitted to the King; and the Lord Con-way swore he did speak with the King. Many other Hardships were put upon the Prisoner to take away his Life, and prevent the Discovery of the Contrivers of this Plot, among whom, no doubt, would have been found the Duke, if not the King; and even by the Confession of Mr. Archdeacon, Mrs. Fitz-Harris did, several Years after, aver to a Person of Worth, That the Business of the Libel was a Court-Trick, and the King was privy to it: yet does he expatiate on what Fitz-Harris confess'd to Hawkins the Tower Chaplain, of a Design of the Protestant Party to seize the King; that they had 60000 Men at command, at a short Warning. That the Bishops and Clergy, good Men at that time, were to be severely handled; that he and Haynes had several Meetings about it with the Lord Howard of Eserick, and a great deal more such bare-fac'd Falshood, which was put into the Mouth of this poor Wretch, and convey'd to the World by Hawkins, one of the meanest Creatures that ever wore a Caslock; yet Echard doctors him up, and tells us, when he publish'd Fitz-Harris's Confession, it was very surprizing and provoking to those that had so much endeavour'd to save his Life, Which Confession, as Hawkins and he have worded it, is to me a convincing Proof, that the approaching Presbyterian Plot was founded on this of Fitz-Harris, or rather was only a Renewal of that very Plot which had been interrupted by Everard's Discovery. When an honest Man unwittingly falls into Error we pity him. But when a Man errs out of Malice we abhor him.

P. 504.

Parson Hawkins tampering with Fitz-Harris.

Now read what Bishop Burnet writes of the pretended Confession of Fitz-Harris to the Tower Chaplain, and then make a Judgment of the reverend Historian's Integrity and Capacity. "Hawkins, the Minister of the Tower took him, Fitz-Harris, into his Management, and prevail'd with him, the vile Suborner, not only to deny all his former Discovery, but to lay it on Sir Robert Clayton, Sir George Treby, Alderman Cornish, and Sheriff Bethel, as a Subornation of theirs, tho' it was evident that was impossible to be true." Pray turn to Mr. Echard's History again, p. 631, 632, 633, and compare his Account of Fitz-Harris and his Confession with my Lord of Sarum's, who proceeds, "Yet at the same time, when he confess'd these Things to the Chaplain, he wrote Letters to his Wife, which I saw and read, in which he told her how he was practis'd upon

"with hopes of Life. He charg'd her to swear A. D. 1681. "falsely against none; and yet, before he was led to Execution, he sign'd a new Paper, containing the former Charge of Subornation, and put it into Hawkins's hand. At Tyburn he referr'd all he had to say to that Paper, which was immediately publish'd; but the Falshood of it was so very notorious, that tho' it shew'd what a sort of Man Hawkins was, yet he was soon after rewarded for this with the Deanery of Chichester. But when the Court heard what Letters Fitz-Harris had writ to his Wife, they were confounded." On the contrary, Echard gives us to understand, that the World was surpris'd at the sight of Fitz-Harris's Paper, which was the subject Matter of Discourse amongst all People for a considerable time after; sweetly insinuating, that People believ'd he was suborn'd by Sir Robert Clayton, Sir George Treby, &c. whereas we are inform'd by the Bishop, "The Court sifted all further Discourse about him, and practis'd on Mrs. Fitz-Harris, by the Promise of a Pension, so far, that she deliver'd up her Husband's Letters to them; but so many had seen them before, that this base Practice turn'd much to the Reproach of all their Proceedings."

Fitz-Harris accus'd the Earl of Darby of being concern'd in the Death of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey; but there was Inconsistency in his Evidence. His Wife and her Maid accus'd the Lord Howard of Eserick of the Contrivance of the Libel, and he was committed to the Tower the 12th of June. A Bill of Indictment was deliver'd against him to the Grand Jury of Edmon-ton Hundred, who, not satisfy'd with the two Womens Evidence, was about to indorse it with an Ignoramus; but Ward, one of the Clerks of the Crown-Office, stole the Bill, for which they immediately deliver'd a Bill of Indictment against the said Ward to Ossulston Grand Jury, for his high Misdemeanor. The latter presently found it, however, nothing more came of it.

Fitz-Harris being executed on the first of July, the Court no longer kept Measures with the Constitution, and a Scene of Tyranny and Blood was open'd to the Terror and Amazement of the whole Protestant World. They had no longer any Restraint upon them; They resolv'd to save themselves by the Destruction of all that oppos'd them; and Echard, who opens it, does it with this Flourish.

Fitz-Harris's Confessions to Hawkins, gave the King a fair Occasion of searching after a new sort of Plotters. What the Bishop of Salisbury calls impossible, he calls fair. Warrants were issu'd out, continues he, against several Offenders, Rouse, Haynes, White, and one Colledge, commonly call'd the Protestant Joyner, and especially the Earl of Shaftesbury, who were all sent to the Tower, Joyner and Earl, and all, for the greater Wonderment of the Matter. This was done two or three days after Fitz-Harris was hang'd, with whom suffer'd Oliver Plunket, the Irish Archbishop of Armagh. To condemn whom, says Echard, the Lord forgive him, several Witnesses were encourag'd to come over from Ireland, who now wanting Money, and likewise their Pardons, were forc'd to work hard to obtain both, and they were soon found to be proper Instruments for different kinds of Services; and, true it is, the Court took them into Pay as soon as they had done Plunket's Business. Echard goes on, Tho' the Accusation look'd Romantick, not to say malicious, yet the Witnesses were so perfect; and positive, that the Jury found him guilty of High Treason; and he was condemn'd and executed. We have observ'd that Orleans's ly-

A. D. 1681. ing Libel is usher'd into the World by the Archdeacon's Recommendation, with his Name to it; that Jesuit affirms, Archbishop Plunket was put to death upon the false Imputations of the Enemies to his Religion; and his Recommender affirms, the Witnesses against him were profess'd Papists. You see what Agreement there is among them, and how can it be otherwise? Truth only is one, Falshood multiplies itself, and consequently cannot always be the same. To expiate for the Execution of Plunket, the Protestant Plot is hastily brought on the Stage, and Sacrifices set apart, to appease the Manes of Whitebread, Fenwick, Ireland, Gavan, Plunket, &c. Martyrs to Idolatry and Tyranny. The Court singled out Colledge, says Mr. Archdeacon, a pragmatical, saucy Fellow, who sung Songs against the King and his best Friends; as Scroggs and Jefferies, and North and Rich, and Sawyer and Harekins. Colledge, 'tis true, had been more busy in the Prosecution of the Popish Plot, than he needed to have been; and it was Punishment enough for him that he lost so many Weeks Work by it. But Vengeance being to be taken for the Death of the Romish Priests and Jesuits, the Court resolv'd to make the Experiment on this Man, whom they had devoted to Slaughter, in remembrance of his Zeal against the Lord Stafford. A Bill of High Treason against him was deliver'd to the Grand Jury of London, of which, says the reverend and modest Historian, one Wilmore was Foreman. I knew that one Wilmore of his, an honest Citizen, Confectioner in Cannon-street, whose Word would have pass'd for Money and Evidence, where I question whether the Person that insults him would have had the like Success. He and his Jury were prepar'd for such Attacks, and at once threw out the Bill with an Ignoramus. We shall find, by and by, that they had good Reason so to do. Mr. Wilmore was, out of all course of Law, as the compleat Historian confesses, apprehended and examin'd before the Council, August 16, and sent to the Tower. He was afterwards forc'd to fly to Holland, and return'd not till after King James was forc'd to fly to France. The Court, to follow their Blow, immediately hurry'd him away to Oxford, where a wicked Jury was indeed prepar'd for such Attack, and very greedily took this poor Man's Blood upon them. Let us see who they were, who are to account for it at the grand Tribunal of eternal Judgment.

Stephen Colledge indicted.

An Ignoramus found.

Stephen Colledge tried.

At the Trial of Stephen Colledge,

Present,

- Lord Norreys.
- Lord Chief Justice North.
- Judge Jones.
- Judge Raymond.
- Judge Levins.
- Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney General.
- _____ Solicitor General.
- Sir Geo. Jefferies, Serg. at Law, } King's
- Mr. North, } Counsel.

Jury.

- Henry Standard. Roger Browne.
- William Big. Timothy Doxley.
- Robert Bird. Ralph Wallis.
- John Shorter. John Benson.
- William Windlow. John Piercy.
- Charles Hobbs. John Laurence.

Is there any Title or Dignity, any Wealth or Revenue, that could make these Men easy under the Load of the Guilt of this Man's Murder, as the Legislature afterwards term'd it? Coke remembers one of the Judges in particular.

A. D. 1681. " The Chief of these was Sir Francis North, a Man cut out to all Intents and Purposes for such Work; and, as if born to do it, his Father was a Committee-Man in all the late Troubles, against King Charles I. and his Grandfather, one of the Seven who condemn'd Archbishop Laud. 'Tis no matter who were the other Judges, for North was the Mouth of the Court."

The King's Counsel posted away after Colledge to Oxford with their Irish Witnesses, to prevail with the Grand Jury to find the Bill; inasmuch that the Bill being found, one of them boasted at Court of his Service and cunning Management of the Matter. The same was done in Fitz-Harris's Case, those Mercenaries cajoling the Grand Jury for some hours in private.

The murdering Judges seem'd to act very graciously, in allowing the execrable West to be Counsel for Colledge, and Mr. Aaron Smith Solicitor; but then, to prevent his being the better for it, as soon as the Bill was found against him, they dispatch'd Muriel the Goaler, and Sewel the Messenger, to bring Colledge from the Castle to his Trial; and order'd those Villains to take away his Papers from him, containing Minutes of Instructions from his Counsellor and Solicitor, which they did, and carry'd Colledge's Papers to the King's Counsel, which Sir John Hawles asserts was unjustifiable, and the first time that ever a Prisoner had the Instructions for his Defence taken away from him. Colledge finding his Life so beset, said, It was a horrid Conspiracy, not only against his Life, but against all the Protestants in England; and Sir John adds, He prov'd a true Prophet. It seems there was Matter in his Papers for quashing the Indictment; and he hinted so much to the Court, as that the Indictment contain'd Crimes of a different Nature, as Treason and Misdemeanor, which Solicitor-General Hawles says, ought not to be join'd in one Indictment. He was arraign'd at 12 a-clock, the 17th of August, and brought to his Trial two hours after; the Charge was for High Treason, for conspiring to seize the King, which is evidently in consequence of Fitz-Harris's pretended Plot, and speaking certain treasonable Words; for having Libels, Pistures, Silk Armour, Pocket-Pistols, Horse-Pistols, and a Sword, which Dugdale swore. Smith depos'd, that Colledge shew'd him the terrible Pistols; saying, These are the Things which will destroy the pitiful Guards of old Rowley. One Stephens swore to the Picture call'd the Raree-Show in Colledge's Chamber; and Haynes, that he said the City had 100000 Men ready at an hour's Warning; and what is very extraordinary indeed, Mr. Masters made Oath, that he justify'd the Proceedings in 1641, which this King's first Parliament justify'd. Sir William Jennings did himself the honour to bear false Witness also against him, that after boxing with one Fitzgerald, who made Colledge's Nose bleed, he said, He hop'd to see a great deal more Blood shed for the Cause. For the Prisoner, one Hickman witness'd, he heard Haynes swear, Damn him, he car'd not what he swore, nor whom he swore against, for it was his Trade to get Money by swearing. Mrs. Hall depos'd, She heard Haynes own he was employ'd to put a Plot upon the Dissenters. Low witness'd, that he said, The Parliament were a Company of Rogues, for not giving the King Money, but he would help the King to Money enough out of the Phanaticks Estates. As to Smith's Evidence, one Blake depos'd, that Smith told him, Haynes's Discovery was a Sham-Plot, a Meat-Tub Plot. Bolron swore,

A. D. 1681. swore, That *Smith* would have had him give Evidence against Sir *John Brooks*, that Sir *John* should say there would be cutting of Throats at *Oxford*, and that there was a Consult at *Grantham*, wherein it was resolv'd, That it was better to seize the King than to let him go: That he would have had him to be a Witness against *Colledge*, and told him what he should say, that they might not disagree in their Evidence: That he heard *Haynes* say he knew nothing of a *Presbyterian Plot*; but if he were to be an Evidence, he car'd not what he swore, but would swear any thing to get Money.

Mowbray depos'd, That *Smith* tempted him to be a Witness against *Colledge*, and was inquisitive to know what Discourse pass'd betwixt him, my Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *John Hewly*, and Mr. *Stern* on the Road: And now out comes the whole Secret of the pretended *Presbyterian Plot*. *Mowbray* solemnly swore, that *Smith* said, *If the Parliament would not give the King Money, and food on the Bill of Exclusion, it was Pretence enough to swear a Design to seize the King.*

Everard swore, *Smith* told him he knew of no *Presbyterian Plot*, and said Justice *Warcup*, to his eternal Infamy, would have persuaded him to swear against some Lords a *Presbyterian Plot*, but he knew of none. *Warcup* was knighted for this Hellish Subornation. He said *Haynes* told him, *Necessity had put him upon swearing contrary to what he had sworn formerly.* Mr. *Parkhurst* and Mr. *Symons* depos'd, They had seen Arms at *Colledge's* in the Time of the last Parliament, so they could not be purchas'd for seizing the King at *Oxford*; and *Tates* swore *Dugdale* bespoke a Pistol of him, which he promis'd to give *Colledge*: Whom *Tates* commending as an honest Man, that stood up for the King and Government; Yes, says *Dugdale*, *I believe he does, and I know nothing to the contrary.* Several other Witnesses gave the like Evidence against the forsworn Wretches, whom *Sawyer* and the King's Counsel had play'd off before. Others bore Testimony to *Colledge's* Honesty and Conformity, that he was a good *Churchman*, and never went to a Conventicle that they knew of. Sir *John Hawles* proves the false swearing of every one of the Witnesses against *Colledge* still further than I have done, upbraids the Jury with giving a Verdict against their Consciences, and the unrighteous Judges with commending them for it. *Hawles* tells us, *North* acted disingenuously with the Prisoner, that he broke his Word with him in summing up the Evidence, that he summ'd it up unfairly, that he made a lame Excuse for not minding the Jury of what *Colledge's* Witnesses said, saying, he refer'd it to their Memory: *whereas, I dare say, 'tis Sir John Hawles* who speaks it, *after about thirteen Hours Evidence, the Jury remember'd no more than that they were to find him guilty.* Tho' this Villany, under colour of Justice, is not stamp'd with the Archdeacon's Authority so much as the Injustice he pretends was done the Popish Conspirators, yet he can't help abusing *Colledge* now he is under Condemnation. "His Execution was defer'd fourteen Days, till the 31st of August; during which time, in company he seem'd to be very little concern'd, but often had terrible Agonies when he was by himself," insinuating the Horrors of a guilty Conscience. Sir *John Hawles* tells us, *One thing was very dishonestly insinuated, that he was a Papist, which was only to incense the Jury against him, and it had its effect: Whereas he declar'd at his Death, he died of the Church of England.* *Hawles* gives us this account of it: *The true reason of so long a Reprieve, was to see how the Nation would digest the matter, and whether the Man by the Terror of Death could be prevail'd upon to do an ill thing to save his Life, and become a Tool to destroy other Innocents; but when it was found that the People were quiet, and that he was not to be corrupted, his Execution was order'd; yet as a show of Mercy, his Quarters were permitted to be bury'd: a Favour he slighted, saying, I care not whether I am eaten up by Flies or Worms.* A like brave Saying of his was just after Sentence, *When am I to be executed?* Sir *John Hawles* proceeds, "The same favour was shewn to *Fitzharris*; but the true Reason of both was, that they had a mind that the Trials and pretended Crimes for which *Fitzharris* and *Colledge* were condemn'd, should be forgotten, which would not be so soon done, if their Quarters were always expos'd to view. But tho' all People were quiet, yet there was great grumbling, and most honest Men were afraid; and the Constancy of *Colledge* at his Execution was such, that it made the most violent against him relent." *Echard*, who had the Confidence to dedicate his Book to his late Majesty, terms the unjust Execution of this honest Man, so prov'd to be at his Trial, a just Judgment of Almighty God upon him, for his endeavouring to bring the Lord *Stafford* to Justice. And now, continues he, *the King seem'd to enjoy himself more than in some Years before*, by being daily complemented with several Spits in the Mouth, as Lord *Hallifax* call'd the Addresses, *flowing in*, cries the Archdeacon, from all Parts of his Kingdom, from Attorneys, Tapsters, Bailiffs, Curates, Militia Men, and the like Fry, as is shewn at large in the before mention'd *Impartial Account of these Addresses.*

Colledge condemn'd and executed.

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A. D. 1681.

His Courage.

P. 637.

Ecclesiastical Commission.

Dr. Gower's Speech to the King.

Now also was Dr. *Oates* turn'd out of *Whitehall*, and his Pension taken from him. An Ecclesiastical Commission was granted to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Hallifax*, the Lord *Hyde*, and Mr. *Edward Seymour*, to dispose of all Church Preferments, which belong'd to the King's immediate Patronage. And about ten Days after *Colledge* was hang'd, his Majesty went to *Newmarket*, where he was soon attended by a numerous and solemn Appearance of the University of *Cambridge*, I take it from Mr. Archdeacon, at the head of which was the Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Gower*, Master of *St. John's-College*, who made a Speech to him; which being extremely academical, I leave where I found it in his History, and shall only insert some of the *Beaux Endroits* in it: *That the seditious Endeavours of unreasonable Men had made it, necessary to assert the antient Loyalty of the English Nation, and make the World sensible, that they, the Doctors, Masters, and Scholars of Cambridge, do not degenerate from those prime Glories of their Ancestors, Love and Allegiance to our Prince, be what he will, and who he will.* He then tells the King, that if it had not been for God's Providence, and his Majesty's royal Care, in so seasonably checking the arbitrary and insolent Undertakings of factious and malicious Men, they would not have been content to vent the Venom of their Reproaches against those good University Men, but would have plunder'd and sequester'd them, would have violated their Chapels, rifled their Libraries, and empty'd their Colleges, as they did once. Then he tells his Majesty what they will believe and maintain; which was, that when his Brother the Duke of *York* came to be King, He would not derive his Title from the People, but from God; that to God only he would be accountable, that it belongs not to Subjects either to create or censure, but to honour and obey their Sovereign. Then comes some

D. A. 1681.

some of that staring Nonsense which endeavours to reconcile the Unalterable with the Revolutionary Right, the Hereditary Right and the Abdication Right. Again, who comes to be our Sovereign by a fundamental hereditary Right of Succession, which no Religion, no Law, no Fault or Forfeiture can alter or diminish. He said a Truth after it, which makes some Atonement for this Falshood: *We bring no Names and Seals, no Lives and Fortunes, which are at all worth your Majesty's acceptance.* The King in answer to this *Lofty* Speech, said, *He would constantly own the Church of England.* Did he not make his Word good by dying a Papist? *Be assur'd of this, (says he,) for I will be as good as my word.* On the 20th of September the King and Queen went to Cambridge; the University Orator Mr. *Billers* spoke in *Latin* to the King, who always spoke and wrote in *English*; but to the Queen in *English*, as supposing she did not understand *Latin*, tho' she never pray'd to God in any other Language. They presented the King with a Protestant Bible. They might as decently have given it to the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, and the Queen with *Dugdale's View of the late Troubles of England*; a Present I should not think too good for Mr. Archdeacon himself, if he would please to accept of it. He is very copious in his Description of the Entertainment of the Royal Pair, and tells us it *refounded thro' the whole Kingdom.* The judicious and learned Lawyer Mr. *Acherley* explains to us, the virtuous Motives that produc'd this Harangue from the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*.

"The *Popish* Cabal contriv'd and provided Schemes for the *Duke*, to impoverish and intimidate all Opposers of his Interest. Some of them were; To encourage and prefer such of the Clergy as would preach, and such Writers as would enforce the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience without Reserve, and unlimited Non-Resistance*; which Preachers carried the Point further, and in Imitation of the Preachers in the Reign of King *Charles I.* they made the *Pulpit a Bar*, at which to plead against the *Liberty and Property* of the Subject. "To encourage satirical and fiery Writers to feed, and even glut the World with printed Papers, wherein were *blacken'd* the Principles of those Gentlemen, who in the Year 1640, and 1641, found means to rescue the Constitution and the *National Freedom* from Arbitrary Power, as the most profligate and detestable Tenets in nature."

Gower's Speech is the very Essence of these dangerous and detested Schemes. The Conspiracy to take off the chief Protestant Lords and Gentlemen, being check'd by the honest Proceedings of the Sheriffs, the Court resolv'd to use all their Arts and Strength to get the City of *London* into their hands, that such Juries might be pack'd as had no restraint of Conscience upon them, and whose Hearts were harden'd to go thro' the greatest Butcheries without Remorse. The sober Part of the City would have set aside Sir *John Moor*, an old canting Fanatick of so weak Parts, that even *Jenkins* could wheedle him out of his Religion and Principles; but he being the next Alderman to the Chair, and several Dissenting Ministers being so far impos'd upon by his hypocritical Pretences, as to get Votes for him in their Congregations, he had the Majority of Sir *John Shorter*, and *Moor* was so sharpen'd by Opposition, that he abandon'd himself his former Religion and Principles to the *Popish* Faction. He began his betraying of the Cause of his Country with drink-

ing to one *Dudley North*, a Merchant, Brother to the Chief Justice, to entitle him to be Sheriff, which occasion'd a great Disorder in the City, as will be seen in the Sequel; but as yet the Shrievalty was in good hands, and when a Bill of Indictment of High Treason was prefer'd against the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, the Court found they had precipitated the Matter, and that there was not a *seasonable Jury* ready for them. That Lord, then call'd the *Protestant Earl*, was sent to the Tower in *July*, and there continu'd till the 24th of *November*; and had every thing to fear from the implacable Malice, and the merciless Rage of his wicked Enemies, who had brib'd perjurd Villains to swear Colledge out of his Life, and were now employing them in the like diabolical Work to swear the Earl of *Shaftesbury* out of his. The Bishop of *Salisbury* says of the Ministry and Judges at this time, *The Court intended to set the Witnesses to swear against the Protestant Party, which was plainly MURDER in them, who believ'd them false Witnesses, and yet made use of them to destroy others.* Mr. Archdeacon vouches for them that they were true Witnesses, and that the not believing them rous'd the Indignation, and rais'd the highest Resentments of the greatest Part of the Nation. He could not have said it without want of Sense as well as Integrity. The Grand Jury impannel'd on this occasion were Gentlemen of such Note and Worth, that at the Names of them a whole Host of his Abhorers and Addressers vanish like Goblins at the Dawn of Day.

A. D. 1681.

P. 604, 605.

Clergy preach against Liberty and Property.

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|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Sir Samuel Bernardiston, | John Dubois Esq; | The Earl of Shaftesbury's Jury. |
| Foreman. | Charles Hearle Esq; | |
| Sir John Morden. | John Murrice Esq; | |
| Sir Humphry Edwyn. | Joseph Wright Esq; | |
| Sir Edmund Harrison. | John Cox Esq; | |
| Sir Leonard Robinson. | Thomas Shephard Merchant. | |
| Thomas Papillon Esq; | Joseph Richardson Esq; | |
| Michael Godfrey Esq; | Andrew Kendrick Esq; | |
| Edward Rudge Esq; | William Empson Esq; | |
| John Flavell Esq; | John Hall Esq; | |

How stupid as well as wicked must the Prosecutors be to bring such Witnesses as *Dennis Macnamarra, Bernard Dennis, John Macnamarra, Edward Ivey, &c.* before such a Jury as this, Men of great Parts, great Virtue and Fortune, who could not but abhor the Evidence, and desert or despise the Prosecutors? If the Earl of *Shaftesbury's* Throat had been cut, as it is suspected the Earl of *Essex's* was, it had been a Complement to Justice; but to attempt to murder a Man by forms of Law, and the Testimonies of perjurd Criminals, was an Affront to it, which we shall hardly meet with in the worst of Times, if ever there were worse than these, the Reigns we are writing of, of which *Coke* says, and it is one of the best things he ever said, *For near eighty Years these three Kings of the Scottish Race had been endeavouring to establish an arbitrary tyrannical Government.* *Charles* the First exceeded his Father, and *Charles II.* imitates his; for as *Charles I.* did his illegal Acts by such Judges as he could get, so *Charles II.* in the Executions of *Fitzharris* and Colledge, would have the colour of Justice by form of Law, for which there was no Law; This plainly leaves the Blood of those Sacrifices on the Heads of the Court, the Judges, the Juries: Upon which the righteous Vengeance of Heaven has been, and will be pour'd to the third and fourth Generation.

The Earl of Shaftesbury's Jury.

Irish Evidence.

Bad Reigns.

P. 312.

The Bishop of *Salisbury* gives this Account of the Proceedings against the Earl of *Shaftesbury*: "His

A. D. 1681. " His Papers were seiz'd and search'd; nothing material was found among them, but a Draught of an Association, which was neither writ nor mark'd in any place with his hand." *Echard* avers there was something material found besides the Association, and that was a Book of the several Counties of England, rang'd in Alphabet, under the Heads of Worthy Men on the one side, and Men Worthy on the other. I leave it to the Reader to guess on which side his Lordship would have rang'd Mr. Archdeacon, who would have had this and the Association rack'd together to make High Treason of it. For he continues, *It appear'd afterwards that under the Cypher of Men worthy was couch'd the Conceit of Men worthy to be hang'd; for which he would have had the Jury hang up the Earl of Shaftesbury.* My Lord of *Sarum* tells us how the Earl came by this Association, and if so, there was nothing but the Alphabet left to hang him. " When there was a Talk of an Association, as there was in Parliament some Months before, some had fram'd this Paper, and brought it to him, of which he always profess'd, that he remember'd nothing at all: So it is probable, that, as is ordinary when any great Business is before the Parliament, that zealous Men are at the Doors with their several Draughts; this was one of these, cast carelessly by, and not thought on by him, when he had sent his more valuable Papers out of the way. There was likewise but one Witness that could swear to its being found there. The Witnesses against the Earl were examin'd in open Court, contrary to the usual Custom; they swore many incredible things: The Draught of the Association was also brought as a Proof of his Treason, tho' it was not laid in the Indictment, and was prov'd only by one Witness." So the *Solicitors* and Witnesses would have had their Brains beaten out, had not the Protestant Sheriffs protected them, and been their Guard as far as the *Savoy*. *Sir John Hawles* gives many Reasons, Arguments and Authorities to justify those worthy Gentlemen in their just Verdict, to which I refer, and shall only repeat what my Lord of *Sarum* writes on this occasion. " There was all this Summer strange practising with Witnesses to find more Matter against the Earl of Shaftesbury. *Wilkinson*, a Prisoner for Debt, who had been often with him, was dealt with to accuse him. The Court had found out two *Solicitors* to manage such Matters, *Burton* and *Graham*, who were indeed fitter Men to have serv'd in a Court of Inquisition, than in a legal Government. It was known that Lord Shaftesbury was apt to talk very freely, and without Discretion; so the two *Solicitors* sought out all that had frequented his Company, and tried what they could draw from them, and they made great Promises to such as by swearing boldly would deserve them. In all this soul dealing the King himself was believ'd to be the chief Director, and Lord *Hallifax* was thought deep in it." *Wilkinson* abovemention'd was tamper'd with, not only by the Lord *Conway* Secretary of State, but *Coke* says by the King himself, by the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justice *Pemberton*, and other Court Lords; and *Wilkinson* having been promis'd Advancement, if he would swear against the Earl of Shaftesbury, he refus'd it, as having nothing to swear; the Lord Chancellor said, *There are two Sorts of Advancements, and you are like to come to your Trial before the Lord Shaftesbury: for which, no doubt he has been rewarded according to his Works.*

The Court having given the Word for it, the Addressers, a very ragged Regiment, box'd about *Ignoramus* Juries and Associations, in variety of dull, fulsome and insolent Papers, which being below Contempt, cannot be worthy Remembrance.

Four Days after the *Ignoramus* Verdict, the Earl of *Shaftesbury* was bail'd out of the Tower, his Bail being the Lord *Ruffel*, Mr. *Montagu*, afterwards Duke, Sir *William Cowper*, Father of the late Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, and Mr. *Charlton*. The Lord *Howard* of *Efserick* was also then bail'd, and the Court was so afraid of Rejoicings, that the Lord Mayor was order'd to take especial Care that there should be no Bonfires. However, the good People shew'd their Affection to the Earl and the Protestant Cause, by a Medal which was struck, and on which *Echard* assures us Mr. *Dryden* made a very ingenious Poem; but as he's no better a Critick than he is an Historian, the Reader will not be misled by his Judgment.

1682.

THE Duke of York, who governs all, is made High Commissioner of Scotland, says *Coke*, where at this time he is contriving the Destruction of the noble Earl of Argyle, whilst his Brother is doing that of my Lord Shaftesbury, and both act their Parts under the Veil of sacred Justice; in which, says he, the Duke seems more successful than his Brother. He refers to the intended Murder of my Lord Argyle, which is with him Success; and the two Brothers will indeed be thus successful till the Nation gets rid of them by Death and Abdication.

The Duke had some Excuse for exercising the Cruelty of his Nature by the rash and frantic Proceedings of some enthusiastick *Cameronians*, who insisted upon it, that the King by breaking the Covenant which he had thrice solemnly sworn, had forfeited his Right to the Crown, which they were so bold as to declare in a Paper fix'd to the Cross at *Dunfries*. The Guards were immediately hurry'd away to fall on these crazy Creatures, the Chief of whom was one *Cameron*, a Teacher among them, from whom they took their Name; and he making a vigorous Resistance was kill'd. Two others of their Teachers and Chiefs, *Cargil* and *Hackstone*, were taken. *Hackstone*, when brought before the Council, would not own their Authority, nor make any Answer to their Questions; he was so low by reason of his Wounds, that it was thought he would die in the Question, if tortur'd, so he was in a very summary way condemn'd to have both his Hands cut off, and then to be hang'd, which he suffer'd with a Constancy that amazed all People. He seem'd to be all the while in an Extasy, and insensible of what was done to him. When his Hands were cut off, he ask'd like one unconcern'd, if his Feet must be cut off too? And he had so strong a Heart, that notwithstanding all the Loss of Blood by his Wounds, and the cutting off his Hands; yet when he was hang'd up and his Heart cut out, it continu'd to palpitate for some time after it was on the Hangman's Knife. *Cargil*, and many others, Women as well as Men, were executed; and all suffer'd with so particular an Obstinacy, that tho' the Duke of York lent them the Offer of pardon, if they would only say, *God bless the King*, they refus'd it with a kind of Scorn. One of the Women said very calmly, *I am sure God will not bless him, and therefore I will not take God's Name in vain*. Another said more sullenly, *I will not worship that Idol, nor acknowledge any other King but Christ*; which she must be supposed to say, on the score

How the Earl came by the Association.

Clear'd by Jury return'd Ignoramus on the Bill, and the an Ignoramus.

Burton and Graham great Villains.

P. 507.

P. 311.

A. D. 1681.

A. D. 1682.

Scotland. P. 308.

Bishop Burnet.

Cameronians hang'd.

A. D. of the King's pretended Forfeiture by the Breach of his Oath. 1682.

On the 28th of July last the Duke held a Parliament, and pass an Act for the *Security of the Protestant Religion*. *Echard* is so very weak as to mention this seriously, tho' *Bishop Burnet* informs us, that it was not intended that this new Confirmation of old Statutes against Popery should have any Effect. The next Act was for the unalterable Succession of the Crown, which was only oppos'd by the Earl of *Tweeddale*, and that not with respect to the Duke, but to the Queen of *Spain*, the King and Duke's Niece.

A Member of this Parliament accus'd the Lord *Halton*, *Lauderdale's* Brother, of Perjury, on account of *Mitchel's* Business before mention'd. *Halton* swore there was no Promise of Life made; *Mitchel*, and his Letters to Lord *Kincardin* then produc'd, prov'd that there was; but the Duke of *York* stifled the Prosecution. The same he did concerning a Conspiracy against Lord *Bargeny's* Life, Witnesses being suborn'd, as he could very plainly prove, to swear he was in the *Bothwell-Bridge* Business, tho' he had many Proofs to the contrary, and no body believ'd he knew of it; but this also the Duke stifled, notwithstanding *Bargeny* was Nephew to Duke *Hamilton*.

The Test Act.

The Test Act, which was brought into this Scots Parliament, was more rigid, and more exalted the Prerogative above the Laws, than the baffled Test in 1675 in *England*, and the Sermons and Addresses of the Popish Faction in that Kingdom did. The Account given of the Lord *Argyle's* suffering for it, is so false in Mr. *Archdeacon's* History, that one would think he invented it, on purpose to exasperate the whole *British* Nation against the most noble House of *Argyle*, who have done and suffer'd as much for the Protestant Religion and Liberty, as any other honourable Family whatsoever in *Great Britain*. My Lord *Argyle's* main Objection to this vile Test, was the obligatory Part, not to endeavour any Alteration in the Government in Church and State. The Bishops were very zealous for the passing of this Test; but several weighty Reasons were given against it, as had been urg'd in the Parliament of *England*; however, it pass'd, and the Earl of *Argyle* being requir'd to take it, did it with this Explanation, *That he did not intend to bind himself up by it from doing any thing in his Station, for the amending of any thing in Church or State, so far as was consistent with the Protestant Religion, and the Duty of a good Subject; and he took that as a part of his Oath*. Having said this, he sat down at the Council-Table, and went next day to the Treasury-Chamber, where he was a Commissioner, and repeated the same Words. Some Enemies of his, and of his Religion and Principles, suggested to the Duke of *York*, who was very susceptible of such Suggestions, that great Advantage might be taken against him from those Words; so at the Treasury-Chamber he was desir'd to write them down, and give them to the Clerk, which he did, and was immediately sent Prisoner to *Edinburgh* Castle. The Reader has the full state of the Case before him, and when he has seen how it is misrepresented by Dr. *Sprat* and Mr. *Echard*, he will have pity on them, if he has any Christian Charity.

The Earl of Argyle explains the Test, and is imprisoned.

P. 519.

Echard begins his Abuse, with saying the Earl had, by many indirect Ways, attempted to hinder his Majesty's Service. This is so false, that *Bishop Burnet* assures us, Lord *Argyle* was of the Duke of *Lauderdale's* Party, of whom the King said, that whatever *Lauderdale* had done against the Scots, it was all for his Service,

as has been observ'd already. The next Falstity is, that *Argyle* himself put the very Clause into the Test, against which himself excepted; if he stole this from *Sprat*, one may have from thence an Idea of the Falstities in that Doctor's History of the *Rye-House* Plot. The two Ecclesiastical Historians add, The Earl travell'd about the Country, to insinuate Prejudices against the Test, and dispers'd his Explanation. Now 'tis evident that he had no time to do it, he writ it down in the Treasury-Chamber, and was immediately clapt up in Prison. The two reverend Historians, Dr. *Sprat* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and Mr. *Echard* Archdeacon of *Stowe*, assert, That his Trial was according to the Laws of his Country; that it was full and equal; that he was found guilty of Treason by the Judges, and a Jury, not only of his Peers, but also several of them his own nearest Relations. That soon after Judgment, tho' the King had no thought of taking his Life, yet he took the first Opportunity to make his Escape, not daring to venture on the King's Mercy; which will be found to be every Word false, by comparing it with what my Lord Bishop of *Sarum* writes upon it: "*Lockhart* pleaded three hours for him, and shew'd so manifestly, that his Words had no sort of Criminality, much less of Treason in them, that if his Cause had not been judged before his Trial, no harm could have come to him." You remember *Echard* asserted the Trial to be fair and equal. The Bishop again: "The Court that was to judge the Point of Law, consisted of a Justice General, the Justice Clerk, and of five Judges. The Justice General does not vote, unless the Court is equally divided. One of the Judges was deaf, and so old, that he could not sit all the while the Trial lasted, but went home, and to Bed; the other four were equally divided, so that the old Judge was sent for, and he turn'd it against Lord *Argyle*. The Jury was only to find the Fact prov'd; but yet they were officious, and found it Treason. No Sentence in our Age was more universally cry'd out on than this. All People spoke of it, and of the Duke that drove it on, with Horror." Now *Sprat* and *Echard* affirm it was a fair and equal Trial, and speak of it, and of the Duke that drove it on, with infinite delight, and would make us believe there was no harm intended against him; but he was so guilty, that he durst not trust to the King's MERCY, but made his Escape. *Bishop Burnet* speaks quite otherwise; "Lord *Argyle* was made believe that the Duke intended to proceed to Execution. Some more of the Guards were order'd to come to *Edinburgh*. Rooms were also fitted for him in the common Goal, to which Peers use to be remov'd a few days before their Execution. And a Person of Quality affirm'd to him, on his Honour, that he heard one, who was in great Favour, say to the Duke, It must be done. It is certain many of the Scottish Nobility did believe it was intended he should die, and upon these Reasons Lord *Argyle* made his Escape. This business made the Duke look'd upon as one that would prove a terrible Master when All should come into his hands." You have heard how successful the Duke was in *Scotland*, and must now hear a little more of it from my Lord of *Sarum*; "He had promis'd to redress all the Merchants Grievances, with relation to Trade, to gain their Concurrence in Parliament; but as soon as that was over, all his Promises were forgotten; the Accusations of Perjury were stifled by him; and all the Complaints of the great Duke of York breaks his Word.

A. D. 1682.

A. D. 1682. " great Abuse Lord *Halton* was guilty of in the " Employments of the Coin, ended in turning " him out, and obliging him to compound for " his Pardon, by paying 20000 Pounds to two " of the Duke's Creatures; so that all the Re- " paration the Kingdom had for the Oppression " of so many Years, and so many Acts of In- " justice, was, that two new Oppressors had a " share of the Spoils, who went into the same " Track, or rather invented new Methods of " Oppression. The Bishops made their Court " to the Duke with so much Zeal, that they " wrote a Letter to the Archbishop of *Canter-* " *bury*, to be communicated to the rest of the " *English Bishops*, setting forth, in a very high " Strain, his Affection to the Church." Nay, " so very high was the Strain, that the Duke of " *York*, as much as he had been us'd to Flattery " from those Men, could not but despise it, 'twas " so abject and indecent. He made *Gordon*, now " Earl of *Aberdeen*, Chancellor, and *Queensberry* " Lord Treasurer; and having Leave given him " to come to Court, he waited on the King at " *Newmarket*, *March 3d*, and obtain'd the King's " Permission to live again at Court; but having " left his Dutcheffs in *Scotland* big with Child, he " return'd thither again in *May*. The *Gloucester* " Frigate that carry'd him, struck on a Bank of " Sand; the Duke got into a Boat, and, as we " read in Bishop *Burnet's* History, took care of " his Dogs and some unknown Persons, who were " taken from that earnest Care of his to be his " Priests. The Long-Boat went off with very few " in her, tho' she might have carry'd off above 80 " more than she did. One hundred and fifty Per- " sons perish'd, some of them Men of great Quali- " ty: But the Duke took no notice of this cruel " Neglect, which was laid chiefly to *Legg's* Charge. " The Bishop has been very much vilify'd for tel- " ling this Story by the Popish Faction and their " Abettors, one of whom, *Zachary Gray*, charg'd " him with Falshood in it at the same time that " himself publish'd a Libel full of the most impu- " dent Falshoods. I have since met with a fur- " ther Proof of that cruel Neglect, I had it from " a Man of Honour, who had it from one *Flower*, " a Musician, the only Man of the Duke's Band " that could play on the Lute. He was one of " those whom the Duke left in the Ship, and jump- " ing into the Sea, he swam after the Long-Boat; " he sunk twice, and when he rose the third time, " caught hold of a piece of the Wreck, which " drove towards the Long-Boat; when he came " near it, the Boat's Crew were going to knock " him on the head, but the Duke cry'd out, *Hold,* " *take him in, he's a Fidler*. However, he after- " wards turn'd him out of his Band, because he " would not turn *Papist*. He was receiv'd into " the Family of the Gentleman, from whom I " receiv'd my Information, and declar'd to him, " That the Duke of *York* took only his Dogs and " his Priests aboard the Pinnacle. *Flower* was re- " stor'd to his Place after the Revolution.

The Duke in danger at Sea.

Ireland.

The Kingdom of *Ireland* liv'd in great Tran- " quillity under the Duke of *Ormond*, who began " to be sensible of the King and the Duke's Inten- " tion to change the Government in Church and " State, and set up Popery and Arbitrary Power. " He was extremely solicitous to settle the Militia " of *Ireland*, and order'd their Watching equal " with the Army. By his good Administration, " the *English* Interest in *Ireland* became of greater " Value than ever, insomuch that an *Irish* Lord " swore, *He believ'd Jesus Christ was a Protestant,* " for that nothing prosper'd on the side of the Ca- " tholics, who, however, gave not over their In- " trigues. *Sheridan* was with the Duke in *Scot-* " *land*, from whence he wrote over private En-

couragement to the Popish Party, and kept them " still in heart. The Duke of *Ormond* endeavour'd " to have a Parliament in *Ireland*, and succeeded " so far, as to obtain a Grant, in pursuance of " which, a Bill drawn by the Lord Lieutenant " and Council, was sent over to *England*: But " the Duke of *York's* Interest obstructed it, and " 'tis suppos'd his first Journey from *Scotland* was " to put a stop to the Duke of *Ormond's* Design; " and the *Irish* were so confident he would do it " before it was done, that they stuck not to af- " firm, they were well assur'd there would be no " Parliament whilst King *Charles* liv'd. Nay, " they would frequently discourse with that Liber- " ty and Boldness, as if the Duke of *York* had been " actually seated on the Throne, upon a presump- " tion he would speedily ascend it. Thus we see " that the three Kingdoms were in the Duke's " hands, some Years before the Scepter was his " by the Death of his Brother, till when, and dur- " ing his own dreaded Reign, the Protestants of " *England, Scotland* and *Ireland* groan'd under " the most intolerable Tyranny; the Instruments " he made use of, being the most insolent as well " as the most infamous that could be pick'd out " among the three Nations. *Ireland* had continu'd " for two or three Years in much quiet, before and " after the Duke went to *Scotland*, when, on a " sudden, a Stratagem was set on foot, laid as deep " as Hell, says my Author, and yet seemingly for " the Advantage of the *English*. In the Settlement " of *Ireland* there were overplus or conceal'd " Lands, said to be in possession of divers of the " *English*, but in truth, much more in that of the " *Irish*. Now to insure the Titles of the *English* " from future Discoveries, as was pretended, a " Court of Grace was erected, where all that would " come, had the Opportunity of putting in their " Claims; and upon proving their Possession, and " compounding with the Commissioners for Pay- " ment of such a Sum as they thought fit to im- " pose upon them, they had new Patents granted " them. This Policy had its intended Effect, ma- " ny Persons came in, and considerable Sums were " rais'd: But this Court was soon found out to be " a Snare to the *English*; the Design being to " make a narrow Inspection into all Mens Titles, " and thereby discover what Advantage might be " deriv'd from it. For by the Act of Settlement, " all the forfeited Lands in *Ireland* were only " vested in the King, as a Trustee, for the use of " the Soldiers and Adventurers, and could be no " way dispos'd of, but according to the Intent of " that Act; and the King's Patent could not alter " it, as was pretended to be done by this Court of " Grace, which was set up by the Duke of *York's* " Interest, contrary to Law, and therefore his " Faction did not appear in it openly, but trans- " acted it by the Dutcheffs of *Portsmouth*, who " got a great deal of Money out of it by Fines.

The main Agent in it was one *W——th*, who, " some time before bought a Judge's Place in the " Exchequer for 800 Pounds. He call'd himself " a Protestant; and to make this Poison go down " the more easy, the Pill was gilded. Most of the " Judges were made Commissioners, and had part " of the Fines. The Lawyers and Attorneys got " Money by the Court, and purchas'd Estates, to " the ruin of the former Possessors. My Author " adds, " In several Designs of the *Papists*, they " acted by Protestant Tools. No Man was to " pass a Patent for *Fair, Market, Mannor, &c.* " without passing his Estate thro' this Court; " whereas by the Act of Settlement, all Per- " sons had liberty, for the Improvement of the " Country, to pass Patents for them, provided " they were not within three Miles one of an- " other. A sad thing, continues he, that *Eng-* " *lishmen,*

A. D. 1682.

Duke of York governs all.

A. D. 1682. " *lishmen* and Protestants should, by base and unworthy Compliances, become such servile Instruments to the Advancement of the Popish Cause."

The Duke of Ormond perceiving, by the Tendency of these Affairs, that the Romish Design was agitated with great Earnestness, he with much difficulty obtain'd leave to go for England in 1682. He left his Son the Earl of Arran Lord Deputy. Upon his Arrival at Court, he a second time attempts a Parliament, but ineffectually; upon which he return'd to Ireland with a heavy Heart, as he himself declar'd to a Person of great Quality in that Kingdom. He had Instructions to regiment the Army, and to do some other things that were Preparatives to what follow'd soon after the Duke of York's Accession to the Crown.

The Difficulties the Court of England met with, in taking off Protestant Lords and Gentlemen by Forms of Law, while there were honest Sheriffs and Juries, made them undertake the greatest Invasion of the People's Rights that ever had been heard of since the great Charter was sign'd at Runimead. *Echard* is so simple as to own the King's Design, by bringing *Quo Warranto's* against the Charter of London, and the Charters of other Cities and corporate Towns all over the Kingdom. He resolv'd to find Expedients against the London Juries, and to alter the Methods of electing Sheriffs. Till that was done, the Course of Justice was regular; but as soon as the Court had got Sheriffs and Juries to their mind, they set their Judges to work, who with ready Hand prepar'd the Knife to murder the noble Sacrifices which they offer'd to the Manes of the Popish Traytors, who were executed for the Popish Plot.

One *Cradock*, a pragmatial Mercer in *Padernoster-Row*, was su'd in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* by the Earl of *Shaftesbury*; but the Judges refus'd to try the Cause by a London Jury, tho' 'twas laid in London, and the Earl was not willing to trust it to a pack'd Country Jury, such as that of *Kent*, who found Mr. *Wilmore*, Foreman of *Colledge's* Ignoramus Jury, guilty of Kidnapping a Boy to *Jamaica*, without going from the Bar, says *Echard*; and adds, So much Difference there was between a Country and City Jury, between those wealthy and worthy Citizens, who gave an Ignoramus to Lord *Shaftesbury's* Indictment, and a Parcel of *Kentish* Clowns, cull'd out of that County to do this Job for the Ministry. *Echard* had seen, or might have seen, what Sir *John Hawles* says of the impudent Injustice and Illegality of the Process against Mr. *Wilmore*; and yet he bestows such Eulogy on the *Yeomen of Kent*, for finding him guilty about the End of *May*. He informs us the Judges reprimanded the Sheriffs for not returning the Writ de *Homine Replegiando* brought against *Wilmore* Elongatus est. Sir *John Hawles*, who knew more Law than all those Mercenaries, says, the Sheriffs would have return'd on the Writ, that the Boy went abroad by his own Agreement and Consent with Mr. *Wilmore*; and the Judges said, if they did not return replegiando, they would lay the two Sheriffs by the Heels: and as to the *Withernam* the reverend Author mentions, probably without knowing what it means, Sir *John* tells us, It was not Law, and that Mr. *Wilmore* and the Nation had great Injustice done them; for it was quickly seen what the Mischief of that Judgment was, and therefore it was endeavour'd to be reform'd by an Act of King and Council afterwards. I say first, it is lawful for a Master to covenant with a Servant to serve him beyond Sea. In the

Mr. Wilmore's Case.

next place, it is lawful for a Master to send a Servant beyond Sea, according to such Agreement; which he very learnedly proves to be according to Law, and adds, It is not an Argument for disallowing the Sheriffs first Return, that the Person sent beyond Sea was a Child not capable of making such a Contract, tho' I believe if the matter were look'd into, he was of age so to do. Notwithstanding all this found Law, and much more of it in *Hawles's* Remarks, does the Archdeacon intimate, *Wilmore* had been indicted in the City for the said Crime of Boy-stealing; mark the Malice and Virulence! But the Grand Jury there found the Bill Ignoramus; for which, and for clearing Mr. *Harris* the Bookseller, whom the Court caus'd to be indicted for publishing a Treatise against Popery and Arbitrary Power, which *Echard* terms a scandalous Libel, he sets forth the Necessity of the King's taking away Charters. But Sir *John Hawles* gives us the true Reason for it; which, if he lives to read, I am so tender to him, as to hope it will be with Shame and Confusion, he having pleaded the Necessity and Justice of seizing the Rights and Privileges of Englishmen founded on these Charters. "Notwithstanding all these Hardships on Juries, says Sir *John*, the Court saw plainly it was impossible to procure any Bills of Indictment for High Treason, much less any Person to be convicted on the like Evidence, except in London, where are some of the best, as well as the worst Men in the Nation; and even there it was not to be done, as long as the Juries were sensible and honest Men." Don't you remember how Mr. Archdeacon boasted of the Difference between *Kentish Men and Citizens of London*? "And that would be as long as the Election of Sheriffs was in the Citizens; and to the honour of the City it was seen, that they chose only honest Men to be Sheriffs, and that when they saw the publick Safety depend on honest Officers, tho' at other times they had rather pay a Fine than undergo the Charges and Trouble of that Office; yet at that time no Man legally chosen refus'd to stand, tho' they were reproach'd and punish'd for it: and if Mr. *Box* refus'd, it was because he would not join with *North*, who was impos'd upon the City, for which reason, it was resolv'd to take from the City the Right of chusing Sheriffs."

The Court could not help shewing their dislike to the Choice last Year, when, as Sir *John Hawles* informs us, honest Men were chosen, in so much that Sir *George Treby* the Recorder, and the two Sheriffs, Mr. *Pilkington* and Mr. *Shute*, being sent to invite the King to Dinner last Lord Mayor's Day, his Majesty descended so low from his Imperial Character, as to say, Mr. Recorder, an Invitation from my Lord Mayor and the City is very acceptable to me; and to shew that it is so, notwithstanding that it is brought me by Messengers that are so unwelcome to me as these two Sheriffs are, I accept it. If a private Gentleman had said as much to other Gentlemen, coming with such an Invitation, in his own House, I question whether well-bred People would not have taken it to be an Offence to Good-Manners.

I have but little Room or Inclination to dwell on small Events, which are more Biographical than Historical; but I think I must remember, after the Compleat Historian, that his Majesty made a Knight of *John Knight* Esq; one of the Sheriffs of *Bristol*, for his adherence to the Church, and of *George Vernon* Esq; of *Farnham*. That he gave some Bucks to the *London* Apprentices, who did also adhere to the Church, and issu'd

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A. D. 1682. an Order against a Dinner in the City, on account of certain Tickets given out by some Citizens that adher'd to the Constitution: That *George Legg Esq;* Master of the Ordnance, was sworn of the Privy-Council; and *Sir Samuel Morland* had the Benefit of an Engine, which, with the Strength of eight Men, would force the Water in a continual Stream, at the rate of above 60 Barrels an Hour, from the River of *Thames* to the top of *Windsor-Castle*, for which his Majesty gave him a Medal with his own Royal Hand, and order'd him to be sworn Master of the Mechanics; tho' since the Discovery of the *Fire-Engine*, *Sir Samuel's* is not worth the Leather the Pipe was made of. His Majesty knighted also *Thomas Deerham Esq;* his Resident with the great Duke of *Tuscany*, and *Christopher Buckle Esq;* of *Surrey*. He made the Duke of *Grafton*, whom he order'd to be one of the Stewards at the City-Prentices Feast, Colonel of his First Regiment of Foot-Guards. *Sir George Carteret*, eldest Son to *Sir Philip Carteret*, was created a Baron of *England*, by the Name of *Baron Carteret of Havens*, in the County of *Bedford*. And about the same time last Summer, his Highness the Prince of *Orange* visited his Uncles in *England*, where he made a short stay of a few Days only. Some time after, *Sunday February 12*, a barbarous Assassination was committed on the Person of *Thomas Thynne Esq;* who passing the *Pall-mall* in his Coach, was set upon by three Men on Horse-back; one of which discharg'd a Musquetoon into the Coach, and mortally wounded him, four Bullets entering his Body. The Assassins were one *Vratz*, a German Captain; *Borotski*, a *Polander*; and *John Sterne*, who were set on by Count *Coningmark*, a Rival of *Mr. Thynne's* in his Pretences to the *Lady Elizabeth Percy*, Daughter and Heir to the great Earl of *Northumberland*; tho' no body had so good a Right to pretend to her as *Mr. Thynne*, who was her wedded, tho' not bedded Husband. To extenuate this barbarous Act, *Mr. Archdeacon* insinuates, that *Mr. Thynne*, after he had refus'd two Challenges from *Coningmark*, sent six Men to *France* to assassinate that Count there, and that it was a Judgment upon *Thynne* for his treacherous Practices to another Lady; which he tells us out of the *Scandalous Chronicle*, much more scurrilous and false than any of our *Secret Histories*.

Mr. Thynne assassinated.

The Assassins hang'd.

The Reader will not wonder at this gross Partiality, when he is told that *Mr. Thynne* was zealous for the Protestant Interest, and the Bill of Exclusion; that he abhor'd persecuting Dissenters, and on all occasions asserted the Liberty of his Country.

Coningmark ran away, and was taken in disguise at *Gravesend* by *Gibbons*, a Servant of the Duke of *Monmouth's*, who, 'tis said, was in the Coach when his Friend *Mr. Thynne* was shot, and to whose Friendship and Diligence was owing the quick Apprehension of the Assassins, who were try'd, condemn'd, and hang'd in the *Pall-mall*. *Sterne* and *Borotski* were very penitent; but *Vratz* said at the Gallows, *God has a greater Favour for Gentlemen, than to require Punctilio's of Humility at their hands; and it is absurd to think, that so many thousand Gentlemen in the World, that stood upon their Honour and Reputation so much as he, should be for ever damn'd, because they could not stoop to things that would spoil the Figure they made in the world.* It is miraculous that a Man of such religious Sentiments as these, and so good a Catholic, should not come off as well as *Coningmark*; who having rid the Court of an Opposer, Directions were given that the Judges should be

favourable; as *Sir John Hawkes* assures us they were, and gives several Instances of it, closing his Remarks thus: *Vratz being the next greatest Offender, was honourably interr'd; and Sterne and Borotski, who were the least Offenders in that Matter, were hang'd in Chains. It was somewhat like New-England Law, remember'd by Hudibras, of hanging an useless innocent Weaver for an useful guilty Cobler.*

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Echard prints many of the Addressees that were presented the King against the *Association, Ignoramus's*, &c. especially one from the *Artillery Company in Bristol*, who shew'd that they could write no better than they could fight. He then inserts a Speech of *Dr. Coxa*, Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge* to the Duke of *York*, to which he tells us, his Royal Highness was pleas'd to return this Answer. *I will ever stand by the Church of England as by Law establish'd*, which the Reverend Historian would have sunk, if he had a true Notion of the Baseness, as well as Sin of breaking a Man's Word. The University, in compliment to his Royal Highness, bridge turn'd out their Chancellor the Duke of *Monmouth*, and chose in his place *Monk's Son Christopher Duke of Albemarle*, who was just as well qualify'd to be their Chancellor, as his Father was to be their Representative in Parliament, if good Sense and Learning were Qualifications necessary to protect or represent that most famous Nursery. But by what follows, neither of them seem to be then of the Growth of that Place; for that venerable Body were so foolish or mad, as to burn the Duke of *Monmouth's* Picture, which not long before they had begg'd of his Grace. This shameless Act of Ingratitude was finely lash'd in a Satyr written upon the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors, by *George Stepney Esq;* who serv'd King *William* so long and so laudably in several foreign Negotiations. It began thus:

They burn the Duke of Monmouth in Effigie.

*Yes, fickle Cambridge, Perkins found this true,
Both from your Rabble, and your Doctors too;
With what Applause you once receiv'd his Grace,
And begg'd a Copy of his God-like Face:
But when the sage Vice-Chancellor was sure
Th' Original in Limbo lay secure,
As greasy as himself, he sends a Lictor,
To vent his loyal Malice on the Picture.
The Beadle's Wife, &c.*

The Duke of *York* before he return'd to *Scotland*, was advis'd by his Faction to aim at Popularity; and as one step towards it, he din'd with the *Artillery Company* at *Merchant-Taylors Hall*, where his Hand was kiss'd by great Numbers of Citizens, who crowded to have that Honour, and where-ever he went the Rabble were excited to make a Noise, as if he had been the People's Darling: But as his Courtship of them was awkward and affected, so their Acclamations were forc'd and unnatural. He had not one engaging Quality; he was haughty, sullen, severe, tenacious of his Money, and careless of his Promises. But the Addressees set up an Idol, which they worship'd as the Priests of *Baal* did their God, to his Confusion, and their own Destruction. The Duke of *York* staid about a Fortnight only in *Scotland*, and then return'd by Sea to *England* with his Dutchess and the Princess *Anne*, his second Daughter. *Mr. Archdeacon* waits upon him in all Progresses with as much Joy and Ceremony, as if he had been the Protector of the Protestant Religion, and the Champion of *English* Liberty; tho' he allows that he was the cause of future Severities and Irregularities, and would have put the King still upon

A. D. 1682. more of them, which once extorted this Rebuke from him; *Brother, I am resolv'd never to travel again, you may do so, if you please:* and so he did, and never more saw his injur'd Country.

Dissenters severely handled.

Dr. Calamy, p. 356.

It was now that the drunken Justices, and their Band-Dogs the Informers were let loose upon Protestant Dissenters. The King, who pretended to be desirous to keep his sacred Word, given them at *Breda* for Liberty of Conscience, now suffer'd his Brother to press the most rigorous Execution of the new Laws, and of the Statute 35 *Eliz.* against them, in defiance of the Votes of Parliament in their favour: Nay, several zealous Protestants, who had been most active against the *Papists*, were try'd by mercenary Judges, with pack'd Juries, upon *Irish* Evidence. Orders and Directions were sent from the King and Council-Board to suppress all Meetings of Protestant Dissenters, which was very officiously forwarded by the *Middlesex* Justices at *Hickes's Hall*, by the Justices in *Southwark*, and some Aldermen of the City; such as *Pritchard, Raymond, Sheldon, Davies, &c.* Many Ministers were imprison'd, and they and their Hearers impoverish'd by exorbitant Fines. The Reverend and Learned *Mr. Baxter* was hal'd out of his Bed, sick as he was, and had been thrown into Jail upon the Corporation Act, besides a Warrant against him for 195 Pounds, had not that eminent Physician *Dr. Thomas Cox* accidentally come by; and seeing him in the hands of Ruffians, forc'd him into his House again, while he went to five Justices of the Peace and took his Oath, that *Mr. Baxter* could not go to Prison, without danger of Death. However, the Justices would not favour him, till they had consulted the King, who consented that his Imprisonment should for that time be forborn, *that he might die at home.* *Mr. Baxter* had been one of his first Chaplains after his Restoration, in which he was more instrumental than perhaps every one of the Bishops, who so insulted him at the *Savoy* Conference. The Ruffians executed their Warrant, distrain'd the Books and Goods in the House, tho' he made it appear they were none of his, and they sold even the Bed which he lay sick upon. All which was done without his having the least notice of any Accusation, or receiving any Summons to appear and answer for himself, or ever seeing the Justices or Accusers. He was afterwards in constant danger of new Seizures, and at last was forc'd to leave his House, and retire into private Lodgings. *Dr. Annesley* and several other Divines had their Goods distrain'd for latent Convictions. Others were imprison'd upon the Corporation Act, while others were worry'd in the Spiritual Courts. Warrants were sign'd for Distresses in one Parish only to the Value of 1400 Pounds, and one of them for 500 Pounds. The Reverend *Mr. Vincent* was try'd at *Surrey* Sessions, upon the 35th of *Eliz.* and cast. Two hundred Warrants were issu'd out for Distresses upon *Uxbridge* and the Neighbourhood. The pious and eminent *Dr. Bates*, one of the most learned and polite Writers of the Age, was distrain'd upon. The Jayls all over *England* were fill'd with the same sort of Offenders for Conscience sake only. Here you might see a lewd Herd of Informers, probably with a roaring Justice at their Head, haling away religious conscientious Persons, Women as well as Men, to the common Prison. There another Band of them loaden with the Plunder of their Houses and Barns, and driving away their Cattle for not coming to Church, and for going to a Protestant Meeting. I have been an Eye-Witness of these impious and cruel Practices, and the Impression is still too strong upon my Mind

to tell even this little with Patience. These are this King's Successes, these his Triumphs, which produce such Exultation in the Pulpit and out of it, in Sermons and Addresses; the latter were stuff'd with most hearty and humble Thanks for securing a Popish Successor to reign over our Protestant Church, for persecuting and ruining our dissenting Brethren, for establishing Principles of Tyranny and Slavery, if Tyrants and Slaves are capable of Principles; and now, says *Echard*, his Majesty rul'd with more *Independency*. He means nothing, if he does not mean with less Regard to that Religion, and those Laws which he had sworn to defend. One cannot question but when the Duke of *York* came last from *Scotland*, the Resolution was taken, not only to harrass, oppress and ruin Protestant Dissenters, but also to strike such Terror into Protestant Churchmen, as should induce them to give up all their Rights and Privileges, for fear of giving Offence to the two Popish Brothers, the King and the Duke of *York*; but as that could not be done while there were honest Sheriffs, those Princes resolv'd at any rate to get others, such as would not stick at any Butchery, which they should be put upon; accordingly they pitch'd on *Dudley North*, of whom they were sure, and ventur'd to name *Mr. Box*, of whom they were not sure. These two Citizens they caus'd to be put up for Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, in opposition to two worthy and wealthy Merchants, *Mr. Papillon* and *Mr. Dubois*. Some time before the Election *Sir John Moor* drank to *North* at the Bridge-House Feast, and by drinking to him, chose him Sheriff according to ancient Custom, says the honest Historian. *Bishop Burnet* on the contrary tells us, "The Right was to be determin'd by the Charter, which granted the Election of the Sheriffs to the Citizens of *London*; and whatever Customs had crept in among them, the Right still lay where the Charter had lodg'd it, among the Citizens; but the Court was resolv'd to carry this Point: The Common Hall alledg'd, that the Right of chusing both Sheriffs was in them; and the old Sheriffs put it according to custom to a Poll, and it was visible that the much greater Number was against the Lord Mayor." Now tho' there was no manner of occasion for unfair Dealing, by those that had a visible Majority; yet, says *Echard*, several Names of those who poll'd for *North* and *Box* were refus'd to be enter'd, and several Names of those that poll'd on the other side were enter'd, tho' the Persons were not present. The Fallshood of this is not to be conceiv'd, but by imagining Contraries; and this Violence, continues he, occasion'd the Mayor's adjourning the Court by Proclamation three Days to the 27th of *June*, which he had no Right to do; for as the Bishop of *Sarum* tells us, "The Sheriffs were always understood to be the Officers of that Court, so the adjourning it belong'd to them; yet the Mayor adjourn'd the Court, which the Sheriffs said he had no Power to do, and so went on with their Poll." The Reader will observe that the Poll is carry'd on regularly, and without Disturbance from any body but the Mayor. *Echard's* Representation is directly contrary, the Lord Mayor was thrown down upon his Knees, and in great danger. My Lord of *Sarum* assures us, there was no Disorder in the whole Progress of the Matter. When I charge the Archdeacon with Falsity, is there not a shorter Term for it in our Language? but the Purity and Delicacy of History will not admit of it. The King, who had nothing at all to do in this Affair, takes it upon himself, and sends for the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen and Sheriffs. I have fully related

A. D. 1682. related the Matter, and Echard says, the Matter being fully examin'd by King and Council, the two Sheriffs were committed to the Tower, by a Warrant sign'd by twenty-four Privy Counsellors. Why did he not name them? why did he not let Posterity know who were the Men that so basely betray'd their Country, by sacrificing the Rights and Privileges of its great and renown'd Metropolis, to the Resentment of two ill-advised Princes, Enemies to our Religion and Liberty. The Council also order'd a Prosecution against Mr. Pilkington and Mr. Shute, the Sheriffs, and Alderman Cornish, for the late enormous Riot. The Privy Councils at Moscow and Morocco did not countenance Tyranny more daringly than those twenty-four Counsellors did. There was no Riot at all, 'twas the Sheriffs Right to adjourn the Court: The Bishop of Salisbury tells us, the Mayor's Party carried themselves with great Insolence, the Sheriffs with more Temper than could be expected from so great a Body, who thought their Rights invaded. Yet Mr. Archdeacon takes great Comfort in the illegal Imprisonment of those two worthy Magistrates, and goes on with the Story as fairly as he began it. The Sheriffs being bail'd out of the Tower, met at the Common Hall the fifth of July, the Lord Mayor adjourn'd it to the seventh of July, and then further to the fourteenth of July, which, as we have seen, he had no Right to do: However the King interpos'd again, and sent an Order of Council to the Lord Mayor, to stand by antient Customs, meaning the Mayor's chusing the Sheriff by giving him a Cup of Sack: This Order being a Violation of their Charter, the Citizens after it was read, cry'd, read the Statute of 16 Car. I. Chap. x. against such Orders of Council, which yet Mr. Archdeacon informs us was impertinent; and indeed Law was at this time Impertinence. So the Lord Mayor, continues he, declar'd Mr. North duely elected, and that he would poll for the other three; for in obedience to the illegal Order of Council, he stood by North, as having drunk to him. North was so hated on his own, and his Brother's account, that unless the Mayor could chuse him by a Bumper, he was never like to be a Sheriff of London; but those four and twenty Counsellors could not have pitch'd upon a Tool fitter for their cruel Purposes, and the Mayor stood to it that he was fairly chosen by himself, but poll'd again for Box, as the two Sheriffs did for Papillon and Dubois, and Mr. Echard affirms Box was duely elected by a Majority of Votes in the Mayor's Book, upon which, the good Man declar'd North and Box Sheriffs. Bishop Burnet's Account is again contrary, The Mayor resolv'd to take another Poll, to which none should be admitted, but those who were contented to vote only for one, and to approve his Nomination for the other; and it was resolv'd that his Poll should be that by which the Business should be settled; and tho' the Sheriffs Poll exceeded his by many Hundreds, yet Order was given to return those on the Mayor's Poll, and that they should be sworn. Mr. Box was too honest a Man to countenance such Injustice and Violence, and refus'd to stand with North, who Sir John Hawles says, was impos'd on the City, and for that Reason Box refus'd to join with him; but they afterwards found out a sort of a Woodmonger, or Timber-Man in Southwark, Peter Rich, who made no scruple of joining with North, or any one the Court pleas'd to couple him with. Now Echard again, as false as before, The Lord Mayor call'd a Common Hall on the 19th of September, and propos'd the electing another Sheriff in the room of Mr. Box; but the Party of the old Sheriffs insisted on their first E-

lection, as they had good reason to do, it being legal and peaceable. Mr. Archdeacon affirms, The Lord Mayor being steady and resolute went on in the Election, and by the Majority of his Party Peter Rich Esq; was chosen; and to shew us how considerable a Person he was, he informs us he was a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Trained Bands. The Truth is, there was no Election at all. Moor the Mayor, without any Proclamation made as usual, as we are told by Bishop Burnet, took the Vote of one in a Corner near him, who nam'd Rich, which was applauded by about thirty more; upon this it was said that Rich was chosen without any Contradiction, and so North and Rich were return'd and sworn. Echard a-Rich illegal, Whereupon the Lord Mayor return'd to his House in Triumph, and Heraclitus totally laid down his satirical Pen after 18 Months use of it in a sort of Triumph, tho' there hardly was ever a more wretched Scribler, and his Satyr was no better, either for Language or Wit, than you may every day hear from the Fishery at Billingsgate. I could very easily prove this, but I shall never be able to bring myself to make a Critique on the Wit and Humour of a Faction, who were such Fools as to part with their Religion and Liberties for a few good Looks and good Words from the King and his Brother, or who rather, like Esau, were selling their Birth-right for a Mefs of Pottage. Moor had not yet done all the Business the Court had cut out for him, Apostates and Renegades never think they can do enough to convince the World of their Apostacy, and Moor undertook to give them a Mayor as well as two Sheriffs, and in this Contest Mr. Archdeacon is no fairer than in the other: The Whig Party muster'd all their Strength to chuse a Lord Mayor; sure it is, the Tory Party muster'd a great deal more than their Strength. The Tories put up Sir William Pritchard, a Man of a mean Trade and Character, otherwise than as he was an Alderman, and very much bigotted to what Sir George Jefferies, and Sir Dudley North call'd the Church. The Whigs were for Sir Thomas Gould, or Alderman Cornish. Mr. Echard is pleas'd to confess that these two had the Majority at the first Appearance; but upon a long Scrutiny, and thorough Examination, says he, it was found that a great Number had appear'd for them, who were not legally intitled to Voices. What follows has a pretty deal of Stupidity in it, for he casts up the Voices himself.

Sir William Pritchard	2158
Sir Thomas Gould	2124

So that his great Number is by his own Account reduced to 14, but even that too is shamefully false. My Lord of Sarum, "The Poll was 'clos'd when the Court thought they had the 'Majority; but upon casting it up, it appear'd 'they had lost it, so they fell to canvass it, and 'they made such Exceptions to those on the o- 'ther side, that they discounted as many Voices 'as gave them the Majority. This was also 'manag'd in so gross a manner, which Echard 'calls a thorough Examination, that it was vi- 'sible the Court was resolv'd to have the Go- 'vernment of the City in their own Hands; but 'because they would not be at this Trouble, nor run this Hazard every Year, it was resolv'd 'that the Charter of the City must either be gi- 'ven up, or be adjudg'd to the King". Mr. Echard is insensible of these tyrannical Proceedings, and of the Designs the Court was carrying on by 'em, and with great Coldness and Indifference only tells us, a Quo Warranto was determin'd to issue against the City of London.

A. D.
1682.

The Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs being entirely to the good Liking of the *Popish* Faction, and the Court sure of Juries, his Royal Highness the Duke of *York* presents himself first on this terrible Stage, and brings an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* against Alderman *Pilkington* for Words spoken by him, as if he had said the Duke fir'd *London*. *Tulse* and *Hooker*, two Aldermen, fully prov'd the Words, if you will believe Mr. *Echard*; but he conceals the Evidence of Sir *Patience Ward*, who was by when it was pretended the Words were said, and depos'd, that to the best of his Remembrance *Pilkington* said not those Words, for which, because the Jury found *Pilkington* guilty, they try'd *Ward* for Perjury, and such another Jury convicting him of it, the Court intended to have put the late Lord Mayor in the Pillory had he not gone out of the way. *Sawyer*, the Attorney General, tho' as Bishop *Burnet* says he was a *dull Man*, and truly there were the dullest Tools then set to work that ever scandaliz'd a Government, was as active as his Dulness would let him be in these Prosecutions, and in those also that follow'd, which let out the noblest Blood in the Nation. Alderman *Pilkington* had refus'd to go to *Whitehall* with *Moor* and *Pritchard*, and *Tulse* and *Hooker*, and the rest of them that waited on the Duke with some nauseous Compliments at his Return from *Scotland*, and he being now oblig'd to render himself a Prisoner in Discharge of his Bail, *North* got himself to be return'd Alderman of his Ward. The pack'd Jury, contrary to the *Salvo Contentamento* in *Magna Charta*, gave the Duke of *York* 100,000*l.* Damages. The pleasurable Part of the History is, that the Duke liv'd long enough to account for these things, and to taste of that Misery which he brought upon others.

Alderman
Pilkington
fin'd a-
gainst Law.

The Earl of *Shaftesbury* could not but foresee that such Doings about Sheriffs were to prepare for the Tragedies that the Court were bent upon acting, so he prudently remov'd to *Holland*, and resided at *Amsterdam*, but did not long survive his Removal, nor was it long before the sage Lord Mayor *Pritchard* put out an Order against burning the Pope, and making Bonfires on Queen *Elizabeth's* Day. A *Whig* News-Paper, call'd the *Weekly Intelligence* was prohibited, and all Hawkers silenc'd. Ill Governments, like *Hearknurs*, never hear Good of themselves, and 'tis no wonder they are for stopping People's Mouths by all the ways they can think of, by Executions, Prohibitions, by Cruelty, Oppression and Terror. The Foreign News admits of no History. The Crown of *England* was in a degree of Contempt abroad not to be remember'd without Indignation, while at home it was terrible to all true *Englishmen*. However there were two new Ambassadors this Year from beyond Sea, one from the King of *Fez*, the other from the King of *Bantam*, and surely the Subjects of those two Monarchs were not at that time less happy than the Subjects of the King of *Britain*.

At the latter End of the Year the *Popish* Cabal employ'd all their Instruments, the illegal Lord Mayor, and the illegal Sheriffs, the Aldermen of that Faction, and others in the City, to get a Common Council of no more Honour than the Mayor and his Sheriffs. Bishop *Burnet* informs us, much Injustice was complain'd of in many Wards of the City, both in the Poll, and in the Returns. In order to the disabling of Dissenters from voting, the Bishop and Clergy were press'd by the Court to prosecute them in the Church Courts, that so they might excommunicate them, which some corrupt Lawyers thought would render them incapable to

Unjust E-
lections of
Common
Council-
Men.

vote, tho' other Lawyers were very positively of another Opinion: However this Point was not carry'd, and the King was displeas'd; the Majority of the new Common-Council being as averse to the Surrender of their Charter as the last was. My Lord Bishop charges Sir *Lionel Jenkins* with indirect Practices in these Transactions, tho' his Capacity did not enable him to do as much Mischief as he would. His Lordship adds, that tho' he understood nothing, yet he had so much credit with the High Church Party, that he was of great use to the King and the Duke.

A. D.
1682.

When we liv'd in the Reigns after the Revolution, and saw the Streams of Honour running pure from the Fountain, when Patriots were prefer'd to high Stations and Titles, and the Favourites of the Kings and Queens were Favourites of the People, 'twas with wonderful Delight that they heard of Honours and Promotions; but I question whether the Reader's Appetite will be so keen for the following Paragraph, copy'd from two Reverend Historians: As thus, out of *Echard*, "With a great Flood of distinguishing Favours, cheap and acceptable, at the beginning of *December* his Majesty was pleas'd to grant

"To *Thomas* Lord *Windsor*, Governor of the Town and Garrison of *Kingston upon Hull*, the Name and Stile of Earl of *Plymouth*."

"To Sir *Thomas Thynne*, the Name and Stile of Baron *Thynne* of *Warmister*, and Viscount *Weymouth*."

"To Col. *George Legg*, the Name and Stile of Baron of *Dartmouth*."

The Lord *Townshend* was created Viscount *Townshend*; and Col. *John Churchill*, Lord *Churchill* of *Aymouth* in *Scotland*. The two last Names illustrious in our late Histories.

The Lord *Norreys* was made Earl of *Abington*; Sir *John Bennet*, Lord *Ossulston*; *Comiers* Lord *Darcy*, Earl of *Holderness*; *James* Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, a Duke of *England*; the Duke of *Hamilton*, a Knight of the Garter; the Earl of *Arundel*, Governor of *Windsor-Castle*.

Edward Viscount *Campden* was created Earl of *Gainsborough*; *George* Earl of *Hallifax*, Marquis of *Hallifax*; and the Earl of *Sunderland* was restor'd to the Office of Secretary of State; Lord *Conway* was the other Secretary, as his Father had been before him, and so unfit for the Station, that King *James* was wont to say, he had a Secretary who could not write; nor had there since been an unfit Person in that high Station, unless that dull one Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, or this Lord *Conway*, his Son, who was so ignorant, that his Province being the *North*, when one of the Foreign Ministers talk'd to him of the Circles of *Germany*, it amaz'd him, he could not imagine what Circles had to do with Affairs of State. But he was a good Churchman, in the reverend Historian's Acceptation of the Word; and so also was *Laurence Hyde*, now Earl of *Rochester*, whose Probity may be guess'd Rochest- at, by this Instance out of Bishop *Burnet*: "Lord *Hallifax* and Lord *Hyde* fell to be in an open War, and were both much hated, at which I am not at all surpris'd; Men can never be belov'd by the Country whose Interest they betray, by promoting Slavery and Persecution." Lord *Hallifax* charg'd *Hyde* of Bribery, He that will betray the Country, will surely betray the King, when he can get by it: "For having farm'd a Branch of the Revenue much lower than had been proffer'd for it, Lord *Hallifax* acquainted the King first with it, and he desir'd Lord *Rochester* himself to

Conway
an igno-
rant Secre-
tary.ster's Pro-
bity.

A. D. 1682. "examine into it, he being inclin'd to think it rather an Abuse put upon him, than Corruption in himself; but he saw Lord Rochester was cold in the Matter, and, instead of prosecuting any for it, protected all concern'd in it." Lord Halifax laid the Complaint before the King in Council; and, to convince the King how ill a Bargain he had made, the Complainers offer'd, if he would break it, to give him 40000 Pounds more than he was to have for it from the Farmers. The Bishop says again, Rochester was much hated, but the Dutches of Portsmouth protected him, and he protected the High Church Party. He afterwards wrote a Prefatory Dedication to Clarendon's History, so renown'd for its Veracity and Impartiality

stants and good Englishmen; but he had not Genius enough to make the best Use of them. Mr. Archdeacon tells us, that his Race-Horse winning the Prize in France, added to his Fame, as it did to Mr. Bernard Howard's, that his Coach was permitted to come within the Louvre; of so great Importance are his Incidents, when he is not abusing Protestant Dissenters, or printing nonsensical Addresses, such as that from the Middle-Temple, deliver'd by two Knights, as poor as ever were the old Knights Templers; Sir Thomas Montgomery, who went afterwards to Barbadoes, and Sir Humphry Mackworth, who was afterwards branded for a Cheat by a Vote of the House of Commons. The King also made a Knight of Dudley North; and the Archdeacon tells us, the King dubb'd him in gratitude to the City, because Sir John Moor was thank'd for his good Administration in imposing North on them as a Sheriff by a shameless Trick, as Sir John Hawles calls it.

A. D. 1683.

1683.

A. D. 1683.

About the beginning of this Year, Sir Francis North was made Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, on the Death of the Earl of Nottingham, of whose Capacity Bishop Burnet seems to have had as mean an Opinion as of North's Honesty. "North had not the Virtues of his Predecessor, but he had Parts far beyond him. They were turn'd to Craft." A rare Man to make a Lord-Keeper! "So that whereas the former seem'd to mean well, even when he did ill; this North was believ'd to mean ill, even when he did well." He had a deep hand in the Murder of Colledge; and now the sacred Scale of Justice is put into it, and how he held it we may conjecture from this Instance. Mr. Robert Mayor of Oxford, a pious Churchman, who had devoted his Estate to charitable Uses, gave, by his last Will, 600 l. to be distributed by Mr. Baxter to sixty poor ejected Ministers, adding, That he did it not because they were Non-conformists but because many such were pious and poor. The mercenary Sawyer Attorney-General sued for it in the Chancery, and North the Keeper gave it all to the King. It was paid into Chancery by North's Order, and it lay there till King William so happily ascended the Throne, when the Commissioners of the Great Seal restor'd it to the Use for which it was intended by the Deceas'd; and Mr. Baxter dispos'd of it accordingly. The Baseness and Wickedness of this Attempt of Sawyer's are not to be parallel'd in Christian History.

The King having made the Earls of Huntington and Peterborough Privy-Counsellors, went to Newmarket, March the 16th, and six days after a terrible Fire suddenly broke out, which consum'd about half of the Town. His Majesty remov'd his Residence to another House, but the Wind pursu'd him thither, conducted, says Echard, by an invisible Power, and, in a moment, it became as untenable as the other, which oblig'd the King and Court to return to London sooner than they intended; and the Historian, with a foul Mouth and false Heart, adds, The providential Fire, thus do they blaspheme in their Invectives, defeated and prevented a black House Conspiracy form'd against him and his Brother. Plot.

Mr. Mayor's Will defeated.

Cal. 361.

Dr. Welwood writes of that and the other Sham-Plots about this time: "The Shatter'd Remains of English Liberty were then attack'd on every side, and some of the noblest Blood in the Nation was offer'd up a Sacrifice to the Manes of Popish Martyrs; Swearing came into fashion, and an Evidence-Office was erected in Whitehall. But whereas the Witnesses for the Popish Plot were brow-beaten and discourag'd; those for the Protestant Plot were highly encourag'd; and, instead of Judges and Juries that might boggle at half Evidence, as it fell out in the Prosecution of the former, Care was taken in this to pick out such as should stick at nothing to serve a Turn." Mr. Coke explains this hellish Imposture still further, "The Court set three Plots on foot; The Rye-Plot, to kill the King and the Duke as they came from Newmarket. A Plot to seize the Guards; and the Blackheath Plot. In all these Plots, for ought I can find, the Fox is the Finder. My Lord Howard and Rumsley in that of the Guards; Lee and Goodenough in that of Blackheath; Keeling and West in that of Rye-House; Lee was set to trapan Rouse and Baker in the Blackheath Plot; Rumbald, at whose House it is said the Rye-House Plot was to be acted, upon his Death deny'd he ever knew of any." And tho' Rumbald was a Protestant, and probably a Republican, his dying Words will certainly have more weight with the Reader than Mr. Echard's. Some time after the King's Return to London, Mr. Broom the Coroner arrested the Lord Mayor Pritchard, North the pretended Sheriff, and some persecuting Aldermen, and carry'd them Prisoners to Skinners-Hall, in an Action upon the Case, at the Suit of Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois, the legal Sheriffs of the City. But the Faction got one Fletcher, a Sergeant of the Poultry Compter, to arrest Broom in an Action of 400 Pounds Debt upon Bond, and to carry him to Prison; upon which, Pritchard,

A Persecution.

The poor persecuted Dissenters were every where flying from, or suffering under the Rage of their Persecutors. 'Twas bad enough in London, but worse still in the Country, where the most brutal Wretches were made Justices and Constables, purposely to carry on that wicked Work, which was the main Business of the Spiritual Courts, still the Desertation of all sober People. Many who were taken at Protestant Meetings, were convicted as Rioters, and fin'd 10 Pounds apiece, and some religious young Men and young Women were sent to Bridewell, to beat Hemp with Whores and Thieves. And now, says Echard, the State of the Nation seem'd to have been in a more quiet and calm Condition than ever since the breaking out of the Popish Plot. The Whig Party being forc'd to give way to the Tory more apparently than for several Years before, the Struggles and Contrivances of the declining Party were either more feeble or more clandestine; insinuating the damnable Sham-Plots that the Court were inventing to destroy the Non-conformists. The Duke of Monmouth and his Party were entering into secret and desperate Methods; he will have his Share of the innocent and noble Blood that is about to be spilt. The Duke of Monmouth was, it is true, now very popular, he had the Eyes and Hearts of all good Prote-

A. D. 1683. *Echard*, North, and the Coroner's other Prisoners, went to their several Homes. The Common Council very formally disclaim'd the Mayor's Arrest, *because* the Writ ran in the Name of the Citizens of *London*. They also turn'd Mr. *Broom* out of his Place. The Court took quick Vengeance against the Party that had thus insulted their best Friends, and under pretence of a Riot, committed by the most sober Citizens of *London*, which Riot was only a peaceable Poll for their Sheriffs, they caus'd an Information to be exhibited against

Thomas Pilkington Esq; 500 *l*.
John Shute Esq; 1000 Marks.
Henry Cornish Esq; 1000 Marks.
Slingsby Betbel Esq; 1000 Marks.
The Lord *Grey*, 1000 Marks.
Sir *Thomas Player*, 500 Marks.
Mr. *Deagle*, 400 Marks.
Mr. *Jekyl*, 200 Marks.
Mr. *Jenkins*, 300 Marks.
Mr. *Freeman*, 300 Marks.
Mr. *Wickham*, 100 Marks.
Mr. *Goodenough*, 500 Marks.
Mr. *Swinnock*, 500 Marks.
Mr. *Keys*, 100 Marks.

Who were fin'd in the above mention'd Sums, May the 8th. *Echard* vows and protests that the Lord Mayor's Right to adjourn the Common Hall, was fully prov'd; tho' my Lord of *Sarum* affirms the adjourning the Common Hall always belong'd to the Sheriffs; and that Riot was made out to the full, tho' his Lordship asserts, *There was no Disorder in the whole Progress of the Matter*. Several of the injur'd Gentlemen were Protestant Dissenters, which probably he thinks sufficient for him to injure them again in his History. And now, continues he, the City appear'd more loyal and obsequious. Loyalty to good Kings and Queens, such as King *William*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, King *George*, and his present Majesty, is at once a Duty and a Pleasure. But what is meant by Loyalty to such Kings as *Charles* and *James* the Second, while they were breaking down all the Barriers of our Religion and Liberty? Do not they understand a tame Submission to the Yoke of Slavery, Spiritual and Temporal, under which the miserable People of *England* now heavily groan'd?

The reverend Historian informs us, that the Scaffolds in *Westminster-Hall* were now a ken down, and a Statue of King *Charles* I. now set up at the *Royal Exchange*, with an Inscription, which begins with a Quibble, *Eikon Basilike*. But if the Statue was no more a Picture of the King than *Eikon Basilike*, the Book written by Dr. *Gauden* was his Portraiture, that Nich is the worst fill'd of any in the *Exchange*.

Mr. *Acherley* informs us, that the Duke of *Tork*, in pursuance of the Scheme laid down by the *Popish Cabal*, got a *Quo Warranto* brought against the City of *London*, whereby the King requir'd them to shew by what Right they claim'd to be a Corporation. The Breaches which the Attorney-General *Sawyer*, that hot, dull Man, as Bishop *Burnet* calls him, assign'd as Causes to forfeit their Being as a Corporation were, that they had made an Address to the King for the Sitting of the Parliament; and that they had rais'd the Rents of their Wharfs and Ware-houses, which they had themselves built. Had there been any Shame in *Sawyer's* or the Solicitor-General's Faces, they could not have held up their Heads while such Non-sense was reading, as a pretence to take

away the Rights and Privileges of that Capital of the *British* Empire, and the great Emporium of the World. I shall not enter into the Detail of the Merits of the Cause. *Sawyer* and *Finch* pleaded as well as they could against those very learned and eminent Lawyers *Pollexfen* and *Treby*, afterwards Lord Chief Justices of the King's-Bench and Common-Pleas. There needs but a small Portion of Knowledge to satisfy one, that *Englishmen* may very lawfully petition the King for the Sitting of Parliaments; and that People may set what Rent they please on their Lands and Tenements. *Sawyer's* first Argument was false in fact, according to Mr. *Acherley*, *That the City had impos'd Taxes by By-Laws; whereas the By-Law was not to impose new Taxes, but to reduce their antient and uncertain Tolls to a reasonable Certainty*. And when the particular Breaches came to be argu'd upon, *Sawyer* and *Finch*, according to Mr. *Acherley*, seem'd to fail; and Sir *George Treby* and Mr. *Pollexfen* prov'd, That the Tolls in the Markets for Stallage and other Conveniences, provided at the City's Charges, were due by Law. The judicious Lawyer observes, "It appear'd afterwards that this pretence of a breach of Trust to make a Forfeiture was merely specious; for, after the King had obtain'd Judgment against the City, his Majesty himself, by those commission'd under him, exacted and collected the same Rates for the Tolls, which the City had by their Act of Common-Council ascertain'd. When the Breach, touching the City's Petition, came to be argu'd, the King's Counsel seem'd to lay the whole Stress upon Clamour only, without any real Substance." The Counsel for the City prov'd, That the Constitution and the Law of the Land had given Subjects a Right of petitioning, and of Access to the supreme Governor, to represent to him their Grievances, which were the Dangers arising from the *Popish Plot*. The Facts recited in the Petition were unquestionably true, and even confess'd by the King's Counsel. The Arguments for the City were, by *Standersby*, deem'd a sufficient Defence, but no Defence would be heard; and the Judges, without giving Reasons, gave a Capital Judgment, *That the City's Franchise should be seiz'd into the King's hand*. This Judgment was before agreed on, and it was admitted by all Sides to be the same thing as to dissolve them. Accordingly the King acted, as if their Being was extinguish'd, for he nominated and appointed the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen. But when the Rage and Oppression of these Times were remov'd, continues the learned Lawyer, this unjust Seizure of the Charter was by Act of Parliament condemn'd as an illegal Proceeding, and made void, and consequently Injustice, Cruelty and Folly were charg'd upon the Prosecution. The Prosecutors were *Sawyer* and *Finch*, and especially upon that enormous Breach of the Constitution and the Law of the Land, whereby the Right of Petitioning was infring'd, and the Effence of the Legislature attempted. The Mayor, the Sheriffs, *Tulse* and such Aldermen, with some of the Common-Council, made a slavish Submission to this tyrannical Judgment. And *Echard*, who has told this Story with much Satisfaction, tells us, *The City was restor'd upon it*; the King only reserving to himself the Approbation of the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, Common Sergeant, Town-Clerk, Coroner, Steward of *Southwark*, &c. The Citizens were now so corrupted by Court-Flattery, or intimidated by Court-Cruelty, that when it was put to the Vote in Common-Council to agree or not agree to the above

London Quo Warranto.

A. D. 1683. Above mention'd Submission, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by a small Majority. Having dispatch'd this Tale, he goes upon another every whit as unjust, but more bloody and terrible; for having secur'd Judges, Sheriffs and Juries, they bring their Hangman upon the Stage, and begin the Carnage, as Mr. Acherley very justly terms it. Yet Eckard, with Front erect, and Heart harden'd against all Remorse and Compassion for his bleeding Country, and her bleeding Patriots, opens the dreadful Scene with Applause, and introduces those bloody Butcheries as solemnly, as if that innocent Blood, which cry'd long and aloud for Vengeance, and was at last aveng'd, had only been a Peace-offering to free and impartial Justice. He is so foolish as to own he takes his Information from what the Government printed of it: that is, he took the Vindication of the following Murders from the Murtherers themselves. He adds, and from the Confession of the Sufferers. False to a Prodigy! For Rumbald declar'd at his death, that he never knew or heard of any Design to kill the King; nor was there the least step taken towards that Part of the Plot which was call'd Presbyterian, as an Instance of the King's Gratitude to those that restor'd him, who were all Presbyterians, however they were as unlucky in this Sham-Plot, as in Dangerfield's, and pick'd out most of their Plotters among Churchmen; as the Duke of Monmouth, Earl of Shaftesbury, Earl of Essex, Lord Russel, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Lord Howard, &c.

Ryehouse Sham-Plot.

The Archdeacon copies the Romance written by Sprat, who wrote a tedious fulsome Panegyrick upon Cromwel, as did also South, but South's Conscience could not go Sprat's Lengths; for when King Charles II. desir'd him to write the Fable of the Ryehouse-Plot, which his Majesty call'd a History, South, after he had read all the Papers the King had to shew him, refus'd the Work, saying, Those Papers were all Copies, and no legal Proof, and unless his Majesty had better Evidence, he would not meddle with it, as Dr. Prideaux late Dean of Norwich told a Gentleman of that City, from whom I had it. Sprat however undertook it, Evidence or no Evidence, and Eckard has copied him in all the Variety of Untruths, from one end of the pretended Narrative to the other. And as in Dangerfield's Plot, the Roll of Generals and Officers was the most considerable Part, so here too is a Roll produc'd.

Mr. P.—

The pretended Plotters.

The Duke of Monmouth. Robert Baillie of Jervis-wood Esq;
The Earl of Shaftesbury. John Hampden Esq;
The Earl of Essex. Sir Joseph Tyley
The Lord Howard. Major Wade.
Col. Sidney. Richard Nelthorpe Esq;
Sir Thomas Armstrong. The Lord Melville.
The Earl of Argyle. Sir Patrick Hume.
Sir Hugh Cambell. Sir John Cambell.

To these the Fable joins

Robert Ferguson, a Scotch Priest.
Richard Rumbald, a Maltster at Ryehouse.
Richard Goodenough, } two Attorneys.
Francis Goodenough, }
Zachary Bourn, Brewer.
Josiah Keeling, Salter.
Edward Norton.
Robert West, a Counsellor.
William Hone, a Joiner.
Aaron Smith, a Solicitor.
Andrew Barber.
Thomas Shepherd, Wine-Merchant.
John Rouse.
Col. John Rumsey.
Lieutenant-Col. Walcot.

Who, says the Reverend Historian, had undertaken to reform the Church and State: a stupid Jest of his, as if John Rouse and the Lord Russel, or William Hone and the Earl of Essex, could have enter'd into League for carrying on such a wild Business. He would have us believe that the State, involv'd in the Confusion and Guilt of so many Acts of Tyranny and Injustice, needed no Reform; and what a Compliment then has he made the Church by coupling them thus together? I do not doubt but those Acts of Injustice and Tyranny occasion'd much warm Discourse, and perhaps some crude Schemes of Ways and Means to preserve the Protestant Religion and English Liberty against the Invasions of the King and his Brother; such as the keeping up a publick Spirit, and securing an Interest, if the King should find himself under a Necessity of calling a Parliament: But that an Assassination and an Insurrection were determin'd by the Lords, Gentlemen, and others before-mention'd in concert, is as incredible as that the Pretender owes his Birth to a Bribe, which the Dutchess of Modena gave our Lady of Loretto.

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I am apt to believe, that the Bishop of Salisbury himself makes the most of this Plot in his Account of it; and it is laid thick upon the Earl of Shaftesbury, for whom his Lordship seems to have no good liking.

"The Lord Shaftesbury had been making use of the Heat the City was in, during the Contest about the Sheriffs, and thought they might have created great Disturbance; and he believ'd the first appearance of the least Disorder, would have prevail'd on the King to yield every thing. The Duke of Monmouth, who understood what a Rabble was, and what Troops were, look'd on this as a mad exposing of themselves."

See Eckard: The Duke of Monmouth promis'd to rise in some remote County, and give a Diversion to the King's Troops.

The Bishop again; "The Earl of Essex and the Lord Russel were of the Duke of Monmouth's Mind; so Lord Shaftesbury seeing they could not be engag'd into Action, flew out against them." But their Friends made up the matter as well as they could; and to perfect the Reconciliation, the Duke of Monmouth consented to meet Lord Shaftesbury at Mr. Shepherd's the Merchant's House in Abchurch-Lane, now well known by the Name of Pontack's. The Night before this Appointment, Lord Russel came to Town on the account of his Uncle's Illness.

Eckard says, 'twas on account of the rising. The Duke of Monmouth went to Lord Russel and told him of that Appointment, desiring he would go thither with him; to which his Lordship consented, the rather because he intended to taste some of that Merchant's Wine. At night they went with Lord Grey and Sir Thomas Armstrong. When they came, they found none there but Rumsey and Ferguson, two of Lord Shaftesbury's Tools, whom he employ'd. The Marquis of Winchester is not nam'd in the Bishop's History, or in Eckard's and the common Writers: But he came to Shepherd's House, and looking thro' the Key-hole, saw Rumsey there, so he went away again, and would not be seen with him. The Duke of Monmouth and the other Lords seeing no better Company than Ferguson and Rumsey, resolv'd to go back immediately. But Lord Russel call'd for a Taste of the Wines, and while they were bringing it up to him, Rumsey and Armstrong fell into a Discourse of surprizing the Guards, as a thing practicable, not expedient, and much less agreed upon: For when Rumsey endeavour'd to shew how

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how

A. D. 1683. how it might be done, *Armstrong*, who had commanded them, shew'd him his Mistakes. Bishop *Burnet* adds, *This was no Consultation about what was to be done, but only about what might have been done. Lord Russel spoke nothing upon the Subject*; but as soon as he had tasted his Wines, they went away. And here is the utmost Extent of the Presbyterian Plot: Which the Jesuit *Orleans* says is told by Bishop *Sprat* from authentick Memoirs; so that we find the Jesuit and the Archdeacon's Histories of it have the same Authority. I would enter into the Detail of *Echard's* History, if there had been the least show of Truth, or even Probability in any Part of it: For tho' it is very probable that some of the inferior Persons before-mention'd as Plotters, might at their Meetings have talk'd of Guards and Risings, and seizing old *Roxley*, to oblige him to turn off the Duke of *York*, and save the Nation that Trouble; yet that the treasonable Words *Sprat*, and *Orleans* and he speak of, as expressing a Design to kill the two Brothers, were so spoken, is incredible beyond any *boyish* Romance, as that *Rumbald* should bid *Ferguson* consecrate the Blunderbuss with which he was to shoot them. *We will rise, tho' we have nothing to fight with but our Claws*:

P. 679.

That the Lord *Russel* and the Earl of *Essex* were to rob the Goldsmiths Shops in *Lombard-street*; that to murder the King, was to keep the Commandments; that the killing him, was too good for the *Papists* to be concern'd in it; and that these sober Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, as well as moderate and virtuous Churchmen, toasted Confusion to the King and his Brother over their Cups: With these absurd, barefac'd and devilish Falshoods are the History of this Plot amplify'd and decorated. And all things being in a readiness to begin the Carnage, the Persons intended for Sacrifice being in hold, and the illegal Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen having prepar'd the way for it by a monstrous Address, Captain *Thomas Walcot* was brought to trial July 12th, before the Chief Justice *Saunders*. Mr. *Echard* is not asham'd to name him, and other Judges: The Witnesses against him were *Rumsley*, *Keeling*, *Bourne*, and *West*. Among these, *West* swore, That *Walcot* ask'd him whether he would have a Commission under him, for he was to have a Regiment of Horse. *Rumsley* swore, That *Walcot* was to attack the Guards, while others attack'd the King at *Ryehouse*. *Bourne* depos'd, That *Walcot* propos'd to kill *Keeling* as well as the King, because he had discover'd them. *Walcot* in his Defence flatly deny'd every word of the *Ryehouse-Plot*. And tho' *Echard* tells us, that *Jenkins* had a Letter from *Walcot*, wherein he offer'd to make a further Discovery, *Walcot* alledg'd, that what he had promis'd to discover, he had only heard from *Ferguson*. He confess'd he had been told of a Design amongst several great Lords and Gentlemen, for asserting *Liberties* and *Properties*. The King's honest Counsel said; it was High-Treason to hear talk of a Design to assert *Liberties* and *Properties*; and so the Jury in a very short time brought him in guilty of *High-Treason*, he being one of the Persons resolv'd on before-hand, as Sir *John Hawles* observes.

Convicted.

Hone try'd.

The same Day was try'd *William Hone*, the Joiner. At this Tryal, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, the Anabaptist-Quack, made some time after a Privy-Counsellor, swore, *Hone* was the very Man who projected the taking off the King and Duke with Cross-Bows from *Bow-Steeple*; of which he had given the King Information. This is the same Story we have already told. Sir *Robert Southwel* went to *Bow-Steeple* to find out

the Plotter, and did indeed find a Rule under a Carpenter's Great-Coat, which he thought had been a Blunderbuss; and groping for it under the Man's Coat, had like to have been taken up for a Pick-Pocket. And so the Case appear'd so plain, says *Echard*, that the Jury found him guilty of *High-Treason*, without going from the Bar.

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And convicted.

I must here pause a little, for the Remainder of this Day's bloody Work cannot but give one the Pain of a violent Struggle between Decency and Indignation. History rejects all intemperate Thoughts and Expressions; but how can one see one of the most noble, most virtuous, most innocent, and most belov'd Lords that ever liv'd, brought a Prisoner before Judges too infamous to be remember'd, but that Remembrance with Horror is part of the Punishment of their Guilt; and it is with this View that I name the wretched Accomplices in this Murder.

At the Lord *Russel's* Trial.

Present,

Lord Chief Justice *Saunders*.
Lord Chief Baron *Montagu*.
Judge *Windham*.
Judge *Charlton*.
Judge *Levins*.
Judge *Withens*.
Baron *Street*.
Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Attorney-General.
Mr. *Finch*, Sollicitor-General.
Sir *George Jefferies*, King's Sergeant.
Mr. *North*, King's Counsel.
Sir *Dudley North*, }
Sir *Peter Rich*, } Sheriffs.

Jury.

John Martin Foreman, *William Butler*.
no Freeholder. *James Pickering*.
William Rouse. *Thomas Feve*.
Gervas Seaton. *Hugh Noden*.
William Fashion. *Robert Brough*.
Thomas Short. *Thomas Oneby*.
George Torriano.

The whole Management of this Trial was with much Art, according to *Echard*; which is false, for the impious Prosecutors desy'd the very Forms of Law, and in the most daring Outrage against Justice, harangu'd and rail'd this Great, this Good Man to death. Sir *John Hawles's* Remarks on Lord *Russel's* Trial, prove him to be as much murder'd, as Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* was: The Reasons and Proofs are as plain as Argument and Evidence can make a thing; but being of some length, I must refer to them, and repeat what that judicious Lawyer Mr. *Acherley* writes of it. "As to Lord *Russel*, the Treason charg'd on him was a Conspiracy to compass the death of the King; but the Proof of the Overt-Fact of that Treason was, That Lord *Russel* walk'd in a Room in *Shepherd's House* tasting Wine, when reasonable Discourses and Consultations pass'd at a Table in that Room between two other Men, *Rumsley* and *Ferguson*: But none of the Witnesses could say, That Lord *Russel* did by any Overt-Fact, either in speaking or consenting to, or approving, or abetting those Proceedings or Discourses, or so much as that he heard what pass'd, but only that he might hear. This Evidence might have been sufficient to prove Misprision of Treason, but not *High-Treason*; however to reach this Great Man's Blood, in revenge for his carrying up the Bill of Exclusion, the Prosecutors *Sawyer* and *Finch* confounded the very Species of Treasons, and all Distinctions

Lord *Russel's* Trial.

A. D. 1683. " between High-Treason and Misprision of Treason. And the Judges, who pretended to be of Counsel for the Prisoner in Matters of Law, did not inform the Jury of that Distinction; and so this Great Man was, by a PACK'D Jury, compos'd of Tradesmen, who had no Freeholds in London where this Lord was try'd, convicted, condemn'd by the Court, and by the King's Warrant executed." For which he will most certainly have his Reward, and so will all the perjurd Accomplices in this most horrid Murder. The King saw the virtuous and lovely Lady *Russel* weeping at his Feet, imploring but a short Reprieve of a few Weeks for her condemn'd Lord, with dry Eyes and a stony Heart, tho' she was the Daughter of the Earl of *Southampton*, the best Friend he ever had in his Life.

We must not omit an Accident which happen'd at the Lord *Russel's* Trial, tho' I do not think the Jury was influenc'd by it, as is said by some sober Writers, as well as by *Echard*; which is, that News being brought to the Court that the Earl of *Essex* had cut his Throat in the *Tower*, the King's Counsel dwelt much upon it as a Proof of the Plot. I am satisfy'd the Judges and Jury were determin'd, and they matter'd not Proofs or Circumstances to reach this Great Man's Blood. And as to the Earl of *Essex's* cutting his own Throat, 'tis an Insult on People's Understandings to require belief of it, as the Archdeacon does, without any regard to his own. What Sir *John Hawkes* says of the Murder of the Earl of *Essex*, is enough to satisfy any reasonable Man. " My Lord of *Essex* was kill'd, or to be kill'd that Morning. They were sensible the Evidence against my Lord *Russel* was very defective, and that Accident was to help it out, &c." Mr. *Coke* speaks of it thus: " Whether my Lord of *Essex* kill'd himself, or was to be kill'd, I must observe, the King and his Brother were both in the *Tower* when the Act was done; and immediately notice was sent to the *Old-Baily*, that in the worst sense use might be made of it by the King's Counsel *Saxey* and *Finch*, against my Lord *Russel*. The Blaze of the Earl's having murder'd himself, had its design'd Effect upon my Lord *Russel's* Trial. The next Step was to satisfy the Nation the Earl murder'd himself; and to this purpose the Coroner's Inquest must necessarily sit, and give their Verdict: But so the Business was order'd, that before the Jury was impanel'd, the Earl's Body was taken out of the Closet, where 'twas pretended he murder'd himself, and strip'd of his Clothes, which were carry'd away, and the Closet wash'd; and when one of the Jury insisted upon seeing my Lord's Clothes in which he died, the Coroner was sent for into another Room; and upon his return told the Jury, it was my Lord's Body, not his Clothes they were to sit upon: The Jury being inclin'd to make a stricter Inquisition than the Coroner would have them do, mov'd for an Adjournment, to give my Lord's Relations notice, that if they had any thing to say on my Lord's behalf, they might do it." 'Twas answer'd, *The King has sent for the Inquisition, and will not rise from the Council-Board till it is brought.* Let us add what the Bishop of *Salisbury* says of it, at least as much of it as agrees with a Relation of this Matter by a Gentleman who examin'd the Boy and Girl very strictly at the time when their Discovery was first talk'd of. He told me what the Bishop tells us: A Boy and a Girl did report, that they heard great Crying in the Earl's Lodgings, and that they saw a

bloody Razor flung out at Window, which was taken up by a Woman that came out of the House where he was lodg'd. These Children reported this confidently that very Day when they went to their several Homes, they were both about ten or twelve Years old. The Boy went backward and forward in his Story, sometimes affirming it, and at other times denying it; but his Father had an Office in the Custom-House, so it was thought he prevail'd with him to deny it, but the Girl stood firmly to her Story. *The Simplicity of the Children inclin'd many to believe it.* And how could any one disbelieve it that heard them tell their Story after knowing to what wicked end the Murder was committed? We close this Tragedy with the Account Foreigners give of it, *L'on aposte des Gens de neant pour etre temoins d'une Conspiration Protestante qu'on forgea, pour laquelle my Lord Russel, Col. Algernoon Sidney, & l'Alderman Cornish, furent executez, le Comte d'Essex fut egorge a la Tour, &c.* They suborn'd some of the Scum of the People to be Witnesses of a Protestant Plot which they forg'd, and for which my Lord *Russel*, Col. *Sidney*, and Alderman *Cornish* were executed, and the Earl of *Essex's* Throat was cut. *Echard*, to clear the King and his Brother of this tragical Incident, says there gradually rose many scandalous Reports, which is false; for the Story of the Boy and Girl did not rise gradually. My Lord of *Sarum* assures us it rose immediately, *that very Day, as soon as the Children got home.* As to the noble Family's not prosecuting the Matter, 'tis plain they could hope for no Success against the Persons concern'd in the Murder; if they were not too high for Prosecution, they were sure to be protected, and the Family was not sure of Evidence sufficient to convict them, or of a Jury if they could have got Evidence; and to stir in such a Business without being able to go thro' with it, would have been fatal to those who already lay too much at the Mercy of a merciless Court.

The Lord *Russel* was with great difficulty persuaded to make a sort of Submission to the two Brothers, who were implacably set against him. He offer'd in case of Pardon to live abroad, and never more to concern himself in the Affairs of *England*; but they were both deaf as the Winds in a Tempest, and the Duke of *York* descended so low in his Revenge, as to desire that this innocent Lord might be executed before his own Door in *Bloomsbury Square*, an Insult the King himself could not consent to. The brave and generous Lord *Cavendish* offer'd two ways to rescue him, the one was to change Clothes with him, and to remain in Prison, while my Lord *Russel* made his Escape; the other was for a choice Party of Horse to attack the Guard, as the Coach pass by the Street turning into *Smithfield*; while another Party did the same on the *Old Bailey* Side, to take my Lord out, and mounting him on a Horse, make off with him, which it was suppos'd the People would have facilitated. But Lord *Russel* would hear of neither of them, nor by any means consent that his Friends should risk their own Lives to save his; but submitting himself patiently to his Fate, he prepar'd to receive the dreadful Stroke with the Meekness as well as the Innocence of a Lamb. Bishop *Burnet* attended him, after he was condemn'd, in Prison, and afterwards to the Scaffold, and gives this Account of his Christian and Heroical Behaviour. " The last Week of his Life he was shut up all the Mornings, as he himself desired; about Noon I came to him, and staid with him till Night, all the while he express'd a very Christian Temper, without Sharpness or Resentment

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Earl of Essex murder'd.

Lord Russel refuses to be rescu'd.

His Behaviour after Condemnation.

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sentiment, Vanity or Affectation; his whole Behaviour look'd like a Triumph over Death. Upon some Occasions, as at Table, or when his Friends came to see him, he was decently cheerful; I was by him when the Sheriffs came to shew him the Warrant for his Execution; he read it with Indifference, and when they were gone he told me, it was not decent to be merry with such a Matter, otherwise he was near telling Rich (who, tho' he was now of the other side, yet had been a Member of the House of Commons, and had voted for the Exclusion) that they should never sit together in that House any more to vote for the Bill of Exclusion. The Day before his Death he fell a bleeding at the Nose. Upon that he said to me pleasantly, *I shall not now let Blood to divert this, that will be done to-morrow.* At Night it rain'd hard, and he said, *such a Rain to-morrow will spoil a great Show, which is a dull thing in a rainy Day.* He said the Sins of his Youth lay heavy upon him, but he hop'd God had forgiven them, for he was sure he had forsaken them, and for many Years he had walk'd before God with a sincere Heart. If in his publick Actings he had committed Errors, they were only the Errors of his Understanding, for he had no private Ends, nor ill Designs of his own in them. He was still of Opinion that the King was limited by Law, and that when he broke thro' those Limits, his Subjects might defend themselves, and restrain him; he thought a violent Death was a very desirable way of ending one's Life; it was only to be expos'd, to be a little gaz'd at, and to suffer the Pain of one Minute, which he was confident was not equal to the Pain of drawing a Tooth. He said he felt none of those Transports that some good People felt, but he had a full Calm in his Mind, no Palpitation at Heart, nor trembling at the Thoughts of Death. He was much concern'd at the Cloud that seem'd to be now over his Country, but he hop'd his Death should do more Service than his Life could have done. *Tillotson* was oft with him the last Week. We thought Resistance in the Condition we were then in was not lawful. He said he had not Leisure to enter into Discourses of Politicks, but he thought a Government limited by Law was only a Name, if the Subjects might not maintain those Limitations by Force, otherwise all was at the Discretion of the Prince; that was contrary to all the Notions he had liv'd in of our Government, but he said there was nothing among them but the Embrios of things that were never like to have any Effect, and that were now quite dissolv'd." And there you have the Sum and Substance of the Presbyterian Plot.

And at the
Place of
Execution.

A Scaffold being erected in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, the Lord *Ruffel* was carry'd to the Place of Sacrifice, Saturday the 21st of July, attended by *Dr. Tillotson* and *Dr. Burnet*, who assisted him in his Devotions to the last Moment of Life. His Lordship declar'd there, *in the Words of a dying Man, that he knew nothing of a Plot against the King's Person or Government.* The same he attested in the Paper he left with the Sheriff, *That he had never any Design of changing the Government, and would have suffer'd any Extremity rather than have consented to any Design to take away the King's Life, that he dy'd innocent of the Crime he stood condemn'd for; and he repeated again, as I never had any Design against the King's Life, or the Life of any Man whatsoever, so I never was in any Contrivance of altering the Government.* In the Letter he

His last Pa-
per.

wrote to the King *he protested he was innocent as to all Designs against his Person or Government.* He said on the Scaffold, *he imputed his present Sufferings to his being earnest for the Exclusion Bill.* He forgave his Enemies, and charg'd his Friends to think of no Revenge, he concluded from the Heats that were in choosing Sheriffs that Matter would end as it now did. How stupidly wicked must *North* and *Rich* look at that just Reproach! He added, *I am not surpris'd to find it fall upon myself, and wish it may end in me. Killing by Forms of Law is the worst sort of Murder.* After these dying Words of such an illustrious Martyr for the Protestant Religion, with what Indignation must the Reader find his sincere Assertions term'd enormous Falshoods, as *Sprat* wickedly calls them, in which he is faithfully copied by *Echard*, who adds, *Most were ready to think 'twas drawn up with more Art than was agreeable to his Lordship's known Simplicity and Sincerity, therefore others were suspected to have the wording of it.* How do *Echard* and *Sprat* labour to murder his pious Memory, as their Judges and Jury murder'd his Person? *Bishop Burnet* says of it, *He was three days employ'd for some time in the Morning, to write out his Speech. He order'd four Copies to be made of it, all which he sign'd; and Bishop Burnet offer'd to take his Oath, that the Speech was penn'd by Lord Ruffel, when he was afterwards examin'd before the King and Council.* After *Lord Ruffel* had deliver'd his Paper to the Sheriff, he pray'd by himself, then *Dr. Tillotson* pray'd with him. After that he pray'd again by himself. He then undress'd, and laid his Head on the Block, without the least Change of Countenance, and it was cut off at two Strokes.

I am in too much concern to reflect further on his Lordship's Sufferings; and I doubt not the Reader will do it sufficiently, especially on that impious Suggestion in the Archdeacon's History, that his Death was a Judgment upon him for his thirsting after the Blood of others. The day before *Lord Ruffel* was beheaded, *Captain Walcot*, *Mr. Hone*, and *Mr. Rouse*, were hang'd, drawn and quarter'd at *Tyburn*, for the Plot. *Bishop Burnet* says, *Walcot*, at his death, deny'd the whole Business of the *Rye-house* Plot, which proves it to be a devilish Invention of *West's*; for *Walcot*, according to *Echard*, was to have been a chief Agent in it; and the *Bishop* says, it made *West* appear so black, the Court could make no more use of him. *Hone* was a sort of Madman fitter for *Bedlam* than a Trial. *Rouse* deny'd he was ever in any Design against the King's Life. *These Men dying as they did*, continues the *Bishop*, was such a Disgrace to the Witnesses, that the Court saw it was not fit to make any further use of them. *Echard* affirms, that the belief of the Plot was now general, and that the Discovery of it shew'd the Necessity of *Passive Obedience*, which he says to justify that Mass of Nonsense and Impudence heap'd together in the detestable Decree now made at *Oxford*, July 21, wherein that University declar'd *Mr. Baxter* and *Mr. Jenkins* to be impious and heretical; *Dr. Decree*, *Owen* and *Mr. Samuel Johnson* to be blasphemous and infamous, and Revolution Principles to be damnable Doctrines. Their Books were also to be burnt in the publick Court of the Schools; but their damnable Decree was burnt afterwards by the hands of the common Hangman. However, the reverend Historian extols it as an acceptable Present to the King, as well as the Cartloads of nonsensical Addressies, with which his royal Ears were dinn'd; and, to add to the general Exultation, when there was not a sensible,

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City Franchises seiz'd.

Sir George Treby Recorder, was turn'd out, and that senseless Tool *Sir Thomas Fenour* put in. *Sir Thomas Player*, Chamberlain, was displac'd, and in his room was put one *Aldworth*.

Aldermen turn'd out.	Put in.
<i>Sir Thomas Allen.</i>	<i>Sir Benjamin Nowland.</i>
<i>Sir John Frederick.</i>	<i>Sir Benjamin Bathurst.</i>
<i>Sir John Laurence.</i>	<i>Sir Benj. Thorowgood.</i>
<i>Sir Robert Clayton.</i>	<i>Sir Samuel Dashwood.</i>
<i>Sir Patience Ward.</i>	<i>Sir John Buckworth.</i>
<i>Sir John Shorter.</i>	<i>Mr. Charles Duncumb.</i>
<i>Sir Thomas Gold.</i>	<i>Mr. Jacob Lucy.</i>
<i>Henry Cornish Esq;</i>	<i>Mr. Peter Pallavicine.</i>

The Lord-Mayor drank to *Peter Daniel*, and he was made Sheriff, being a Man of as mean Parts as Fortune. The other Sheriff was *Sir Samuel Dashwood*, but a *seasonable* Man. *Sir Henry Tulse* had a Commission from the King to be Lord-Mayor, as long as the King pleas'd. So that all Things, says *Echard*, seem'd now to be in a quiet easy Condition, only the Rabble fell upon the *Dutch Ambassador's* Coach, and dangerously wounded his Lady, probably because she was a *Presbyterian*. *Echard* thinks the Court was too *dilatory* in the Prosecution of the Plot; but *Bishop Burnet* assures us, "Great pains were taken to find out more Witnesses. Pardons and Rewards were offer'd very freely; but none came in, which made it evident nothing was well laid or brought so near Execution as the Witnesses had depos'd; otherwise People would have been crowding in for Pardons. All People were apprehensive of very black Designs." *Echard* just now told us the *Exultation* was general, "when they saw *Jefferies* made Lord Chief Justice, who was scandalously vicious, and was drunk every day; besides a Drunkenness of Fury in his Temper, that look'd like Enthusiasm, he did not consider the Decencies of his Post. Nor did he so much as affect to seem impartial, as became a Judge, but run out upon all Occasions into Declamations that did not become the Bar, much less the Bench. He was not learned in his Profession; and his Eloquence, tho' viciously copious, yet was neither correct nor agreeable. *Pemberton* was turn'd out of the *Common-Pleas*, and *Jones* put in his Place; and *Jefferies* had three Judges join'd with him in the King's Bench, fit to sit by him."

Jefferies a Scoundrel.

Duke of Monmouth

We must now say something of the Duke of *Monmouth*, who had absconded ever since the Proclamation for apprehending the accus'd Persons, and design'd to engage in the *Spanish Service*. The Marquis of *Hallifax* seeing Matters run so much further than he apprehended, thought nothing would stop that so effectually, as the bringing the Duke of *Monmouth* again into Favour. The Duke wrote several Letters

to the King, penn'd with an extraordinary Force, according to *Bishop Burnet*. The Lord *Hallifax* drew them all. The King was mollify'd by them, and resolv'd to forgive and forget every thing in case the Duke would confess the Plot, which he refus'd to do. The King promis'd that no use should be made of it; but he insisted upon it, that the Duke should tell the whole Truth of the Matter. Upon which *Monmouth* consented to satisfy the King, and confess'd some things in general, the *Embrio's*, as *Lord Russel* term'd them. The Duke of *Monmouth* could not be brought to make any other Submission to the Duke of *York* than to ask his Pardon in the way of Compliment. *Lord Hallifax* press'd him earnestly, upon his first Appearance, to be silent, and for a while to bear the Censures of the Town. The King spoke nothing of the Reconciliation to the Duke of *York*, till the day before it was to be done. He was much struck with it; yet the Duke's Creatures in the Cabinet-Council mov'd that for Form-sake *Monmouth* should be for some days put in the Tower. The King cut that off, by saying he had promis'd to pardon him. The Duke of *Monmouth*, as was agreed, made an humble Confession of his Offences in general Words to the King, and a Compliment to the Duke, begging that he would intercede with his Majesty to pardon him. The King receiv'd the Duke of *Monmouth* with a Fondness, which confounded all the Duke's Party. He us'd him more tenderly than he had done formerly. The Duke of *York* put on an outward Appearance of being very well pleas'd with it. The King said next day, that *James*, for so he call'd him, had confirm'd all that *Howard* had sworn, which being carry'd to the Duke of *Monmouth*, he deny'd that he had ever said any such thing, adding, that *Lord Howard* was a *Liar* and a *Rogue*, which his Friends reported about Town, and the next *Gazette* mention'd the King had pardon'd him, upon his confessing the late Plot. The Marquis of *Hallifax* press'd the Duke of *Monmouth* to pass this over, and to impute it to the Importunity of his Enemies, and to the King's Easiness, but he could not prevail. The Duke of *Monmouth* had too much Honour to countenance a pretended Confession of a pretended Plot; yet he said little till his Pardon was pass'd, and then he openly deny'd he had made the Confession mention'd in the *Gazette*, which was a plain Contradiction to what the King had said. Some were brought by the Duke of *York* to the King, who confirm'd they had heard the Duke of *Monmouth* say, *He had not confess'd the Plot*. Upon which the King order'd him to give a Confession of it under his hand. *Lord Hallifax* endeavour'd to persuade him to it, and at last prevail'd with him to write a Letter to that purpose, which he carry'd to the King, and the King was satisfy'd. But the Duke of *Monmouth* reflecting on what he had done, thought it a base thing. Tho' this was no Evidence, yet he was apprehensive it might have Influence on Juries, to make them believe every thing that might be sworn by other Witnesses, when, from his Confession, they were possess'd with a general Belief of the Plot. So he went, full of Uneasiness to the King, and desir'd he might have his Letter again in the Terms of an Agony like Despair. The King gave it back, but press'd him vehemently to comply with his Desire; and, among other things, the Duke of *Monmouth* said, the King us'd this Expression, *If you do not yield in this you will ruin me*, plainly intimating, Without you confirm *Howard's* Evidence, I shall be charg'd

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Reconcil'd to the King.

A. D. 1683. *Banish'd.* charg'd with the Blood of the noble Persons that have been, and will be murder'd upon it. The Duke of *Monmouth* remain'd firm; so the King forbid him the Court, and a few days after he went to *Holland*, where he appear'd publickly, and was treated by the Prince of *Orange* with a very particular Respect.

Prince of Orange's Discourse with King Charles. We have mention'd that Prince's short Tour into *England* after the *Oxford* Parliament. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, He had then much private Discourse with his Majesty at *Windsor*. The King assur'd him he would keep Things quiet, and not give way to the Duke's Eagerness as long as he liv'd. He added, *I am confident, whenever the Duke shall come to reign, he will be so restless and violent, that he cannot hold it four Years to an end.* The King shew'd the Prince one of his Seals, and told him, that whatever he might write to him, if the Letter was not seal'd with that Seal, he was to look on it as only drawn from him by Importunity. The King wrote some terrible Letters against the Countenance he gave to the Duke of *Monmouth*, but they not being seal'd with that Seal, the Prince infer'd the King had a mind he should keep him about him, and use him well.

Col. Sidney try'd. All things being prepar'd, says *Echard*, on the 21st of *November* came on the Trial of *Col. Algernon Sidney*, Brother to the late Earls of *Leicester* and *Rumney*. This noble Person was murder'd after the same manner as *Lord Russel* had been, by Forms of Law. *Sir John Hawles* demonstrates it in several Instances, and by several Arguments, to which I refer. But *Mr. Acherley's* Remarks being less known, I shall make use of them. The Murderers were as follow.

At Colonel Sidney's Trial.

Present,

Sir George Jefferies, Lord Chief Justice.
Judge Witbens.
Judge Holloway.
Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney-General.
Mr. Finch, Sollicitor-General.
Mr. Dolben, King's Counsel.
Sir Peter Daniel, }
Sir Samuel Dashwood, } Sheriffs.

Jury.

John Anger. }
Richard White. }
William Lowin. }
Laurence Wood. }
Adam Andrews. }
Emery Arguise. }
Josias Clark. }
George Glisby. }
Nicholas Baxter. }
William Reeves. }
William Grove. }
John Burt. }

The Treason charg'd on Colonel *Sidney*, was for compassing and imagining the Death of the King; and the Overt-Fact of the Treason was, That *Sidney* did compose and write a Libel, wherein he asserted thus: The Power originally in the People of *England* is delegated to the Parliament. He, innuendo *King Charles*, is subject to the Law of God, as he is a Man; to the People that makes him a King, as he is a King, &c. The Indictment did not alledge one word of publishing the Libel. The Proof of it was made by one Witness only, who, by a Warrant from a Secretary of State, broke open *Sidney's* Study, and found there this Libel; and then as to his writing it, that could not be prov'd but by Similitude of Hands. Let us repeat *Finch* the Sollicitor's Argument after *Acherley*, because it worry'd this Great Man to death, and brought the Guilt of his innocent Blood on the Head of the Pleader. The Sollicitor said, "That the Matter of this Libel, and the wri-

A. D. 1683. ting of it, was an imagining how to compass the Death of *King Charles II.* and the writing it was an Overt-Fact of that Treason and that *Scribere est Agere.* He urg'd with Vehemence, That imagining the Death of the King is a Fact of the Mind, and is Treason even while that Fact remains covert in the Mind, altho' no such Treason can be punish'd, because there is no way to prove that Covert-Fact. But when once there is an Overt-Fact, that is, any thing that does manifest and prove that Covert-Fact of the Mind, the Law takes hold of it, and punishes it as High-Treason." What is there in the World that a Man can set such a Value on, as to think it equivalent to the Guilt of such a Speech? I might have said to the Nonsense and Impudence; but a Person may be impudent and nonsensical, without being criminal. And what Crime can be greater, than to murder Law as well as Reason, to take away the Life of a noble and virtuous Gentleman? And it is remarkable, that *Finch*, or *Sawyer*, or both of them shew'd they were very capable of Nonsense by the Passage they pick'd out of *Sidney's* Book, to put into their Indictment, which happen'd to have that Infirmary, tho' their Heads were not clear enough to find it out.

Mr. Acherley tells us, as to that Clause which says, That a King is subject to the People that makes him a King, in as much as he is a King, *Sidney* insisted that the Clause was Nonsense; for to say that a People should make a King, or supream Governour to govern them, and yet to say, That he must be subject to, or govern'd by them, was a senseless Contradiction in itself, and of no force, and ought to be treated as such.

Col. Sidney defended the first Sentence, That the Power originally in the People was delegated to the Parliament, with so much Strength of Reason and Eloquence, that none but a parcel of such perjur'd mercenary Wretches, Judges, Counsel and Jury, could have heard him without Admiration and Conviction.

He said, the Assertion was evident; for the Parliament consisted of the King, Lords, and Commons, and whatsoever Power was in the People, if they ever had any, was doubtless delegated to the Parliament; or however, if it were questionable, that Position was no more than what was written in the Law of *England*, for by the Statute 25 *Henry VIII. cap. 21.* it is declared, That this Nation is free from any Man's Laws but such only as had been devis'd by the People, and originally ordain'd and establish'd by their Consent; which Consent of the People could not be given but by their Representatives, to whom they had delegated their Power to give it in Parliament. And further, that this Position was prov'd by the common Form of Acts of Parliament, which runs thus: Be it enacted, or made a Law, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, i. e. the same Parliament of which the King is a Part: for the word Authority naturally imports a derivative Power proceeding from some Original. And as to the Commons, their Authority is visibly and literally deriv'd from their Constituents the People, who elect and empower them: For the original Writ of Summons, and the Law or Constitution, require the People to elect and empower their Representatives to do such things in Parliament, as shall be requisite to be done touching the State of the Kingdom, and to pay them Fees for their Service. As to the King and the Lords, their Authority must therefore necessarily

A. D. 1683. rily be deriv'd from the same Constitution, and the Law of the Land: for to derive one Part of Joint-Authority from one Original, and another Part of that Joint-Authority from another Original, is not conceivable.

There is much more in *Acherley* of Col. *Sidney's* Defence, equally reasonable and nervous, but it was thrown away on a prostituted hiring Court, and a PACK'D Jury, as the Learned Lawyer terms them.

Col. *Sidney's* Book was an Answer to *Filmer's Patriarcha*; by which the latter asserted the Divine Right of Monarchy upon the eldest Son's succeeding to the Authority of the Father. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, *Filmer's Patriarcha* was so poorly writ, that it was strange *Sidney* bestow'd so much pains in answering it. The only Witness against *Sidney* as to the Plot, was Lord *Howard*; and the Earl of *Clare*, the Earl of *Anglesey*, Dr. *Burnet*, Mr. *Howard*, and others depos'd, That the Lord *Howard* had told them, as he did with Asseverations, that he knew of no Plot: but he was poor, Col. *Sidney* us'd to lend him Money, and the Court having brib'd him to take a false Oath against his Benefactor, all Objections to his Evidence were over-born by the Court. Mr. *Blake* a Draper swore, That he having ask'd *Howard* when he was to have his Pardon, the latter reply'd, Not till the Drudgery of swearing is over. *Howard* came to *Sidney's* House and assur'd his Servants, there was nothing against their Master, desiring them to bring his Goods to his own House; and *Sidney* shew'd how improbable it was, that *Howard*, who could not raise five Men, and had not five Shillings to pay them, a fit Tool for the Court to work with, should be taken into such Consultations. The execrable *Jefferies* often interrupted Col. *Sidney* with Rudeness to put him in a Passion, to which he was subject. The Jury did the Business for which they were pack'd, and brought in the Colonel guilty. Four or five Days after he received Sentence of Death, and the shameless and worthless *Withens*, one of the Judges, gave him the Lye in open Court, which he bore patiently. *Sidney* sent to the Lord *Hallifax*, who was his Nephew by Marriage, to shew a Paper he had drawn to the King. It contain'd the Hardships he had suffer'd, and an Appeal to his Majesty: upon which that Monster *Jefferies* said, either *Sidney* must die, or I must die. His Execution was respited for three Weeks, the Trial being universally cry'd out on as a Piece of most enormous Injustice. When he saw the Warrant for his Execution, he express'd no Concern at it. He told the Sheriffs *Daniel* and *Dashwood*, who brought it, he would not expostulate upon any thing on his own account, for the World was now nothing to him; but he desir'd they would consider how guilty they were of his Blood, who had not return'd a Fair Jury, but one Pack'd, and as they were directed by the King's Solicitor *Finch*. He added, I speak this to you not for my own sake, but for your sake. At which, one of the Sheriffs burst out into Tears, probably *Dashwood*, for *Daniel's* Heart and Head were not capable of such Emotions. He was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill* the 7th of December, and deliver'd the Sheriffs a written Paper. He excus'd his not speaking, saying, This is an Age which makes Truth pass for Treason. He pray'd that the Nation might be preserv'd from Idolatry and Tyranny, and rejoic'd that he suffer'd for the Old Cause, in which he was so early engag'd. *Echard* says of it, It was so enthusiastic and shocking, that his Death was much less pity'd and lamented. And Bishop *Burnet* says, These last Words furnish'd much

Col. Sidney condemn'd.

Beheaded.

Matter to the Scriblers. His Lordship adds, He met Death with an Unconcernedness that became one who had set up Marcus Brutus for his Pattern. His Head was cut off at one Blow.

On the last Day of *Michaelmas-Term*, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, *John Hampden* Esq; Mr. *Booth*, *John Trenchard* Esq; Mr. *Charlton*, and Major *Wildman*, who had been imprison'd for the Plot, were bail'd, there being but one Witness against them, but Mr. *Hampden* had Notice of Tryal next Term. The King's Counsel dropt the Treason, and he was then found guilty of a high Misdemeanor, for which the Judges fin'd him 40000 Pounds. They also fin'd *Laurence Braddon* 2000 l. for endeavouring to find out the Earl of *Essex's* Murder; the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Johnson* 500 Marks, for writing *Julian* the Apostate; and Sir *Samuel Barnardiston* 10000 Pounds for being the Foreman of *Shaftesbury's* Jury, tho' the Pretence was for writing News into the Country, which the Court did not like. *Sarveyer*, who, as *Coke* observes, took Money with both Hands, fish'd for these unjust Causes, and was never without a Jury to give him a Verdict. *Fez* and *Turkey* were desirable Countries for *Englishmen* to dwell in at this Juncture, when the Learned Lawyer makes Acherley. this Exclamation: Oh Constitution! into what a Degree of Contempt and Weakness, and into what an abject Degree of Slavery wast thou and thy Constituents sunk and fallen! as if thou hadst no Existence but what proceeded from one part of thy own Institution, and that too dependent on his Will and Pleasure, &c.

Honours and Preferments might now be crowded into the end of this Year's History, but that of the House of *Stuart* was not written for such Purposes. The Compleat Historian informs us, *William Halsford* of *Welbam*, and *Edward Wigley* of *Scrapsoft* in the County of *Leicester*, were knighted; the Lord-Keeper *North* made Baron *Guildford*; Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, Knights of the Garter; *Charles* Earl of *Burford*, Duke of *St. Albans*; and the following Lawyers, Sergeants at Law.

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|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Sir <i>Thomas Jenour</i> . | Sir <i>George Pudsey</i> . | Sergeants |
| <i>John Wyndbam</i> Esq; | <i>Henry Selby</i> Esq; | at Law. |
| <i>Edwin Wyatt</i> Esq; | <i>John Jeffrejon</i> Esq; | |
| <i>Edward Birch</i> Esq; | <i>Thomas Powell</i> Esq; | |
| <i>Henry Bedingsfield</i> Esq; | <i>Edward Lutwicke</i> Esq; | |
| Sir <i>Edward Nevile</i> . | <i>John Millington</i> Esq; | |
| Sir <i>Paul Barret</i> . | <i>Owen Wynne</i> Esq; | |

Who gave Rings with this Motto, à Deo Rex, à Rege Lex, which shew'd the slavish Disposition of those Betrayers of the Laws and Liberties of *England*; and it must be said that at this time, the Counsellors, as well as the Clergy, were ready to sacrifice their Religion, Rights, and Properties to the fatal Favour of two Popish Princes.

About this time *Tangier* was demolish'd. The Lord *Dartmouth* was intrusted with that important Commission. The Mole was now brought near to Perfection, and the Place had been all along cry'd up as the Key of the *Mediterranean*. The *Portugal* Ambassador offer'd a vast Sum, if the King would restore it to his Master; but King *Charles* did not think it would be paid, and he wanted the Money which it cost to keep, that he might save off the sitting of a Parliament, which both King and the Duke were very much afraid of, notwithstanding the ranting Compliments they receiv'd from the *Addressers*. The *English* were this Year driven out of *Bantam* in the *East-Indies*, and the King caus'd

A. D. 1683. caus'd the Company to be prefs'd to demand Satisfaction, but they were very slow in it, fearing the Court intended to make an ill use of it.

1684.

Having pass'd with the Reader thro' so many Fields of Blood, so many Scenes of Cruelty and Oppression, one might hope for a cleaner Road to the End of our Journey; but the Paths are still the same, and if they are not quite so bloody, they are as difficult and dangerous. *William Wright* Esq; one of the Aldermen of *Oxford*, having defended the Privileges of that City, when the brib'd Majority of that Corporation offer'd to deliver them up, was in *April* thrown into Jail, and not let out under 30000 Pounds Bail. *Mr. Langley Curtis* the Publisher was fin'd 500 Pounds, and order'd to stand in the Pillory, for printing a Pamphlet call'd the *Lord Ruffel's Ghost*. *Mr. Cavendon*, Steward to the Earl of *Clare*, was fin'd 100 Pounds, and order'd to stand in the Pillory, for speaking something against this excellent Government. *William Sacheverell* Esq; *George Gregory* Esq; *Charles Hutchinson* Esq; all of *Nottingham*, and about 18 other Persons, were found guilty of a Riot, for opposing the Surrender of the Charter of that Town. The Duke of *York* su'd *John Dutton Cclt* Esq; of *Herefordshire*, in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, for saying the Duke was a *Papist*, &c. and the Jury gave that bigotted *Papist* 100000 Pounds Damages. *Samuel Packer*, Deputy to *Richard Goodenough* when he was Under-Sheriff of *London* and *Middlesex*, was fin'd 50 Marks, and order'd to stand in the Pillory, for publishing something which *Jefferies* call'd a scandalous Libel. And *Mr. Francis Smith* before-mention'd, was fin'd 500 Pounds, and order'd to stand in the Pillory for publishing the *Raree-Shore*. But these Prosecutions were little Amusements to keep the Judges and Juries in play, till some more agreeable Business offer'd, and more Blood was to be spilt. In the two next Murders the Judges took it all upon themselves, and would not give the Sheriffs the trouble to impanel Juries.

Mr. Holloway hang'd.

The first whom they deliver'd to the Hangman, was *Mr. James Holloway*, Citizen and Linen-Draper of *Bristol*; who being nam'd among the rest of the Plotters, and knowing that little Mercy or Justice was to be expected from the Court and their Creatures, transported himself to the *Leeward-Islands*, where he was seiz'd, and from thence sent in Chains to *England* under an Outlawry for Treason. The Attorney General offer'd him a Trial, if he desir'd it; but he prevail'd on by the hope of a Pardon, to submit, and confess all he knew; which was, that he and two more had undertaken to manage a Design for seizing on *Bristol*, but he said they had never made any progress in it. He said also at the Meetings at *London*, *Rumsey* and *West* were often talking of *Lopping*, and he did not believe that above five Persons approv'd of it. *Echard* very falsely avers, he confirm'd most of the Particulars that had been open'd at the Trials of the Persons executed: For here he says, there were only three Persons acquainted with the Rising in the *West*, and only five with the *Ryehouse-Plot*, and even of those five, *Holloway* names *Rumbald* and his Brother to be two: Whereas *Bishop Burnet* informs us, *Rumbald* at his Death deny'd the Truth of that pretended Plot, tho' he own'd *West* and *Rumsey* had talk'd of *Lopping*, but nothing was either laid, or so much as resolv'd on. *Holloway* was thought by the Court not to have spoken all he knew, but the

Man's Conscience was not of their make, and he would not have ly'd before God to have sav'd a thousand Lives. My Lord of *Sarum* tells it thus: "So since what he had acknowledg'd made himself guilty of enough to hang him, he was executed, and died with a firm Constancy. He shew'd great Presence of Mind; he observ'd the Partiality that was evident in managing this Plot, different from what had appear'd in managing the *Papists-Plot*. The same Men who were call'd *Rogues* when they swore against *Papists*, were look'd on as honest Men when they turn'd their Evidence against *Protestants*. In all his Answers to the Sheriffs *Daniel* and *Dashwood*, who at the Place of Execution troubled him with many impertinent Questions, he answer'd them with so much Life, and yet with so much Temper, that it appear'd he was no ordinary Man. His Speech was suppress'd for some Days, but it broke out at last. In it he express'd a deep Sense of Religion. His Prayer was an excellent Composure. The Credit of the *Rye-Plot* receiv'd a great Blow by his Confession. All that Discourse about an Insurrection, in which the Day was said to be set, appear'd now to be a Fiction." *Echard* again very falsely affirms, he declar'd his Belief of the Plot, and that he was concern'd in it. Whereas he declar'd, they had never made any Progress in the Insurrection, and that the *Rye-Plot* was only Talk, well describ'd by *Bishop Burnet*. So that it was plain, after all the story they had made of the Plot, it had gone no farther, than that a Company of inconsiderable Persons were framing Schemes among themselves that were never like to come to any thing, and that *Rumsey* and *West* had push'd on the Design of the Assassination, to which tho' few agreed, yet too many were so foolish as not to discover it.

They are not yet fatiated with Slaughter and Blood; as yet the Manes of *Coleman*, *Green*, *Berry*, *Hill*, *Plunket*, and the five Jesuits are not appeas'd: And *Sir Thomas Armstrong* being bought of the Scout at *Leyden* in *Holland*, by *Sir Thomas Armstrong* King *Charles's* Envoy, was sent to *London*, and executed *June* the 20th, some time after the Execution of *Holloway*, without the Formality of a Trial. And I can't but say, I am better pleas'd with this, than with any of the other Murders committed by Judges and Juries, because the Law is not so much mock'd, tho' Justice is as much injur'd. *Echard* opens this tragical Scene with telling us, he was an ungovernable Gentleman, that the King had been very kind to him, and therefore he must expect no favour; that the Judges had nothing to do, but to appoint Execution. Which is false, if *Sir John Hawles* the Learned Solicitor-General knew any thing of the matter. And he assures us, that no outlaw'd Person ever was deny'd his Trial; and it was the only Pretence to hang *Sir Thomas Armstrong*, that he was outlaw'd for Treason. He says, It was Injustice to deny the Favour or Right of a Trial to *Sir Thomas Armstrong*, which was never deny'd any Person before nor since; and if there was any doubt unjustly put the Case, as it cannot be deny'd there was, the Outlawry ought to have been revok'd. It was a vain and unjust Reason, and only intended to incense the King, assign'd by the Attorney Sawyer, that the Prisoner was one who was actually engag'd to go, upon the King's hasty coming to Town, to destroy him by the way; whereas the Prisoner offer'd to prove his Innocence in that and other Matters, and even that Objection against him was an Invention of the Attorney Sawyer for any thing appears, but that it was

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A. D. 1684. *resolv'd to stop at nothing. Fitzharris and Colledge had hard Measure, and their Quarters were bury'd, but Sir Thomas Armstrong's were expos'd, tho' the Proceedings against him were equally as unjustifiable as in the other two Cases. Echard places those Quarters with particular Pleasure, " His Head was set up on Westminster-Hall between those of Cromwell and Bradshaw, one of his Quarters upon Temple-Bar, two others at Aldersgate and Aldgate, and the fourth was said to be sent down to Stafford, for which Town he had been a Burgess in Parliament." And because the Reader may not think I accuse the Popish Faction and their Abettors, when I observe that these Sacrifices were made to the Manes of the Priests and Jesuits who suffer'd for Oates's Plot, see what Echard says on the Execution of Armstrong: " He was executed on Friday the 20th of June, which was observ'd to be the same Day of the same Month, and the same Day of the Week, on which the five Jesuits were executed in the same manner, at the same Place, just five Years before." Does not this insinuate that his Death was an Effect of divine Vengeance for the Execution of the Popish Plotters? Sir Thomas asserted very positively, and upon his Death, That he never had any Design against the King's Life. What then did Sawyer deserve for that false Suggestion mention'd by Hawles? The Archdeacon tells us how kind the King had been to Armstrong, but would not tell us that Sir Thomas was Nephew by Marriage to the Earl of Clarendon, and that was Merit enough to entitle him to Justice.*

Scotland. *The Proceedings against Conventicles in Scotland were carry'd on by the Earl of Aberdeen Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Queensbury Lord Treasurer, with the utmost Severity, which drove the People into Church indeed, but out of Religion; for Bishop Burnet informs us the Enemies to all Godliness observing the Ill-Nature on the one side, and the Timorousness on the other, pleas'd themselves in censuring them both, and by this means an impious atheistical Leaven began to corrupt most of the younger Sort, and the Beginnings of it were reckon'd from the Duke's Stay amongst them, and from his Court.*

Duke of York corrupts Scotland. *One Home was condemn'd and executed for being at Bothwell-Bridge; the Evidence was his Kinsman, who swore falsely against him, and there was no other Witnesses; great Applications were made to the Duke of York for saving his Life, but, says Bishop Burnet, he was not born under a pardoning Planet. Mr. Weir of Blake-wood, Steward to the Marquis of Dorset, was condemn'd to be hang'd for entertaining a Person who was only suspected of having been at Bothwell-Bridge, but the Marquis obtain'd a Reprieve for him. The Tyranny was now become so intolerable in Scotland, that the Lord Cardross, and several Persons of Quality, with great Numbers of other People of the Presbyterians resolv'd to remove to Carolina, to which end Agents were sent to London, to treat with the Patentees of that Colony, and those Agents falling into Conversation with some Malecontents, several Scottish Gentlemen were brought into the Rye and the Presbyterian Plots, and clap'd up in Prison, as the Earl of Tarras, who had marry'd the Dutchess of Monmouth's eldest Sister, the eminent Mr. Baillie of Ferviswood, and others. Mr. Baillie after twenty Months inhuman Treatment in Prison, both in England and Scotland, was condemn'd and executed, when his blood-thirsty Prosecutors were afraid he would die under it. He deny'd any Plot against the King, Duke, or Government; and my Lord of*

Sarum says, The only Excuse that was ever pretended for this infamous Prosecution was, that they were sure he was guilty.

A. D. 1684. *What a Part the Duke of York acted in these The Duke of York's unparalleled Cruelty. Prosecutions, especially when he was in Scotland, appears by what follows out of Burnet. " When any are struck in the Boats it is done in the Presence of the Council, and upon that occasion almost all offer to run away, the Sight is so dreadful, that without an Order restraining such a Number to stay, the Board would be forsaken; but the Duke while he had been in Scotland was so far from withdrawing, that he look'd on all the while with an unmov'd Indifference, and with an Attention, as if he had been to look on some curious Experiment; this gave a terrible Idea of him to all that observ'd it, as of a Man that had no Bowels nor Humanity in him." This is the Prince of whom Echard says, The Morning of his Reign seem'd every way to promise a serene and happy Season.*

The Duke of Ormond kept things in pretty good Order in Ireland, but he could not hinder the Papiests encreasing in Strength and Interest, by the Countenance and Encouragement they had from the Court, as is thus related by Bishop Burnet.

The Earl of Clancarty dying, left his Lady Guardian of his Children, it was one of the noblest and richest Families of the Irish Nation, which had always been Papiests, but the Lady was a Protestant; and she being afraid to trust the Education of her Son to Ireland, tho' in Protestant Hands, considering the Danger he might be in from his Kindred of that Religion, brought him over to Oxford, and put him into the Hands of Dr. Fell Bishop of Oxford, and Dean of Christ's-Church, where she reckon'd he would be safe. Lord Clancarty had an Uncle Col. Maccarty, who both to pervert his Nephew, and make his own Court, got the King to write to the Bishop of Oxford to let the young Lord come up, and see the Diversions of the Town in the Christmas Time, to which the Bishop did too easily consent: When he came to Town they marry'd him to one of the Lord Sunderland's Daughters, so he broke thro' all his Education, and soon after turn'd Papiest. Dr. King, Archbishop of Dublin, informs us, that to shew the Sincerity of his Conversion he murder'd a Protestant Butcher at Majallo, by tossing him in a Blanket. My Lord of Sarum proceeds, " Thus the King suffer'd himself to be made an Instrument in one of the greatest of Crimes, the taking an Infant out of the hand of a Guardian, and marrying him secretly, against which the Laws of all Nations have taken Care to provide very effectually."

At the latter end of this Reign the Earl of Rochester obtain'd by the Duke's means to be nam'd Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The King seem'd to be so uneasy with him, that he was glad to send him away from the Court; and to mortify him, resolv'd to put a General over the Army in Ireland, which us'd to be a Branch of the Lord Lieutenant's Commission. Lord Rochester said he could not be answerable for the Peace of the Kingdom, if the Army was not in a Dependance upon him, which had no Effect on the King, who seem'd to be the more pleas'd with it, because it affected him so much. Col. Maccarty above-mention'd was to have a Regiment in the Irish Army, and Lord Halifax expostulated that Matter with the King, who told Maccarty every word Lord Halifax said, and the Irishman expostulated the Matter with Halifax; which sufficiently proves the Countenance and En-

King Charles acts against the Laws of all Nations.

A. D. 1684. Encouragement the *Irish* Papists had from the King, and his Brother countenanc'd and encourag'd them much more, as we are inform'd by the late Archbishop of *Dublin* before-mention'd.

P. 22. We do not expect to find Matters mend in *England*, and if we stop'd here to consider what a despicable Figure this once brave and renown'd Nation made in *Europe* at this time, it will require a good deal of Patience to preserve Decency towards the two Princes that were the occasion of it. If *Foreign Affairs* could have awaken'd the King, Bishop *Burnet* says it, the French did enough this Summer in order to it, by bombarding and attacking the beautiful City of *Genoa* very unjustly and unreasonably; such an Assault like a Robber. The Attack of one that would observe Forms in his Conquests, ought to have provok'd all Princes, especially such as were powerful at Sea, to have join'd against a Prince, who by these Practices was become the common Enemy of Mankind; but we were now pursuing other Designs, from which it was resolv'd that nothing from beyond Sea should divert us.

French Kingwarr'd like a Robber.

Dr. Oates prosecuted by the Duke.

Tyrannical Acts.

Mr. Roswell.

However mean and contemptible we look'd abroad, the two Royal Brothers, for the Duke had now more of the Government than the King, were as terrible to the three Nations, as if they had conquer'd and enslav'd them, which is hinted by the Archdeacon: *The City of London seem'd in effect subdu'd, and was forc'd to submit to the King's Pleasure.* Dr. Oates had been long in Disgrace at Court, his Lodging, his Guard, and a great Part of his Pension were taken from him, and on the tenth of *May* he was publickly arrested at the *Amsterdam* Coffee-House in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, at the Suit of the Duke of *Tork* for calling him Traytor. He was hurry'd away to *Wood-street* Counter, and suffering Judgment to pass by default in *Trinity Term*, the Jury gave the Duke 100,000*l.* Damage. On *May* the sixth a Trial was had at *Guildhall* before *Jefferies*, upon an Action brought by Sir *William Pritchard* late Lord Mayor of *London* against Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois* for arresting him, and another seasonable Jury gave *Pritchard* 10,000*l.* Damages. Mr. *Elias Best* was fin'd 1000*l.* and order'd to stand thrice in the Pillory for speaking against Popery and Arbitrary Power. Oates's two Men, *Dabby* and *Nicholson*, were also convicted of speaking something like it, and punish'd accordingly. Mr. *Bulter* of *Northamptonshire* was prosecuted for presenting and reading to the last Representatives of that County, *Michael Fleetwood* Esq; and *John Park* Esq; an Address from the Freeholders, for which he was fin'd 500 Marks; and to mingle some Blood with these pecuniary Punishments, two innocent Men, Mr. *Roswell* a Presbyterian Minister, and Mr. *Hayes* a Banker were try'd for High Treason. Take the Account of Mr. *Roswell's* Tryal from Dr. *Calamy*.

On the 23^d of *September* Mr. *Thomas Roswell*, who was Minister of a dissenting Congregation in *Redriff* was imprison'd in the Gatehouse at *Westminster* by a Warrant from *Jefferies* for High Treason. A Bill was found against him at the Quarter Sessions at *Kingston* in *Surrey*, upon which he was arraign'd *October* the 15th, and try'd *November* the 18th following at the King's Bench Bar by a *Surrey* Jury, before *Jefferies* and three other Judges sit to sit by him, *Withens*, *Holloway*, *Walcot*. The High Treason, as laid in the Indictment, and sworn by the Witnesses, was, that in a Sermon which he preach'd *September* the 14th he said these Words, *That the People*, meaning the Subjects of our Sovereign

Lord the King, make a flocking to our said Sovereign Lord the King, upon Pretence of healing the King's Evil, which he, meaning our said Sovereign Lord the King, could not do; but that we, meaning himself, and other traitorous Persons, are Priests and Prophets, that by our Prayers can heal the Dolours and Grievs of the People. We, meaning the Subjects of our said Sovereign Lord the King, have had two wicked Kings, meaning the most serene *Charles* the First, late King of *England*, and our said Sovereign Lord the King that now is, whom we can resemble to no other Person but to the most wicked *Jeroboam*; and that if they, meaning the said evil disposed Persons, then and there so as aforesaid with him unlawfully assembled and gathered together, would stand to their Principles, he, meaning himself, did not fear but they, meaning himself and the said evil disposed Persons, would overcome their Enemies, meaning our said Sovereign Lord the King and his Subjects, as in former Times, with Rams Horns, broken Platters, and a Stone in a Sling. The Witnesses were three Women, who swore to the Words as they stand without the *Innuendo's*; the Trial lasted about seven Hours, Mr. *Roswell* made a most full and clear Defence of himself, very modestly, yet strenuously vindicating his Innocence to the Satisfaction of those that were present, and so as to gain the Applause of many Gentlemen of the Long Robe. The Jury however, after they had been out about half an Hour, brought him in guilty. The Women who were the Witnesses were infamous Persons, laden with the Guilt of many Perjuries, which had been easily prov'd upon them all before the Trial, could Justice have been had, but they were screen'd by the Recorder *Jenour*, who was the Person that laid the whole Scheme of the Business, and patch'd up the Indictment in Terms suited to his known Abilities, says the Doctor very modestly. For it is no Breach of good Manners to say of such a Tool, that none but such a Blockhead could have drawn such an Indictment, and none but a worse Wretch still would have prosecuted a Minister of the Gospel even to Death upon such a Charge, and such Evidence. The Impudence of the Judges, Prosecutors, and Jury in this Case is without Example. There is not the least Possibility in the World that the thing could be true. Mr. *Roswell* propos'd at his Trial to put the whole upon this Issue, he would pronounce a Period as long as that which the Evidences had sworn, with his usual Tone of Voice with which he preached, and then leave it to them to repeat it if they could. Bishop *Burnet* tells us, "As for the Sermon in which the Witnesses swore, he deliver'd those Words, he shew'd what his Text was, which the Witnesses could not remember, as they remember'd nothing else in his Sermon besides the Words they had depos'd. That Text, and his Sermon upon it, had no relation to any such Matter, several Witnesses who heard the Sermon, and some who writ it in Short-hand declar'd he said no such Words, nor any thing to that Purpose; he offer'd his own Notes to prove this further, but no regard was had to them. The Women could not prove by any Circumstance that they were at his Meeting, or that any Person saw them there on that Day; the Words they swore against him were so gross, that it was not to be imagin'd that any Man in his Wits would express himself so, were he ever so wickedly set before a mix'd Assembly; yet the Blood-hound *Jefferies* urg'd the Matter with his ordinary Vehemence, he laid it for a Foundation that all Preaching in Conven-

A. D. 1684.

Convicted.

Unheard of Injustice and Cruelty.

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A. D. 1684. "ticles was Treason," my Lord of Sarum speaks it, "and that this ought to dispose the Jury to believe any Evidence whatsoever upon that head." His Lordship adds, *There was a shameful Rejoycing upon this. It was thought now Conventicles would be all suppress'd by it, since any Person, who would witness that treasonable Words were deliver'd at them, would be believ'd, how improbable soever.* Further, I set down all this Defence more particularly, that it may appear what a Spirit was in that Time, when a Verdict could be brought in upon such Evidence, and against such a Defence. This Affair, foul as it is, is slur'd over by the compleat Historian and the Archdeacon. The former does not give us a hint of the Injustice of the Sentence; and the latter takes occasion to extol his Majesty's Grace in not suffering the Sentence to be executed, tho' in so doing he had committed Murder. Such of the Witnesses as could be met with, were afterwards convicted of Perjury; and Smith the chief Witness was pillory'd before the Exchange. Sir John Talbot, who was present at the Trial, represented to King Charles the State of the Case, and the King order'd Jefferies to find an Evation, upon which Council was assign'd Mr. Roswell, and Mr. Pollexfen, Mr. Wallop and Mr. Bampfield pleaded to the Insufficiency of the Indictment in Arrest of Judgment; but the Matter was cut shorter by a Pardon. Jefferies, still on a Blood-scent, caus'd one Mr. Hayes, a Banker in London, to be prosecuted for High Treason because there was found a Letter writ by him in Armstrong's Pocket, directed to another Name, which was suppos'd to be a feign'd one. 'Twas a Letter of Credit on Hayes's Correspondent in Holland. Much pains was taken on Hayes, both by Persuasion and Threatning, to induce him to make Discoveries, the Court imagining there was a Joint-Purse to supply the English Refugees in Holland; and if they could know who were Monmouth's Friends, they would attain them all, or at least fine them all severely. Hayes would or could confess nothing, so he was try'd for High-Treason, in abetting a Man that was out-law'd for it; he made a strong Defence, as well he might do, Armstrong's Name or Concern in the Credit no where appearing. He was a Banker, and examin'd into no Persons Concerns that gave him Money for Credit or Bills. Jefferies, says Bishop Burnet, *press'd the Jury in his impetuous way, to find him guilty of High-Treason, for the King's Life and Safety depended upon it; so that if they did it not, they expos'd the King to a new Rye-Plot, with other Extravagancies with which his Fury prompted him; but a Jury of Merchants could not be wrought up to this Pitch, so he was acquitted, which mortify'd the Court a little; for they had reckon'd, that now Juries were only to be a Point of Form in a Trial, and that they were always to find Bills as they were directed.*

About this time a young Gentleman happening to be in Company of two Gentlemen more, when a Quarrel rose, Swords were drawn, and one kill'd; he and the other surviving Gentleman were indicted upon it, tho' 'twas not certain by whose hand the Deceas'd fell. But the young Gentleman being a Son of one of the Knights of Shires, who petition'd for a Parliament, he was threaten'd with the Rigour of the Law if he did not confess, and promis'd a Pardon if he did, so he pleaded guilty, and was condemn'd. Instead of a Pardon he was told he must pay 16000 l. or suffer Execution. Accordingly the Money was paid, 8000 Pounds to

the King, and 8000 Pounds to two Favourite Ladies. Lord Bishop of Sarum reflects upon it thus: "It is a very ill thing for Princes to suffer themselves to be prevail'd on by Importunity, to pardon Blood which cries for Vengeance, a terrible Reflection for this Court and their Creatures!" Yet an easiness to Importunity is a Feebleness of Good Nature, and so is in itself less criminal; but it is a monstrous perverting of Justice, and a destroying the chief End of Government, which is the Preservation of the People, when their Blood is set to Sale, and that not as a Compensation to the Family of the Person murder'd, but to the Prince himself, and some who are in favour with him upon unworthy accounts."

Tho' such Cruelty was exercis'd towards the Protestants, there was found Clemency for the Papists and their Abettors. The Lord Petre, one of the Popish Lords imprison'd in the Tower for the Popish Plot, died there, and the Lord Arundel of Warder, the Lord Bellasis, and Lord Powis were let out upon Bail, as was also the Earl of Tyrone out of the Gate-house. None of the Judges, till Jefferies was prefer'd to the King's-Bench, would venture to bail them, even Saunders, otherwise Tool enough, refus'd it. But Jefferies made no difficulty, nor of discharging the Earl of Danby upon Bail. The Duke of Beaufort, and Earl of Peterborough, taking the Advantage of such Judges and Juries, brought their Actions of Scandalum Magnatum against those who had spoken some bold Truths of them, and had vast Sums given them for Damages.

William Williams Esq; Speaker of the last two Parliaments, having licens'd the Votes which had in them Matters of Scandal relating to some Lords, an Information was brought against him, and he upon it demurr'd to the Jurisdiction of the Court; but he was over-ruled, and fin'd 10000 Pounds. This was drawn on by the Popish and Tory Faction, to cut off the Thoughts of another Parliament. The reverend Historians, the compleat one, and Eckard, inform us, that Sir Lionel Jenkins, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, had long pray'd his Majesty to permit him to resign that Place, and that his Majesty was at last pleas'd to grant it, tho' with much Unwillingness, because of the great Satisfaction his Majesty always had in his Services. This Man, who had really no Merit but his readiness to do dirty Work, has the good Word of these Men, on account of his implacable Malice to Protestant Dissenters, and Protestant Patriots. Bishop Burnet speaks of his being turn'd out, thus: "Jenkins had now done all the Drudgery the Court had occasion for from him; and being capable to serve them in nothing else, he was dismiss'd from being Secretary, and Godolphin, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, succeeded him. The Earl of Rochester hoped to be made Treasurer, tho' the whole Court hated him, and the Treasury was therefore continu'd in Commission, notwithstanding the Duke of York and Dutchess of Portsmouth, like Patron, like Patroness, were for giving the white Staff to Rochester." Mr. Godolphin was made a Lord, and first Commissioner of the Treasury. The Earl of Radnor was remov'd from his Place of President of the Council, and Lord Rochester put in his Place, which being a Post superior in Rank, but much inferior both in Advantage and Credit, Lord Hallifax said, *He had heard of many kick'd down Stairs, but never of any that was kick'd up Stairs before.* The Earl of Middleton, Son to him who govern'd Scotland, was

A. D. 1684. made Secretary of State. Bishop Burnet tells us, he had not much Religion, and truly much was not wanted, considering what Company he was to keep at Court, where even some of the Bishops could not be said to have any to spare. Sir Thomas Thynne and North the pretended Sheriff of London, were put into the Treasury Commission, and it was to secure a Seat for his Brother at that Board, that the Lord-Keeper North labour'd so hard to keep the white Staff from Rochester, whom Lord Halifax oppos'd vigorously, insomuch that he complain'd in Council, that there were many Rasures in the Treasury-Books, out of which several Leaves were cut; and he mov'd the King to go to the Treasury-Chamber, that the Books might be laid before him, and he might be Judge of the Matter upon sight: so the King nam'd next Monday, and it was then expected that the Earl of Rochester would be turn'd out of all, if not sent to the Tower. A Message was dispatch'd to Mr. May, a great Favourite of the King's, but a great Enemy to his Counsels, to come immediately from Windsor to London, that he might be there on the Monday, which it was expected would prove a critical Day; and it prov'd to be so indeed, tho' in a different way, as we shall observe in the Sequel.

And Complaint against him as to the Treasury.

Among other Honours and Preferments, the compleat Historians tell us, The King, without any farther Scruple, made his good Brother Lord High Admiral of England, and restor'd him to his Seat at the Council-Table. The Earl of Murray and Earl of Middleton were also made Privy-Counsellors, and the following Persons Knights.

Simon Taylor and John Turner Esqs; two Aldermen of Lynn-Regis; Dr. Weatherley, Capt. John Clark of London, Mr. Edmund Warcup of Oxfordshire, William Creagh and Henry Brabant of Newcastle upon Tyne.

John Drummond Esq; was made a Privy-Counsellor, and William Bridgman Philip Musgrave Esqs; Clerks of the Council, and Sir Robert Wright Sergeant at Law, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. These things were not done all in one day, but all within the Year, and a Journal of them is exactly recorded in the compleat History, being a Copy of the Gazette.

Bishop Burnet tells us of some Ecclesiastical Preferments, as of the Translation of Dr. Peter Mew, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to Winchester, on the death of Dr. Morley. He adds, Mew had been a Captain during the Wars, and had been Middleton's Secretary, when he was sent to command the Insurrection, which the Highlanders attempted to make for the King in Scotland. After that he came into Orders, tho' he knew very little of Divinity, or of any other Learning, and was weak to a childish degree, yet Obsequiousness and Zeal without Knowledge, and I might add, without Virtue, rais'd him, by several Steps, to this great See. I knew him, and could say a great deal more of him, but I do not think it is worth the while. His Successor at Bath and Wells was Dr.

Bishop Mew's Rise and Character.

Ken, of whom Dr. Burnet: "He was a Man of an ascetick Life, too hot and sudden. He had an edifying way of preaching, more apt to move the Passions than to instruct. The Papists hoped, that by him a great Progress might be made in gaining, or at least deluding the Clergy;" who, in his own Diocese, idoliz'd him, without knowing any thing of this his true Character. Persecution, the greatest Fury that Hell ever produc'd, rag'd all this while against Protestant Dissenters, and none more forward in promoting that inhuman Work,

than the last mention'd Bishop Ken and his Clergy. The Prosecution of the Dissenters was carried very high that Year, says my Lord of Sarum: "They were not only proceeded against for going to Meetings, but for not going to Church, and for not receiving the Sacrament. The Laws made against Papists, with respect to these Particulars, being now apply'd to them." Some of the pious Ministers sunk under the Severity of their Persecutors, and particularly Mr. Jenkins, who hazarded his Life for this King before the Restoration, did now die in Newgate but a few days before him. There also died Mr. Bampfild and Mr. Ralphson, and the King himself follow'd soon after, to give an account of all these things at that Bar, where the whole Race of Mankind are accountable.

A. D. 1684.

Persecution.

Some short time before the King's last Sickness and Death, there was certainly a Scheme forming by him, to make himself easy for the rest of his Life, which he was over-heard to say by a Gentleman, who told it me. The King had given him two Spanish Plays, call'd *Ne pudefer*, or *It cannot be*, for him to give them an English Cast in one. Three Acts and more were finish'd, before the King was taken ill, and his Majesty oblig'd the Author to bring it to him, Scene by Scene, as he wrote it. The Courtiers knowing what his Errand was at Whitehall, made his way easy to the King's Cabinet, to which he once approach'd so near, that he could hear the King say distinctly, *Brother, you may travel if you will, I am resolv'd to make myself easy for the rest of my Life.* At which Words the Door opening, the Author made off, and the Duke of York pass'd hastily by him as in a Passion. This Play is the famous *Sir Courtly Nice*, which the King highly approv'd of, only he said it wanted a little more of what Collier calls *Smut* in his View of the Stage. The Poet told me this so often, and was so little given to romancing in such things, that I see no reason to disbelieve him.

Mr. C. The King's intended new Scheme.

The Bishop of Salisbury gives us a hint of this Scheme. "There was at this time a new Scheme form'd, that very probably would for ever have broken the King and the Duke; but how it was laid, was so great a Secret, that it could not be penetrated. The Duke of Monmouth came over secretly, and tho' he did not see the King, yet he went back very well pleas'd with his Journey. Mr. May told Bishop Burnet, He knew by the King's way things were not quite ripe. That with which they were to begin was, the sending the Duke of York to Scotland. And it was generally thought, that if the two Brothers should be once parted, they would never meet again. The King spoke to the Duke concerning his going to Scotland; he answer'd, *There's no occasion for it.* The King reply'd, *Either you must go, or I will go myself thither.* The King was observ'd to be colder and more reserv'd to the Duke than ordinary; but what was still under all this, was a deep Secret."

The King had parted with so much of his Power to the Duke, that he had not enough left to recover it again, without the assistance of the Duke of Monmouth's Party, which, in opposition to the Papists, consisted of the best part of the Kingdom, tho' not many of them were dispos'd to favour his Succession. The Papists were in haste to have a Popish King, who was bigotted to their Idolatry, and would put all to the Venture to re-establish it. They saw plainly, if there was a Breach between the King and the

A. D. 1684. the Duke, they had no other Hope left. Things could not be carry'd so secretly in a Court, where the Duke of York had so many Spies, but they must have some Knowledge of it; and if the *Critical Day* was set for the opening of the new Scheme, 'tis no wonder the King was taken sick to death on that very day, as the Bishop of *Salisbury* informs us; and from what he says of that Death, there is no room left to doubt that he was nor poison'd, of which more when we have further prov'd, that King's Intention to recall the Duke of *Monmouth*; to prevent which, the Papists would, doubtless, have sacrific'd what and whomsoever lay in their way. I impute this Resolution of the King's to his Timorousness and Indolence, as well as to his Understanding, which was much better than his Brother's. He knew that the Infatuation the Nation lay under by the Practices and Preachments of the minor Clergy, would vanish on the first Allarm they took against Popery, and when ever they rous'd out of the present Lethargy, brought on them by the Delusion of *Ken* and such Prelates, they would call for a strict Reckoning for the noble and innocent Blood which had been spilt, and the Invasions that had been made on the Constitution, and the Duke of York and his Emisaries would certainly be made to feel the Weight of an injur'd Peoples Displeasure. This Forefight, his Fears in consequence of it, and his Love of Ease and Pleasure, prevail'd over the little Religion he had, which was Popery, and made him resolve to put his new Scheme in execution, and that made the Papists resolve to put it out of his power. I think this is plain, but it will appear still more plain by what follows.

King Charles's *Motives to a Change.* When the Duke of *Monmouth* was taken after the Fight at *Sedgemoor*, there was found about him a Pocket-Book, wherein were written several Passages concerning his last Reconciliation with the King, at the close of it is an Account of the Design to recall him. I shall insert the Letter entire.

" November 25, I render'd myself. At night 29, the King, could not dissemble his Satisfaction, press'd my Hand, which I remember not he did before, except when I return'd from the *French* Service. 29, the King, acted his Part well, and I too. 39, the Duke, and D. seem'd not ill pleas'd.

" 26 November, 29, the King, took me aside, and falling upon the Business of L. R. Lord *Ruffel*, said he inclin'd to have saved him, but was forc'd to it, otherwise he must have broke with 39, the Duke; Bid me think no more on't. Coming home L. told me he fear'd 39, the Duke, began to smell out 29's Carriage to me. That—said to 39 that Morning, that all that was done was but sham.

" 27. Several told me of the Storm that was brewing. *Rumsey* was with 39, and was seen to come out crying, that he must accuse a Man he lov'd.

" December 19. A Letter from 29, bidding me stay till I heard from him.

" January 5. I receiv'd a Letter from L. mark'd by 29 in the Margin, to trust entirely to 10, and that in *February* I should certainly have Leave to return. That Matters were concerted towards it, and that 39 had no Suspicion notwithstanding of my Reception here.

" Feb. 3. A Letter from L. that my Business was almost as well as done, but must be so sudden, as not to leave room for 39's Party to counterplot. That it is probable he would chuse *Scotland* rather than *Flanders* or this Country, which was all one to 29.

" 16. The sad News of his Death by L. *A. D.* " O cruel Fate!" 1684.

As it was almost impossible for the Duke's Party not to smell out this Design, so 'twas impossible for them to prevent it by any other way than the King's Death. And *Sheffield*, late Duke of *Buckingham*, gives one good ground to believe he was poison'd, at the end of his Character. " I would not say any thing on so sad a Subject, if I did not think that Silence itself would in such a Case signify too much; and therefore as an impartial Writer, I am oblig'd to observe, that the most knowing, and the most discerning of all his Physicians, did not only believe him poison'd, but thought himself so too for having declar'd his Opinion a little too boldly."

The Dutchess of *Portsmouth* coming to *England* in the Year 1699, talk'd as if the King had been poison'd, as was affirm'd by *Anthony Henly* Esq; of the *Grange* in *Hampshire*, a Gentleman of great Honour and Wit, who had the following Relation from the Dutchess herself. " She said she was always pressing the King to make both himself and his People easy, and to come to a full Agreement with his Parliament; and he was come to a final Resolution of sending away his Brother, and calling a Parliament, which was to be executed the next day after he fell into that Fit of which he died. She was let into the Secret, and spoke of it to no Person but her Confessor. But the Confessor, she believ'd, told it to some, who seeing what was to follow, took that wicked Course to prevent it." My Lord of *Sarum* reports, that some of the Dutchess's own Servants gave him the Poison, suppos'd to be convey'd in poison'd Snuff; for so many of the small Veins of the Brain were burst, that the Brain was in great Disorder.

If any one has the curiosity to see what can be started in objection to such Evidence, he will find the most made of it in *Welwood's* Memoirs, whose Reasons have just so much Weight as an Ounce would have against a Pound, especially after the additional Weight of our Evidence is put into the Poison-Scale.

On Sunday, the first of *February*, he eat little all day, and had an quiet Night. In the Morning *Doctor*, afterwards Sir *Edmund King*, a Physician and Chymist, came, as he had been order'd, to wait on him. All the King's Discourse to him was so broken, that he could not understand what he meant. And the *Doctor* concluded he was under some great Disorder either in his Mind or in his Body: Amaz'd at this, he went out, and meeting with Lord *Peterborough*, told him the King was in a strange Humour, for he did not speak one word of Sense. Lord *Peterborough* desir'd he would go in again to the Bed-chamber, which he did, and he was scarce come in, when the King, who seem'd all the while to be in great Confusion, fell down, all of a sudden in a Fit like an Apoplexy; he look'd black, and his Eyes turn'd in his Head. The Physician, who had been formerly an eminent Surgeon, said, It was impossible to save the King's Life, if one Minute was lost, so he would rather venture on the Rigour of the Law, than leave the King to perish. Accordingly he let him blood; the King came out of that Fit. The Physicians approving of what Dr. *King* had done, the Council order'd him 1000 Pounds; but King *James* never took care to see it paid. Tho' the Fit was over, yet the Effects of it hung still upon his Majesty, and he was much oppress'd; and the Physicians apprehending another Fit, gave him over:

The

A. D. 1684. the Bishops came to him, Archbishop *Saucroft*, the Bishop of *London*, and Bishop *Ken*, and all spoke to him as the occasion requir'd, but he took no notice of that or them, which was imputed to an Insensibility, of which, says Bishop *Burnet*, "Too visible an Instance appear'd, since *Lady Portsmouth* sat in the Bed, taking care " of him, as a Wife of a Husband." Mr. Archdeacon assures us, the pious Nonjuring Bishop *Ken* was so far from suffering the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth* to sit in the Bed, that he would not let her stay in the Room. He prevail'd with his Majesty to have her remov'd. The pious Bishop *Ken* again induc'd his Majesty to send for her Majesty, and he asking Pardon of her, had the Satisfaction of her particular Forgiveness. Bishop *Burnet* affirms, He said nothing of the Queen. On Thursday a second Fit return'd, and then the Physicians told the Duke, that the King was not like to live a day to an end; so Father *Huddleston* was sent for to do the Priest's Work in the Popish way. He gave the King the Host, and the Wafer sticking in his Throat, the Earl of *Feverſham* call'd for Water to wash it down. Bishop *Ken* press'd him to receive the Sacrament according to the Church of *England*; he made him no Answer. However, *Ken* gave him Absolution: for which, says my Lord of *Sarum*, he was blam'd, since the King express'd no sense of Sorrow for his past Life. It was thought to be a Prostitution of the Peace of the Church, to give it to one, who, after a Life led as the King's had been, seem'd harden'd against every thing that could be said to him. *Ken* was also censur'd for another piece of Indecency, He presented the Duke of *Richmond*, *Lady Portsmouth's* Son, to be blest by the King. Upon which some that were in the Room cry'd out, *The King is our common Father*, and they all kneel'd down for his Blessing, which he gave them. But in what a Condition he was to bless, or to be blest'd, appears by what Bishop *Burnet* says: "He recommended *Lady Portsmouth* to the Duke of *York*, over and over again. He said " he had always lov'd her, and he lov'd her " now to the last, and besought his Brother, in " as melting Words as he could fetch out, to be " very kind to her and to her Son. He recom- " mended his other Children to him, and con- " cluded, *Let not poor Nelly starve*, meaning " *Mrs. Gwyn*." He continued in the Agony till Friday 11 a-clock in the Forenoon, Feb. 6, 1684-5, and then died, in the 54th Year of his Age, after he had reign'd 24 Years, 8 Months and 9 Days, reckoning from the Restauration; and from the Death of his Father, 36 Years and 8 Days.

Ken
blam'd
for absol-
ving him.

The King's
Death.

By Poison,
according
to Burnet.

The Bishop of *Salisbury* adds, There were many apparent Instances of his being poison'd; for tho' the first Access look'd like an *Apoplexy*, yet it was plain in the Progress of it, that it was no *Apoplexy*. "When his Body was open'd, the Physicians who view'd it were, as it were led by those who might suspect the Truth, to look upon the Parts that were certainly found. But both *Lower* and *Needham*, two famous Physicians, told the Bishop, they plainly discern'd two or three blue Spots on the out-side of the Stomach. *Needham* call'd twice to have it open'd, but the Surgeons seem'd not to hear him. And when he mov'd it the second time, he, as he told Bishop *Burnet*, heard *Lower* say to one that stood next to him, *Needham will undo us by calling thus to have the Stomach open'd, for he may see they will not do it*. They were diverted to look on something else, and when they return'd to look upon the Stomach, it was carry'd away,

" so that it was never view'd." Thus did Foreigners speak of it, *Ce fut dans ce temps que Charles mourut apres trois jours de maladie non sans soupçon que l'on eut contribue a sa mort*. At that time dy'd *Charles II.* of a Sickness which held him three Days, not without suspicion that his Death had been help'd forward. *Echard* after having seen some of these strong Proofs, is so supercilious as to say, *After the best and strictest Enquiries, we never could enter far enough into those dark recesses, as to make any just Discovery*. But our Inquiries have had better Success, and no Fact can be better prov'd by Historical Evidence, than King *Charles's* being poison'd is in this. The Duke of *Buckingham* and Bishop *Burnet* clear his Brother King *James* of the Guilt of it, which I cannot do; for tho' it is granted that he was not an Accomplice in the Murder of his Brother, yet he could not but know more than is said here of his being poison'd; and his making no Inquisition after his Brother's Blood, brings him in for a sufficient Share of the Guilt of it, unless it can be imagin'd that he never heard of any of the Circumstances here related, and of the Care which was taken, that the Physicians *Lower* and *Needham* should not examine the suspected Parts at the Dissection; nor ever heard that Dr. *Short*, one of his own Religion, declar'd, not only that the late King was poison'd, but that he himself was also poison'd for declaring it. *Echard* and all of them expatiate on the general Sorrow for the Death of this King, and their Panegyricks follow him to the Grave, purely on account of his breaking his Oath with the *Scots* Presbyterians, in his abjuring the *Covenant*, and his breaking his Word and Promise with the *English* Presbyterians in the stinging Acts against them: For otherwise what good Quality had he to deserve the Eulogies of Protestant Divines? As to the Earl of *Mulgrave's*, afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*, Character of him, I have a word or two to say to it presently. *Echard*, who on all such Occasions runs away with the common Vogue, takes that Lord to be a great Wit, and a great Orator, as well as a great Man, and has therefore printed that Character: And I have nothing to object against his good Opinion of the Lord *Mulgrave* in this place, but I have some Objections to his Lordship's Characteristicks, when I have observ'd after Mr. *Acherley*, why it was that the People were so sorrowful at his Death: "The immediate Prospect of the Duke of *York's* Succession added to the King's Life a vast Value, in regard his Life was believ'd to be the only Barrier against the immediate Entrance of Popery." Again; "And now the time was come that King *Charles* must taste the Fruit of his own Incredulity, and the Nation the Fruit of that Interruption he gave to the Parliament's making Provision, and a Defence to preserve to him his Life, and to the Kingdom Safety from Popery and Slavery: For the Popish-Plot was executed on him, and he perished on the 6th of February 1685 by violent Means, and Popery and Slavery with his Successor rushed in upon the Nation." "It was wonderful, considering this King's Breach of the *Triple-Alliance*, and his Treatment of his Parliaments for ten Years together, his artful and even obstinate evading the making necessary Alliances and Wars, and other Provisions to defend the Nation against the excessive Power of *France* and the just Fears of Popery; I say, 'tis wonderful that this Reign pass'd without Tumults, and even

A. D.
1684.

Some Ac-
count of
King
Charles
out of *A-*
cherley.

A. D. 1684. "a general Revolt." The Learned Lawyer might have added, and considering too his throwing 2 or 3000 pious worthy Ministers out of their Churches into common Jayls, and his suffering the very Scum of his Kingdom Ecclesiasticks and Layicks, to harrass, oppress, and ruin the most sober and industrious of his Subjects for Conscience sake: And his causing the Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sidney*, and so many innocent Persons to be murder'd under pretence of the Forms of Law; considering also his vicious Life and Conversation, his Contempt of all Religion, his Profusion on some Occasions, and his Sordidness on others: I say again, *It is wonderful that his Reign pass'd without Tumults, and even a general Revolt.* *Echard* and the other Reverend and Compleat Historian represent this very Reign, as Halcyon Days, and a second Golden Age.

Earl of Mulgrave's Character of King Charles II. examin'd.

The Earl of *Mulgrave*, afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*, begins his Character of King *Charles* with his Religion, which he thinks was *Deism*; and in praise of it adds, which is vulgarly, tho' unjustly, accounted none at all. This Opinion very much confirms that of his own *Deism*, express'd in the Epitaph he wrote for himself. A Man who lives in defiance of all Christian Principles, may well be reckon'd of any Religion rather than of the Christian: and so far it may be justly said King *Charles* was a *Deist*, as not being a true Christian in his Practices; but most sure it is, that he was a *Papist*: and that the Libertinism of *Deism* agreeing very well with Popery, his Lordship chose rather to make him of his own Religion, than of his Brother the Duke of *York's*. Again, *He threw himself into the Arms of a Roman Catholick Party, being tired out with the bold Oppositions in Parliament.* We have prov'd and it is known that he was a *Papist* before the Restoration, and consequently this fine Argument is left extremely naked. *The Papists are so remarkable for their Loyalty, witness the Reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Queen Elizabeth; Witness the Gun-Powder-Treason Plot in King James's Reign, the Rebellion in Ireland in the Reign of King Charles I. Father White's Vindication of Oliver Cromwel, &c. He was surely inclin'd to Justice; witness the many Instances which are given of it in the Administration of Scotland: Witness again the Deaths of the Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, &c. in England; but his Lordship's Reason for it is more merry than convincing. He shew'd his Love of Justice, by his Injustice to the Nation in sticking so close to his Brother's Succession. I am weary of it, and shall only add that part of the Panegyrick, which one would take Lord *Mulgrave* to be the most competent Judge of, it relating to Wit: *He was witty in all Conversations, and telling a Story so well, that not out of Flattery, but for the Pleasure of hearing it, we used to seem ignorant of what he had repeated to us ten times before.* Quite contrary to this, Bishop *Burnet* informs us, *He went over his Stories so often and so copiously, that all those who had been accusom'd to them grew weary of them, and when he enter'd on them they usually withdrew.* Nay, his Story-telling occasion'd this Repartee from *Wilmot* Earl of *Rockester*; *I wonder to see a Man have so good a Memory as to repeat the same Story without losing the same Circumstances, and yet not remember he had told it to the same Persons the very Day before.* Lord *Mulgrave*, *He was of a merciful Disposition.* Bishop *Burnet*, *He seem'd to have no Bowels, or Tenderness in his Nature.* Enough sure to shew what the Earl of *Mulgrave's* Character of him is, as finely as it is introduc'd by the Archdeacon, drawn*

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by the ingenious Pen of the Earl of *Mulgrave*, a Person of sufficient Skill and Acquaintance. One might be very pleasant with both of them upon it, but it is not a place for it: I shall conclude all concerning this Prince with the Character given of him by the several Parties in *England*, copy'd from the Introduction to Lord *Mulgrave's* Character of him.

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Printed by Baldwin 1696.

The Papists Character of King Charles.

"The Roman Catholicks cannot deny his many good Offices to them and their Church; yet they accuse him of Cowardice and Dimulation, as having play'd fast and loose with them, and they were therefore impatient to have his Brother on the Throne.

"The high-frown Churchmen did mightily admire him, Mr. Archdeacon knows whom the Author means perfectly well, because he restor'd them to their ancient Dignities, and made them Lords Paramount to all other Parties; so that they would neither see any of his Faults when he was alive, nor will they hear of them now he's dead, for the persecuting Acts he pass'd in their favour.

"The Cavaliers were some of them very well pleas'd, and others of them as highly disgusted with his Conduct, according as he answer'd or disappointed their Expectations. And it was very observable, that his Cousin Prince *Rupert* the Cavalier-General, with many of those who had fought for his Father, did at last grow dissatisfy'd with his Administration.

High-Church Character of him.

The Cavaliers Character of him.

"The Tories ador'd him for advancing the Prerogative, and giving them the Ascendant over the Whigs, whom they prosecuted for their Lives, Reputations and Estates.

Tories Character of him.

"The Whigs, tho' many of them had a Personal Esteem for him, were never contented with his Administration, and generally entertain'd this Character of him: That he gave himself up to all sensual Pleasures without Controul, and was irreconcilable to any who interrupted his Lusts. That he debauch'd the Nation more in its Manners, than ever any other King did before him. That he squander'd away the ancient Revenues of the Crown, which were esteem'd sacred, and left such a Debt upon it as was never before heard of. That he prostituted his Majesty, by being a Pensioner to *France*, and advanc'd the Power of that Monarch to the endangering of the Liberties of *Europe*. That he imbroil'd his own Subjects in intestine Feuds, and did so viciate all publick Offices both sacred, civil, and military with Bribery and Corruption, as it will be hard to reform them. That he was ungrateful to the Nation for their Loyalty and the incredible Sums which they pour'd upon him. That he lessen'd the Reputation and Strength of the Kingdom, over-turn'd the Laws, and invaded the Properties of his Subjects.

Whigs Character of him.

"The Dissenters again scarcely afford him one good word, but attribute all the Corruption of our Morals to the ill Conduct of his Reign and his own bad Example. They charge him with advancing the Interest of the Church of *Rome*, and as having been an open Fautor of *Hobbism*, *Deism*, &c. They charge him also with the greatest Perjuries that ever were heard of; as the Breach of the Solemn League and Covenant, and his Declaration from *Breda*. They complain of his having weaken'd the Protestant Interest in the Nation, by setting one Party of Protestants to destroy the other, and exposing all Piety and Seriousness to Ridicule. They upbraid his Memory with his Whoredoms, which has so much infected the Youth of the Nation, and is attended by such dismal Consequences."

The Dissenters Character of him.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D,
During the REIGN of
King J A M E S II.

A. D.
1685.

MR. Archdeacon begins this Reign with a very false flattering Character of the King, which is easily prov'd, by comparing it with Bishop Burnet's, and it will be found to agree with the Bishop's, as his Account of the King's being proclaim'd agrees with my Lord of Sarum's. Echard, *The Proclamation was read and solemniz'd in all the most usual Places in the City of London; all People began now to wipe their Eyes, and to dry up those Tears they had so plentifully shed; and all Heats and Prejudices against the late Duke of York seem'd to have been lost and swallow'd up amidst the loud Acclamations of the People.* Bishop Burnet, "The Proclamation was a heavy Solemnity, few Tears were shed for the former, nor were there any Shouts of Joy for the present King; a dead Silence follow'd it thro' the Streets." The Archdeacon's History of King James's Reign, is all much of a piece with this for Sincerity and Truth. When the Privy-Counsellors return'd from proclaiming him, he made a Speech to them, *That he was resolv'd to defend and maintain the Church of England, and to preserve the Government in Church and State*

King proclaim'd.

His Speech.

as establish'd by Law: Which, says Echard, gave great Satisfaction. And, says Bishop Burnet, "The Pulpits of England were full of it; and " of Thanksgivings for it. It was magnify'd as " a Security far greater than any that Laws could " give. The common Phrase was, We have now the " Word of a King, and a Word never yet broken." He had broken his Word to God in abjuring the Protestant Religion, in which he was baptized and bred; yet Echard will have it, *the strict Observance of his Faith* acquir'd him the Title of *James the Just*, the Beauty of which is only in the jingling of the Initials. I shall not dwell much on Matters in this Reign, the Remembrance of which I still keep with Abhorrence. Hints only must do for Facts, that there may be the more room for Reflections.

The King was proclaim'd at *Edinburgh and Dublin*, as he had been at *London*. All Officers were by Proclamation continu'd in their Offices: And then comes the Archdeacon's pompous Account of the Funeral of the late King, of which, and of his Corpse, I beg leave to repeat some things after the Bishop of *Salisbury*, to shew the *Gratitude and Piety of James the Just.* He did not lie in State, no Mournings were given, and the Expence of it was not equal to what an ordinary

King Charles's Funeral and Corpse.

A. D.
1685.

A. D. 1685. Many Nobleman's Funeral will rise to. Many upon this said, that he deserv'd better from his Brother, than to be thus ungratefully treated.

King James ungrateful to him. Fulsome Addressees were every Day, and almost every Hour of the Day, presented to the new Monarch; two of them were very remarkable ones, that from the *Middle Temple* thank'd his Majesty for taking the Customs contrary to Law, It was presented by that upright Person Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, Son of Col. *Mackworth*, who shut the Gates of *Shrewsbury* against the late King, and Mr. *Bartholomew Shower*, Brother to Mr. *John Shower*, the noted dissenting Minister.

Addresses. The other most remarkable Addressees came from the University of *Oxford*, who promis'd to obey the King without Limitations or Restrictions; but Thanks be to Heaven, they were not as good as their word. The King's Promise pass for a thing so sacred, that they were look'd on as ill bred who put in their Address our Religion establish'd by Law, which look'd like a Tie on the King to maintain it, whereas the Stile of the more courtly was to put all our Security upon the King's Promise. The Clergy of *London* added a Word to this in their Address, *Our Religion establish'd by Law, dearer to us than our Lives.* This had such an Insinuation in it as made it very unacceptable; some follow'd their Example, but this was mark'd to be remember'd against those that had so menacing a Form.

The reverend Clergy of *London* began early to bear their Testimony against the Advances which Popery was making; but the Country Clergy of the minor Orders continu'd their Rage against Protestant Dissenters, which made them blind to any Danger from the Papists. Soon after the late King's Death, the new King caus'd *Huddleston* the Priest to declare and publish that his Brother King *Charles* dy'd a Papist, and had receiv'd the extreme Unction, Eucharist, and all the Popish Viaticums. There were also found in his strong Box two Papers, which King *James* and the Duke of *Ormond* witness'd were the King's own Hand-writing. The noble Argument was to prove the Necessity of an infallible visible Church-Guide, which could be no other than the Church of *Rome*, which is handled as merrily as in *Mouffe Montagu's* Answer to *Bay's* Hind and Panther, as for the Nonsense, tho' the Air is more grave and solemn: The King publish'd them himself, as if his pious Brother had written them by his own Study, tho' the Imposture appear'd plainly by the Quotations out of Scripture, which Bishop *Burnet* assures us he never read, but to make a Jest of it; all who knew him did without any sort of doubting conclude that he never compos'd them. This is *James* the Just, who deals so treacherously with the Memory of his Brother; this is the King of his Word. The second Sunday after he came to the Throne, he, to the surprize of the whole Court, went openly to Mass, and sent *Caryl* to *Rome* with Letters to the Pope, but without a Character.

The Earl of *Rochester* was made Lord Treasurer. This is the same Earl of whom the Marquis of *Hallifax* complain'd, that there were Rasures and Leaves cut out in the Treasury-Books when he was in that Employment, as Commissioner, before. The Earl of *Clarendon* his Brother was made Lord Privy Seal. The Bishop adds, *Rochester* on his Advancement became so violent and boisterous, that the whole Court join'd with the Queen, *Mary of Modena*, to support the Earl of *Sunderland* as a proper Ballance to him; accordingly he was made Secretary of State, Lord *Godolphin* was made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the Marquis of *Hallifax* President of the Council.

King Charles a Papist prov'd by King James.
The strong Box.

Promotions.

The Duke of *Ormond* Lord Steward of the Household.
The Lord Viscount *Newport* Treasurer.
The Lord *Maynard* Comptroller.
Henry Savil Esq; Vicechamberlain.
Henry Bulkeley Esq; Master of the Household.
Sir *Stephen Fox*,
Sir *William Boreman*, } Clerks of the Green
Sir *Winstan Churchil*, } Cloth.
The Duke of *Beaufort* Lord President of *Wales*,
Thomas Vernon of *London* Esq; *Marmaduke Dayrel* Esq; And a Scandal to all Chivalry,
Roger L'Estrange, were made Knights.

A. D. 1685.

Echard defiles his History again with the Merit of this Knighthood, *In Consideration of his eminent and unshaken Loyalty to the Crown in all Extremities, and as a Mark of singular Satisfaction his Majesty has in his present, as well as past Services, with repeated Declarations of his royal Grace and Bounty towards him.* The very Wretch this, of whom the Lord *L---* said in the House of Peers, *He's one of the greatest Villains upon Earth, a Rogue beyond my Skill to delineate, he deserves, of all Men, to be hang'd, and I believe I shall live to see that be his Fate.* Indeed never Villain was so often so near the Gallows as he, and yet so often escap'd it.

One cannot without Mirth read what *Echard* tells us about this King and his Queen's Coronation on the Day of *St. George* for *England*, April 23. *Of the Beauty of the Spectacle of a beautiful Queen*, and of the Medals that were struck upon the King's Victories and Trophies, and of the Crown's tottering on the King's Head; inso-much, that the Honourable *Henry Sidney* Esq; Brother to Col. *Sidney*, in whose Murder the Duke of *York* was so much concern'd, once kept it from falling off, saying, *This is not the first time that our Family have supported the Crown.* The Coronation Oath was now alter'd by Archbishop *Sancroft*, as it had been done by Archbishop *Laud* for this King's Father. I say it notwithstanding I have *Echard* before me, who pretends to prove that *Laud* made no such Alteration, and his Proof is that King *Charles* the First refuted it, and that as to King *James* II. 'twas only an Aspersion thrown upon him by Sir *Robert Atkins*, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, in an eloquent Speech he made to Sir *William Ashurst*, Lord Mayor of *London*, when he was in that Court; and then having put his own Credit into the Scale against the Lord Chief Baron, he makes this bold but senseless Reflection, *Only we may say thus much, that when a known Falstie, which by the way, is a known Truth, is join'd with a great Improbability, the latter may as well be suppos'd to be a Mistake as the former is without Doubt and Question.* What a Head he has! because the one Assertion is not true, supposing it as he asserts, therefore the other is false.

The Parliament met in *Scotland* the 28th of *March*, and I shall insert a Passage or two of the King's Letter, to shew the Delicacy of Thought and Expression. *I am resolv'd to maintain my Power in its greatest Lustre, that I may be the better enabled to defend your Religion against phanatical Contrivances, Murtherers, and Assassins.* Whoever has a mind to see the Duke of *Queensbury* the Lord Commissioner's Speech, or the Lord Chancellor's the Earl of *Perth*, may find them in the Archdeacon's Book, as also the Parliament's Address, promising to extirpate all *Fanaticism*: And an Act anent *That all such Persons as being cited in Cases of High Treason, Field or House Conventicles, or Church Irregularities, shall refuse to give Testimony, shall be liable to be punish'd, as guilty of those Crimes respectively,*

S. H. Vol. III. p. 85.

Corona-tion.

State-Tracts.

Scots Parliament.

P. 756.

A. D. 1685. *respectively, in which they refus'd to be Witnesses.* Thus, says *Echard*, all things appear'd calm and quiet in Scotland.

A. D. 1685. *I am sure Hinton was in Court to have testify'd this at Oates's Trial, but was terrify'd from it for fear of being undone.*

Oates's unjust and cruel Punishment.

An Historian must have more Temper than I boast of, to read the Archdeacon's Relation of *Oates's Trial*, without wishing him some Part of his Punishment; for tho' he was not butcher'd as *Colledge* was, yet the Infernal Cruelties that were unjustly inflicted on him, I am about to prove they were Unjust as well as Infernal, make a Man to reflect with Horror on a Writer that could speak of them with Applause; and indeed it is very great Pity that other Notice has not, or cannot be taken of it. *This Man*, says he, *who had been call'd a Doctor of Divinity, and the Saviour of the Nation, was now look'd upon as a vile wretched Cheat, his Conviction did sensibly strike at the Credit of the Popish Plot; he was ty'd to a Cart, where he made hideous Bel-lorings, and swooned several Times with the Greatness of the Anguish; the second Day he was not able to go or stand, he was then dragg'd upon a Sledge, where he became a dismal Spectacle to the People.* To this *Echard* adds something which shews the great Delight he took in it, *who could better judge of his Punishment than his Crimes.* The infamous *L'Estrange* said *Oates* was scandalously drunk, and that was the Reason he could not stand, and *Echard* copies him. I am sure the Reader will have need of all his Patience on this occasion. The Perjury pretended to be prov'd upon *Oates* was twofold, for swearing to the Consult *April* the 24th, when the *St. Omers* Boys swore he was in their College; and again that *Ireland* was in Town between the 8th and 12th of *August*, whereas in Truth, quoth *Echard*, he was at that Time, and for several Days before and after in Staffordshire. I have elsewhere prov'd this to be as false as ever any thing came from the Father of Falshood, to which I must add another Proof, that *Oates* was in Town the 24th of *April* was prov'd by *Sir Richard Barker*, *Mr. Walker* a Minister, *Mr. Page*, *Mr. Clay* a Romish Priest, *Mrs. Mayo*, *Sarah Ives*, *Mr. Smith*, *Oates's* Schoolmaster, and *Butler*, *Sir Richard Barker's* Coachman.

Echard, on the Evidence of Popish perjur'd Wretches, and contrary to all this, repeats again, *He who was stil'd the Saviour of the Nation, was now treated as the most vile and profligate Impostor.* The infamous *Jefferies*, carefully copied by him, told the Jury, *There does not remain the least Doubt but that Oates is the blackest and most perjur'd Villain that ever appear'd upon the Face of the Earth; he would have excepted himself, if his Impudence had not been equal to his Villainy.* *Sir John Holt*, *Sir Henry Pollexfen*, *Lords Chief Justices*, *Sir Robert Atkins* Lord Chief Baron, with six Judges more, being all that were then in the House of Lords, unanimously declar'd to their Lordships, *May* the 25th 1689. *That the Judgments against Oates were contrary to Law and antient Practice, and therefore erroneous, and ought to be revers'd; instead of which, Echard tells us, The Lords could not be prevail'd on to blanch his Reputation, it is all the Wit he has, or restore him to the Capacity of being an Evidence; but he would not tell us that*

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|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| The Duke of Bolton, | The Lord Wharton, | Lords for |
| The Earl of Macclesfield, | The Lord Grey, | Oates. |
| The Earl of Bridgewater, | The Lord Cornwallis, | |
| The Earl of Bolingbroke, | The Lord Herbert, | |
| The Earl of Stamford, | The Lord Vaughan, | |
| The Earl of Bath, | The Lord Eure, | |
| The Earl of Oxford, | | |

Coke, p. 328.

That *Ireland* was in Town between the 8th and 12th of *August* was sworn by *Sarah Payne*; and *Mr. Fenison* hearing *Ireland* deny'd his being then in Town, when the other knew that he was, it so disgusted him at a Religion that allow'd lying with a Man's last Words, that he who was before a Papis't turn'd Protestant, and declar'd it upon Oath at *Lord Stafford's* Trial, which he confirm'd when he was dying. Of these Things, Hints have been already given, what follows is new Evidence.

were for blanching his Reputation, and among other Reasons had these: "Because the said Judgments are barbarously inhuman and unchristian, and there is no Precedent to warrant the Punishment of whipping, and committing to Prison for Life, for the Crime of Perjury, which yet were but one Part of the Punishments inflicted upon him, because the principal Matters upon which these Indictments were founded, were the Points objected against *Mr. Oates's* Testimony in several Trials, in which he was allow'd to be a good and credible Witness, tho' testify'd against him by most of the same Persons who witness'd against him upon these two Indictments, &c."

P. 330.

One *Mr. Hinton*, a Goldsmith in *Lombard-street*, was *Ireland's* Cashier: and *Mr. Hinton* going out of Town between the 8th and 12th of *August* 1678. met *Ireland* at or about *Barnet*, coming from *London*, when *Ireland* told him he had extraordinary occasion for Money, urging *Hinton* to go back with him; but *Hinton* said his Man could do *Ireland's* Business as well as himself, and his Affairs would not permit him to go back. *Mr. Coke* ask'd *Mr. Hinton* the Truth of this, to which he evaded giving a direct Answer; but it is enter'd in *Hinton's* Cash-Book, paid to *Mr. Ireland's* own Hands, whereas the other Entries are paid to his Order; and *Mr. Hinton's* Man offer'd to swear he paid those Moneys to *Ireland* himself. *Hinton* afterwards failing, a Commission of Bankrupt was sued against him, and his Books of Account were deliver'd, and kept at *Vernon's* Coffee-House behind the Exchange, where any one might have seen the Entry paid to *Ireland* himself. *Mr. Coke* adds,

In the Punishment of *Mr. Thomas Dangerfield* there was the same diabolical Cruelty as in *Oates's* Case; 'twas for writing and publishing that very Narrative, which was printed by Order of the House of Commons. The Court will be brought to a Reckoning for these things before we have done with them, so we may spare Reflection. The compleat Historian, who was a greater Dignitary than even *Mr. Archdeacon*, writes thus of *Dangerfield*, *In his Return from Tyburn towards Newgate after his whipping, being in a Coach he had reproachful Words given him by one Robert Francis, a virulent Papis't, and was run by him into the Eye with a Tuck at the End of a Cane, of which he dy'd soon after.* Francis 'Tis true *Francis* was hang'd for it, but *Echard* does what he can to blanch his Reputation; instead of a virulent Papis't, he attests, he was an obedient Son of the Church of England; instead of a Tuck at the End of a Cane, he says 'twas a small Bamboe, and a Stroak over the Eye; but he is forc'd to correct that, and own 'twas into the Eye, because it affected his Brain. *Bishop Burnet* calls *Francis* a brutal Student of the Law, instead of which the Archdeacon says, he led a quiet inoffensive Life. 'Tis very plain that this Action was very grateful to him, or he would not have falsify'd the Story in favour of such a Villain as *Francis*.

Dangerfield whip'd and murder'd.

Francis hang'd for it.

A. D. 1685. About the same time, the latter end of May, the pious, reverend, learned and eminent Mr. Richard Baxter was brought to a Trial on an Information against him in the King's Bench before that detestable Monster *Jefferies*, for whose Infamy there is nothing in the Dregs of Language too foul. He was thrown into Jail the 28th of February, and kept there till the 30th of May, when he was brought to the King's Bench Bar, accompany'd by Sir *Henry Ashurst*. His Counsel having before mov'd for Time, *Jefferies* cry'd out in a Fury, *I will not give him a Minute's time more to save his Life. We have had to do with other sorts of Persons, but now we have a Saint to deal with, and I know how to deal with Saints as well as Sinners; yonder stands Oates in the Pillory, and he says he suffers for the Truth, and so says Baxter; but if Baxter did but stand on the other side of the Pillory with him, I would say two of the greatest Rogues and Rascals in the Kingdom stood there. The Cerberus! Jefferies* no sooner came into Courr, than he fate down with great Indignation in his Face. A short Cause being call'd and try'd, the Clerk began to read the Title of another. *You Blockhead you, cries Jefferies, the next Cause is between Richard Baxter and the King.* The Passages mention'd in the Information were pick'd out of Mr. *Baxter's Paraphrase on the New Testament* by *Roger L'Estrange*. And as we read in *Dr. Calamy*, a certain noted Clergyman put into the hands of his Enemies some Accusations out of *Romans 13*, as against the King, to touch his Life, but no use was made of them. The great Charge was, that in these several Passages he reflected on the Prelates of the Church of *England*, and so was guilty of Sedition, &c. The King's Counsel open'd the Information at large, with its Aggravations. Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Rotheram*, Mr. *Phipps*, and Mr. *Arwood* were Mr. *Baxter's* Counsel, and had been feed by Sir *Henry Ashurst*. Mr. *Wallop* said, "I conceive the Matter depending being a Point of Doctrine, it ought to be refer'd to the Bishop his Ordinary: But if not, I humbly conceive the Doctrine is innocent and justifiable, setting aside the *Innuendo's*, for which there is no colour, there being no Antecedent to refer to: *i. e.* no Bishop or Clergy of the Church of *England* nam'd. The Book accus'd, *i. e.* the Comment on the New Testament, contains many eternal Truths, but they who drew the Information are the Libellers, in applying to the Prelates of the Church of *England* those severe things which were written concerning some Prelates, who deserv'd the Characters which he gave. My Lord, I humbly conceive the Bishops Mr. *Baxter* speaks of, as your Lordship, if you have read Church-History, must confess, were the Plagues of the Church and of the World." *Jefferies* then interrupted him thus, Mr. *Wallop*, *I observe you are in all these dirty Causes; and were it not for you, Gentlemen of the Long Robe, who should have more Wit and Honesty, that support and hold up these factious Knaves by the Chin, we should not be at the Pass we are.* "My Lord, says Mr. *Wallop*, "I humbly conceive, that the Passages accus'd are natural Deductions from the Text." You humbly conceive, says *Jefferies*; and I humbly conceive, swear him, swear him. Mr. *Wallop*, "Under Favour I am Counsel for the Defendant; and if I understand either *Latin* or *English*, the Information now brought against Mr. *Baxter*, upon such a slight Ground, is a greater Reflection upon the Church of *England*, than any thing contain'd in the Book he's accus'd for." *Jefferies* cut him short,

Mr. Baxter's Trial.

Sometimes you humbly conceive, and sometimes you are very positive: you talk of your Skill in Church-History, and of your understanding *Latin* and *English*; I think I understand something of them as well as you; but, in short, must tell you, That if you don't understand your Duty better, I shall teach it you. Upon which Mr. *Wallop* sat down. Mr. *Rotheram* urg'd, That if Mr. *Baxter's* Book had sharp Reflections upon the Church of *Rome* by Name, but spake well of the Prelates of the Church of *England*, it was to be presum'd, that the sharp Reflections were intended only against the Prelates of the Church of *Rome*. *Jefferies* said, *Baxter is an Enemy to the Name and Thing, the Office and Persons of Bishops.* Mr. *Rotheram* added, Mr. *Baxter* frequently attends Divine Service, goes to the Sacrament, and persuades others to do so too, as is certainly and publickly known, and has in the very Book so charg'd, spoken very moderately and honourably of the Bishops of the Church of *England*. Mr. *Baxter* spoke, My Lord, I have been so moderate, with respect to the Church of *England*, that I have incur'd the Censure of many of the Dissenters upon that account. *Baxter* for Bishops, cries *Jefferies*, That's a merry Conceit indeed! Turn to it, turn to it. Mr. *Rotheram* turn'd to a Place, where 'tis said, That great Respect is due to those truly call'd to be Bishops amongst us, or to that purpose. Ay, says *Jefferies*, This is your Presbyterian Cant, truly call'd to be Bishops; that is, himself and such Rascals call'd to be Bishops of *Kidderminster*, and other such Places, Bishops set apart by such factious, sniveling Presbyterians as himself. A *Kidderminster* Bishop he means, according to the Saying of a late learned Author, and every Parish shall maintain a Tith-Pig Metropolitan. Mr. *Baxter* beginning to speak again, *Jefferies* said, "Richard, Richard, dost thou think we'll hear thee poison the Court, &c. Richard, thou art an old Fellow, an old Knave; thou hast written Books enough to load a Cart, every one as full of Sedition, I might say of Treason, as an Egg is full of Meat. The dull Beast! Hadst thou been whipp'd out of thy writing Trade forty Years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a Preacher of the Gospel of Peace; and thou hast one foot in the Grave, 'tis time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give. But leave thee to thyself, and I see thou'lt go on as thou hast begun. I know thou hast a mighty Party, and I see a great many of the Brotherhood in Corners waiting to see what will become of their mighty Don, and a Doctor of the Party, looking to *Dr. Bates*, at your Elbow; but by the Grace of Almighty God, I'll crush you all." Mr. *Rotheram* sitting down, Mr. *Arwood* began to shew, that not one of the Passages mention'd in the Information ought to be strain'd to that Sense, which was put upon them by the *Innuendo's*; they being natural when taken in a milder Sense. Nor could any one of them be apply'd to the Prelates of the Church of *England*, without a very forc'd Construction. To evidence this, he would have read some of the Texts; but *Jefferies* cry'd out, You shan't draw me into a Conventicle with your Annotations, nor your sniveling Parson neither. My Lord, says *Arwood*, "I conceive this to be expressly within *Roswell's* Case, lately before your Lordship." You conceive, cries *Jefferies*, you conceive amiss. Mr. *Arwood* went on, "My Lord, that I may use the best Authority, permit me to repeat your Lordship's own Words in that Case." No, you shan't,

A. D. 1685.

A. D. 1685. *shan't*, says *Jefferies*, you need not speak, for you are an Author already, tho' you speak and write impertinently. Says *Arwood*, "I can't help that, my Lord, if my Talent be no better; but it is my Duty to do my best for my Client." Then *Jefferies* bellow'd against *Arwood's* Writings; and *Arwood* justify'd what he had written to be in Defence of the *English* Constitution, declaring he had never disown'd any thing he had written. *Jefferies*, several times, order'd him to sit down, but he still went on, saying, "My Lord, I have a Matter of Law to offer for my Client, &c. he cited several Cases wherein it had been adjudged, That Words ought to be taken in the milder Sense, and not to be strain'd by *Immuendo's*." Well, cries *Jefferies*, when he had done, you have had your Say. Mr. *Williams* and Mr. *Phipps* said nothing, for they saw 'twas to no purpose. At length Mr. *Baxter* himself said, "My Lord, I think I can easily answer all that is laid to my Charge, and I shall do it briefly; the Sum is contain'd in these few Papers, to which I shall add a little by Testimony." But he would not hear a Word, and proceeded to direct the Jury in a long railing Harangue, which would have been a Scandal to *Whitechapel* Court, where this Brute was once a bawling, starving Petty-Fogger. 'Tis notoriously known, there has been a Design to ruin the King and the Nation, the old Game has been renew'd, and this has been the main Incendiary. He is as modest now as can be. But Time was, when no Man was so ready at, Bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles in Fetters of Iron; and to your Tents, O Israel. Gentlemen, for God's sake, don't let us be gull'd twice in an Age, &c. He told the Jury in the Conclusion, That if they in their Consciences believ'd he meant the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of *England*, in the Passages which the Information refer'd to, they must find him guilty, and he could mean no Man else; if not, they must find him not guilty. When he had done, Mr. *Baxter* said, Does your Lordship think any Jury will pretend to pass a Verdict on me upon such a Trial? I'll warrant you, Mr. *Baxter*, said he, don't you trouble yourself about that. The Jury immediately laid their Heads together at the Bar, and found him guilty. As he was going away, Mr. *Baxter* told *Jefferies*, A Predecessor of yours had other Thoughts of me. *Jefferies* reply'd, There is not an honest Man in *England* but what takes you for a great Knave. He had subpoena'd several Clergymen, who were in Court, but were of no use to him, thro' the Rage of the wicked unjust Judge. The Trial being over, Sir *Henry Asturst* led Mr. *Baxter* thro' the Croud, and convey'd him away in his Coach. On the 29th of June Judgment was given against him to pay 500 Marks, and to lie in Goal till he paid it. *Echard* says, in excuse of this Injustice and Violence, There were Reasons and Provocations for it, to punish an innocent Man.

We have seen how *Echard* magnifies King *James* for being a King of his Word, *James* the King just. Was the following Instance out of Bishop *Burnet* a Proof of it? Some days after his coming to the Crown, he promis'd the Queen and his Priests, that he would see his Concubine Mrs. *Sidley* no more: This just Monarch living in a Course of Adultery with Sir *Charles Sidley's* Daughter, whom he had debauch'd. Orders were sent to Mrs. *Sidley* to leave her Lodgings in *Whitehall*, yet he still continu'd a secret Commerce with her.

The King having summon'd a Parliament to meet the 19th of May, the Archdeacon intro-

duces it with an account of the Elections, which is, to Astonishment, full of Falshood. "Peoples Minds were fill'd with Expectations and Longings for the Meeting of the Parliament, and the Fate of the Nation seem'd to depend on that Assembly, which was to support it in this difficult Juncture. In order to this grand Business, the Elections were generally carry'd on and compleated with the most common Coolness, Discretion and Unanimity; and notwithstanding the unjustifiable modeling so many Corporations since the last Parliament, there never was a House of Commons more able and more industrious in preserving the Happiness of the King, the Nation and the Church." 'Tis for the sake of the last, directly contrary to Truth, he gives us this Account of the Elections. Now read Bishop *Burnet*: "All Arts were us'd to manage Elections, so that the King should have a Parliament to his mind. Complaints came up from all the Parts of *England* of the Injustice and Violence us'd in Elections, beyond what had ever been practis'd in former Times; and this was so universal over the whole Nation, that no Corner of it was neglected. In the new Charters that had been granted, the Election of the Members was taken out of the hands of the Inhabitants, and restrain'd to the Corporation-Men, all those being left out, who were not acceptable to the Court. In some Boroughs they could not find a number of Men to be depended on, so the neighbouring Gentlemen were made the Corporation-Men; and, in some of them, Persons of other Counties, not so much as known in the Borough, were nam'd. This was practis'd in the most avow'd manner in *Cornewal* by the Earl of *Bath*, who put the Officers of the Guards Names in almost all the Charters of that County, which sending up forty-four Members, they were for the most part so chosen, that the King was sure of their Votes on all Occasions. *Echard* again, "It consisted, for the most part, of the richest and wisest Men of the Kingdom." Bishop *Burnet* again, "They were neither Men of Parts nor Estates." *Echard*, "There were 55 of noble Families, 95 Barons, 96 Knights; the rest were commonly Gentlemen of the best Interest, Credit and Knowledge in their Countries." Bishop *Burnet*, "Having neither Riches nor Parts, there was no hope left, either of working on their Understandings, or of making them see their Interest. This gave all thinking Men a melancholy Prospect. *England* now seem'd lost, unless some happy Accident should save it. All People saw the way for packing a Parliament." Further, as to *Echard's* carrying the Elections with uncommon Coolness, Discretion and Unanimity, see what as good a Churchman as himself, Sir *Edward Seymour* said in a Speech about the Petitions. "The Complaints of the Irregularities in Elections are so great, that many doubt whether this is a true Representative of the Nation or not? Little Equity is expected upon Petitions, where so many are too guilty to judge justly and impartially. It concerns us to look to these." *Coke* says, The King told the Members, such as they were. And again, The Parliament of King *James*, if it be worthy to be call'd so; yet does Mr. Archdeacon give a List of fifty or sixty of them, as a Sample of their Wisdom; as *Robert Brady*, M. D. Parliament-Man for *Cambridge*; Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, Parliament Man for *Oxford*; Sir *Roger L. Estrange*, Sir *Peter Rich*, Sir *William Pritchard*, Sir *John Moor*, Mr. *Theophilus*

Mr. Baxter found guilty.

And find 500 Marks

The King not a King of his Word.

A Parliament call'd

A. D. 1685.

Irregularly chosen.

Not a true Representative.

A. D. 1685. *lus Oglethorpe, Sir John Fenwick, Mr. Thomas Glesham, Sir John Packington, Sir Christopher Wren, Lord Huntingtour; but he omits several others, as Sir Roger Strickland, Mr. Edward Yard, Mr. William Westbrook, Sir Dudley North, Mr. Richard Anderson, Mr. John Bassett, Mr. John Loader, Mr. Lcmuel Kingdon, Mr. Edward Warring, Mr. Humphry Nicholas, Mr. James Griffin, Sir Thomas Bludworth, Mr. Hugh Hodges, Mr. Thomas Chaffin, Mr. Roger Pope, Sir Richard Crump, Mr. Thomas Hacket, Mr. Thomas Webb, Mr. Henry Lee, Mr. Hugh Longford, Mr. Robert Welden, Mr. George Gunter, Sir Dennis Hampson, Mr. Edward Baldwyn, Mr. Roger Pomeroy, Mr. Arthur Farwel, Mr. Robert Clarges, Mr. Daniel Laurence, Mr. Charles Fox, Mr. Walter Grubb, Mr. Edward Miller, Mr. William Chapman, Mr. Roger North, Mr. James Walker, Sir Thomas Higgons, Mr. Simon Smith, Sir George Woodrofe, Sir George Vernon, Mr. John Eldred, Mr. Thomas Geers, Mr. Thomas Lambert, Sir Edward Philips, Mr. Henry Crisp, Mr. John Conock, Mr. William Snead, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Mr. Robert Holmes, Sir Simon Leach, Mr. George Legg, Mr. Thomas Coates, Mr. Thomas Craddock, Mr. John Parsons, Mr. John Pepys, Sir Richard Haddock, Sir Benjamin Newland, Sir Peter Daniel, Mr. John Sandford, Mr. John Bere, Mr. William Coleman, Mr. Joseph Sawle, Mr. John Holloway, Mr. John Stone, Mr. George Reeves, Mr. Charles Bonitbon, Mr. Charles Hanses, Mr. Richard Grabam, Mr. William Cheffinch, Mr. John Friend, Mr. John Wagstaffe.* Men, says *Echard*, of the best Interest, Credit and Knowledge in their Countries. The King's Speech to them was much the same as that he had made to the Privy-Council, only he requir'd them to settle the Customs and temporary Excise upon him, but he had taken both before they gave them, and call'd them by that Title, *His Revenue. And this Parliament, if they were worthy to be call'd a Parliament, says Coke, being made to his hand, he might do and say to them what he pleas'd.* Which he did, assuming the same Airs as a *Boris*, or an *Abdelmelek* would have done on the same occasion, if there had ever been a Parliament at *Morocco* or *Moscow*, and probably the Senators would have been just such another Representative. Sir *John Trevor* was chosen Speaker, the same who was afterwards expell'd the House of Commons for Bribery. The King told them in his Speech, he had heard of *Argyle's* landing in *Scotland*, and that he would take care the *Rebellion should meet with the Reward it deserv'd.* The Commons thank'd the King for his most gracious Speech, and immediately order'd a Bill of his Revenue to be brought in by Mr. *Finch*, who distinguish'd himself at *Lord Russell's* Trial by *scribere est agere*, and some People call'd him so ever after. This Money-Bill increas'd the Revenue to above two Millions a Year, according to *Echard*, whose Informations were very imperfect. His Revenue was much more. The Customs alone were 800000 Pounds a Year, and the other Branches of his Revenue amounted to 1600000 Pounds a Year, which with his own Revenue as Duke of *York*, being 150000 Pounds per Ann. rose the whole annual Receipt to 2550000 Pounds a Year, three times as much as ever any King of *England* had before *Charles II.* The House of Lords order'd the Impeachments against the Earl of *Tyrone*, the Earl of *Danby*, the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and the Lord *Bellasis*, to be annull'd, four Lords only dissenting, the Earls of *Radnor*, *Anglesea*, *Clare* and *Stamford*. There was also a Bill brought into the

House of Peers, to reverse the Attainder of the Lord *Stafford*; against which the Earls of *Anglesea* and *Radnor* and other Peers protested, and gave so good Reasons for it, that 'tis strange it should ever have pass'd through that House to the House of Commons, as *Echard* tells us it did. But Bishop *Burnet* informs us, *It stuck with the Lords, and would not go down.*

The House of Commons, if, as *Coke* says, they deserve to be so call'd, were readier to give Money than the King to ask it; and to make the most of such an Assembly, the Courtiers project'd many Laws to ruin all that oppos'd their Designs. The most important of these was, an Act declaring *Treasons* during this Reign, by which Words were made to be *Treason*, and the Clause was so drawn, that any thing said to disparage the King's Person or Government, was made *Treason*, within which, every thing said to the Dishonour of the King's Religion, would have been comprehended, as Judges and Juries were then modell'd. This was chiefly oppos'd by Sergeant *Maynard*, who, in a very grave Speech, laid open the Inconvenience of making Words *Treason*, and what he said made some Impression. But it is thought, if the Duke of *Monmouth's* landing had not shorten'd the Session, that and every thing else, which the Courtiers were projecting, would have pass'd. *Never was greater Harmony, says Echard, between the King and the People; never were more fair Promises on one side, nor greater Generosity on the other.* A slavish Submission to the imperious Commands of an arbitrary Prince, he calls *Harmony*; a vile Profusion of the Nation's Treasure, without the least Appearance of Necessity or Reason, he calls *Generosity*; and all for the sake of this odious Vote, *May the 27th, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to desire him to issue forth his Royal Proclamation, to cause the Penal Laws to be put in Execution against Dissenters from the Church of England.* As long as there is any such Faction alive, so long are they sure of his Applause, and this King will have his best Word. Let him do what he will with every one and every thing else, provided *Persecution* has still her Claws on *Protestant* Dissenters. Bishop *Burnet* saw what this fatal Agreement between King *James* and his pack'd Parliament would come to, and tells us, 'twas happy for *England* that they sat no longer in the first Sessions; for the King doing every thing to provoke a *Protestant* and Free Parliament, even this Parliament grew at last a little resty.

But while they were in extasy for the Blessings they expected from him, they gave him new Duties on *Sugars* and *Tobacco*, which he said he would only make Trial of, and if he found them injurious to his Plantations, he would not take them; contrary to which, this King of his Word, had perpetual Complaints from the Plantations, that those Duties would ruin them, yet he made use of that Money as long as he had a Penny of the publick Treasure to receive. Of this I am my self a Witness, and know as much of the Matter as any other Person can.

Having mention'd the Earl of *Argyle's* being in *Scotland*, I shall observe, that his Lordship had offer'd to join with any powerful Body that would appear in *Scotland* or *England* against the Tyranny of the Times, two Years before this, if he could be advanc'd 8000 Pounds, and 1000 Horse were sent to *Scotland*; but as all Motions of that kind were Embrio's, so nothing came of it; and King *Charles II.* met with his Death from those very hands that murder'd his *Protestant* Subjects for conspiring it, as was pretended.

The King's great Revenue.

Coke, p. 337.

A. D.
1685.And the
Duke of
Mon-
mouth's
in England.

My Lord *Argyle* remain'd quiet in *Friesland*, and came not to reside at *Amsterdam* till after King *James's* Accession to the Throne, where he met with his Countrymen, who lay conceal'd there. The chief of them were the Lord *Melville*, Sir *Patrick Hume*, and Sir *John Cockran*. A rich zealous Widow having furnish'd him with 10000 Pounds, he laid it out in Arms and Ammunition, which was dexterously manag'd by one that traded to *Venice*, as intended for the Service of that Republick. The Lord *Argyle* and Sir *Patrick Hume* had some difference about the Place of landing in *Scotland*, which was made up by the Duke of *Monmouth*, who would gladly have gone to *Scotland* with them; but the Earl of *Argyle* was willing to keep that Command himself, and that the Duke of *Monmouth* should make a Diversion in *England*, for which he had made no Preparations. On his Father's Death he retir'd to *Brussels*, the Prince of *Orange* supplying him with Money. Lord *Grey*, and Lady *Henrietta Wentworth*, who was desperately in Love with him, follow'd him thither. The Lady, as well as the Duke, fancy'd that he being marry'd to his Dutches before he was of Age capable of a free Consent, the Marriage was null; so they liv'd together, and thought they did not break any Commandment. So apt is Passion to misguide Reason and Virtue! Major *Wade* and *Ferguson* press'd the Duke of *Monmouth* to land in *England*, so did Mr. *Fletcher* of *Saltoun* in *Scotland*, a Man of great Parts and Virtues; who not liking Lord *Argyle's* Scheme, resolv'd to run Fortunes with the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was flatter'd by the *English* Refugees, that all the *West* of *England* would be for him; which he was the more easily induc'd to believe, because when he was there in his Progress four or five Years before, Multitudes of People crowd'd from all Parts to welcome him, and follow'd him with Acclamations of Joy. His Counsellors reckon'd there would be no fighting, but that the Guards and others who adher'd to the King, would melt to nothing before him. They fancy'd the City of *London* would be in such a Disposition to revolt, that if he should land in the *West*, the King would be in great Perplexity. He could not have two Armies, and his fear of Tumults near his Person, would oblige him to keep such a Force about him, that he would not be able to send any against *Monmouth*: so they reckon'd he would have time to form an Army, and in a little while be in a Condition to seek out the King, and fight him on equal Terms. The Duke of *Monmouth* himself, and Mr. *Fletcher* thought they were in no Condition to make such an Attempt, for want of Money and Officers, and an Interest secur'd in the Country; but Lord *Grey* said *Henry VII.* landed with a smaller Number, and succeeded. Colonel *Danvers* gave them great Hopes of a Rising in or about *London*, and promis'd a Body of no less than 5000 Horse, and Horsemen were certainly engaged to be ready at an Hour's warning. Major *Wade* seem'd sure of *Bristol*; Mr. *Dore* of *Limington*, afterwards Col. *Dore*, was in the Secret, to act in those Parts either by rising or securing a Retreat upon occasion. All which Considerations turn'd the Duke's Head to those desperate Counsels, and pawning his Jewels, he bought Arms, which were put aboard a Ship freighted for *Spain*.

The Lord *Argyle* was first ready, and May 2d set sail from the *Vlye* in *Holland* with three small Ships, which arriv'd at *Orkney* in three Days. He sent out a Boat to get Intelligence, and to take Prisoners, which serv'd only to give Intelli-

gence where he was himself; thence he sail'd round to the *West Highlands*, and landed at a Place call'd *Dunstanstaple*, a Castle of his own, which he garrison'd. He found at his Landing that the early Notice the Council had of his Designs had spoil'd his whole Scheme, for they had summon'd all the Gentlemen of his Country to *Edinburgh*, yet he got near 3000 Men about him; and if with these he had immediately gone over to the *Western Counties* of *Air* and *Renfrew*, he might have given the Government much Trouble, but he linger'd too long, hoping still to have brought more of his *Highlanders* together; but all the Country being call'd out against him, he cross'd an Arm of the Sea, and landed in the Isle of *Bute*, where he waited still for the coming in of the *Highlanders*. His Lordship left his Arms in a Castle, with such a Guard as he could spare, but they were routed by a Party of the King's Forces, and with this the Bishop of *Sarum* says, he lost both Heart and Hopes. He gave every thing for gone, put himself into a Disguise, and had almost escap'd, but he was taken. A Body of Gentlemen that had follow'd him forc'd their Way thro' the Enemy; the rest, which was the greater Part, fell into his hands, as Sir *John Cockran*, Mr. *John Ayloffe*, and Mr. *Richard Rumbald* the Maltster; these two last were *Englishmen*, and yet rather chose to go with *Argyle* to *Scotland*, than with *Monmouth* to *England*. I believe out of some Repentment of the Duke's Behaviour on his Reconciliation with his Father, or because they thought Lord *Argyle* a Republican. The latter express'd even a cheerful Calm under all his Misfortunes, he justify'd all he had done, for he said he was unjustly attain'd, which had dissolv'd his Allegiance, and therefore 'twas Justice to himself and his Family to endeavour to recover what was so wrongfully taken from him; he complain'd of the Duke of *Monmouth* much, for delaying his coming so long after him, and for assuming the Name of King, both which he said were contrary to their Agreement at parting. Thus, says Bishop *Burnet*, he died pittied by all, except Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, who, as if he had been the Dispenser of the tremendous Judgments of the Almighty, pours down Vengeance upon him in this foolish as well as impious Observation; *That the late Earl of Argyle was taken in the same Month of the Year, in the same Week of the Month, in the same Hour of the Day, and was carry'd thro' the same Gate with the Marquis of Montrose, to display the retaliating Justice of Heaven.* Lord *Argyle* was beheaded the 30th of June.

Colonel *Ayloffe* had a mind to prevent the Insolence and Barbarity of his Enemies, who, he was sure, would not spare him, tho' he was the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon's* Nephew. My Lord of *Salisbury* tells us, that having got a Penknife into his Hands, he gave himself several Stabs, and thinking he was certainly a dead Man, he loose cry'd out, *Now I defy my Enemies.* His Lordship proceeds:

"*Rumbald* was he that dwelt in *Ryehouse*, where it was pretended the Plot was laid for murdering the late King and present King." *Echard* affirms, it was not a pretended, but a true Plot. *Rumbald* deny'd the Truth of that Conspiracy at the Place of Execution; but said, *He did not believe that God had made the greater Part of Mankind with Saddles on their Backs and Bridles in their Mouths, and some few booted and spur'd to ride the rest.*

Colonel *Ayloffe* was brought to *London*, the King examin'd him, and could draw nothing from him but one severe *Repartee*. He being fullen, and refusing to discover any thing, the King

A. D.
1685.Lord Ar-
gyle lands.And is ta-
ken.Earl of
Argyle's
Behaviour

Behended.

Col. Ay-
loffe stabs
himself.Rumbald
executed.

His Saying.

King

1685. King said to him, *Mr. Ayloff, you know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore say what may deserve it.* He answer'd, *Tho' it is in your power, yet it is not in your Nature to pardon.* Sir *John Cockran's* Father, the Earl of *Dundonald*, brib'd the popish Priests, and for 15000 Pounds got his Son's Pardon.

The Business was over in *Scotland* before it began in *England*; for the Duke of *Monmouth* sail'd not from *Holland* till the 24th of *May*, and met with such bad Weather and Winds, that he was 19 Days at Sea. He had with him one Man of War, and two Tenders, aboard which were Arms for about 5000 Men, Horse and Foot. He had also with him about 100 Officers and Gentlemen, and on the 11th of *June* he came into the *Cobb* at *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*. As soon as he and his Men were landed, he commanded Silence, fell upon his Knees, and implor'd the Protection of Heaven in a short Prayer. Then drawing his Sword, he led his Men up into the Town, where he muster'd his little Company, and set up his Standard. Being ask'd whom they were for, they declared for the *Protestant Religion*. The chief Persons who accompany'd the Duke were, *Ford* Lord *Grey*, a *German* Count, Colonel *Holmes*, Colonel *Matthewes*, Colonel *Foulks*, Sir *Joseph Tyley*, Major *Perrot*, Major *Wade*, Captain *Annesley*, Dr. *Temple*, Dr. *Oliver*, Dr. *Gaylard*, &c. The two *Howlings*, Mr. *Speak*, Mr. *Betriscomb*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Col. *Joshua Churchill*, and others came in to him after his Landing. He publish'd his Declaration, which was long, and ill penn'd, suppos'd to be drawn by *Ferguson*. It charged the King with the burning of *London*, the Popish-Plot, Sir *Edmond-bury Godfrey's* Murther, the Earl of *Essex's* Death, with poisoning his Brother, and many more Crimes. It set forth, that the King's Religion made him incapable of the Crown, that three subsequent Houses of Commons had voted his Exclusion. It further charg'd him with the taking away the old Charters, and all the tyrannical Acts of the last Reign. The Elections of the present Parliament were exclaim'd against, and the People appeal'd to when met in a free Parliament. This Declaration brought in great Numbers of the middling and ordinary sort of People, who soon wanted more Arms than he had for them. Above 14000 Men tender'd their Service to him before he went from *Lyme*, and about 6000 of them were regimented, tho' not compleatly arm'd.

I do not think it is worth while to copy *Echard's* Account of the Parliament's Usage of the Duke of *Monmouth*, as soon as the King had told them he was landed. The News was brought to *London* by *Thorold* Mayor of *Lyme*, and *Doffel* a Custom-House Officer, who were both examin'd in the House of Commons, who voted to stand by King *James*, and to attain the Duke. The Bill was dispatch'd in less than two Days by the Commons; and being sent up to the Lords by Sir *John Fenwick*, who was afterwards executed for High-Treason, it was read in that House three times in one Day. The Commons also address'd the King to give 5000 Pounds to any one who would assassinate the Duke of *Monmouth*, which they call'd *bringing of him dead or alive*. And on a small Hint from him, that this Tumult would put him to some Charge, they without hesitation gave him 400000 Pounds to bear *Monmouth*, who had not 400000 Pence in his military Chest. On the 2d of *July*, all the various Kinds of Money-Bills having been pass'd, the Parliament was adjourn'd to the 4th of *August*.

Echard, whose Manuscripts are just such Authenticks as that about *Oliver Cromwell* and the Devil, brags of one of *Ferguson's* relating to the Duke of *Monmouth's* Proceedings in the *West*; and he makes *Ferguson* tell us, that one of the Duke's Followers, who accompany'd him from *Holland*, was kill'd soon after their landing by another, whom he does not name, who was also one of his Companions, and who indeed was Mr. *Fletcher* of *Saltoune*; but the Man he kill'd was one of *Taunton*, or the Neighbourhood, who brought a great Body of Men from thence to join the Duke. The manner of it was thus: *Fletcher* The Duke design'd to give *Fletcher* the joint Command of the Horse with the Lord *Grey*, who was order'd out towards *Bridport* with a select Party of Foot to observe the Militia of *Dorsetshire*. *Fletcher* not yet furnish'd with a Horse, took the *Taunton* Man's without asking him leave, he being not in the way, and *Fletcher* thought that all things were to be in common amongst them which could advance the Service. When *Fletcher* return'd from the Enterprize he was sent upon, the Owner of the Horse, a rough ill-bred Man, reproach'd him in very injurious Terms for taking his Horse without asking his leave. Mr. *Fletcher*, who was naturally hasty and passionate, bore this longer than could have been expected from one of his Temper; but the other persisting in giving him foul Language, and offering a Switch or a Cane, *Saltoune* discharg'd a Pistol at him, and shot him dead. It was not possible for the Duke of *Monmouth* to keep *Fletcher* about him after this, without disguising and losing the Country People, who were coming in a Body to demand Justice; so he advis'd him to go aboard a Ship that was bound for *Spain*. *Ferguson* in *Echard's* Manuscript says, The Gentleman kill'd the Man with a Pistol he snatch'd into his Hand for no other end, but to preserve himself from being caned by the Person whom he shot. *Ferguson* makes this unhappy Accident to be after Lord *Grey's* Retreat from *Bridport*. Bishop *Burnet*, who probably had the Adventure from *Saltoune*, makes it before it, when *Grey* was sent out with a small Party, and coming near some Militia, ran away at sight of them, but his Men stood. Lord *Grey* brought a false Alarm, which was soon found to be so; for the Men whom he had abandon'd came back in good order, after a warm Skirmish with the Enemy, whom they forc'd into *Bridport*, and kill'd several of them; as Captain *Courtney Crocker* of *Devonshire*, and Mr. *Strangerways* of *Dorsetshire*. The Duke of *Monmouth*, after *Grey's* cowardly Behaviour, saying to Colonel *Matthewes*, *What shall I do with him?* *Matthewes* reply'd, *There is not a General in Europe that would ask such a Question but yourself*, intimating that the least he deserv'd, was to have had his Command taken from him.

Four days after he landed, the Duke march'd to *Axminster* in *Devonshire*, four Miles from *Lyme*. *Christopher Monk*, Duke of *Albemarle*, Son of General *Monk*, and Dr. *Clarges's* Sister, if the Evidence in the Trial of the Case between *Bath* and *Montagu Temp. William III.* was not true, had then with him about 4000 Militia Men of the County of *Devon*, and intended to quarter in the same Town that Night: But the Duke enter'd the Place before him with part of his Army, lin'd the Hedges, planted his four little Field-Pieces, and prepar'd for an Engagement, *Monk* being superiour to him in number. Instead of which, *Duke Christopher* march'd off in great Disorder and Confusion. It was a false step that the Duke took,

A. D. 1685. in not pursuing that Run-away; for he had certainly made himself Master of *Exeter*, and of most of the Arms of those Militia Men, who were no Enemies to his Cause; but he was of opinion not to fight till his Men were a little better disciplin'd.

On the 18th of *June* he arriv'd at the great and populous Town of *Taunton*, where he was received with such general Exultation, that one would have thought the People's Wits were flown away in the flights of their Joy. The Houses and Doors were adorned with green Boughs, Herbs and Flowers, and there was hardly a Hat to be seen without a *Green Bough*, the Mark of Distinction used by the Duke's Men. The next day 20 young Gentlewomen, with Colours ready made at the Charge of the Townsmen, presented them, says *Echard*, to his Grace with particular Solemnity. The Captain their Schoolmistress, went before them with a naked Sword in one hand, and a small curious Bible in the other, which she also presented with a short acceptable Speech. In answer to which, the Duke said, with an Air of great Satisfaction, *I come now into the Field with a Design to defend the Truths contain'd in that Book*, and to seal it with my Blood, if there is occasion for it. Here he was prevail'd with by evil Counsellors to assume the Title of *King*. I have been assured by Persons who were with him, and in his Confidence, that he never thought of it till after he landed, and was put upon it by that Arch-Traytor and Villain *Ferguson*, whose treasonable Practices since may very well make us suspect he was a Spy on him, and a secret Agent for the King. It is certain he had given his Word to the Earl of *Argyle*, Colonel *Holmes* and others, that he would pretend to no more than to act as General of the Forces that should join him against *James Duke of York*. He renew'd this Promise at *Lyme* to Mr. *Lark* the Baptist Minister there, who took the Command of a Troop of his Horse, and to the Republicans who came in to him, and who were the major Part of his Followers. The malicious Turn the Jesuit *Orleans* gives the Prince of *Orange's* Zeal on this occasion, shews us how much his Memoirs are the more authentick for their being given him by King *James*; which is, that the Duke of *Monmouth* having broken his Word with the Prince of *Orange*, and proclaim'd himself *King*, that Prince immediately dispatch'd Mr. *Bentinck* to King *James* to offer him his Service, both with his Person and all his Forces. I desire the Reader to remember that *Orleans's* Book is recommended by *Echard*, who says of him, he writes like a Man, true in History. *Orleans* affirms the Duke of *Monmouth* had promis'd to inthrone the Prince of *Orange*; and upon his hearing the Duke had caus'd himself to be proclaim'd King, he dispatch'd *Bentinck*, &c. Now the Duke was proclaim'd King at *Taunton* the 20th of *June*, according to *Echard*, and it was on the 20th of *June* that *Bentinck* had his Audience at *Whitehall*; so that it was impossible for the Prince of *Orange* to hear the Duke of *Monmouth* had proclaim'd himself King, till many Days after King *James* had refus'd to accept Assistance from his Son-in-law.

At *Taunton* the Duke (as King) publish'd three Proclamations, one treating King *James* as he had been treated by him, setting a Price on his Head. Another, declaring the Parliament of *England* a seditious Assembly. The third proclaim'd the Duke of *Albemarle* a Traytor. I have seen the Copy of a Summons he sent that High-born Prince, as *Dursey* call'd him, to surrender; but Duke *Christopher* defy'd his Sum-

mons, and wrote him a Letter, in which he told *Monmouth*, he had better have let his Rebellion alone. A. D. 1685.

Here the Reverend Historian is so supercilious as to question the Truth of what I have said, in the *Secret History*, of *Monmouth's* summoning the Lord *Churchill*, who lay at *Chard* with some regular Troops, Sir *William Portman's* Regiment of *Somersetshire* Militia, and a Regiment of *Devonshire* Militia. Tho' he deserves no such Compliance from me, yet to gratify him, I here let him know, that Mr. *Henry Evans* the Messenger, whom probably he has heard of, was then at *Chard* on a Message to Lord *Churchill*; that he saw the Duke's Summons, and Lord *Churchill's* making a Jest of it. This Lord harass'd the Duke's Army more than all the rest of the King's Forces, which were indeed commanded by very sorry Generals, as the Prince of *Orange* observ'd to King *James* by Mr. *Bentinck*.

What Wonders *Albemarle* perform'd with the *Devonshire* Trainbands, have been seen already. The Duke of *Beaufort* commanded the *Gloucestershire* Militia at *Bristol*. The Duke of *Somerset* Part of the Militia of that County at *Bath*. The Earl of *Pembroke* the *Wiltshire* Trainbands at *Chippenham*: but all those Militia Men were no more to be depended on, than those of *Somersetshire*, whose red and yellow Liveries were the Ornament of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Army. A Regiment of *Somersetshire* Militia advancing to join those of *Devon*, and oppose the Duke of *Monmouth's* marching eastward, had no sooner enter'd a narrow Lane in their way, than observing the Mouths of 2 or 3 hollow Trees unluckily pointed to their Front, they immediately turn'd tail, and fled every Man to his own Home, except such as staid for the Duke of *Monmouth's* coming, and then went in to him.

The Duke, after he was proclaim'd King at *Taunton*, march'd to *Bridgewater*, eight Miles distant. He had then with him the greatest Number of Men that ever were for him together, near 6000 tolerably well arm'd. He was proclaim'd in this Town at the High Cross by the Mayor Mr. *Alexander Popham*, and his Brethren in their Formalities. Here his Declaration was read, and the Inhabitants with a sort of Emulation who should do most, sent all kinds of Provisions to the Soldiery in a rude sort of Camp in *Castlefield* near the Town, where six Regiments of Foot appear'd, distinguish'd by their Colours, and had the Face of an Army. He had then about 1000 Horse, Mares, Geldings and Colts, a Life-Guard of 40 young Men well mounted and arm'd, and maintain'd at their own Charge. Out of his Horse were pick'd two very good Troops, commanded by Captain *Hewling*, and Captain The Duke's Quarters were in the Castle, where King *Charles II.* and King *James II.* at several times had also their Quarters. Here he rais'd more voluntary Contributions than in any other place, by the Management of Mr. *Reger Hoar*, Mr. *William Coleman*, and other Inhabitants, great Friends and great Sufferers for this Cause, a very unaccountable one indeed at that time. From hence the Duke march'd to *Glastonbury*, and thence to *Wells*, where he was again proclaim'd King, and his Declaration again read. He was now advis'd to take to *Mendip-Hills*, and march directly to *Bristol*. I have a Contempt for the IF's in the History of the Rebellion, and the Archdeacon's History, because these IF's are the Foundation of their noble Fabricks: But IF he had been prevail'd with by Maj. *Wade*, Mr. *Ross*, and the *Bristol* Men to have attack'd that

Duke of Monmouth proclaim'd King.

Ferguson a Traytor.

The Jesuit Orleans's lying Book recommended by Echard, Orl. p. 277, 280.

A. D. 1685. that City, the most important in England next to London, there is very great reason to believe he would have carry'd it; for there was a Conspiracy form'd in the City to receive him, and on a false Alarm only of his approach, a Ship was set on fire in the River, to draw the Militia that way, while his Friends admitted him. Bishop Burnet condemns his Conduct in neglecting Bristol, where he would have found much Wealth, and have gain'd some Reputation. The Duke's Soldiers thinking some of the Cathedral Men at Wells a little too impertinent, were somewhat free with their Appurtenances, which I think was all the Damage done by them. It seems the Duke, while he was in Holland, had thoughts of possessing himself of Bristol, or he would not have order'd a Vessel, aboard which he had a good Quantity of Arms, to have sail'd round Land up the Severn Channel to meet him there, which Vessel was intercepted by one of the King's Men of War, Capt. Trevanion Commander. Another ill Step.

From Wells the Duke march'd towards Bath, came in sight of, and summon'd it, but receiv'd an Answer of Defiance; so he halted at *Cainsbam*, in the Road between Bristol and Bath, as well to refresh his Men, as to consider what to do. Here his Men were alarm'd by a Party of the King's under the Lord *Newburgh*, who advanc'd to *Cainsbam-Bridge*, and were receiv'd with so much Gallantry by *Monmouth's* Officers and Soldiers, that they retir'd with loss, tho' they gave out that they had a Victory. From *Cainsbam* the Duke, still too diffident of Success at Bristol, wheel'd about to *Philipsorton*, in expectation of Desertion from the several Bodies of Militia of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, who were certainly well inclin'd towards him; and I have heard some of their Officers declare, that they believ'd most of those Trainbands would have gone in to him, if they had had an Opportunity; sure I am, many of them wish'd him heartily well. At *Philipsorton* his Forlorn was attack'd by the King's Troops under the Duke of *Grafton*, who advancing to a Lane where the Duke of *Monmouth's* Men had planted one of his Cannon, lost several Troopers, and escap'd himself with difficulty. The Lord *Newburgh* was mortally wounded in this Action, as were several other Persons of Distinction. From hence the Duke of *Monmouth* march'd to the large Town of *Froom*, where he was receiv'd with loud Acclamations of Applause and Joy universal and unaffected. Here also he was proclaim'd King, and receiv'd the unwelcome and unexpected News of the Defeat of the Earl of *Argyle*; a very great Balk to him, which gave a sudden Damp to his Hopes, and put him upon another ill Step most fatal to his Enterprize: And that was to return to *Bridgewater*, and there expect the King's Forces, who hasten'd their March after him, and shut him up in that Town Saturday the 4th of July. Preparations, such as they were, had been made by the Duke of *Monmouth's* Men, to stand the Enemy's Attack. One *Silver*, an Inhabitant of the Place, Brother to Captain *Silver* Master-Gunner of England, invented a Machine, which would discharge many Barrels of Musquets at once. These were to be play'd at several Passes instead of Cannon; but the Noise of great Guns, and the Terror of Bombs, soon oblig'd the Duke to concert other Methods: and a Council of War being held, it was resolv'd to attack the King's Troops in their Camp on *Weston-Moor*, three Miles from *Bridgewater*. Their Cavalry lay in *Weston*, and their Artillery defended the Pass in the direct-Road

to *Bridgewater*. Sunday about three a clock in the Afternoon, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Grey*, and the chief Officers went up into the Tower of *Bridgewater* Church, to take a View of the King's Camp in the Moor by the help of Perspective Glasses; and the Duke observing that Lord *Dunbarton's* Regiment of Foot Guards, which he had once been Colonel of, and by which he had been once extremely belov'd, were posted on that Side of the Camp that was propos'd to be attack'd, he express'd some Concern at it, saying, *I know these Men will fight, and if I had them I would not doubt of Success.*

The King's General the Earl of *Feversham*, and the King's Soldiers were very remiss, and the Country People, who heartily hated them, gave the Duke of *Monmouth* Information of it, who said, *We shall have no more to do, than to lock up the Stable-Doors, and seize the Troopers in their Beds.* About seven a-clock the Drums beat in *Bridgewater* for a Rendezvous in the *Castle-Field*, and several Meetings were privately held, where the Officers went to Prayers for a Blessing on their Undertaking; some of them praying in red Coats and Jack-Boots, a Sight that had not been seen in England before since the Restoration. After the Army was put in a proper Disposition, Orders were given for a March, without beat of Drum. About eleven a-clock at Night, I saw the Duke of *Monmouth* ride out, attended by his Life-Guard of Horse; and tho' then but a Boy, observ'd an Alteration in his Look, which I did not like; for not being able to judge of the Goodness or Badness of his Cause, I ran down with the Stream, and was one of its Well-wishers. All his Soldiers were forbid to fire a Pistol till they enter'd the Enemy's Camp. Their Guide *Benjamin Newton*, who promised to lead them thither a By-way, conducted them thro' *Cbedsey*, to a Place where the *Royne* or Ditch, behind which the King's Troops were encamp'd, was fordable: And tho' *Newton* knew the Way, and every Inch of the Way, by Day or by Night, as well as it was possible for a Man to know it, and tho' he lov'd the Duke of *Monmouth* as well as it was possible for a Man to love him; yet such was his Concern on that important Occasion, that it confounded him, and he led the *Monmouthians* above the Ford: which otherwise would have open'd a Way for them into the Enemy's Camp, where the Soldiers were asleep in their Tents, and might have been cut to pieces by the *Scythenmen*, of which the Duke had 500, and the Terror of the Weapon added to the Slaughter and Horror of the Night, would have given the rest of the Duke's Forces an easy Victory, as far as the Reason of a Thing can carry it without Experience. Captain *Hucker* of *Taunton* having receiv'd some Disgust, on account, as was said, of the Duke's refusing to make him Governour of that Town, tho' he could not spare him Men for a Garrison, fir'd a Pistol, while the *Monmouthians* were looking out for the Ford, which gave the Alarm to *Dunbarton's* Regiment, who put themselves into as good Order as they could to receive their Enemies. *Monmouth's* Men got over the Ditch with some difficulty, fell furiously on the King's Forces, took two Pieces of Cannon, and turn'd them on *Dunbarton's* and other Troops, which put the latter into disorder. The Alarm reach'd *Weston*, where *Feversham* was safe a-bed, and made not so much haste in-Fight to the Field, as to forget setting his Cravat-string at a little paltry Looking-Glass in one of the Cottages. *Monmouth's* Men began the Engagement with a Volley of Shot and Shouts; and their first Fire so confounded their Enemies, that

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that those who were nearest *Weston* ran into the Town; those who were in *Weston* ran to *Middlesey*, and thro' that Place above a Mile from the Moor; so that had the Duke's Horse, or even the two Troops he had sent with Capt. *Hewling* to *Minehead* for Cannon, made any Opposition to the King's Cavalry, the Rout had been entire; for never did Infantry perform better than the Duke's did. *Echard* makes the Advantage the King's Horse had over *Monmouth's* owing to the Activity of *Oglerborp*, a silly piece of Flattery on an insolent Bravo, who had no other Advantage over them than what was owing to the badness of the Enemies Troops, commanded by the Lord *Grey*, who could not get the Horse into a right Posture for fighting, most of them would hardly stand fire, and those consequently disorder'd the rest; upon which *Grey* rode up to the Duke, crying, *All is lost, and it is time for you to shift for yourself.* His Grace was then charging at the head of his Foot, with his wonted Gallantry, and the Stand they made was very extraordinary and promising, but his Carriages, with the Ammunition, drawing towards the Moor, met some of *Grey's* Horse upon the scamper, and these telling the *Carters* the Duke's Army was routed, the latter drew away their Carriages with the Ammunition in them, and stopt not till they got to *Ware* and *Axebridge*, 12 Miles off, where they or the Country People plunder'd them. In the meantime the King's Forces rally'd, and *Mew*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who was fitter for a Bombardier than a Bishop, I knew him well, and can say a great deal more of him, but I omit it out of Veneration to his Order, very officiously put his Coach-horses to the Artillery that was planted in the direct Road from *Weston* to *Bridgewater*, and causing those Guns to be drawn down against the Duke's Foot, the latter were gall'd by it extremely, yet still they stood their Ground, crying out, *Ammunition, Ammunition, for the Lord's sake Ammunition,* which not coming, and the Duke and *Grey* being gone with the Horse, the Foot fled after them, and the King's Horse pursuing them, kill'd twice as many as were slain in the Fight. I was upon the Spot before the Dead were buried, and, young as I was, observ'd the Slain to be more on the King's Part than on the Duke's, as they were distinguish'd to the Person who carry'd me thither, by one of the King's Soldiers; that Person was a Papist, and I was therefore put under his Protection, and he acted very generously and kindly on that Occasion. For after the Defeat, every body expected military Execution, except such as were of the Popish and Tory Factions. About 4 a-clock Monday Morning, the Run-aways began to come into *Bridgewater*, and I saw many of them so wounded, that I wonder'd how they could reach so far; one Fellow, particularly, had scarce lain himself down on a Bulk, when he dy'd away of his Wounds. Not above 300 of the Duke's Men were kill'd in the Action, and about 400 of the King's. Of the Duke's, as many were taken Prisoners as the King's Officers could find Places to confine them in. The chief were, Col. *Holmes*, Major *Perrot*, Capt *Madders* of *Crookern*; one *Williams*, a Domestick of the Duke's who had his Master's Cloak, and 200 Guineas, and Captain *Adlam*, who had about 100 broad Pieces quilted in his Buffcoat. He was so mortally wounded, that he could not have surviv'd it; but *Feversham* would not trust to that, so he order'd him to be hang'd the next day, and he was the first whom he hung up in Chains on the Moor between *Weston* and *Bridgewater*,

where was a Range of Gibbets so decorated to a good length. The Duke of *Monmouth*, with about 30 Horse, made off on the Gallop, and by 5 a-clock in the Morning was 20 Miles from the Moor. Dr. *Oliver*, late Physician of *Greenwich* Hospital, was one of his Company, and the best mounted of any of them. He rode up to the Duke, and said, Sir, *This is the farthest you can go, without throwing yourself into the hands of your Enemies, who are waiting for you all over the Country Eastward. No body has yet heard of our ill Success in these Parts, let us turn off to the Sea Coast over-against Wales, seize one of the Passage-Boats at Uphill, and get over to the other side, where I know you have Friends, among whom you will be safe till you can retire elsewhere.* I had this from the Doctor himself. The Duke inclin'd to hearken to him; but the Lord *Grey* check'd *Oliver* for offering to give such foolish Advice, as he call'd it, and the Duke going away with him, *God bless you, Sir*, said the Doctor, with Tears in his Eyes, *I shall never see you more*, so setting Spurs to his Horse, he rode off to *Bristol*, about 12 Miles from that Place, and coming there some time before News came of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Defeat, he found means to get into the City, and into a Friend's House, who knew nothing of his having engag'd with the Duke, where he lay so long conceal'd, that he return'd to *London* in Company of Judge *Jefferies's* Clerk, to whom his Friend, who was a rank Tory, recommended him.

The Duke of *Monmouth's* Fate afterwards, is too well known to need enlarging upon. The Lord *Grey* was taken at *Holtbridge* in *Dorsetshire*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* at *Ringwood*, Duke of not far off, by some Troopers of Lord *Lumley's* Mon-Horse. He made a Submission to the King, mouth taken and beheaded. who insulted him in the Audience he gave him, at the Desire of Queen Dowager. He repented afterwards that he had shewn such Meanness, and prepar'd himself for Death with a Firmness of Soul worthy the Character of a Hero, which he had justly acquir'd. He was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, the 15th of July, after 3 or 4 Strokes; The Executioner, who, it is said, wish'd him well, once threw down the Ax, crying, *I cannot do it.* He was very much teaz'd at his Death by *Turner* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Ken* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, who told him, He could not be a Protestant of the Church of England, unless he own'd the Doctrine of the *Oxford* Decree. Their Words were the Point of *Non-resistance*; but that was not the only thing in which they did very ill, to use Bishop *Burnet's* Words. Dr. *Tenison's* manner of treating him was more Christian-like and persuasive; he left those Points, in which he saw he could not convince him, to his own Conscience, and turn'd to other Things fit to be laid before a dying Man. The King refus'd to grant him a day longer on his earnest Request, tho' upon what account is not known. His last Words were, *I repent of all my Sins in general, Duke's last of the Blood spilt on my account, and I fear Speech. the ill Consequence of my Enterprize. I die in the Faith of this, that God will work a Deliverance for his People, and then will be discover'd the great, horrid, and scarcely to be parallel'd Villanies our Enemies have been guilty of; adding, you see my Case is desperate, yet know I die a M A R T Y R for the People; the very Words of his Grandfather King Charles the First, at his Execution.*

Bishop *Burnet* informs us how the Lord *Grey* Lord *Grey* escap'd. "He had a great Estate, that by his pardon'd. "Death was to go to his Brother *Ralph* *Grey*

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Cruelties
in the
West.

"Grey Esq; whom the Court look'd on with an ill Eye, so they resolv'd to preserve him till he should be brought to compound for his Life. The Earl of Rochester had 16000 Pounds of him; others had smaller Shares." He was also oblig'd to tell all he knew; and the Lord Brandon Gerard, and Mr. John Hampden, were prosecuted on his Evidence.

From the Character of this King, one might have expected every thing that was sanguinary and cruel. The Bishop writes, "The Army was kept for some time in the Western Counties, where both Officers and Soldiers liv'd as in an Enemy's Country, and treated all who were believ'd to be ill affected to the King, with great Rudeness and Violence. Kirk, who had commanded long in Tangier, was become so savage by the Neighbourhood of the Moors there, that some days after the Battle he order'd several Prisoners to be hang'd up at Taunton, without so much as the Form of Law, he and his Company looking on from an Entertainment they were at; at every new Health another Prisoner was hang'd up; and they were so brutal, that observing the shaking of the Legs of those whom they had hang'd, it was said among them they were dancing, and upon that Musick was call'd for. This was both so illegal and inhuman, that it might have been expected some notice would have been taken of it; but Kirk was only chid for it, and that for Form-sake only." Col. Foulks, who was with the Duke of Monmouth, and afterwards commanded a Regiment in King William's Service, upbraiding Kirk with his Cruelty, he protested his Commission went further, and that he had put a Restraint on the Power and the Instructions which were given him; and tho' it is not to be attributed to his Humanity, but to his Avarice, 'tis certain many Persons escap'd by his pretended Pardons, which he sold for 20, 30, and 40 l. a piece; and tho' they were not good in Law, yet they gave those that bought them time to settle their Affairs and get to London, Holland, and other Places of Shelter. One thing must be remember'd of this Kirk, which shews he was apprehensive that King James would make such an ill Use of his Victory, as to occasion a more successful Attempt against him in a few Years. For when he took Leave of a Gentleman, Mr. Harvey of the Castle in Bridgewater, who had been very civil to him, he shook him by the Hand, and said, *I believe it will not be long before I see you again*; and by his Motions gave him to understand it would not be on the same side.

The Campaign was finish'd by Jefferies and four other Judges, supported by some Troops of Horse, and these Judges were still more cruel and merciless than Kirk, Ogletborp, or any of the Officers. Bishop Burnet tells us, "Jefferies's Behaviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civiliz'd Nation; he was perpetually either drunk or in a Rage, like a Fury than the Zeal of a Judge. He requir'd the Prisoners to plead guilty; and in that case he gave them some hope of Favour if they gave him no trouble; otherwise, he told them, he would execute the Letter of the Law upon them in its utmost Severity. This made many plead guilty, who had a great Defence to make in Law. But he shew'd no Mercy, he order'd a great many to be hang'd up immediately, without allowing them a Minute's time to say their Prayers. He hang'd in several Places about six hundred Persons. The Impieties with which he

treated them, and his Behaviour towards some of the Nobility and Gentry that were well affected, but came and pleaded in favour of some Prisoners, would have amaz'd one if done by a *Bashaw* in Turkey."

Lord Ralph Starvel, tho' a staunch Abhorrer, was so shock'd at the Report of his Cruelty and Brutality, that he would not see him, tho' then in the Zenith of his Grandeur; and Jefferies, in Resentment, order'd Col. Bovey of Taunton to be hang'd at *Cotbolstone*, a Parish which belong'd to Lord Starvel, contrary to that Lord's good Liking, tho' Bovey had been one of the *Sequestrators* of that and other Estates of the Starvels. I have said that the Jesuit Orleans's Revolutions of England, notwithstanding the Recommendation of Mr. Archdeacon Echard, is a Book full of Lyes, and I am about to give another Proof of it. The French Priest is speaking of Jefferies's bloody Assizes, *The King was inform'd of those Disorders too late; but as soon as it came to his Ears, he express'd his Displeasure, and tho' the Services perform'd by those that were accus'd, prevail'd with him to spare them, he, as far as in him lay, made amends for their Injustice.* The Father of Lyes never told a greater. Read my Lord of Sarum, "The King had a particular Account of all Jefferies's Proceedings writ to him every day. He took pleasure to relate them in the Drawing-Room to Foreign Ministers, and at his Table, calling it Jefferies's Campaign, speaking of all he had done in a Style that neither became the Majesty nor the Mercifulness of a King. Dyckvelt was at that time in England, one of the Ambassadors whom the States had sent to congratulate the King's coming to the Crown. He told me, that the King talk'd so often of these Things in his hearing, that he wonder'd to see him break out into those Indelicencies; and, upon Jefferies's coming back, he was created a Baron and Peer of England; which is all the Amends King James made for his Injustice. Echard has inoculated this false Assertion of Orleans's into his own History.

I shall refer for the main of Jefferies's bloody Assizes to a Book so call'd, which, for the most part, is fairly tho' poorly writ. The Villain began his Villany, I beg the Reader to bear with this Language, when I am upon such Subjects, at *Wimborne*, where he try'd Mrs. Alicia Lisse, Lady Lisse, Widow of John Lisse Esq; Commissioner of the Great Seal, so often already mention'd, whom the Cavaliers assassinated in *Switzerland*. Sunday Night, after the Action in *Weston Moor*, Mr. Hicks, a dissenting Minister, Brother to the Nonjuror Dr. Hicks, once Dean of *Worcester*, came to Mrs. Lisse's House in *Hampshire*, with Mr. Nelthorpe in his Company. She knew Mr. Hicks, and treated him very civilly, not asking from whence he came; but Hicks told what brought him thither, for he and Nelthorpe had been with *Monmouth*, upon which she went out of the Room immediately, and order'd her chief Servant to send an Information concerning them to the next Justice of Peace, and in the mean while to suffer them to make an Escape. But before this could be done, a Party came about the House, and took both them and her for harbouring them. Jefferies resolv'd to make a Sacrifice of her, and obtain'd of the King a Promise that he would not pardon her, which the King own'd to the Earl of *Feverham*, when he, upon the Offer of 1000 Pounds if he could obtain her Pardon, went and begg'd it. No legal Proof was brought at her Trial, that she knew they were Rebels. The Names of the Persons found in her House were in no Proclamation, so

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Jefferies
more cruel
than a
Turk.

K. James's
Cruelty.

murder'd.

A. D. there was no notice given her to beware of them.

1685. *Jefferies* affirm'd to the Jury upon his Honour, *Monstrum Horrendum!* That the Persons had confess'd they had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. This was to turn Witnesses against her, after which he ought not to have judg'd in the Matter. And tho' it was insisted on as a Point of Law, that till the Persons found in her House were convicted, she could not be found guilty, yet *Jefferies* charg'd the Jury in a most violent manner, to bring her in guilty. All the Audience was strangely affected with so unusual Behaviour in a Judge, only the Person most concern'd, the Lady herself, who was then past Seventy, was so little mov'd at it, that she fell asleep. The Jury brought her in *Not Guilty*; but the execrable Judge, in great Fury, sent them out again, yet they brought her in a second time *Not Guilty*. Then he seem'd, as in a Transport of Rage, threatenng them with an Attaint of Treason. Thus, overcome with Fear, they at the third time brought her in Guilty. The King, he has had his Reward, shew'd no other Favour, but that he chang'd the Sentence from burning to beheading. She dy'd with great Constancy of Mind, and express'd a Joy that she suffer'd for an Act of Charity and Piety. The chief of the Prisoners, whom *Jefferies* butcher'd, were, Col. *Holmes*, *Christopher Bettiscomb* Esq; *Charles Speke* Esq; Mr. *Benjamin Hewling*, Mr. *William Hewling*, Col. *Bovet*, Capt. *Madders*, Col. *Annesley*, Capt. *Larke*, Mr. *Matthew Bragg*, Capt. *John Hucker*. Mr. *Roger Hoar* is put down in the List printed in the *Bloody Assizes*, but he was repriev'd a few hours before the time set for Execution, and was afterwards a Member of several Parliaments. Mr. *Hicks* the Minister

Mr. Hicks the Minister was hang'd at *Glastonbury*; and *Echard* prints his Speech, because he fancy'd there's a Word or two in it in favour of his darling Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*. It is not warrantable for any Subject to resist lawfull Sovereigns. Did he ever meet with a Mortal so stupid or so mad, as to think it lawful to resist Princes governing by the Laws they had sworn to maintain? *Hicks* the quondam Dean being spoken to in his Brother's behalf, said, He would not speak for a Fanatick, tho' he had been Chaplain to one of the greatest Fanaticks in the World, Duke *Lauderdale*.

Before *Jefferies* had shut up his Slaughter-houses in the West, died the Lord-Keeper North, a crafty designing Man, says my Lord of *Sarum*: "He had no mind to part with the Great Seal, yet he saw he could not hold it. An Appeal against a Decree of his had been brought before the Lords in the former Sessions, and it was not only revers'd with many severe Reflections on him that made it; but the Earl of *Nottingham*, who hated him, because he had endeavour'd to detract from his Father's Memory, had got together so many Instances of his ill Administration of Justice, that he expos'd him severely for it; and it was believ'd that gave the Crisis to the Uneasiness and Distraction of Mind he was labouring under." He languish'd for some time, and died despis'd and ill thought of by the whole Nation. The Seal was kept for *Jefferies*, and given to him at his Return from the Field of Blood and Bribery, for he glutted his Avarice as well as his Cruelty, taking between 14 and 15000 Pounds of *Edmund Prideaux* Esq; of *Ford-Abbey* in *Somersetshire*, to stop a Prosecution, with which Money he bought a Manor, I think, in *Leicestershire*; but be it where it will, 'tis no more in his Name, which dy'd with his Son, except as much of it as lives in the Infamy of the Father.

Lord-Keeper North's Death and Character.

Generally despis'd and ill thought of.

Sir *Thomas Jones*, who was made Chief Justice in his place, shew'd immediately that he was his most worthy Successor, and initiated himself in the same bloody Rites.

On the 13th of *October*, Alderman *Cornish* Alderman was on a sudden taken up for High-Treason, *Cornish* while he was following his Merchandize in great Security and Innocence; and on the 19th of *October* he was indicted at the *Old Bailey*.

At Mr. *Cornish's* Trial,
Present,

Jones Chief Justice.
Attorney-General, *Roger North*.
Solicitor-General, *Oliver Mountague*.
King's Counsel, Mr. *Phipps*.
Sir *Benjamin Thorowgood*, } Sheriffs.
Sir *Thomas Kensey*, }

Jury.

Thomas Rawlinson. *Richard Holford*.
Thomas Langham. *William Longboat*.
Ambrose Isted. *Stephen Coleman*.
John Grice. *Robert Clavel*.
Thomas Oneby. *William Long*.
William Clowdesley. *Thomas Pendleton*.

Of these *Kensey* the Sheriff, *Rawlinson* the Foreman, and *Clowdesley*, were Tavern-Men. Sir *John Hawles* has so learnedly set forth the Injustice and Cruelty of this Gentleman's Treatment, that I must refer to his Remarks, and add what Bishop *Burnet* tells us of it. "Good-enough, who had been Under-Sheriff of *London* when *Cornish* was Sheriff, offer'd to swear against *Cornish*, and that *Rumsey* had not discover'd all he knew. So *Rumsey*, to save himself, join'd with *Goodenough* to swear *Cornish* guilty of that for which the Lord *Russel* had suffer'd; and this was driven on so fast, that *Cornish* was seiz'd on, try'd and executed within the Week. If he had got a little time, the Falshood of the Evidence would have been prov'd from *Rumsey's* former Disposition, which appear'd so clearly soon after *Cornish's* Death, that his Estate was restor'd to his Family, and the Witnesses were lodg'd in remote Prisons for their Lives. Mr. *Cornish*, at his Death, asserted his Innocence with great Vehemence, and with some acrimony complain'd of the Methods taken to destroy him. Upon which it was given out, that he died in a Fit of Fury: But *Pen*, the Quaker, who saw the Execution, said, that there appear'd nothing but a just Indignation that Innocence might very naturally give. He added, the King was much to be pitied, who was hurry'd into all this effusion of Blood by *Jefferies's* impetuous and cruel Temper." But what says my Lord of *Sarum*? If his own Inclinations had not been bias'd that way, and if his Priests had not thought it the Interest of their Party to let that BUTCHER loose, by which so many Men that were like to oppose them, were put out of the way; it is not to be imagin'd there would have been such a Run of barbarous Cruelty.

This Murder, in Defiance of eternal Justice, and the dreadful Vengeance of Heaven, does *Echard* impute to *Cornish's* concerning himself so much about hanging instead of beheading the Lord *Stafford*. He will have it to be a Judgment, a Retaliation from Heaven. Pray God the dreadful Judgments he has call'd down on so many innocent Persons, be not retaliated on his own Soul.

About

A. D. 1685. About the same time, Mrs. Elizabeth Gaunt, a Widow in or near Wapping, was brought to a Trial. Bishop Burnet's Account of it is the best. She was a Baptist, who spent a great part of her time in Acts of Charity, visiting the Jays, and looking after the Poor of what Persuasion soever they were. One of Monmouth's Men, James Burton, found her out, and she harbour'd him in her House till she might have an Opportunity to send him abroad. He went about in the Night, and having heard that the King should say, *He would sooner pardon the Rebels than those that harbour'd them*, he, by an unheard of Baseness, went and deliver'd himself, and accus'd her that harbour'd him. There was no Witness to prove that she knew the Person she harbour'd was a Rebel, but the Rebel himself; yet the Judge charg'd the Jury to bring her in guilty: which they did, and she was condemn'd and burnt. She died with a Constancy even to a Cheerfulness, which struck all that saw it. She said, *Charity was a part of her Religion as well as Faith, and she only sed an Enemy. So she hoped she had her Reward with him for whose sake she did this service, how unworthy soever the Person was that made so ill a Return for it. She rejoic'd that God had honour'd her to be the first that suffer'd by Fire in this Reign, and that her Suffering was a Martyrdom for that Religion which was all Love.* Mr. Pen told the Bishop of Salisbury he saw her die. She laid the Straw about her for her burning speedily, and behav'd herself in such a manner, that all the Spectators melted into Tears. Such indeed was the Behaviour of all that suffer'd at this time. "Most of them, according to Bishop Burnet, express'd such a calm Firmness at their Death, and such a Zeal for their Religion, which they believ'd was then in danger, that it made great Impressions on the Spectators." But is so far from making any Impression on Echard, *Their Behaviour was strange*, says he. I am not at all surpriz'd at it, that such pious Sentiments as Mrs. Gaunt's are strange things to him. Their Words in their dying Speeches were shocking to the King's Party. The Words of the murder'd innocent Persons were shocking to their Murderers, very likely indeed!

Mr. Fernly, Col. Ayloff, and Mr. Nelthorp executed. One Mr. John Fernly was hang'd at Tyburn for harbouring the same James Burton. Now also were hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, Colonel Ayloff and Richard Nelthorp Esq; before-mention'd; the latter before Gray's-Inn-Gate in Holborn, the former before the Temple-Gate in Fleet-street. All which bloody and barbarous Executions gave a general Horror, to use my Lord of Sarum's Words, *to the Body of the Nation, and it let all People see what might be expected from a Reign that seem'd to delight in Blood. Some of the fairest of the Tories began to relent a little, and to think they had trusted too much, and gone too far. The King had raised new Regiments, and given Commissions to Papists.* 'Tis no matter for all this, "King James's Affairs, according to the Archdeacon, seem'd now in the greatest Height and Splendor, and to promise a firm and settled Felicity. The late dangerous Storms appeas'd, &c."

A Proclamation was publish'd against George Speke Esq; Francis Charlton Esq; John Wildman Esq; and John Trenchard Esq; who all kept out of the way. John Speke Esq; Son of George Speke of Whatlackington in the County of Somerset, who had been with the Duke of Monmouth, made his escape beyond Sea, and spent this Reign of Tyranny in Travel. The

Lord Brandon Gervard was try'd for High-Treason at the King's-Bench Bar, convicted and condemn'd. John Hampden Esq; expecting no Favour, says Echard, pleaded guilty. Says Bishop Burnet, "He was told he must expect no Favour, unless he would plead guilty; which he did, and begg'd his Life with a Meanness which gave his Spirits such a Depression and Disorder, that he could never quite master it, and in conclusion hurry'd him on to cut his own Throat."

England is now an *Aceldema*, the Country for 60 Miles together, from Bristol to Exeter, had a new and terrible sort of Sign-Posts and Signs, Gibbets, and Heads and Quarters of its slaughter'd Inhabitants. Every Soul was sunk in Anguish and Terror, sighing by day and by night for Deliverance, but shut out of all Hope by Despair.

On the 9th of November the Parliament met, and the King made a Speech to them. He told them how happy his Forces had been in reducing a dangerous Rebellion, in which it had appear'd how weak and insignificant the Militia was, and therefore he saw the Necessity of keeping up an Army for all their Security. He had put some in Commission, of whose Loyalty he was well assur'd, and they had serv'd him so well, that he would not put that Affront on them and on himself to turn them out. Thus he fell upon the two most exceptionable Points, a Standing Army, and a Violation of the Test-Act. There were some Debates in the House of Lords about thanking the King for his Speech. It was press'd by the Courtiers as a piece of Respect that was always paid. The Earl of Devonshire said, he was for giving Thanks, because the King had spoken out so plainly. The Courtiers carry'd it, and the King was thank'd after a rate.

The Earl of Middleton mov'd in the House of Commons for an Increase of Forces, which was warmly oppos'd by the Country Party. However, they voted a Supply, but rejected the Words towards the Support of the additional Forces, and order'd a Bill to be brought in to make the Militia useful. Yet the Spirit of Slavery prevail'd still so much amongst them, that they gave the King 700000 Pounds, hoping it would have made way for their Address against his dispensing with the Laws in favour of Popish Officers. The King told them he did not expect it from them; but however they proceeded on their part, he would be steady in all his Promises, and be just to his Word. On the Report of the King's Answer, even this House of Commons was struck dumb with Indignation; Fear and Resentment shut up every Mouth for a while: And when John Coke Esq; Burgess for Derby, said, *He hop'd they were all true Englishmen, and not to be frighted out of their Duty by a few hard Words*, he was immediately sent to the Tower. When the House of Lords began to debate the King's Speech, they were told, that by giving thanks for it, they had precluded themselves from finding fault with any part of it. The Lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Mordaunt oppos'd this; so did the Bishop of London, who spoke often not only his own Sense, but the Sense of the whole Bench of Bishops, who at last began to awake out of their Lethargy, to look about them, and see the Torrent of Popery and Slavery threatening to break in upon them. Jefferies began to argue with his rough manner, but he was soon taken down; it appearing, says Bishop Burnet, "That how furiously soever he rav'd on the Bench, yet where others might speak with him on equal Terms, he was a very

A. D. 1685. Lord Brandon Gervard and Mr. Hampden condemn'd.

The Miserable Land.

A Parliament.

Arbitrary Acts.

A. D. 1685. "very contemptible Man, and he receiv'd as much Mortification as such a brutal Man as he was capable of."

Earl of Stamford petitions the Lords.

The Earl of *Stamford*, who had been committed to the *Tower* for *High-Treason* in *July* last, had been deny'd Pen, Ink, and Paper, petition'd the Lords that he might be heard in Parliament. He was brought to their Bar *November* the 17th, where he complain'd of his long and strict Confinement. The House of Peers order'd that he should have Pen, Ink, and Paper, and be try'd in *Westminster-Hall* the first of *December*; before which time the Parliament was prorogu'd, and the Earl accepted of the King's general Pardon. Lord *Delamere* presenting the like Petition to that most Honourable House, setting forth that he had lain a Prisoner in the *Tower* ever since the 26th of *July* for *High-Treason*, the Lords were told by *Jefferies*, that Preparations were making for the Trial of that Lord, and if he was not try'd accordingly, he might be bail'd. But try'd he was, and *Jefferies* was Lord High Steward on that Occasion. There was one Witness only to prove he intended a Rising in *Cheeshire*; and that Witness *Saxon* was so profligate a Rascal, and so inconsistent in his Evidence, that the Lords acquitted the Lord *Delamere*, tho' it was believ'd there was something true in the main of what he swore. Bishop *Burnet* speaks again of Mr. *Finch* the Solicitor-General; "Pursuant to the Doctrine he had maintain'd in former Trials, he made a violent Declamation, to prove that one Witness, with presumption, was sufficient to convict one of High-Treason: but it signify'd nothing, he had been continu'd in his Employment only to lay the Load of this Judgment on him, and he acted his part with his usual Vehemence."

Lord Delamere try'd and acquitted.

Finch Solicitor-General his Behaviour.

The Pardon before-mention'd had so many Exceptions and Intricacies in it, that it was hardly worth accepting, and seem'd rather design'd to betray People, than to save them. Among others was excepted *John Webber* Gent. the present Town-Clerk of *Bridgewater*, which I mention for that he is still living, about 45 Years after, and tho' excepted, was very far from deserving it for his Affection to the Duke of *Monmouth* or his Cause. The Court was so unmerciful, that they excepted the poor Girls of *Taunton*, who gave *Monmouth* Colours, out of their pretended Pardon; and every one of them was forc'd to pay as much Money as would have been a good Portion to each, for particular Pardons. This Money, and a great deal more, was said to be for the Maids of Honour; whose Agent *Brent* the Popish Lawyer, had an Under-Agent one *Craue* of *Bridgewater*, and 'tis suppos'd that both of them paid themselves very bountifully out of the Money which was rais'd by this means; some Instances of which are within my Knowledge.

1686.

A. D. 1686. WE have mention'd the Prorogation of the Parliament in *November* last, and when it was to have met again, *February* 10th, 'twas prorogu'd to the 10th of *May*, then to the 22d of *November*, then to the 15th of *February*, and then to the 28th of *April* 1687; but they never met more, and it had been well for *England*, if they never had had a Being. The King resolv'd to have no Parliament, till he could be sure of a Majority to take off the Penal Laws and Test, that he might destroy the Church of *England*, and establish a Tyranny over Men's Bodies and Souls. He could not accomplish these things without getting the remainder of

Parliament dissolved.

the Charters into his hands, and modelling Corporations; in which, he employ'd those vile Wretches *Brent*, *Graham*, and *Burton*; which *Graham*, a starving Pettyfogger of *Clifford's-Inn*, he impos'd as a Burgess on the Borough of *Windsor*, in *Echard's* Wife and Rich Parliament: which like a sudden Storm blew over impetuously, made great waste, and was no more heard of. While there was an Appearance of Courts of Justice, and the Forms of Law, there must be Judges; and to bring them to his Lure, the King closetted those that then sat in *Westminster-Hall*, to bargain with them for their Seats, which they were to keep only on condition they would sell him their Consciences, and declare for his Power of dispensing with those Laws of which they were the Dispensers. He began with Sir *Thomas Jones*, who, stain'd as he was with the Blood of *Cornish*, could not bring himself to lye so all at once to God, the King, and the Kingdom, as to declare that the King's Will was the Law. *Jones* said plainly, *I cannot do it.* The King reply'd, *I will have twelve Judges of my Opinion.* *Jones* reply'd, *Possibly you may find twelve Judges of your Opinion, but you will scarce find twelve Lawyers to be so.* His ill Success with this and other Judges, made him turn out the Tools which he had hitherto work'd with, to take away the Lives and Properties of the best Men in the Kingdom, and put other Tools still more wicked and more worthless in their Places; which was done against *Easter-Term*, *April* 21.

A. D. 1686.

Judges closetted.

And turn'd out.

Judges turn'd out.	Put in their Places.
Sir <i>Thomas Jones</i> , Lord Chief Justice of the <i>Common-Pleas</i> .	Sir <i>Henry Bedingfield</i> . <i>And put in.</i>
<i>Will. Mountague</i> , Lord Chief Baron.	Sir <i>Edward Atkins</i> .
Sir <i>Job Charlton</i> , a Judge.	Sir <i>Edward Lutwiche</i> .
Sir <i>Edward Neville</i> , a Baron of the <i>Exchequer</i> .	<i>Richard Heath</i> Esq;

There was also a Call of Sergeants.

Who were disgrac'd by the Company they kept.	A Call of Sergeants.
Sir <i>John Holt</i> , Recorder of <i>London</i> .	} Who were disgrac'd by the Company they kept.
Sir <i>Ambrose Philips</i> ,	
Sir <i>William Rawlinson</i> ,	
Sir <i>George Hutchins</i> ,	
Sir <i>John Powell</i> ,	
<i>Hugh Hodges</i> Esq;	
<i>Thomas Geers</i> Esq;	
<i>John Tate</i> Esq;	
<i>William Killingworth</i> Esq;	
<i>Christopher Milton</i> Esq;	

Their Motto was *Deus, Rex, Lex.* The King before the Law.

The latter, *Christopher Milton*, was an unworthy Brother of the great Poet *John Milton*. He starv'd by his Practice, and to mend his Market, turn'd Papist. He was one of the dullest Fellows that ever appear'd with a Bar-Gown upon his Back in *Westminster-Hall*. But being of the King's Religion, a Phrase now us'd at Court and elsewhere, he was thought fit to be made a Popish Knight and a Judge, as was soon after *Richard Alibone* of *Gray's-Inn* Esq; And on *July* 17, the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Warwick*, the Lord *Bellasis*, the Lord *Dover*, and *Richard Talbot*, now made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, all rank Papists, were sworn of the Privy-Council.

The Courts in *Westminster-Hall* being so well fill'd, Work is soon found for them. *Miles Prance*, *Evi-*

A. D. 1686. Evidence against *Green, Berry, and Hill*, who murder'd Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, was indicted for *Perjury*, having been persuaded to plead *guilty*, and Sentence was formally pass'd on him as against *Oates*, but it was never executed. This Farce over, the next Prosecution to the same Tendency was against Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, who had the Courage to write an *Address to the English Protestants in King James's Army*; for which he was try'd and condemn'd, as *Prance* had been, to be whipp'd from *Newgate to Tyburn*, and the Sentence was executed upon him with a Barbarity exceeding any thing we read of *Pagan* Tormentors. Such were the Effects of the King's Religion and his Temper. *Crew* Bishop of *Durham*, *Sprat* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *White* Bishop of *Peterborough*, perform'd the Drudgery of degrading this Reverend and Learned Divine; and *Crew* and *Sprat* drudg'd on as long as they hop'd to get, or to save themselves by it. Mr. *Edward Whitaker* was fin'd a thousand Marks for justifying the Parliament of *Forty-One*, which was justify'd by the Parliament of 1660.

George Speke Esq; before-mention'd, was fin'd two thousand Marks for assisting his Friend Mr. *Trenchard*, afterwards Secretary of State, in making his escape.

I shall not enlarge on the Arguments for and against the King's dispensing Power, which chang'd the Constitution from a limited to an unlimited Monarchy, from a Free Government to a Tyranny; for the Lesson we learnt at the *Revolution*, and the restoring of the Constitution at that time, have made all Arguments for dispensing Power absurd and ridiculous: but that the Reader may have one clear View of it in a few Words, I will state the Case after Mr. *Acherley*.

The King's future Steps were gaz'd at as so many Emanations of his arbitrary Will, until the Measures of his Misgovernment became full; for the King avowedly departed from the known Laws, and assumed a Power above them, making his *Will* his *Law* in Government.

He then speaks of his making Father *Petre* and the Popish Lords Privy-Counsellors, and the Popish Lawyers Judges. To enable the Judges and Privy-Counsellors to execute those Offices and Places, the King granted them Dispensations and Powers to break the *Laws*, which made them incapable to hold those Places and Offices, and also incapacitated all Military as well as Civil Officers. The common Doctrine industriously spread at Court was, *That the King's Power to dispense with*, i. e. to unmake and vary the *Laws* was *Law*, meaning the Imperial or Civil Law; for it must be own'd, that by that Law, in Countries where it presides, the King is the sole Legislator, and has in him the whole Power to make new Laws, and to alter old ones, there being no difference between the Power that makes the New, and the Power that alters the Old. The Law itself hath enacted the Incapacity of the Officer to hold and enjoy the Office, and the Penalty impos'd on the Person who presum'd to hold or execute an Office, of which he was made incapable, contrary to this Law; therefore the Penalty is but part of the Law.

Wherefore to have this dispensing Power pass for Law, King *James* did as the King his Father had before done in the Business of Ship-Money. *Is not this another Proof of the Design of the Stuartine Princes to introduce Arbitrary Government, which is what I took upon me to prove?*

Further, the King in the same manner irregularly and preposterously engag'd the Judges to prejudge the Case, and agree the Judgment, that the King might by Law dispense with, that is, alter and unmake all the Penal Laws; which Opinion was subscrib'd by all the twelve Judges, except Sir *Thomas Street*, one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*: And in order to establish this *Dispensing Power*, as a standing Rule of Law to bind all Men, a *mock Cause* was fram'd for one *Godden* a Coachman, against his Master Sir *Edward Hales*, a Popish Colonel, wherein *Godden* brought his Action of Debt upon the *Test-Act*, for the Penalty of 500 l. as a Forfeiture for the Colonel's holding his Office without qualifying himself by receiving the Sacrament. To which Action, Sir *Edward* pleaded the King's Dispensation under the Great Seal of *England*. *Hales* had deny'd his Apostacy to Dr. *Burnet*, and upon his now denying his Denial, the Doctor says, *I was led from thence to see there was no Credit to be given to Papists, where their Church or Religion was concern'd*. Further, "When *Hales's* Trial was to be brought on, the Judges were secretly ask'd their Opinions, and such as were not clear to judge as the Court directed were turn'd out; and upon two or three Canvassings, the Half of them were dismiss'd, and others of more pliable and obedient Understandings were put in their Places. Some of these, as *Milton*, and *Alibone*, and *Holloway*, and *Heath*, &c. were weak and ignorant to a Scandal." Even Sir *Edward Herbert* Chief Justice, was but an indifferent Lawyer. The Counsel for *Godden* the Coachman were sed on purpose to expose and betray his Cause. This is a most melancholy Consideration, that Gentlemen of so generous and useful a Profession should be prevail'd with to sacrifice their Learning, their Honour and Understanding to the Pleasure of the Court. And tho' the Bench of Judges, and the Inns of Court, since the Revolution, have for the most part been fill'd with excellent and upright Judges, with able and worthy Counsellors; yet when I daily see some of the same Profession affecting to distinguish themselves in factious dirty Causes, I am not without Fears, that whenever a Ministry have bad Work to do, they will never want Instruments. After a few senseless and cold Arguments on both sides, Judgment was given for the Defendant *Hales*. Upon which Mr. *Acherley* writes thus: "The Wildness of Judges the Judges Positions for the King's *Dispensing* give it for Power need not be expos'd in worse Colours than the mercenary Resolutions themselves do expose them: For if the giving this Judgment, and the Reasons on which it was founded, were not High-Treason, in endeavouring to alter and subvert the fundamental Form of this Government, which the Constitution had made unalterable, then there never was any such Endeavour, nor can be, neither hath *Britain* any Constitution or any Laws to be subverted, but such Laws only as depend on the King's Will." And now after all *Echard's* Panegyrics on this King, his Royal Virtues and Qualities, does he at last drop him in some measure, and own, *That by the Breath of a few of his mercenary Judges in effect, the Laws of England were basely given up at once into the Power and Will of the King*. A Truth which is extorted from him by his Resentment of the King's putting a stop to all Persecution of Dissenters, and dealing a little roughly with the Church of *England*. Let not any one think I judge uncharitably, for I have prov'd, that from the beginning of that Persecution to the end of

A. D. 1686.

Ach. p. 632. Sir Edward Hales's Case.

Judges Dispensing Power.

High-Treason.

A. D. 1686. it, he has been in a continual Rapture in Contemplation of the Blessings of the Government under King *Charles* and King *James*. But now the latter, tho' with a very ill Design, is about to do a very good Act, and take off the Persecutors, who had been worrying the Protestant-Nonconformists, the King and Court have few good Words from him, and in him dwells the Spirit of his Party. He tells us the Clergy of the Church of *England*, who wrote against *Poper*y, gain'd immortal Honour with their Pens, while the Protestant Dissenters of all kinds appear'd to the World almost like unconcern'd Spectators. And Bishop *Burnet* here misrepresents them also; *The Clergy began generally to preach against Popery, which the Dissenters did not.* Dr. *Nichols* is as severe as *Echard* in this Charge against the Nonconformists, which is thus animadverted upon by Dr. *Calamy*. "It should be consider'd, that the Dissenters had written against the Romanists very freely before, and had the less reason to do it at this time; that they did not find their People so much in danger, as many that were educated in the Church of *England*; that both in City and Country they preach'd with great Freedom against *Poper*y, which shew'd that if they wrote less against it than others, it did not arise from Fear; that many of them thought it not so proper to take this Work out of the hands of the Divines of the Church of *England*, who not only did it well, but who were in duty bound to do the more in opposition to the common Danger, because they had done so much to hasten and occasion it; and who so visibly improv'd in Light, and in the Largeness of their Notions, by being necessitated to support some Principles in these Debates, which they had slighted before, and seem'd willing to discard." Again, "Several of the Dissenters did at that time attempt to publish some Tracts against *Poper*y, but met with Discouragement when they sent them to the Press, because they came from such as were not of the Church of *England*, who seem'd desirous to engross the Management of this Controversy at this time wholly to themselves. This actually was the case as to some Treatises then written by Nonconformists. And it need not seem strange if this, being generally known, should hinder others from making the like Attempts." It must be remember'd that even when the common Enemy was threatening common Ruin, the Dissenters were prosecuted in the wonted manner. Their Meetings were frequently disturb'd both in City and Country. Fines were levy'd upon them. The Informers broke in upon Mr. *Fleetwood*, Sir *John Hartop*, and others at *Stoke-Newington* to levy Distresses 6 or 7000 l. upon them by virtue of the *Stinging* Acts. Many were excommunicated, and had *Capias*'s issu'd out against them. Dr. *Calamy* does justice to the Church of *England* Clergy in the following Words: *A noble Set of Controversial Writings were now publish'd by the Divines of the Church of England, against the Errors of the Church of Rome; and it must be own'd they signaliz'd themselves, and gain'd immortal Honour by their Performances.* It would be base and ungrateful not to do Homage to the Memory of those illustrious Champions for the Protestant Religion, *Tilloison* and *Sharp*, afterwards Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*; *Patrick*, *Stillingfleet*, *Williams*, afterwards Bishops of *Ely*, *Worcester*, and *Chichester*; *Tennison*, the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*: To the great Names of *Sherlock*, *Clagget*, *Gee*, *Whitby*; and tho' *Azerbury* deserted the Protestant Cause afterwards,

Clergy defend the Church against Popery.

Dissenters Reasons for not writing.

Still persecuted.

and lives now in Banishment, he at that time bore his Testimony against *Poper*y; so did *Hooper*, late Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*; *Aldrich*, Dean of *Christ-Church*; *Burnet*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; *Foxeler* of *Gloucester*; and in a very particular manner, his Grace Dr. *Wake*, the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*. These Reverend and Learned Fathers and Doctors of the Protestant Church of *England* were esteem'd, belov'd, and reverenc'd at home and abroad, as the Bulwarks of the Protestant Religion, and their Names and Memories are still precious in the Minds of all good Protestants and good Englishmen. These Divines, and others of their Christian and Charitable Principles and Practices, and their Adherents, are what we always do, and always shall understand to be the Church of *England*; and for those who abuse that Name, abetting Superstition, Persecution and Arbitrary Power, we never look upon them as true Sons of our Protestant Church, and have treated and shall treat them accordingly. Tho' Dr. *South* did before and after this behave with great Bitterness and Indecency towards our Protestant Brethren, and waste many Jokes and Puns upon them in and out of the Pulpit, he now prov'd a good Churchman in the true Acceptation of the Word. He boldly oppos'd the Progress of *Poper*y; and being offer'd the Bishoprick of *Chester*, he refus'd to accept of it, when he understood it was expected he should thank Father *Petre* for it, who recommended him to the King.

Happy had it been for *England*, if the common Interest of Religion and Liberty had then so united the Hearts of both Churchmen and Dissenters, that all odious Distinctions had been laid aside for ever; and there had no other Emulation remain'd among us, but who should be the best Christians and the best Subjects to the Kings and Queens, King *James*'s Successors, who had a just Claim to our Active Obedience, and then *Passive* became Nonsense.

Mr. *Acherley* informs us, That King *James* exceeded the Proceedings of his Royal Father, by erecting a High Commission-Court in *April*, but the Commission was not open'd till *August*. This was in direct defiance of the Acts of Parliament by which that Power was abolish'd; and by that Commission he brought the People under more Pressures from this new-erected Court, than they had suffer'd under the old one before its Suppression.

The Commissioners were,
George Lord Jefferies, Lord-Chancellor.
Laurence Hyde, Earl of *Roche*ster, Lord-Treasurer.
Robert Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord-President of the Council.
Nathaniel Lord Bishop of *Durham*.
Thomas Lord-Bishop of *Roche*ster.
John Earl of *Mulgrave*.
Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
Dr. Thomas Cartwright, Lord-Bishop of *Chester*.
Sir Robert Wright, Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench.
Sir Thomas Jenour, Recorder of *London*.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was nam'd in the Commission, but he refus'd to act. The Bishop of *Durham* was lifted up with the Honour done him: His Name would now be recorded in History. And it was such a Consideration that made *Erostratus* set fire to the Temple of *Ephesus*. *Sprat*, Bishop of *Roche*ster, was flatter'd with the Hopes of succeeding Dr.

Dolben

A. D. 1686.

Dr. South a good Protestant.

High Commission-Court.

A. D. 1686. *Dolben* in the See of *York*. This was unquestionably an Attempt to subvert the Constitution of the Church of *England*, and to lay waste all its Fences against *Popery*. For, according to *Acherley*, the King observing that the Protestant Clergy were at last roused, and courageously met and from the Pulpit engag'd the Torrent of *Popery*, his Majesty sent out his Order by way of a Letter, directed to the Bishops, prohibiting the Clergy to preach on controverted Points of Religion, as his Predecessor and Pattern the Popish Queen *Mary* had done before. The King resolv'd to proceed severely against those who offended against this Order; and the Storm fell first on *Dr. Sharp*, the learned and pious Rector of *St. Giles*, who receiv'd, one day, as he was coming out of the Pulpit, a Paper sent him, as he believ'd, by a Priest, containing a sort of Challenge upon some Points of Controversy touch'd by him in some of his Sermons. Upon this he, not knowing to whom he should send an Answer, preach'd an Answer to it in a Sermon. And after he had confuted it, he concluded, shewing how unreasonable it was for Protestants to change their Religion on such Grounds. This was carry'd to Court, and represented as a Reflection on the King for changing on those Grounds. The Information as to the Words pretended to be spoken, was false; but without enquiring into that, the Earl of *Sunderland* sent an Order to the Bishop of *London*, in the King's Name, to suspend *Dr. Sharp* immediately, and then to examine the Matter. The Bishop said, he had no power to proceed in such a summary way: But if an Accusation was regularly brought into his Court, he would proceed to such a Censure as could be warranted by the Ecclesiastical Law; yet he would, in the mean time, do what was in his power, and desire *Sharp* to abstain from officiating, till the Matter should be better understood. He wrote thus to Lord *Sunderland*, and sent it by *Dr. Sharp*, who also behav'd with great Submission, but it had no effect. The King being resolv'd that the Bishop of *London* should be proceeded against, for not obeying his Orders, which, according to Law, could not be obey'd; he was cited to appear before the High Commission-Court, and many Persons of Quality accompany'd him, as *Sir Francis Compton*, *Sir Thomas Clarges*, *Sir John Lowther of Lancashire*, *Sir John Nicholas*, &c. which gave new Offence. *Jefferies* treated him in that brutal way that was now become natural to him. The Bishop said, *Here was a new Court, of which he knew nothing, so he desir'd a Copy of their Commission.* *Jefferies* cry'd, *You may see it in every Coffee-house.* He had some days allow'd him to prepare for his Defence, in which time he secretly endeavour'd, by any decent Submission, to have the Matter compromis'd; but that being in vain, he excepted to the Authority of the Court, as being not only founded on no Law, but contrary to the express Words of the Statute that put down the *High Commission*: but it was intimated, that if he should insist upon that, it would draw a much heavier Indignation on him. He then urg'd as before, that he could not censure *Dr. Sharp* without a Process, than which nothing can be plainer, according to Law. Reason, and the constant Practice of Ecclesiastical Courts. However, *Jefferies* and his Brother Judges proceeded to Sentence of Suspension; three of them were at first against it, the Earl of *Rockester*, the Bishop of *Rockester*, and Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*, so that the Sentence could not pass, unless one of those three were brought over. The King spoke of it roundly to the Earl of *Rockester*, who was so anxious

about the Church's Danger, and so zealous for its Grandeur, Riches and Power, when he put the Dedication to his Father the Earl of *Clarendon's* History: But now, says my Lord of *Sarum*, *Seeing he must either concur in the Sentence, or part with the white Staff, he yielded;* and my Lord of *London* was suspended *ex Officio*. Nor were *Crew* Bishop of *Durham*, *Sprat* Bishop of *Rockester*, and *White* Bishop of *Peterborough*, ashamed to enter upon his Office. But Bishop *Burnet* assures us, *His Clergy, for all the Suspension, were really more govern'd by the secret Intimations of his Pleasure, than they had been by his Authority before.* Having struck this bold Stroke, the Court was willing to see how it would be born with before they struck another; so *Dr. Sharp* was admitted to offer a general Petition, importing how sorry he was to find himself under the King's Displeasure, upon which, and a gentle Reprimand, he was suffer'd to return to the Exercise of his Function. Six Months after the Suspension, in *February* the next Year, the Bishop of *London* petition'd to have it taken off; but making no Acknowledgment of any Fault, it lay still upon him tho' there were no further Proceedings in it.

An Accident happen'd at this time, which gave the Queen great Offence, and put the Priests much out of Countenance. The King continu'd to go still to *Mrs. Sidley*, and she gain'd so much on him, that at last she prevail'd to be made Countess of *Dorchester*. As soon as the Queen heard of this, she gave order to bring all the Priests that were admitted to a particular Confidence into her Closet, and when she had them about her, she sent to desire the King to come and speak to her; when he came, he was surpriz'd to see such a Company there, but much more when they fell all on their Knees before him; and the Queen broke out into a bitter Mourning for this new Honour, which they expected would be follow'd with the setting her up openly as Mistress. The Queen was then in an ill Habit of Body, and had an Illness which, as was thought, would end in a Consumption. It was believ'd her Sickness was of such a nature, that it gave a melancholy Prospect that, if she should live, she could have no Children. The Priests told the King, a Blemish in his Life blasted their Designs; and the more it appear'd, and the longer it continu'd, the more ineffectual all their Endeavours would prove. The King was mov'd, and out of Countenance for what he had done; but to quiet them all, he promised to see the Lady no more. He indeed sent her to *Ireland*, but she return'd after a short Stay, and his ill Commerce with her was still continu'd.

About this time *Samuel Parker*, already mention'd, was made Bishop of *Oxford*; he had been so rigid a Fanatick, that he refus'd Conformity a good while after the Restoration. His Father was a thorow-pac'd Independent Republican and Sequestrator; and he himself, without one Episcopal Qualification, was a Scandal to that Holy Order. All the Bishops of this King's making were of the same Merit, as if he intended to bring the Church into Disgrace by the Characters of her Governors.

The *Dispensing Power* being a Point gain'd, a *Toleration* was forthwith granted to all sorts of Dissenters, but the Papists had the chief Benefit of it, they being not only tolerated, but caref'd, advanc'd and enrich'd. The free and open Exercise of their Religion was set up every where, and Jesuits Schools and Seminaries erected, not only in *London*, but also in the most considerable Towns in the Kingdom. The Church

Proceedings against Dr. Sharp.

And the Bishop of London.

A. D. 1686. *He is suspended.*

The King's Amours.

The Queen and her Priests mourn for it.

Parker Bishop of Oxford.

Toleration.

A. D. 1685. Church of England, says *Echard*, had now a precarious Title to the National Church, and began to see the impending Dangers, which so great a Part of that Body shut their Eyes against in the days of *Abhorring* and *Addressing*. *Romish* Candidates had already swallow'd up Ecclesiastical Preferments and Dignities in their Hopes and Expectations. Four *Popish* Bishops were publicly consecrated in the Royal Chapel, and dispatch'd into the Country under the Title of *Vicars Apostolical*, to exercise their Episcopal Functions in their respective Diocesses. Monks and Fryars appear'd in their Habits at *Whitehall* and *St. James's*, and made no scruple to tell the Protestants, *They hop'd, in a little time, to walk in Procession thro' Cheap-side*. A mighty Harvest of new Converts was now expected; and that Labourers might not be wanting, whole Flocks of *Priests* and *Regulars* were sent from beyond Sea to reap it. But what sort of Missionaries they were, will be seen by this account of them in *Bishop Burnet's* History.

Popery flourishes.

The Ignorance of Popish Priests.

Ridicul'd by the Earl of Middleton.

The Earl of *Middleton* had married into a *Popish* Family, and probably by that Interest had been prefer'd to be Secretary of State. He was a Man of Parts and Generosity, but of loose Principles in Religion. A Priest being sent to instruct him, he began with *Transubstantiation*, of which he said he would convince him immediately, saying, *You believe the Trinity*. *Middleton* stopp'd him, and said, *Who told you so?* At which he seem'd amaz'd. The Earl told him, he expected he should convince him of his Belief, but not question him of his own; with this the Priest was so disorder'd, that he could proceed no farther.

The Earl of *Mulgrave* Lord Chamberlain, was apt to comply in every thing that he thought might be acceptable; for he went with the King to *Mas*, and kneel'd at it; and being look'd on as indifferent to all Religions, the Priests made an Attack on him. He heard them gravely arguing for *Transubstantiation*, telling them he was willing to receive Instruction. He had taken much pains to bring himself to believe in God, who made the World, and all Men in it. But it must not be an ordinary Force of Argument that could make him believe, that Man was quits with God, and made God again.

Kirk's Repartee.

Kirk was also spoken to, to change his Religion, and reply'd briskly, *I am already pre-engag'd, for I promis'd the King of Morocco, that if ever I chang'd my Religion, I would turn Mahometan*. One day the King gave the Duke of *Norfolk* the Sword of State to carry before him to Chapel, and he stood at the door, upon which the King said to him, *My Lord, your Father would have gone further*. To which the Duke answer'd, *Your Majesty's Father was the better Man, and he would not have gone so far*.

Earl of Salisbury turns.

The Earl of *Salisbury* was gain'd over by the King or his Priests; but his Character does no Credit to neither them nor their Religion, otherwise than as he was a Nobleman.

Earl of Rochester refuses.

The Earl of *Rochester* had more pains taken with him, tho' all was to no purpose. The King himself spoke to him, and desir'd he would suffer himself to be instructed in Religion. He answer'd, He was fully satisfy'd about it. But the King still pressing him to hear his Priests, he said, he desir'd then to have some of the *English* Clergy present, to which the King consented, only he excepted to *Dr. Tillotson* and *Dr. Stillingfleet*. Lord *Rochester* told him, He would take those who should happen to be in waiting, for the Forms of the Chapel were still kept up, and *Dr. Patrick* and *Dr. Jane* were the Men.

Bishop Burnet tells us, his Ill-Willers had another Story. He had notice given him that he would shortly lose the white Staff, upon which his Lady, who was then sick, wrote to the Queen, and begg'd she would honour her so far, as to come and let her have some Discourse with her. The Queen came, and staid above two hours. Lady *Rochester* complain'd of the ill Offices that were done them. The Queen said, *All the Protestants are now turning against us, and we know not how we can trust any of them*; upon which the Lady said, *My Lord is not so wedded to any Opinion, as not to be ready to be better instructed*. And it was said, that this gave the Rise to the King's proposing a Conference. The Earl deny'd he knew any thing of it: And his Lady died not long after. It was said further, That the day before the Conference, he had an Advertisement from a sure hand, that nothing he could do would maintain him in his Place; and that the King had engag'd himself to put the Treasury in Commission, and bring some of the *Popish* Lords into it. The *Popish* Priests *Gifford* and *Godden* began the Conference; and when they had done, the Earl said, *If you have nothing stronger to urge, I will not trouble those learned Gentlemen to say any thing, for I am sure I can answer all I have heard*; and so he did, with much Life and Warmth, not without Scorn, saying, *Are these Grounds to persuade Men to change their Religion?* This he urg'd over and over again with great Vehemence. The King seeing in what Temper he was, broke off the Conference, charging all that were present to say nothing of it: But he took from him the white Staff, allowing him 4000 Pounds a Year for Life; and besides the 16000 Pounds out of Lord *Grey's* Estate, he had another Grant valu'd at 20000 Pounds. In the Treasury were put *John Lord Bellasis*, *Sidney Lord Godolphin*, *Henry Lord Dover*, Sir *John Ernie* Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir *Stephen Fox*. *Henry Lord Arundel* of *Wardour* was made Lord Privy-Seal in the room of the Earl of *Clarendon*, about the end of *December*. King *James*, who was more forward to restore Popery in *England*, than even the Pope himself would have had him to have been, sends now a formal Embassy to *Innocent XI.* who did not approve of his Counsels, as being in an Interest, which he hated, that of *France*. The Person pitch'd on for this Embassy was *Roger Palmer*, whose Wife King *Charles* took away from him, and in exchange for her made him Earl of *Castle-*

A. D. 1686.

A Conference about it.

Earl of Castle-Equipage, and had a magnificent Train. His Instructions were to reconcile the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* to the Holy See. The Pope receiv'd this Ambassador, as one that saw farther than those that sent him. He and the Cardinals gave him a gave cold Reception, except Cardinal *Howard*, and those of the *French* Faction. The Court of *Rome* were too refin'd Politicians to be impos'd on by Noise and Shew, and knew the World too well to expect great Matters from such hasty ill-tim'd Advances. *Castlemain* met with nothing but Mortifications at *Rome*, which occasion'd his making as short a Stay as was possible. He had several Audiences of the Pope, but to little purpose; for whenever he began to talk of Business, the Pope was seasonably attack'd with a Fit of Coughing, which broke off the Ambassador's Discourse for that time. These Audiences and Fits of Coughing continu'd from time to time, whilst *Castlemain* continu'd at *Rome*, and were a Subject of Diversion to all but the *French* Faction.

A. D. 1686. Faction at that Court. At length he was advis'd to come to Threats, and to give out that he would be gone, since he could not have an opportunity to treat with his Holiness about the Business he came for. *Innocent* was so little concern'd at the Ambassador's Resentment, that when he was told of it, he answer'd with his ordinary Coldness, *Well, let him go, and tell him, it were fit he rise early in the Morning, that he may rest himself at Noon; for in this Country 'tis dangerous travelling in the heat of the day.* He could only obtain of the Pope two trifling Requests, which could hardly have been deny'd to an ordinary Courier; the one was, *A Licence for the Marechal d'Humieres's Daughter to marry her Uncle*; the other was, *A Dispensation of the Jesuits to Father Petre, to enjoy a Bishoprick.* The want of which was the reason that the Archbishoprick of *York* was kept vacant so long. *Welwood* is mistaken here, for he also got a Cardinal's Cap for *Rhinaldi of Este*, the Queen's Uncle. The *English* Jesuits at *Rome* were at a great Expence of Money, Flattery, Fustian and Painting to entertain the *English* Ambassador. I shall only repeat one *Latin* Distich, as a Sample of the rest, and a Prophecy of the Success of the Dutchess of *Modena's* Negotiation with the Lady of *Loretto*.

*Pro natis, Jacobe, gemmis, Flos candida regum,
Hos natura tibi si neget, Astra dabunt.*

" If, Flow'r of Kings, a Son is in thy Pray'rs,
" Tho' thou'rt too old, thou'lt have one from
the Stars.

Castlemain's going to *Rome* was High-Treason by Law, and *Jefferies* himself was uneasy at it. The Pope probably had the greater Disliking to *Castlemain*, because it was thought he was a Jesuit, and *Innocent* hated that Order. He was unhappy in every Step of his Embassy. He disputed with a nice sort of Affectation every Punctilio of the Ceremonial. *Welwood* is also mistaken as to the *Coughing Fits*; for *Castlemain* had an Audience of the Pope, after his Conferences with Cardinal *Cibo*, then Cardinal *Patron*, whom he press'd much to put an end to the Differences between *Innocent XI.* and *Lewis XIV.* in the Matter of the Franchises, that it might appear that the Pope had a due Regard to a King who had extirpated Heresy, and to another King who was endeavouring to bring other Kingdoms into the Sheepfold. What must the World say, if two such Kings, like whom, no Ages had produc'd any, should be neglected and ill us'd at *Rome* for some Punctilio's? He added, That if these Matters were settled, and if the Pope would enter into Concert with them, they would set about the destroying Heresy, and would begin with the *Dutch*, upon whom, he said, they would fall without any Declaration of War, treating them as a Company of Rebels and Pirates, who had not a Right as Free-States and Princes have, to a formal Denunciation of War. *Cibo* was amaz'd at this, and gave notice of it to the Imperial Cardinals; they sent it to the Emperor, and he signify'd it to the Prince of *Orange*, which, doubtless, put the States General and the Prince of *Orange* upon concerting Measures for their Preservation. And it is said that Mr. *Sidney*, afterwards Earl of *Rumney*, being then at *Rome*, was admitted to several Audiences in the Pope's Closet, when *Castlemain* could hardly procure one in the Hall of Audience. *Sidney* had no publick Character, but was entrusted by the Prince of *Orange* with some Secrets to be communicated to the Pope;

and some People have fancy'd, that even the *Revolution* was one of them; but perhaps that's too visionary. The Ambassador seeing his Remonstrances to *Cibo* were ineffectual, demanded the above-mention'd Audience of his Holiness, to whom he lamented the little Regard that was had to two such great Kings. He reflected on the Pope, as shewing more Zeal about Temporal Concerns than Spiritual, which, he said, gave great Scandal to all Christendom. He concluded, that since he saw the Intercessions made in his Master's Name were so little consider'd, he would make haste home. To which the Pope only said, *Lei e padrone*, He might do as he pleas'd: But he sent one after the Ambassador as he was withdrawing, to let him know how much he was offended with his Discourses; that he receiv'd no such Treatment from any Person; and that the Ambassador was to expect no other private Audience. Cardinal *Howard* did what he could to soften Matters; but *Castlemain* was so entirely in the hands of the Jesuits, that he had little regard to any thing the Cardinal suggest'd to him.

In the mean time the King and his Priests were indefatigable in their Endeavours to make Converts, among whom 'tis reported the Earl of *Sunderland* was one; he certainly went assiduously to the Popish Chapel, and perform'd his Cringes with more than ordinary Ceremony; but I do not find he was formally reconcil'd, as the Cant then was; and Father *Petre*, after he had extoll'd the Earl's Obedience at a Meeting of the Jesuits, added, *It is necessary for him as yet to appear a Protestant, for weighty Reasons of State.* The King caus'd his Army to encamp this Summer on *Hounslow-Heath*, where a Chapel was erected at his Head Quarters, and *Mass* publickly said there every day, but so few went to it, and those few were treated by the rest with so much Scorn, that it was not easy to bear it. 'Twas visible such an Army was not to be trusted in any Quarrel, in which Religion was concern'd, so a Resolution was form'd to make Recruits in *Ireland*. This Standing Army consisted of 15000 Horse, Foot and Dragoons, which number was increas'd afterwards; and besides the few Popish Officers mention'd by *Orleans*, and copy'd by *Echard*, as *Berwick, Dunbarton, Dover, Montgomery, Hamilton and Sackville*, were commanded by *Sarsfield, Lutterel, Gage, Peterborough, Carne, Butler, Wackop, Forbes, Mac Ellicut, Douglas and Bouchan*, all Popish Officers, with many others of the same Stamp.

At this time a great Discovery was made of the Intentions of the Court by the Jesuits of *Liege*, who, in a Letter they wrote to their Brethren at *Friburgh* in *Switzerland*, gave them a long Account of the Affairs of *England*. They told them the King was receiv'd into a Communion of the Merits of their Order; that he express'd great Joy at his becoming a Son of the Society, and profess'd he was as much concern'd in all their Interests as in his own. He wish'd they could furnish him with many Priests, to assist him in the Conversion of the Nation, which he was resolv'd to bring about, or to die a MARTYR in endeavouring it; and that he would rather suffer Death for carrying on that Work, than live ever so long and happy without attempting it. He said, he must make haste in it, otherwise, if he should die before he had accomplished it, he would leave them worse than he found them. They added, among many Particulars, That when one of them kneel'd down to kiss his Hand, he took him up, and said, *Since you are a Priest, I ought rather*

A. D. 1686.

Castle-
main of-
fends the
Pope.

Earl of
Sunder-
land af-
fects
Pope.

Dutch to
be de-
stroy'd.

K. James
a Son of
the Jesuits.

A. D. 1686. *to kneel to you and kiss your hand*; and when another of them was lamenting that his next Heir was an Heretick, he said, *God would provide an Heir*; another Fore-runner of the Pretender. The Jesuits of *Friburgh* shew'd the Letter about; one of the Ministers, on whom they were taking some pains, and of whom they had some hopes, had got a sight of it, and obtain'd Leave to take a Copy of it, pretending he would make good use of it, and he sent it to Mr. *Heidegger*, the famous Professor of Divinity at *Zurich*, whose Son is the famous Professor of *Opera's* and *Masquerades* at *London*. Other Copies of it were sent both from *Geneva* and *Switzerland*. One of these came to *Dyckvelt* the *Dutch* Ambassador, who told King *James* of it; and that his Priests were full of Designs and Hopes, which gave Jealousies that could not be easily remov'd. The King read the Letter, and promis'd to let him see 'twas an Imposture invented to make him more odious; but he never spoke of it to him afterwards, from whence *Dyckvelt* concluded the Letter was no Forgery.

The King being very intent upon having the *Penal Laws* and *Tests* repeal'd, declar'd, that none should serve him but those who would vote for it. He ask'd the Marquis of *Hallifax* if he would do so, and the Marquis frankly reply'd, *Never*; adding, *He thought the keeping up those Laws was necessary even for the King's Service, since the Nation trusted so much to them, that the publick Quiet was chiefly preserv'd by that means.* The King said, *Tho' I will never forget past Services, yet since you cannot be prevail'd on in that particular, I am resolv'd to have all of a piece*; so he was turn'd out, and Lord *Sunderland* made President of the Council, keeping still his Place of Secretary of State.

King talks with Lord Hallifax about the Test.

When Archbishop *Sancroft* had receiv'd Articles from some Bishops against *Cartwright* and *Parker*, two new nominated Prelates, he promis'd Dr. *Lloyd*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, that he would not consecrate them, till he had examin'd the Truth of the Articles; but being afraid of a *Præmunire*, he did it without such Examination.

The Deanery of *Christ Church* in *Oxford* was given to one *Massej*, a new Convert, tho' he had neither the Gravity, the Learning, nor the Age, suitable to such a Dignity. Not long after this, the President of *Magdalen College* died, and the King sent the Fellows a *Mandamus*, requiring them to choose one *Farmer*, an ignorant, vicious Person, who had no other Merit than his Apostacy, and turning Papist. *Mandamus* Letters had no legal Authority in them; but all the great Preferments of the Church being in the King's disposal, those who pretended to Favour, were not apt to refuse his Recommendation, lest that should afterwards be remember'd to their prejudice. But now since it was visible in what Channel Favour was like to run, less regard

was had to such a Letter; and the Fellows of that House chose the reverend and worthy Dr. *Hough*, one of their Body, who was in all respects a statutable Man. They carry'd their Election according to their Statutes, to the Bishop of *Winchester* their Visitor, who confirm'd it, which was a legal Settlement of that Matter, but the Court highly resent'd it. Bishop *Burnet* writes, "It was much observed, that this University, that had asserted the King's Prerogative in the highest Strains of the most abject Flattery possible, both in their Addresses, and in a wild Decree they had made three Years before this, in which they had laid together a Set of such high-

Oxford for Tyranny, according to Bishop Burnet.

"flown Maxims, as must establish an untrouable Tyranny, should be the first Body of the Nation that should feel the Effects of it most sensibly." The Cause was brought before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; the Fellows were first ask'd why they had not chosen *Farmer*, in Obedience to the King's Letter? They answer'd by offering a List of many just Exceptions against him, the Subject was fruitful, and the Scandals he had given were very publick. The Court was asham'd of him, and insisted no more on him; but they said the House ought to have shewn more Respect to the King's Letter, than to have proceeded to a Choice in Contempt of it. The Ecclesiastical Commission declar'd the Election of Dr. *Hough* null, and put the House under Suspension. Then *Parker* Bishop of *Oxford* was recommended by the King, and the Fellows were commanded to proceed to a new Election in his favour. They excus'd themselves, since they were bound by their Oaths to maintain their Statutes; and having made a legal Election, legally confirm'd, they could not proceed to a new Choice, *College* Preferments being Free-Holds could only be judg'd in a Court of Record. The King in his Progress next Year came to *Oxford*, sent for the Fellows, and order'd them to go presently and chuse *Parker* for their President in a Strain of Language ill suited to the Majesty of a crown'd Head; for he spoke to them very coarsely, and in a very angry Tone, yet it had no Effect upon them: They insisted still on their Oaths, tho' with a Humility and Submission, which they hop'd would have mollify'd him; and they continuing thus firm, a subaltern Commission was sent from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to finish the Matter. Bishop *Cartwright* was the Head of this Commission, Sir *Charles Hedges* the King's Advocate to manage it. *Cartwright* acted in so rough a manner, that it shew'd he was resolv'd to sacrifice all things to the King's Pleasure. Bishop *Burnet* says, "'Twas an afflicting thing, which seem'd to have a peculiar Character of Indignity in it, that this first Act of Violence, committed against the legal Possessions of the Church, was executed by one Bishop, and done in favour of another."

A. D. 1686.

The new President was turn'd out, and because he would not deliver the Keys of the House, the Doors were broken open, and *Parker* forcibly put in Possession. The Fellows were requir'd to make their Submission, to ask Pardon for what was past, and to accept of the Bishop for their President; they still pleaded their Oaths, and were all turn'd out, except two that submitted. The Nation as well as the University look'd on all this with a just Indignation. It was thought an open Piece of Robbery and Burglary, when Men authoriz'd by no legal Commission came, and by Force turn'd Men out of their Possession and Freehold. It agreed ill with this King of his Word's Professions so often repeated to maintain the Church of *England*, as by Law establish'd; for this struck at the whole Estate, and all the Temporalities of the Church, and could not but inflame the Church Party and the Clergy. From this Time the Messages to the Prince of *Orange* were very pressing, all the pretended Notions of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* were universally exploded, recanted and renounc'd, even by the Bishops, the Priests and Deacons, by the two Universities, by even the Addressers and Abhorers; those Doctrines which *Echard* said were so necessary, are now disown'd and detested. The King gave himself great Liberties in Discourse

A. D. 1686. course against the Church, and it was plain all the Services that Party had done him, both in opposing the Exclusion, and upon his first Accession to the Crown, were forgotten.

Persecution in King Charles the Second's Time.

Ferry White collected the Names of 60,000 Persons, who were prosecuted on a religious Account, from the Restoration to the Revolution, 5000 of whom died in Prison, he told Lord *Dorset* that King *James* offer'd him 1000 Guineas for the List, as far as he had carry'd it in his Time, to expose the Church, but *Ferry* would not part with it.

Cambridge University in Disgrace.

Cambridge had some time before this felt the Weight of the King's Displeasure. He sent his *Mandamus* to order *F. Francis*, an ignorant *Benedictine* Monk, to be receiv'd a Master of Arts, as a Way to let Monks into the Degrees of the University. The *Mandamus* was refus'd with great Unanimity and Firmness, which the Court had not expected from them. New and repeated Orders full of severe Threatnings in case of Disobedience were sent to them. Some feeble or false Men of the University try'd to compound the Matter by granting this Degree to *F. Francis*, but enacting at the same time that it should not be a Precedent for any other of the like nature. This was not given way to, and the Vice-Chancellor *Dr. Peachel* was summon'd before the Ecclesiastical Commission to answer this Contempt. *Bishop Burnet* observes, *He was a very weak Man, and made a poor Defence, and it was no small Reflection to that great Body, that their chief Magistrate was so little able to assert their Privileges, or to justify their Proceedings. Echar'd* takes no notice of this, and indeed he's very cautious of letting us be acquainted with any of the *Failures* of either of our Universities, or any of their Doctors. *Jefferies* treated *Peachel* with great Contempt, and the Court turning him out of his Place, the University chose *Dr. Balderston*, Master of *Emanuel* College, Vice-Chancellor; who in his Speech which he made of course on his Election, promis'd that during his Magistracy neither Religion, nor the Rights of that Body should suffer by his means.

Dr. Peachel Vice-Chancellor insulted by Jefferies.

The King was not contented with invading the Rights and Properties of those Seminaries of Learning, he endeavour'd to break in upon the Charities of generous Founders of Hospitals; and the *Charter-House* at *London* being the greatest Endowment in *Europe* for the Uses intended by the Founder, an Attempt was made against his Statutes, in favour of *Andrew Popham* a Papist, whom he recommended for an Out-Pensioner's Place in *Sutton's* Hospital, by a Letter dated the 17th of *December* this Year; which Letter was not deliver'd to the Master, the celebrated *Dr. Burnet*, Author of the *Theory of the Earth*, but to the Register at his House in the City, who came not to acquaint the Master with the Contents of it, but sent *Andrew Popham* to him to be admitted with a Certificate in the usual Form. The Master ask'd *Popham* where his Letter of Nomination was, and to whom it was directed? He said it was directed to the Governors of the Hospital, and he had left it in the Register's hands. The Master told him if it was directed to the Governors, it must be deliver'd to them before he could act upon it; and so telling him when there would be a Meeting of the Governors, he dismiss'd him without Admission. The Meeting was about a Month after, *Popham* appear'd, and his Business was heard. The King's Letter being read, *Jefferies* Lord Chancellor presently mov'd that they should immediately, without any Debate, proceed to vote whether *Andrew Popham* should be admitted or no according to the King's Letter; and it was put upon the

The Attempt against the Charter-House.

Master as *Junior* to vote first, but the Master told them he thought it was his Duty to acquaint their Lordships with the State and Constitution of that Hospital before they proceeded to vote. This was oppos'd by some, but after a little Debate the Master was heard, and acquainted their Lordships that to admit a Pensioner into that Hospital without taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, was not only contrary to the Constitutions of the House, but also to an Act of Parliament provided in that Case, which he nam'd, and repeated the Clause relating to the *Charter-House*. When the Master had done, one of the Governors said, *What's this to the Purpose?* The Duke of *Ormond* reply'd, *I think it is very much to the Purpose, for an Act of Parliament is not so slight a thing, but that it deserves to be consider'd.* Upon which, after some Discourse, the Question was put whether *Andrew Popham* should be admitted or no, and it was carry'd in the Negative. The Governors intended to return an Answer in writing forthwith to the King's Letter; but as soon as the Vote was pass'd *Jefferies* flung away, and some others following him, there was not a Number left to act as an Assembly. The Archbishop attempted several times to have another Assembly in order to write that Letter, but could not get a full Number till *Midsummer-Day*.

A. D. 1686.

While the Business was hanging thus, there happen'd an Accident which the Governors thought would have put an end to the Controversy. Another Person appear'd with a Letter of Nomination from the King of a Date antecedent to *Popham's*, and it was a Person qualify'd for the Place, one *Cardonel*, a French Protestant naturaliz'd; this they thought had been a soft Method invented by the Court to supersede *Popham's* Letter, and so let the Controversy fall without noise: but it prov'd otherwise, for when this Man's Pretensions came to be made known at Court, the King sent another Letter to exclude *Cardonel*, and to reinforce his former Order for *Popham*. Thus there were two Letters under the Signer, and there wanted only a Broad Seal, that all the Forces of the dispensing Power might be employ'd in this Attack against the *Charter-House*. At length a Broad Seal was sent to compleat and ratify *Popham's* Dispensation for not taking the Oaths, and Witnesses came to prove the Delivery of it. The King's second Letter to the Governors was read at their *Midsummer* Meeting, as was also the Dispensation for *Popham*; upon which a Letter was drawn up to give Reasons to his Majesty why they could not comply with his Pleasure as to the Admission of *Andrew Popham* into that Hospital. This Letter was sign'd by eight Governors.

Oppos'd by the Governors.

W. CANT.	DANBY,
ORMOND,	NOTTINGHAM,
HALLIFAX,	H. LONDON,
CRAVEN,	T. BURNET.

When it was read to the King he gave it to *Jefferies*, saying, *Find out a Way that I may have Right done me at that Hospital*; and the *Charter-House* was threaten'd with a *Quo Warranto*, and *Dr. Burnet* the Master with a Prosecution before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; but the Governors were of so great Character, so much consider'd by the Nation, and so well able to defend their Cause, that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who were the Support of the *Dispensing Power*, had no mind to meddle with them; besides, they had their Hands full of other Business, they being at the same time quarrelling with the two Universities on the same Point.

A. D. 1686. We are now to look into the Affairs of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, where Popery appears more barefac'd even than in *England*, especially in *Ireland*, where instead of a Toleration for themselves, the Papists begin to threaten the Protestants that it will be a very great Favour if they are tolerated.

Scotland. Mention has been made of the severe Act pass'd in the *Scots* Parliament, and the Consequences of it were such as made the Tyranny in *Scotland* intolerable. *Perth* the Chancellor had behav'd well at his first Appearance in the World, but to advance himself in Posts and Honours, he engag'd deeply in the foulest and blackest of Crimes, to use Bishop *Burnet's* Expression. The Duke of *Queensbury*, the King's Commissioner, gave very full Assurances in the point of Religion, that the King would never alter it, but would maintain it as it was establish'd by Law; and in Confirmation of them he propos'd the Act enjoining the Test, which was pass'd, and was look'd on as a full Security, tho' it was very probable that all the Use the Council would make of the discretionary Power lodg'd with them, would be only to render the Test to the Covenanters, and not to the Papists. They had a Power by another Act to require all Persons, under Pain of Treason, to answer such Questions as they should put to them; upon which it was easy to have grafted an Inquisition, as soon as the King pleas'd. The Parliament did not sit long, but they did a great deal of Mischief, and gave the King for Life all the Revenue that had been given to his Brother, with some additional Taxes.

Mr. *Carstairs*, who had been put to the Torture in the late King's Time, having drop'd some Words in his Confession, which touch'd Sir *Hugh Campbell* and his Son, then Prisoners in *London*; the Earl of *Melfort*, *Perth's* Brother, got the Promise of his Estate, about 1000*l.* a Year, as soon as he should be convicted of Treason; upon which, an Act was brought into the *Scots* Parliament, which was to last only six Weeks, and enacted, that if within that Time any of the Privy-Council would depose that any Man was prov'd guilty of High Treason, he should upon such Proof be attainted; upon which, as soon as the Act was pass'd four of the Privy-Council stood up and affirm'd that the *Campbells* were prov'd by *Carstairs's* Deposition to be guilty; then were both Father and Son brought to the Bar to see what they had to say why Sentence should not be executed. The old Gentleman near eighty, seeing the Ruin of his Family was determin'd, and that he was condemn'd in so unusual a manner, took Courage, and said the Oppression they had groan'd under had driven them to Despair, and made them think how they might secure their Lives and Fortunes; he own'd he had some Meetings with *Baillie* in *London*, and that one was sent to *Scotland* to hinder all Risings; that an Oath of Secrecy was indeed offer'd, but was never taken; upon all this. What he said was term'd a Confession, and he was condemn'd, but out of a Shew of Mercy pardon'd; the Earl of *Melfort* possessing his Estate, the old Gentleman died soon after, and very probably his Death was hasten'd by his long and rigorous Imprisonment, and this unexampled Conclusion of it, which, according to the Bishop of *Salisbury*, was so universally cry'd out against, that when the News of it was writ to Foreign Parts, it was not easy to make People believe it possible.

And can any thing be more monstrous and incredible than that the Representative of a Christian Nation should make a Law to last six Weeks only, on purpose to destroy an antient

Member of their Body, and put another Man in Possession of his Estate? *Melfort* to deserve it turn'd Papist, as his Brother *Perth* did, who came to Court upon some Difference with *Queensbury* to complain of him; but when his Complaints were heard, they were so slight that the King was asham'd of them, and all the Courtiers justify'd the Duke of *Queensbury*. The Earl of *Perth* speaking of it to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and expressing some Concern about what might happen upon it, Lord *Hallifax* said, *Fear nothing, your Faith will make you whole*, and so it prov'd; the Duke of *Queensbury* was soon after turn'd out of the Treasury, and the Earls of *Perth* and *Melfort* had the Management of *Scotland*. *Perth* prevail'd with his Lady to turn Papist as she was dying, and a few Weeks after her Death very indecently marry'd the Duke of *Gordon's* Sister, his first Cousin: They did not stay for a Dispensation, and Cardinal *Howard* could not without great difficulty obtain one. In return for this, *Perth* set up a Chappel for Mass in the Palace, the Rabble of *Edinburgh* broke into it, and defac'd the Chappel, and if *Perth* had not been convey'd off in Disguise he had probably been torn to pieces. The Guards dispers'd the Mob, some were taken, and the Ring-leader hang'd, who at his Execution told Mr. *Macom* a Minister, he was offer'd his Life if he would accuse the Duke of *Queensbury* as the Person that had set on the Tumult, but he would not save his Life by so false a Calumny. *Macom* did not call any of those that were present to bear Witness of it, but being an honest Man, went in the Simplicity of his Heart to the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and told him what had pass'd; the Archbishop acquainted the Duke of *Queensbury* with it, and he writ to Court and complain'd of it. The King order'd the Matter to be examin'd, and the poor Minister having no Witness to attest what the Criminal had said, was declar'd the Forger of the Calumny, upon which he was turn'd out. My Lord of *Sarum* reflects thus, "How severely soever those in Authority may handle a poor incautious Man, yet the Publick is apt to judge true; and in this Case as the Minister's Weakness and Misfortune was pitied, so the Earl of *Perth's* Malice and Treachery was as much detested." Such were the Converts the King made to his Religion! such were the Fruits of their Conversion!

In the Summer 1686, the Earl of *Murray*, another new Convert, was sent the King's Commissioner to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, and to try if it would be more compliant than the *English* Parliament had been. The King by his Letter recommended to them in very earnest Words the taking off all Penal Laws and Tests relating to Religion, and all possible Methods were us'd to prevail on a Majority; but two Accidents happen'd before the opening of the Parliament, which made great Impressions on the Minds of many.

We must not forget with what Applause Mr. *Echard* brings off the Murderers of Dr. *Doristlaus*, and we will now see what was the Behaviour of one of them in his last Moments, when he apprehended himself about to appear before that Tribunal, at which those who have dispens'd the Judgments of the Almighty without his Warrant, will be call'd to a strict Account, and receive everlasting Doom.

Whitford, says Bishop *Burnet*, "Son to *Whitford* one of their Bishops, before the Wars had in *Despair* turn'd Papist, he was the Person that kill'd *Doristlaus* in *Holland*; and that he might get out of *Cromwel's* reach, he had gone into

A. D. 1686. " into the Duke of Savoy's Service, and was there when the last Massacre was committed on the *Vaudois*. He had himself committed many barbarous Murders, and had a small Pension given him after the Restoration. He died a few Days before the Parliament met; he declar'd to some Ministers his forsaking of Popery, and his Abhorrence of it for its Cruelty. He said he had been guilty of some execrable Murders in *Piedmont*, both of Women and Children, which had pursu'd him with an intolerable Horror of Mind ever after that; he had gone to Priests of all Sorts, the strictest as well as the easiest, and they had justify'd him in his Massacres, and had given him *Absolution*; but his Conscience was so stung, that he died as in Despair, crying out against that bloody Religion."

Sir Robert Sibbalds recants Popery. The other Accident was the Remorse and Recantation of Sir Robert Sibbalds, a Doctor of Physick, and the most learned Antiquary in Scotland, who had liv'd in a Course of Philosophical Virtue, but in great Doubts as to Reveald Religion, and was prevail'd on by the Earl of Perth to turn Papist, which he had no sooner done than he began to be ashamed that he had made such a Step upon little Enquiry: Upon which he went to London, and retir'd for some Months from all Company; he went into a deep Course of Study, by which he came to see into the Errors of Popery with so full a Conviction, that returning to Scotland some Weeks before the meeting of the Parliament, he could not be at quiet till he had publish'd his Recantation in the Church. The Bishop of Edinburgh was so much a Courtier, that apprehending many might go to hear it, and that it might give offence at Court, he sent him to do it in a Church in the Country; but the Recantation of so learned a Man, upon so much Study, had a great Effect on many.

Scots Bishops for the Papists, and against the Presbyterians. The two governing Bishops, *Rosse* and *Pater-son*, resolv'd to let the King see that their Submission was as absolute as his Power, and procur'd an Address to be sign'd by several of their Bench, offering to concur with the King in all he desir'd, with relation to those of his own Religion, provided the Laws might still continue in force, and be executed against the *Presbyterians*: With this *Pater-son* was sent up to Court. He communicated the Matter to the Earl of *Middleton*, who advis'd him never to shew that Paper, for it would be made use of against them, and render them odious. The King and all his Priests were so sensible of it, that they were resolv'd to have a general Toleration, or none, so the Address was never presented; but it shew'd that the Scots Bishops, who are in such high Esteem with the Archdeacon, were more eager to promote Popery and destroy Presbytery than even the King and his Priests. When the next Sessions of Parliament was open'd, Duke *Hamilton* was silent in the Debate about the *Penal Laws* and *Tests*, having promis'd not to oppose the Motion, tho' he would not be active to promote it. The Duke of *Queensbury* was also silent, and the King was made to believe he managed the Opposition under-hand. *Pater-son* and *Rosse* did so entirely forget what became their Characters as Protestant Bishops, that they us'd their utmost Endeavours to persuade the Parliament to comply with the King's Desire. The Archbishop of *Glasgow* oppos'd it fearfully, the Bishops of *Galloway* and *Dunkeld* made a resolute Opposition: The rest were silent, but were resolv'd to vote for the Continuance of the Laws, yet such was the Meanness of most of the Nobility,

and of the other Members, that few of them did so much as hope for an effectual Resistance to the Court-Measures. However the major Vote was against the Repeal, and for a Suspension of those Laws during the King's Life. The King despis'd this, so the Session was put off, and the Parliament quickly dissolv'd. The Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and the Bishop of *Dunkeld* were immediately turn'd out by the King's express Command. The worthless *Pater-son* was made Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and one *Hamilton*, noted for Prophaneness and Impiety, which sometimes broke out into Blasphemy, was made Bishop of *Dunkeld*. No Reason was assign'd for turning out these Bishops but the King's Pleasure. This Proceeding provok'd the Nation in general, and they began to return to their old Zeal against Popery. Few Prolytes were made, and tho' the *Presbyterians* were freed from the great Severities they had long smarted under, yet, according to Bishop *Burnet*, they express'd on all occasions an unconquerable Aversion to Popery, and the Court was soon convinc'd they were not to be depended on; notwithstanding which, the King began his formal Proclamation of Toleration in Scotland, with asserting his Sovereign Prerogative, Authority, The King's Royal and Absolute Power, which all his Subjects were to obey without RESERVE: he us'd the Phrase, *Moderate Presbyterians*, which left the Construction of their Moderation in the Council still, but the *Papists* were allow'd their Religion in the full Extent of it, and all the Laws that prohibited it were at once vacated and annull'd by the King's Royal Edict, which was to pass now as the Edicts pass in France, and Parliaments were either to be nothing, or no more than the Parliaments in France, Tools of the King's Will and Pleasure.

No sooner was King *James* settled in the Throne, than he sent Orders to the Duke of *Ormond* to come to England. The Duke foreseeing that the new Hospital, a stately Fabrick near *Dublin*, erected for poor Soldiers, would infallibly fall into *Papist* Hands, he sat several Days with the Council and Judges privately in the Castle to consult how to prevent it, and they went as far as they could in it; but whatever Provision they made against it, was no Fence against such a Tyrant as *Tyrconnel*, under such a King as *James II*. His Grace appointed a Dinner at the Hospital for all its Officers, and the Officers of the Army then in *Dublin*, which being over, he took a large Glass of Wine in his Hand, bid the Servant fill it up to the Brim, then stood up, and said, *Lock here, Gentlemen, they say at Court I am now become an old dotting Fool, you see my Hand does not shake, nor does my Heart fail, nor doubt but I will make some of them see their Mistake*. Upon his Arrival at Court he soon saw how the King was breaking down all the Barriers of the People's Liberties and Properties, and preparing the Way for Popery and Slavery. An Attempt was made to charge him with imbezbling the Publick Money, under pretence of the Charge of the Hospital; but they were ashamed of it, and it came to nothing.

The Lord Primate and the Earl of *Granard* were appointed Lords Justices, who were very vigilant and prudent in the Exercise of that important Trust. The *Irish* pretended daily to discover Plots, and their Grandees appear'd to support their Evidence, pressing the Lords Justices for Orders of Council to empower *Papists* and Mongrel Protestants, such as *Worth* before-mention'd to examine them, and to commit without Bail any Person impeach'd. The Lords

A. D. 1686. Justices and Council would not agree to this Arbitrary Power, yet were so insulted by them, that they issu'd out such Orders of Council, but they were always directed to Protestants, which made the *Irish* weary of that Stratagem. Several Privy-Counsellors had been turn'd out by Command from *England* for their Zeal and Activity in their Country's Cause; but as yet no Papists were put in, however it will not be long before there will be scarce any one else. They grew daily more and more insolent, and began to affront and bully the Protestants before Lord *Clarendon* came over. The Lord *Clanrickard*, Sir *Valentine Brown*, (made a Viscount by King *James*) Col. *Moor*, and some others being at *Leslip*, seven Miles from *Dublin*, fell on their Knees, and drank Confusion to all Protestants and their Religion. This made a noise, and to stifle it, such as were Eye-Witnesses of the Fact, and threaten'd for not pledging the Health, were seiz'd with Warrants, and menac'd to have their Throats cut if they did not deny it. Sir *Standish Hartstong*, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, was given to understand he should lose his Employ, if he did not take off his Son-in-law, who was one of those that reported it. These repeated Insolences made the Lords Justices weary, and one of them, the Lord *Granard*, writ to *England* to be dismiss'd: But the Papists representing that he had a great Interest among the Presbyterians, his Lady being one, he was continu'd, the King writing him a Letter with his own Hand, containing great Promises and Assurances, that nothing should be acted prejudicial to the Protestant Interest, for which this Lord was then thought so very zealous, that some were apt to believe he inclin'd to declare for the Duke of *Monmouth*. The *Irish* were perpetually teasing the Lords Justices with false Informations against the *English*, as if they had Night-Meetings to plot the Destruction of the *Irish*. Examinations were taken before Justices of the Peace put in Commission for such Purposes; and as false and irrational as they were, yet Complaints were sent to the King, that the *English* were not prosecuted, and he sent private Instructions, with a Reprimand to the Lords Justices about this Affair, upon which they issu'd a Proclamation, forbidding all Night-Meetings, tho' the Lords knew well there was no such thing. This Contrivance was in order to make way for greater Mischief, by preparing Evidence to bring the most considerable of the *English* into Plots.

They began with one *Moor* of *Clonmel*, who was indicted for High-Treason before Sir *John Mead* in the *Palatinate* of *Tipperary*. *Moor* had a vast Estate, and they bent their whole Force against him. To countenance the Business, the Earl of *Tyrconnel* and *Justin Maccarty* came to the Trial at *Clonmel*, and in the publick Court presum'd to reproach the Judge and the Jury. *Maccarty* call'd him *Fanatick*, and both he and *Talbot*, now *Tyrconnel*, aspers'd him and the Duke of *Ormond* for employing him, calling him *Rogue*, and using other such foul Language, as, says my Author, *was only fit for such Blood-bounds to express*. Notwithstanding which, *Moor* and some others that were impeach'd were acquitted. But such an extravagant partial Account of the Matter was sent over to the King, that he question'd the Duke of *Ormond* how he came to employ such a *Fanatick*. The Duke answer'd, *I did it in duty to your Majesty, as believing I could not intrust a better Man than one of your Majesty's Servants*; for so he was when Duke of *York*, being his Attorney-General in *Ireland*.

A. D. 1686. *Tyrconnel* then began to model the Army; but before he ventur'd on that bold Step, he thought it convenient to disarm the Protestants. In order to this, the King and Council wrote over to the Lords Justices, that there was reason to believe the Rebellion of *Monmouth* had been of such spreading Contagion, as to infect many, wherefore it was not safe to have the *Militia* Arms dispers'd abroad. They would be in a greater readiness both for the *Militia* and their own Defence, if they were deposited in the several Stores of each County. A Proclamation was issu'd pursuant to this Order, and, as has been observ'd, the Papists found Protestants who refus'd not to do their Work for them. *Boyle* the Primate, and one of the Lords Justices, sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, and in a florid Speech magnify'd their unshaken Loyalty in the worst of Times, adding that their ready Obedience and prevalent Example would be of great Service to the King and Kingdom; and in the close he told them, it was expected they should bring their Arms, which should be always ready for their Service. The City was sensible of their Condition, but not knowing how to help it, their Arms were brought in, and the Country did the same. To render the Design more effectual, the *Irish* gave out, that if any Arms were reserv'd in Protestant Hands, such would be interpreted as disaffected to the King and Government, and that it would be no Excuse to say they were their own Arms, and not belonging to the *Militia*. This frighted many, and operated so powerfully, that great Numbers of People deliver'd in their Arms bought with their own Money. The Protestants being thus disarm'd, *Tyrconnel* proceeds to destroying the Army then about 8000 Men, and began with the Officers in the same Method which was design'd in King *Charles's* time, and that was to displace all Officers who had been in the Parliament or *Oliver's* Army, or were the Sons of any such. The Duke of *Ormond* had had Directions to do this, but he made no Progress in it, under pretence of gaining time to find them out, for he foresaw it was to make room for Papists.

When *Tyrconnel* had turn'd out two or three hundred Officers, he went for *England* to receive new Instructions, and took with him one *Neagle*, a cunning *Irish* Lawyer, afterwards knighted and made Secretary of War, whose Character however was such, as the King would not at first see him, he being a furious insolent Man, very obnoxious to the *English*, and even to the most generous Papists. The Lords *Bellasis* and *Powis* were for having him sent back to *Ireland* immediately: But the Queen, Father *Petre*, and the most bigotted Catholicks sav'd him from that Disgrace, tho' he was not now much hearken'd to. *Tyrconnel's* Design in coming over was to get the *Lieutenancy*, if possible; but things were not yet ripe enough for that. At a Consult upon the Subject of the *Lieutenancy* of *Ireland*, he was mention'd with Tenderness. He was so hated and dreaded by the *English*, that it was not then thought reasonable to bring him upon the Stage in that Quality: So Lord *Bellasis* was propos'd, but being infirm, it was thought he would not be able to carry on their Designs; and till they could come to other Resolutions, it was resolv'd that the Earl of *Clarendon* should be Lord-Lieutenant, and *Tyrconnel* return Lieutenant-General of the Army, to be a Check on the other, who, tho' well dispos'd, had it not in his power to do the Protestants Justice, and had the Court thought otherwise, they would not have sent him. My Lord

A. D. 1686. of *Sarum* writes thus of it: "The King resolv'd also to model *Ireland*, so as to make that Kingdom a Nursery for his Army in *England*, and to be sure at least of an Army there, while his Designs were to go on more slowly in *Britain*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was declar'd Lord Lieutenant, but the Army was put under the Command of *Talbot*, who was made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and he began very soon to model it a-new. The Archbishop of *Armagh* had continu'd Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and was in all Points so compliant to the Court, that even his Religion came to be suspected on that account; yet it seems he was not thought thorough-pac'd, so Sir *Charles Porter*, who was a zealous Promoter of every thing that the King propos'd, and being poor, was thought a Person fit to be made a Tool of, was declar'd Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*. To these the King said he was resolv'd to maintain the Settlement of *Ireland*. They had Authority to promise this, from *Echard's King of his Word*, "and to act pursuant to it; but as both the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Porter* were poor, it was hop'd that they would understand the King's Intentions, and see thro' those Promises which were made only to lay Men asleep, and that therefore they would not insist too much on them, nor pursue them too far.

"However, the Earl of *Clarendon*, upon his first coming over, gave publick and positive Assurances, that the King would maintain their *Act of Settlement*. He did it very often and very solemnly, and proceeded accordingly. In the mean while the Earl of *Tyrconnel* went on more roundly: He not only put *Irish* Papists in such Posts in the Army as became void, but upon the slightest Pretences he broke the *English* Protestant Officers, to make room for the others: And in conclusion, without so much as pretending a Colour for it, he turn'd them all out. And now an Army paid by virtue of the *Act of Settlement* to secure it, was wrested out of legal Hands, and put into the Hands of those that were engag'd both in Religion and Interest to destroy the Settlement, and those concern'd in it, which was too gross a Violation of Law to be in any sort palliated. So the *English* Protestants of *Ireland* look'd on themselves as at Mercy, since the Army was now made up of their Enemies. And all that the Lord Lieutenant, or the Lord Chancellor could say, did not quiet their Fears."

They were indeed too well grounded to be blown away by good Words. The Tyranny of *Tyrconnel*, countenanc'd by his Master King *James*, is hardly to be parallel'd in any History antient or modern. The *Irish* Papists in all parts of the Kingdom proceeded in their Stratagem to impeach Protestants for Plots; but these were generally so ridiculously contriv'd, and made up of such palpable Contradictions and Incongruities, that they serv'd only to demonstrate the Innocence of the Protestants, and the horrid Perjuries and implacable Malice of the Papists, who, failing in this, apply'd themselves to other Courses. Many of them went out *Tories*, and robb'd upon the Highway. They broke open Houses, stole Cattle, kill'd them in the Field, and cut out the Tongues of Sheep alive, with innumerable Barbarities all acted upon the *English*; who were so dismay'd and discourag'd with these Tragedies, that Thousands deserted the Kingdom and came for *England*, under as great Fears and Jealousies as if there had been an open Rebellion. Five hundred together transported

themselves to *Virginia*, *Carolina*, *Pensilvania*, *New-England*, and the *West-Indies*; which still weakening the *English* Interest in *Ireland*, was extremely grateful to the *Irish*; who, to use Bishop *King's* Words, "openly declar'd that they lik'd no Government but that of *France*; that they would make the King as absolute as the *French* King was; and they publickly and privately affirm'd with many Oaths, that they would in a short time have the Estates and Churches of the Protestants; and if they suffer'd them to live, they would make them *Heavers of Wood*, and *Drawers of Water*: That *Ireland* must be a Catholick Country whatever it cost, and as for the *English*, they would make them as poor Devils as when they first came into *Ireland*."

Bishop *King* gives numberless Instances of Facts, to prove that this was the Design of King *James* and his *Irish* Ministry, and *Tyrconnel's* modelling the Army was alone a sufficient Proof of it. In the room of my Lord *Shannon*, Captain *Robert Fitzgerald*, Captain *Richard Coote*, and Sir *Oliver St. George*, he put in *Kerney*, one of the Fellow-Conspirators with *Pickering* and *Grove* to murder King *Charles II.* *Ander-son* a mean Fellow, *Sheldon* a profess'd Papist, and one *Graham*. *Tyrconnel* himself, by the Name of *Richard Talbot*, was nam'd by *Oates* in his *Narrative* for this very Employment of modelling the Army: Upon which, many who before did not believe his Plot, gave credit to it now, saying, *If Oates was an ill Evidence, he was a good Prophet*; and his way of proceeding in his Model, was as barbarous and provoking as 'twas unjust and dangerous. See Bishop *King*. "He exercis'd at the same time so much Falshood and Barbarity, that if the Army had not been the best principled with Loyalty and Obedience of any in the world, they would have mutiny'd, or at least dispatch'd him. In the Morning he would take an Officer into his Closet, and with all the Oaths, Curses and Damns, that were never wanting to him, he would profess Friendship and Kindness, and promise him the Continuance of his Commission, and in the Afternoon cashier him with all the Contempt he could heap on him; nay, perhaps while he was thus caressing of him, he had actually given away his Commission. As for the Soldiers and Troopers, his way with them was, to march them from their usual Quarters to some distant place, where he thought they were least known, and would be put to greatest Hardships; there he stripp'd them of their Clothes, for which they had paid; and from the Troopers took their Horses, Boots and Furniture, bought with their own Money, and set them to walk bare-footed 100 or 150 Miles to their Homes, or their Friends, if they had any. Sometimes he would promise them something for their Horses, but then he told them they must come to *Dublin* for it; and if any came to demand that small Pittance, he contriv'd it so, that they should be oblig'd to wait till they had spent twice as much as they expected, and most of them, after all, got nothing. In the mean time, the new-raisd Forces and Officers being put into Arms and Command to which they were strangers, into good Clothes, and mounted on Horses for which others had paid, behav'd themselves with all the Insolence common to such sort of Men when unworthily advanc'd. They every where insulted over the *English*, and had their Mouths continually full of Oaths, Curses, and Imprecations against them. They rail'd on them, and gave them

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“ them all the opprobrious Names they could; and if any chastised them for their Sauciness, tho’ ever so much provok’d, they had the Judges and Juries on their side. They might kill whom they pleas’d without fear of Law, as appear’d from Capt. *Nangle’s* murdering his disbanded Officer in the Streets of *Dublin*; but if any kill’d or hurt them, they were sure to suffer, as Captain *Aston* found to his Cost, who was hang’d for killing a Papist, upon his abusing the Captain’s Wife in the Street.”

Let it not be pretended that King *James* knew nothing of this Tyranny and Cruelty. Can any one suppose that he was unacquainted with the Character of *Tyrconnel*, or that he did not like it from the Semblance it had with his own?

What little Regard the Lieutenant-General had for the Lord-Lieutenant, appears from the following Story.

The Earl of *Clarendon* going to Church upon a Sunday Morning, perceiv’d an Irish Officer he never saw before, commanding the Guard of Battle-Axes that attended his Person, which exceedingly surpriz’d him. He stopp’d and demanded who he was, and who put him there. The *Irishman* was as much frighted as the Lord-Lieutenant was disturb’d; but with some difficulty, and with broken Expressions, occasion’d by Fear, he said, *He was a Captain put in by the Lord Tyrconnel.* The Earl of *Clarendon* ask’d when? The Fellow reply’d, *This Morning.* Lord *Clarendon* bid his Attendants call the former Captain, and dismiss’d *Tyrconnel’s*, whom he sent for the next day, and question’d him for this Action. *Tyrconnel* reply’d, *I did nothing but by the King’s Orders.* To which the Lord-Lieutenant return’d Answer, *While his Majesty intrusts me with the Government, I will not be dispos’d by the Lieutenant-General.* Complaints on both sides were made to the King; and so it ended.

A Consult
of the Pa-
pists at the
Savoy.

Some time after *Tyrconnel* went to England to assist at a general Meeting of the Catholics, which was held at the *Savoy*, in order to consult what Method was fittest to be pursu’d for the Promotion of the Catholic Cause. They were afraid of the King’s Weakness or Timorousness. They were sensible that he advanc’d in Years, and thought their carrying the main Point, the changing Religion, to be so impracticable, that some of them were for moving the King to procure an Act of Parliament for the Security of their Estates, and only Liberty for Priests in their own private Houses, and to be exempted from all Employments. Father *Petree* oppos’d this as too terrestrial, and founded upon too anxious a Solitude for the Preservation of their secular Interests. Others of the Papists were for addressing the King to have Liberty to sell their Estates, and that his Majesty would intercede with the *French King* to provide for them in his Dominions. At last it was agreed to lay both these Proposals before his Majesty; and some of their number to receive his Answer, which was, *That he had, before their Desires came to him, often thought of them, and had provided a Sanctuary and Retreat for them in Ireland, if all those Endeavours should be blasted in England, which he had made for their Security, and of whose Success he had not yet reason to despair.* This Encouragement to the Papists in England was attended with the most zealous Expressions of his ardent Love to the Catholic Church, for which he said he was ready to be a Martyr. Then fresh Consults were set on foot, relating to the Government of Ireland, which, by accident, came to the knowledge of the Earl of *Rocheester* Lord-Treasurer, who im-

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mediately acquainted the King with it, and he absolutely deny’d there was any Intention of changing the chief Governor, but, on the contrary, assur’d him of his great Satisfaction in the Lord-Lieutenant there. Within a few days the Earl of *Rocheester* receiv’d the same Intimations from his Brother *Clarendon*, which he inform’d the King of, who disown’d the whole Matter as positively as before; and to remove the Jealousies of the Lord-Lieutenant, wrote a Letter to him with his own Hand, assuring him there were yet no Thoughts, and he believ’d never would be in him, whilst both liv’d, to remove him from the Government of Ireland.

Notwithstanding which, the Papists in Ireland confidently affirm’d, that the day before the King wrote the Letter, he had given Assurance to Father *Petree*, that *Tyrconnel* should be Lord-Lieutenant. This is *Echard’s* King of his Word; and it was not long before the King himself, in Council, pretended, tho’ he had before resolv’d, to ask their Advice, who was fit to be plac’d in the Government of Ireland, and himself at last nam’d *Tyrconnel*, who was oppos’d by all but *Sunderland*. *Powis*, whom the King had once, in a Passion, call’d both a Coward and a Fool, was consider’d as a Person of moderate Carriage, and being naturally covetous, his Friends advis’d him to agree with *Sunderland*, as the Lord *Berkley* did with the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, and the Bargain was made for 4000 l. a Year. But whatever the bottom of the Design was, *Sunderland* never forsook *Tyrconnel* at the Council-Board; and some conjectur’d, that having acquainted the King of his Bargain with *Powis*, the King made *Tyrconnel* agree to the same. The News of his being prefer’d to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, threw all the Protestants there into the most terrible Consternation. Every one lamented the deplorable Condition they were fallen into; almost all that could, deserted the Kingdom. Every thing discover’d a gloomy and melancholly Prospect. At last he arrives, and the Lord *Clarendon* deliver’d up the Sword to him at the Archbishop of *Dublin’s* Palace, where he made a Speech, wherein, among other things, he said, *We of the Church of England can brag, that when Rebellion overspread the three Kingdoms, not one orthodox Member of our Church was engag’d against the Crown.* His Lordship would not allow the Archbishop of *York* to be Orthodox, for he did engage against the Crown. But this occasion of *Bragging* has occasion’d the frequent printing of this Speech, which has nothing in it more remarkable.

The Duke of *Ormond*; the Lords Justices, and the Earl of *Clarendon*, by their wife Administration, had brought the Affairs of Ireland into a good Method of Management, till the Russian *Tyrconnel* had the Sword put into his Hands; Trade increas’d, Lands were improv’d, and Ireland was a flourishing Kingdom, as may be seen by the State of the Revenue for the

1683	—	500297 l.
1684	—	319168 l.
1685	—	318961 l.

Which not only maintain’d the Army and Civil List, but enabled that Government to make Remittances to England to the Value of 100000 l. per Ann. But this fair Prospect darken’d on *Tyrconnel’s* being made chief Governor. The thriving Inhabitants fled to England, Scotland, the *Ile of Man*, and America. For there was nothing but Ruin, Slavery and Death, to be expected from his intolerable Tyranny. Sir

Charles

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Charles Porter was turn'd out, and the Seal given to one *Fittou*, whom King *James* afterwards made a Lord. He had been detected of Forgery, not only at *Westminster* and *Chester*, but also fin'd by the House of Lords. This vile Fellow was taken out of Goal, and set on the highest Court of the Kingdom to keep the King's Conscience. He did not stick to say publicly, that all the Protestants were Rogues, and amongst 40000 there was not one who was not a Traitor, a Rebel and a Villain. One *Nugent*, the Son of an attainted Popish Rebel, was made Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench. *Rice*, a Gamester and Sharper, was made Lord Chief Baron. Beggarly Kerns were made Justices of the Peace, and Sheriffs; one of them, *Turlogh Donnelly*, Sheriff of *Tyrone*, list'd himself for a Soldier, to avoid paying a Debt of 16 l. upon Bond. Having fill'd the Courts of Justice with proper Instruments, *Tyrconnel* took away the Charter of *Dublin*, and the other Corporations in *Ireland*. The first Proclamation he issu'd was in breach of an Act of Parliament to take off the Duty upon Iron, to encourage the Importation of Spanish Iron, in hopes that Silver would come along with it; which was so ill lik'd in *England*, that the King put forth a contrary Proclamation, and *Tyrconnel's* Folly was so much condemn'd in Council, that Lord *Bellasis* swore, *That Fellow in Ireland is Fool and Madman enough to ruin ten Kingdoms*. Father *Petre* reprimanded him for it in a Letter, and said, *If you do not act with greater Caution, it will be impossible for the King to preserve you in that Government*.

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Tyranny being thus establish'd in *Scotland* and *Ireland* under *Perth*, *Melfort*, *Tyrconnel*, and the Petty-Tyrants, King *James* the more strenuously endeavour'd its Establishment in *England*; the Dispensing Power had been declar'd to be a Part of our Law, by hiring Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, and in the Exercise of it, the King declar'd to the Privy-Council, he resolv'd to issue out his Declaration for a general Liberty of Conscience to all Persons, which Declaration came forth the 25th of *April*, and contain'd, among other things, *That it had been a long time his constant Sense and Opinion, That Conscience ought not to be restrain'd, nor People forc'd in Matters of mere Religion, and that it was contrary to his Inclination, as he thought it to be the Disinterest of the Government, by spoiling Trade, and depopulating Countries, &c.* *Coke's* Reflection upon this is not amiss: "Sure no Power ever acted so in extremes, yet his Actions so diametrically opposite to his Profession. Here you see a jesuited Prince pleading for Liberty of Conscience, to the breaking down the Laws which before he had so often profess'd to maintain, and for such a sort of Men whom but a little before he had slaughter'd, banish'd, and imprison'd, as if he had design'd to extirpate the whole Race of them. If to reconcile these to Truth or Reality be not as great a Miracle as is in any of the Popish Legends, I'll believe them all, and be reconcil'd to the Catholick Church how inconsistent soever the Terms be."

Echard's History and Reflection upon it are here false and malicious to Astonishment. I am sensible of the Respect a Writer owes to his Readers, and that he ought no more to appear in passion before them, than before his Superiors; but one cannot, without Indignation, see a Trifler insult great Bodies of sober religious Men, and one in whose Writings, with regard

to Religion, there is a Coldness, Deadness, and Insensibility enough to quench all Fervour in a devout Mind, abuse with frigid Raillery Men of Conscience and Piety. He says the Dissenters receiv'd this Declaration with Joy and Satisfaction: *They were so transported, that they caught greedily at the Bait, without the least discerning the Hook in it; which is directly contrary to the Truth.* *Coke* above-mention'd says, *the Dissenters did both dread and detest it*, of his knowledge, and I can say the same of mine. *Bishop Burnet* tells us, *The wiser Men among the Dissenters saw thro' all this, and perceiv'd the Design of the Papists was now to set on the Dissenters against the Church. Tho' they return'd to their Conventicles, yet they had a just Jealousy of the ill Designs that lay hid under all this sudden Grace and Kindness.* Again, *Some few of the hotter Dissenters answer'd the Expectations of the Court; angry Speeches and virulent Books were publish'd, yet these were dis-sy'd as to own'd by the wiser Men amongst them.* *Echard* then, with very mean Malice, repeats Paragraphs in some of their Addresses, and reflects particularly on the late Learned and Reverend Mr. *Alsop* of *Westminster*, who having had a Son in *Monmouth's* Business, or some other such Peril, he was pardon'd by King *James*, and it is excusable, if his Son's Life, and his own Liberty, produc'd some lively Expressions of Gratitude in a generous Mind. Why could not *Echard* have told us as my Lord of *Sarum* does? *Some of these Addresses were penn'd by Persons whom the Court had gain'd; few concurr'd in them, and the Persons that brought them up were mean and inconsiderable.* Why could not some such Thoughts as these, taken from Dr. *Welwood*, have enter'd into the Archdeacon's Head?

"The Dissenters were not so fond of Persecution and ill Usage, as to refuse a Liberty that was frankly offer'd them, which neither their Prayers nor Tears could obtain before; nor did they think it good Manners to enquire too narrowly how that Liberty came about, as long as they were shelter'd thereby from the Oppressions they lay under."

Dr. *Calamy* writes of it thus: "As thankful as they were for their Ease and Liberty, they were fearful of the Issue:" *Echard* told us, *they did not in the least discern it; neither can any Number of them, of any Consideration, be charg'd with hazarding the publick Safety, by falling in with the Measures of the Court, of which they had as great a dread as their Neighbours.* I am not the Person that would undertake to vindicate all the Addresses which were made by the Dissenters after their Liberty, but I should think their Brethren of the Church of *England* should tread softly when they lay them to their Charge, considering that some of the Churchmen concurr'd with King *James* to over-turn the legal Establishment."

Five of the Bishops, *Crew* of *Durham*, *Barlow* of *Lincoln*, *Carrwright* of *Chester*, *Wood* of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, and *Watson* of *St. David's*, prevail'd on some of their Clergy to sign Addresses; but *Parker* Bishop of *Oxford* was not so successful, his Clergy refusing to sign one. In the mean time the King continu'd increasing his Army, and the Soldiers grew intolerably insolent. The Officers whenever they pleas'd pretended to be exempt from the Civil Power; and tho' the King was in perfect Peace, yet an old obsolete Act of Parliament that made it Death for Soldiers to desert their Colours, was now made to extend to the new-rais'd Army on *Hounslow-Heath*. And because the worthy Recorder

The general Toleration.

A. D. 1687. order of *London*, Sir *John Holt*, would not expound that Law according to the King's Decree, he was put out, and Sir *Bartholomew Shower*, a Renegado Presbyterian, was put in his Place. Sir *Edward Herbert* was also remov'd from being Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench*, to make room for Sir *Robert Wright* to hang a Soldier on that obsolete Statute. *Wythens*, who had charg'd himself with the Guilt of so much Blood in the last and this Reign, was turn'd out, and Sir *Richard Allibone*, an angry Papist, put in his Place on the *King's-Bench*. *Milton's* Brother *Christopher*, whom he scorn'd even to take notice of, was remov'd from the *Exchequer* to the same Court of *King's-Bench*.

Parliament.

Echard speaks still of the *Parliament*, as if it had been such a Senate as the two last Parliaments at *Oxford* and *Westminster*; there were great Expectations to see them meet. My Lord of *Salisbury* says, *It would not have been easy in all England to have found 500 Men so weak, so poor, and so devoted to the Court*. Richest and Wisest, says *Echard*. The King dissolv'd them the 2d of *July*, and then he and his Creatures set themselves to work, by *Closettings*, *Promises*, and *Threats*, by *Quo-Warranto's*, and altering *Magistrates* and *Officers*. indeed by all the Arts and Artifices they could think of, to get the People to chuse such Members for the next Parliament, as would take off the Penal Laws and *Test*.

Pen the Quaker sent to the Prince of Orange.

Pen the Quaker was sent to *Holland* to persuade the Prince of *Orange* to come into the King's Measures concerning it. He had two or three long Audiences of his Highness, who readily consented to a Toleration of *Popery*, as well as of the *Dissenters*, provided it were propos'd and pass'd in *Parliament*; and he promis'd his Assistance, if there was need of it, to get it to pass: But for the *Tests*, he would enter into no Treaty about them. He said it was a plain betraying the Security of the Protestant Religion to give them up.

The Day after the Dissolution of the Parliament, the Pope's Nuntio *Dada* had a publick Reception at *Windsor*. He was very civil in all his Deportment, but it did not appear that he was a Man of great Depth, nor had he Power to do much. It was by Law High-Treason for any one to assume the Character of the Pope's Nuntio, yet was he admitted to Audience with more than ordinary Ceremony and Magnificence. But the People could not help shewing their Indignation at seeing him in his *Pontificalibus*, preceded by a *Cross-Bearer*, and a Herd of Priests and Monks in their Habits. His Grace the Duke of *Somerset*, as illustrious for his Love to his Country, as for his high Birth and Rank, being then the Lord of the *Bed-Chamber* in waiting, the King order'd him to attend the Nuntio at his Audience. But his Grace desir'd his Majesty to excuse him from an Office which the Laws of the Land made criminal. The King reply'd, *Don't you know I am above the Law?* His Grace answer'd, *If the King is, I am not*. The King reiterated his Orders; and my Lord Duke persisting in his Denial, his Majesty told him in a Passion, *I will trouble you no more with any Commands, and therefore I expect you will resign your Places of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber and Colonel of Dragoons*. To which the Duke was obedient, without the least Concern, as being content to preserve his Conscience and Honour, while he lost nothing but the King's Favour. The Duke of *Grafton* obey'd that Command which the Duke of *Somerset* refus'd. A Court-Bishop was less scrupulous, and made part of the Nuntio's

Duke of Somerset in Disgrace about him.

Train; tho' his Coachman, a sturdy Protestant, refus'd to drive him: of which the Bishop might have been asham'd, if he had had any shame in him. The Nuntio wanted an Opportunity to appear publickly at *London*, and therefore it was projected that he should be invited to come with the King himself to dine in *Guild-Hall* with the Lord-Mayor, and he was accordingly receiv'd very ceremoniously at *Temple-Bar* by Sir *John Parsons* and Sir *Basil Firebrass*, the two Sheriffs, both staunch Churchmen: Which I should not have taken notice of, if *Echard* had not remember'd that Sir *John Shorter* the Lord-Mayor was a profess'd Dissenter. The King knighted the two Aldermen who were deputed to make this Invitation, Sir *John Bawdon* and Sir *William Ashurst*, who were both Dissenters. *Jenour*, who was then Recorder, and the Mouth of the Deputation, was order'd to invite the Princess *Anne* and Prince *George of Denmark*. The Princess pretended Indisposition, but it is thought it was only a pretence to avoid being seen with the Nuntio; and I remember it was then reported, that *Jenour*, that Blunderer and Bigot, should say to the Princess, *If your Royal Highness cannot come yourself, will you please to let the Prince come?* To which her Royal Highness answer'd, *The Prince will do what he thinks fit*; which was also to avoid giving any Countenance to *Dada*.

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There were great Hopes that those open avow'd Acts of Arbitrary Power, and in favour of *Popery*, would have so united all *British* Protestants, that we should never more have heard of *Fanaticism*, and *Conventicles*, and *Schism*. and *Forty-one*, and the *Jargon* in the *History* of the *Rebellion*, and the *Archdeacon's History*. We were promis'd it by the Marquis of *Hallifax* in his Declaration in behalf of the Church Party, an admirable Piece equally rational, nervous, elegant and polite. He declares, *That all their former Haughtiness was for ever extinguish'd, and that the Spirit of Persecution was turn'd into a Spirit of Peace, Charity, and Condescension; that the Church of England was convinc'd of its Error in being severe to them, and all thinking Men were come to a general Agreement, no more to cut ourselves off from the Protestants abroad, but rather enlarge the Foundations upon which we are to build our Defences against the common Enemy*.

We have mention'd the Tricks and Contrivances of the Court to procure such a Parliament as would enter into the King's Measures, which, and the King's Religion, were the Courtiers Cant at this time. The Judges were directed to feel the Pulse of the Gentry in their Circuits, commission'd in the Militia, or in the Peace, and where they found any averse to those Measures to turn them out of all Offices and Employments: The Practices of this kind were so mean and unwarrantable, that a Man, and much more a King, of any Spirit and Honour would have scorn'd it. 'Tis said in a Memorial sent to the Prince of *Orange*, "His Majesty has personally solicited and attack'd so many of the Electors for Parliament by his Frowns and Smiles in secret to accept of such for their Deputies in Parliament as will comply with his Intention, that his closetting Electors is become a By-word among People; he has made them consent to be barr'd of their Freedom in electing for Parliament, and in voting therein if they be chosen, to be a Test of their Fitness to hold their Offices or Employments of Profit and Trust, and to have a Place in the Magistracy." Dr. *Welwood* makes this Observation upon it in a Discourse about calling a new Parliament in the Year

Base Practices to get a Parliament.

A. D. 1687. Year 1690. "What woful Breaches have been made of this our native Privilege, we have had too many Experiences in the last Reigns, when Letters, Promises, and Threats from Court were made use of to promote Elections, and when few durst venture to serve their Country, if not recommended by those at the Helm. But in order to set our present Condition in a better Light, it may be perhaps not amiss to give a Letter communicated to me from a noble Person, to whom it was written in King James's Reign, by a great Minister of State, upon a Design of calling King James's Parliament."

My Lord,

It being his Majesty's Royal Intention to render all his Subjects, of whatever Persuasion in Religion, happy and easy under his Government, and for that great End to call a Parliament to meet at Westminster on ——— next; it is expected of your Lordship, and I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, that it is his Pleasure you make use of your Interest in the County of ——— for getting, [here are two Persons nam'd] duely Elected Knights of the said County in the ensuing Parliament, as Persons of whose Loyalty and good Affection his Majesty has receiv'd sufficient Information. And I am to assure your Lordship, that as your hearty Compliance herein will be esteem'd singular good Service done to his Majesty, and incline him to put some Mark of his Favour upon you for so doing; so a Neglect herein will be look'd upon by his Majesty with Displeasure, which will be more than enough to ruin you in the present Circumstances your Lordship is in. I put no Doubt in your Lordship's hearty Compliance in this Matter, and am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's Humble Servant.

Welwood thinks very justly upon it. I question after all, whether the Parliament, which King James was thus labouring to model, would have answer'd his Expectation, had they come to sit, for Men's Eyes were open'd more and more every day, and the noble Principles of English Liberty began to kindle afresh in the Nation. He proceeds, "Tho' the Dissenters who might be chosen into Parliament upon this new Model, would probably have made Terms for themselves to prevent their falling under any future Persecution; yet being as averse to Popery as any others whatsoever, it is not to be imagin'd that they would have unhing'd the Constitution of England upon that Consideration, to enable the Roman Catholicks to break in upon the establish'd national Church, which in the End might have inevitably ruin'd both it and themselves." And if one might guess at the Sentiments and Intentions of the Electors all over England, by the Characters of the four Citizens that were talk'd of for London, Sir Robert Clayton, William Love Esq; Sir John Eyles, and Sir John Barwood, it is more than probable that King James's intended Parliament would have been of the Opinion of Mr. Love before-mention'd, who, when a Member, told the House of Commons, *That tho' he was a Dissenter he did not desire any Favour for themselves, if it was to make way for the favouring of Papists.*

A little before this there fell out an Accident which help'd mightily to buoy up the sinking Spirits of the Nation, and which was occasion'd by the forward Zeal of some about the King,

contrary to their Intentions. While the Project was going on to take off the *Penal Laws* and *Tests*, King James was set upon making a Trial of the Inclinations of the Prince and Princess of Orange in that Matter; their Highnesses had look'd on with a silent Regret, and observ'd all the irregular Steps that were making in England. They were unwilling to publish their Opinion of them, since they knew it could not but be displeasing to King James. To know the Mind of the Prince and Princess concerning the Test and Penal Laws was a thing the most desir'd by the Protestants; but it would hardly have been possible for them to come to this Knowledge, if King James himself had not help'd them to it.

There was one Mr. James Stewart a Lawyer, afterwards Sir James, who had given over the Practice of the Law, because all that were admitted to the Bar in Scotland were requir'd to renounce the Covenant, which he would not do; this recommended him to the Confidence of the Covenanters, who made great use of him, and trusted him entirely. The King had long consider'd him as the chief Manager of all the Designs against him, more particularly of *Argyle's*, and one of *Pen's* Errands to Holland was to engage him to come over, upon Promise not only of Pardon, but Favour, which was made good to him; before he cross'd the Seas he came to the Prince of Orange, and assur'd him of an inviolable Fidelity to him, and to the common Interests of Religion and Liberty. He had been often with Pensioner *Fagel*, and had a great measure of his Confidence. Upon his coming to Court he was caref'd to a degree that amaz'd all who knew him. He either believ'd the King was sincere in the Professions he made; that he design'd only a full Liberty of Conscience, or he thought that it became a Man who had been so long in Disgrace not to shew any Jealousies at first, when the King was so gracious to him. He undertook to do all that lay in his power to advance his Majesty's Designs in Scotland, and to represent his Intentions so at the Hague, as might incline the Prince to a better Opinion of them, which he endeavour'd to do in several Letters to the Pensioner, and press'd him vehemently in the King's Name, and by his Direction to persuade the Prince to concur with the King in procuring the Laws to be repeal'd. He laid before him the inconsiderable Number of the Papists, so that there was no reason to apprehend much from them; he also enlarg'd on the Severities which the Penal Laws had brought on the Dissenters, which Laws the King was resolv'd should not be repeal'd, unless the Tests were taken away with them, and the refusing to consent to this, might at another time bring them under another severe Prosecution. Stewart, after he had witten many Letters to this purpose without receiving any Answers, try'd if he could serve the King in Scotland with more Success than it seem'd he was like to have at the Hague; but he found there that his old Friends were much alienated from him, looking on him as a Person entirely gain'd by the Court.

Pensioner *Fagel* laid all his Letters before the Prince, they were also brought to Dr. *Burnet*, then marry'd and naturaliz'd in Holland. The Prince thought upon this, that a full Answer made by *Fagel* in such a manner, as that it might be publish'd as a Declaration of his Intentions, would in many respects be a Service to him, especially in *Popish* Courts, which were on civil Accounts inclin'd to an Alliance against France, but were now possess'd with an Opinion of the Prince, and of his Party in England, as designing nothing but the Ruin and Ex-

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Mr. Stewart brought over from Holland by Pen.

Stewart writes to Pensioner Fagel about the Test.

King James's Mistake as to a Parliament.

A. D. 1687. tirpation of all the Papists in those Kingdoms; so the Pensioner wrote a long Letter in *French* to *Stewart*, and Dr. *Burnet* put it into *English*.

Fagel's Letter about it to Stewart.

He began it with great Assurances of the Prince and Princess's Duty to the King. They were both of them much against all Persecution on the account of Religion, they freely consented to the covering Papists from the Severities of the Laws made against them on the account of their Religion, and also that they might have the free Exercise of it in private, they also consented to grant a full Liberty to Dissenters; but they could not consent to the Repeal of those Laws that tended only to the Security of the Protestant Religion; such as those concerning the *Tests*, which imported no Punishment, but only an Incapacity of being in publick Employments, which could not be complain'd of as great Severities. This was a Caution observ'd in all Nations, and was now necessary, both for securing the publick Peace and the establish'd Religion. If the Numbers of the Papists were so small as to make them inconsiderable, then it was not reasonable to make such a Change for the sake of a few; and if those few that pretended to publick Employments would do all their own Party so great a Prejudice, as not to suffer the King to be content with the Repeal of the Penal Laws, unless they could get into the Offices of Trust, then their Ambition was only to be blam'd, if the Offers now made were not accepted.

The Letter was carry'd by *Stewart* to the King, who brought it to the Cabinet Council, but nothing follow'd upon it: The King order'd *Stewart* to write back, *He would either have all or nothing*. It is said the main Body of the Papists were for what was offer'd, that the Emperor of *Germany* was fully satisfy'd with it, and promis'd to use his Interest at *Rome* to get the Pope to write to the King to accept of this as a Step to the *Test*; but the Jesuits and the *French* Ambassador were for Extremities, and the King was in all Points govern'd by them.

Father Petre's ill Conduct chastiz'd.

Father *Petre* affected great Modesty, when it was propos'd to make him a Privy Counsellor, and Lord *Sunderland* seem'd to meet with much Difficulty in prevailing with him to consent to it. It was given out, that the King resolv'd to obtain a Cardinal's Cap for him, and make him Archbishop of *York*. If this Pope continued firm in his Resolution against it, it was hoped the next would be more complying. This Jesuit was very officious in serving the King which way he pleas'd, whether to the Prejudice of Protestant or Papist; and the Colony of *Maryland* being under a Popish Proprietor, Lord *Baltimore*, who considering the Interest of his Propriety more than that of the Priests, was very kind to his Protestant Tenants; it was resolv'd, to take it into the King's hands, and put the Papists there, in Possession of the Government. In order to this, *Petre* was very earnest with his Lordship to part with it for a Sum of Money: and one time in Discourse with him about it, using some hard Words, which his young Son, the late Lord *Baltimore*, took to be an Affront to his Father, he ran immediately to the Jesuit, pull'd off his Cap or Wig, and flung it into the Fire, which frighted this *Petre* so heartily, that he made off as fast as he could, and never again mention'd *Maryland* to the Lord *Baltimore*.

Papish Bishops confirm.

There was then a Faction between the secular Priests and the Jesuits, which was sometimes near breaking out into a Rupture; but the King was so partial to the Jesuits, that the Priests found they could maintain no Competition with them. Bishop *Leybourn*, and three other Bishops, who had been consecrated in *England*, were ordered

to make a Progress all over the Kingdom, confirming and doing other episcopal Offices wherever they came, and great Numbers gather'd about them.

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The Jesuits thought all was sure, and that their Scheme was so well laid, it could not miscarry, as appear'd by the Behaviour of their confidant *Albeville*, at the *Hague*. It is fit to give some Account of that miserable Wretch: he was an *Irish* Man, his true Name *White*, and he had been long a Spy for the *Spaniards*, who not paying his Appointments well, he accepted of the Title of Marquis d'*Albeville* from them, in part of Payment. He then turned to the *French*, who paid their Spies and Emiffaries more punctually; Bishop *Burnet* tells us, he was a most despicable ridiculous Creature, who had not the *Appearances* either of *Decency* or *Truth*. Such Instruments as these were made use of, by both King *Charles* and King *James*; and the Work they had to do, would not admit of better.

The Confidence of the Jesuits. Albeville's Character.

Lord *Sunderland* had a vast Genius, but his Conscience was of a like Extent, and by those Qualifications, he became so intimate a Favourite, that nothing could be got at Court, but by his Interest, and when the King was told, he got all the Money, his Answer was, *he deserves it*. Nay, his Interest at last was become so remarkable, that his Majesty himself would ask, when any Grant was given, *Have they spoke with Sunderland?* *Fagel's* Letter was communicated to him and *Melfort*, by *Stewart*, and we shall see presently, how complying both his Conscience and his Honour was in that Affair.

Chudleigh, who was the *English* Envoy in *Holland* at this King's Accession to the Throne, behav'd so insolently to the Prince of *Orange*, that he would not see him, and his Successor, *Skelton*, manag'd Matters with so little Sense, and such an universal Dislike, that the King thought fit to send him to *France*, where there was little to do, *Barillon* the *French* Ambassador at *London*, having all that Business in his hands.

Albeville was such a Fool, that he did not stick to speak out, what was not fit to be spoken, tho' he had known it to be true. One day, when the Prince of *Orange* was talking of the King's Promises, and the Oath he had taken to maintain the Laws, and the establish'd Church; instead of pretending, the King had still kept his Word, this blundering *Irishman* said, *Kings must upon some Occasions forget their Promises*. And when the Prince said, the King ought to have more Regard for the Church of *England*, which was the main Body of the Nation; *Albeville* reply'd, *The Body you call the Church of England, will not have a Being two Years to an end*. He thus talk'd too plainly and too openly, and at the same time behav'd in all other Respects so poorly, that he became the Jest of the *Hague*. The Foreign Ministers, Monf. d'*Avaux* the *French* Ambassador not excepted, did not know how to excuse or bear with his Weakness, which appear'd on all Occasions, and in all Companies.

What he wrote to *England* upon his first Audiences in *Holland*, was not known; but it was soon spread about the Kingdom, that the Prince and Princess had now consented to the Repeal of the *Tests*, as well as of the *Penal Laws*. His Highness, to prevent the ill effects which might follow on such Reports, gave Orders to print the Pensioner's Letter to *Stewart*, which was sent to all Parts of *England*, and received with universal Joy.

The Dissenters saw themselves now safe in the Prince's Intention towards them. The Church-Party was confirm'd in their Zeal for maintaining the *Tests*; and the Lay-Papists seem'd also

A. D. 1687. all to be so well pleas'd with it, that they complain'd of those ambitious Priests and hungry Courtiers, who were resolv'd, rather than lay down their Aspirings and other Projects, to leave them still expos'd to the Severities of the Law, tho' a Freedom from these was now offer'd them. But it was not easy to judge, whether this was sincerely meant by them, or whether it was only a popular Art to recommend themselves under such a moderate Appearance. The Court saw the Hurt this Letter did them, and hop'd at first to have stifled it by calling it an *Imposture*. This is Bishop *Burnet's* Account of it, and the Way they took to stifle it was a Piece of impudent Falshood,

A. of N-t. which the greatest *Chicaneur* in the Kingdom might have been ashamed of; for there was a Pamphlet publish'd, intitl'd, *Parliamentum Pacificum*, another healing Parliament being expected to take off the *Penal Laws*, wherein it was affirmed, that Pensioner *Fagel's* Letter was not only suppositious, but also that the Author misrepresented the Sentiments of the Prince and Princess of *Orange*. This Pamphlet with this stinging Lye in it, was licens'd by the Earl of *Sunderland* principal Secretary of State, and President of the Council; upon which, Mr. *Fagel* wrote a Letter to *Albeville*, which he caus'd to be printed with some of *Stewart's* Letters. In that to *Albeville*, the Pensioner tells him, *His Majesty and all the Court knew the Letter to be genuine; That Albeville knew Fagel had own'd it to him; That the Earl of Sunderland knew as well as any body, that the Letter to Stewart was not suppositious; That Albeville himself knew and had often own'd it; That their Highnesses, and particularly Her Royal Highness the Princess, had several times told the Envoy their Opinion concerning the Test, as he had express'd it in the Letter to Stewart: notwithstanding all which, the Court got a Pamphleteer to aver 'twas an Imposture, and oblig'd Mr. Stewart to deny that he ever wrote to Mr. Fagel, tho' the latter had the Originals of his Letters by him.*

Earl of Sunderland licenses what he knew to be false.

Fr. Hist. Rev. p. 120.

After this unsuccessful Attempt, the King took a large Progress, and one of his Closet Attendants was *William Pen* the Quaker. His Intention was said to be to view *Portsmouth* and other Ports and Harbours, but the secret Design was to influence and prepare the Electors of every Corporation thro' which he pass'd, to make such a Choice of Members for the next Parliament, as would answer his Ends. The People receiv'd him every where with Shouts and Acclamations, and dutiful Acknowledgements were paid him at *Portsmouth, Bath, Gloucester, Worcester, Ludlow, Shrewsbury, Chester*, where *Tyrconnel* met him from *Ireland*, and receiv'd Encouragement to go on in the Project of destroying the Protestants in that Kingdom.

His Majesty was receiv'd in the same manner at *Newport, Litchfield, Coventry, Banbury and Winchester*; and I think we should not forget that he kill'd a Dog at *Banbury*, that Action being celebrat'd in the *State-Poems*. But these Acclamations and Shouts did him more mischief than the free Speeches of those that dreaded and hated his Measures. He thought they proceeded from the *Heart*, whereas they were the Breath of the Multitude; and he found by sad Experience soon after, that he depended upon them to his ruin—as he might have foreseen, if his Foresight had been but equal to his Zeal: For having on *Sunday, December 11*, declar'd in Council, that he would have no Lord-Lieutenants, nor Deputy-Lieutenants, nor Justices of the Peace in the several Counties, but such as shall concur with, and assist him to have his Toleration pass'd into a Law; the Lord-

Lieutenants by his Order, and in his Name, summon'd the Chief Officers and Gentlemen in their respective Shires, and laid the Case before them, so as to flatter or terrify them out of their Freedom in the Election of Parliament-Men, as the *Regulators* did in Corporations. But notwithstanding all these Wiles and Weapons, the King found himself disappointed in his hopes of having a Parliament at his devotion. In some Counties almost all the Gentry disappear'd on a sudden to avoid the Summons of the Lord-Lieutenants. The Gentlemen of *Dorsetshire* being assembled by the Earl of *Bristol*, were no sooner acquainted with the King's Intentions, than they answer'd, That an Affair of so great Importance deserv'd to be discuss'd in the great Council of the Nation, to which they would send their Representatives when his Majesty should think fit to call a Free Parliament. The like Answer was made in several other Counties; and in *Chester*, of about 700 Persons, there were only 17 who could be made to promise a Consent to the repealing of the *Penal Laws*.

A. D. 1687. The Counties mov'd for Elections

The Opinion of the Prince and Princess of *Orange* having gone a great way towards the spreading of it in the Nation, the King, in his Resentment order'd *Albeville* to demand the six Regiments, three *English* and three *Scots*, in the *Dutch* Service: but the States refus'd to send them, alledging, they were not oblig'd by Treaty to do it, unless *England* was in War; that they were levy'd at their Charge, and by frequent filling up, most of those Troops were now natural *Hollanders*, or of other Provinces, or *Germans*. However, they order'd Passports for all *English* and *Scots* Officers, who were willing to quit their Service, and about 40 took them; at which the Prince of *Orange* was not displeas'd, for those Officers having been corrupted by *Chudleigh* and *Skelton*, were very insolent and troublesome.

The King in his Progress visited the Queen at the *Bath*, where he staid only a few Days, two or three at most, and she continu'd on in her Course of Bathing. Many Books were now writ for Liberty of Conscience; and since all People saw what Security the Tests gave, some of these spoke of an *Equivalent* to be offer'd, that should give a further Security beyond what could be pretended from the *Tests*. It was never explain'd what was meant by this. But the Marquis of *Hallifax* sufficiently explain'd, it could mean nothing, in his *Anatomy of an Equivalent*. People took it to be an artificial Method to lay them asleep with a high-sounding Word. Some talk'd of new Laws to secure civil Liberty, which had been so much shaken by the Practices of these last Years, ever since the *Oxford* Parliament: Nay, we are told by Bishop *King Burnet*, that a very extravagant thing was given out upon it, how the King was resolv'd to set up a sort of *Commonwealth*; and the *Papists* began to talk very high every where for publick Liberty, trying by that to recommend themselves to the People.

An Equivalent.

King James a Republican.

When the King came back from his Progress, he resolv'd to change the Magistracy in most of the Cities of *England*. He began with the City of *London*, where he not only chang'd the Aldermen, but the Government of many of the Companies. Among other Dissenters, he made Mr. *William Kiffin*, a *Baptist* Preacher, an Alderman. He did all this by virtue of the great Powers reserv'd in the new Charters. Those who had stood up for the King during the Debate about the Exclusion, were now turn'd out with Disgrace. And those who had appear'd most violently against him, were put into the

A. D. 1687. Magistracy. My Lord of *Sarum* adds, "All this turn'd upon the King, who was so given up to the Humours of his Priests, that he sacrific'd both his Honour and Gratitude as they dictated; and the new Men that were brought in, saw this too visibly to be much wrought upon by it. The King threw off his old Party in too outrageous a manner ever to return to them again. But he was much surpriz'd to find the new Mayor and Aldermen took the Test, and order'd the Celebration of *Gunpowder-Treason-day*."

We have mention'd the *Nuntio's* being invited to dine at *Guild-hall* when the King din'd there, but we should have remember'd, that the Mayor and Aldermen disown'd the Invitation, and made an Entry of it in their Books, that the *Nuntio* came without their knowledge: Which the King took very ill, and said, *I see the Dissenters are an ill-natur'd sort of People that cannot be gain'd*. He signify'd to the Lord Mayor that he might use what Form of Worship he lik'd best in *Guildhall-Chapel*, designing by this to engage the Dissenters to make the first Change from the establish'd Worship. And if a *Presbyterian* Mayor should do this in one Year, a *Papist* Mayor might do it in another. But the Mayor put the Decision of the matter upon those to whom the governing of the Diocese of *London* was committed during the Bishop's Suspension, and ask'd their Opinion in it, which three Bishops could not but give in behalf of the establish'd Worship. So the Church-service was kept up in *Guildhall-Chapel*; and the Room where, now is the Receipt of the Bank in *Grocers-Hall*, where Sir *John Shorter* kept his Mayoralty, was made a Place for Worship in the *Presbyterians* way.

In this languishing desperate Condition *Great Britain* cast her mournful Eyes on *Holland*, where only she was in hopes of finding a Deliverer in the midst of her Distress and Despair; and it is very certain his Highness the Prince of *Orange* had his Eye as much upon *Britain*, to watch for her Preservation and Safety. King *James's* ill and arbitrary Government, and his Design to establish *Popery* and *Slavery*, awaken'd in him a lively Concern for our Religion and Liberties, long before he receiv'd a personal Provocation, by an attempt to impose a pretended Heir on the Nation, and to deprive his Consort the Princess and himself of their Right of Succession to the Crown.

In the Years 1685 and 1686, the Prince often took occasion to speak of the Affairs of *England*, which he did very freely. He was highly dissatisfy'd with the King's Conduct, apprehending he would give the People such Jealousies of him, as would throw him into a *French* Management, and force violent Remedies. He had very faithful and large Accounts of all Proceedings at Court, in the City and Country, from Persons of good Intelligence, by word of Mouth, and by Letter: And upon setting up of the Ecclesiastical Commission, some from *England* press'd the Prince and Princess to write over against it; but he did not think fit to intermeddle at that time, waiting for further Advices and Instances from his Friends: of which he had enough, upon the Proceedings against the Universities: The breaking in upon the Statutes of *Magdalen-College*, and turning out Dr. *Hough* the President, and the Fellows by force, was thought an open piece of *Robbery* and *Burglary*, when Persons authoriz'd by no legal Commission came and forcibly turn'd Men out of their Possession and Freehold. Bishop *Burnet* informs us, "This highly inflam'd the *Church Party*

A. D. 1687. "and the Clergy, who sent over very pressing Messages upon it to the Prince of *Orange*, desiring he would interpose and espouse the Concerns of the *Church*, and that he would break upon it, if the King would not redress it." His Highness did not think fit to shew such Letters as these; but he often said he was press'd by many of those, who were afterwards his bitterest Enemies, to engage in their Quarrel. The first thing he resolv'd on, was to send Monsieur *Dykvelt* to *England*, with Directions how to talk to all sorts of People, to the King, to those of the *Church*, and to the Dissenters. Dr. *Burnet* drew his Instructions, which he follow'd very closely.

He was order'd to expostulate decently, but firmly, with the King upon the Methods he was pursuing both at home and abroad, and to try, if possible, to bring him to a better Understanding with the Prince.

He was to assure the *Church Party*, that the Prince would ever be firm to the *Church of England*, and to all our national Interests. The Clergy, by the Bishop of *London*, had desir'd him to use all his Credit with the Dissenters, to keep them from going into the Measures of the Court; and sent over very positive Assurances, That in case they stood firm now to the common Interest, they would in a better time come into a Comprehension of such as could be brought into a Conjunction with the *Church*. How these Assurances agreed with the Behaviour of *Jane, Aldrich*, and the Convocations, after the Prince of *Orange* had done their Business; how with the *Schism* Bill and *Occasional* Bill, after *Sacheverell's* Tumult, is too well known to need remembrance here. Nay, the Clergy were so complying at this time, that they desir'd the Prince to send over some of the Dissenting Preachers, whom the Violence of the former Years had driven to *Holland*, and to prevail effectually with them to oppose any false Brethren, such as *Lob*, &c. whom the Court might have gain'd to deceive the rest. The Prince did this. Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Showers*, and many others return'd to *England*, to several of whom his Highness gave such Presents, as enabled them to pay their Debts, and undertake the Journey. *Dykvelt* was order'd to persuade all to stand off, and not to be drawn in by any Promises the Court might make them to assist in electing such Members as would repeal the Test and Penal Laws. Dr. *Calamy* tells us, "he gave the Nonconformists great Assurance, that they should find Respect from the Prince, when Opportunity offer'd, and that they might be satisfy'd he was no Friend to Rigour and Severity in religious Matters, but a great Friend to Liberty of Conscience." He was to try all sorts of People, and to remove the ill Characters that had been given them of his Highness.

Albeville did all he could to divert this Journey; for he knew well *Dykvelt's* way of penetrating into Secrets, he himself having been often employ'd by him, and well paid for several Discoveries made by his means. He assur'd the Prince and the States, that the King was firmly resolv'd to maintain his Alliance with them; that his Naval Preparations were only to enable him to preserve the Peace of *Europe*: For he seem'd much concern'd to find that the States had such Apprehensions of these, that they were putting themselves in a Condition not to be surpriz'd. *Albeville* in his secret Negotiations with the Prince and Princess, positively assur'd them, the King intended never to wrong them in their Right of Succession: That all he was now engag'd in, was only to assert the Rights of the Crown,

Changes the Magistracy of London.

Nuntio not invited into the City by the Lord-Mayor.

Steps towards the Revolution.

Addresses to the Prince of Orange.

A. D. 1687.

Dykvelt sent into England.

Clergy press'd the Dissenters a Comprehension.

Albeville's Discourse with the Prince of Orange.

A. D. 1687. Crown, of which they would reap the Advantage in their turn. That the Test was a Restraint on the King's Liberty, and he was therefore resolv'd to have it repeal'd, as well as all Penal Laws in Matters of Religion. They saw too well the Advantages *Holland* had by Liberty of Conscience among them, to oppose the King in this Particular. His Majesty could not abandon Men, because they were of his Religion, had serv'd him well, and suffer'd only on his account, and on account of their Conscience. He told their Highnesses how much the King condemn'd the Proceedings in *France*, and that he spoke of that King as a poor Bigot, who was govern'd by the Archbishop of *Paris* and *Madam de Maintenon*: Whereas he knew *Perc de la Chaise* had oppos'd the Persecution as long as he could, but his Master hated those Maxims; and therefore he receiv'd the Refugees very kindly, and had given Orders for a Collection of Charity over the Kingdom for their Relief.

King James condemns the French King.

I have been the longer upon this, because it was not only the Substance of what *Albeville* said to the Prince and Princess, but what the King said to *Dykvelt*, who return'd a like Answer to the King, as their Highnesses did to *Albeville*.

The Prince and Princess of Orange's Answer to Albeville.

That they were fix'd in a Principle against Persecution in Matters of Conscience, but they could not think it reasonable to let *Papists* in to sit in Parliament, or to serve in publick Trusts. The restless Spirit of some of that Religion, and of their Clergy in particular, shew'd they could not be at quiet till they were Masters. And the Power they had over the King's Spirit, in making him forget what he had promis'd upon his coming to the Crown, gave but too just a ground of Jealousy. It appear'd they could not bear any Restraints, nor remember past Services, longer than those who did them could comply in every thing with that which was desir'd of them. They thought the Prerogative, as limited by Law, was great enough, and they desir'd no such exorbitant Power as should break thro' all Laws. They thought the surest as well as the best way was to govern according to Law. The Church of *England* had given the King signal Proofs of their Affection and Fidelity, and had comply'd with him in every thing, till he came to touch them in so tender a Point, as the legal Security they had for their Religion. Their sticking to that was very natural; and the King's taking that ill from them, was liable to great Censure. His Majesty, if he pleas'd to improve the Advantages he had in his Hand might be both easy and great at home, and the Arbitrer of all Affairs abroad; but he was prevail'd on by the Importunities of some restless Priests to embroil all Affairs to serve their End. They could never consent to abolish those Laws, which were the best, and now the only Fence of that Religion, which they themselves believ'd to be true. *Albeville* said the Princess was more intractable than the Prince; *Dykvelt* argu'd often with the King on these Topicks, but found him obstinately fix'd in his Resolution. The King said, *I am the Head of the Family, and the Prince ought to comply with me, but he always sets himself against me.* *Dykvelt* reply'd, *The Prince cannot carry his Compliance so far as to give his Religion to your Pleasure; but in all other things he has shew'd a ready Submission to your Will. The Peace of Nimeguen, of which your Majesty is Guarantee, is openly violated in the Article relating to the Principality of Orange; yet since you do not think fit to espouse the Prince's Inte-*

The King's Discourse with Dykvelt.

rests in that Matter, he has been silent, and has made no Protestations upon it; Thus you see he is ready to sacrifice his own Concerns rather than disturb your Majesty's. To this the King made no Reply; but the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the rest of the Ministry press'd *Dykvelt* mightily, to endeavour to bring the Prince to concur with the King, they engaging to him, that if that were once settled, his Majesty would go into close Measures with his Highness against *France*. The Ambassador put an end to all those Propositions, by saying, *The Prince will never be brought to hearken to them.* Thus his Negotiation at *London*, and *Albeville's* at the *Hague*, had no Effect on either side. *Dykvelt* succeeded much better with those whom he had Instructions to apply to, as the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Danby*, the Lord *Mordaunt*, the Lord *Lumley*, Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Ruffel*, who were the Persons chiefly trusted, and upon the Advices that were sent over by them, the Prince govern'd all his Motions.

A. D. 1687.

Lords consult with Dykvelt.

This Year *Dr. Burnet*, to whose Memoirs we are so much indebted, fell under a severe Prosecution for the many admirable Pieces he wrote abroad in Defence of our Religion, Rights, and Liberties, which were carefully dispers'd, and greedily read by the well-affected of all Denominations. He had finish'd his Travels in *France*, *Italy*, *Switzerland*, and *Germany*, and was settled in the *United Provinces*, where he was about to be marry'd to a considerable Fortune; and with a spiteful Intent to prevent it, the King's Advocate in *Scotland* was order'd to cite him before the Parliament, to answer a Charge of High Treason for holding Correspondence with the Earl of *Argyle*, *James Stewart*, then in the King's Favour, *Robert Ferguson*, Chaplain to the late Earl of *Shaftesbury*, as it is said in the Citation; but is an impudent Falshood, for he was never *Shaftesbury's* Chaplain, the Earl being no Dissenter, and *Ferguson* a *Cameronian*, &c. The Witnesses whose Names were put to this Citation, according to the Custom in *Scotland*, were Sir *John Cockran*, *John Cockran* Esq; his Son, Mr. *Robert West*, the perjur'd Evidence in the pretended *Presbyterian* Plot, Mr. *Zachary Bourn*, another such Evidence, Mr. *William Carstairs*, Minister, Mr. *Robert Baird*, Merchant in *Holland*, and Mr. *Richard Baxter*, the two latter at least were no doubt put in without their knowledge. The Appearance was to be the 27th of *June*, and the Doctor publish'd a full Answer to the Charge the 17th of *May*, at what time he wrote also an elegant Letter in his own Vindication to the Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State.

In his Answer he sets forth that he had not seen the Earl of *Argyle* in nine Years before his Condemnation, that he had had no Correspondence with *James Stewart* in twenty Years past, that he had not seen Sir *John Cockran* in four Years, that he never saw *West* and *Brown* to his knowledge, that he knew not *Carstairs*, nor if there was such a Man as *Baird* in *Holland*, that he had had no Conversation with Mr. *Baxter* in twenty-two Years last past, unless once or twice by Accident at a third Person's House, and had not then any private Discourse with him; notwithstanding all which, the Doctor was condemn'd for Contumacy, that is, for not putting himself into the hands of Persons, who would surely have murder'd him. He wrote other Letters to the Earl of *Middleton*; but instead of an Answer, *Albeville* was order'd to demand of the *States General*, that he should be banish'd their Provinces, and at the same time several *Ruffians* were

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were hir'd to assassinate him, and once he had a narrow Escape in his Garden; but being married, and in consequence of it naturaliz'd, the States granted him their Protection, according to the Law of Nations. However, *Albeville* so often, and so earnestly press'd the Prince and Princess of *Orange* to forbid him their Court, that their Highnesses could not at last refuse it without a Quarrel, yet they constantly maintain'd a secret Correspondence with him, communicated to him their Advices from *England* had him consulted upon them, and made use of his Pen upon all Occasions. Among other Pieces in Vindication of the Church of *England*, and the Laws of the Land, which *Dr. Burnet* wrote, was an Answer to *Parker* Bishop of *Oxford's* Book, entitled, *Reasons for abrogating the Test impos'd on all Members of Parliament*, which Book was licens'd by the Earl of *Sunderland*, and his Majesty commanded the Book-sellers not to print any Answer to it, which was equally foolish and tyrannical; for it at once gave People an Itch of reading and answering, and took away the natural Right which every Man has to make use of his Reason in all sorts of Argument. *Parker* insulted the Divines of our Church with an Insolence superior to that of the Papists, and, as might easily have been foreseen, several sharp Answers came out against it, notwithstanding the King's Command, but none made so much noise as *Dr. Burnet's*, who very luckily turn'd *Parker's* Title against him. *Parker* having said in his Title-Page, *Written for the Author's own Satisfaction*, and now publish'd for the Benefit of all others whom it may concern; *Burnet* said the Words were certainly wrong plac'd, for the Truth of the Matter is, that it was written for the Author's own Benefit, and now publish'd for the Satisfaction of all others whom it may concern. Speaking of the whole Body of the Bishops, he says, *If there were two or three such as he among the twenty-six, they may comfort themselves with this, that a Dozen of much better Men had one among them, that I confess was not much worse, if it was not for this, that he let the Price of his Treachery fall much lower than Sam. Oxon. does.* The Apostate had a very good Word from *Echard*, and others of his Stamp, when he was abusing Protestant Dissenters, till *Marvel* lash'd even his Impudence out of countenance. *Dr. Burnet* added, "When one reflects on two of the Bishops that were of that venerable Body, whose Memory will be bless'd in the present and following Ages, those two great and good Men that fill'd the Sees of *Oxford* and *Chester*, *Fell* and *Pearson*, we must conclude, that as the World was not worthy of them, so certainly their Sees were not worthy of them, since they have been plagu'd with such Successors.—With what sensible Regret must those who were so often edify'd with the Gravity, the Piety, the Generosity and Charity of the late Bishop of *Oxford*, look on, when they see such a Harlequin in his room?" *Parker* charg'd *Burnet* with writing *Lampoons* upon the present Princes of *Christendom*; upon which *Dr. Burnet* retorted with this satyrical Period, *It is Lampoon enough upon the Age that he is a Bishop, but it is a downright Reproach that he is made the Champion of a Cause, which if it is bad of itself, must suffer extremely by being in such hands.* This Tool of Arbitrary Power and Popery was so ignorant of Facts, or so maliciously wicked, that he makes the *Test* to be one of the Productions of *Oates's* Perjury. His first Reason for abrogating it, is, *because it had a shameful Origin, being the first Production of Oates's Conspiracy, made on*

Burnet's
Answer to
Parker.

purpose to give Credit and Reputation to Perjury. Now the *Test Act* pass'd in 1672, and *Oates's* Discovery of the Popish Plot was not till six Years after. King *James* himself sent *Parker* *Dr. Burnet's* Answer, hearing no body else durst put it into his hands, and hoping it would raise his Indignation to make a Reply; but he died about that time, and one *Timothy Hall*, a sort of a *Presbyterian*, was made Bishop of *Oxford*, and *Gifford*, a Popish Bishop, President of *Magdalen* College.

The Jesuits having settled a College in the *Savoy*, had a Design upon the *French* Chapel there, and *Pulton* their Rector tamper'd with *Mr. Dubourdiou* the *Hugonot* Minister, in order to engage him to resign that Church, promising him, as from the King, to build them another on any Ground they should chuse between *Whitehall* and *Temple-Bar*, with a large Sum of Money besides. *Monsieur Dubourdiou* made answer, that being but one, he desir'd Time to communicate the Proposal to the other Ministers and Church-Wardens in the *Savoy*. These being met upon this critical Affair, it was agreed, that before they gave the Jesuits a positive Answer, they should consult with such Lords as were most conspicuous for their Wisdom and Affection to the Protestant Interest. Accordingly *Mr. Dubourdiou* waited upon the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Danby*, and Earl of *Nottingham*, and others, who all freely advis'd them never to barken to any Terms with the Jesuits; let them pursue their violent Measures, suffer yourselves to be thrust out of your Church, for by that means you will do your own and the Nation's Business.

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Jesuits attempt to get the Savoy French Church.

I have not been very curious about the Honours and Preferments in these Reigns, for a Reason already mention'd; but lest any body else should have more Curiosity, I will copy from the compleat Historians, who tell us, that this Year,

The Earl of *Sunderland* was made Knight of Honours the Garter, as was also the Duke of *Berwick*; and the Duke of *Albemarle*, Governor of *Jamaica*; Sir *Francis Ratcliff*, Baronet, of *Northumberland*, Earl of *Derwentwater*; *Roger* Earl of *Castlemain*, *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Anabaptist *Quack*, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, Privy Counsellors. The latter, an obscure Fellow, turn'd Papist, and after the *Revolution* went again to the *Baptist* Meeting; *Charles Carteret* Esq; *Edward Vaudrey* Esq; and Captain *William Phips* of *New England*, were knighted: The latter for bringing home a great Treasure, which was taken out of the Sea, after it had lain there forty-four Years. He had been diving for it before, and being pretty sure of finding it, came to *London* in the Year 1685, and was there some time without being able to get any one to engage in his Design; he try'd the Merchants in vain, and then made a Trial of the People of Quality. At last the Duke of *Albemarle* agreed to go half of the Charge, and *Phips* offer'd a Merchant a Quarter for the Ship he embark'd in, then call'd the *Bridgewater Merchant*, but the Owner chose rather the Money for her, which was 1500*l.* and he heartily repented it afterwards. The Duke of *Albemarle* had for his Half above 300,000 Pieces of Eight, and *Phips* got for himself about 80,000 Pieces, clear of all Charges.

I do not enter into the *Biography* of the Compleat Historians, being writing a *History*, and not *Lives*; but I cannot omit taking notice of the Death of so considerable a Person as the Duke of *Buckingham*, *George Villiers*, the famous Statesman and Wit. He had above 30,000*l.* a Year at the *Restoration*, which some time before his Death was reduc'd to 10,000 Pounds, and that so

A. D. 1687. encumbered, that he had been obliged to pass it over by Deed to Trustees for Payment of his Debts to Sir Robert Clayton, Serjeant Rotheram, &c. reserving to himself 2500 Pounds per Ann. which was all he had left for his Subsistence, and being much too little for his profuse way of living, he took with him a Company of Ruffians, and went down to *Helmsley* in *Yorkshire*, a Manor worth about 5000 Pounds a Year, bought afterwards by Sir Charles Duncomb. Here he and his Companions took Money from the Tenants by force contrary to a Decree in Chancery, and were guilty of a Riot in an Inn, for which he must have been try'd, had he return'd to *London*, but it threw him into a Distemper, of which he died, and with him expired the *Buckingham Villiers* Family and Estate in the second Generation. And may all Fortunes and Honours, so acquired as theirs were, so expire.

1688.

A. D. 1688. ONE of the first Events in this wonderful Year was the greatest Wonder of it, and that was the publishing a Proclamation the second of *January* declaring very falsely and blasphemously, That it had pleas'd God Almighty to give his Majesty apparent Hopes and good Assurance of his having Issue by his Consort, who was now with Child. Wherefore a Thanksgiving Day was appointed a Fortnight after, and a Form of Prayer made by three Bishops, *Crew of Durham*, *Sprat of Rochester*, and *White of Peterborough*; *Two Toms and a Nat*, as the Lampon upon it said. This Form was stich'd into the Common-Prayer and had these Expressions in it, *Blessed be that good Providence, which has vouchsafed us fresh Hopes of Royal Issue by our Gracious Queen Mary. Strengthen her we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast begun. Command thy Holy Angels to watch over her, an Idolatress, and defend her from all Dangers and evil Accidents, that what she has conceived may be happily brought forth to the joy of our Sovereign Lord the King, the further Establishment of his Crown, the Happiness and Welfare of the whole Kingdom, and the Glory of thy great Name.* *Echard* minces the matter, and says the greatest part of the Clergy did not pronounce these Expressions; but if they pronounc'd any Expressions by way of *Solemn Prayer* on that Thanksgiving-day for that pretended Blessing, they mock'd God and the World. The Day was kept every where with great Coolness and Indifferency, the People from the very Whisper of the *Great-Belly* believing it to be a Cheat, and the bloody Popish Queen *Mary* and her Cushion, were in every one's Mouth except the Papists, who were so elevated with the *Sham*, that they gave out, tho' the Child should prove a Daughter, yet it would cut off the Princesses of *Orange* and *Denmark* from the Succession, on a vain Supposition, that a Daughter born since the King's advancement to the Throne ought to take place before Princesses born while he was Duke of *York*; but they took care to prevent any such Litigation by securing a Son and Heir, the Effect of a *solemn Petition*, as the Jesuits said, which the late *Duchess of Modena* had put up in Heaven to the *Blessed Virgin* with a Present of a golden Image: Others say a Smock enrich'd with precious Stones; and I verily believe this is the truest Circumstance in all the Story. I do not build very much upon what I am going to say of this miraculous Conception, but I remember, that being at *Bath* in the Year 1690, I went with a Gentlewoman a Relation of mine, to see one Mrs. *Chapman* an Apothecary's Daughter, who was one of those that waited on the Queen as a Guide when she bath'd, and tho'

the Decency of the Sex did not admit of my hearing what was said on this Subject, yet my Kinswoman, who was indeed a very near one, assured me afterwards, that Mrs. *Chapman* said she could not be with Child when she left *Bath*, for Reasons fitter to be imagined than express. Bishop *Burnet* writes, "After the King left her, she pursued a full Course of Bathing, and having resolv'd to return to *London* in the end of *September*, an Accident took her to which the Sex is subject, and made her stay there a Week longer. She came to *Windfor* the sixth of *October*. It went current, that the Queen believed herself to be with Child in that very Instant in which her Mother pray'd to the Lady of *Loretto*, where there is a solemn Record of it. A Conception said to be thus begun, look'd suspicious. It was now fix'd to the sixth of *October*; so the nine Months were to run to the sixth of *July*. She was in the Progress of her big Belly let blood several times, and the most astringent Things that could be propos'd, were used. It was soon observed, that all things about her were manag'd with a mysterious Secrecy, into which none were admitted but a few Papists. She was not dress'd nor undress'd with the usual Ceremony. Prince *George* told the Bishop, that the Princess went as far in desiring to be satisfy'd by feeling the Motion after she said she was quick, as she could go without breaking with her, and she had sometimes staid by her even indecently long in Mornings, to see her rise and to give her her Shift. But she never did either, she never offer'd any Satisfaction in that Matter by Letter to the Princess of *Orange*, nor to any of the Ladies of Quality, in whose Word the World would have acquiesced. The thing upon this began to be suspected, and some Libels were writ treating the whole as an Imposture. The Use the Queen made of this, was to say, that since she saw some were suspecting her as capable of so black a Contrivance, she scorn'd to satisfy those who could entertain such Thoughts of her."

This is the poorest Evasion that ever Tricksters pretended to; what is Modesty or Decency to Ambition and false Zeal? She knew if she was really with Child, 'twas no matter who got it, and rather than have left any room for Suspicion if she could have help'd it, she would have been delivered upon *Charing-Cross*, or in the most open manner, as other Princesses have been on the like Occasions. The Empress *Constantia* Wife to the *German Emperor Henry VI.* being in Years, and the People suspecting she was past Child-bearing, the Emperor gave abundant Proof of her being big and of her Delivery; he prepared a Place in publick, where she remain'd till her Labour *Ventre Custodito*, with Keepers, that no supposititious Child might possibly be convey'd to her, and there in sight of the Citizens and all the Matrons that would and could possibly approach her, none being excluded, she brought forth a Prince, who was afterwards the Emperor *Frederick II.* A like Story is told of a Queen of *Arragon*. 'Twas absurd and ridiculous to say she scorn'd to satisfy them. If she had so done, she would have been sufficiently reveng'd on them for suspecting her. Bishop *Burnet* gives us some other Reasons against her Conception prior to those already given.

"The Queen had been for six or seven Years in such an ill State of Health, that every Winter brought her near Death. Those about her seem'd well assured that she, who had bury'd all her Children soon after they were born, and had now for several Years ceased bearing, would have no more Children. Her own Priests ap-

A. D. 1688. "prehended it, and seem'd to wish for her death. She had great and frequent Distempers that return'd often, which put all People out of their Hopes and Fears of her having Children."

Upon the whole, it appears as plain as any thing can appear, which is not to be determin'd by the Senses, that she was in no Condition to conceive, and that she did not conceive, and that the Tricks and Oaths made use of afterwards to prove it, were the Juggles of wicked or deluded People, in which the Legerdemain was so clumsy, that it discover'd itself.

Another Author assures us, she never had the first most natural, known and common Signs of Conception, her *Mensis Profluvium* continu'd, her Breasts never swell'd, nor was there ever any Milk seen in them by any credible Witnesses. All the outward Parts of her Body that encompass'd the Womb, were of the same Proportion as at other times. She, contrary to her former usual Course, always withdrew into her Cabinet, or some other private Room, when she chang'd her Linnen, and would never suffer any Protestant Lady to be by. A French Author says, *Bien des Protestans soupconnerent que cette Grossesse n'etoit qu'un coup de politique, d'autant plus que les Moines debitoient & vouloient meme parier que ce seroit un Fils.* A great many Protestants suspected that the Queen's Big-belly was only a Trick, and the rather because the Priests gave out, and offer'd to lay Wagers that it would be a Son. Echard with his usual Wisdom says, *Great stress was laid on the Incredibility of the Imposture;* "That a King and a Queen should conspire to put such a Cheat upon themselves, as well as the Nation, was unnatural and shocking." No stress in the world was laid upon this by any Protestant in his Wits. There was not one Circumstance of the Imposture, but what was credible; and for such a King and such a Queen to cheat a Princess the next Heir, and a Nation whom they hated for the sake of a Religion to which they were Bigots, is unnatural and shocking indeed to good Englishmen and good Protestants; but very natural and agreeable to Papists. The *Compleat Historian* writes thus of it: "The Queen's Physicians and Domesticks were not satisfy'd in the Signs of her Conception. The Impatience of the Popish Party in presuming and prophesying the Birth of a Son, and several other concurring Reasons, made the Protestants suspect a Fraud, and they were confirm'd in their Suspicion by reflecting that a like Deceit had been put upon the People in the Reign of Popish Queen Mary: for then to relieve themselves from the Fears of a Protestant Princess in Succession, the Romish Priests gave out that the Queen was with Child. Prayers were order'd for her safe Delivery, and a Popish Preacher at St. Paul's pretended to tell of the Birth, and describe the Boy; when after all, the Sham was carry'd no farther." What follows is very silly, but it is in other Histories as well as the *Compleat One*; "Because, as verily believ'd, King Philip was too just and generous to consent to any such Imposture." Philip was one of the greatest Tyrants then reigning in the whole World, and it was not his Justice or Generosity that hinder'd his permitting of the Cheat, but because such an Impostor must have succeeded him in all his Kingdoms, both in the old World and the new.

If the Talk of a Child by the Queen was design'd to divert the People from fixing their Eyes and Hearts upon a Protestant Successor, it had not that effect: On the contrary, the Nation look'd more and more towards the Court in

Holland, and the Princess Anne at home. The King was sensible of it, and found the Prince and Princess of Orange to be more popular for refusing to approve of the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test. Under this Apprehension, he began to give out Commissions for the raising of new Troops, and was preparing a better Fleet with extraordinary Diligence; which gave the Dutch a good Pretence to go on with their Armaments by Sea and Land, especially considering the great Power and Preparations of Lewis the XIV. who they had good reason to believe was in a secret League with King James for their Destruction, as his Brother King Charles had been.

Petre the Jesuit had by this time gain'd such an Ascendant, that he was look'd on as the first Minister of State. The *Nuntio Dada* mov'd the King to interpose and mediate a Reconciliation between the Courts of Rome and France; but the King answer'd, *Since the Pope will not gratify me in the promotion of Father Petre, I will leave him to free himself of the Trouble, to which he has involv'd himself the best way he can.* And the Court of England reckon'd that as soon as the Pope felt himself press'd, he would fly to the King for protection, and grant him every thing he ask'd of him in order to obtain it. Petre gave daily new Proofs of a weak and ill-govern'd Passion, and discover'd all the ill Qualities of one that seem'd rais'd up to be the common Incendiary, and to drive the King and his Party to the Precipice.

On the 27th of April, the King renew'd the Declaration he had set out the former Year for Liberty of Conscience, with an Addition, declaring, that he would adhere firmly to it, and that he would put none in any publick Employments, but such as would concur with him in maintaining it. He also promis'd to hold a Parliament in November following; which promise, so long before-hand, was somewhat extraordinary: But Father Petre and William Pen persuaded the King to it, tho' with a different Prospect. Pen, and all the Tools that were employ'd by him, had still some hopes of carrying a Parliament to agree with the King, if too much time was not lost, Whereas the delaying a Parliament rais'd Jealousies as if none were intended, but that it was only talk'd of to amuse the Nation till other Designs were ripe. On the other hand, Petre and his Cabal saw the King was kept off from many things they propos'd with the Expectation of the Concurrence of a Parliament: And the fear of giving new Disgusts, had begot a Caution that was very uneasy to them. They thought much time was already lost, and that they made but a small Progress. They began to apprehend that the Regulators of Corporations, who were still feeding them with hopes, and were asking more Time and more Money, intended only to amuse them to wear out the Business into more length, and keep themselves the longer in Credit and in Pay; but that they did not in their Hearts wish well to the main Design, and therefore acted an insincere Part with the King. For these Reasons, they resolv'd to put that Matter to the last trial, reckoning if the King saw it was in vain to hope for any thing in a Parliamentary Way, he might be more easily carry'd to extreme and violent Methods.

These were the Counsels that hurry'd on this King, otherwise weak and imperious, to his Ruin.

The Lord Sunderland continu'd still in full Favour, having promis'd the Queen to turn Papist if she was deliver'd of a Son. About this time Letters were sent by the Penny-Post from

A. D. 1688. an unknown Hand to several Lords, as the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Dorset*, the Lord *Lumley*, and others, admonishing them to change their Religion, and make their Peace with God and the King, and threatening if they did not so do, they should not survive the sixth of *February*. The Lord *Lovelace* was summon'd to appear at the Council-Table, for saying, that the Judges and Justices of the Peace put in by the King's Dispensing Power, ought not to be obey'd, they being prefer'd contrary to Law.

Declaration order'd to be read by the Clergy. The King was not satisfy'd with the publishing his Declaration. He resolv'd to oblige the Clergy to read it in all their Churches in time of Divine Service. "And now, says Bishop *Burnet*, it appear'd what bad Effects were like to follow on that officious Motion that *Sancroft* had made, for obliging the Clergy to read the Declaration King *Charles* set out in the Year 1681, after the Dissolution of the *Oxford* Parliament." An Order pass'd in Council, *May* the 4th, requiring the Bishops to send Copies of the Declaration to all their Clergy, and to order them to read it on two several *Sundays* in time of Divine Service.

Clergy refuse to read the Declaration. This put the Clergy under great Difficulties, and they were at first much divided about it, even many of the best and worthiest of them were under some Distraction of Thought. They had many Meetings, and argu'd the Point long among themselves in and about *London*; at last they came to a Resolution not to read it. They saw of what Importance it was that they should be unanimous in it; nothing could be of more fatal Consequence than their being divided in their Practice; for if any considerable Body of the Clergy, such as could carry the Name of the Church of *England*, could have been prevail'd on to give Obedience, and only some Number, how valuable soever the Men might be, should refuse to obey, then the Court might still pretend, that they would maintain the Church of *England*, and single out all those who had not given Obedience, and fall on them. Thus the Church would be broken within itself upon this Point, and the one Half be destroy'd by means of the other. The Court depended upon this, that the greater part would obey, and so they were like to be the Men that stood most in their way, and crossed their Designs most, both with their Learning and Credit. And indeed the Behaviour of the Clergy on this occasion was worthy of the Priesthood in the Primitive Christian Church, and had the same Virtue and the same Temper prevail'd from that time to this, the Happiness of this Nation would have been admir'd or envy'd by all *Christendom*.

Bishops betray the Church. The Bishops who were engag'd in the Design of betraying the Church, *Crew*, *Watson*, *Cartwright*, *Hall*, *Wood*, *Barlow*, were persuaded this would be the Event of the Matter, and possess'd the King with the Hope of it so positively, that he seem'd to depend upon it. The Correspondence over *England* was manag'd with that Secrecy, and these Resolutions were so communicated to the Clergy in the Country, that they were generally engag'd to agree in their Conduct, before the Court came to apprehend that they would be so unanimous, as it prov'd in Conclusion that they were.

Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, wrote round his Province, and desir'd such Bishops as were able, to come up and consult together in a Matter of so great Concern; and he ask'd the Opinion of those, whom their Age and Infirmities disabled from taking the Journey. He found that 18 of the Bishops, and the main Body of the

Clergy, concurr'd in the Resolution against reading the Declaration; so himself, with the six Bishops who came up to *London*, and had a Consultation in his Palace at *Lambeth*, resolv'd upon a Petition to the King, in which they would lay before him the Reasons that determin'd them not to obey the Order of Council which had been sent them. This flow'd from no Want of Respect to his Majesty's Authority, nor from any Unwillingness to let Favour be shew'd to Dissenters, in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a Temper, as should be thought fit, when that Matter should be consider'd and settled in Parliament and Convocation. We must not go further without observing how well this Temper has appear'd in all the Convocations that have been held from that time to this, how well in *Oxford* Sermons, *Bath* Sermons, *Astize* Sermons, *Town* Sermons and *Country* Sermons on the 30th of *January*; and at other Times; how well it agreed with the pious Bills *Schism* and *Occasional*, which cannot be remember'd with too much Indignation and Abhorrence. The Archbishop about two Months after, while he and his Brethren were under Prosecution, sent certain Articles to his Clergy, wherein he explain'd this good Temper a little farther, and exhorted them to have a very tender Regard to our Brethren the Protestant Dissenters, to visit them at their Houses, and to receive them kindly at their own. I knew a Vicar, who not long ago, turn'd off his Curate for visiting a Presbyterian Neighbour. To treat them fairly wherever they meet them, to take all Opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the Bishops of the Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable Enemies to the Errors, Superstitions, Idolatries and Tyrannies of the Church of *Rome*: There spoke the divine Spirit of the true Church of *England*; And that the very unkind Jealousies which some have had of the Bishops to the contrary, were altogether groundless; and in the last place warmly and most affectionately to exhort them to join with us in daily fervent Prayer to the God of Peace for an universal blessed Union of all Reform'd Churches both at home and abroad, against our common Enemies, &c. How contrary are these pious charitable Sentiments to those of *Bancroft*, *Laud*, *Sheldon*, *Morley*? How contrary to the Lord *Clarendon*'s, who would not allow the Reform'd Church at *Charenton* to be a true Church, as Archbishop *Sancroft* calls it, nor give his Consent that King *Charles* should go to it.

The Bishops alledg'd in their Petition, That the Declaration being founded on such a dispensing Power as had been often declar'd illegal in Parliament, both in the Year 1662, and in the Year 1672, and in the Beginning of the King's own Reign, and being a Matter of so great Consequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, they could not in Prudence, Honour and Conscience make themselves so far Parties to it, as the Publication of it once and again in God's House, and in the Time of divine Service must amount to.

The Archbishop being then in an ill State of Health, he sent the other six Bishops with the Petition. *Orleans*, who sets an Example to *Echard*, affirms that the Archbishop presented it Person. The six Bishops were *St. Asaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Chichester*, *Peterborough*, and *Bristol*, who went the very same Day, *May* the 18th, the Friday before the Declaration was first to have been read, to *Whitehall*, where being introduc'd by the Earl of *Sunderland*, they deliver'd their Petition to the King. Upon the reading of it he startled, seem'd very much incens'd, and made this Answer in a very angry Tone, I have heard

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The Bishops petition the King.

They promise Kindness to the Dissenters.

Archbishop Sancroft desires the Prayers of the Presbyterians.

The Bishops deliver their Petition.

of

A. D. 1688. of this before, but did not believe it; I did not expect this from the Church of England, especially from some of you, meaning *Ken* I suppose; if I change my Mind, you shall hear from me; if not, I expect my Command shall be obey'd.

The King's Answer.

The Bishops with all Reverence reply'd, *We resign ourselves to the Will of God.* The King's threatening Answer terrify'd the Bishops a little. However they remain'd firm and unshaken, and only five of the Prelates of *England* caus'd the Declaration to be publish'd; nay, it was observ'd that in some Churches, where the Ministers either thro' Fear or Mistake comply'd with the Orders of their Superiors, the greatest part of the Congregation disappear'd as soon as they began to read the *Declaration.* In *London* it was only read in four or five Churches, and of those that comply'd we have the Names only of three, *Hall, Elliot* and *Thompson.* There were not above 200 Ministers in all *England* that read it. Matters were now brought to a Crisis, the King was engag'd on his part as the Bishops were on theirs. All People look'd on with great Expectations, reckoning that upon the Issue of this Business a great Decision would be made, both of the Designs of the Court, and of the Temper of the Nation. The King for some Days consulted with all that were now employ'd by him, what he should do upon this Emergency, and talk'd with People of all Persuasions. Mr. *Lob,* who preach'd in the Meeting-House in *Fetter-Lane,* was entirely gain'd to the Court, and advis'd the King to send them to the Tower: This *Lob* had been as deep in Plots against him as any Man; there was once a Proclamation to apprehend him, but having been pardon'd, and taken into Favour, he flatter'd King *James* with the most dangerous Counsels, finding they were most grateful to him. Father *Petre* seem'd transported with Joy, for he thought the King was engag'd to break with the Church of *England,* and it was reported that he broke out into that indecent Expression upon it, *They shall be made to eat their own Dung.* The King was long in doubt. Some of the *Papish* Nobility earnestly entreated him to let the Matter fall, but he was hurry'd on by his evil Genius to do every thing that might hasten his Destruction; and the violent Advices of Father *Petre,* and the *Jesuit* Party, were so fatally suited to his own Temper and Passion, that they prevail'd over the wiser Counsels of almost all that were advis'd with. After a Fortnight's Consultation the Bishops were cited to appear before the Council. The Petition was offer'd to them, and they were ask'd if they own'd it to be their Petition; they answer'd, *It seem'd they were to be proceeded against on that Account, so they hop'd the King would not press them to a Confession, and then make use of it against them.* At last the Archbishop of *Canterbury* own'd that he wrote the Petition with his own Hand, and that himself and the other Bishops sign'd it. They were then charg'd with the Publication of it, for it was then printed, but they absolutely deny'd that it was done by their means. The Archbishop had taken no Copy of it, and had never shewn it to any Person. Thus it was not publish'd by them, but must have been done by some of those to whom the King had shewn it. They were then required to enter into Bonds to appear in the Court of *King's Bench,* and answer to an Information of Misdemeanor. They excepted to this, and said, that by their Peerage they were not bound to do it, and insisting still upon it, they were sent to the Tower, by a Warrant sign'd the 8th of *June,* by

Lob advises the King to send them to the Tower.

F. Petre's rude Saying of the Bishops.

Jefferies, Chancellor, The Earl of *Middleton,*
The Earl of *Sunderland,* The Earl of *Melfort,*
The Lord *Arundel,* The Earl of *Castlemain,*
The Marquis of *Forvis,* The Lord *Darmonth,*
The Earl of *Mulgrave,* The Lord *Godolphin,*
The Earl of *Huntington,* The Lord *Dover,*
The Earl of *Peterbo-Sir John Ernle,*
rough, Sir *Edward Herbert,*
The Earl of *Craven,* Sir *Nicholas Butler.*
The Earl of *Murray,*

A. D. 1688.

Bishops sent to the Tower.

Father *Petre* did not sign it, being excus'd by the King's express Order. The Court was so apprehensive of the People's Resentment, that the Bishops were sent to the Tower by Water; but both Sides of the River were crowded with People, who with loud Acclamations extoll'd the Bishops Constancy, and on their Knees crav'd their Benedictions. Some Companies of Soldiers were order'd to be up in Arms for fear of a Tumult; but the Tyranny the Nation groan'd under was too great for tumultuous Motions, and nothing could have reliev'd them but a thorow Change in the Government. The King being told what Demonstrations of Tenderness and Respect were paid to the Bishops, order'd the Tower Guard to be doubled; his Army was then encamp'd on *Hounslow Heath,* and the News of the Bishops being sent to the Tower affected them as much as the Citizens of *London.*

I shall be very large in my Account of the Imposture of the Pretender, having a Manuscript Information which was taken from Dr. *Lloyd* late Bishop of *Worcester,* by a very worthy Gentleman now living, a Man of Honour and Character in the World: But before I enter upon that, I will repeat what Bishop *Burnet* says of it, and desire the Reader to excuse Repetitions, if there are any in the two Accounts, the one in those places confirming the other.

Things went on thus till *Monday* in *Easter-Week.* On that Day the King went to *Rocheester,* to see some of the Naval Preparations; but was soon sent for by the Queen, who apprehended she was in danger of miscarrying. Dr. *Scarborough* was come to *Knightsbridge* to see Bishop *Ward;* but the Queen's Coach was sent to call him in all haste, since she was near miscarrying. Dr. *Windebank,* who knew nothing of this Matter, staid long that Morning upon an Appointment for Dr. *Wallgrave,* another of the Queen's Physicians, who the next time he saw him excus'd himself; for the Queen, he said, was then under the most apparent Signs of miscarrying. Of this the Doctor made Oath, and it is yet extant.

On the same day, the Countess of *Clarendon* being to go out of town for a few days, came to see the Queen before she went, knowing nothing of what had happen'd to her. And she being a Lady of the Bed-Chamber, did, according to the Rule of the Court, go into the Queen's Bed-Chamber, without asking Admittance. She saw the Queen abed bemoaning herself in a most doleful manner, saying often, *Undone! Undone!* And one that belong'd to her carry'd somewhat out, which she believ'd was Linnen taken from the Queen. She was upon this in some Confusion. And the Countess of *Forvis* coming in, went to her, and said with some Sharpness, *What do you here?* and carried her to the Door. Before she had got out of the Court, one of the Bed-Chamber Women follow'd her, and charg'd her not to speak of any thing she had seen that Day. This Matter, whatever was in it, was hush'd up, and the Queen held on her Course.

A. D. 1688. The Princess had miscarry'd in the Spring, and as soon as she had recover'd her Strength, the King press'd her to go to the *Bath*, since that had so good an effect on the Queen. Some of her Physicians, and all her other Friends were against her going. *Lower*, one of her Physicians, told Bishop *Burnet* he was against it: He thought she was not strong enough for the *Bath*, tho' the King press'd it with an unusual Vehemence. *Millington*, another Physician, told the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, that he was desir'd to go to the Princess and advise her to go to the *Bath*. The Person that spoke to him told him, the King was much set on it, and expected it of him, that he would persuade her to it. *Millington* answer'd, he would not advise a Patient according to Direction, but according to his own Reason. *Scarborough* and *Wytherley* took it upon them to advise it; so she went thither in the end of *May*.

As soon as she was gone, those about the Queen did all of a sudden change her Reckoning, and began it from the King's being with her at *Bath*. This came on so quick, that tho' the Queen had set the 14th of *June* for her going to *Windsor*, where she intended to lie-in, and all the Preparations for the *Birth*, and for the Child, were order'd to be made ready by the end of *June*: Yet now a Resolution was taken for the Queen's Lying-in at *St. James's*, and Directions were given to have all Things quickly ready. The *Bath* Water either did not agree with the Princess, or the Advices of her Friends were so pressing, who thought her absence from the Court at that time of great Consequence, that in compliance with them, she gave it up, and that therefore she would return in a few days. The Day after the Court had this notice, the Queen said she would go to *St. James's* and look for the good Hour. She was often told, that it was impossible, upon so short a warning, to have Things ready: But she was so positive as to say, *I will lie there this Night, tho' I lie upon the Boards*. And at night, tho' the shorter and quicker Way was from *Whitehall* to *St. James's* through the *Park*, and she always went that way, yet now by a sort of Affectation, she would be carry'd thither by *Charing-Cross*, thro' the *Pall-mall*. And it was given out by all her Train, she was going to be deliver'd. Some said it would be next Morning, and the Priests affirm'd very confidently *it would be a Boy*. The next Morning about nine a-clock, she sent word to the King that she was in Labour. The Queen *Dowager* was next sent to. But no Ladies were call'd; nor were any Women in the Room, but two Dressers, one Under-Dresser, and the Midwife. The Earl of *Arran* sent notice to the Countess of *Sunderland*, so she came. The Lady *Bellasis* came also in time. The Protestant Ladies who belong'd to the Court, were all gone to Church before the News was let go abroad; for it happen'd on *Trinity Sunday*, which was that Year on the 10th of *June*. The King brought over with him from *Whitehall* a great many Peers and Privy-Counsellors, and of these, 18 were let into the Bed-Chamber; but they stood at the furthest end of the Room, and the Ladies within the *Alcove*. The Curtains of the Bed were drawn close, and none came within them, but the Midwife and Under-Dresser. The Queen lay all the while a-bed; and in order to the warming one Side of it, a WARMING-PAN was brought: But it was not open, that it might be seen there was Fire and nothing else in it; which gave great cause for Suspicion, and all People were fill'd with it.

A little before Ten the Queen cry'd out as in

A. D. 1688. a strong Pain, and immediately after the Midwife said aloud, she was happily brought to bed. The Lords cry'd, *Of what?* The Midwife answer'd, *The Queen must not be surpriz'd*. Only she gave a Sign to the Countess of *Sunderland*; who upon that touch'd her Forehead, by which, it being the Sign before agreed on, the King said, *I know it is a Boy*. No Cries were heard from the Child, nor was it shew'd to those in the Room. It was pretended more Air was necessary. The Under-Dresser went out with the Child, or somewhat else in her Arms to a Dressing-Room, to which there was a Door near the Queen's Bed. But there was another Entry to it from other Apartments. The King continu'd with the Lords in the Bed-Chamber for some Minutes, which was either a sign of much Phlegm upon such an occasion, or it look'd like the giving time for some Management. After a little while, they went all into the Dressing-Room, and there the News was publish'd. Nobody was call'd to lay their Hands on the Queen's Belly, in order to a full Satisfaction. And when the Princess came to town three Days after, she had as little Satisfaction given her. Chamberlain the Man-Midwife, who was always order'd to attend her Labour before, and who brought the Plaisters for putting back the Milk, wonder'd that he had not been sent to. He went, according to custom, with the Plaisters; but he was told they had no occasion for him. All that concern'd the Milk, or the Queen's Purgations, was manag'd still in the dark, which made every one believe there was a *base Imposture* put on the Nation. One *Hemmings*, a very worthy Man an Apothecary, who liv'd in *St. Martin's-Lane*, the very next door to the Family of an eminent Papist, *Browne*, Brother to the Viscount *Montacute*, the Wall between his Parlour and theirs being so thin, that he could easily hear any thing that was said with a louder Voice than ordinary; heard, the Night after, one coming into that Parlour say in a doleful Tone, the *Prince of Wales* is dead: upon which, a great many that liv'd in the House came down stairs very quick. They were in Confusion, and he could hear no more. The next Morning he went to the Bishops in the *Tower*, and told them. The Countess of *Clarendon* came thither soon after, and said she had been at the young Prince's Door, but was deny'd Access; at which she was amaz'd, and ask'd if they knew her? They said they did, but the Queen had order'd that no Person whatsoever should be suffer'd to come into him. This gave Credit to *Hemmings's* Story, and look'd as if all was order'd to be kept shut up close till another Child was found. One that saw the Child two days after, told Bishop *Burnet*, that he look'd strong, and not like a Child so newly born. *Windbank* met *Walgrave* the Day after this Birth, and remember'd him of what he had told him eight Weeks before. He acknowledg'd it; but added, *God works Miracles*, to which no Reply could or durst be made by the other. It needed none; So healthy a Child being so little like any of those the Queen had borne, it was given out he had Fits, and could not live: But those who saw him every day, observ'd no such thing. On the contrary, the Child was in a very prosperous State. None of those Fits ever happen'd when the Princess was at Court; for she could not be deny'd Admittance, tho' all others were. It was thought this was reported to make the Matter more credible. 'Tis true, some Weeks after that, the Court being gone to *Windsor*, and the Child sent to *Richmond*, he fell into such Fits,

A. D. 1688. that four Physicians were sent for. They all look'd on him as a dying Child. The King and Queen were sent for. The Doctors went to dinner, and wondering often why they were not call'd, they took it for granted the Child was dead. But when they went to him after dinner, they saw a sound healthy Child, that seem'd to have had no sort of Illness on him. It was said the Child was strangely reviv'd of a sudden. But some of the Physicians told Bishop *Lloyd*, that it was not possible for them to think it was the same Child. They look'd on one another, but durst not speak what they thought.

Most of these Passages were Informations sent over to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, from whom Bishop *Burnet* had them. He adds, *I do not mix with these the various Reports that were both then and afterwards spread of this Matter; of which Bishop Lloyd has a great Collection, most of them well attested.* This very Collection is fallen into my hands, and I shall insert it as I had it from the Gentleman, who had it from the Bishop himself, in the following Letter.

Bishop Lloyd's Account of the Imposture.

Finding myself and others likely to be oblig'd to take the Abjuration Oath, I thought it would be much for my Satisfaction, if I could get some Information of the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. For which purpose I wrote to a Friend then in *London*, desiring him, if he could, to make some Discovery of the Matter; which I thought he might do, by consulting with some considerable Persons whom I mention'd.

In a little time my Friend return'd me Answer, that he had consulted the Bishop of *Worcester*, (who was one of them;) and that he told him, if I would make a Journey to him at *Hartlebury*, he did not doubt but that he should give me full Satisfaction as to the suppos'd Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. Upon which, on *Monday* the 15th of *June* 1702, being accompany'd with my Friend *Mr. M.* I attended his Lordship at his House at *Hartlebury*, where we were very kindly receiv'd, and entertain'd a Night and two Days, in which time we had much of the Bishop's Company; and being alone with him, his Discourse for the most part related to that Subject, which we heard with great Satisfaction, and took Minutes of it with his leave. He began it with the Marriage of King *James* and Queen *Mary*, which he said was doubtless intended by the *French King*, for the Ruin of *England*. Upon which account, the then Bishop of *Sarum* and he being together when they heard the News of the Match's being concluded, put up their Prayers for averting the Mischiefs thereby design'd. She was made a Daughter of *France*, and had 40000*l.* assign'd for Dowry, that being the Sum given by King *Charles* to the Duke of *Orleans* with his Sister.

The Marriage (he said) was in 1673; and in the Years 74, 75, and 76, she had three Children, who all died within the compass of a Year after their Birth, the Physicians concluding there were *Mala Stamina Vitæ*, by reason of the *D's* Distemper; and the same being hereditary in her Family, in as high a degree or higher than in any Family in *Italy*, they thought there would be no Child to live.

From 76 to 87 we heard of nothing but Miscarriages, but then it was resolv'd that a Child must be had. *November* the 27th, Proclamation was given out for Days of *Thanksgiving* to be kept in *January*, (when it might be suppos'd that the Queen would be quick) the Tokens till then were somewhat uncertain: and about that time, 'twas with great Confidence given out

A. D. 1688. by a Popish Priest at *Chester*, that the Queen was with Child of a Son; and it being demand'd of him how he knew it to be a Son, his Answer was, because the King had pray'd for a Child and a Son to *St. Winefred*, whose Rule was to grant all that was ask'd, or nothing; and therefore since it appear'd that the Queen was with child, they might certainly conclude it to be a Son.

But whatever it were, the Queen miscarry'd on *Easter-Monday*, which appears thus: The Bishop of *Worcester* being with some Friends at *Samuel Bishop's* in *Oxfordshire*, there came to him the Earl of *Clarendon*, desiring him to go with him to *London* about some Business of the Earl's. The Bishop ask'd the Earl what News, and whether the Queen had miscarry'd, (which they had heard some little time before.) The Earl answer'd, He would tell him nothing of the matter then, but he should know more of it when they came to *London*, where, being come on the *Saturday* following, they met the Countess, who was come home the same day from her Estate in *Berkshire*, and being by the Earl desir'd to acquaint the Bishop with that Business, she seem'd to be somewhat at a stand; but the Earl telling her that he had not told him any thing of it, but had promis'd him he should know it, the Countess gave him this Account: That designing to go into *Berkshire* on *Easter-Tuesday*, she was oblig'd (as being Lady of the Bed-Chamber) to attend the Queen, and to ask her leave. Accordingly she went to Court on *Monday*, and coming into the Lodgings, she could see nobody: but when she came to the Bed-Chamber, she heard a lamentable Voice crying, *I am undone! I am undone!* At which being surpris'd, she cast about to find whence the Voice came, and found it to come from the Bed, where she saw the Queen sitting up, and beating herself in a fearful manner, uttering these Words; at which she being herself ready to sink, the Marchioness of *Powis* came flying upon her, and laying hold of her, said, *Madam, what makes you here?* and so thrust her out of the Room.

The same day, *Easter Monday*, Sir *Charles Scarborough*, and the Bishop's Apothecary were invited to dine with the Bishop of *Sarum* at *Knight's-bridge*, and desired to be there before the rest of the Company, that my Lord of *Sarum* might have Leisure to consult with them about his Health, where they came accordingly at eleven a-Clock; but they had not been there long, before Sir *Charles*, being the Queen's Physician, was told there was a Messenger from Court to speak with him; upon which the Doctor went forth, and coming presently in again told them he must be gone, for the Queen had miscarried, which Information Bishop *Lloyd* had from the Doctor, and Mr. *Hemmings* the Apothecary. The same day, as his Lordship was also inform'd by Dr. *Windebank*, Dr. *Walgrave*, another of the Queen's Physicians and a Papist, had appointed to meet the said Dr. *Windebank* at a certain Place and Time upon a Consult, where Dr. *Windebank* waited a great while for him; but Doctor *Walgrave* not coming, the other Doctor was much offended, and signify'd his Resentment to him when he came, or when he saw him the next time; upon which Doctor *Walgrave* excused himself, telling him that he could not help it, being detain'd with the Queen, with whom he stay'd till he plainly saw it to be a Miscarriage, by tokens then mentioned.

Dr. *Windebank* meeting Dr. *Walgrave* in *St. James's Park* on *Trinity Sunday* in the Evening,

A. D. 1688. evening, asked him whether he did not tell him two Months before that the Queen had miscarried, whereas a Child was that Day born; to which *Walgrave* reply'd, *that nothing was impossible to God*; the other answer'd, *noy, if you have Miracles among you, I know not what to say*. Her late Majesty Queen *Anne* did not believe the Queen to have been with Child at all, as she told Bishop *Lloyd*, till his Lordship gave her this Account; and her Reason was this, that it being the Custom, when the Queen, or Dutchiefs, did shift herself, for the greatest Person present to do the Office, she had often had the doing of it, at which times she had the Opportunity of seeing her naked Body, and when she was quick with Child she would put the Princess's Hand on her Belly, and ask her, *whether she felt how her Brother kick'd her*; but she was never admitted to this Office and Freedom all the time of this Breeding; the Reason of which Bishop *Lloyd* conceived to be, that there being Apprehensions of a Miscarriage, she was kept thus at a distance, that she might not discover it. The Bishop ask'd her Highness whether she was sent to the Bath, who said no, *that she went upon the Advice of her Physicians, but that she stay'd there longer than she would have done, before she could get leave to come home; and when she came, she was not admitted to that free Access to the Queen, which she might have expected*. His Lordship was inform'd by Captain *Wright*, and a Boatswain, or from some Person that had it from them, that they brought over, with the Countess of *Tyrconnel* from *Ireland*, two big-belly'd Women, the one being taller than the other, and from the Hostess at *Lichfield* he was inform'd there were two such lodged at her House with the said Countess, and she said she heard that one of the Gentlewomen was deliver'd on the Road to *London*, he thought at *St. Albans*.

On the *Saturday* before *Trinity Sunday*, the Queen being at Cards was pull'd by the Coat, upon which she started up and left the Company; about eight a-clock the next Morning, as it appears by some of the Depositions, her Travail begun, it being affirm'd that then her Water broke down, notwithstanding it does not appear that she had any Company to stay with her till about nine: Those few that came in, as *Turini* an *Italian*, &c. all Confidants, being told by her Majesty that she thought herself to be in Travail, (whereas the Water is said to be only the Beginning of it) those Persons were all sent to call some others.

The Countess of *Sunderland* deposes, that she went that Morning to *St. James's* Chapel about eight a-clock, designing to receive the Sacrament, and that at the Beginning of the common Service, one came and told her that she must come to the Queen, who answer'd, that she would come when the Service was ended; afterwards she being at the Altar, another came and told her the Queen was in Travail, upon which she went, which must be near nine a-clock at least, and was told by the Queen that she thought she was in Travail. All this while the Midwife was not there, neither did she come, as may be gathered from what passed, till near Half an Hour after Nine, about which time she came in at a Door on the dark Side of the Bed, which Bishop *Lloyd* supposes to be towards Mrs. *Grey's* Lodging, and there kneel'd down, the Queen being in Bed; after her comes *Delabady* the dry Nurse, and kneeling down by her, as she herself deposes, gave her some Clothes for the Queen, in which Clothes the Bishop suspects the Child newly brought from Mrs. *Grey* to have been; for soon after, pre-

cisely three Quarters after Nine, the Child was brought out of the Bed, not naked, but in loose Clothes, as the Depositions say, and being shew'd, appear'd to be a Boy. On that side of the Bed there were not above three or four Persons, all Confidants; but on the other side, the Curtains being open, several Persons stood; the Room was long, but one Window in it, four Doors, the Bed at the dark End, and the Feet towards the Window.

It is to be observ'd, that tho' several of the Deponents affirm that they saw her Majesty's Shift stain'd or stiffed with Milk, yet there was no mention of drawing her Breasts, nor of seeing the Milk run out of them after her Delivery; but in *February*, and without specifying the Day there is, which might be at the Time of her Miscarriage.

The King told the Privy Council that he was with the Queen all the while of her Travail; yet the Lord *M.* as I remember, swore that he was several times talking with them in the Drawing-Room. Note the time of the Travail from the coming of the Midwife could not be much more than a Quarter of an Hour.

Here again we must observe, that this was the first time that her Majesty was delivered in Bed, she being ever before deliver'd openly upon a Pallet-Bed; but then 'twas pretended not to have been air'd, and so not safe for her Majesty to make use of it. Note, as Dr. *Wallis* in a Letter to the Bishop of *Worcester*, dated *December* the 6th or 7th, 1701, which I myself read, observes, she was not removed into any other Bed after she was deliver'd, nor so much as to the other side of that, as any the meanest Woman must have been on Peril of her Life. Several Persons that saw the Child on *Sunday* said it was black in the Face, and they generally concluded that it could not live till the next Morning. It is supposed that this was occasion'd by its being kept so long without Air.

The next Day being *Monday* 'twas reported that the Prince was dead. On that Day the Countess of *Clarendon* went to the Tower to visit the Bishops, who ask'd her what News, and whether the Prince was dead; the Countess told them that she going that Day to the Lodgings, had the Door shut against her by a Page, of which she demanded the Reason, having Authority, as Lady of the Bed-Chamber, to command any Door to be open'd unto her; but the Page answer'd, he had done no more than what he had Command for: upon which, she order'd the Deputy Governess, the Lady *Strickland*, to be call'd, who came and open'd the Door a little, holding it, and told her that by the Queen's Command she must not be admitted in.

On *Tuesday* Mr. *Hemmings* the Apothecary came to his Lordship, then in the Tower, the Bishop enquired also what News; *Hemmings* said *the Prince is dead*. Bishop *Lloyd* ask'd him how he knew it; he answer'd, your Lordship knows that there is but a Lath Wall between me and Mr. *Brown*, Brother to the Lord *Montacute*, a zealous Papist; and I heard in the Night great Lamentation there, that the Prince was dead. On that Day several Persons came bringing the same News with like Lamentation; among which, one being ask'd how he knew it, said *he saw it*: But towards the Evening came a Popish Priest, and ask'd *why they cry'd, and made such ado*, and to comfort them told them the Prince was not dead.

Bishop *Lloyd* was told by a Lady, that saw the Child on *Sunday*, that the Make of its Face was fine and round, the Eyes black, and that she doubted

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doubted not but that the Hair would have been so; but coming to see it some time after, the Form was much chang'd, the Face long, the Eyes of a Hazel Blue, or Grey, and the Hair of a reddish Yellow, which she observing, put her Face very near it; infomuch, that the Lady *Strickland* spoke to her, and told her that she would hinder its breathing. The said Lady ask'd her how she lik'd it; she said not at all, for that she did believe it to be decaying, and that it would not live. she observing some Lines in its Face to be the same that had been in the Faces of two of her own, who both died; and this Lady added, that she would swear 'twas not the same Child which she saw on *Sunday*.

Bishop *Lloyd* ask'd the Lady of how the Queen's Milk was, who said, that she coming to her ask'd that Question, and that the Queen reply'd, *that whatever the Matter were, she had none that time*. The Bishop had the same Account from the Countess of *M.* since he came to *Worcester*.

Dr. *Chamberlain* the Man-Midwife, one of the Queen's Physicians, who had been with her at the Birth of all her other Children, but was not call'd at this time, as neither was Mrs. *Jackman* her old Midwife, being with the Bishop, his Lordship ask'd him how the Queen's Milk was wont to be at other times; the Doctor said it was her Disease, her Blood turning all to Milk, so that they could not dry it up with Plaisters and Powders, but with great Difficulty, being under Apprehensions of its throwing her into a Fever. Upon which the Bishop said, *But Doctor, what think you of a Friend of mine that has had a Child, and yet no Milk at all; to which Dr. Lower, who was also present, reply'd, then I will burn my Books*. After this the Child was carried to *Richmond* for Air, where it had a sort of an Issue made in its Neck on the 4th or 5th of *August*, being *Sunday*, and the Princess was at *Tunbridge* where Dr. *Wake* was to preach before her; but before they went to Church, a Messenger came from *Richmond*, bringing an Account that the Prince was dying, and that 'twas suppos'd he would be dead before the Messenger could come thither; upon which, her Highness forbore going to Church, but desired the Doctor to preach before her in her Lodgings in the Afternoon.

It was said by the Physicians, that they staid with it so long that they saw it dead upon the Bed; and it is further said that the Surgeon who made the Issue, and his Wife that assisted him, and, as I think, by holding the Child, looking afterwards on the living Child, found it had no such Issue.

Bishop *Lloyd* was also told by one *Cob* a Hat-Maker, that he was wont to sell Hats to a certain Popish Haberdasher who liv'd near *Somerset House*, and whom his Lordship named, who having given off the Trade, came for Monies that were owing him, at which time the Woman having a young Child in her Arms, bid *Cob* look upon it, and then went to the Window, bidding him to come and look well upon it, seeming to be under some Concern, and then she ask'd him whether he thought that would not have made as fine a Prince of Wales of, as any of the rest. Upon which her Husband coming in, ask'd what they were talking of; the Wife answer'd, that she was speaking to Mr. *Cob* to take Hats for Part of the Money; and *Cob* to cover the Matter, said he would take those again that were his own, but he would take no others: so the Husband was kept from knowing what the Discourse was. Bishop *Lloyd* spoke once of these Matters to the Bishop of *London*,

it being supposed that several Children were laid out for about this time, to be in readines. My Lord of *London* told him there was one, which his Lordship of *St. Asaph*, afterwards of *Worcester*, knew not of, but might inform himself from the Wife of a certain Bricklayer that work'd at *St. Paul's*, who was the best Workman there, and a very honest Man, but the Bishops had forgot his Name. So Dr. *Lloyd* meeting with the Deputy Surveyor, ask'd who was the best Workman about *St. Paul's*, who told him such a one, naming him, and said he believ'd him to be the best Workman in *England*, and a very honest religious Man.

The Bishop ask'd him whether he might speak with the Man's Wife, and the Deputy told him he should, and that she should come to him, which accordingly she did, and gave him this Account of the Matter, that she being with Child, and near her time, nor long before *Whitsuntide* there came to her one day, as she was alone in the Shop, she living with her Father and Mother in *King's-street*, a busy intriguing Popish Woman that liv'd thereabouts, and ask'd her whether she would part with her Child, saying she would help her to a Place for it. To which she reply'd, that they were well enough able to breed up their Children, and therefore she desir'd no such thing; upon which the Gossip said she would help her to 1000*l.* for her Child, and that he should be bred up like a King. Her Mother over-hearing the Discourse came forth in some Passion, and said, *What will you have my Daughter's Child from her, Children are God's Blessings, and she shall not part with it for 100,000*l.** upon which the Gossip hastened away with great Speed. Her Father, who was sitting at the Door smoking a Pipe, hearing his Wife in a Passion, came in and ask'd *what the matter was?* who being told the Business, said they were certainly seeking for a Prince of Wales.

Bishop *Lloyd* gave us the sight of two Letters he receiv'd from Dr. *Wallis*, the one dated *November* the 19th, the other *December* the 6th, 1701. In the first of which the Doctor gives account of a Messenger that came to *Oxon*, and from thence to a Place in the Country, bringing him a Letter for the Earl of then Secretary of State, in which Letter there was an inclosed Paper somewhat sullied, written in Cyphers; the Earl desir'd the Doctor to decypher it, and to return it by the same Messenger, if it might be done in a short time, or by another, if it requir'd a longer time, who should be well paid if the Contents of it were of Concern. The Letter was taken in a Trunk among other Papers in *Pater-noster-Row*, and was mark'd in the Margin N^o 4. and had several Names and Marks of Names on the Side, supposed to be Witnesses at the opening the Trunk; the Superscription was to Mr. *Labadie*; I saw it in the Doctor's Letter as in Cyphers 'twas written, with the Doctor's Key for opening it, as 'twas decypher'd by him. The Doctor adds, that he shew'd the Copy of the Letter to the then Archbishop *Tillotson*, who did not appear to look upon it as being strange to him, but said, *that they did not want for Evidence, if 'twere thought fit to make it publick*.

His Lordship talking with Dr. *Turner* Bishop of *Ely* about these Matters in the time of his Suspension, the said Bishop told him, *that all was to no purpose, for he should never take the Oaths whilst King James was living, but when he should be once dead, he would take them*. After King *James* was dead, the Bishop met with Dr. *Windebanke* an old Acquaintance of his, Uncle to Bishop *Turner*: The Doctor said to him,

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A. D. 1688. now if my Nephew the Bishop of *Ely* were living he would take the Oaths; for which the Bishop said Dr. *Hicks* was angry with Dr. *Windebank*, as slandering the Bishop when he was dead.

there came to see the Gentlewoman where she was, being with Child, Mrs. *Jackman* the Midwife, to whom Mrs. *Mills* said, it would be brave for her to be Midwife to the Queen, she having been so for all her Children; to whom the Midwife reply'd, that were it not for the Money, she had rather be Midwife to a meaner Person, the Business being usually very offensive, and she added that tho' she did not doubt but that she might conceive, yet she did believe she could not bring any to live: which agrees with what Dr. *Walgrave* told Dr. *Windebank*, that for a Reason that he knew, there would be no Child to live; with which Dr. *Windebank* charg'd him in *St. James's Park* at the time before mentioned; however Mrs. *Jackman* was not call'd at the time, as neither was Dr. *Chamberlaine*, which as the Bishop observes was for this good Reason, because there was no need of him. The same Gentlewoman told me, that being since in *London*, there came into the House where she was, one Mr. *Major*, a Gentleman of 6 or 700 l. per ann. living in *Southwark*, of whom the Gentlewoman of the House desir'd that he would tell her what he had observ'd of the Prince of *Wales*, who told her this Story, that he had a Daughter married against his Will to a Courtier and a Papist, who was proffer'd a Roker's Place, whom he frequently visited, and he was wont to observe that there was not that Attendance about the Prince as might have been expected, of which he spake to his Daughter, who told him that 'twas thought to be better for the Child's Health. But once coming after some time of absence, he observ'd a great Change, and challeng'd his Daughter upon it, who begg'd him upon his Life not to mention such a Thing; but yet by some means it got some light, and he was brought upon Examination, but no Evidence appearing, he came off.

The Subject of the before mention'd Letter to *Delabadie*, is to this Effect, and in these Words, as near as I remember.

My Dear,

I Am extremely solicitous to think how her Majesty will behave herself in this hazardous Undertaking, but I have hope, that by reason of the Ingenuity of her Country she will go through with it; Lord! what a happy thing it would be if we could get a Successor to our King that would restore the Worship of our Forefathers, which can never be but this way. I think it would be well if those Hereticks could be removed from her. Adieu, my Dear, pray do not fail to write to me, and in the same hand.

I find I was mistaken in saying, there is no mention made in the Depositions of Milk running out of the Queen's Breaſt, several of them making mention of it; but it is to be observed, that none of them say 'twas after the time of the pretended Delivery: but one says she saw it in *February*, and others say they saw it without fixing any time, which the Bishop says might well be about the time of her Miscarriage.

But had they affirm'd it to have been after the pretended Birth, they had contradicted the Queen, who had declar'd to the Countess of *Clarendon*, (his Lordship no more doubts of the Countess of *Clarendon's* Salvation than of any Person's not recorded in Scripture,) a most religious Person, and to the Countess of *M.* &c. that she had none. Bishop *Lloyd* observes, that they had at that time no Apprehensions of the Business ever being brought into question, there being then a great Standing Army, a Fleet bigger than that of the *Dutch*, and the *French King* to back them, and so the Queen was willing to save herself the trouble of plastering and physicking, &c. which she must have endur'd under pretence of drying up her Milk had she pretended to have any, it being a Work (as Dr. *Chamberlaine* affirmed) to be done with great difficulty, and not under a Month or six Weeks time.

But when the Prince's Declaration came over, questioning the matter and giving notice that he would have it clear'd in Parliament, then Depositions must be made, and some Appearance of Milk must be provided; I was told before *Easter* last by a Gentlewoman who abode at *Richmond* the last Summer, (as I believe she might several others before) that the Gentry there say the Child certainly died, and they believe it to be buried at *Chiswick*; that 'twas said there, the Child being sick the King came to see it by *Waller*, and sent in the Lord *Feverſham* to see whether 'twere living, saying if it were dead he would not go in, and that the Lord brought him word again that 'twas alive, but there was no hope. The same Gentlewoman said, that she was told by one that was present in the Room when the Servants came crying out, and saying the Prince is dead, yet the next Morning it appeared very well, and a strong lively Child; which agrees with what a Gentlewoman told the Bishop of *Worcester*, that she was to see the Child whilst it was ill, when it was poor and weakly; and that having been away about a Week, she coming to see it again, found it to be strangely altered, and that she told them she could not have thought it possible for them to have so improv'd the Child in that time.

I was told by another Gentlewoman, that being at *London* when King *James* was crowned,

I was also told by another Gentlewoman, that she conceiv'd the Queen Dowager did not believe it to be a true Birth, for that being well acquainted with the Master of her Wardrobe, a *Welsh Man* and a Protestant, she ask'd him what his Mistress thought of it, and he said Queen Dowager told them, that coming into the Room after the Business was over, there was shew'd her a Child newly born, but she did not seem to be of Opinion that 'twas born of the Queen's Body.

Here the Letter ends that contain'd Bishop *Lloyd's* Information.

The Princess *Anne*, then at *Tunbridge*, hearing the Prince of *Wales* was dangerously ill, sent Col. *Sands* her Gentleman Usher to Court with a Compliment to know how he did. The Duke of *Beaufort* was the Lord of the Bedchamber in waiting, and the Colonel met him as he was coming up the great Stair-Cafe. As soon as the Duke saw him, he cry'd, *Is it you, Sands?* Yes, my Lord, reply'd the Colonel; I am sent by the Princess and the Prince to know how the young Prince does, and desire your Grace to introduce me to the King as soon as can be conveniently. The Duke went away in order to it, and Col. *Sands* going forwards, came into a Room, where he saw a Child dead in a Cradle, and *Labadie* weeping by it, her Hood over her Face, it had a long pale Visage full of Pustles like the small Pox. *Sands* held his Head down, and try'd to find if it breath'd or not, but saw it was dead. He hasten'd to his Audience, and the King having heard his Message, inquired of the Prince and Princess of *Denmark's* Health. After which he ask'd him, if he had seen the Child. Col. *Sands* apprehending that it was intended he should be thought alive, and that there was Danger in saying otherwise, said, No Sir, I was in the Room,

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Another corroborating Circumstance.

A. D. 1688. *but I did not see the Prince.* The King said, *Then you shall see him presently.* But he was

before that introduc'd to the Queen, who in an extraordinary manner came forth as far as the Stair-case, her Eyes swollen and red with weeping, and he made her the same Compliment as he had done the King from their Royal Highnesses. Then a Table was laid, and several Officers, most of them *Irish*, attended with a Design to drink him to a pitch, as was very plain by their toasting Bumpers; which he avoided, under pretence that he was to return to *Tunbridge* that Day, and drinking would disorder him, he should not be able to perform the Journey. Having refresh'd himself, he was shewn the Prince, the Marchioness of *Povis* on one side of him, and Mrs. *Labadie* on the other. He was a lusty Boy, playing with the Fringe of the Curtain in full Health, plump visag'd, and to appearance several Months old. As soon as Colonel *Sands* had a convenient Place, he wrote it down all; and riding Post back to *Tunbridge*, arriv'd there so tir'd, that he could not relate the Facts at large, but deliver'd it in Writing to the Princess; who having read it, cry'd, *Good God! Is it possible?* Some Years after, when she was Queen, she shew'd the Paper to Dr. *Lloyd* Bishop of *Worcester*, telling him, *She would send for Sands to confirm it.* The Bishop told her *he knew* him, and would speak with him about it. A few Days after he met the Colonel in *St. James's Court*; and the Bishop taking him aside, had the Matter repeated and circumstantiated to him. The Queen, in the latter part of her Reign, grew out of humour with this Story, and look'd coldly on the Colonel for telling it, tho' he had always, till then, been in her good Graces. This, with other Circumstances forgotten by me, I had from Colonel *Sands*, in Presence of a very worthy Gentleman now living. The Colonel told this frequently, and there are many Persons of Note who can bear witness to it. Bishop *Lloyd* had not spoken with Colonel *Sands* when he gave my Friend the foregoing Account of the Imposture.

As there is no where so full and so clear an Account of it, we must endeavour to remove an Objection or two that may be made to it.

The first is, as to the Information from *Bath*, That the Queen was not with child when she left that Place, which does not agree with her miscarrying at *Easter*. It must be observ'd, that she might have conceiv'd afterwards, and have had the Miscarriage at *Easter*. And the Princess *Anne* did not think the Queen was with Child at all, till she had heard the Account we have given of it after Bishop *Lloyd*.

In the next place, if she had really been with Child, she might, as usual, have safely discover'd it to the Princess: But she, and all her Confidants might, even in such case, have been apprehensive of the Miscarriage: And being resolv'd, at all adventures, that there should be a Child, and a Son, the Princess was not admitted to her former Privacies, to prevent her discovering the Cheat, if she should miscarry, and they should be oblig'd to put a sham Prince upon the Nation.

The King was well advis'd by some of his true Friends, to take hold of the pretended Delivery of the Queen, for an occasion of granting a general Pardon to celebrate the Joy of the Birth, in which Pardon the Bishops would be included, and that Matter well over; but he was inflexible, saying, *My Authority will be-*

come contemptible, if I suffer such an Affront to pass unpunish'd. *A. D.* 1688.

A Week after their Commitment, June 15th, the Bishops were brought up on a *Habeas Corpus* to the *King's-Bench Bar*, where their Counsel offer'd to make it appear to be an illegal Commitment, but the Court allow'd it good in Law. They were requir'd to enter into Bonds for small Sums, the Archbishop 200 l. and other Bishops 100 l. each, to answer the Information that Day fortnight. Then they were discharg'd of their Imprisonment, and People of all sorts ran to visit them as Confessors, one Company going in as another went out. The Appearance in *Westminster-Hall* was very solemn, all the Streets were full of Shoutings the rest of the Day, and with Bonfires at Night.

When the fix'd Day for their Trial came, there was a vast Concourse in *Westminster-Hall*, and all the Places about were full of People, who were strangely affected with the Matter.

Present at the Bishops Trial.

Sir Robert Wright, Lord Chief Justice.
Mr. Justice Holloway.
Mr. Justice Poxxell.
Mr. Justice Allibone, a Papist.

Counsel against them.	Counsel for them.
Sir Thomas Powis, Attorney-General.	Sir Robert Sawyer.
Sir William Williams, Solicitor-General.	Heneage Finch Esq;
Sir Barth. Shower, Recorder of London.	Sir Francis Pemberton.
Serjeant Baldock.	Henry Pollexfen Esq;
Serjeant Trinder.	Sir George Treby.
	John Semers Esq;

Jury.

Sir Roger Langley Bart.	Thomas Harriot Esq;
Sir William Hill.	Jeff. Nightingale Esq;
Roger Jennings Esq;	William Wubers Esq;
William Avery Esq;	Mich. Arnold Esq;
Thomas Austin Esq;	Tho. Done Esq;
Nicholas Price Esq;	Richard Shoreditch Esq;

Peers Present.

Marquiss of Halifax.	Earl of Clarendon.
Marquiss of Worcester.	Earl of Danby.
Earl of Shrewsbury.	Earl of Sussex.
Earl of Kent.	Earl of Radnor.
Earl of Bedford.	Earl of Nottingham.
Earl of Pembroke.	Earl of Abington.
Earl of Dorset.	Lord Visc. Falconbridge.
Earl of Bolingbroke.	Lord Visc. Newfort.
Earl of Manchester.	Lord Grey of Rutken.
Earl Rivers.	Lord Pagett.
Earl of Stamford.	Lord Chandos.
Earl of Caernarven.	Lord Vaughan Carbery.
Earl of Chesterfield.	Lord Lumley.
Earl of Scarsdale.	Lord Carteret.
Earl of Carlisle.	Lord Ossulston.
Earl of Burlington.	

This noble Appearance was owing to the indefatigable Care of the Clergy, especially Dr. *Jennison*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*. What follows, is copy'd from Bishop *Burnet's* History.

The Trial coming on, was chiefly manag'd against the Bishops by Sir *William Williams*, who had been Speaker to two successive Parliaments, and was a zealous Promoter of the *Exclusion*. He had continu'd many Years a bold Pleader in all Causes against the Court; but he was a corrupt and vicious Man, who had no Principles, and in all things follow'd his own Interests. *Sawyer* the Attorney-General, who had for many Years

The Bishops Trial.

A. D. 1688. Years serv'd the Ends of the Court in a most abject and obsequious Manner, would not support the Dispensing Power; so he was turn'd out, and *Powis* put in his Place. He acted his Part in this Trial as fairly as his Post could admit of. But *Williams* the Solicitor-General took very indecent Liberties, and had great Advantages over *Sawyer* and *Finch*, who were among the Bishops Counsel, by reflecting on the Precedents and Proceedings during their being the King's Counsel. There was no sufficient Proof that the Bishops Hands were truly theirs, and the King's Counsel were forc'd to have recourse to the Confession they had made, at the Council-Board; which was thought very dishonourable since they had made that Confession in confidence, trusting to the King's Honour. Their publishing it was not prov'd, which was the main Point. Their presenting it to the King, and afterwards their owning it to be their Petition, when it was put to them at the Council-Board, was all that the King's Counsel could offer for proof of this, and which was such an apparent Strain, that even those Judges who were the surest to the Court did not seem to be satisfy'd: It was much argu'd against them, that this Petition was a *Libel*, tending to the defaming the King's Government. To this it was answer'd, That they, having receiv'd an Order, to which they found they could not give Obedience, thought it was incumbent on them as Bishops and as Subjects, to lay before the King their Reasons for it. All Subjects had a Right to petition the King. They as Peers were of his Great Council, and so had yet a better Claim to that, especially in Matters of Religion; for the Act of Uniformity in Queen *Elizabeth's* time had requir'd them, under a Curse, to look carefully after those Matters. The Dispensing Power had been often brought into debate in Parliament, and was always voted to be against Law; and the late King had yielded the Point, by recalling his *Declaration*. Thus they thought they had a Right to represent these things to the King. Occasion was often taken to reflect on the Dispensing Power. The King's Counsel said in answer to this, That the Votes of one or both Houses were not Laws, till they were enacted by King and Parliament; and the late King's passing once from a Point of his Prerogative, did not give it up, but only wav'd it for that time. They urg'd much the Sacredness of the King's Authority, that a Paper might be true in fact, and yet be a *Libel*; as good Nonsense as one could expect from the Jargon of *Chicane*. That in Parliament the two Houses had a Right to petition, but it was Sedition to do it in a Point of Government out of Parliament.

The Trial lasted above ten Hours, the Croud continuing all the while in expectation, and expressing so great a Concern for the Bishops, that the Witnesses who were brought against them were not only treated with much Scorn and loud Laughter on every occasion, but were in such danger, that they escap'd narrowly, going away by a back Passage. Two of the Judges, *Powell* and *Holloway*, deliver'd their Opinions, that there was no seditious Matter in the Petition; and that it was no *Libel*. *Wright* the Chief Justice call'd it a *Libel*, but did not think the Publication was prov'd. *Allibone* said it was a *Libel*, but in giving his Opinion made such a *Blunder*, that little heed was given to any thing he said afterwards. The Jury were all along very well satisfy'd of the Bishops Innocence, and were soon agreed to acquit them; but it was thought to be the more solemn and the safer

Way, to continue shut up till the Morning. The King still flatter'd himself with the Hope that the Bishops would be brought in *Guilty*. He went that Morning to the Camp, for the ill Humour the Soldiers had appear'd in the Day before on news of the Bishops Trial, made him think it necessary to go and keep them in *Awe* and *Order* by his own Presence.

The Court sat the next day, and then the Bishops acquitted. The Jury came in with their Verdict *Not guilty*. Upon which the Marquis of *Hallifax* waving his Hat over his Head, cry'd *Huzzah!* The Lords and Gentlemen took the shout from him. It in *Great Rejoicings* an instant fill'd the whole Hall with the loudest Acclamations of Joy, which were immediately taken again by the Crouds waiting in *Palace-Yard* and in *Westminster*: from whence, like a Roll and Roar of Thunder, it was carry'd in and thro' the City of *London*, and spread over the Parts adjacent, and as fast as it could fly, over the whole Kingdom. Every Man seem'd transported; and notwithstanding the King dispatch'd an Order to the Lord Mayor to hinder Bonfires, and the Constables were every where out to execute it; yet several Bonfires were made, and many Illuminations of seven Candles, the longest in the middle to represent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the six Bishops, then term'd the *seven Golden Candlesticks*. Sir *William Williams* was much offended with the Shoutings in *Westminster-Hall*, where, during the Trial, he had been several times hiss'd. He mov'd, that such as shouted should be seiz'd, as was a Gentleman of *Gray's-Inn*, to whom the Chief Justice said, *Sir, I am as glad as you can be that my Lords the Bishops are acquitted; but your manner of rejoicing here is indecent, you might rejoice at your Chamber or elsewhere, and not here.* With this Reproof he was discharg'd. When the Soldiers heard at the Camp on *Hounslow-Heath* that the Bishops were acquitted, there was such an universal Shout, that it startled the King then at an Entertainment in the Earl of *Feversham's* Tent, whom he sent out to know what was the matter. *Feversham* coming back, told the King, *It was nothing but the Soldiers shouted upon the News of the Bishops being acquitted.* The King stamp'd his Foot on the Ground, and said, *Do you call that nothing? But so much the worse for them.* 'Tis generally thought the King meant so much the worse for the Soldiers, whom he would cashier as he could fill their Places with *Irishmen* and *Papists*: But I read in a *French* Author that he spoke it of the Bishops, *Tant pis pour eux*, so much the worse for them. His Presence kept the Army in some Order, but he was no sooner gone out of the Camp, than he was follow'd with a loud and general Shout, as if it had been a Victory obtain'd. He began now to be afraid he should not be able to get a Parliament to answer his Ends, and that he should be oblig'd to make use of open Force. In order to this, he thought *The King* fit to propose the taking off the Penal Laws and *tries the* Test to all the Regiments one by one. A *Army a-* Writing was drawn up for them to subscribe, where *about the* by they engag'd themselves to contribute, as far *Penal* as in them lay, towards the Repeal of the *Laws and* *Test.* *Penal* and *Test.* He began with the Earl of *Litchfield's* Regiment, the Major of which was order'd to open his Majesty's Desire to that Battalion, and command all such as would not instantly comply with it, *to lay down their Arms.* And he was not a little surpriz'd, when he found that except two Captains, and four or five *Papish* Soldiers, the whole Regiment obey'd the latter part of his Command. The King remain'd speechless for a while, and having recover'd

A. D.
1688.Lieutenant
Colonel
Beaumont
and his Of-
ficers will
not admit
the Irish
in their
Regiment.

ver'd himself of his Astonishment, he commanded them to take their Arms; adding, with a discontented fullen Look, *I for the future will not do you the Honour to ask your Advice.* And from that time he made all the haste he could to model the Army, by cashiering both Protestant Officers and Soldiers, sending for others over from Ireland, to incorporate them in the English Regiments. Several of the latter were put into the Duke of Berwick's Regiment at Portsmouth. The Lieutenant Colonel John Beaumont Esq; and five Captains remonstrated to the Duke, *That they did not think it consistent with their Honour to have Foreigners impos'd upon them, without being complain'd of, that their Companies were weak, or Orders had been sent to recruit them, not doubting if such Orders had been given, that what first in very ill Times rais'd them Hundreds, could easily now have made them according to the King's Complement; therefore they humbly petition'd, that they might have leave to fill up their Companies with such Men of this Nation, as they should judge most suitable for the King's Service, and to support their Honours, or otherwise that they might be permitted with all imaginable Duty and Respect to lay down their Commissions.* These Officers rais'd their Companies at their own Charge in the Time of Mounmouth's Expedition. The King being inform'd of it, immediately order'd Lieutenant Colonel Beaumont, Captain Paston, Captain Pack, and three other Captains to be taken into Custody, and a Court Martial was appointed to try them for their Lives as Mutineers, and no doubt he would have put them to death, if the News from abroad had not somewhat moderated his Counsels, for he could not but see by the very Respect that was paid, not only to the seven Bishops, but to the six Captains, whose Pictures hung up in almost every House, that the Measures he had been taking were bringing him into the utmost Peril, and that it was high Time for him, who had been upon the Gallop ever since his Accession to the Throne, to think of a more gentle Pace; yet he could not help shewing his Resentment against Judge Powell, and Judge Holloway, whom he discarded, and made Sergeant Baldoock, one of the Counsel against the Bishops, a Justice of the King's Bench. He was under such Infatuation, that even after the Acquittal of the Bishops, he permitted the Tools of the Ecclesiastical Commission to do the Work of the Papists, by proceeding violently against the Protestant Clergy, who had not read the Declaration. Citations were sent out, requiring the Chancellors and Archdeacons to send in the Lists of all the Clergy, as well those that had obey'd, as those that had not. Some of the latter were now so much animated with the Sense the Nation had express'd of the Bishops Imprisonment and Trial, that they declar'd they would not obey the Order, and others excus'd themselves in softer Terms. When the Day came to which they were cited, August the 16th, the Bishop of Rochester, tho' he himself had obey'd the Order, and had hitherto gone along sitting with the other Commissioners, but had always voted on the milder side; yet now, when he saw Matters were running so fast to the Ruin of the Church, he not only would sit no more with them, but wrote a Letter to them, in which he said it was impossible for him to go on with them any longer, for tho' he himself had obey'd the Order of Council, which he protested he did, because he thought he was bound in Conscience to do it; yet he did not doubt but that those who had not obey'd it had gone upon the same Principle of following their Conscience,

The Clergy
still prose-
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Rochester
leaves the
Ecclesiasti-
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missioners.

and he would much rather chuse to suffer with them, than to concur in making them suffer. This stop'd Proceedings for that Time, and put the Court to a Stand; so they adjourn'd themselves, and never sat more.

It was apparent to those that were least clear-sighted, that the whole Constitution of England was subverted; and that the Administration was in all its Branches arbitrary and illegal. The King assum'd to himself a Power to make Laws void, and to qualify Men for Employments, whom the Law had put under such Incapacities; that all they did was null and void. The Sheriffs and Mayors of Towns were no legal Officers. Judges, one of them being a profess'd Papist, who took not the Test, were no Judges. Thus was the Government broken. A Parliament return'd by such Men was no legal Parliament. All this was done by virtue of the dispensing Power, which chang'd the whole Frame of our Constitution, and subjected all the Laws to the King's Pleasure; for upon the same Pretence of that Power, other Declarations might have come out, voiding any other Laws which the Court found stood in their way, since we had scarce any Law that was fortify'd with such Clauses to force the Execution of it, as those that were laid aside had in them. And when the King pretended this was such a sacred Point of Government, that a Petition offer'd in the modestest Terms, and in the humblest manner possible, calling it in question, was made so great a Crime, and carried so far against Men of such Eminence, it was plain the Destruction of the Constitution was total, avowedly begun, and violently prosecuted; and according to the Principles of the highest Asserters of Submission and Obedience, it was now lawful for the Nation to look to itself, and see to its own Preservation. Wherefore as soon as Men were convinc'd this was lawful, there remain'd nothing but to look to the Prince of Orange, who was the only Person that either could save them, or had a Right to it. Since by all the Laws in the World, even private as well as publick, he who has in him the Reversion of any Estate has a Right to hinder the Possessor, if he goes about to destroy that which is to come to him after the Possessor's Death. Let us here turn to the learned *Acherley*: "King James had parted with the last Parliament in Indignation, and had exercis'd a Government so arbitrary and unwarrantable, that every one concluded he never intended to assemble another until he could force the Elections. The Lords and Commons therefore, in order to disturb his arbitrary Administration, sent a grand Invitation to the Prince of Orange, a Prince of the Royal Family, incomparably qualify'd, and equally great in the Field and in the Cabinet, requesting him as their Captain to come and attempt their Deliverance, and to compel the assembling a free Parliament: At the same time those Inviters solicited the States of Holland to furnish the Prince with a Fleet and Army suitable to the Undertaking, promising not only to reimburse the Charges, but to make Returns suitable to the Kindness, if their State should ever want the like Assistance." "Happy it was for Britain, that Holland at this time was under terrible Apprehensions of Invasion from France by Land, and from England by Sea, in Execution of the secret League between the two Kings, which made the Dutch readily embrace the Invitation, to extricate and wrest Britain from the French Alliance." And it is to be remember'd that the Bishops, according to the Prince's Decla-

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A. D. 1688. tion being among those Inviters, they did the same thing that was done in 1640 with respect to the Scots, and one cannot condemn the English, who invited the Scots into England, without involving the Bishops, who invited the Dutch, in the same Crime, if it was one, which I am far from asserting. Not long before this Noise and Clamour upon the Bishops Trial, and the Attempt to entail Popery and Slavery upon us by securing a Popish Successor, Mr. Russel, afterwards Earl of Orford, went to Holland at the Desire of many of great Power and Interest in England, to speak very freely to the Prince, and know positively of him what might be expected from him. Mr. Russel had much Discourse with his Highness on the Situation of Affairs, the Danger Religion and Liberty were in, and the Hopes People had of his interposing effectually to prevent it. The Prince answer'd at last, that if he was invited by some Men of the best Interest, and the most valued in the Nation, who should both in their own Name, and in the Name of others who trusted them, invite him to come and rescue them, he believ'd he could be ready by the End of September to come over; which acceptable News Mr. Russel carry'd to England, and return'd soon after with an Invitation in Form from a great Number of Lords and Gentlemen, and some, but not many, Bishops.

More Steps towards the Revolution.

Orleans says, all the seven Bishops invited him. He had the important Letter made up in the Heel of one of his Shoes, and Mr. Zuysestein, whom the Prince had sent to England to congratulate the Birth of the Pretender, when he return'd to Holland, confirming and corroborating all the Information Mr. Russel had given him, he was fully fix'd in his Purpose, and set himself with great Application to prepare for the intended Expedition, in which he was very much encourag'd by the Accounts he receiv'd of the Hatred the Soldiers and Seamen daily express'd against the Papists: The latter had shewn it in a particular Manner, by threatening to throw some Priests over-board, whom Sir Roger Strickland had brought to the Fleet to say Mass.

It has been hinted, that the English apply'd to the States-General as well as to the Prince of Orange, and it is confirm'd by what is said of it in a Treatise written by John Hampden Esq;

Mr. John Hampden's Account of the Applications to the States and the Prince of Orange.

"The deplorable State of things awaken'd the Minds of those of our Nobility and Gentry, who had any thing remaining in them of the English Liberty, and Impatience of Slavery, which has so often rescu'd the Nation from the Brink of Ruin. They saw to what the Necessity of Self-Defence oblig'd them, and resolv'd to shake off the Yoke they could not bear. In order to this, many of them apply'd to some principal Members of the States General of the United Provinces, and to the Prince of Orange their Stadtholder and Captain General, representing to them how nearly they were concern'd in what then past in England, which was but one Branch of the Designs driven on by the French King and his Adherents, for enslaving all Europe, and rooting out what they call'd the Northern Heresy, both Name and Thing. They shew'd them, that if they suffer'd the Conspiracy of our common Enemies to go on any further, they would infallibly be involv'd in our Ruin, and that very speedily, and must necessarily fall under the French Yoke, of which they had felt the Weight in the Years 1672 and 1673; and had lately heard more of it from those great Numbers of French Protestants, who had taken Refuge in their Country. They put them in mind of what had heretofore been done for their Re-

publick by the English Nation, when they had newly cast off the Spanish Tyranny, and were fore'd to implore the Succour of their Neighbours, against a Power which then carry'd on the same Designs, and much by the same Methods, which we have seen copy'd from them by the French in our Time. They convinc'd them that all Reasons of Gratitude, Humanity, Policy, and Christianity concurr'd to incline them to the Request of the English, and put a helping Hand for opposing a Bank to that Torrent, which otherwise would overflow all Christendom. Neither was this Business of a nature to admit Delay; they prov'd to them by unanswerable Reasons, that if they slipt the present Opportunity, by the French King's drawing his Forces to the Upper Rhine, to begin the War by the Siege of Philipsburgh, it would in all probability be too late to attempt any thing hereafter: The two Kings hoping by their joint Counsels and Powers in a short time to put both the Dutch and English out of a Capacity to dispute their Pleasure."

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The French King, at the same time that he attack'd Philipsburgh, had gone a great way to secure Cologne to himself, by means of Cardinal Furstemberg, whom his Money had corrupted so far as to betray his native Country Germany to France; and having by the same Money got a Majority to chuse him Elector of Cologne, he was to have put that City and Country into the French King's hands, who would by that means have had a Passage open to fall on the Spanish Netherlands, and the United Provinces at his pleasure. The Pope would not confirm the Election of Furstemberg, and the Confederates got Prince Clement of Bavaria chosen Bishop, by a sufficient Number of Voices to procure the Pope's Confirmation: But to support this Election against France, 'twas necessary for the Allies to make warlike Preparations; and it furnish'd the Prince of Orange with so good a Blind for his, that neither the King of England, nor the King of France had any Jealousy of their being design'd against England, till the Operations of the Campaign on the side of Germany were concluded upon, which left the Prince at liberty to pursue his intended Expedition for the Deliverance of the English.

The Elector of Brandenburg came heartily into the Design, as soon as it was communicated to him, so did Dankleman his chief Minister and Favourite, who had great Influence over him.

The Disposition of foreign Princes towards the Enterprize.

The Emperor of Germany, and even the Pope approv'd of it, as the only Means to hinder the King of England's putting his whole Weight into the French King's Scale, and utterly destroying the Ballance, which in good Policy and Interest he ought to have maintain'd.

The King of Sweden fell generously in with it, and offer'd to supply the States with any Number of Troops which they should send to England with the Prince.

The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Lunenburgh-Zell, who had a particular Regard and Affection for the Prince of Orange, made the like Offers; and several other German Princes, as well Papists as Protestants, had the Design communicated to them, and not only gave it their Approbation, but promis'd their Assistance, by pursuing those Measures on the Continent, which would be most favourable to it.

In the mean time several Lords and Gentlemen went forwards and backwards to and from Holland under various Pretexs, and the Court of England was so exalted with the Hopes of a Popish Successor, that they did not much concern

A. D. 1688. cern themselves about Foreign Affairs, but remain'd in great Security till they were in the Extremity of Danger.

Carry'd on I have mention'd Mr. *Ruffel's* coming to Eng-
in London. land for the Invitation in Form; besides him the Lord *M*— came privately over with Instructions to feel the Pulse of the principal Citizens of *London*; and he had several Meetings with them in the House of one of the *Houblons*, from whom he receiv'd all the Assurances that were desir'd of them. And I remember very well that after one of those Meetings I was at Dinner with two Aldermen, Sir *F. B.* and Sir *F. F.* when much Discourse was of a speedy Deliverance; and the former being going to *Tunbridge* in *August*, told the latter, he hop'd they should have the good News by the Time he came back again. I was too young to give them any Caution as to my hearing them, and had it explain'd to me after the Revolution.

About the same time one *Joseph Flight*, afterwards a Tobacconist near the *Royal Exchange*, brought over near Fourscore Letters to as many of the prime Nobility and Gentry; he mention'd to me the Earl of *Devonshire* in particular, that Lord being very open with him, and delivering him some Advices by word of Mouth, he carry'd back Answers with great Dispatch and Safety.

And in The Prince prevail'd with the States to provide a Fund for 9000 Seamen, and order'd a select Body of Troops to rendezvous near *Nimeguen*, not far from the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Camp, who had march'd his Army thither, to act in conjunction with the Confederates, alarm'd by the *Dauphin's* Hostilities in *Germany*.

The Prince's frequent Journeys to the Army had given Umbrage to the Count *d'Avaux* and Marquis *d'Albeville*, Ambassadors of *England* and *France* at the *Hague*; especially when there was an Interview between the Prince and the Marquis *de Casta naga* Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands* on the Frontier, wherein Matters were concerted for the Defence of those Provinces in the Prince's absence. His Highness's Friends gave out it was about some Affairs depending between the Prince and the Count *de Solme*, concerning certain Lands in the Dependence of *Conde*, *France* having undertaken the Protection of that Count. This was in *August*, and tho' the Marquis *d'Albeville* went to *London* about that time, so secret were the Prince of *Orange's* Counsels, that King *James* had then no manner of Notice of his Highness's Intentions. The whole Expedition was manag'd with so much Secrecy and Caution, as fully confirm'd the Character which common Justice extorted from the Mouth of his implacable Enemy, the *French King*, who said of him, that he was, *Le meilleur Homme de Cabinet en l'Europe, The greatest Man for Counsel in Europe.*

The Prince having detach'd from his and the *Brandenburg* Camp, what Forces he thought necessary, the King of *Sweden* furnish'd the *Dutch* with a Body of Troops equivalent to those his Highness had order'd to march nearer the Coasts, to be ready for Embarkation. The several Cities of *Holland* had provided their several Quota's of Ships, Men of War and Transports, pursuant to the Orders that had been sent them three Months before, which were executed with all possible Chearfulness and Dispatch. There was not a Man in *Holland*, Papists only excepted, who was heard to murmur at the Charge and Hazard of the Enterprize. Men, Women and Children lifted up their Prayers to Heaven for his Highness's Success, and the Deliverance of *England*.

A. D. 1688. Both the Prince and the States still kept up the Forms that are usual between Princes and Powers not in War. King *James* still continu'd to write Letters of Civility, till near the Time of the Expedition; and the King's Statesmen complain'd, that the Secret of a Business, which depended entirely upon Secrecy, was not communicated to them; tho' it would have shewn the Court at the *Hague* to be as ill Politicians as that at *Whitehall*, if they had given the latter an Opportunity to obstruct the Design by calling in *French Forces*.

We must leave the Conduct of this important Affair for a while, to see how it was become extremely necessary in the Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Nothing very remarkable happen'd in *Scotland*; from the Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience to the Revolution. The Proclamation having blunted the Edge of Persecution for a time, we shall content ourselves with a summary Relation of the Sufferings of the Protestants in *Scotland* under *Sharp*, and his Successors, made by one who had it from a Reverend Minister of the Church of *Scotland*. "That including the People who died in Prisons and Banishment, an Account was taken of above 18000, whose Blood their Persecutors have to account for; besides the Numbers, who at the Time of the Revolution were actually in Prisons, in the Isle of *Bass*, *Dunotter Castle*, *Blackness*, *Edinburgh*, and other Places, which were very great." But to continue it in the Words of one of the Sufferers: "To speak of the Numbers, we must do Justice to the Miracle of God's working, whereby the very Means us'd to extirpate us from the Face of the Earth, was by the wise Disposer of all things made to increase our Numbers; for that tho' they went on many Years imprisoning, banishing, and butchering our dear Brethren; yet all the Prisons they could fill with us, and all the Ships they could freight with us, and all the Gibbets they could hang us on, could never either exhaust or lessen our Number; but the more we were afflicted, the more we grew, and the Design to destroy us prov'd always ruinous to the Destroyers. When they had try'd all ways possible to root us out from the Earth, after they had hang'd, shot, tortur'd, and banish'd for Slaves all they could catch of us, they were further from their Purpose than when they began. Our Numbers were not diminish'd, our Meetings for Gospel Ordinances were not disappointed, but we enjoy'd the Administrations in their Purity and Power, with greater Certainty, and in larger Assemblies than ever, our Numbers encreasing more and more."

Which extremely exasperated their Persecutors, who, notwithstanding the Toleration, rag'd still against them, as in the Case of the Reverend Mr. *James Rensfrew*, whom the Prelatical Party in *Scotland* murder'd, even after the Prince of *Orange* was landed in *England*; and just at the same time did the *Scots* Prelates send a Letter to King *James*, wherein they say, *We magnify the Divine Mercy in blessing Your Majesty with a Son, and us with a Prince, whom we pray Heaven may bless and preserve to inherit with your Dominions, the Illustrious and Heroick Virtues of his august and most serene Parents. We are amaz'd to hear of the Danger of an Invasion from Holland, which excites our Prayers to God to give such Success to Your Majesty's Arms, that all who disturb the Peace of your Realms may be cloath'd with Shame; and that you may have the Hearts of your Subjects, and the Necks of your Enemies.* Sign'd by, The

A. D. 1688. The Archbishop of *St. Andrews*,
 Bishop of *Dunkeld*,
 Bishop of *Brechen*,
 The Archbishop of *Glasgow*,
 Bishop of *Orkney*,
 Bishop of *Murray*,
 Bishop of *Edinburgh*,
 Bishop of *Ross*,
 Bishop of *Galloway*,
 Bishop of *Dumblaine*,
 Bishop of *Aberdeen*,
 Bishop of the *Istes*.

" would often complain, that nothing could pass
 " at the Council-Board which concern'd the Pub-
 " lick, but their Country-men must first ask *Yague*,
 " *If that would not spoil his Potatoo-Garden.*"

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The great Barrier of the People's Liberties in *Ireland*, as well as *England*, was their Right to chuse their own Representatives in Parliament; which being once taken away, they became Slaves to the Will of the Prince. The Protestants of *Ireland* finding a Necessity of securing this Right in their own Hands, had procur'd many Corporations to be founded, and had built many corporate Towns at their own Charges: from all which, the *Roman Catholics* were by their Charters excluded. To break this Barrier, *Tyrconnel* began with the City of *Dublin*. In order to this, he had got a Letter from the King in the Lord *Clarendon's* time, to admit Papists to the Freedom of that City, and all other Corporations: Which the then Lord Mayor refus'd, but his Successor *Castleton* pass'd the *Irish* Freemen, and the Example was follow'd throughout the Kingdom. However, the Papists were so mean and beggarly in most of the trading Towns, that the Protestants still kept the Majority. Upon which, *Tyrconnel* resolv'd to call in the Charters by the King's Authority; and sending for the Lord Mayor, told him it was his Majesty's Pleasure, that the Charter of *Dublin* should be surrender'd into his hands. All Application to him being to no purpose, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council sent their Recorder *Sir Richard Rieves* to *London*, with a Petition to the King; to whom he was introduc'd by the Duke of *Ormond*, and deliver'd the Petition on his Knees; but the King had been so prepossess'd against it by *Tyrconnel*, that upon the first sight of *Sir Richard*, he ask'd him, *If he had the Lord Deputy's Leave to come with it*; adding, *I have those in Ireland that understand the Law better than yourself*, and so he turn'd from him. The Duke of *Ormond* told him frankly, he could do him no Service, so *Rieves* went back as he came. And the Charter of *Dublin* being dissolv'd by *Quo-Warranto*, there was no hope of saving any other Corporation, tho' there was not the least Shadow of Law for dissolving them. New Charters were granted to all the Corporations, with a Clause in every one of them, by which they were subjected to the Will and Pleasure of the King, and consequently were put into the power of the Chief Governor to turn out and put in whom he pleas'd, without shewing a Reason or formal Trial at Law.

This Letter, written at a time when the reverend Bishops and Clergy of *England* were deeply engag'd in the Design to defend their Religion, Laws and Liberties, which this King had so often and so tyrannically invaded and broken, gave universal Offence, and prepar'd the way for rooting out Prelacy and Persecution in *Scotland*, where, ever since the Reformation, they had always gone hand in hand. P. 288. The Author of the Memoirs of the Church of *Scotland* informs us, that Mr. *Renfrew* the Minister was put to death the 17th of *February*, the beginning of the Revolution Year, testifying that the Prelatical Party in *Scotland*, who were in such high Esteem with *Archdeacon E-chard*, never " abated or relented, were never " fatiated with Blood; but went on as long as " they had power, even till they saw the very " Cloud hovering, and the Storm ready to break " upon their Heads. Nor had their Thirst of " Blood been quench'd to this day, or as long " as there had been a faithful Member of the " Church of *Scotland* left alive, had their Power " lasted; so that it was the end of their Go- " vernment which put an end to their sangui- " nary Severities, and no Clemency, Pity, or " Compassion in them. No such things were so " much as nam'd among them." Mr. *Renfrew* before he was executed, made a very affecting Speech, in which was this remarkable Expression: *Do not fear that the Lord will cast off Scotland, for he will certainly return again, and shew himself gracious in our Land.* He added, *I leave my Testimony against all Profaneness, and every thing contrary to sound Doctrine. I leave my Testimony against all Usurpations made upon Christ's Rights, who is the Prince of the Kings of the Earth, who alone must bear the Glory of Ruling his own Kingdom the Church. And in particular, I leave my Testimony against the absolute Power usurp'd by this Usurper, that belongs to no Mortal, but is the incommunicable Prerogative of JEHOVAH, and against this Toleration flowing from that absolute Power.* Here he was bid have done, and the Executioner did his Work. Is there any great difficulty in distinguishing the Cause that ought to have been espous'd? That of the *Scots* Prelates, who in the midst of their Glory and Pride, bore their Testimony for that absolute Power; or that of the *Scots* Minister, who with his dying Breath, and when he was about to yield up his Spirit into the Hands of God who gave it, bore his Testimony against it.

Having formerly made mention of *Sheridan*, who was now become Prime Minister in *Ireland*, as far as *Tyrconnel* would let him, we must add something of both of them out of a Treatise State-entitled, *The secret Consults and Intrigues of the Romish Party in Ireland.* *Tyrconnel* having discover'd that *Sheridan* had a separate Purse in the Business of selling of Places, and being both Principal Secretary of State and first Commissioner of the Customs, had great Opportunities of doing it, was much disgusted; but much more, when he found out that many of those Bargains were made under pretence of the Persons being recommended by himself: For *Sheridan* overdoing of it, made one *Dickinson*, another Commissioner, write to the Lords of the Treasury against putting in unqualify'd Persons, which were recommended by *Tyrconnel* as he thought; and the Lords wrote back, that the Commissioners should take no notice of any such Recommendation, and Orders were sent to the Lord-Deputy not to intermeddle in the Revenue. *Tyrconnel* highly resenting it, and *Sheridan* from that time

State-Tracts. VOL. III. p. 646.

Ireland. We have mention'd the Alteration made in the Government of *Ireland* upon *Tyrconnel's* Advancement to it; and the Advances towards Tyranny and Popery were every day there more forward and direct. The Privy-Council of *Ireland* is a great Part of the Constitution, and has considerable Powers and Privileges annex'd to it. This was so model'd, that the Papists made the Majority; and those few that were Protestants, chose for the most part to decline appearing at the Board with such a sorry Company, since they could do those of their Religion no Service. A Gentleman then on the spot tells us, " Except *Rice*, *Daly* and " *Nagle*, there was not a Man of them that had " common Sense; insomuch that *Rice* and *Daly*

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time contriv'd to undermine him. His first Stratagem was, to prepossess the *Romish* Clergy against him; and to accomplish it, he contracts an intimate acquaintance with *Tyrconnel's* Chaplain, who most frequently officiated. The Priest pick'd up what he could of *Tyrconnel's* Contempt of the Mass and Prayers. One particular Charge was, that when the Army was in the Camp at the *Currah of Kildare*, the Deputy being at play in his Tent, his Chaplain came to know if his Excellency would go to Mass; he reply'd, *No, I will send one*, naming somebody by him, *to stand in my Place, and that will do as well.*

This and other such Sayings being put together, were transmitted to Father *Petre*, whose Niece *Sheridan* had marry'd, and his Zeal recommended him to the Favour not only of that Jesuit, but all the *Irish* Clergy, particularly the titular Primate of *Armagh*, who contracted an intimate Familiarity and Acquaintance with him; and in conjunction with the beforemention'd Priest, form'd Articles against *Tyrconnel*, which *Sheridan* was to carry to Court; but the Deputy deny'd him a Licence to go to *England*: upon which, *Sheridan* writes to a Cousin of his at *London* to take out a Licence from the King. *Tyrconnel* came to the Knowledge of it, and consulted with his two Confidants *Rice* and *Nagle*, what he might intend by it; and it was resolv'd, that another Priest belonging to the Deputy should get into the Confidence of *Sheridan* and the Chaplain: which he effected by speaking against *Tyrconnel*, and pretending to add Articles against him to their Information, he was let into the whole Secret of it; and a Charge being drawn up by *Sheridan* himself, was inclos'd in a Letter to his Cousin, under Covert with other Letters. The Priest having seen *Sheridan* do all this, gives notice of it immediately to *Rice* and *Nagle*, who with the Lord-Deputy consulted how to intercept the Packet, which was easily done. A Messenger was sent at twelve a'clock at night aboard the Boat for the Mail, which they open'd, took out *Sheridan's* Packet, open'd that also, and taking out the Letter with the Charge in it, sent the rest forward in the Mail.

Rice and *Nagle* advis'd *Tyrconnel* to write to Lord *Sunderland*, setting forth *Sheridan's* Briberies and other sinister Practices, without taking any notice of *Sheridan's* Contrivances against himself. Lord *Sunderland* acquainted Father *Petre* with it, and *Tyrconnel* not doubting but *Sheridan* would have it all from that Jesuit, came to an open Rupture with him, upbraided him with sending a Charge against him to *London*; and on the Secretary's denying it, he shew'd it to him under his own Hand. Upon which, *Sheridan* charging him with writing against him, *Tyrconnel* call'd him *Rogue*, *Cheat*, *Traitor*, and offer'd to kick him; but Judge *Daly* pieced them together again, leaving still mutual Jealousies working in their Breasts.

Tyrconnel, out of hatred to *Sheridan*, reviv'd the Quarrel the *Irish* Clergy had with the titular Primate, who was Friend to *Sheridan*; and it went so far, that the Archbishop of *Cashe* and others apply'd to the King to have a Coadjutor impos'd on the Primate: For the Popish Bishops in *Ireland* behav'd as if they had been already in possession of the Powers and Revenues belonging to the Protestant Prelates. The King wrote to the Pope about it, aggravating the Primate's Miscarriages: But the Pope answer'd, He was one of his own chusing, and Father *Petre* wrote a Letter of Reprimand about it to *Tyrconnel*, the Church being made

ridiculous by this Jarring. So the Matter was hush'd up, and the Primate reconcil'd to the Deputy.

Sheridan being a second time refus'd Leave to go to *England* by *Tyrconnel*, apply'd a second time to the Court of *England*, and by his Wife's means obtain'd it. But when he arriv'd at *London*, he waited near four-and-twenty Hours before he could speak with the Earl of *Sunderland*, and had then but a cold Reception; and he found by his other Applications, that *Tyrconnel* was supported by the *French* Interest, being more a Deputy to King *Lewis* than King *James*; infomuch, that when News came to *Paris* that *Tyrconnel* was turn'd out, 'twas said, *There was none in England durst move him.*

The Lord *Castlemain* and Lord *Powis* wish'd well to *Sheridan's* Project, but were afraid to trust him with their Sentiments; nor would Father *Petre* carry him to the King. At last, upon his dissembling the Matter, and protesting he had no Articles against the Lord-Deputy, *Sunderland* introduc'd him: yet even then the King would not hear him speak, so afraid was he of offending the *French* King, whose Creature *Tyrconnel* was.

Sheridan had not been three Days in *London* before he was follow'd by the Lord *Dungan*, Son to the Earl of *Limerick*, who brought Letters to *Sunderland*, setting forth *Sheridan* in such black Characters, that Father *Petre* would admit him no more into his presence. The Lords *Powis* and *Castlemain* deserted him, by which means he was wholly left to himself, and *Tyrconnel's* Party vigorously prosecuted him as a Delinquent, and the Matter was by the King's Order referr'd to the Judges in *Ireland*. After the Secretary's Place had been taken from him, Lord *Sunderland* wrote to *Tyrconnel* to have compassion on the poor Man in consideration of that. Upon his return to *Dublin*, he repair'd to the *Castle*, but the Deputy would not see him. He then went to the Custom-House to take his Seat at that Board. Upon which the Judges were consulted, and they advis'd *Tyrconnel* to suspend him. An Order of Suspension was accordingly sent him, and he coming to the *Castle*, disputed the Matter as not being in the Power of the Deputy. This aggravating his former Crime, upon further Consult with the Judges 'twas agreed, that the Commissioners of the Customs should write to all the Collectors in the Kingdom to hold no Correspondence with *Sheridan*, in regard he was suspended from acting in the Revenue. A Day being appointed for hearing him, he mov'd for longer time, which was readily granted, on account of a Storm that threaten'd *Tyrconnel* from *Rome*, which requir'd the best Cunning of his Counsellors and Creatures to divert it.

The Earl of *Castlemain*, who had ventur'd his Neck for a vain uselefs Embassy to the *Pope*, found no notice taken of him at his Return, which made him write back to his Friends at *Rome*, to represent his Merits to the Holy See, and the Disregard he met with in *England*. The Pope wrote to his Nuntio to address the King in his behalf, but at present there was no Vacancy. So to make one, Father *Petre* struck at *Jefferies*, whom he accus'd of dealing doubly in the Affair of *Magdalen-College*, and of Backwardness in other Instances, to the Prejudice of the *Catholick* Cause; which could never be establish'd, unless the Prime Ministers and the World were given to understand, *That no Service they had done, or could do, should protect them, if they fail'd in the best Circumstance.* Upon this, the Lord *Castlemain's* Affair was brought into the Cabinet-
Jefferies like to be out.

A. D.
1688.

A. D. 1688. Cabinet-Council the 17th of December 1687, at Night, when it was resolv'd, That *Jefferies* should be put out, and that three of the Lords of the Treasury should be made Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, and the Earl of *Castlemain* Lord Treasurer. Which Resolve continu'd ten Days. The Scene was on a sudden chang'd, and *Jefferies* fix'd faster than ever, suppos'd to be by the Interest of the Queen and *Sunderland*. This administer'd fresh Cause of Disgust to *Castlemain*, and to the Church Party; for now it began to appear, that Affairs went as *France* directed, even in opposition to the Pope. *Such insuperable Difficulties*, says my Author, *had the Folly of that poor unfortunate King expos'd him to! His Zeal and Affection led him to adhere to Rome, but his Dependance was entirely built upon France.*

The Church-Party embrac'd the Opportunity of *Sheridan's* Quarrel with *Tyrconnel* to recommend *Castlemain* as a fit Person for the Government of *Ireland*, *Tyrconnel* proceeding by too slow a Motion, and *Castlemain* was a Man of great Parts, who would win upon People by his prudent Carriage, whereas *Tyrconnel* had frightened away Thousands out of the Kingdom. The Lord Deputy had soon Intimation of it, so had his Friends at *Paris*; and he held a new Consultation with *Rice* and *Nagle* how to avoid the Danger that threatned him, and the best way they could think of, was to draw up an Act of Parliament, which in a manner put the Lands of the whole Kingdom in the power of the King, and then the only Hope that remain'd for the keeping them, would be by being of the King's Religion. They doubted not of getting a Parliament to pass it, the Corporations and Sheriffs being already their own. With the Draft of this Act *Rice* and *Nagle* went to *London*, where they soon had the Term of the *Irish* Ambassadors conferr'd on them. *Rice* made his Court to *Sunderland*, whom he found not very favourable to his Design, neither was Father *Petre* at first; but the *French* Faction encouraged him, and *Petre* was brought over by the Assurances he gave him of *Tyrconnel's* Zeal and Constancy in the Cause, as was also Lord *Sunderland* in an Opinion, that it would preserve *Tyrconnel* in the Licutenancy, out of which he had so good Rent. The King approv'd of the Project presently, and took upon him to bring it into Council, which he did in few Words, acquainting them with its Contents and Importance, and by whom presented to him. No Man spoke for or against it, but they desir'd it might be heard; which being done, the Lord *Bellasis* inveigh'd bitterly against it, saying, *If such Designs as these are encourag'd, they of England, meaning the Papists, had best in time look out for some other Country, and not stay to be made a Sacrifice for Irish Rebels.* *Powis* according to the best of his Understanding seconded it, and in a word 'twas so run down, that neither *Sunderland* nor *Petre* durst attempt to speak a Word in its Vindication, but only desired that those Gentlemen who brought over those Papers might be heard. Lord *Bellasis* was for committing them, or commanding their immediate Return, but 'twas at last thought reasonable to hear them, so a Day was appointed.

The Noise of this, and the Success it met with at the Council-Board, flew abroad with great Exclamations, the Boys in the Street running after the Coach where *Rice* and *Nugent* at any time were, with *Potatoes* stuck on Sticks, and crying, *Make room for the Irish Ambassadors.*

When the Hearing came on, *Rice* made a Speech in answer to the Lord *Bellasis's* and Lord *Powis's* Objections; but when *Nugent* came to

speake, my Author says, "He kick'd down all that *Rice* had done, and *Bellasis* presently discover'd the Defect of his *Wild-Irish* Understanding, as he call'd it, railing at him beyond the Respect due to the Place where the King was, calling him *Fool* and *Knave*, &c. Lord *Powis* did the same."

They were not long in tearing this fine Project to pieces, which when they had done, *Bellasis* bid them *make haste to the Fool their Master, and bid him next Message he sent, to employ wiser Men, and upon a more honest Errand.* *Powis* said, *Tell him the King has better use to make of his Catholick Subjects in England, than to sacrifice them for a Reprize to the Protestants of Ireland in lieu of their Estates there.* After this the *Irish* Ambassadors appear'd no more.

Then new Attempts were made in behalf of *Castlemain*, and many just and reasonable Allegations were laid down before the King for the Removal of *Tyrconnel* by sober considering Persons, yet were they all to no purpose; for tho' the King kept it private from most of the Council, *Yet*, continues the same Writer, *certain it is, he had promised the French King the Disposal of the Government of Ireland.*

Upon the Return of *Rice* and *Nugent*, *Sheridan* began to resume his former Insolence, expecting that their ill success would have ruin'd *Tyrconnel*; and he himself thought he should be removed, saying to some Officers, *Tho' I have had great Assurance from the King, that I shall not be displac'd, yet now I hear I shall, and wish I had given 500 Pounds to have known it a Month sooner.*

The Charge against *Sheridan* was for Bribery and Extortion, and tho' the Proof was sufficient, his Punishment was only to lose his Employments.

About the same time, News was brought to *Ireland* of the Birth of the supposed Prince of *Wales*; for which, the Bearer *Sir Mat. Bridges*, receive the Honour of Knighthood, and no Tongue can express the Extravagance of the Joys of the *Irish*. They so insulted the *English* upon it, that the latter were become the Scorn of their very Slaves and Vassals, insomuch that the meanest Labourer would now on the least Provocation threaten to hang his Master. My Author was an Ear-Witness of one Instance of it. A Labourer came to his Master very soberly and told him, he ow'd him a Cow, and bid him give it him presently. The Gentleman laugh'd at him as owing him nothing: the Fellow grew angry; the Gentleman call'd him *Rascal*, and offer'd to beat him, but the Servant was not only too quick but too strong for his Master, whom he was very fairly about to cudgel, if Company had not interposed and diverted him from his Intention. However he said in *Irish*, *You English Churl, by St. Patrick I will hang thee with these Hands, as well as ever thou wast hang'd in thy Life.* The poor Gentleman was afraid he would have given him such a hanging as is never used but once.

As soon as it was said the Queen had conceived, the *Irish* were confident it would be a Son, and would lay Twenty Guineas to One upon it.

The Deputy took away *Christ-Church* from the Protestants for the Use of the Papists. Priests and Monks appeared every where in their Habits, and when the Protestants were celebrating the anniversary Festival for the Extinction of the *Irish* Rebellion in 1641, the Papists fell upon them, and some Troops were order'd to disperse or kill them. Certain Soldiers nail'd a Bible to the Gallows, and making a Fire, tore the Leaves out by Parcels and flung them into the Flames as a Traitor condemned to such Punishment; but a

The Irish Ambassadors heard.

A. D. 1688.

A. D. 1688. Protestant having ty'd some Beads about a Dog's Neck, was whip'd by the common Hangman.

I might here fill a large Volume with Instances of the Injustice, Cruelties, Robberies, Rapines, and Rapes exercis'd by the *Irish* against the *English*, from this time to the Revolution; but it is related so copiously in the above-mention'd Tract, and Bishop King's *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, that I must refer to them.

Tyrconnel had the first News of the Prince of Orange's intended Expedition by a Ship from *Amsterdam*: he sent the Letter to *England*; the Lord *Sunderland* shew'd it to the King, who made a Jest of it, as appear'd by *Sunderland's* ridiculing his Intelligence. However, the News coming every day, it was at last generally believ'd; and the Deputy for a while behav'd as if he was in great Doubt and Consternation: But the impudent *Nugent* told the Grand Jury of *Dublin*, *The States of Holland are weary of the Prince, and have sent him over to be dress'd as Monmouth was, but that is too good Fortune for him; I doubt not before a Month passes, to hear that they are hung up all over England in Bunches, like Ropes of Onions.* This poor Creature was made Lord *Riverston* by King *James*, and a Seat given him in the House of Peers in *Ireland*, when he much better deserv'd a Place in the Pillory, or rather on that Gibbet, to which his Countrymen nail'd the Bible.

The Progress of the Revolution.

Thus we see the whole Constitution of the three Kingdoms, Spiritual and Temporal, entirely subverted, the Coronation Oath broken, the Laws violated, and Religion alter'd, as far as the King could do it; what then remain'd, but for the three injur'd Nations to apply for Deliverance, to the Prince who had a Right and an Inclination to deliver them. The means for accomplishing it continu'd to be concerted in *England* and *Holland*, and things by the latter end of *August* were in such Forwardness, that it was not possible to keep it long a Secret. The first Cause of Suspicion which made Impression on King *James*, was an Information daily given of vast Remittances made to *Holland*, as near 40,000*l.* by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who borrow'd it on his Estate.

Mr. Johnstoun.

Besides *Mr. Russel* before-mention'd, *Mr. Johnstoun*, Son to the Laird of *Waristoun*, past from *England* to *France*, and so to *Holland*, with very good Intelligence; on which his Highness the Prince of *Orange* built very much, and made use of him as his Secretary, for the *English* Correspondence to the Time of the Embarkation. This worthy Gentleman is the same who was afterwards Secretary of State for *Scotland*, and who has on many Occasions distinguish'd himself by his Services to the Publick in the Cause of Religion and Liberty, for which he has the best Qualifications, by Genius and Experience.

Mr. Hampden.

Richard Hampden Esq; Son of the great *Hampden* in *Charles* the First's Time, was very instrumental in forwarding the Prince's Expedition, by engaging in it many Persons of great Worth and Interest, and he was in the Depth of the Secret; as was also his Son *John Hampden* Esq; before-mention'd, and *Mr. Powle*, afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons.

Admiral Herbert.

Admiral Herbert had been hardly us'd by the King in passing his Accounts, and was also disgusted that Lord *Dartmouth* had more of the King's Confidence than himself, which, according to Bishop *Burnet*, was believ'd the Root of all the Sullenness he fell under towards the King, and of all the Firmness that grew out of that. But his Behaviour after the Revolution, and at his Death, gave reason to believe that he acted out of Principle.

The Lord Mordaunt, now Earl of *Peterborough*, went to *Holland* in 1686 with the King's Leave, and press'd the Prince of *Orange* to undertake the Business of *England*, representing it so easy, that Bishop *Burnet* says, it appear'd

100 *romantical*; but he could not represent it more easy, than by God's Providence it prov'd to be. His Highness told him, *If the King went about to change the establish'd Religion, or to wrong the Princess in her Right, or to raise forg'd Plots to destroy his Friends, he would try what he could do.*

We have spoken of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* already, he came over to the *Hague* in 1687, and was extremely welcome to his Highness, in whom his modest Deportment gave him such an Interest, that he never seem'd so fond of any of his Ministers.

Mr. Russel communicated the Design first to this Earl, and then to the Lord *Lumley*, afterwards Earl of *Scarborough*, who were both converts from Popery; and their Zeal for the Protestant Religion and the Liberty of their Country, was a just Reproof to many, who never had been of any other Religion.

Mr. Sidney, Brother to the Earl of *Leicester* and Col. *Sidney*, had been in *Holland* in the Beginning of this Reign, and having no mind to put himself under it again, he went to travel till Matters were ripe for Negotiation. In *Italy* 'tis said he had private Audiences of the Pope, and propos'd to him Methods to hinder *England's* joining with *France* against the Liberties of *Europe*. There could be no other Method but the *Revolution*, and so far 'tis probable *Odescalchi* fell in with it. *Mr. Sidney* returning to *Holland*, found things were ripening, and from thence he past over to *England*, where he try'd the Marquis of *Hallifax*, as to inviting the Prince of *Orange*, which that Lord did not at first approve of, as too rash and impracticable an Experiment. The Earl of *Danby* came heartily into it, and drew in the Bishop of *London*, who from that Time held a constant Correspondence with their Friends at the *Hague*. The Earl of *Nottingham* agreed to it at the first Proposition, but fell off afterwards; however, he promis'd to be as far criminal as Concealment could make him.

The Earl of *Devonshire* had been fin'd 30,000*l.* for striking Col. *Culpeper*, who had affronted him in the Verge of the Court. King *James* offer'd to excuse the Fine, but that had no effect on that brave and generous Nobleman. He chose rather to expose himself and Fortune to the Rigour of the Court, than to desert the Interest of his Country in such a Time of Peril; so he join'd in the Undertaking with great Readiness and Resolution.

Then the Officers of the Army were try'd, and the chief, Lord *Churchil*, Col. *Kirk*, and Col. *Trelawny* engag'd in it, as did also the Bishop of *Bristol*, Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, whom his Brother the Colonel prevail'd on. As to Lord *Churchil's* Engagement, he has been so often, and so unjustly accus'd for it, that we cannot do Justice to his glorious Memory, without inserting what Bishop *Burnet* says in his Vindication. "He never discover'd any of the King's Secrets, nor did he ever push him on to any violent Proceedings, so that he was in no Contrivance to ruin or betray him. *F. Orleans*, whom *Eschard* recommends, affirms, *He laid a Plot to deliver him up to the Prince of Orange.* On the contrary, whensoever he spoke of the King's Affairs, which he did but seldom, because he could not fall in with the King's Notions, he always suggested moderate Counsels.

A. D. 1688. "fels. The Earl of *Galloway* told me, that when he came over with the first Compliment upon the King's coming to the Crown, he then said to him, *If the King is ever prevail'd on to alter our Religion, I will serve him no longer, but withdraw from him,* so early was his Resolution fix'd in him; when he saw how the King was set, he could not be contented to see all ruin'd by him. He was also very doubtful as to the pretended Birth, and resolv'd when the Prince of *Orange* should come over to go in to him, but to betray no Post, nor do any thing more than the withdrawing himself, with such Officers as he could trust with such a Secret." The Lord *Churchil* also understood that Prince *George* and the Princess *Anne* should leave the Court, and come to the Prince as soon as possible.

Earls of Macclesfield and Wiltshire. The Earl of *Macclesfield* had been in *Holland* ever since the Duke of *Monmouth's* Embarkation there.

Ld Wharton. The Earl of *Wiltshire*, afterwards Duke of *Bolton*, was one of the first that went to the *Hague*, accompanied by the Lord *William Pawlet* his Brother.

Mr. Wharton. The good old Lord *Wharton* took the Prince of *Orange's* Court in his way to *Germany*, where he was most honourably entertain'd by several Princes, and presented with a very fine Set of Horses by the Elector of *Braudenburgh*. It is not question'd but he had Matters to negotiate with them, relating to his Highness, and the Expedition to *England*. His Sons *Thomas Wharton* Esq; and Col. *Henry Wharton*, were not only in the Secret, but went early to the Prince of *Orange*.

Ld Eland. The Marquis of *Hallifax* coming into the Design afterwards, his Son, the Lord *Eland*, was a voluntary Hostage with the Prince, for his Father's Sincerity.

D. of Leeds. The Duke of *Leeds*, then Lord *Dunblain*, went also to the *Hague*, to offer his Highness his Service, which was of very great Importance.

Earl of Argyll. The Earl of *Argyle*, whose Father and Grandfather had been sacrificed to Popery and Arbitrary Power, was imprison'd by King *James* on Suspicion; but there being no Proof, he was at last discharg'd, and going over to *Holland*, had his Share in this glorious Undertaking: A Glory inherent in the House of *Campbell*.

E. of Bath. The Earls of *Bath* and *Dorset*, sent the Prince a Promise, that they would join him, by Mr. *Russel*.

Lord Herbert. Mr. *Herbert*, afterwards Lord *Herbert of Cheshire*, went to the *Hague* to attend the Prince of *Orange* in his Expedition, as did also

Col. Herbert. Col. *Herbert*, Brother to the Admiral.

Ld Cutts. Mr. *Harbord*, afterwards Privy Counsellor, and Ambassador in *Turky*; Col. *Cutts*, afterwards Lord *Gowran*; Col. *Talmash*, and Col. *Mackay*, with other Chief Officers of the *English* and *Scots* Regiments in *Holland*. Sir *Roxeland Gwynn*, that eminent Member of Parliament, came from *Holland* with King *William*, and from *Hanover* with King *George*, at the first and second Deliverance of *England*, since the Restoration.

Major *Wildman*, Major *Manley*, Mr. *Isaac Manly* his Son, and some Gentlemen, who had shelter'd themselves in *Germany*, against the Tyranny in *England*, repaired to the *Hague*, to be assisting in her Deliverance.

Mr. Fletcher. Mr. *Andrew Fletcher*, who distinguish'd himself in the *Scots* Parliaments afterwards, joined with others who had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*, in this Expedition, as Col. *Matthews*, Col. *Foulks*, *Robert Ferguson*, &c.

Sir R. Peyton. Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir *John Guise*, and many other *English* Gentlemen of Character and Interest, waited at the *Hague* to attend his Highness,

and have their Share of the Peril and the Honour

The Gentlemen who staid in *England*, were not less useful by engaging their Friends and Dependants, and preparing to join him after he was landed, as Sir *Scroop How*, Mr. *John How* his Brother, Mr. *Russel*, Brother to Admiral *Russel*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord *Delamere*, Lord *Lovelace*, Lord *Colchester*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, and at last the Marquises of *Winchester* and *Hallifax*.

Matters having been concerted between the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Mr. *Russel*, Mr. *Sidney*, and Mr. *Johnston*, who were to return to the Prince in *Holland*, and the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Earl of *Danby*, the Lord *Lumley*, and other Lords and Gentlemen, who were to stay in *England*; the former cross the Seas, and the latter disperse themselves in the *North*, and other Parts of *England*, for which they had undertaken. The Thing was in the hands of many thousands, yet none of them made any Discovery, nor was any Suspicion given, till about *September*, when it was known in *Holland* that many Arms were bespoken; and tho' 'twas given out to be for the King of *Sweden*, and some *German* Princes, yet it was thought to be a Blind. *France* took the Alarm, and gave it first to the Court of *England*, who publish'd the Advertisements they had received a little too rashly; for all People were much animated when they heard it from such a Hand. The King soon saw his Error, and to correct it, said on many Occasions, *Whatever the Designs of the Dutch may be, I am sure they are not against me.* It was given out sometimes that they were against *France*, and sometimes they were against *Denmark*. However he ordered 14 Ships more to put to Sea, with many Fireships. He recalled *Strickland*, and gave the Command of the Fleet to the Lord *Dartmouth*.

When the *French* King gave *K. James* Notice that the *Dutch* Armaments were against him, he offer'd him Assistance, 15000 Men, or as many more as he desir'd, provided *Portsmouth* was put into his hand, to keep the Communication open with *France*. All the Priests, and most of the Popish Lords were for it, and the Earl of *Sunderland* was the only Privy Counsellor in Credit who oppos'd it. His Reasons were such as will convince any reasonable Man, he could not have given his Master better Counsel. He said, *the Offer of an Army of 40000 Men might be a real Strength; but then it would depend upon the Orders that came from France. They might perhaps master England, but they would become the King's Master at the same Time, so that he must govern under such Orders as they should give: thus he would quickly become only a Viceroy to the King of France. An Army less than that would lose the King the Affections of his People, and drive his own Army to Desertion, if not to Mutiny.* Tho' the Offer was not accepted, yet it was not dropt, and 100 Merchant Ships were bargain'd for, to transport Forces from *France*, when King *James* desired them. The *French* King made a greater Step, ordering the Count *d'Avaux*, his Ambassador in *Holland*, to present a Memorial to the States, declaring, *there was a strict Alliance between his Master and the King of England, and that he would look on every thing done against England, as an Invasion of his own Crown.* This put King *James* and his Ministers quite out of Countenance, and the *French* King shew'd by it that he ear'd not what became of his dear Brother of *England*, if he could by any means hinder the *English* and *Dutch* joining against him, which would be the Consequence of the Prince's Success against *K. James*, who had always deny'd

A. D. 1688.

Secrecy.

The French King alarms K. James.

Offers him Assistance.

Owens his secret Treaty with him.

A. D. 1688. deny'd there was any such Alliance; and his Ambassador *Albeville* continu'd to deny it, even after *D'Avaux* had presented his Memorial. Nay, the King himself deny'd it afterwards to *Van Citters* the *Dutch* Ambassador at *London*. The Blame of the putting it into the Memorial was laid to *Skelton* the King's Envoy at *Paris*, who was disown'd in it, and upon his coming over to *England*, sent to the *Tower*: But to shew the Giddiness, as well as Weakness of their Counsels, a few days after he was made Governor of the same Place he was imprison'd in. The *French* Ambassador at *Constantinople* shew'd the *English* Ambassador Sir *William Trumbal* a Letter to him, from a Minister of State in *France*, importing that now an Alliance was concluded between the two Kings. One would think such Princes and such Ministers were Infidels, and believ'd neither God nor Devil, Heaven nor Hell, so solemnly and so frequently to deny a Fact, on which the spiritual and temporal Welfare of so many Millions of People depended.

French K. the first that publickly term'd the Prince of Wales an Impostor.

About this time the *French* King publish'd two *Manifesto's*; one against the Emperor, which was the beginning of that War which lasted till the Peace of *Reswyck*. The other against the Pope. In the latter of which, the *French* King himself made the first mention of the Imposition of the Prince of *Wales*, by charging the Pope with giving the Prince of *Orange's* Emisaries the Boldness to term it so; whereas an Author of a Book writ for that purpose in *Holland* was punish'd.

The Pr. of Orange and the States at leisure to mind England.

In the mean time the *German* Princes were every where making Preparations to oppose the Invasions of the *French*. The Prince of *Orange*, under the pretence of the Business of *Cologne*, had an Interview at *Minden* in *Westphalia* with the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the *Landgrave* of *Hesse-Cassel*, and the *Lunenburgh* Princes, when Measures were concerted to recover *England*, as well as depress *France*. The *Brandenburgh* Troops increasing in the Country of *Cleve*, *Mareschal Schomberg*, who commanded there for that Elector, sent a Body of them to *Cologne*, which were admitted into that City, and prevented its falling into the hands of the *French*; by which means the States were safe on all hands for this Winter, and the Prince of *Orange* had great Quiet in prosecuting his Designs upon *England*: The Elector of *Brandenburgh* having also sent the States a Message, that there should always be a Force in readiness in the *Dutchy* of *Cleve*, to secure them from all danger on that side. The States had hired 10000 *German* Troops to augment their Army, besides those from *Brandenburgh* and *Sweden*; so that when the Forces intended for the Expedition were march'd from the Encampment near *Nimeguen*, they could easily, in a few days, make up the miss of them. But how to raise Money for the Prince, without declaring for what use, was the great Difficulty: which was remov'd by that great Politician *Fagel*, who, under colour of repairing the Fortifications on the Frontier towards *Cologne*, from whence look'd the Danger, got the States to create a Fund to pay Interest for a Loan of four Millions of Guilders, which they readily lent the Prince of *Orange*. It pass'd the States without any Opposition, to the Amazement of all that saw it: For it had never been known that so great and so dangerous an Enterprise had been so easily agreed to in such a Season, without so much as one disagreeing Vote.

Admiral Herbert commands the Dutch Fleet, or to engage them while they were not a

bove twenty Ships strong; but he was hinder'd by contrary Winds. Things being so forward, it was thought fit to draw up a Declaration. Heads of one had been sent from *England*, penn'd by the Earl of *Danby*, who five or six Years before was for executing the Lord *Shaftesbury* for penning an *Association*, which indeed he did not pen. Major *Wildman* made a Draft of a Declaration, which being not enough in favour of the Church Party, was not made use of, tho' approv'd of by the Earl of *Macclesfield*, the Lord *Mordaunt*, and many others: But the cooler Heads, the Lord *Shrewsbury*, Mr. *Sidney* and The Mr. *Ruffel*, were for striking out every thing that reflected on the Management in King *Charles* II'd's Reign, it being to go too far back, and would disgust the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, who had encourag'd Persecution and Passive-Obedience. Besides, it was by no means prudent to upbraid People with *Non-Resistance*, when they were inviting them to resist: so a Temper was found, and the exceptionable Parts of several Drafts being thrown out, that which pass'd was printed, and is the same which is to be seen in almost all Histories of that Time.

In the beginning of *October* the Troops march'd from *Nimeguen*, and were put aboard in the *Zuyder-Zee*, where they lay above ten Days before they could get out of the *Texel*. Never was so great a Design executed in so short a time, a Fleet of 500 Transports hired in three Days! All things, as soon as they were order'd, were so quickly got ready, that every body was amaz'd at it. *Messieurs Bentinck*, *Dykvelt*, Mr. *Herbert*, and *Vanbulst*, were for two Months constantly at the *Hague*, giving the necessary Orders with so little Noise, that nothing broke out all that while. Mr. *Bentinck* was the Person most trusted and employ'd by his Highness. I take what follows *verbatim* from Bishop *Burnet*.

"I waited on the Princess a few Days before we left the *Hague*, she seem'd to have a great Load on her Spirits, but to have no scruple as to the Lawfulness of the Design." After much other Discourse, I said, *If we got safe to England, I made no great doubt of our Success in all other things. I only begg'd her pardon to tell her, that if there should happen to be at any time any disjointing between the Prince and her, that would ruin all.* She answer'd, *You need fear no such thing; if any Person shall attempt that, I shall treat them so, as to discourage all others from adventuring on it for the future.* "She was very solemn and serious, and pray'd God earnestly to bless and direct us."

The Princess's saying of the Expedition

I come now to one of the most moving Passages in all History, the Prince of *Orange's* taking his leave of the States: in which there is something so affecting, that the celebrated Parting of *Tirus* and *Berenice* is insipid in comparison with it, as it is thus told by my Lord of *Sarum*.

"On the 16th of *October*, the Wind, that had stood so long in the *West* came into the *East*; so Orders were sent to all to haste to *Helvoet-stuys*. That Morning the Prince went into the Assembly of the States General, to take leave of them. He told them he was extremely sensible of the Kindness they had all shew'd him upon many Occasions: He took God to Witness he had serv'd them faithfully, ever since they had trusted him with the Government, and that he had never any End before his Eyes, but the Good of the Country: He had always pursued it, and if at any Time he err'd in his Judgment, yet his Heart was ever set on procuring their Safety and Prosperity. He took God to Witness, he went to *England* with no other

The Prince's parting with the States General.

A. D. 1688. "nther Intentions, but those he had set out in his Declaration. He did not know how God might dispose of him, to his Providence he committed himself: whatsoever might become of him, he committed to them the Care of their Country; and recommended the Princess to them in a most particular manner. He assured them she lov'd their Country perfectly, and equally with her own. He hoped, that whatever might happen to him, they would still protect her, and use her as she well deserved. And so he took his Leave. It was a sad, but a kind Parting. Some of every Province offer'd at an Answer to what the Prince had said, but none could speak; all melted into Tears and Passion. At last some broken Words dropt from them, very short and extreme tender, only the Prince continued firm in his usual Gravity and Phlegm."

The Dutch Fleet sails.

On the 19th of October his Highness went on board, and the whole Fleet put out that Night; but the next Day the Wind turn'd to the North, and settled in the North-West. At Night a great Storm rose; the Dutch Fleet wrought against it all that Night, and the next Day, and ran no small Hazard, being a great Number of Ships, and obliged to keep together, yet not to come too near one another. On the 21st in the Afternoon the Signal was given to go in again, and on the 22d the far greater Part got in. Many Ships were at first missing, and were believed to be lost, but after a few Days all came in safe, and there was not at last a Ship missing, and but one Man, who was blown from the Shrouds into the Sea. Some Ships were shatter'd, and render'd unserviceable, and about 500 Horses dy'd for want of Air. The States were not at all discourag'd with this hard beginning, but gave the necessary Orders for Supplies of every thing that was needed.

Put back by a Storm.

We must now see what Preparations were making in England, to oppose the Prince of Orange, and we shall find the King in great Perplexity, both as to Counsel and Action.

He had but small Satisfaction, from the States Answer to his Irish Envoy *Albeville* in Holland; who having demanded of their High Mightinesses, *What they meant by their great and surprising warlike Preparations, both by Sea and Land, at that Time of the Year, had for Answer, That they arm'd in Imitation of his Britannick Majesty, and might with more Reason demand an Explanation about the Alliances into which he was lately enter'd;* and which was confirm'd by *d'Avaux's* Memorial to the States, who had Orders for it from his Master the French King, who, as great a Politician as he was, sent those Orders at the meer Motion of *Skelton*, without any previous Direction from England. France, to recover this false Step, offer'd, by *Barillon*, the French Minister in England, that his Master would abandon the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, and turn his Arms against Holland, if the King of England would accept of Assistance from him; which was approv'd of by four or five of the Council, who would rather have been Slaves to France, than Subjects to the free Constitution of England. The wiser of K. James's Counsellors objected, that such a Violation of former Treaties with Holland, would raise the Clamours of the whole Nation, and alienate the Minds, of all the English Protestants from the King. These French Negotiations, which were indeed desperate and dangerous, were improv'd to the advantage of the Prince of Orange's Expedition, by causing a Report, that the Dutch Armament was only design'd to hinder the French from landing in England, where, in

purjuance of the secret Treaty made with King James, they were to extirpate the Protestant Religion. Such use was there made of *Skelton's* blundering Advice, and the French King and his Ministers pursuing that Blunder to the Ruin of the unhappy Prince they pretended to save. After all the false Reasonings of the Jesuit *Orleans*, and his Copist *Etchard*, about Lord *Sunderland's* treacherous Advice, in hindering his Master's accepting the Assistance of France, it appears to be very prudent and faithful Counsel; for supposing that King James's Soldiers were generally Well-wishers to the Prince of Orange's Undertaking, and his Seamen the same, as I think no body questions, and that the Appearance of French Forces, tho' they had been 30000 Men, had occasion'd a general Revolt; that the English Army had join'd the Dutch, and the English Fleet the Dutch Fleet, which was more than probable, notwithstanding what Lord *Dartmouth* told Bishop *Burnet* to the contrary, and that upon these two Junctions, the whole Body of the Nation had taken Arms against King James, and his Frenchmen; can any one doubt but the Issue of it must have been fatal, not only to King James, but to the French King himself, who having lost such an Army, would have been in an ill Condition to make War with the Dutch in the Winter, when he had the German Confederates at the back of him?

King James's rash Counsellors, the Earl of *Melfort*, and all the Papists, advis'd the seizing all suspected Persons, and sending them to *Portsmouth*. The Earl of *Sunderland* oppos'd it vehemently, saying, "It will not be possible to seize on many at the same time, and the seizing on a few would alarm all the rest: It would drive them in to the Prince, and furnish them with a Pretence for it." He propos'd rather, that the King would do such Popular Things as might give some Content, and lay that Fermentation, with which the Nation was then, as it were, distracted: which Advice was follow'd in a few Instances; tho' the Papists hated *Sunderland* heartily for giving it.

On the 19th of September the King went to *Chatham* to view the Fortifications there and along the *Medway*, and forward the Equipment of the Ships that were to join his Fleet.

The same Day he set out for *Chatham*, the Princess of *Denmark* return'd from *Tunbridge*, and tho' the Queen was alone, and Prince *George* with the King, she did not go to Court as usual, her Reception there being lately very cold, and the Reason of it was said to be, that she was thought to hold too good Intelligence with the Princess of *Orange* her Sister.

When the King came back, he caus'd his Proclamation for calling a Parliament to be publish'd, wherein he declar'd, "His Intention to establish an universal Liberty, and to preserve the Church of England by such a Confirmation of the several Acts of Uniformity, that they should never be alter'd." He excluded Roman-Catholicks from the House of Commons only, which, it was said, imply'd that the Popish Lords might sit, and with that view the Lord *Stafford* was restored to the Dignity of Viscount. This Proclamation was so ambiguously worded, that it had little Effect on the People, who look'd upon it as a forc'd Business, and all their Eyes were cast towards the East, from whence they had News next day, that the Dutch Troops were embarking, and that the Prince of Orange was at *Rotterdam* to oversee it. Upon which, a fresh Augmentation of Forces was resolv'd on, and more Men added to the Troops of Horse and Dragoons, and to the Companies of Foot. A

A Proclamation for a Parliament.

A. D. 1688. Regiment of Horse was raised, and the Command of it given to *Armand de Bourbon Marquis de Mirumont*, descended from the famous *Charles de Bourbon* kill'd at the Assault of *Rome*. He was a *French* Refugeé, and Nephew to the Earl of *Feverſham* and to the Count de *Roye*. The King offer'd the Command of his Army to the Count de *Roye* another Refugeé, who declining that Office, 'twas given to the Lord *Feverſham*, who was no better a General than he was a Protestant.

The Lord *Dartmouth* was dispatch'd to take on him the Command of the Fleet, and the King sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to recommend the Care of the City to them. He offer'd three of the Bishops Seats at the Council-board, but they excus'd themselves, for that there were several Papiſts Members of the Council; and to quiet things abroad as well as at home, *Albeville*, who had diſown'd *d'Avaux's* Memorial as to the *Secret League*, had Orders to offer the States a new Treaty for maintaining the Peace at *Nimwegen*, and the twenty years Truce concluded in 1684: but the *Dutch* Ministers easily ſaw thro' this Diſguiſe, and it had ſucceſs accordingly. There was a Talk that the Lord *Godolphin* ſhould go to the *Hague* and forward this Negotiation, which it is ſuppoſed that Lord was not willing to engage in, as knowing it was a Feint, and taken for ſuch by the *Dutch*. About the latter end of *September*, Advice came from *Holland*, that 12000 Foot, 2000 Horſe, and 1000 Dragoons were put aboard the Transports; and it was reported, the Deſcent would be at *Burlington* in *Yorkſhire*, tho the Secret was communicated to none but *Fagel*, *Bentinck*, *Ruffel*, *Sidney*, and *Dykvelt*. That the Expedition was againſt King *James*, was no more made a doubt of, and the Count de *Neville*, who call'd himſelf an Envoy from *Poland*, declar'd at *London*, that the Duke of *Zell* told him ſo. The next Courier finiſh'd King *James's* Conſternation, for *Albeville* having told *Monſ. Fagel* that *Van Citters* had aſſured the King the Fleet and Army were not deſigned againſt *England*, the Penſioner reply'd, *He had no Orders from the States to ſay ſo*. The Envoy further inform'd the King, that many *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen were arriv'd at the *Hague* to accompany the Prince of *Orange*. Upon reading this Letter, *The poor King*, ſays *Echard*, turn'd pale, and for a while remain'd ſpeechleſs and aſtoniſh'd; and may one not now imagine the injured Ghoſts of *Ruffel*, *Sidney*, *Bailie*, *Cornish*, and the *Hecatombs* in the *West* and in *Scotland*, haunted his Dreams amidſt the Extremity of his Diſtreſs and Deſpair; that now his bloody Whippings, his Dungeons, his intolerable Fines, his Violation of Oaths and Laws, were like ſo many Vulturs to his tortured Soul? For Affliction makes it ſenſible of every Touch; whereas it is harden'd by Succeſs and Proſperity. *Echard*, who waited on his triumphal Chariot, when he was riding over the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of Protestant Diſſenters; even *Echard* cannot help remarking, *The airy Caſtle of unlimited Power rais'd by the Magick of jeſuitical Counſels, now vaniſh'd in a Moment, and the miſted Monarch, by the Prince's Approach, freed from his Enchantment, found himſelf upon the Brink of a Precipice, while all his intoxicating Flatterers ſtood thunderſtruck at a diſtance, without daring to lend him a helping Hand, for fear that both he and they ſhould be involv'd in the greater Ruin*. Here are a pretty many Words indeed, and the Senſe is only, the King being miſled by jeſuitical Conjurers, was abandon'd by his daſtardly impotent Flatterers, tho no body has flatter'd him more than the Archdeacon himſelf.

The King knows the Deſign to be againſt him.

He is in deſpair.

In this Fright he ſent for the Bishops, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Peterburgh*, *Rochester*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and deſir'd the Aſſiſtance of their Counſels, aſſuring them he was ready to do whatever they ſhould think neceſſary for the Security of the Protestant Religion. The Bishops pray'd for time to conſult together about ſo weighty a matter, and repairing to *Lambeth*, had the Sentiments of the Archbiſhop in their Anſwer. On the 28th of *September* he iſſu'd out a Proclamation, ſetting forth the Advice he had received of the Prince's intended Invaſion to conquer theſe Kingdoms, and ſubdue and ſubject them to a foreign Power, which oblig'd him to recall his Writs for electing Members of Parliament, and which ſhould rather have oblig'd him to have haſten'd its fitting. To cajole the People; the Biſhop of *London's* Suſpenſion was taken off; Sir *John Eyles* a Baptiſt, whom he had nominated to be Lord Mayor, was remov'd, and Sir *John Chapman* a Churchman, put in his Place. He alſo reſtor'd the Charter of *London*, which *Jefferies* himſelf carry'd back, and put on the Appearance of Joy and Heartineſs when he gave it to the Mayor and Aldermen at *Guild-hall*. Every body ſaw through this Affectation, for he had rais'd himſelf chiefly by adviſing or promoting the Surrender.

The Confuſion the King was in, appear'd by the Unſteadineſs of his Counſels, undoing to-day what he did yeſterday, being for a thing and againſt a thing in the Compaſs of a few Hours and always ſhewing that every Popular Act was againſt his Will, and as a Force put upon him might be diſavow'd or diſannull'd, when he was out of danger. Intelligence being given him, that ſeveral Perſons paſt over to *Holland* to avoid being ſeiz'd, as *Melfort* adviſed, he publiſh'd a general Pardon, excepting ſeveral Perſons; but ſome Words in it concerning the Church of *England* giving the Bishops Offence, a ſecond Proclamation came out with particular Exceptions, as,

Sir Robert Peyton.	Mr. Andrew Fletcher.
Major John Wildman.	Col. Rumſey.
Major Manley.	Dr. Oates.
Mr. Iſaac Manley.	Dr. Burnet.
Francis Charlton Eſq;	Mr. Rob. Ferguſon.
Col. Matthews.	Mr. Robert Parſons.
Samuel Venner.	

Perſons excepted out of the Pardon.

This Pardon was drawn up by *Jefferies*, and in the main, by ſeveral Clauſes, excepted the whole Nation, but none regarded it. The Thunders of *Whitehall* were no more minded now in *England*, than thoſe of the *Vatican*. So fearful was the Court of every one's Motions, that *Mr. Goodwin Wharton* being near *Portſmouth* ſeeking after *Marcaſſites* to make uſe of them in his Chymical Experiments, he was ſeiz'd and ſent to *London*; but his Buſineſs being better underſtood, they did not detain him.

It was ſome Conſolation to the deſpairing Monarch, that his Friends, real or pretended, did not all forſake him.

The Duke of *Newcaſtle* wrote him a Letter to offer him his Service againſt all his Enemies; ſo did the Earls of *Lindſey* and *Derby*.

The Earl of *Aiſebury* came to *London* on purpoſe, and preſented to the King two of his Brothers, who had agreed to ſerve as Voluntiers in Sir *John Lanier's* Regiment of Horſe.

The Duke of *Ormond* propos'd to accompany the King in the Army as a Volunteer alſo, attended by Lieutenant-Colonel *Beaumont*, and the five *Portſmouth* Captains.

The Earl of *Burlington* made a Tender of his Service, and after the Prince was landed, ſent only a Page on horſeback.

The

A. D. 1688. The Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*, *Oliver Cromwell's* Son-in-Law, made the like Tender.

The Earl of *Dyſert*, Col. *Talmash's* Brother, did the ſame, as alſo the Lord *Dover* and the Lord *Baltimore*. The latter was ſo unlucky, that after King *James* had endeavour'd to rake from him his Plantation of *Maryland*, he rais'd a Troop of Horſe to ſerve him againſt the Prince of *Orange*, which was remember'd after the Revolution, and the ſame Endeavours continu'd by the then Government.

Preparations made by him.

Commiſſions were given to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Col. *Henry Gage*, and Col. *Solomon Richards*, to raiſe three Regiments of Foot. Two Thouſand Foot and five Hundred Horſe were transported from *Dublin* to *Cheſter*, and three Thouſand Scots advanced to *Carliffe*. Thus if the King's Troops had been all together, they would have form'd an Army of about Thirty Thouſand Men; but their chief Officers were under other Engagements, and the greateſt part of the Soldiers as unwilling to fight the Prince's Army, as the *Engliſh* Seamen were to fight his Fleet; and I have been well inform'd, that if the Lord *Dartmouth* had attempted it, he would have been deſerted by many of the Captains, who were under the ſame Engagements as were the Land Officers. Beſides, it did not ſeem as if he himſelf had Intention to engage the *Dutch*, he having but forty Men of War, and the *Dutch* fifty-two, larger Ships and better provided. As to Biſhop *Burnet's* Objection, that he might have diſpers'd the Tranſports, 'tis obvious he could have done them little hurt till he had beaten the Fleet, of which there was little Hope.

The King having reſtor'd the Charter of *London*, a Council was held to conſider the Affair of the other Charters, *October* the 17th.

Preſent.

The King,	Earl of <i>Melfort</i> ,
The Prince of <i>Denmark</i> ,	Earl of <i>Caſtlemain</i> ,
Lord Chancellor,	Lord <i>Preſton</i> ,
Lord Privy Seal,	Lord <i>Godolphin</i> ,
Duke <i>Hamilton</i> ,	Sir <i>John Ernle</i> , Chan-
Marquis of <i>Powis</i> ,	cellor of the Exchequer,
Earl of <i>Huntington</i> ,	Maſter of the Rolls,
Earl of <i>Craven</i> ,	L. C. Juſtice <i>Herbert</i> ,
Earl of <i>Berkley</i> ,	Sir <i>Thomas Strickland</i> ,
Earl of <i>Murray</i> ,	Sir <i>Nicholas Butler</i> ,
Earl of <i>Middleton</i> ,	Father <i>Petre</i> .

Charters reſtor'd.

And an Order was iſſued for reſtoring the Charters of all the Corporations, except ſuch as had voluntarily ſurrender'd them, and taken out new ones; as

Corporations excepted.

<i>Bridgwater</i> ,	<i>Plymouth</i> ,
<i>Nottingham</i> ,	<i>Durwich</i> ,
<i>Therford</i> ,	<i>St. Ives</i> ,
<i>Ludlow</i> ,	<i>Fowey</i> ,
<i>Bewdley</i> ,	<i>Tintegal</i> ,
<i>Beverley</i> ,	<i>Penryn</i> ,
<i>Tewkesbury</i> ,	<i>East Loo</i> ,
<i>Exeter</i> ,	<i>West Loo</i> ,
<i>Doncaſter</i> ,	<i>Camelford</i> ,
<i>Colcheſter</i> ,	<i>Truro</i> ,
<i>Wincheſter</i> ,	<i>Bodmin</i> ,
<i>Launceſton</i> ,	<i>Hadleigh</i> ,
<i>Leſkard</i> ,	<i>Leſtwithiel</i> ,
<i>Plymton</i> ,	<i>Saltaſh</i> .
<i>Tregony</i> ,	

Above half of theſe are *Cornish* Boroughs, and we need not doubt but the other Corporations were in the Hands of Perſons of equal Parts and Importance.

This Condeſcenſion was ſuppos'd to be one of the Effects of the Biſhops Propoſals, which they deliver'd to the King. 1. *To put Perſons qualify'd into Offices.* 2. *To annul the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.* 3. *To grant no Diſpenſations for Qualifications, and reſtore the Preſident and Fellows of Magdalen College.* 4. *To ſet aſide all Licences for Popiſh Schools.* 5. *Not to exerciſe the Diſpenſing Power.* 6. *To inhibit the four Popiſh Biſhops.* 7. *To fill the vacant Biſhopricks in England and Ireland, particularly York.* 8. *To reſtore the Charters.* 9. *To iſſue Writs for calling a Parliament.* 10. *To bear Reaſons for his returning to the Church of England.* Moſt of which Propoſals were comply'd with, but in ſuch a manner as like the Caſe of *Magdalen College*, ſhew'd the King would undo what he was doing as ſoon as he was out of the Fright he was then in. For the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Viſitor of *Magdalen College*, having on the 16th of *October* cauſ'd a Citation to be fix'd on the Gates of that Houſe, to recall Dr. *Hough* the Preſident, and the Fellows, upon News of the putting in of the *Dutch* Fleet, this weak King, and his weak Council, could not help ſhewing their Infirmity ſo far as to recall the Biſhop to *London*; and upon other News of the Prince of *Orange's* being ready to put to Sea again, the Biſhop a Week after was ſent back to *Oxford*, to finiſh his Work at *Magdalen College*: which confirms the Opinion I have always given of the Heads, as well as the Hearts, in this unfortunate Administration.

The King's weak Councils.

On the 20th of *October* a Proclamation was publiſh'd to watch the Coaſt, and on the Appearance of the Enemy to drive all Horſes, Oxen, and Cattle for Draught twenty Miles from their Place of Landing; which is ſaid to have been done by Advice of the Count *de Roſe*, whoſe Conduct at the Revolution has been much condemn'd; as well as that of the Marquis *de Miremont*, another *Hugonor*; his Nephew.

The King ſent an Order to the Biſhops to compoſe Prayers againſt the Prince of *Orange*. How the Nonſenſe runs thro' every thing? Heretical Biſhops, according to him, to make Prayers for a Catholick King. If he thought the Prayers of Hereticks avail'd any thing. When according to his Church they were in a State of Damnation, why was he ſo obſtinate againſt the Church of *England*, in which he was baptiz'd? The Prayers were ſo well drawn, that even thoſe that wiſh'd for the Prince might have join'd in them. Biſhop *Burnet's* Obſervations here are very juſt. "The Church Party did now ſhew their Approbation of the Prince's Church for Expedition in ſuch Terms, that many were ſurpris'd at it both then and ſince that Time. They ſpoke openly in favour of it. They expreſs'd their Grief to ſee the Wind ſo croſs. They wiſh'd for an *East* Wind, which on that occaſion was call'd the *Proteſtant* Wind. They ſpoke with great Scorn of all that the Court was then doing to regain the Hearts of the Nation; and indeed the Proceedings of the Court that way were ſo cold, and ſo forc'd, that few were lik'd to be deceiv'd by them, but thoſe who had a mind to be deceiv'd. The Writs for a Parliament were often order'd to be made ready for the Seal, and were as often ſtop'd. Some were ſeal'd and given out; but they were call'd in again. The Matter of the greateſt Concern, and that could not be drop'd, was the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*. And therefore the Court thought it neceſſary, now in an After-Game, to offer ſome Satisfaction in that Point.

High-Resistance.

A. D. 1688. " So a great Meeting was call'd, not only of the Privy-Counsellors and Judges, but of all the Nobility then in Town; to whom the King complain'd of the great Injury that was done both him and the Queen by the Prince of Orange, who accus'd them of so black an Imposture. He said he believ'd there were few Princes then alive, who had been born in the Presence of more Witnesses than were at his Son's Birth; he had therefore call'd them together, that they might hear the Proof of that Matter." The Depositions, obscene to a Degree of Horror, were made by,

Pretended Proofs of the pretended Prince's Birth.

- Witnesses to the obscene Depositions.
- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Marchioness of Powis, | Lady Arundel, |
| Dutchess of Richmond, | Mrs. Mary Crane, |
| Countess of Peterborough, | Mrs. Isabella Waldegrave, |
| Countess of Fingal, | Mrs. Turini, |
| Countess of Litchfield, | Mrs. Anne Cary, |
| Lady Bulkeley, | Mrs. Delabadie the dry Nurse, |
| Lady Waldegrave, | Mrs. Wilks the Midwife. |
- All these were Papists.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Countess of Arran, | Lady Isabella Wentworth, |
| Countess of Sunderland, | Mrs. Catherine Sayer, |
| Countess of Roscommon, | Mrs. Margaret Dawson, |
| Countess Mareschal, | Mrs. Elizabeth Bromley, |
| Susanna Lady Bellasis, | Mrs. Elizabeth Pearse. |

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Earl of Peterborough, | Earl of Middleton, |
| Earl of Melfort, | Lord Godolphin, |
| Earl of Murray, | Sir Stephen Fox, |
| Sir William Waldegrave Physician. | Lieutenant Col. Griffin, |
| Chancellor Jefferies, | Sir Charles Scarborough, |
| Earl of Sunderland, | Sir Thomas Witherley, |
| Earl of Mulgrave, | Dr. Robert Brady, |
| Earl of Craven, | St. Amand, the Apothecary. |
| Earl of Huntington, | |
| Earl of Feversham, | |

It is great Pity but their Names should be remember'd! On a Supposition that the King and Queen were really capable of such an Imposture, one cannot but suppose they were capable of every thing for the Support of it. Bishop Burnet's Account of this bawdy Business is the best and modestest.

" It was first prov'd that the Queen was deliver'd a-bed, while many were in the Room, and that they saw the Child soon after he was taken from the Queen by the Midwife; but in this the Midwife was the single Witness, for none of the Ladies had felt the Child in the Queen's Belly. The Countess of Sunderland did indeed depose, that the Queen call'd to her to give her her Hand, that she might feel how the Child lay, to which she added, *which I did*; but did not say whether she felt the Child or not." If she had so said, it would indeed have been good Evidence; but instead of that she told the Dutchess of Hamilton, who told it to the Bishop of Salisbury, that when she put her Hand into the Bed, the Queen held it, and let it go no lower than her Breasts.

All the Proofs destroyed by one.

After this, what signify a hundred Witnesses? The Queen herself call'd for her to feel the Child in her Belly, and when she came, the Queen would not let her feel it. Besides, tho' the Queen was too modest or too proud to give the People Satisfaction, was it not in her power, by letting the Princess Anne feel the Child as

A. D. 1688. she was wont to do, to confound all Gainfayers, and to put the thing out of question? 'Tis monstrous to think she would not have done it, if she had had a Child in her Belly, before the Princess went to Bath.—The Bishop again speaking of Lady Sunderland's Deposition.

" So that really she felt nothing, and this Deposition, brought to make a Shew, was an Evidence against the Matter rather than for it, and was a violent Presumption of an Imposture, and of an Artifice to cover it. Many Ladies depos'd they had often seen the Marks of Milk on the Queen's Linnen near her Breasts; two or three depos'd, that they saw it running out at the Nipple. All these depos'd, that they saw Milk before the pretended Delivery, but none of them depos'd concerning Milk after the Delivery, tho' Nature sends it then in greater abundance; and the Queen had it always in such a Plenty, that some Weeks past after her Delivery, before she was quite freed from it. The Ladies did not name the Time in which they saw the Milk, except one, who nam'd the Month of May: But if the Particulars mention'd before, that happen'd on *Easter Monday*, are reflected on; and if it appears probable by these, that the Queen miscarry'd at that time, then all that the Ladies mention'd of Milk in her Breasts, particularly she that fix'd it in the Month of *May*, might have follow'd upon that Miscarriage, and be no Proof concerning the Birth. Mrs. Pearse the Laundress depos'd, she took Linnen from the Queen's Body once, which carried the Marks of a Delivery, but she spoke only to one Time; that was a main Circumstance, and if it had been true, it must have been done often, and was capable of a more copious Proof, since there is occasion for such things to be often look'd on, and well consider'd. The Lady Wentworth was the single Witness that depos'd, that she had felt the Child move in the Queen's Belly: She was a Bed-Chamber Woman as well as a single Witness, and she fix'd it on no Time; if it was very early she might have been mistaken, or if it was before *Easter Monday* it might be true, and yet have no relation to this Birth."

This was the Substance of all the Evidence, which was order'd to be enroll'd and printed, and had no other Effect than to make Jestts for lewd People. " The Presumption of Law before this was all in favour of the Birth, since the Parents own'd the Child; so that the Proof lay on the other side, and ought to be offer'd by those who call'd it in question. But now that this Proof was brought, which was so apparently defective, it did not lessen, but increase the Jealousy, with which the Nation was possess'd; for all People concluded that if the thing had been true, it must have been easy to have brought a much more copious Proof than was now publish'd to the World."

This Matter is pretty well discuss'd in the Memorial of the Church of England, address'd to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange, said to be written by Major Wildman. It contain'd the Grievances of the English Nation under King James, and the Imposture of the Pretender; 'tis very long and very curious. The Charge of the Imposture oblig'd King James to collect these obscene Depositions, for the Memorial had not been long dispers'd in Holland, before Care was taken to disperse it in England also.

The King offer'd to have the Queen sworn as well as her Ladies, but the Company were

A. D.
1688.Earl of
Sunder-
land in
Disgrace.

too good Courtiers to admit of that; and indeed one can't see the use of it, for he or she who makes no Conscience of a Cheat, will certainly make no Conscience of swearing to it. Lord *Hallifax* said, when the Printing the Depositions was talk'd of, *It must be for the Rabble only, Persons of Honour do not want them.* The Child was christen'd about the same time, and nam'd *James Francis-Edward*, the Pope's Nuncio being his Godfather. The King told some Lords he had three Witnesses more to prove the Birth, but he would not produce them out of respect to their Profession; he meant Father *Petre*, Father *Galli* the Queen's Confessor, and the Abbot *Massa*, *Mastro di Camera* to the Nuncio; Rare Evidence! and it would have been pleasant to have met them among the other Witnesses. On the 28th of *October* the Earl of *Sunderland* was remov'd from his Places of President of the Council, and Principal Secretary of State. It was thought the King had some Diffidence of his having Correspondence with the Prince of *Orange*; but whether he had or not, 'tis no question his Lady had with the Princess. *Skelton* to justify his Conduct in *France*, inform'd the King, that he receiv'd Information of the Prince of *Orange's* Design from Mr. *Bude de Verace*, of *Geneva*, who had been Steward of the Household to the Princess Dowager of *Orange*, of which he had written six or seven Letters to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and having had no Answer, he apply'd to the *French* King, who upon that sent *Bourepos* to *London*, and Orders to *d'Avaux* at the *Hague* to expostulate the Matter with the States. This Account of the prime Minister confirm'd all former Suspicions of him, which had still further Confirmation by the Deposition of one *Wickstead*, formerly a Monk, who being seiz'd for holding Correspondence with the Enemy, charg'd the Earl of *Sunderland* to his face, with revealing his Majesty's Secrets to the Prince of *Orange*. Upon which, *Wickstead* was committed to a Messenger, from whom he made his Escape out of a Window two Pair of Stairs high, and Lord *Sunderland* own'd the Receipt of *Skelton's* Letters; but added, he took no notice of them, out of an invincible Contempt for that Tool and all his Intelligence, which was generally second-hand News. Lord *Sunderland* had taken out a particular Pardon, so had *Jefferies*, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Chester*. *Sunderland* expecting to be remov'd, turn'd off above a Dozen of his Domesticks twelve Days before; and the next Day after retir'd to his House, which had been Prince *Rupert's*, at *Windsor*, from whence he withdrew into *Holland*; after the Prince was sail'd for *England*, and there publish'd his Apology; as Dr. *Sprat*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, did in a Letter to the Earl of *Dorset*; and the Earl of *Mulgrave* in a Letter to Dr. *Tillotson*; but neither of them are clear'd, even by the Account they themselves give of their own Conduct.

By this time the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration was almost in every one's hand. It was first brought over by Captain *Langham*, who commanded a Company of Foot in an *English* Regiment in the States Service; who coming to *London*, was recommended to lodge at a Man's House, who had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. *Langham* ask'd him to get somebody to shew him where the *Dutch* Ambassador dwelt, and enquiring the Price of a good Horse, said he did not value ten or twenty Guineas more or less, if he could have a good one. When he went out he was very earnest with the People of the House to take great care of his Portmanteau; all which Circumstances rais'd a Suspicion, and

the Man of the House having been pardon'd by King *James*, either out of Gratitude, or in hope of Reward, open'd his Portmanteau, took out the Declarations, and carry'd them to the Lord Mayor, who order'd *Langham* to be seiz'd, and sent him and the Declarations to *Whitehall*, where the Council was presently summon'd to examine him. *Langham* boldly deny'd that he brought over any such Paper, alledging he came for *England*, purely to take hold of his Majesty's most gracious Pardon lately publish'd; and adding, that such Usage would fright People from venturing into *England* upon it. *Skelton* seeing the Captain, said he was a great Enemy to the King; upon which he was committed, and set aside for Trial. A Proclamation was publish'd *November 2.* against reading, or keeping that *Treasonable Libel*, as it was call'd, and great Care was taken to hinder its being dispers'd; infomuch, that a Copy of it could not be procur'd for Silver or Gold. The *Grand Jury*, before whom a Bill of High Treason was laid against *Langham*, refus'd to find it, because no Declaration appear'd; however, in a few Days it was reprinted, and spread about Town and Country. The King then finding there was no way to hinder it, permitted the printing of it, with a sorry Answer, said to be written by *Pen*; tho' I must confess I think the Prince of *Orange's* first Declaration to be by no means worthy his glorious Cause: 'tis dry and tedious, and wants the Spirit and Fire, which is the Characteristick of the Genius of Liberty; it has Truth every where, and it might have had Life and Beauty, had Bishop *Burnet* had the penning of it. The Substance of it was the Enumeration of the Grievances of the three Kingdoms, and the means of redressing them by a Free Parliament; to which he referr'd every thing, in an additional Declaration the 24th of *October* N. S. His Highness publish'd this to remove any ill Impressions that might have been made by the King's saying, that he came to conquer these Kingdoms; for he assur'd them he was coming only to deliver them from Popery and Slavery, of which they were in the most extreme Danger.

The King was indecently elevated with the false Accounts, which had been given of the Ruin of the *Dutch* Fleet; he suffer'd it to be printed in the *Gazette*, that 400 Horse had been thrown over-board, and several dead Men; that 1500 Horse were render'd unserviceable, &c. The *Harlem* and *Amsterdam* Gazettes were order'd to give a dismal Relation of the great Damage the Prince's Fleet had sustain'd, on purpose to encrease King *James's* Security, and it had such Effect on the *English* Court for a few days, that the King could not help discovering his Mind so far as to begin to recall some of his late Acts of Grace, and to shew, says *Echard* very quaintly, *They were more the Result of Necessity than Inclination.* When that Expression in the Prince's Declaration was first read to him, *That his Highness was invited over by divers of the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and others*, he started, and in great Perplexity sent for the Archbishop of *Cantebury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, *Peterborough*, and others, of whom he demanded, *Whether their inviting the Prince of Orange was true?* The Bishops seeing the Bishops of *Chester* and *St. David's* with the King, told the Lord *Preston*, Secretary of State, that they should not speak as long as those Prelates were there; so they were sent away. The other Bishops not giving him a satisfactory Answer, he fell into a Passion, and requir'd them, fixing a

A. D.
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Orange's
Declara-
tion.

A. D. 1688. short Day for it, to bring him a Paper under their own Hands, signifying their Abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's intended Invasion, which they evaded, and upon which read the learned Bishop's re-
fuse to ab-
hor the
Prince of
Orange's
Expedi-
tion.

"This Juncture brought into View the Exactness of the Parallel between the King, now in want of Assistance, and his Father; for when the Scots invaded England in 1640, King Charles required the Lords and great Commoners at York, to sign a Protestation, containing, that the Subscribers did disclaim and renounce their having any Correspondence with those Rebellious Invaders. But the Lord Viscount Say, and the Lord Brook, positively refused, even in the King's own Presence, to make any such Protestation, insisting, that if the King suspected their Loyalty he might prosecute them as he thought fit; but that it was against Law to impose Oaths, or Protestations, which the Law did not enjoin, and in that respect they ought not to betray the Common Liberty, but would submit to his Majesty's Prosecution, if any should be. The King therefore imprison'd them, but the Complaints against that illegal Proceeding being general, they were dismiss'd. The Bishops now in 1688, follow'd those two Lords Example, even in King James's own Presence, in declining to obey his express and personal Commands, and refusing to betray the publick Liberty. From which two Instances may be collected these short Remarks: That King James was now come over to Sidney's Opinion; That some Power is derived from the People; That Britons, whatsoever be their Pretences, will, when Pressures and Sufferings come to be their own Case, fly to the Constitution for shelter; and that the Bishops now thought it no Disparagement to imitate the Proceedings in 1640."

Circumstances of Char. I. and Ja. II. the same.

K. James of Col. Sidney's Opinion.

Bishops imitate 1640.

The King told them he must have their Abhorrence, for his Success depended upon it, and he had left room to print it in his Proclamation against the Prince, which he was forced to publish without it.

The Bishops offer'd to disown verbally what was said of them in the Declaration, and he might make what use of it he pleas'd. The King could get nothing more from them, and when he dismiss'd them he said fullenly, I'll depend upon my Army.

His Highness wrote a Letter to the Army, and Admiral Herbert another to the Fleet, which had great Influence on the Minds both of Soldiers and Seamen, well enough prepared to receive such Impressions as were in the Contents of those Letters.

The Prince sails from Holland.

All the Damage his Highness's Ships had receiv'd being repaired, he set sail from Helvoetsluys the 1st of November, and it is certain, he even then design'd for the North of England, for the Fleet try'd till next day at Noon, if it was possible to sail Northward. About Noon November 2, the Signal was given to steer Westward, and the Wind being full East, it not only happily diverted them from their first intended Course, but kept the English Fleet in the River; nor was it possible for them to come out, tho' they were fallen down so low as the Gunfleet. By this means the Prince had the Sea open to him, with a fair Wind and a safe Navigation. On the 3d of November he pass'd between Dover and Calais, and before Night came in sight of the Isle of Wight. The next Day, November the 4th, on which the Prince was both born and married, he fancy'd if he could then land, it would look auspicious to the Army, and animate the Soldiers; but it was the general Opinion, that the 5th of November,

being Gunpowder-Treason Day, would be thought the more fortunate for their landing, as an Era of Deliverance from Popery, which his Highness was now attempting. It was resolv'd to land in Torbay, or where it could be best done near it, that being at such a distance from London, Horses might be got, and every thing put in order, before the King could march his Army against the Prince; besides, the Men might be refresh'd at Exeter. The Pilots overshoot the Bay in the Night, and found themselves past not only that, but Dartmouth in the Morning, so that 'twas thought the Fleet must sail on to Plymouth. Admiral Russel, who saw the Pilots Error was in great Disorder upon it, when on a sudden, to the Wonder of all, the Wind turn'd into the South, and a soft and happy Gale carried the whole Fleet in four Hours into Torbay.

A. D. 1688.

On Saturday the 3d of November, News came to Whitehall, that the Dutch Fleet was in the Channel between Dover and Calais, half Sea over, sailing Westward with a fair Wind, so numerous that they were seven Hours passing those Streights. Courier after Courier arriv'd from the South Coasts to bring an Account of its Motions. The King expected the Prince would land in the North, and for that Reason the Scots halted at Carlisle. But it would not have been the better for him; the Earl of Danby, Earl of Devonshire, Earl of Stamford, and Lord Fairfax having secured those Counties for the Prince. The Earl of Devonshire caus'd the Prince's Declaration to be read in the Town of Derby, from whence he wrote a Letter to the Lord Middleton, to assure him that he took not Arms out of enmity to the King's Person, but for the Good of his Country, and to obtain a Free Parliament; and whereas it was said in the Prince's Declaration, that he was invited by several Peers of the Realm, he own'd that himself was one of them; which Letter he caus'd to be printed, and it very much mortified the King and his Adherents. He pleas'd himself with thinking that the Prince would not be able to recruit his Cavalry in the West, Alberville having written him that the Dutch had lost 1500 Horse. The Court gave out that the Lord Dartmouth was in pursuit of them; and the King himself said, If the Wind is the same at Sea as at Land, he doubted not he would soon be up with them, and a terrible Battle ensue. He founded this Judgment on the Milan Almanack, where such a Combat was prophesied to fall out in the last Quarter of the Moon; but Great Heroes build nothing upon Almanacks. Capt. Aylmer, afterwards Lord, who commanded the Swallow Frigate, seeing a large Dutch Pink lagging in the Tail of the Fleet, made sail to her, and found her just ready to sink; she had 4 Companies of Foot on board, belonging to Col. Babington's Regiment; they were commanded by Major Columbine, and one of the Companies was Capt. Langham's who brought over the Declaration. Another Dutch Transport, laden with Hay, was brought into the Thames by the Master, to whom the King gave both Ship and Cargo. Captain Aylmer follow'd the Dutch Fleet till he saw them into Torbay, and on Tuesday sent an Express to the King, that the Troops were landing. The Man made such haste, and was so tir'd, that he fell down at the King's Feet, and could not speak, which was the greater Disappointment to the Court, because the Particulars were refer'd to the Express; but he was soon followed by other Couriers, from whom the King had full Intelligence, which however was kept as secret as possible. He proceeded with the utmost Diligence, to get a fine Train of Artillery in readiness, and the Troops were

K. James hears of his landing.

A. D. 1688. were order'd to rendezvous near *Salisbury*. There was, from the first News of the Prince's Landing, no great Fear of their doing the *Dutch* any harm, for as they were marching thro' the City of *London*, and thro' great Crouds, that came to see them, to testify their Hopes of the Prince of *Orange's* Success, many of them drank to it privately, People waiting with Bottles of Wine and other Liquors to give them: The Officers might easily have seen it, but they would nor, and the Soldiers knew very well that they were in no danger of them.

Prince of Orange's Standard.

Upon the Arrival of the *Dutch* Fleet in *Torbay*, the Prince of *Orange* gave Orders that his great Standard should be put up. It had this Motto, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND, and underneath JE MAINTIENDRAI, I will maintain, the Motto of the House of *Nassau*. The White Flag was put uppermost, signifying his most gracious Offer of Peace to all such as would live peaceably, and under that the red or bloody Flag was set up, signifying War to all that oppos'd his just Designs. Drawing into the Bay's Mouth, they discover'd the People of *Devonshire* flocking in great Numbers to the Sea-Shore, not to oppose the Prince's landing, but to welcome their Deliverer, with joyful Shouts and Acclamations, and to furnish him and his Followers with Provisions for their Refreshment. Coming very near, just before any landed, a Divine of the Church of *England*, on board the *Golden Sun*, got upon the Poup of the Ship, and flourishing his Bible in his Hand, cry'd out, For the Prince and the Protestant Religion. The Bells rung all along Shore, as the Prince coasted it. The *English* and *Scots* Regiments were order'd to land first, himself follow'd about Noon, on the fifth of *November*, and took his Quarters at a Fisherman's in *Torbay*, ordering a Camp to be mark'd out on the Top of the Hill, which consisted of 26 Regiments, having,

1000 Inferior Officers.

78 Field Officers.

15400 Soldiers, Horse and Foot.

About 2000 more than the List publish'd by King *James's* Order. As soon as the Prince and *Mareschal Schomberg* got ashore, they were furnish'd with such Horses as the Village of *Broxholme* could afford, and rode up the Hill to view the Ground, which was found to be as convenient as could be imagin'd for the Foot in that Season. The Prince sent for all the Fishermen of the Village, and ask'd them which was the properest Place for landing his Horse, and he was next Morning shew'd one below *Broxholme*, where the Ships could be brought very near the Land, against a good Shore, and the Horses would not be put to swim above 20 Yards. This prov'd so happy for landing, tho' known by meer Accident, that there could not have been found a properer Place in the whole Island.

There was a dead Calm all that Morning, and in three Hours time all the Horse were landed, with as much Baggage as was necessary, till the Army got to *Exeter*. By next day Noon it was in full March, and march'd 4 Miles that night, being then about 20 Miles from *Exeter*. No sooner were they thus disengag'd from their Fleet, than a great Storm blew from the *West*, but the *Dutch* Ships were cover'd by the Land; and the King's Fleet, which was come as far as the Isle of *Wight*, in pursuit of them, were so shatter'd by this contrary Wind, that being forc'd into *Portsmouth*, they were no more fit for Service that Year.

Besides the *Mareschal de Schomberg*, his Highness had with him of Foreigners, Count *Charles*

and Count *Meinhardt Schomberg*, Monsieur *Bentinck*, Monsieur *Zuysestein*, Seigneur *Auverquerque*, Monsieur *Keppel*, Count *Nassau*, Baron *Genkle*, the famous Generals *Fagel* and *Hompesch*, Monsieur *Caillemotte*, Brother to the Lord *Garway*. The Prince made haste to *Exeter*, where he staid 10 Days to refresh his Troops, and give the Country time to shew their Affections, which they did by shouting and ringing of Bells, but did by no means crowd in to him, as they did to the Duke of *Monmouth*; the *Devonshire* Men telling the Prince's Officers, You are enough of yourselves to do the Business. His Highness brought Arms sufficient for as many more as he had with him; but he, having a regular Army, and not standing in so much need of Assistance as the Duke of *Monmouth* did, was not hasty in giving out Commissions. The first he gave were to the Lord Viscount *Mordaunt*, Sir *John Guise*, and Sir *Robert Peyton*, who being curious in their Men, did not compleat their Regiments in the Time that *Monmouth* compleat his whole Army.

The first Place the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration was publickly read at, was *Newton Abbot*, a Market Town near *Exeter*, and the first Man who read it was a Clergyman. His Highness staid two Nights at Sir *William Courtney's*, and was nobly entertain'd; from thence he went to *Chudleigh*; and thence, on the 8th of *November*, to *Exeter*, where he made a splendid Entry, which was mightily magnify'd at *London*, and a Paper came out, with an Account of the Form and Manner of it, adding such a terrible Description of his *Finland* Guards, cloath'd in Bear Skins, and his *Swiss* with Whiskers, as made a strong Impression on the Vulgar, who look'd on King *James's* List of his Forces, tho' not much short of the Truth, as a Fable to lessen his Strength. The Cannon and heavy Baggage was brought by Water to *Topham*, three Miles from *Exeter*. The Clergy and Magistrates of *Exeter* were very fearful and very backward. The Prince sent for them, and spoke very obligingly to them. The Bishop ran out at one Gate while the Prince enter'd at another, and was made Archbishop of *York*, for his Cowardice, or something worse. The Dean too scamper'd in the Flight, but he return'd before his Highness was gone from his House, which he took for his Lodgings. *Te Deum* was sung in the Cathedral, and after the Collect was ended, Dr. *Burnet* read his Highness's Declaration; at the beginning of which the Clergy shuffled out of their Seats, but the People were very attentive; and when at the End of the Declaration, the Doctor cry'd God bless the Prince of *Orange*, they shouted for Joy. The Clergy almost every where else shew'd their Assent to the Prince's Undertaking, by their cheerful Reception of his Followers, and opening the Church-Doors, to ring the Bells in the Places thro' which he pass'd. Those of *Exeter* were order'd by Dr. *Burnet*, in the Prince's Name, not to pray for the pretended Prince of *Wales*; but one of them so doing, two of the Lords who came over with the Prince, stood up and put on their Hats, in Abhorrence of it, kneeling down at all the other Collects. His Highness was three Days at *Exeter* before he was join'd by any of the Nobility or Gentry who had invited him over, or were in his Interest. The Mayor and Aldermen of the City were very cold, and only one *Tuthill* and another Alderman declar'd for him. The Army was kept under such exact Discipline, that every thing was paid for, where it was demanded; tho' the Soldiers were contented with such moderate Entertainment, that the People generally ask'd

A. D. 1688.

Exeter Clergy against the Prince.

His Highness at Exeter.

A. D. 1688. ask'd but little for what they had of them. The Prince was a Week at *Exeter*, before any of the Gentlemen of the Country came in to him, tho' Persons of Condition came every Day from other Parts. The first was the Lord *Colchester*, Son to Earl *Rivers*, Lieutenant of the Lord *Dover's* Troop of Guard, who brought some of the Troopers with him to *Exeter*; with him, or soon after, arriv'd *Thomas Wharton* Esq; Son of the Lord *Wharton*; Col. *Godfrey*, who had married the Duke of *Berwick's* Mother; *John Howe* Esq; Mr. *Ruffel*, Brother to the late Lord *Orford*; at last came Mr. *Edward Seymour*, Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Francis War*, Col. *Palmer*, Major *Boxer*, and many *West Country* Gentlemen. As soon as Mr. *Seymour*, afterwards Sir *Edward*, was come, he sent for Dr. *Burnet*, and ask'd him, *Why they were a Rope of Sand? Why they had not an Association?* which was then drawn up, and laid on the Prince's Table, where the Lords and Gentlemen of his Court sign'd it as follows.

Sir Edward Seymour's Association. *WE whose Names are hereunto subscrib'd, who have now join'd with the Prince of Orange for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the maintaining of the antient Government, and the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince of Orange, and to one another, to stick firm to this Cause in the Defence of it, and never to depart from it until our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, are so far secur'd to us in a Free Parliament, that we shall be no more in danger of falling under Popery and Slavery. And whereas we are engag'd in this Common Cause under the Protection of the Prince of Orange, by which Case his Person might be expos'd to Danger, and the cursed Attempts of Papists and other bloody Men; We do therefore solemnly engage to God and one another, that if any such Attempt be made upon him, we will pursue not only those that make it, but all their Adherents, and all that we find in Arms against us, with the utmost Severity of a just Revenge to their Ruin and Destruction. And that the Execution of any such Attempt, which God of his infinite Mercy forbid, shall not divert us from prosecuting this Cause, which we do now undertake, but that it shall engage us to carry it on with all the Vigour that so barbarous an Action shall deserve.*

Oxford for Resistance. While the Prince was in *Exeter*, there came to him from *Oxford* a Head of a College, who invited him thither in the Name of that University, and his Highness design'd to go to *Oxford*, had not King *James's* Flight from *London* call'd him thither when he was got as near it as *Abington*; however the abovemention'd Association was carry'd thither, and signed by the Heads of the Houses and others, with Expressions of the greatest Zeal in this *Resisting* Cause, *that their Hearts went with their Hands.*

Lord Cornbury joins the Prince. After the abovemention'd Gentlemen, the Earl of *Abington*, Captain *Clarges*, and other Persons of Quality arriv'd at *Exeter*, as did also the Lord *Cornbury* Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, with which, and Part of the Duke of *St. Albans's* Regiment of Dragoons and the Royal Regiment of Horse, he pretended to attack some of the Pr. of *Orange's* advanc'd Guards, as he gave out, by the Kings Order. His Highness had notice of his Design to come over to him, and commanded a Body of his Men to advance and assist him in case the subaltern Officers should make any Resistance. They were within twenty Miles of *Exeter*, and within two

A. D. 1688. Miles of the Prince's Body, when a Whisper ran among them that they were betray'd. Bishop *Burnet* says, the Lord *Cornbury* had not the Presence of Mind, which so critical an Affair required; so they fell in Confusion, and many rode back. One entire Regiment and about a Hundred of the other two came forward with him to *Exeter*, which much encourag'd the Prince's Friends, and shew'd them they had not been deceiv'd in what was told them of the Inclinations of the King's Army. On the other hand, those who study'd to support the King's Spirit by Flatteries, assur'd him, he might even at this time depend entirely upon his Army, since those that intended to carry over those Regiments, were forc'd to manage it with so much Artifice, and durst not discover their Design either to Officers or Soldiers; and as soon as the latter perceiv'd it, the greater Part of them turn'd back. False News, which is poor Food for Men in Distress to feed upon. The Truth and Circumstances of this important Defection, are as follows.

On Sunday three Regiments of Horse, the Duke of *Berwick's*, late Earl of *Oxford's*, commanded by his Lieutenant-Colonel Sir *Francis Compton* Brother to the Bishop of *London*; the Duke of *St. Albans's*, commanded by his Lieutenant-Colonel *Langston*; and Sir *John Fenwick's*, commanded by *Sunderland* his Lieutenant-Colonel; and the Regiment of Dragoons, commanded by the Lord *Cornbury* in Person, arriv'd in the Evening at *Salisbury*, and about three a-Clock on Monday Morning they founded to Horse, and the Dragoons beat a March. *Sunderland* Lieutenant-Colonel to *Fenwick*, sent his Major to Sir *Francis Compton* to know *What Orders?* *Compton* reply'd, their three Regiments of Horse were ordered to march farther Westward. *Sunderland* desiring to see those Orders, *Compton* said he had them not, but Lord *Cornbury* had, who commanded that Detachment. Upon this, *Sunderland* went to be satisfi'd by that Lord, who was not in the way. The three other Regiments march'd, and those that were in the Secret told the rest they were to seize an Out-Post before the *Dutch* were advanc'd to it. These Regiments rode 18 Miles without stopping, then they halted two Hours, and rode on 20 Miles more without unbridling. At length Major *Clifford* of *Cornbury's* Dragoons perceiving they drew near the *Dutch*, mistrusted the Design, which when he discover'd, he, with three other Officers and about thirty Dragoons, refus'd to go further. The Duke of *Berwick* arriv'd at *Salisbury* the same Evening, and understanding his Regiment was gone, follow'd Post, but he could not overtake them. He pick'd up about a hundred Troopers and Dragoons of the three Regiments, which the Court gave out were 400, but the contrary was apparent.

The King was come to *Salisbury*, in very great need of Assistance both in Mind and Body, *King James* at his Spirits sunk extremely; so it is always with *Salisbury*. Guilt in Despair, his Blood was in such Fermentation, that he had frequent Bleeding at the Nose: he sent many Spies to observe the Motions of the Prince, and they all took his Money, but never return'd to him; or if they did return, they brought him only common Reports, which magnify'd the Numbers of the *Dutch*, as much as he and his Creatures lessen'd them. He had not been long at *Salisbury* before he heard that *London* was unquiet, that the Earls of *Devonshire*, *Danby*, and the Lord Viscount *Lumley* were drawing great Bodies together in the *North*, that *York* and *Newcastle* had declar'd for the Prince, notwithstanding the Bluster made by the Duke

A. D. 1688. Duke of Newcastle. That the Lord *Delamere* had arm'd and mounted his Tenants in *Cheshire*, making above 200 Horse; and among this, and a great deal more ill News, he had only the Comfort to hear, that the Lord *Lovelace* passing thro' *Circncester* to join the Prince, with about 50 Horse, had been intercepted and taken by *Beaufort's* Militia after a *Skirmish*, in which several of the Militia were so stout as to be kill'd, among whom was the Major and his Son. 'Twas talk'd of bringing Lord *Lovelace* to *Salisbury*, and trying him immediately by a Council of War; but the Defection from King *James* came on too fast, and he, and those about him, became more solicitous to save themselves than to destroy others.

Before the King left *London* the following Peers deliver'd a Petition to him.

Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> .	Bishop of <i>Rochester</i> .
Archbishop of <i>York</i> .	Bishop of <i>Peterborough</i> .
Duke of <i>Grafton</i> .	Bishop of <i>Oxford</i> .
Duke of <i>Ormond</i> .	Lord <i>Ossulston</i> .
Earl of <i>Oxford</i> .	Earl of <i>Clarendon</i> .
Earl of <i>Clare</i> .	Earl of <i>Rochester</i> .
Lord Viscount <i>Newport</i> .	Earl of <i>Burlington</i> .
Bishop of <i>St. Asaph</i> .	Earl of <i>Anglesea</i> .
Bishop of <i>Ely</i> .	Lord <i>Paget</i> .
	Lord <i>Chandos</i> .

The Substance of it was, that he would call a free Parliament, and enter into a Treaty with the Prince. These Peers had been inform'd the King should have said, *He would take it highly ill of any Man that offer'd such a thing to him.* But instead of so high a Tone, the Answer was, *My Lords, what you ask of me I most passionately desire, and I promise you on the Faith of a King that I will have a Parliament, and such a one as you ask for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this Realm; for how is it possible a Parliament should be free in all its Circumstances, while an Enemy is in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of near 100 Voices?* One would think it impossible for a Man who had liv'd near threescore Years in the World, and been conversant with Courts and Councils, to discover so much Weakness; he promises on the Faith of a King, who had in the most notorious manner broken it; he calls the Prince an Enemy, when all the Nation took him to be their best Friend; he says it is not possible to have a free Parliament while he's in the Kingdom, and every Soul in it believ'd there never would be a free Parliament, if he once left it.

Several Lords, as the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Carbery*, refus'd to sign the Lords Petition, because it was not strong enough; and they insisted upon it, that the *English* Peers who were with the Prince of *Orange* might have Writs of Summons to Parliament, and that it should be mention'd.

The King's Journey to *Salisbury* was hasten'd by the Advice of the Count *de Roze*, whose Officioufness in this Business gave great occasion of Scandal to the *French* Protestants. Before the King went, he nominated Dr. *Lampugh*, late Bishop of *Exeter*, for the Archbishoprick of *York*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Bishop of *Bristol*, for the See of *Exeter*. He made the more haste, upon hearing that the City of *London*, the Counties of *York*, *Kent*, and other Shires, were preparing Petitions to the same Purport with that of the Peers. The Duke of *Grafton*, who had sign'd that Petition, told the King he did it, because he thought it was for the Interest of his Country, but that he would

accompany him, and fight to the last Drop of his Blood for his Service; adding, *If Your Majesty brings in any French, I'll be d—n'd if any one will serve you.* The King reply'd, *Nobody can speak plainer.* There was then a Report that the *Sieur Gaberet*, Commander of a Squadron of *French* Ships, was taking in Troops at *Bologne* or *Calais*, to be transported to *England*, which Report, tho' false, set the Nation still more against the Court. As the King depended much upon the *Milan Almanack*, the *London Mob* built much on the Falling of the Scepter out of the Hand of Popish Queen *Mary's* Statue on the *Royal-Exchange*, as portending the Downfall of Popery. They had been alarm'd with a Talk of *Cauldrons*, *Gridirons*, *Knives* and *Spits* being found in the Popish Seminary at *St. John's*, which was assaulted by them, as was that in *Bucklersbury*, where they gutted the *Romish* Chappel; and a Priest sneaking off with one of the Silver Candlesticks, had his Hand, Candlestick and all, cut off, by a Goldsmith's Apprentice whom I knew. The *Mafs-House* at *Lime-street* was reliev'd by the Trained Bands, or it had been utterly demolish'd, both Priests and People that frequented it, having been more insolent than those in *Bucklersbury*. The *Mob's* Justice here, and at the *Mafs-House* in *Wild-street*, was remarkable; for having decreed the Furniture and Implements to the Fire, there was nothing of it plunder'd, and when some Rascals endeavour'd to purloin some part, they were immediately taken hold of, and us'd in a worse manner than the Law uses Pilferers. Before the King left *London*, or while he was yet almost in the Hearing of it, there was a Hue and Cry after Father *Petre*, who shelter'd himself in the Train of the Lord *Waldegrave*, who was sent Ambassador to *France*, the only Place where an Ambassador from King *James* now signify'd any thing.

The King had sent for the chief Officers of the Army, upon hearing of the Defection of the Lords *Cornbury* and *Colchester*. The Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Churchill*, Col. *Trelawny* and Col. *Kirk* attending him, he told them he was resolv'd to call a free Parliament to redress Grievances, and do what was desir'd of him; with which, if they were not satisfy'd, he would grant them Passes to go to the Prince of *Orange*, and spare them the Shame of deserting their lawful Sovereign. He can't help it; the grand Air must always be kept up, and whatever unlawful things he did, must still be the lawful!

The King arriving at *Salisbury* on the 19th of *November*, was complemented by such Officers of the Army as were most devoted to him, who all express'd their Abhorrence of the Lord *Cornbury's* Desertion; but the next day most of the chief Officers, and even some of the last mention'd, who disapprov'd of the Lord *Cornbury's* Defection, apply'd to the Earl of *Feverham*, desiring him to assure the King, *They would spill the last Drop of their Blood in his Service, but could not in Conscience fight against a Prince, who was come over with no other Design than to procure the calling of a free Parliament for the Security of their Religion and Liberties.*

The King intended to go that day to *Warminster*, to view four or five Battalions which lay thereabouts, under the Command of Col. *Kirk*, but he was hinder'd by the bleeding of his Nose, for which he was twice let blood. A Party of the Brigade in and about *Warminster*, being inform'd that there was a Party of *Scots* detach'd from the Prince's Army, advanc'd as far as *Bruton*, they march'd thither, and hearing the *Scots* were at *Wincaunton* in *Somersetshire*, four Miles off, they resolv'd to surprize them, their Commander

A. D. 1688.

Officers re-
fuse to fight
against the
Prince of
Orange.

A. D. 1688. *Sarsfield* being an *Irish* Papist; but a *Miller* gave the *Scots* Notice of their coming, and the

Lord Churchill goes to him, with Duke of Grafton, Col. Berkeley, &c.

Scots lining the Hedges, receiv'd them so warmly, that they thought fit to retire, the *Miller* and others crying out, the *Dutch*, the *Dutch*. *Cornet Webb* was mortally wounded. The next day the *Lord Churchill*, who commanded a Brigade of 5000 Men, went over to his Highness, with the *Duke of Grafton*, *Col. Berkeley*, four or five Captains, and as many as were willing to follow him, leaving a Letter behind, containing great Expressions of Duty and Gratitude, but nothing ought to come in competition with his Conscience; he join'd the *Prince* at *Axminster*. The next day, *November* the 29th, on a false Alarm of the *Duke of Schomberg's* advancing with the *Dutch Army*, whose Forlorn was indeed within four Miles of *Salisbury*, to give the *King* Battle, he left that City with great Precipitation, and at *Andover* was himself left by *Prince George of Denmark*, the *Duke of Ormond*, the *Earl of Drumlanerig*, *Sir George Hewett*, and others. The *Prince* wrote him a Letter, representing that his Religion, and the Concern he had for the Liberties of *Europe*, now in danger from the *French King*, oblig'd him to use his Endeavours for the Preservation of both. When the News came to *London*, the *Princess* was so struck with the Apprehension of the *King's* Displeasure, that she said to the *Lady Churchill* she could not bear the Thoughts of it, and would leap out at Window rather than venture it. The *Bishop of London* then lodg'd very secretly in *Suffolk-street*, *Lady Churchill* knew of it, and went to him immediately; they concerted the Method of the *Princess's* withdrawing from Court. Her Highness went sooner to bed than ordinary; about Midnight she went down a back Stairs from her Closet, attended only by the *Lady Churchill* and *Lady Berkeley*, in such haste, that they carry'd nothing with them. They were waited for by my Lord of *London*, who carry'd them to the *Earl of Dorset's*, whose *Lady* furnish'd them with every thing, and so they went Northward as far as *Northampton*, where that *Earl*, attended with a Body of Horse to serve as a Guard to the *Princess*, and in a little while a small Army was form'd about her, who chose to be commanded by the *Bishop of London*, and *Bishop Burnet* says, he too easily accepted it. These things put the *King* in an inexpressible Confusion, he saw himself now forsaken, not only by those whom he had trusted and favour'd most, but even by his own Children; and the Army was in such Distraction, that there was not any one Body that seem'd entirely united and firm to him. *Bishop Burnet* takes notice that a foolish Ballad was made at that time, treating the *Papists*, and chiefly the *Irish*, in a very ridiculous manner. It was sung in the Play-house by the Officers of the Army between the Acts; some *Irish* Officers resenting it, *Col. Harry Wharton*, and 40 or 50 *English* Officers, who were there by Concert, rose from their Seats to vindicate their Ballad, and the *Irish* Burthen of *Lero Lero Liliburlero*, which made an Impression on the Army that cannot well be imagin'd by those who saw it not. At last all People both in City and Country got it, and were perpetually singing it, and perhaps never had so slight a thing so great an Effect.

As do Prince George, Duke of Ormond, Sir George Hewett.

Princess Anne withdraws.

Liliburlero.

The *Prince of Orange* having staid twelve Days at *Exeter*, left the Government of that City with *Mr. Seymour* the Recorder, and a small Garrison, to take Charge of his heavy Artillery, under *Col. Gibson*, whom he made Deputy Governor as to the military Part.

At *Creckern* in *Somersetshire*, *Dr. Finch*, Son to the *Earl of Winchelsea*, Warden of *All Souls* College in *Oxford*, was sent to the *Prince* from

some of the Heads of Colleges, to assure him they would declare for him, and to invite him to come thither, telling him that their Plate should be at his Service, if he need'd it. *Bishop Burnet* observes, *This was a sudden Turn from those Principles that they had carried so long a few Years before.*

The *Earl of Shrewsbury* and *Sir John Guise* enter'd *Bristol* without Opposition; the latter sent to the Keeper of the Castle at *Gloucester*, to discharge the *Lord Lovelace* and his Followers, which was done immediately. The *Earl of Bath* prevail'd with the Garrison of *Plymouth* to declare for the *Prince of Orange*, and most of the *Dutch Men* of War harbour'd there for some time. One of the *King's* Ships commanded by *Captain Churchill*, afterwards *Admiral*, came in to them, the *Captain* having read the *Prince's* Declaration on board it. At *Shireburn* the Gentlemen of *Dorsetshire* came in a Body to the *Prince*, who hasten'd his March towards *London*, where things were in a high Fermentation.

The *Northern* Lords before-mention'd, with a great Concourse of Nobility and Gentry, met at *Nottingham*, and declar'd for the *Prince*; and in their Declaration explain'd what *Rebellion* is, and what a just Resistance. *We hope all good Protestants will with their Lives and Fortunes be assistant to us, and not be bugbear'd with the opprobrious Term of Rebels, by which the Court would fright them, to become perfect Slaves to their tyrannical Insolences and Usurpations; for we assure ourselves that no rational and unbiass'd Persons will judge it Rebellion to defend their Laws and Religion, which all English Princes have sworn at their Coronations; which Oath, how well it has been observ'd of late, we desire a Free Parliament may have the Consideration of. We indeed own it a Rebellion to Resist a King that governs by Law; but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law, and to Resist such a one, we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence.*

At *Shireburn* his Highness had Advice that the *King* was retir'd to *London*, and the broken Remains of his Army to *Reading*; upon which he immediately proceeded to *Salisbury*, where he made a publick Entry, accompany'd by the *Prince of Denmark*, the *Dukes of Ormond* and *Grafton*, *Mareschal Schomberg*, *Count Solmes*, *Count Nassau*, *Messieurs Zuyestein*, *Bentink*, *Overkirk*, the *Earl of Shrewsbury*, the *Earl of Macclesfield*, the *Lord Viscount Mordaunt*, the *Lord Wiltshire*, the *Lord Churchill*, the *Lord Cornbury*, the *Lord Colchester*, with many other Lords and Persons of Quality. His Highness rode in a triumphant manner to the *Bishop's* Palace, which was prepar'd for his Reception. The *Mayor*, *Aldermen* and Corporation of *Salisbury* attended in their Formalities; the Spectators were innumerable; their Joy and Exultation extatick, and vast Multitudes crowded in from all Parts of the Country to get a sight of him, whom they look'd on as the Hope and Deliverer of the Nation. Happy had it been if they had been as grateful afterwards as they were glad then; and why they were not, the Gentlemen who sent his Highness an Offer of their Plate can best tell.

The *North* was secur'd with a great deal of Ease for the *Prince*: *York* by the *Earl of Danby*, *Lord Dunblain*, *Lord Fairfax*, *Lord Willoughby*. *Newcastle*, by the *Lord Lumley*. *Hull* by *Col. Copley*, who made the *Lord Langdale*, the *Popish* Governor, the *Lord Montgomery*, and other *Papists*, Prisoners. The *Earl of Stamford* join'd the *Lord Delamere*, and both of them advanced to assist the *Earl of Shrewsbury*, in his Design

A. D. 1688. *Doctors of Oxford* offer the *Prince* their Plate.

Revolution Principles what they are.

The *Prince's* *Entry into* *Salisbury*.

A. D. 1688. Design upon Bristol; who, however, wanted not their Assistance. The Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Oxford, and many other Lords came in to the Prince daily. The unhappy Duke of Or-

mond carries the Prince's Declaration to Oxford. D. of Ormond was then so animated with Revolution, Principles, and was so zealous for the Protestant Religion, and English Liberties, that taking with him a Party of the Prince's Horse, he went to Oxford, and caus'd his Highness's Declaration to be publickly read there. The Town of Berwick follow'd the Example of York, and declared for the Prince: and tho' the Duke of Gordon was sent from London to secure Edinburgh Castle for the King, yet the Scotch Lords sent the Duke of Queensberry, the Earl of Balcarras, and three other Deputies to London, to demand a free Parliament. Thus in a few Days only, the Defection became almost universal, and as Echard says it ought to be remembred, "That the chief

The Revolution on Ch. of England Principles.

Actors were all Church of England Men, and "proceeded, as Bishop Sprat terms it, upon "Church of England Principles." For, as the Earl of Danby writes, in a Tract, intituled, *Thoughts of a private Person, It is neither against Scripture, nor Moral Honesty, to defend their just and legal Rights, against the illegal and unjust Invaders of them.*

We have mention'd the Retreat of the Princess of Denmark, which when the King heard of, he burst into Tears, and cry'd, *God help me, my own Children have forsaken me*: But he consider'd not, that he himself had forsaken God, his Country, and even his own Children, in forsaking the Church of England, in introducing Arbitrary Power, and in setting up an Impostor, to prevent the Succession of his Daughters.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Anne left a Letter for the Queen, wherein she complain'd of her Father's being misled by the violent Counsels of Priests, and tells her, *she's fully persuaded the Prince of Orange designs the King's Safety and Preservation.* The Bishop of London convoy'd the Princess to Nottingham, where the Earl of Devonshire gave her a Guard of 200 Horse, by whom she was safely conducted to Oxford, and was there joyfully receiv'd by her Husband, who met her with a strong Detachment of the Prince of Orange's Forces.

In the mean time, the Lord Molineux made a fruitless Attempt to raise the Papists in Lancashire; and Sir Edward Hales, a Papist, Governor of the Tower, pointed two Mortar-Pieces on the Tower Battlements, as if he intended to bombard the City, which being rumoured, several skilful Engineers and Sea Officers, were consulted by the Prince's Friends, how to seize the Tower in case such an Attempt was made. It is said, that the Project was laid to enter it at the Wharf, which would have been made easy by Communication with some Officers and Soldiers of the Garrison. The City complaining of Hales's mounting his Mortar-Pieces to terrify them, that worthless Piece of Chivalry was turn'd out, and a Man of not much greater Worth put in his Place.

Third Declaration a bold one.

Before the Prince of Orange left Salisbury, a bold Man, probably Mr. Samuel Johnson, publish'd a third Declaration in the Prince's Name: It was penn'd with great Spirit, and had as great an Effect. One Hugh Speke, whose Character is spared out of Respect to a very worthy Name and Family, pretended to be the Author or Contriver of it; but Echard thinks 'twas a vain Pretence, only to assume the Merit of a Thing, after the Prince succeeded, for which he wou'd have been hang'd, had his Highness been unsuccessful; and indeed he could no more write it, than he could have written Mr. Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*. It set forth the desperate

Designs of the Papists, and the extreme Danger the Nation was in, by their means; and requir'd all Persons immediately to fall on such Papists, as were in any Employments, and to turn them out; to secure all strong Places, and do every thing that was in their power, to execute the Laws, and to bring all Things again in their proper Channels. This set all Men at work, for no doubt was made that it was truly the Prince's Declaration, tho' he knew nothing of it; and it was never certainly known who was the Author. The King was under such Consternation, that he neither knew what to resolve on, nor whom to trust. As no Pity is due to the Pityless, instead of sympathizing in his extreme Misery, I presently call to mind the bleeding Essex in the Tower; the murder'd Russel in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; the quarter'd Cornish in Cheapside; the scourg'd and mangled Mr. Johnson, all the way from Newgate to Tyburn; the infamous Chancellor and Judges; the Bishops in Prison; the Franchises of Corporations forcibly taken away from them: the Herds of Frock'd Priests in City and Country, and I can without relenting see him mourn over his Misfortunes.

The pretended Declaration put the City in a Flame. It was carried to the Lord Mayor, Sir John Chapman, by Captain Henry Baker, and he required him to execute it. The Papists were seized with inexpressible Terror, and it is wonderful that the People had not every where fallen upon the Popish Party. The Protestants were so encouraged, that a Bill of Indictment was preferred to the Grand Jury of Middlesex, against the Earl of Salisbury, not one of the wise Cecils, for turning Papist, contrary to the Laws of the Land. The King return'd to Whitehall, November 26, and two Days after, order'd the Lord Chancellor to issue out Writs, for summoning a Parliament to meet at Westminster the 15th of January next, in which he was no more sincere, than in that he pretended to call two Months before, being all the while consulting with his Queen and Creatures, how to amuse the Prince of Orange and the Nation, till he could send away his Wife, her pretended Son, and then follow them himself, out of the Kingdom 'Twas rumour'd, that the Lord Dartmouth refus'd to transport the Queen and the Impostor from Portsmouth to France; so the Marquis of Powis, who carried him thither, return'd with him to London.

He had consulted the Lords, who were then in Town, on the present wretched State of his Affairs, and they all advis'd him, not only to call a Parliament, but to send Commissioners to the Prince, to treat with him, which was much against his Inclinations; yet he was in such Dejection that he consented to it. The Earl of Clarendon propos'd it, as also a general Pardon, and to turn all Papists immediately out of Employments. To the latter, the King said he would leave it to the ensuing Parliament, but agreed to every thing else. The Lords in Nomination to be Commissioners for the Treaty, were the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Rochester, the Lord Godolphin; the Bishops of Winchester, and Ely; but after a long Consultation their Number was fix'd to these three, the Marquis of Halifax the Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Godolphin. The Earl of Rochester was left out, on account of the irreconcilable Enmity between his Family and the Marquis of Halifax; whose greater Genius gave him greater Credit with the Prince of Orange. That Enmity is suppos'd to quicken the Earl of Clarendon's joining his Highness, in hopes of perplexing the Negotiation, or lessening the Marquis of Halifax's Reputation in it. On this Resolution a Trumpeter was dispatch'd

A. D. 1688.

As no King in despair.

Commissioners sent to treat with the Prince.

A. D. 1688. patch'd by the Earl of *Feverſham*, to demand the neceſſary Paſſes of the Prince of *Orange*, whom he found at *Edingdon*, between *Bath* and *Salisbury*, in his way to *Oxford*. This Trumpeter ſet out the laſt of *November*, the ſame day with the Date of the Proclamation for calling a Parliament, and having obtain'd thoſe Paſſes, the Prince ſent a Trumpeter to demand a Paſs for a Gentleman to wait on the Princeſs of *Denmark*. The *Dutch* Ambaſſador alſo demanded a Paſs to go to the Prince of *Orange*, and the King granted it ſo readily, 'twas thought he expected ſome Good from that Miniſter's Mediation; for he was now in the moſt terrible Deſpondency. Whatever he had ſaid of the Prince's deſigning a Conqueſt, and to take his Crown from him, he did not himſelf, at that time believe it, and indeed there does not ſeem to be any ſuch Deſign in the Prince, and thoſe that invited him. If he had in earneſt ſet about redreſſing of Grievances, in conjunction with good Counſellors, and a free Parliament; if he had ſecur'd the Succeſſion of his Daughters, and the Maintenance of the Church and the Laws, to the Satisfaction of his People, no doubt he might have reign'd to his Death; but his implacable Hatred to our Religion and Liberty, his obſtinate perſiſting in it, when he was at the laſt Extremity, had ſo ſet the Hearts of all the Nation againſt him, that he was in mortal Fear of their Reſentment; and his Flatterers being as fearful as himſelf, it is probable that they had all come to a Reſolution to leave the King if the Commiſſioners did not ſucceed in their Treaty; and they could have no Succeſs if they did not ward off a free Parliament, for which only the Prince of *Orange* came to *England*. At this time the Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord Lieutenant of that County, rais'd the *Militia*, and aſſembling the Citizens of *Norwich*, declar'd to them his Reſolution to aſſiſt his Highneſs in obtaining the Ends of his Declaration. The Town of *Lynn* put themſelves under his Grace's Protection, and declar'd the ſame.

Barillon, the *French* Ambaſſador, was now the King's moſt Chief and Secret Counſellor. He was very buſy, both with him, and with the principal Lords who wiſh'd well to the Prince. He repreſented to theſe that the *Engliſh* would do well to act with Moderation; that the Emperor was a great *Bigot* to his Religion, and would not fail of defending it in *England*.

The Pope's Nuntio was very deſirous to be gone, and ſaid Father *Petre* would answer to God Almighty for all the Miſchief he had been the Cauſe of. The Queen was all the while packing up her Jewels, and preparing to get off.

The three Commiſſioners began their Journey *December* the 2d, and came next day to *Reading*, where they met the Trumpet with the Paſſes deſired from the Prince. Three Days after they acquainted the King, that they were to meet the Prince that Night at *Amesbury*; but they inform'd him next day, that his Highneſs had made a new Appointment to meet at *Hungerford*. They came thither, and having delivered their Meſſage, the Prince call'd all the Peers, and others of chief Note about him, to adviſe with them what Answer ſhould be made. A Day was taken to conſider of it: The Marquis of *Halliſax* ſent for Dr. *Burnet*; but the Prince ſaid, *Tho' I will ſuſpect nothing from ſuch a meeting, others may*, upon which it was put off, and the Doctor ſaw him only in publick; yet the Marquis took occaſion to aſk him, ſo as no body obſerv'd it, *Have you a mind to have the King in your hands!* The Doctor reply'd, *By no means, for we will not hurt his Perſon.* Lord *Halliſax* ſaid, *What if he has a mind to go*

away? Dr. *Burnet's* Answer was, *Nothing is ſo much to be wiſh'd for.* The Doctor told this to the Prince, and he lik'd it. His Highneſs order'd the Earls of *Oxford*, *Shrewsbury* and *Clarendon*, to treat with the Lords the King had ſent, and they deliver'd the Prince's Answer to them on *Sunday* the 8th of *December*. He deſired a Parliament might be preſently called, that no Men ſhould continue in any Employment who were not qualified by Law, and had not taken the Teſts; that the Tower of *London* might be put into the Keeping of the City; and all the ſtrong Places of the Kingdom might be put into the hands of the Proteſtants; that a Proportion of the Revenue might be ſet off for the Pay of the Prince's Army; and that during the Sitting of the Parliament, the Armies might not come within 20 Miles of *London*; but that the Prince might come on to *London*, and have the ſame Number of his Guards about him, that the King kept about his Perſon. The Lords Commiſſioners for the King ſeem'd very well ſatisfy'd with this Answer; and when the King read it, he ſaid, *It was as fair as he could have expected*; but he had then fix'd the very Hour for his going off. In the mean time there happen'd a Skirmiſh at *Reading*, between a Party of the King's *Irish* Men, and a ſmaller Party of the Prince's, who drove the other out of the Town, by the help, as 'twas ſaid, of the Townſmen, who fir'd out of Window at the *Irish* Men, of whom another Party was poſted at *Maidenhead Bridge*; but ſome of the Inhabitants beating a *Dutch* March in the Night, the *Irish* abandon'd their Poſts, leaving their Cannon behind them. The Priests, to frighten away the Queen, told her ſhe would certainly be impeach'd; upon which ſhe reſolv'd to fly for it immediately, and carry the Child with her. The Midwife, and all thoſe that aſſiſted at the Birth, were alſo carry'd over to *France*, or ſo diſpos'd of, that it could never be learn'd what became of them afterwards. The King promis'd to ſtay only a day or two after her, in hopes that the Shadow of Authority might keep Things ſo quiet, that ſhe might have an undiſturb'd Paſſage. The Queen and her Company croſt over to *Lambeth* in a ſtormy Night, *December* the 10th, went on board a Yatch at *Greenwich*, and had a very quick Paſſage to *Calais*. I think Biſhop *Burnet* errs in ſaying ſhe embark'd at *Portsmouth*. The King having read the Prince's Answer, ſent for the Lord Chancellor to come to him next Morning, but he ſecretly order'd the Great Seal to be brought him, and the Parliament Writs to be burnt, and about Three next Morning, *Decemb.* 11. he went away in Diſguiſe, with truſty Sir *Edward Hales*, one *Sheldon* a Papiſt, and *Labadie* the Dry-Nurſe's Husband: he paſs'd for *Hales's* Man. As they croſt the River they flung the Great Seal into it, which was ſome Months after taken up by a Fiſherman, near *Vaux-Hall*, and went down to a miſerable Fiſher-Boat, which *Hales* had provided for them.

With this, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, his Reign ended, for this was a plain Deſerting his People, and the expoſing the Nation to the Pillage of an Army, which he had order'd the Earl of *Feverſham* to diſband; and the doing this, without paying them, was the letting ſo many arm'd Men looſe upon the People, and they might have done much Miſchief, if the Execution of thoſe Orders that he left behind had not been ſtopp'd.

The Night before the King went away, a whole Battalion of *Douglas's*, an old *Scots* Regiment, went off to the Prince. That Morning the King ſent the Letter he left for the Earl of *Feverſham*, about diſbanding the Army, to the Counteſs de *Roye*, the Earl's Siſter, to be convey'd

K. James hates and is hated.

D. of Norfolk ſecures Norwich, &c.

Foreign Miniſters Behaviour

Commiſſioners to treat.

Lord Hallifax and Dr. Burnet's Diſcourſe about the King's Perſon.

A. D. 1688.

The Prince's Demands;

The Queen frighten'd away.

With the Impoſtor, and all at the pretended Birth.

The King quits the Kingdom.

A. D. 1688. The Marquis of *Mircmont*, who had lately repented of what he had done, got his Regiment together, five Hours after the King went, and told his Officers, he thought it best to declare for the Prince of *Orange*; they all joining with him, he commanded all the *Papish* Troopers to alight, and quit their Arms and Cloaks, which 15 of them did. The Duke of *Northumberland*, Captain of a Troop of Guards, declared also for his Highness, as did his whole Troop.

Lords address the Prince of Orange.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, meeting at *Guildhall*, the Peers agreed upon a solemn Declaration, to assist his Highness, in obtaining a free Parliament, to secure the Church of *England*, the Laws and Liberties of the Nation, and a due Liberty of Conscience to Protestant Dissenters. They promis'd to take care of the City, to disarm all *Papists*, and apprehend *Romish* Priests and *Jesuits*. It was sign'd by,

<i>W. Cant.</i>	<i>Craven.</i>
<i>Tho. Ebor.</i>	<i>Ailesbury.</i>
<i>Pembroke.</i>	<i>Burlington.</i>
<i>Dorset.</i>	<i>Suffex.</i>
<i>Mulgrave.</i>	<i>Berkley.</i>
<i>Thanet.</i>	<i>Rocheſter.</i>
<i>Carlisle.</i>	<i>Newport.</i>
<i>Weymouth.</i>	<i>Chandos.</i>
<i>P. Winton.</i>	<i>Montagu.</i>
<i>W. Afaph.</i>	<i>T. Fermyn.</i>
<i>Fran. Ely.</i>	<i>Vaughan Carbery.</i>
<i>Tho. Roſſen.</i>	<i>Colepepyr.</i>
<i>Tho. Petriburg.</i>	<i>Crew.</i>
<i>P. Wharron.</i>	<i>Oſſulſton.</i>
<i>North and Grey.</i>	

And sent to the Prince by the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Viscount *Weymouth*, and Bishop of *Ely*.

Bishops and Lords for Resistance.

The Lords at the same time sent for Col. *Skelton*, Governor of the Tower, who was posted there by the King's Commission, and demanded the Keys of him; than which I defy all Historians to shew me a greater Act of *Disloyalty*, according to High Church Interpreters. Having turn'd him out, they made the Lord *Lucas* Governor, and if this is not *Resistance* with a vengeance, there can be no Instance given of it. Among these Resisters, were four Nonjuring Bishops, and ten Lords, whose Names may be found among the *Abhorers*.

The Lieutenant of *London* sent an Address of Thanks to his Highness, by Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *Basil Firebrace*, Sir *William Russel*, and *Charles Duucomb* Esq;

The Earl of *Feverſham*, Sir *John Lanier*, Sir *John Fenwick*, and Col. *Oglethorpe*, General Officers of the King's Army, sent a Letter to the Prince, notifying, that by the King's Command, they had disbanded the Troops that were with them; which the Prince, not at all approving of, he return'd them no Answer. Several Regiments and Troops had deserted to the Prince before the disbanding Order came, among which was even Sir *John Lanier's* Regiment, and he follow'd it himself, notwithstanding he sign'd the above-mention'd Letter. Most of the Lords at *London* look'd upon the Earl of *Feverſham's* Conduct as rash and dangerous. The letting so many Soldiers loose, threw the whole Kingdom into a Panick, the most general and astonishing that was ever heard of. It began at *Westminster*, December 11. about eleven a-clock: Some Country Fellows reporting, that the *Irish*, in a desperate Rage, were advancing to *London*. It went from Street to Street thro' the City, *Southwark*, and thence thro' all the Cities, Towns and Pa-

The General Alarm.

rishes in *England*; at one City, they were said to be burning and massacring in the next, and so in every Town and Parish. The Train'd-Bands were every where rais'd; People every where ran to Arms; Lights were every where hung out; *The Irish are coming! The Irish are coming!* was in every one's mouth. This Fright and Alarm was suppos'd to be a Stratagem of the Duke of *Schomberg's*: But I do not see what End it could answer, unless it was to discover the Bent of the Nation at this Juncture; for it could not be to put them in Arms against the disbanded *Irish*, because 'twas universal in one Night, and must have been concerted long before there was any Thought of their being disbanded in that manner. His Highness publish'd a Declaration, requiring the Commanders of those Soldiers to reassemble them, and keep them in good Order and Discipline till further Orders. He wrote to the Earl of *Danby* to come to him, and sent the Lord *Churchil* to *London*, to gather his Troop of Guards together; and the Duke of *Grafton* to *Tilbury Fort*, to garrison it, with his Regiment of Foot: With which, as he was marching at their Head thro' the *Strand*, a Trooper of the *Irish* Regiment of *Salisbury* presented his Carbine against him to shoot him, which a Soldier of his first File observing, shot the Trooper dead on the Spot. The Duke alighted, and gave the Soldier all the Pilgrage of the Trooper. The next day the Peers and Privy Counsellors issued an Order for all *Irish* Officers and Soldiers to repair to their respective Bodies, and deliver up their Arms to the Officers of the Ordnance. It was sign'd *December* the 14th, 1688.

A. D. 1688.

<i>Tho. Ebor.</i>	<i>J. Trevor.</i>
<i>North and Grey.</i>	<i>P. Winton.</i>
<i>N. Dunelm.</i>	<i>Rocheſter.</i>
<i>Nottingham.</i>	<i>Craven.</i>
<i>Dorset.</i>	<i>Carlisle.</i>
<i>Halifax,</i>	<i>S. Titus.</i>

As soon as it was known in *London*, that the King was gone, the Prentices and the Rabble, who had been a little quieted when they saw a Treaty on foot between the King and the Prince, now broke out again upon all suspected Houses, where they believ'd there were either Priests or *Papists*. They spar'd not the Houses of Ambassadors, particularly those of the *Spanish* and *Florentine* Ambassadors. The *Spanish* Ambassador, *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, had forwarded the *Revolution* more than any other Foreigner. The Populace knew not that, but they knew he was a *Papist*, and therefore rifled his House, where many Catholics had deposited their best Effects, for which the next Parliament made him ample Satisfaction. No body was killed in this Uproar, no Houses were burnt, no Robberies were committed; never was so much Fury seen under so much Management.

Jefferies finding the King was gone, saw what reason he had to look to himself, and apprehending he was now expos'd to the Rage of the People, whom he had provok'd with so particular a Brutality, he disguis'd himself in a Seaman's Habit, and was in a Seaman's House in *Wapping* in order to escape to *Hamburg*; but was discover'd as he was looking out of a Window, by a Chancery Clerk, who accidentally pass'd that way. Upon which he was seized immediately, and was insulted by the Populace, with as much scorn and rudeness as they could invent. After he had been tost about many Hours, they carried him before the Lord Mayor, Sir *John Chapman*, in his Seaman's Habit: The Lord Mayor was so struck with the Terror of such a boisterous Multitude, and the Disgrace of a Man, who had made all

Jefferies runs away, and is taken.

A. D. 1688. People tremble before him, that he fell into Fits upon it, and was never well afterwards. The Populace held Whips and Halters up to *Jefferies's* Nose, as near as they could come at it, and growing warmer by Communication, would doubtless have torn the wicked Wretch in a thousand pieces, had not the Train'd Bands been rais'd, and no less than two Regiments appointed to guard him to the Tower. When he was in the Coach, they continued pressing on the Militia, who kept them off with their Pikes, as they would Horle, to come at him. He held up his Hands, sometimes on one side of the Coach, sometimes on the other, crying, *For the Lord sake keep them off! For the Lord sake keep them off!* I saw him, and heard him, and I truly say, without Pity; tho' I never saw any other Malefactor in his Distress, without Compassion and Concern. The Lords at *Whitehall* sent the Lord *Lucas* a Warrant for his Commitment. He promis'd to confess something that would merit Pardon; but he chose rather to save himself from a publick Death, by large Draughts of Brandy, which soon dispatch'd him. He very much complain'd of *Sprat*, Bishop of *Rockester*, who incited him to go those Lengths in the *Ecclesiastical Commission*, and then publickly charg'd it upon him. *Sprat* wrote the Romance of the *Rye-house Plot*, and *Jefferies* hang'd the pretended Plotters.

itis ill End.

In the mean while the Prince of *Orange* came to *Littlecot*, a Seat of the *Pophams* in *Wiltshire*, from thence to *Hungerford* and *Abington*, designing to visit the University of *Oxford*, and meet the Princess *Anne* there; but being surpriz'd with the King's Desertion, and the Disorders which the City and Neighbourhood of *London* were falling into, he could hardly believe it, till he received an Express from the Lords *Hallifax*, *Nottingham* and *Godolphin*, upon which he saw how necessary it was for him to make all possible haste to *London*. So he sent to *Oxford* to excuse his not coming thither, and to offer the Association to them; Which, says Bishop *Burnet*, was sign'd by almost all the Heads, and the Chief Men of the University; even by those, who being disappointed in the Preferments they aspir'd to, became afterwards his most implacable Enemies. For none but Idiots can be impos'd upon so far as to believe, that those very Men, who offer'd the Prince of *Orange* their Plate to enable him to resist *K. James*, did afterwards, from Conviction, when the Danger was over, return again to their Vomit, and again preach up the Doctrines of their detestable *Decree*.

Why the Pr. went not to Oxford.

Their Gratitude to him.

The King being come to the Coast of *Kent*, embark'd aboard a Smack, commanded by Capt. *Sanders*, who was to carry him to a Frigate, commanded by Capt. *Mackdonald*, an *Irish* Papist, who, by concert, waited for him at *Margate*. When they were aboard, *Hales* sent his Footman to the *Post-Office* at *Feversham*: A Gunner belonging to *Dover* Castle, whom *Hales* had formerly cashier'd, knowing the Footman by his Livery, and hating his Master, dogg'd him to the River-side, and saw him make Signs to some on board the Smack; upon which he got a Rabble together, carry'd them to the Water-side, boarded the Vessel immediately, and soon discover'd Sir *Edward Hales*. As for the King, who was in a plain Suit, and a *Bob-Wig*, they took him to be a *Papist* Priest, and suppos'd him to be *Hales's* Chaplain; for which Reason they put many gross Indignities upon him, and searching his Pockets found 400 Guineas, several valuable Seals, and other Jewels; but several People, continuing to crowd aboard the Smack, among the rest was a Constable, who knowing the King, kneel'd down, and begg'd Pardon for the Rudeness of the

K. James taken.

People, which he was afterwards so far from complying with, that out of the Abundance of his Humanity, he excepted three of the poor Fishermen *Hunt*, *Edwards* and *Stapleton*, out of his Declaration of Indemnity, together with the Duke of *Ormond*, Duke of *Bolton*, Duke of *Leeds*, Earl of *Nottingham*, Earl of *Clarendon*, Earl of *Marlborough*, Bishop of *London*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, and Alderman *Duncomb*. The Constable bid the Fishermen return what they had taken from him; he only took the Jewels, and said, *I hope you will use me well*. Notwithstanding the Respect that was paid him, he earnestly endeavour'd to be gone; but they forc'd him to go to *Feversham*, from whence he sent for the Earl of *Winchelsea*, whom he made Lord Lieutenant of *Kent*, and was prevail'd with by him, to return to *London*. The Management at *London*, was very odd, on this Occasion. The Peers had sent a Deputation to compliment the Prince on his approaching near *London*, and now they heard of the King's being at *Feversham*, they sent another Deputation to compliment him without consulting the Prince, or communicating their Intention to him. The Earl of *Middleton*, the Earl of *Ailesbury*, the Earl of *Tarmouth* and the Earl of *Feversham*, were order'd to wait on the King, and invite him to *Whitehall*; and after they had resolv'd so to do, they let the Prince know that the King was in *England* still.

Bishop *Burnet* has some judicious Remarks on the King's being brought back to *Feversham*. "Here was an Accident that seem'd of no great Consequence, yet all the strugglings of the *Jacobite* Party since did rise out of it. For, if he had got clear away, by all that could be judg'd he would not have had a Party left; all would have agreed, that here was a *Desertion*, and that therefore the Nation was free, and at liberty to secure itself; but what follow'd upon this, gave them a Colour to say, he was forc'd away. Till now scarce any one was for him but Papists, but from this Incident a Party grew up, that has been long active for his Interests. Two Gentlemen came from *Kent*, to the Prince at *Windsor*, to inform him of what had happen'd at *Feversham*; upon which his Highness order'd Monsieur *Zuyestein* to go thither immediately to see the King safe, and at full liberty to go wherever he pleas'd." What the Bishop, and others say, of the King's being received, at his return to *London*, with joyful Acclamations, is exaggerated. I remember it well, that there was some shouting, by Boys chiefly, and that some of the Guards bid them hollow. At his coming to *Whitehall* he had a great Court again about him, even the Papists crept out of their lurking Holes, and appear'd there with much Assurance. One of their Priests sent to the Earl of *Mulgrave*, Lord Chamberlain, to new-furnish his Lodgings, for he intended to continue in them. The King himself began to take heart, and both at *Feversham* and *Whitehall* talk'd in his ordinary high Strain, justifying all he had done. Only he spoke a little doubtfully of the Business of *Magdalen* College: But when he came to reflect on the State of his Affairs, and on a Free Parliament, which it was impossible for him to prevent, he found there was no way left for him, to make good his Allegations; so he sent the Earl of *Feversham* to *Windsor* without a Pass, and order'd him to desire the Prince to come to *St. James's*, to consult with him of the best Way for the settling of the Nation.

The Prince of *Orange* did not think the Privy-Council at *London* had us'd him well in sending for the King without consulting him, after they had sent to him to take the Government upon

A. D. 1688. upon him. He call'd his Friends about him at Windsor, and ask'd their Advice. All agreed that it was not convenient that the King should stay at Whitehall; neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the City could have been safe, if they had been both near one another. The Guards and the officious Flatterers of the two Courts would have been unquiet Neighbours. It was thought necessary to stick to the Point of the King's Deserting his People, and not to give up that by entering upon any Treaty with him; and since the Earl of *Feverham*, who commanded the Army against the Prince, was come without a Pass, he was for some days put in Arrest. The Result of these Consultations was, that the Marquiss of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Lord *Delamere*, should go to London, and order the *English* Guards that were about the Court to be drawn off; when that was done, Count *Solms*, with the *Dutch* Guards, was to come and take all the Posts about *Whitehall* and *St. James's*. It was Midnight before all was settled. The *English* Guards having receiv'd no Orders from their General, the Lord *Craven*, to quit their Posts, stood to them in a Posture of Defence, and the *Dutch* Guards advanc'd in a fighting Posture; but the former understanding that matters were so concerted, retir'd, and the *Dutch* Guards posted themselves in their Places. Then the three Lords sent to the Earl of *Middleton* to desire him to let the King know they had a Message to deliver to him from the Prince. He went to the King, and sent them word from him, that they might come with it immediately. They came and found him a-bed. They told him the Necessity of Affairs required that the Prince should come presently to London, and he thought it would conduce to the Safety of the King's Person, and the Quiet of the Town, if he retir'd to some House at a little distance, particularly *Ham-House* near *Richmond*. The King seem'd much cast down, and said, *Must it be done immediately?* they told him, *he might take his Rest first*: and they added, he should be attended by a Guard, who should not only guard his Person, but give him no sort of Disturbance. Having said this, they withdrew. The Earl of *Middleton* came quickly after them, and ask'd, if it would not do as well if the King went to *Rocheſter*? for since the Prince was not pleas'd with his coming up from *Kent*, it might be perhaps acceptable to him, if he should go thither again. It was very visible this was propos'd in order to a second Escape, and very probable that the Prince would not dislike it. The three Lords promised to send word immediately to his Highness, who lay that Night at *Sion*, eight Miles from London. He very readily consented to it, and the King went next day, *December 18*, to *Rocheſter*, having order'd all that which is call'd the Moving Wardrobe to be sent before him; Count *Solms* ordering every thing to be done as the King desired, who was attended by the Earls of *Ailesbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arran*, and *Dumbarion*, six of his own Yeomen of the Guard, and about a hundred of the Prince's Forces, who left him at full Liberty, and paid him rather more Respect than his own Guards had done lately. Most of them, as it happen'd, were Papists, so when he went to Mass, they assisted at it very reverently; and when they were ask'd how they could serve in an Expedition that was intended to destroy their own Religion, one of them answer'd, *My Soul is God's, but my Sword is the Prince of Orange's*. The King was so much delighted with this Answer, that he repeated it to all that came about him.

Lord *Feverham* arrested.

Three Lords sent to desire the King to go to Ham.

King goes to Rocheſter.

which was but two Days from his first to his second Desertion, as it proved to be, and as he intended, he had time to summon his Privy-Council the 16th of *December*, and pass an Order for suppressing all riotous and tumultuous Meetings. The Design was to hinder the demolishment of Mass-houses. This was his last Act of Government, if it deserves the Name, for no body minded it. The Privy-Counsellors were,

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Duke of <i>Hamilton</i> . | Lord <i>Presſon</i> . |
| Earl of <i>Craven</i> . | Lord <i>Godolphin</i> . |
| Earl of <i>Berkley</i> . | Sir <i>John Trevor</i> . |
| Earl of <i>Middleton</i> . | Col. <i>Titus</i> . |

A. D. 1688.

Not a Papist amongst them, except Lord *Middleton* was one.

The Populace did not only burn the Mass-houses, but also the King's Printing-house, the Printer *Henry Hills*, having turn'd *Papist*. The *French* Ambassador was busy Night and Day packing up and moving off his Goods. The Privy-Council sent Guards to secure the House of Mr. *Sarotti* the Resident of *Venice*, who had always oppos'd King *James's* rash and irregular Proceedings.

The same Day the King went to *Rocheſter*, the Prince came to London: all the way from thence to *Sion*, was crowded with Spectators, who welcom'd him with Shouts and Acclamations as loudly and heartily as Men could express themselves; but it being a rainy Day, it spoilt much of the Glory of the Show. Orders were immediately given for disarming and disbanding all Popish Soldiers, and for disarming all Papists. The Nuntio and the Envoy of *Savoy* who had been plundered, were put under honourable Arrest for the Safety of their Persons, his Highness knowing that neither of their Masters wish'd him ill. The *Polish* Envoy *Neville* was plunder'd also, but 'tis said he had so little to lose, that the Rabble cudgel'd him.

The Council sent three Interrogatories to *Jesſeries* in the Tower: 1. *What he had done with the Great Seal?* 2. *Where the Parliament Writs were, and how many were issu'd?* 3. *Whether the King had given him leave to depart the Kingdom?* To the first he said, the King sent for the Great Seal ten Days before, and tho' he had the Purse and Mace carry'd about with him, yet he had not since then had the Seal. To the second he answer'd, that he had given the King the Writs that were not sent into the Country, and the Clerks of the Chancery could tell better than he what was become of those that were. To the third he said, the King had given him leave to depart the Kingdom, and he had Passes from the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors.

When the King at his Return was ask'd for the Great Seal, he said, the Queen took it with her. This is *James the Just*, the King of his Word!

He was then press'd to issue the Writs for summoning the Parliament, but he would determine nothing, only he sign'd Orders to the Treasury for Payment of a round Sum of Money; but the Officers would not pay it, without the Prince of *Orange's* Consent. There was then 50,000*l.* in the Exchequer, which was of singular Use to his Highness; we are told the King wanted Money so much for his Pocket, that he borrow'd 100 Guineas of Lord *Godolphin*.

The Lords of the Household, and all other Officers who bore the Badges of their Offices, laid them down upon his Highness's coming to *St. James's*, who the next day visited Queen *Katherine*, going by water from *Whitehall* to *Somerſer-*

A. D. *Somerset-Houfe*; where the Queen Dowager taking notice in Raillery of the Detention of her Chamberlain, the Prince immediately assur'd her Majesty, she should no longer want his Service

The same day his Highness visited also the Princess of *Denmark*, who then arriv'd from *Oxford*, having been in all her Journeys attended by the Bishop of *London* in a Purple Velvet Coat, Pistols in his Holsters, and a naked Sword in his hand, at the head of her Guards.

On the 20th of *December* the Aldermen, the Lord Mayor being sick, the Sheriffs and Common-Council of *London*, waited on his Highness, to complement him on his Arrival, and the Recorder *Sir George Treby* made a most excellent Speech to him on that happy Occasion, which is very well worth inserting.

The Recorder Treby's Speech to him.

May it please Your Highness,
THE Lord Mayor being disabled by Sickness, Your Highness is attended by the Aldermen and Commons of the Capital of this Kingdom, deputed to congratulate Your Highness upon this great and glorious Occasion; in which, labouring for Words, we cannot but come short in Expression; reviewing our late Danger, we remember our Church and State over-run by Popery and Arbitrary Power, brought to the Point of Destruction by the Conduct of Men, who were our true Invaders, that broke the sacred Fences of our Laws, and which was worst, the very Constitution of our Legislature, so that there was no Remedy left but the Last. The only Person under Heaven that could apply this Remedy, was Your Highness. You are of a Nation, whose Alliance in all Times has been agreeable and prosperous to us. You are of a Family most illustrious, Benefactors to Mankind; to have the Title of a Sovereign Prince, Stadtholder, and to have worn the Imperial Crown, are amongst their lesser Dignities. They have long enjoy'd a Dignity singular and transcendent, to be the Champions of Almighty God, sent forth in several Ages to vindicate his Cause against the greatest Oppressions. To this Divine Commission our Nobles, our Gentry, and among them our brave English Soldiers, render'd themselves and their Arms upon your appearing.

Great Sir,

When we look back to the last Month, and contemplate the Swiftmess and Fulness of our present Deliverance, astonish'd, we think it miraculous! Your Highness, led by the Hand of Heaven, and call'd by the Voice of the People, has preserv'd our dearest Interests, our Laws, which are our antient Title to our Lives, Liberties and Estates, and without which, this World were a Wilderness. But what Retribution can we make to your Highness? our Thoughts are full charg'd with Gratitude; Your Highness has a lasting Monument in the Hearts, in the Prayers, in the Praises of all good Men amongst us, and late Posterity will celebrate your ever-glorious Name, till Time shall be no more.

If I could prevail with the Reader, I would have him, when he has read this truly sublime Speech, turn to the Earl of *Clarendon's* long Speeches about the *Uniformity Act*, *Militia Act*, *Corporation Act*, *Five-Mile Act*, and all the Acts which are the Ornaments of his Ministry; and to Speaker *Turner's* Speeches on those Subjects. Here he sees what is true Eloquence, what the true Sublime? There he will see quite the contrary.

Addresses to his Highness. The Bishops waited on the Prince, all in Town, except the Archbishop of *Canterbury*,

who agreed to go with the others, but fail'd them. Such Steps as these are not the Motions of a regular Conscience, but the Instigations of Fear and Caution. Old Serjeant *Maynard* came with the Men of the Law, he was then Ninery; yet he said the liveliest thing that was heard of on that occasion. The Prince took notice of his great Age, saying, *You have out-liv'd all the Men of the Law*; he answer'd, *I had like to have out-liv'd the Law itself, if your Highness had not come over.* The Clergy of *London*, and a great many other Bodies of Men came with their Com-

pliments: The Ambassador of *Spain* had a private Audience of the Prince, so had the Resident of *Venice*; and the next day, *December* the 21st, the Peers assembled at *St. James's*, to whom his Highness made a short Speech, telling them, he desir'd them to advise the best manner how to pursue the Ends of his Declaration, in calling a Free Parliament. The Prince then withdrew, and the Lords voted their particular Thanks for his coming over, and resolv'd to assemble in their Houfe at *Westminster*, to consider of what his Highness had recommended to them. They nam'd five of the most eminent Lawyers, as their Assistants, in the room of the Judges, who were most of them out of the way, as *Sir John Maynard*, *Mr. Pollexfen*, *Sir John Holt*, *Mr. Bradford*, *Mr. Atkinson*. They also appointed *Mr. Francis Gwin*, still living, to sign such Orders as should from time to time be made by them. The Lawyers advis'd his Highness to declare himself King, as *Henry VII.* did; but the Prince would not hear of it, as being contrary to his Declaration, to leave every thing to a Free Parliament.

One of the first Motions made in this august Assembly, was the signing of the *Exeter Association*, which they all did, to the Number of above sixty. It was refus'd by the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, my Lord *Wharton*, and all the Bishops, except the Bishop of *London*. A French Writer pretends to give the Earl of *Nottingham's*, and the Earl of *Pembroke's* Reasons for it; because *Mr. Finch*, Brother to the one, and *Sir Robert Sawyer*, Father-in-Law to the other, were not nam'd among the Assistants to the House of Peers; tho' I doubt very much his Authority for it, and that he speaks at random. The same Author pretends to give the Lords Reasons for not naming them; because *Mr. Finch* pleaded for putting the Lord *Ruffel* to death; and what a share *Sir Robert Sawyer* had in it, has been already related. The Lord *Wharton* said, he had sign'd so many Associations which had no Effect, that he was resolv'd to sign no more. His Zeal for the Protestant Religion and Liberty was too well known to expose him to any Jealousy; but there seems to be some of the old Leaven in the Bishop's Refusal.

The King continu'd five Days at *Rocheſter*, and both he himself, and every body else, saw he was at full Liberty, and that the Guard about him put him under no sort of Restraint. Many of his Friends went to him, and press'd him to stay, flattering him with Hopes that a Party would appear for him, good Terms be got, and things be brought to a reasonable Agreement. He was much distracted between his own Inclinations, and the Importunities of his Friends.

The Queen hearing what had happen'd, writ a most vehement Letter to him, pressing his coming over, and remembering him of his Promise, which she charg'd on him in a very earnest, if not in an imperious Strain. This Letter being intercepted, the Prince sent it to the King, and he presently resolv'd to do what she would have him,

A. D. 1688.

Peers meet the Prince at St. James's.

A. D. 1688. him, in which he was like to find no Molestation; so on *Sunday Morning, December 23*, about three a-clock, he left *Rockefter* without communicating his Design to any one, not so much as to the Lord *Dunbarton*, who lay in the same Chamber, and wak'd not till after he was gone. He had not above three or four Persons with him, of whom the Duke of *Berwick* and *Labadie* were two. He rode on horseback to a convenient Place in the River *Medway*, where *Mackdonald* before-mention'd receiv'd him aboard his small Vessel, and landed him at *Ambleteuse* in *France*. The Earl of *Middleton*, who attended him at *Rockefter*, found a Letter written by him on the Table in his Chamber, desiring *Middleton* to gratify the Captains of the Prince's Guards with 100 Guineas each, the Lieutenants and Ensigns with 50 Guineas, and to reward some others that had attended him in proportion. He also left a Paper behind him, which made a great noise after he was gone, tho' it was capable really of doing nothing else, but making a noise, for it had neither Reason nor Truth in it.

His Paper.

He said the Earl of *Feverham* had been made a Prisoner against the Law of Nations, which was not true; for that Earl, the General of his Army, came into the Prince's Quarters without a Pass, and to seize him was according to the Law of all Nations. As to any other Force put upon him, besides the desiring him to remove to *Ham-House*, he himself, and every one else knew there was none; but on the contrary, that the Prince's Friends wish'd him his full Liberty, and that he had it, to give him an Opportunity to do what he did, and what he all along intended; for I don't reckon this *Elopement* to be truly a *second* one, but a Continuation and an Accomplishment of the first. What follows is not much in the Courtly Manner, *I appeal to all that know me, nay even to himself*, the Prince, *that in their Consciences, whether he nor they can believe me in the least capable of so unnatural a Villainy, nor of so little common Sense to be impos'd on in a thing of such a nature*. No, if he had not been in the Secret, and consented to the Imposture, he could not have been impos'd on. But what can one not believe of a Prince, who apostatis'd from his Religion, who broke his Word, his Oath, the Laws, who endeavour'd to destroy the Constitution and Liberty of his Country, eternally sacred! who hated the Protestant Religion, and all who sincerely profess'd it, among whom were his two most religious, most excellent, and most beloved Daughters; who thought he could not merit Heaven by any Act so likely, as by establishing Popery in these Kingdoms; and who could not establish it, but by wronging his Daughters in their Right of Succession. Again, *What had I to expect from one, who had taken such pains to make me appear as black as Hell!* He had taken no more pains than in the bare Relation of his various Violations of the Laws, and his Attempts against the Religion he had sworn to defend. If Truth had such an Effect, he had better have consulted his Conscience about it than his Passion; but Bishop *Burnet* and others having animadverted largely on this Paper, I shall say no more of it, but that it is hardly worth the pains we have been at about it.

The News of the King's quitting the Kingdom, as well as the Government, reaching *London*, the Lords assembled, and agreed upon an Address to his Highness, to take upon him the Administration of the publick Affairs, Civil and Military; and to have a particular Care of *Ireland*, till the Meeting of the Convention, which was propos'd to be *January* the 22d; and they presented another Address to his Highness, to

The Lords address the Prince to take the Government.

desire him to write missive Letters to the Persons to whom Writs were to be issu'd for calling a Parliament, as had been done for calling the Parliament, who call'd home King *Charles II.* Bishop *Burnet* tells us, the Earl of *Nottingham* objected against it, "That such a Convention could be no legal Assembly, unless summon'd by the King's Writ; therefore he mov'd, that an Address might be made to the King, who was by that time in *France*, to order the Writs to be issued out." Few were of his mind, and indeed it was not likely that the King, who had order'd Writs, and recall'd them two or three times, when he was in *England*, and on the Throne, should send Orders from *France* for such Writs, when it was more than probable he would never sit upon it again. The Marquis of *Hallifax* was Chairman of the House of Lords, and behav'd with great Wisdom, Courage and Zeal for the Good of the Commonwealth. Their Lordships made an Order for all Papists to remove ten Miles from *London*, with some general Exceptions, and some particular, as the Dutcheffs of *Bouillon*, the Dutcheffs of *Mazarin*, the Marquis de *Seiffac*, the Marquis de *Flamarin*, Monsieur de *St. Evremont*, and the Chevalier *St. Victor*.

To confirm the Resolutions of the House of Commons Peers, and know as well as might be the Sentiments of the Commons, his Highness summon'd all such Commoners as had serv'd in any of the Parliaments in King *Charles* the Second's time, that of King *James II.* not being fit to be trusted; as also the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Deputies of the Common-Council, to meet him at *St. James's*, on *Wednesday* the 26th of *December*; to whom he spoke to the same Purport as he had spoken to the Peers, and desir'd them to advise the best manner how to pursue the Ends of his Declaration in calling a Free Parliament, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the restoring the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and settling the same, that they may not be in danger of being again subverted. The Lord Mayor being still indispos'd, the Prince gave the Copy of his short Speech to Sir *Thomas Allen*, eldest Alderman. These Gentlemen immediately repair'd to the House of Commons, and chose *Henry Powle Esq;* Chairman. They resolv'd on the Question, that the Request of his Highness was a sufficient Authority for them to assemble. Sir *Robert Sawyer*, to puzzle matters, ask'd, *How his Highness could take upon him the Administration of Affairs without a distinguish'd Name or Title*. Serjeant *Maynard* reply'd briskly, *This Assembly will lose a great deal of Time, if they wait till Sir Robert can conceive how that is possible*. A Motion being made for signing the Association, 'twas carry'd that it should lie on the Table, and all sign it that would.

This Assembly agreed on an Address to the Prince of the same nature with the Lords, to take on him the Government Civil and Military, the Disposal of the publick Revenues, the Care of *Ireland*, till the Meeting of the Convention the 22d of *January*; which Address was read to his Highness the same day by Mr. *Powle* their Speaker, attended by most of the Members. The Prince took time to consider of it till *Friday, December* the 28th, and then he accepted of their Offer in a very gracious Speech, first to the Lords, and afterwards to the Commons. The News of which flying about *Town*, the Tower Guns were fir'd, and all usual Demonstrations of Joy were every where seen.

Barillon the French Ambassador had been very busy in sowing Divisions among the Members of both these Assemblies, and the Prince order'd

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The King leaves the Kingdom.

To meet the Prince.

Their Address.

He takes the Government.

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order'd him to depart from *London* in 24 Hours. He desir'd longer Time, but it was not granted; and Mr. *L'Etang*, the Officer who afterwards arrested *Mareschal Boufflers* at *Namur*, conducted him to *Dover*, where he refus'd the Presents *Barillon* would have given him for his Civility. With him went Signor *Ranzoni* the Envoy of *Modena*, who had no more Business here, after *Mary d'Este* had left the Kingdom.

The Post from *France* brought Advice that the young Earl of *Essex* and other *Englishmen* were put under Arrest at *Paris*; upon which it was propos'd to stop *Barillon* at *Dover*, but the Prince did not imagine that Lord *Essex* would be long detain'd, so the *French* Ambassador was suffer'd to embark. He order'd the six *English* and *Scots* Regiments in the States Service to be sent back to *Holland*, to which the Lords had not only agreed, but offer'd his Highness the 10,000 Men that *England* was oblig'd by Treaty to send to the Assistance of the States, and more if there was occasion.

The Earl of *Arran* returning from his Attendance on King *James*, went to make his Excuses to the Prince for not waiting on him sooner; but methinks his Excuses were worse than his staying away, for he said he would not have come then if the King had not been gone. His Highness told him next day, that he had given his Regiment to the Earl of *Oxford*, who was its old Master.

On the 29th of *December* the Prince of *Orange* went to the Treasury, where there was in Cash 80,000*l.* with which he order'd the King's Household Troops and Officers to be paid, and the latter to be discharg'd. He took into consideration the difficult Affair of *Ireland*, and Preparations were made to ship off Arms and Men, which were interrupted by the Artifices of *Tyrconnel*, and the Treachery of *Richard Hamilton*, afterwards Lieutenant General. Tho' *Tyrconnel* talk'd of raising 30,000 Men and standing it out, yet he sent away his Wife and his richest Moveables to *France*; nay, he was in such Terror, that he had a Ship always ready to carry him thither after them. Several of the Privy-Council in that Kingdom propos'd to submit to the Government of *England*, and he pretended to be of the same Opinion sometimes, but said he would not part with the Sword till he was ask'd for it. He pretended to be very kind to the Protestants, in hopes they would be kind to him and his Friends: which was all Grimace. He had disarm'd them, and had them almost every where at Mercy, except in *Ulster*, where they were stronger than in *Munster* and the other Provinces. Their chief Leaders the Earl of *Granard*, and the Lord *Montjoy*, kept still such Measures with *Tyrconnel*, that they would not take the Conduct of them. Two Towns that had both very little Defence, and a very small Store of Provisions, were secur'd by some brave young Men, who refus'd to receive a *Popish* Garrison; these were *Londonderry* and *Iniskilling*, both advantageously situated. Great Numbers fled to them, and brought in Provisions; upon which they resolv'd to defend themselves, with a Firmness of Courage that cannot be enough admir'd; for when they were abandon'd by both Gentry and Military Men, those two small unfurnish'd, unfortify'd Places, stood out against good Armies, both *Irish* and *French*, till Relief came from *England*, where some thought *Ireland* would follow the Fate of that Kingdom, especially after the Protestants, by *Tyrconnel's* Persuasions and Menaces, wrote over that he would deliver up the Government, if he might have good Terms for himself. They apply'd to Lord

Ireland.

Clarendon, on whom they much depended, and those who were employ'd by *Tyrconnel* to deceive the Prince, made their Application to Sir *William Temple*. These said they were sure *Tyrconnel* would never part with the Sword, if Lord *Clarendon* was to succeed him; and that it might not hinder the Treaty with *Tyrconnel*, his Highness avoided speaking to the Earl of *Clarendon* of these Matters, which so disgusted the Earl, that he ever after gave the Prince all the Opposition he could.

The Treaty manag'd by *Temple*, and the Advice of the Marquis of *Hallifax*, that the Danger of *Ireland* would quicken the Convention in settling the Government of *England*, are suppos'd to be two fatal Causes of those dilatory Measures, which put the Nation to so great an Expence of Blood and Treasure to preserve the *English* Interest in *Ireland*. For tho' I have a Contempt for such Argument in common, as is us'd in the History of the REBELLION, IF the Duke of *Ormond* and General *Mackay*, as was then talk'd of, had been sent with 7 or 8000 Men to *Ireland*, as soon as the King was elop'd, and while *Tyrconnel* was in Terror and Suspence, there's no question but he would have accepted of honourable Terms: Instead of this, the *Temples*, Father, Son, and Brother, prevail'd with the Prince to send Lieutenant-General *Hamilton* before-mention'd, an *Irish* Officer and a Papist, who was a sort of Prisoner of War in *England*, to *Tyrconnel*, with whom he had great Credit, and undertook to prevail with him to deliver up the Government, which at that time the Lord Lieutenant was inclining to do, giving every thing for lost in *England*. But the Traytor *Hamilton* coming over, and representing to him, that things were like to take another Turn in favour of the King, he resolv'd to dissemble still, till he was strong enough to throw off the Mask, and sent two Privy-Counsellors, *Montjoy* and *Rice*, to *France*, to represent to the King the Necessity of submitting to *England*. *Montjoy* was immediately clapt up in the *Bastille*. *Tyrconnel* gain'd Time by it, perfected his Levies, sent Forces to the *North*, and invited the King to *Ireland*. *Hamilton's* Treachery had such a terrible Effect on Mr. *Henry Temple*, Sir *William's* Son, that he leap'd into the River of *Thames* near the Bridge, and was drown'd.

Things went on much more smoothly in *Scot-Scotland*, notwithstanding the Duke of *Gordon* had got into *Edinburgh-Castle*, where he had but a very small Force. As soon as News came of the Prince of *Orange's* being landed with an Army in *England*, and that King *James* was not able to stand his ground, the People in the *West of Scotland*, for they were the first, ran immediately to Arms, and declar'd for the Prince. This was done with so universal a Resolution, and the Consternation the other People were in at the general face of things, was such at the same time, that there was no Capacity, or even Disposition to oppose them. The *Western* People not only took Arms, but turn'd the *Episcopal* Curates out of the Churches, which they had possess'd by Tyranny and Oppression; they restor'd the old Worship, and recall'd the banish'd *Presbyterian* Ministers.

The Populace at *Edinburgh* broke into all *Popish* Chapels, and into the Church of *Holyrood House*, which had been adorn'd at great Charge for the Order of *St. Andrew*. They defac'd it quite, seiz'd on the Earl of *Perth* and other Delinquents, and the whole Kingdom declar'd for the Prince, the Castle of *Edinburgh* only excepted. The *Episcopal* Party in *Scotland* finding they had no other Game to play, stuck to the Viscount *Dundee*. Upon the Prince's coming

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coming to London, Duke Hamilton call'd a Meeting of all the Men of Quality of the *Scottish* Nation then in Town, where after some small Opposition made by the Earl of Arran, his Son, they agreed on an Address to his Highness to take on him the Government in *Scotland*, as at the Request of the Lords and Commons he had done in *England*. This Address was sign'd by above 30 Lords and 80 Gentlemen, and presented to his Highness, who on the 14th of *March* made a like Answer to it, as he had given to the Address of the *English* Peers and Commoners.

King James's Letter to the Privy-Council.

Before the *Convention*, summon'd by the Prince of *Orange's* circular Letters, met, the Privy Council receiv'd a Letter from K. James, dated at *St. Germaine en Laie* in *France*, wherein he tells them, *It had been his constant Care, ever since his Accession to the Crown, to govern his People with that Justice and Moderation as to give no Occasion of Complaint.* His Justice appear'd in suffering the *Freeholds* of his Subjects to be taken from them by Force, as in the Case of *Magdalen* College and innumerable other Cases; his Moderation in taking pleasure to hear the Accounts of that *Buicher Jefferies's* bloody Affizes in the *West*. Is it not prodigious to Astonishment, that he should boast of his Moderation and Justice, when there was no Part of the Kingdom that was not groaning and trembling under his Tyranny, and deploring the Loss of their Liberties and Properties, and the Danger they were in of losing their Religion? He assures them he had redress'd all Grievances before he went away, and answer'd all the Ends of the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration. Every Word of which, every one of those Counsellors knew to be untrue. However he goes on, and desires them to carry this good News to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about the City of *London* and *Westminster*; to the Lord Mayor and Commons of *London*, that he desires nothing more than to hold a *Free Parliament*, and have an Opportunity to shew the Sincerity of his Protestations, to preserve the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects, and the Protestant Religion, more especially the Church of *England* as by Law establish'd. Men of Ingenuity and Modesty cannot conceive how it was possible for any one, who just came from breaking his Word with the Church in the most notorious and enormous manner, which he knew was well known to every Soul in the Nation, to boast of his Sincerity in promising to preserve it. This was a fine Recommendation to his Council to recall him, and the Effect of it was suitable to the Merit; they took no notice of his Letter, and,

Convention.

On the 22d of *January*, the *Convention* met at *Westminster*. Both Houses immediately proceeded to the Choice of their Speakers. The Marquis of *Hallifax* carry'd it in the House of Lords against the Earl of *Danby*; and *Henry Powle* Esq; was unanimously chosen by the House of Commons, tho' it was thought Mr. *Edward Seymour* would have stood in competition with him. The Chairs being thus fill'd, the Prince of *Orange's* Letter to both Houses was read to them, containing in Substance,

Prince of Orange's Letter to them.

"A Recommendation to them to answer the Ends of his Declaration, and lay the Foundation of a firm Security, for their Religion, Laws, and Liberties. He mention'd to them the dangerous Condition of *Ireland*, and the Danger the States of the *United Provinces* were in, which call'd for their early Assistance."

Mr. Powle's Speech.

This Letter being read, Mr. *Powle*, the Speaker, represented "the dangerous State of the Nation, the fatal Consequence of Anarchy,

"the deplorable Condition of *Ireland*, the Growth of the Power of *France*, the vast Designs of that aspiring turbulent Monarch, not only the Persecutor of the Protestant Religion, but likewise the known Enemy of *England*. He excited them to put the Nation into a posture, not only to secure themselves against his Attempts, but also to make such a powerful Diversion in the Bowels of his Dominions, as that they might recover their former Conquests in *France*, &c."

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This Speech was universally applauded, and indeed there was such a Spirit then in the People of *England*, animated by their Deliverance, and glorying in their Deliverer, that nothing less was talk'd of than marching directly to the Walls of *Paris*; the Wagers running on that side. The first thing the *Convention* did, was to vote an Address of Thanks to his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, to acknowledge his Care, and desire him to take on him the Administration of publick Affairs. In this Address the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons joined, and the Prince in his Answer the next day, accepted of the Administration, and recommended to them Dispatch, not only for a Settlement at home upon a good Foundation, but for the Safety of *Europe*. Even now a Party, who never had ease if any one else were easy, grown proud by Success, and wanton by Security, began early to envy the Peace which was promis'd our Dissenting Brethren, and fall off from the Publick Interest, as it was an Enemy to Persecution. This appear'd by their Opposing the Vote for the *Vacancy of the Throne*. Mr. *Dolben* was the first that stood up, *January* 28, and made a long Speech, tending to prove that the *Throne* was vacant, which another Member opposing with some Heat, Sir *Richard Temple* ask'd him, *If the Throne is not Vacant, what Business have we in this Place, and what need was there of calling a Convention?* The Party, who repented of what they had been doing for the Good of their Country, out of spite to the Non-conformists, who they were afraid would be the better for it, and inclined to invite King *James* back again, finding they were not strong enough to divide the House, made many Harangues against the *Vacancy*; and it will doubtless not be amiss to remember the Names of those Gentlemen, that their Memory may have a share of the Glory they ascrib'd to themselves for the Stand they made against the Revolution.

Mr. Dolben first moves the Vacancy of the Throne.

Sir *Ralph Verney*, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Sir *Le-The Party wins Bennet*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *Bourchier against Wray*, *Nicholas Glynn* Esq; Sir *John St. Aubin*, King *William* Charles *Godolphin* Esq; *John Tanner* Esq; *Alexander Pendarves* Esq; *James Praed* Esq; *Jona-Queen Mary* than *Rasleigh* Esq; *Francis Vivian* Esq; *John Speccot* Esq; Sir *Joseph Tredenham*, *Henry Seymour* Esq; *Francis Robarts* Esq; Sir *John Coryton*, *John Prideaux* Esq; Sir *Christopher Musgrave*, *John Cooke* Esq; Sir *Edward Seymour*, *Raxlin Mallack* Esq; Sir *John Fowell*, *William Cary* Esq; *Henry Northleigh* Esq; Sir *Arthur Chichester*, *Edmund Walrond* Esq; *Christopher Bale* Esq; *William Hayne* Merchant, *William Coleman* Esq; *Thomas Strange-waies* Esq; *John Pole* Esq; Sir *Robert Napier*, *Edward Nicholas* Esq; *Richard Foxnes* Esq; *William Okeden* Esq; *William Lampton* Esq; *Robert Byerley* Esq; *George Morland* Esq; *William Cook* Esq; *Thomas Master* Esq; Sir *Francis Russel*, *Henry Cornwallis* Esq; *John Bigg* Esq; Sir *John Banks*, Sir *Roger Twisden*, *Caleb Banks* Esq; *Francis Cholmondeley* Esq; Sir *Edward Chisnal*, Sir *Thomas Halsford*, *Thomas Babington* Esq; *Charles Bertie* Esq; Sir *John Brown-*

A. D. 1688. *Brownlowe, Sir Charles Gerrard, Ralph Haxtry Esq; Charles Marquis of Worcester, Sir William Coke, Sir Francis Guybon, Sir Nevil Catlyn, Sir John Turner, Edward Mountague Esq; Gilbert Dolben Esq; Sir Justinian Isham, Sir William Langham, Richard Lord Wenman, William Forster Esq; Philip Bickerstaff Esq; Sir Ralph Carr, Roger Fenwick Esq; William Lord Eland, Sir Robert Jenkinson, Sir John Cope, Sir Thomas Cargis, Henry Bertie Esq; Sir John Doyley, Sir Thomas Mackworth, Edward Kynaston Esq; Andrew Newport Esq; Sir Francis Edwards, Sir Edward Aston, George Weld Esq; Sir Richard Hart, Sir John Knight, Sir William Basset, Edward Berkley Esq; Sir William Portman, John Sandford Esq; Sir Francis Warr, Francis Lutterel Esq; Nathaniel Palmer Esq; Sir Edward Wyndham, William Healyar Esq; John Hunt Esq; Thomas Saunders Esq; Francis Morley Esq; Sir Benjamin Newland, Sir Robert Holmes, Richard Earl of Ranelagh, Thomas Done Esq; Francis Gwynn Esq; William Ettrick Esq; John Pollen Esq; John Gray Esq; Robert Burdett Esq; John Chetwynd Esq; Sir Henry Gough, Sir John Cordell, Sir John Rous, Sir John Barker, Thomas Glenham Esq; Sir Henry Johnson, William Johnson Esq; Sir John Pooley, Thomas Knyvet Esq; Henry Pooley Esq; Sir Thomas Harvey, Sir Robert Davers, John Weston Esq; White Tichburne Esq; Sir William Morley, John Alford Esq; Charles Goring Esq; William Morley Esq; Sir Richard Verney, Sir George Cave, William Chcyne Esq; William Lord Digby, William Colemore Esq; Richard Lowther Esq; Robert Hyde Esq; Richard Lexis Esq; Peregrine Bertie Esq; Charles Fox Esq; Sir Edmund Warnford, John Dean Esq; Sir John Erule, Sir George Wiloughby, Henry Parker Esq; Sir John Matthews, Henry Chivers Esq; Walter Grub Esq; Peregrine Lord Dumbleine, Sir Jonathan Jennings, Christopher Taucred Esq; Edward Jones Esq; Sir Richard Middleton, Edward Brereton Esq; Thomas Mansel Esq; Sir William Wogan.*

These were all against the Vote that the King had *Abdicated*, and that the Throne was *Vacant*; and others spoke against it, who when the last Question was put, either absented themselves, or ran down with the Stream, as probably Mr. F—, who made a very long Speech, and yet he is not in the List of those that voted against the *Abdication*. The Substance of his Speech was as follows; “ That the Prince of Orange was too great and too good to accept of the Crown if it was offer’d him. That the Popish Princes would not suffer a Popish King to be thrust out of his Kingdom, and instead of invading *France*, we should find it difficult enough to preserve ourselves; that those who with King *James’s* Humiliation do by no means wish his Perdition and Exclusion from the Crown, neither do they believe the Faults to be singly his, or if they were, not to be sufficient to justify the deposing him. “ We are also of a *Church* that has been Singular for her Loyalty and Deference to Kings, and if we have any Honour for her, we ought to tread tenderly in that Point.” I can repeat no more of it, ’tis too wordy and too trifling to entertain the Reader; he clos’d his Speech, with a Motion for an Address to the Prince of *Orange*, to call back the King his Father, as the only way to make him renowned in all the Histories of Europe. With just such a sort of Renown as the French Monarch deserv’d, of whom the old bald Rhime, *The King of France, with forty thousand Men, &c.*

This Faction, the *Cavaliers* first, and the *Tories* after them, they being one and the same sort of Men, are always excusing Tyranny, by transferring the Faults from the King to his Ministers, *Who*, says this Gentleman, *sees by the Eyes and Ears of other People*, and therefore is not in fault. If the Prince did not know his Ministers did ill, and was ready to punish them as soon as he knew it, this Argument would have weight in it; but it is not pretended that this was the Case of King *James*; and if a Prince knows his Ministers do ill, if he protects them in it, if he commands them to do it, which is the Case of that King, the Fault is primarily and principally in him: and as to King *James’s* Faults not being sufficient to *abdicate* him, we refer to the *Declaration of Right*, resolv’d by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at *Westminster*.

’Tis pretty odd to hear this florid Speaker cry up the Loyalty of the *Church*, when the Bishops and chief Churchmen had just then been inviting the Prince of *Orange* to bring an Army against King *James*, and had as soon as he landed given him all Assistance; as if every Step of that kind which had been taken, would not have been deem’d as errant Rebellion as that of *Monmouth*, had the Prince of *Orange* been unsuccessful, and as if the *Association* drawn up at *Exeter*, and sign’d by the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Abington*, Earl *Rivers*, John *How* Esq; late Duke of *Leeds*; late Earl of *Scarborough*; nay by *Sancroft* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and eight Bishops more, was not thought by King *James* and his Adherents, to be as Treasonable as the famous *Association*, for which he would have hang’d the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, and against which so many hundred Addresses were sent up to *London* by the Party Mr. F— means, when he calls them the *Church*. Incongruity and Inconsistency, Contradiction and Nonsense are Parts of the Composition of these Men’s Principles and Practices. The abovemention’d Speech had no more Effect than it deserv’d, and the House proceeded vigorously towards the Settlement of the Nation.

The House of Lords appointed Special Assistants, to advise them in Matters of Law, as Lord Chief Baron *Mountague*, Sir *Robert Atkins*, Sir *William Dolben*, Sir *Creswell Levins*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Edward Nevile*, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. *Bradbury*, and Mr. *Petit*. They also order’d a *Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having made the Prince of Orange the Glorious Instrument of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power*; in which the Commons also join’d with them, and eleven Bishops were appointed to compose the Prayers, as Dr. *Compton* Bishop of *London*; Dr. *Loyd*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*; Dr. *Loyd*, Bishop of *Norwich*; Dr. *Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*; Dr. *Lake*, Bishop of *Chichester*; Dr. *Frampton*, Bishop of *Gloucester*; Dr. *Ken*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*; Dr. *White*, Bishop of *Peterborough*; Dr. *Barlow*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Sprat*, Bishop of *Rochester*; Dr. *Trelawny*, Bishop of *Exeter*. Six of whom were afterwards *Nonjurors*, tho’ in this very Act of theirs, they were, in their own King’s Sense, guilty of as much Treason, as was Col. *Algernon Sidney*, who was condemn’d to be hang’d, drawn and quarter’d, for writing against *Filmer*.

All the World knows King *James* treated the Prince of *Orange* as at the Head of a Rebellion, that he call’d his Adherents Rebels, and yet *Nonjurors*, *Loyd*, *Turner*, *Lake*, *Frampton*, *Ken*, *White*, pray, *That God, who in Times of Trouble and Danger, does raise up Deliverers of his People, would bless his Highness the Prince of Orange.*

Speech made by Mr. F.

A. D. 1688. of Orange, whom he has sent to be the Defender of our Laws and Religion, that he would protect his Person, strengthen his Hands, &c. In the general Thanksgiving Prayers, Dr. Ken, Dr. Frampton, Dr. Turner, Dr. Lloyd, Dr. White, Dr. Lake, bless the holy Name of God, who has rais'd up for them a mighty Deliverer, by whom he has wrought this great Salvation. These Nonjuring Bishops here call the Resistance made by the Prince of Orange and his Adherents, The Salvation of the Lord. And in another Prayer, The Work of the Lord, and pray the Almighty to bless the Hands of those, who drew their Swords against King James. Their own Words are, Go on to perfect, O gracious God, the Work that thou hast begun amongst us, bless and prosper the Hands by which thou hast convey'd this Mercy to us. In another Prayer, these Nonjurors say, We give Glory to thy holy Name for our Deliverance from the intolerable Yoke of the Romish Church. Again, It was because thy Compassions fail'd not, that our holy Reform'd Religion was not overwhelm'd with Popish Superstition and Idolatry, that our Laws and Liberties are rescu'd from the Bands of Violence and Oppression. They own King James to have been a Tyrant, and thank the Almighty for the Resistance that delivered them: let us compare this with the Oxford Decree, with the Sermons and Libels of Hicks, Lesley, Hill, Sacheverel, T—p, &c. with the Behaviour of those Bishops afterwards, and then we shall have a just Conception of their Congruity, Consistency, their Sincerity and Piety.

Ech. ib.
P. 233.

Echard assures us the Motion made by Mr. Dolben, was for the Convention to proceed, as if King James was actually dead. and that this home Motion was seconded by Sir Richard Temple, and supported by Sir Robert Sawyer; which is not very likely, Sawyer being in the black List of those who voted against the Abdication, and it is very likely that he is not injur'd by being enroll'd there.

Sir Robert Howard made an eloquent convincing Speech on the same side of the Question with Mr. Dolben and Sir Richard Temple. Echard affirms, he was the first who ventur'd to assert the Vacancy of the Throne, and the Breach of the Original Contract by a continu'd Series of illegal Acts. 'Tis true as to the latter, but Mr. Dolben first asserted that the Throne was Vacant, and being an Archbishop's Son, did in a manner set the Church at the Head of this Affair. Sir Robert Howard's Allegations were maintain'd by Mr. Sacheverel, Mr. Pollexfen, Sir George Treby, Mr. Somers, Sir Thomas Lee, Mr. Garraway: these Gentlemen were oppos'd by Sir Christopher Musgrave, Mr. Heneage Finch, Lord Fanshawe, Sir Thomas Clarges, Sir Edward Seymour, &c. Sir Christopher Musgrave said, that to vote the Throne to be vacant, would be actually to depose the King. What Strength there is in their Arguments? To place one Man in a Chair which another Man has left, is to turn that other Man out of it. Musgrave desir'd to know from the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, Whether that could legally be done? What do these Sophisters pretend to? Why did not he ask the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, whether the Earl of Danby could legally rise in Arms against King James in the North? Whether the Earl of Abington could legally do the same in the West, and the Archbishop of Canterbury legally make a Prayer for those whom King James call'd Rebels, and who would have been treated as Rebels had they not succeeded? Why did he not ask the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, if the Heads of Colleges at Oxford could legally sign an Affo-

ciation to stand by a Prince, whom their Sovereign Lord declar'd to be in Arms against him.

'Tis the same Cant that was us'd in King Charles the First's time. That Prince, who had so little govern'd by Law, had, as has been observ'd, nothing oftner in his Declarations than the Law, the Laws of the Land, and the like. Those who oppos'd the Settlement of the Nation, having no better Reasons than Mr. F—— and Sir Christopher Musgrave; the Committee, Richard Hampden Esq; in the Chair, and afterwards the whole House, January the 28th,

Resolv'd,

That King James the Second, having endeavour'd to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom by breaking the Original Contract between King and People, and by the Advice of Jesuits and other wicked Persons, having violated the Fundamental Laws; and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, hath abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant. Which Resolution was immediately sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

Before the Commons came to this Grand Vote, they receiv'd a Letter sent them by the Lord Preston, and hearing it came from King James, they would not so much as open it. The Contents of it were the same with that directed To the Lords and others of the Privy-Council, before mentioned. The like Letter was sent by the same Lord to the House of Peers, where a Motion was made for reading it, but it was warmly oppos'd and rejected. However, their Lordships sent for Preston, and demanded how he came by the Letter, who said, he had it from a Scotsman; upon which, he was order'd to produce him, and attend the House with him within three Days. The Scotsman's Name was Hays, and at the time appointed he appear'd in the House, whom he inform'd, "That when he left Paris, on the Monday before, the King commanded him to call at St. Germain's on the Earl of Melfort for a Packet of Letters to the Lord Preston, which he did, and had deliver'd them according to his Orders, and that was all he knew of the Matter." A Motion was again made for reading the Letter, but it was again rejected. Echard tells us that the Letter being sign'd by Melfort, disgusted several of the Lords, who had before been zealous for the King.

Debated by
the Lords.

On the 29th of January, the Lords consider'd the Grand Vote, sent up to them by the Commons in a Committee of the whole House, the Earl of Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds, in the Chair. The first Motion was, "Not to agree with the Commons that the Throne was vacant, but only first to suppose it for the present, leaving it to be further examined afterwards, in order to cut short several other Questions by determining this first, Whether the Throne being vacant, it ought to be fill'd by a Regent or a King?"

It is a very unpleasant Task to me to repeat what was said for the Regency, it being in some places trifling, in some absurd, and all so well answer'd by the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Danby, and those illustrious Peers and Patriots, who asserted the Liberty of the Constitution, were great in Argument and like Truth prevail'd. It was alledg'd, I must not name Names, "That if upon any Pretence whatsoever the Nation might throw off their King, even after that King had thrown off the Kingdom, then the Crown must become precarious, and the Supremacy be lodg'd in the People, which deposing Power would destroy the happy Mixture in the English Monarchy, and end in a new Species of Government unknown to this Nation." Here is twice Nation in one Sen-

A. D. 1688. *tence, yet a Bishop insulted Baxter at the Savoy Conference for making use of the Term as Republican.* If the Nation might not on any Pretence whatsoever throw off their King, then the *English* were oblig'd to submit first to the Pope, and afterwards to the King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, when King *John* had given them his Kingdom; the Absurdity of which, is too visible to need Explanation.

If there's a Mixture in the *English* Monarchy, what is it that is mix'd with it? Is it not the legislative Power as lodg'd in Lords and Commons? And if that Power is not to guard against the Subversion of the Laws, it is a Shadow only, and has no Substance; of which I shall be convinc'd, when I can believe that *One* is more than *Two*, and the *Whole* less than a *Part*. *Eckard* adds, that in the same Speech much was brought both from the *Laws* and *History* of England, to prove, "That not only the Person, but the Authority of the King is sacred." Eternal Sophistry! The Person and Authority of the King, governing according to Law and his Coronation Oath, is sacred, and to resist him a damnable Sin. This is universally granted; but when he throws off the Authority the Law gives him, and assumes an arbitrary tyrannical Power over his Subjects, Body and Soul, is his Authority then sacred? Those that are minded to see more of this edifying Argument against placing King *William* and Queen *Mary* on the Throne, against the Succession of Queen *Anne*, King *George* I. his present Majesty, and his Royal Posterity, are refer'd to *Eckard*, and the common Histories, where that and other Arguments of equal force are in great plenty. The Archdeacon owns, "Some intended to bring King *James* back, and artfully join'd in this, as the probable means of softning the Nation, and removing the present Aversion to that Prince; which done, a little Time might bring about their Designs."

Lords for the Vacancy.

The noble Peers who insisted that the Throne was *Vacant*, and that it might be fill'd with a King, urg'd, "That a *Regent* was as much or more against *Monarchy* than what they had propos'd. If a King's ill Government gave the People a Right in any case to take away his Power, and lodge it with another, owning that the Right to it still remain'd with him; this would have as ill Consequences as the pretended Danger by *Diversity of Factions*; and Variety of Elections, since recourse would be had to this violent Remedy as often and as rashly as the other. By the Proposition of a *Regent*, there would be in effect two Kings at the same time, one with the *Title*, and the other with the *Power*, which was more illegal and unsafe than the Method then propos'd. If the Oaths to King *James* were thought to be still in force, his Subjects by these were not only bound to maintain his *Title*, but all his *Powers* and *Prerogatives*; and therefore it seem'd *absurd* to continue a Government in his Name, and to swear to him as King, when all the Kingly Power was taken out of his hands. If the Government should be carry'd on in the Name of King *James* by the hands of others, the Body of the Nation would consider him as the Person who was really their King; and if any should plot or act in his behalf, they could not be prosecuted for *High Treason*, as conspiring against the Person or Government of the King; when it would be apparent, that they were only designing to preserve his Person, and restore him to his Government. To proceed against, and to condemn any to die for such Practice, would be to add Murder to Perjury." These and

other Arguments had such weight in this august Assembly, that when the Question was put, there were 51 for a *King*, and but 49 for a *Regency*. Among the latter were,

Duke of <i>Somerset</i> ,	Lord <i>Leigh</i> ,	Lords against the Vacancy.
Duke of <i>Ormond</i> ,	Lord <i>Ferrars</i> ,	
Duke of <i>Southampton</i> ,	Lord <i>Maynard</i> ,	
Duke of <i>Grafton</i> ,	Lord <i>Chandos</i> ,	
Duke of <i>Beaufort</i> ,	Lord <i>Fermin</i> ,	
Duke of <i>Northumberland</i> ,	Lord <i>Arundel of Trerice</i> ,	
Earl of <i>Kent</i> ,	Lord <i>Darlington</i> ,	
Earl of <i>Pembroke</i> ,	Lord <i>Griffin</i> ,	
Earl of <i>Clarendon</i> ,	Archbishop of <i>York</i> ,	
Earl of <i>Rochester</i> ,	Bishop of <i>Norwich</i> ,	
Earl of <i>Craven</i> ,	Bishop of <i>Winchester</i> ,	
Earl of <i>Westmorland</i> ,	Bishop of <i>Ely</i> ,	
Earl of <i>Scarsdale</i> ,	Bishop of <i>Bath and Wells</i> ,	
Earl of <i>Chesterfield</i> ,	Bishop of <i>Peterborough</i> ,	
Earl of <i>Litchfield</i> ,	Bishop of <i>Chichester</i> ,	
Earl of <i>Yarmouth</i> ,	Bishop of <i>Rochester</i> ,	
Earl of <i>Lindsey</i> ,	Bishop of <i>St. David's</i> ,	
Viscount <i>Weymouth</i> ,	Bishop of <i>Oxford</i> ,	
Lord <i>Coventry</i> ,	Bishop of <i>Gloucester</i> ,	
Lord <i>Brook</i> ,	Bishop of <i>Lincoln</i> .	

Mr. Archdeacon informs us, that the Earl of *Huntington*, and the Earl of *Mulgrave*, whom King *William* afterwards created Marquis of *Normanby*, did not appear in the House, and the Lord *Churchil* also absented himself, pretending some Indisposition; but it was suppos'd he was absent out of Decency only, and in consideration of the Favours he had receiv'd from the abdicated King. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was always absent, and Mr. *Eckard* adds, "Indeed the Odioufness of a *Deposing Power* had made so deep an Impression on the Minds of the *Clergy*, that none of the Bishops knew how to come into the Opinion of filling up the Throne, but Dr. *Compton* Bishop of *London*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny* Bishop of *Bristol*." But they knew very well how to come into the Opinion to invite the Prince of *Orange* to come with a mighty Fleet and Army against the King, who fill'd the Throne, and to make Prayers for the Prince's Success against him, which was as criminal in the Opinion of King *James*, as the drawing the Duke of *Monmouth's*, or the Earl of *Argyle's* Declaration. The Duke of *Ormond*, and three of King *Charles's* natural Sons, the Dukes of *Southampton*, *Grafton*, and *Northumberland*, soon left the Party for the *Regency*, and fell in with that for a *King*.

The Lords proceeded farther on the *Grand Vote*; *January* 31. and put this Question, *Whether or no there was an Original Contract between King and People?* Some maintain'd that Kings held their Crowns by *Divine Right*, which was vehemently deny'd by others, who asserted, "That all Power originally belong'd to the Community, and to the King only by *Contract*." The former insisted that there was no such thing in being, and ask'd, *Where it was kept, and how they might come at it?* We have observ'd of the *Cavaliers* in former Times, that whenever they pretended to Wit, 'twas as aukard and clumsy as the Jest of Clowns, or the Mirth of Fools. The *Original Contract* was kept in the *Coronation Oaths*, till *Laud* and *Sancroft* alter'd them, and might there be found as well as in all the Records of antient Times. Sir *Robert Philips*, Knight of the Shire for *Somerset* in King *James* the First's Time, asserted this *Original Contract* in Parliament, in the very Terms, above Threescore Years before this *Convention*, as may be seen in that Reign; and now, says *Eckard*, and thinks he says

A. D. 1688. says something, they ask'd where the Original Contract was kept, and how they might come at it? as if it had been Articles of Agreement had and made between John a Nokes, and Tom a Stiles laid by in an old Coffin.

The Archdeacon himself can't help repeating enough of what was said in Answer to it, to justify this Mirth. "Others answer'd it was imply'd in a legal and limited Government, tho' in a long Tract of Time and dark Ages, there was not such an explicit Proof of it to be found." Yet many Hints from Law-Books, antient Histories, and the Proceedings at Coronations, supported the Truth of it; and even the Conqueror himself was receiv'd upon his promising to keep the Laws of Edward the Confessor, which was plainly the Original Contract between him and the Nation. These were often renew'd by his Successors, more especially by their several Confirmations of Magna Charta, and Edward II. and Richard II. were depos'd for breaking these Laws and Contracts, which Proceedings were still good in Law; since they were never revers'd, nor was the Right of Deposing them ever renounc'd or disown'd. It was ask'd, what signify'd all the Limitations of the Regal Power, if when a King broke thro' them all, the People were left without Remedy to maintain their Laws, and preserve their Constitution?"

The contrary Notion is like that Nonsense, with which the same Party complemented Queen Anne, upon H—y's hated Revolution in the Ministry. They cry'd up in their Addresses her divine, hereditary, unalienable, indefeasible Right to the Crown, at the same time that they affirm'd the Pretender to be her true Brother: Thus it was an unmix'd mix'd Monarchy, a limited unlimited Government; for all Limitations, of Regal Power, according to these Men, were no where to be come at, and the Subjects had no Remedy to maintain their Laws and preserve their Constitution. Upon the finishing of this Debate, which was unequally maintain'd by the Regency, the Question, Whether King James had broke the said Original Contract, pass'd in the Affirmative, Yeas 53, No's 46; by which it appear'd, that the Number of those who were for the Regency was much lessen'd. In the mean time the People began to dislike these Debates, and the Stand that was put to the wish'd-for Revolution. They were impatient of the old Cathedral Topicks of Jure Divino, and a Petition was drawn up and carry'd about London for Hands, address'd to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled in the Grand Convention, &c. wherein it was said,

A Petition to the Lords.

"Whereas we are in a deep Sense of the Danger of Delays and perplex'd Debates about settling the Government, at this time Vacant, by reason whereof the necessary Ends of Government cannot be duly administr'd, we humbly desire that his Illustrious Highness the Prince of Orange, and his Royal Consort the Princess, may be settled on the Throne; by whose Courage, Conduct, and Reputation this Nation and the Protestant Religion may be defended from our Enemies, both at home and abroad; and that Ireland, now in a bleeding and deplorable Condition, may be rescu'd from its Miseries, and these Kingdoms settled on a lasting Foundation in Peace and Liberty."

His Highness had not appear'd on any side of the Questions debated in the Convention, which he resolv'd should be free, and that there should not be the least colour for the Enemies to our Liberty and Peace to say they were under any

Direction: Therefore to prevent its being insinuated that he approv'd of this Petition, he caus'd the Lord Mayor to issue an Order to suppress it.

A. D. 1688.

King James's Accession-Day, February 6th, approaching, the House of Peers order'd it should not be observ'd as a Holiday, and took into consideration the Word *Abdicated*, and concluded that the Word *Deserted* was more proper for this occasion. They next examin'd the Word *Vacant*, and put this Question, Whether King James having broken the Original Contract between him and his People, and Deserted the Government, the Throne was thereby Vacant? Those who were for bringing back King James, and all the Miseries that he had carry'd away with him, debated this Question with greater Heat, but I can't say with greater Force than any of the former; and some, according to *Eschard*, were for a *Tye* between him and the Nation, instead of the *Original Contract*. However the Term *Vacant* was still too strong for the Major Vote, and when it was put to the question, it was carry'd in the Negative by eleven Voices. And a Motion being made that the Prince and Princess of Orange be immediately declar'd King and Queen, it was also carry'd in the Negative by five Voices. Against which Vote the Marquises of *Hallifax* and *Winchester*, the Earls of *Danby* and *Devonshire*, the Lord *Delamere* and others, to the Number of *Forty*, enter'd their Protest. Lord *Lovelace* offer'd a Petition to the House; upon which the Earl of *Clarendon* mov'd, "That according to a standing Order of the House he himself should open it, and acquaint the House with the Contents of it, and by whom it was sign'd." The Lord *Ferrars* seconded that Motion; upon which Lord *Lovelace* withdrew it, saying, *It was not yet sign'd, but should be by Hands enough.* *Eschard* adds, "Great Numbers of the Rabble flock'd that Morning to *Westminster*, with *Will. Killis* at the head of them, but it made little Impression on their Lordships." By Rabble he and his Brother-History-Writers mean every Man, whose Zeal for the Constitution is apt to break out into any kind of Activity. There was to my knowledge among those whom he calls Rabble, Men of superior Character to himself, in whatever light we look upon him; and it would not have been easy for the Enemies of the Revolution to have hinder'd its taking effect, had they continu'd their Endeavours. The Lords the same day, February the 4th, sent a Message to the Commons, That they had consider'd of their Vote of the 28th of January last. Instead of the Word *Abdicated* they would have *Deserted* to be put in, and these Words, And that the Throne is thereby become Vacant, to be left out.

Notes against the Vacancy.

Does there not seem something very extraordinary, I will not say extravagant, in these Amendments? If King James was gone, and as the Earl of *Clarendon* said, *His own Opinion would concur to secure the Nation against his Return*, is not the plain Sense and English of it, *He has put himself out, and we'll keep him out?* Call it *Desertion* or *Abdication*, the Consequence is the same to King James; and if the Throne was not *Vacant*, he must be out of it and in it at the same time, which is a new Doctrine of Transubstantiation, that could not be swallow'd by good Protestants. And as soon as the Commons had consider'd of these Amendments, it was carry'd by a great Majority, February 5th, that a Committee should be appointed to draw up Reasons why that House could not concur with their Lordships; which were as follows: As to the

Lords Amendment to the Grand Vote of the Commons.

A. D. 1688. the first Amendment, the Word *Deserted* did not fully express the Conclusion from the Premises, which the Lords had agreed in agreeing to all the rest of the *grand Vote*, except the *Abdication* and *Vacancy*, their Lordships having

Commons Reasons against the Amendment.

Resolved,

That King James II. had endeavour'd to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract between King and People, and had violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom.

Now the Word *Deserted*, as the Commons argued, respected only the *withdrawing*; but the Word *Abdicated* respected the whole, for which purpose the Commons made choice of it.

And as to the second Amendment the Commons could not agree to leave out the Words, *And that the Throne is thereby vacant*. 1st, Because they conceived, that they might well infer, from so much of their own Vote, as their Lordships had agreed to, That King James the Second had *Abdicated* the Government, and that the Throne was thereby *Vacant*. So that if the Commons should admit their Lordships Amendment, that he had only *Deserted* the Government, yet even thence it would follow that the Throne is *vacant*, as to King James II, deserting the Government, being in true Construction deserting the Throne. 2dly, The Commons conceived, they needed not to prove to their Lordships, that as to any other Person the Throne was also *Vacant*, their Lordships having, as the Commons conceived, already admitted it, by their Addressing to the Prince of Orange, the 25th of December past, to take upon him the Administration of Publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and to take into his Care the Kingdom of Ireland, till the meeting of this Convention; and by their Lordships renewing the same Address to his Highness, since they met, and by appointing of Publick Thanksgivings to be observ'd throughout the whole Kingdom. All which the Commons conceived to imply, that it was their Lordships Opinion, that the Throne was *Vacant*, and to signify so much to the People of England. 3dly, It is from those who are upon the Throne of England, when there are any such, from whom the People of England ought to receive Protection, and to whom, for that Cause, they owe the Allegiance of Subjects; but there being none now from whom they expect Regal Protection, and to whom for that Cause, they owe the Allegiance of Subjects, the Commons conceived the Throne *Vacant*: These Reasons were given the Lords by Richard Hampden Esq; at a Conference which the Earl of Wiltshire, afterwards Duke of Bolton, had been sent to desire: At which Conference, Mr. Hampden reported,

Earl of Nottingham at the Conference.

February the 6th, that the Earl of Nottingham said, "The Lords had desir'd this Conference, that they might be as happily united to the Commons in Opinion, as they are inseparable in their Interest, and that they are at this time uneasy, that they cannot concur with the Commons in every thing, because it is of so great Concern to the Nation, and from so great and wise a Body.

"That the Lords did insist upon the first Amendment, because they did not find, that the Word *Abdicated* was a Word known to the Common Law of England, and because in the most common Acceptation in the Civil Law, *Abdicated* was a voluntary express Act of Renunciation, which was not in this Case, and did not follow from the Premises, That King James the Second, by having withdrawn himself, after having endeavour'd to subvert the Constitution of the Government, by breaking the

"Original Contract between King and People, A. D. 1688. and having violated the Fundamental Laws, may be any more properly said to have *Abdicated* than to have *Deserted*."

"That the Lords also insisted on the Second Amendment, to leave out the Words, *And the Throne is Vacant*; for tho' their Lordships have agreed that the King has *deserted* the Government, and therefore have made Application to the Prince of Orange, to take upon him the Administration of the Government, and thereby to provide for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; yet there can be no other Inference drawn from thence, but only that the Exercise of the Government by King James the Second is ceased; so as the Lords were and are willing to secure this Nation against the Return of the said King into this Kingdom, but not that there was either such an *Abdication* by him, or such a *Vacancy* in the Throne, as that the Crown was thereby become *Elective*, which they cannot agree."

1st, *Because by the Constitution of the Government, the Monarchy is Hereditary and not Elective.*

2dly, *Because no Act of the King alone can bar or destroy the Right of his Heir to the Crown; and therefore in Answer to the third Reason alledg'd by the House of Commons, if the Throne be Vacant of King James II. Allegiance is due to such Person as the Right of Succession doth belong to.*

The Reverend Archdeacon's Reflections on these Arguments, I make use of his own Words, are some of the best in his Book. "Their Lordships dissented from a tender Regard to the Protestant Successors, and the respectful, legal Notions of *Hereditary Monarchy*; which had been too long rooted, to be easily removed at once." That *Respectful Notion* did not allow to thrust King James out of his Seat, but it allow'd to hinder his ever getting again into it; and to keep a Man out of his Chair, when he strives to get in again, is I think as disrespectful as to displace him, when he was in it. The *respectful Notion of Hereditary Monarchy* did not hinder this illustrious Assembly, from applying to a Prince who was not apparently Hereditary, to take on him that Government, to which the *Hereditary Monarch* asserted his Right.

Mr. Hampden having made the Report of the Conference, February the 6th, the Question was put, Whether the Commons do agree with the Lords in the first Amendment? and it pass in the Negative with great Unanimity: and then the Question being put, That the House do agree with the Lords in the second Amendment? a warm Debate ensu'd, and the House divided upon the Question. The Yeas to go forth; the Tellers for the Yeas, Sir Joseph Tredenham and Francis Gwynn Esq; Tellers for the No's Mr. Dutton-Colt, and Mr. Herbert. I think Names on both sides ought to be remembered on this Occasion. The Yeas were 151, the No's 282, the Majority 131.

Resolved,

That a free Conference be desir'd with the Lords upon the Subject Matter of the last Conference.

Ordered,

That it be referred to

Sir Robert Howard.	Sir George Treby.
Henry Pollexfen Esq;	John Somers.
Paul Foley Esq;	William Garrarway Esq;
Mr. Serj. Maynard.	Hugh Boscawen Esq;
Mr. Serj. Holt.	Sir Thomas Littleton.
Lord Falkland.	Mr. Palmer.

The Free Conference.

Committee of Commons.

Ri-

A. D. 1688. Richard Hampden Esq; Giles Eyre Esq;
 Sir Henry Capel. Sir Richard Temple.
 Sir Thomas Lee. Sir Henry Goodrick.
 Will. Sacheverel Esq; Edmund Waller Esq;
 Major Wildman. Sir John Guise.
 Col. Birch.

To manage the Conference.

Ordered,

That Mr. Dolben do go up to the Lords, and desire a free Conference with the Lords upon the subject Matter of the last Conference.

Mr. Dolben reported,

That he having, according to the Order of this House, attended the Lords, to desire a free Conference with their Lordships, upon the Subject Matter of the last Conference, they had agreed to a free Conference, presently in the painted Chamber; and the Managers going thither, conferr'd with the Managers for the Lords, who were,

Committee of Lords.	Earl of Pembroke.	Duke of Somerset.
	Earl of Nottingham.	Bishop of Ely.
	Earl of Rochester.	Bishop of Peterborough.
	Earl of Clarendon.	Bishop of Rochester.
	Earl of Ailesbury.	Archbishop of York.
	Earl of Chesterfield.	Bishop of Winchester.
	Earl of Westmorland.	

The Debates at this memorable Conference were carried on with great Solemnity and Strength of Argument. But *Echard* tells us something that is very true upon it, according to the Sense of the Nation, the Commons had much the Advantage, and I have often been puzzled to comprehend what those noble Persons meant by opposing the Settlement. Let us suppose, that out of Complacency to the Oxford Decree, and the respectful Notions of Hereditary Monarchy, a Negative had pass'd in the House of Peers to the last important Question, *Whether the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen*: It was visible the People of England were bent upon it, and how could any Englishman think of the Consequence of such a Negative without trembling? Had the Arguments for it been stronger than any I have met with, the People were not to be argued out of the Security which they expected for their Religion, Liberties, Rights and Properties, by settling the Government on that Prince and Princess. Instead of abdicating, it was the universal Opinion, as *Echard* confesses, that King James had forfeited his Right, and as to the pretended Prince of Wales, the Imposture was so generally believ'd that he was not thought worth mentioning. What then was to be done, but to have recourse to the next undoubted Heir, the Princess of Orange, who willingly transferr'd her Divine Right to the Prince, with the Consent of the Legislature?

Mr. Hampden. The Debate at the Conference was open'd by Mr. Hampden, who among other Things said, "That the Common Law of England is not acquainted with the Word *Abdicate*, is from the Modesty of our Law, which is not willing to suppose there should be any unfortunate Occasion of making use of it."

Mr. Somers. Mr. Somers enlarg'd in answer to that Objection, and urg'd, that there was the same Exception to their Lordships word *Desertion*, which has not a known Sense in the Common Law of England. Then he explain'd the meaning of the Word *Abdicate*, as signifying a Renouncing not only by Express Words, or Writing, but by doing such Acts, as are inconsistent with the holding or retaining of the Thing; in which Sense 'tis taken by *Grotius*, *Calvin*, *Brissonius*, *Budeus*: Whereas *Deserted* signifies only a bare *Withdrawing*, which leaves the Party at liberty to return to it again, for which he quotes *Spigelius* and *Bartolus*; adding, that to *desert* in the Canon Law is only Non-

residence, with respect to a Benefice, in which Case the Party hath not only a Right to return, but is bound to return again. Mr. Somers added, "As the Commons do not take this to be the present Case, so they cannot think that your Lordships do, because it is expressly said, in one of your Reasons given in Defence of the last Amendment, *That your Lordships have been, and are willing to secure the Nation against the Return of King James*; which your Lordships would not in justice do, if you did look upon it no more than a *withdrawing*, which leaves the Party at liberty to return."

"The Question is not so much, whether the Word *Abdicated* be as antient as the Common Law, for that will be no Objection against the using it, if it be a Word of a known and certain Signification, because that we think will justify the Commons making use of it." He then prov'd the Signification of it to be the same, as in the Sense the Commons us'd it, out of *Cicero*, and our Countryman *Minshew*; adding, "We have very few Words in our Tongue that are of equal Antiquity with the *Common Law*. Your Lordships know the Language of *England* is alter'd greatly in several Successions of Time, and the Intermixture of other Nations, and if we should be oblig'd to make use only of Words then known and in use, what we should deliver in such a Dialect, would be very difficult to be understood. He then prov'd, that the doing an Act inconsistent with the Being and End of a Thing, but quite the contrary, is an *Abdication*, and formal Renunciation of that Thing.

The Earl of Nottingham said, "The main Reason of the Change of the Word is upon the account of the Consequence drawn in the Conclusion of the Vote, *That the Throne is thereby vacant*, that is, what the Commons mean by that Expression, whether you mean it is so *Vacant*, as to null the Succession in the Hereditary Line, and so all the Heirs to be cut off, which we say will make the Crown *Elective*."

When there is a present Defect of one to exercise the Administration of the Government, I conceive the Declaring a Vacancy, and Provision of a Supply for it, can never make the Crown Elective. The Commons apprehend there is such a Defect Now, and by Consequence a present Necessity for the Supply of the Government. If the attempting the utter Destruction of the Subject, and the Subversion of the Constitution, be not as much an Abdication, as the attempting of a Father to cut his Son's Throat, I know not what is the Constitution, notwithstanding the Vacancy, is the same; the Laws that are the Foundation and Rules of that Constitution are the same; but if there be, in any particular Instance, a Breach of that Constitution, that will be an Abdication, and that Abdication will infer a Vacancy.

I shall not be very particular, in relating the whole Conference, for tho' the Consequence of it was of the last Importance, yet the Subject seems not to be so: The Difference being chiefly about the Signification of Words; for as to Things, both Houses seem to be pretty well agreed. The Lords allow'd that King James had deserted the Government, and should never return to it, if they could help it; but they did not allow the Word *Abdicate*; nor that the Throne was *Vacant*, tho' there was no body in it, which was plain by their agreeing that he had deserted it; for Throne and Government are all one in a Political Sense. I shall only remember some Remarkables in certain Speeches at the Conference,

Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely: He was for the Abdication of King James, if the Right Line of Succession was continued. This Prelate,

A. D. 1688. after King William and Queen Mary were crown'd, held a Treasonable Correspondence with the same King or his Agents: notwithstanding he own'd that he would take the Oaths to them, if that King was dead, as not looking upon the Pretender to be the right Line of Succession; which is spoken of elsewhere, and serves to shew the Consistency of these Men in Sentiment and Practice.

Against the Pretender.

Earl of Clarendon Said, nobody will make the Coronation-Oath to be the Original Contract. One would think indeed that if a Man swears to do a thing, he does more than contract to do it.

Sir George Treby. "We are gone back too far, when we offer to enquire into the Original Contract, whether any such thing is known or understood in our Law or Constitution? And I offer this to your Lordships Consideration for two Reasons: First, It is a Phrase and Thing used by the Learned Mr. Hooker, in his Book of Ecclesiastical Polity, whom I mention as a valuable Authority, being one of the best Men, the best Churchman, and the most Learned of our Nation in his time; and his Works are very worthily recommended by the Testimony of King Charles the First." He allows, That Government did originally begin by Contract. What follows proves, that, as I said before, the Difference was about the Signification of Words only. "But I have a greater Authority than this to influence this Matter, and that is your Lordships own, who have agreed to all the Vote but this word Deserted, and the Vacancy of the Throne." Their Lordships had agreed that King James had broken the Original Contract, and it remain'd that he had deserted thereby or abdicated the Throne. It was urg'd, that his Abdication not being a voluntary Act, could not be a Renunciation, no more could it be a Desertion, for that was not voluntary. Now as to Renunciation, King James's indeed was not so solemn and express as Queen Christina's of Sweden: But what then? It was as effectual and legal, as Lord Nottingham granted it to be. I will not undertake to dispute whether a King of England may or may not renounce his Kingdom? For my own part, I think he can, and I may go so far in agreement with those that have spoken to this Point, to yield that he may do it by implicit Acts, contrary to his Kingly Office. In which his Lordship seems to go as far, according to my Understanding, as the Commons intended; for certainly the subverting the Constitution of the Kingdom, and the breaking the Original Contract, are the greatest Implicit Acts contrary to the Kingly Office, and makes the Word Abdicated the only proper one, to express the Sense of the Convention and the Nation. His Lordship confirms what he was pleas'd to say before by what follows: For a King to say, he will not govern according to Law, and for a King to act wholly contrary to Law, and do that which would subvert the Constitution, is, I think, the same thing. I do not repeat what his Lordship adds entirely, because I do not conceive there is the same Force of Reason in it. However I shall add this, If every Transgression or Violation of the Law, by the Prince's Connivance or Command, were such a Breach of the fundamental Laws, as would infer an Abdication, then were it in vain to call any of his Ministers to account. Then the Action is the King's, and not theirs, and then adieu to the Maxim of A King can do no Wrong. This Argument has the Infirmity, which is in most of the Earl of Clarendon's, in his History. The House of Commons and their Committee, and indeed any one reasonable Man in the Kingdom, did not pre-

Earl of Nottingham.

tend that every Transgression or Violation of the Law was such a Breach of the Fundamental Laws, as would infer an Abdication; but they did all pretend and assert, and the House of Lords had agreed to it, that King James had endeavour'd to subvert the Constitution, broken the Original Contract, and violated the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, which is infinitely more than a single Transgression. As to the Maxim of a King can do no Wrong, let those make the most of it who believe and preach it. I believe King Charles the First did wrong, when he enter'd the House of Commons with Men in Arms, and that his Ministers were not accountable for it; and many other Instances of Wrong will be met with in the Reigns we write of.

In the Debate about the second Amendment, Mr. Sacheverell, the Throne being vacant, Mr. Sacheverell, speaking of the Notion of King James's having left the Exercise of the Government, and continuing still the Office, said, "If the Case were so, then all the Actions we have done in this Convention are wholly not justifiable. You are in no Place or Station to relieve yourselves or the Nation in this Exigence, unless you will think of setting up another Regency by your own Authority, without his Consent; which I conceive, by the Laws of England, you cannot do. What then follows upon all we have done? We have drawn the Nation into a Snare by the Steps we have taken, and leave all in such an Intricacy, as we have no Power by Law to deliver them out of." This is one of the terrible Consequences of the Negative to the Commons grand Vote, which I have given Hints of in the preceding Page.

That great Lawyer Mr. Pollexfen spoke as to the Distinction between the Exercise of the Government, which their Lordships agreed to be ceased as to King James, and his Right to the Government, which the Committee understood would remain in the Sense of the word Deserted, and which they were resolv'd should remain no where. Mr. Pollexfen argu'd thus: "The Administration or Exercise of the Kingly Government is in Construction and Consideration of Law all one and the same; and, I think, no body that would reason aright from thence, can say there is any Distinction between Government and the Exercise of Government: for whosoever takes from the King the Exercise of Government, takes from the King his Kingship; for the Power and the Exercise of the Power are so join'd, that they cannot be sever'd. And the Terms themselves, taking them as the Law of England, which we are to argue from this Case, teacheth them, are so coincident, that they cannot either subsist without consisting together. If a Man grant to another the Government of such a Place, this imports the Exercise of the Government there to be granted thereby."

Another Reason which the Managers for the Lords urg'd against the Vacancy of the Throne was, that the Government which was Hereditary would thus become Elective; and indeed the Managers seem'd to have direful Apprehensions of an Increase of the People's Liberty by it, tho', as we have long experienc'd, there was not the least danger of it; for, thanks be to God, the Succession in the Protestant Line has continu'd above forty Years uninterrupted, and is like so to continue longer than any Succession has hitherto done in the Throne of England, for which every good Englishman prays with all the Powers of his Soul.

A. D. 1688. The Learned Mr. Pollexfen spoke to this also: "For the Conclusion, which your Lordships have added to your Reason, as making it from the very Words of your Vote, *That it would infer such a Vacancy in the Throne, as that the Crown should thereby become Elective*: This we conceive is a Conclusion that hath no Premises either from our Actions or our Sayings, or our Votes, or any thing else in this Case; nay, it is quite varying from all Premises: But when such a Conclusion can be shewn to follow from them, then it will be time enough for us to give our Answer to it."

The Earl of Clarendon. *How is the Throne vacant? Is it only as to King James, or is it as to him and all or any of his Posterity, or any of those that are in the Remainder in the Royal Line in Succession?* I do not find that the Word Heirs or Heirship has been in the least hinted by any one of the House of Commons. That came naturally into consideration, after the Vacancy of the Throne was settled, and not before. Lord Clarendon proceeded, *If it be as to them too, then it must necessarily follow, that the Kingdom must thereby become ELECTIVE, or the Government changed into a Commonwealth*; which no Man in his Wits dreamt of, and his Lordship must needs dread it as much as a Deluge or Conflagration.

Serjeant Maynard. "I am sure if we be left without a Government, as we find we are, sure we must not be perpetually under Anarchy. The Word *Elective* is none of the Commons Word, neither is the making the Kingdom *Elective* the Thing they had in their Thoughts or Intentions; all they mean by this Matter, is to provide a Supply for this Defect in the Government, brought upon it by the late King's Male-Administration."

Earl of Pembroke. Said against the Vacancy, *You, Gentlemen, ask who the Throne is full of? I think it is sufficient to know that there are Heirs who are to take the Lineal Succession, though we do not, or cannot positively name the particular Person*. By which, in my Conception, his Lordship rejects the Prince of Wales as an Impostor; for if he had been a true Son, they could have positively nam'd the particular Person in the Succession.

Earl of Nottingham. Lord Nottingham spoke about the Heirship, and making the Kingdom *Elective*. But as to the Heirship, it did not yet come into the Question. As to the *Elective*, Mr. Sacheverell said, "You put it upon us to say, the Execution or Exercise of the Government is *ceased*, but you will not say the *Throne is vacant*, so much as to King James." And if it be not, what have we to do to consider or debate of any Consequence, whether it will infer an *Election* or not? What Satisfaction can it be to your Lordships, or us, or the Nation, to know that such things as are mention'd in the Votes have been done by King James, and that he has deserted, as you say, the Government, if he still retain a Right to it, and your Lordships will not declare he hath no Right, but amuse the Kingdom with the doubtful Words of the *Exercise*, as to him, *ceasing*. If that be all you mean, what need the Question be ask'd, How far it is *vacant*? for it should seem it is not *vacant* at all."

Earl of Nottingham. *Will you please to suppose it vacant as to King James; that is, that he hath no Right? then let us go on to the next step.*

Mr. Sacheverell. "That, my Lords, we cannot do; for all our Business is to maintain our own, *That the Throne is vacant*."

Mr. Somers. "My Lords, your Lordships, as a Reason against the Word *Abdicate*, say, *It is not a Word known to our common Law*. But the

Word *vacant*, about which we are now disputing, cannot have that Objection made to it; for we find it in our *Records*, and even applied in a parallel Case to this of ours, in 1 Hen. IV. where it is expressly made use of more than once, and there it doth import what I think it doth import in this Vote of the House of Commons, now in debate; and to require any further or other Explication of it than the Record gives, will be very hard and unreasonable, for we are here to give the Commons Reasons for maintaining their own Vote, and nothing else. If your Lordships please to look into the Record in that Case, there was first a Resignation of the Crown and Government, made and subscrib'd by King Richard II. and this is brought into the Parliament, and there they take notice that the *Sedes Regalis*, those are the Words, *sunt vacua*: and the Resignation being read both in *Latin* and *English* in the great Hall at *Westminster*, where the Parliament then assembled, it was accepted by the Lords and Commons.

After that, it proceeds further, and there are Articles exhibited against Richard II. and upon these Articles they went on to Sentence of Deposition and Deprivation, and then followeth the Words in the Record: *Et confestim, ut constabat, ex premissis & eorum Occasione Regnum Angliæ cum pertinentiis suis vacare*. Then Henry IV. rises up out of his Place as Duke of Lancaster, where he sat before; and standing so high that he might be well enough seen, makes claim to the Crown. The Words in the Record are, *Dictum Regnum Angliæ, sic ut premittitur, vacans una cum Corona vendicat*. After that the Record goes on: Upon this Claim, the Lords and Commons being ask'd what they thought of it, they unanimously consented, and the Archbishop took him by the Hand and led him *ad Sedem Regalem prædictam*.

Nay, and after all this, it is there taken notice and particularly observ'd, that *præus Vacante Sede Regali*, by the Leasion and Deposition aforesaid, all the publick Officers *ceased*; there is care taken for Henry IVth's taking the Royal Oath, and granting of new Commissions.

My Lords, the Commons do therefore apprehend, that with very good Reason and Authority they did in their Vote declare the *Throne to be vacant*: But as to the going further, to enquire into the Consequences of that, *concerning the Heirs and the Election*, or what is to be done afterwards, is not our Commission, who came here only to maintain their Expressions in their Vote against your Lordships Amendments."

The Lord Rochester had no regard to that Commission, but insisted upon it, that the Vacancy of the Throne would make the Monarchy *elective*. And did not the Desertion of the Government do it every whit as much, when another was to have it? and since that other Person could not bestow it upon himself, but must have it conferr'd on him by others, that *Conferring* is *Electing*, and reduces the Debate still to a Difference about Words only.

The Earl of Clarendon continu'd the Doubt of turning the Kingdom into a Commonwealth, adding, *I hope you will take into your Consideration, what will become of the Kingdom of Scotland, if they should differ from us in this Point*. And truly they did differ in an extraordinary manner, for they would not make use of either of the two Words *Deserted* or *Abdicated*, but I think they us'd a much better

A. D. 1688. better Word, *Forefaulted*, declaring that King *James* by many ill Acts of Government had forfeited the Kingdom, and had no more Right to it, than the late Earl of *Mar* has to his Lands in *North-Britain*.

Sir Robert Howard. "We do not doubt but that Power which brought in another Line upon the *Vacancy* of the *Throne* by the Leasion of *Richard II.* is still, according to the Constitution, residing in the Lords and Commons, and is legally sufficient to supply the *Vacancy* that now is: Use what Words you will, *Fill up*, or *Nominate*, or *Elect*." It being very plain, their Lordships did agree that there was nobody in the *Throne*, and that it was necessary it should be fill'd, but not with King *James*, the Difference continues still about the Terms only; and if they us'd, to *Elect*, or *Nominate*, or *Fill up*, either of them would have kept King *James* out as effectually as *Abdicated*, but 'twould not have alike preserv'd the Force and Vigour of the Constitution, which the Commons insisted upon.

Earl of Clarendon. "Suppose you say nothing, but fill the *Throne*, is it not to take away the right Line of Inheritance?" And does not Desertion imply a *Vacancy* as well as *Abdication*? That was not disputed.

Sir Thomas Lee. "The Amendments your Lordships have made to the Commons Vote, are not agreeing with your other Votes, nor any of the Acts since the *Abdication*. You were sensible we were without a Government, by your desiring the Prince to take the Administration, and to issue out his Letters for this *Convention*. My Lords, I would ask this Question, Whether upon the *Original Contract*, there were not a Power preserv'd in the Nation, to provide it self in such Exigencies? That *Contract* was to settle the Constitution; the making of Laws is a Part of that *Contract*, and that those Laws should oblige all Sides, when made; but yet so as not to exclude this *Original Constitution*, in all Governments which commence by *Compact*, that there should be a Power in the States to make Provision in all Times and upon all Occasions, for extraordinary Cases and Necessities, such as ours now is."

Sir G. Treby. "To discourse whether the Crown of *England* would by this means become *Elective*, is altogether unnecessary, and I think your Lordships have given no Reasons that are sufficient to make the Objection out, neither any Answers to the Commons Reasons for their Vote. It seems to me an odd way of Reasoning, first to mistake the Meaning, and then give Reasons against that mistaken Meaning. The proper single Question here, is, Whether we have well affirm'd upon the Premises that are mention'd in the former Part of the Vote, that King *James* has *Abdicated*, and that the *Throne* is thereby *Vacant*. Your Lordships in part agree, for you say he has *deserted the Government*. Then you say, *He is not in it*: and it is as much as to say, He has left the Kingdom destitute of a Government. Now, if there be any Sense, in which our Proposition is true, will you deny the whole Proposition, because it may be taken in a Sense that is dubious and uncertain? You cannot say, the *Throne* is *Full*; if then there be a Doubt with you, to be sure it is not like to be evident to us, especially in this Case. You are the Persons that usually are, or ought to be present at the Delivery of our *Queens*, and the proper Witnesses to the Birth of our Princes. If then your Lordships had known who was on the *Throne*, we should certainly have heard his Name from you, and

A. D. 1688. "that had been the best Reason against the *Vacancy* as could have been given."

Their Lordships would not touch this Point. It would have exasperated the Nation beyond measure. Sir Robert Howard just hinted it, *We know something has been pretended to, as an Heir-Male, of which there are different Opinions; and in the mean time, we are without a Government, and must we stay till the Truth of the matter be found out?*

Lord Pembroke, *The Laws made, are certainly Part of the Original Contract*: which his Lordship would not have asserted, if no such thing was to be come at.

"If we look into the Law of Nature, which is above all human Laws, we have enough to justify us in what we are now a-doing, to provide for our selves and the Publick Weal in such an Exigency as this."

If *Laws made about the Succession be so obliging, what then shall we say to the Succession of Queen Elizabeth, who had an Act of Parliament, to the keeping of which an Oath was required, against both her and her Sister?*

"But to shew what Opinion she herself, and the wise Men of her Times, had, and were of, in this Point, there is an Act made in her Reign yet in being, which declares it to be a *Premunire*, to affirm that Parliaments cannot settle the Succession of the Crown or alter it." By this Statute, all the Addresses in K. Charles and K. James's Reigns, and at the latter end of Queen Anne's, which affirm'd the Right of Succession to be *Unalterable*, were subject to a *Premunire*; and it were to be wish'd, that whenever the *Unalienable, Indefeasible, Unalterable*, is preach'd up again, a *Premunire* may be executed upon the Preacher.

I think we are in as full a Capacity to take care of the Government as any of our Predecessors, in such an Exigence, and if we do as they have done before us, that is not to be call'd a Changing of the Monarchy from an Hereditary to an Elective.

Gentlemen, "If any of you can settle this matter in its true Light, it would do very well, and it is you must do it, for the Words are yours, and so we must be told your Signification and Intention by yourselves. If you mean by *Abdication* and *Vacancy* only, that the King has left the Government, and it is devolv'd upon the next Successor, that may perhaps satisfy my Lords, and we may agree upon some Settlement."

"We are pursuing those Methods that agree with our Laws and Constitution; for tho' the *Monarchy* of this Nation be *Hereditary* in the ordinary Course of Succession, yet there may fall out a Case wherein that cannot be comply'd with, and a plain *Vacancy* may ensue. For put the Case, the whole Royal Line should fail, as they are all mortal as well as we ourselves are, should we in that Case have no Government at all? And who then should we have but the Lords and Commons? And I think that Case comes nearest to the Case in question, where the Successor is not known; for if he had been, we should have heard of him before now. And what is the Reason that it should then in the former Case devolve to Lords and Commons, but that there is no King? And they being the Representative Body of the Kingdom, are the only remaining Parts of the Government, and are only to supply the Defect by providing a Successor. And is there not the same Reason here? We are without a King, I am sure I do not know of any that

A. D. 1688. " we have ; if that fall out to be the Case now, that will infer a *Vacancy* with a witness ; and it will be of Necessity that the Lords and Commons take care to supply it."

My Lords,

Mr. Eyre. " We are led, and I think out of the way, into a very large Field, hunting after the Consequences of a Vote not yet settled or agreed unto : we have, as I conceive, nothing but the Vote itself to consider of or debate upon. We do not pretend to prejudice any legal Right ; but what the Consequences of this Vote may be, before the Vote itself be past, I believe no Man can reasonably pretend to ascertain, unless he have the Spirit of Prophecy. The *Throne* may be *Vacant* as to the Possession, without the *Exclusion* of one that has a Right to the Succession, or a Dissolution of the Government in the Constitution ; neither will there be room for the Objection of a King *de Facto*, and not *de Jure*, which some of the Lords were pleas'd to express their Fears of.

" The Gentleman that stands by me instanc'd in a Record, and that was mistaken, as a Precedent for the Proceeding in this Case : It was only mention'd by him to shew, that by using the Word *Vacant*, the Commons did no more than our Ancestors did before us, and therefore it was not an unknown Word or Thing to have the *Throne Vacant*. We do apprehend we have made a right and apt Conclusion from the Premises, for otherwise all the Vote is but Historical. We declare the late King hath broke the *Original Contract*, hath violat'd the *Fundamental Laws*, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom ; that he hath Abdicat'd, actually Renounc'd the Government. What occasion was there for such a Declaration as this, if nothing were concluded from it ? That were only to give the Kingdom a compendious History of those Miseries they have too well learn'd by feeling them ; therefore there was a Necessity to make some Conclusion, and none so natural as this, that we are left without a King, in the Words of the Vote ; that the *Throne* is thereby *Vacant*, which it may be as to the Possession, and yet the Right of Succession no way prejudic'd. But, my Lords, we come here, by the Commands of the House of Commons, to debate the Reasons of their Vote, and your Lordships Amendments, not to dispute what will be the Consequences, which is not at present our Purpose."

This Debate lasted several Hours, and as soon as the *Managers* for the Lords had made a Report in that House, a new Debate arose there, long and warm, whether or no they should insist on their Amendments, or agree with the *Grand Vote* of the Commons. Many of the chief Members, who were before for a *Regency*, came over to the Party who were for a *King*, which was also encreas'd by the Arrival of some Lords ; insomuch, that when the two Questions about the Words *Abdicat*e and *Vacant* were put, they were both carry'd in the *Affirmative* ; upon which Mr. Archdeacon makes a very grave, but childish Observation, " From which Principles, and the general-Opinion of both Lords and Commons, that the personal Right of King *James* was not *unalienable*, it has been often infer'd, That there can be no *indefeasible* Right in any of his Heirs, either near or remote." He has no Heirs nearer than his Cousins in *Savoy*, and the People of *England* don't care whether their Right be *defeasible* or *indefeasible* : They will never draw any Inference from that Vote, which was not before infer'd from the *Original Contract*,

and the natural Right of their *Representative* to fill up the *Throne*, when it is at any time *Vacant*.

The next day after the House of Commons had pass'd their *Grand Vote*, they resolv'd, " That it hath been found by Experience to be inconsistent with this Protestant Kingdom to be govern'd by a *Popish* Prince ;" which Vote they sent up to the Lords for their Concurrency : And their Lordships having concurr'd in it, did it not imply that the Government of King *James* was inconsistent with the Government of *England*, and that that Inconsistency turn'd the *Desertion* into an *Abdication* ? Nay, *Echard* himself acknowledges that King *James* had forfeited his personal Right, which, if he thought so, must make him read the Arguments for the Word *Deserted* with great Prejudice and Aversion.

While they were debating it, his Highness the Prince of *Orange* continu'd his remarkable Reservedness and seeming Indifference some time, hearing all that was said to him without making Answers upon this Head. All he said himself was, *He came over upon Invitation to save the Kingdom, and now he had brought together a true and free Representative of the Nation, he therefore left it to them to do what they thought best for the Good of the Kingdom ; and when of the things were once settled, he should be well satisfy'd to return back to Holland*, in which 'tis probable he preserv'd his Phlegm more than his Sincerity, for not long after he sent for the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Danby*, and some other leading Members of the House of Lords, to whom he spoke to this effect, " That he had been silent till then, because he would neither say nor do the least thing that might seem to intrench upon any Man's full Freedom of deliberating and voting in Matters of such Importance. He was resolv'd neither to court nor threaten any Person whatsoever, and therefore he had wholly declin'd giving out his own Thoughts. He found some were for putting the Government into the hands of a *Regent*. He would say nothing against that, if it was thought the best means for settling their Affairs ; only he thought it necessary to tell them, that he himself would not be the *Regent*. Therefore, if they continu'd in that Design, they must look out for some other Person to be put in that Station ; for he himself so well knew the Consequences of it, that he would not accept of it." — *He said*, " He found that others were for putting the Princess singly on the Throne, and that he should reign by her Courtesy ; to which he said, no Man could esteem a Woman more than he did the Princess, but he was of that Temper, that he could not think of holding any thing upon such Terms as the Life of a Wife ; nor could he think it reasonable to have any share in the Government, unless it was vested in his Person, and that for the Term of Life. If they thought fit to settle it otherwise, he would not oppose them in it, but he would return back to *Holland*, and concern himself no more in their Affairs." Which I take however to be a kind of Menace. He added, *That whatsoever others may think of a Crown, it did not appear such a thing in his Eyes, but that he could live very well, and very well pleas'd without it*. He concluded, " That tho' he could not resolve to accept of a Dignity, so as to hold it under the Life of another, yet he thought that the Issue of the Princess *Anne* should be preferr'd in the Succession to any Issue he might have by any other Wife after the present Princess." It must

A. D. 1688. be own'd, that there was great Reason for the Prince to say what he said, that a *Regency* would have ill Consequences, an eternal Struggle between that and a prior superior Right, which on all emergent Occasions would have broke out to perplex and ruin the *Regent*, whose Power being so uncertain and disputable, would be but a small Encouragement for Foreign Princes to enter into Alliance with him, which was what his Highness had most at heart, after the Settlement of this Nation, to put a stop to the Growth of the exorbitant Power of *France*. His Sentiments were not design'd to be kept secret, and being reported abroad, they had great Influence in the Debates at *Westminster*, and hasten'd things to a Conclusion.

Princess of Orange. I do not think there were really so many Difficulties started, with relation to the Right of the Princesses of *Orange*, as *Echard* pretends, or that her Disposition was so little known as to create Doubts; tho' probably some might be apprehensive, that if she thought herself injur'd, she, who by reason of her Youth and Health was like to outlive the Prince, might take revenge on all that post-pon'd her Succession, when it was in her power. The Satisfaction of these was left to *Dr. Burnet*, who had discours'd her Highness on that nice Subject two Years before, and knew her Mind. Accordingly he, with the Prince's Leave, declar'd her Royal Highness's Resolution to submit to the Preference that might be given her Royal Consort, on account of his great Genius, Experience, and all Princely and Heroick Qualities. The Princess *Anne of Denmark* consented to have her Succession suspended in favour of the Prince of *Orange*; but I have been told her Consent was not procur'd very easily; nor was she ever heartily reconcil'd to it, tho' she did not let it be known to any but her most trusty Confidants.

Earl of Danby for the Princess of Orange. The Earl of *Danby* carry'd things very high in favour of the Princesses of *Orange*; he was so officious as to send a Messenger over to *Holland* with a Letter to her, giving her an Account of the State of the Debate, and desiring to know her own Sense of the Matter; for if it was her Desire, He did not doubt but he should be able to set her alone on the Throne. She return'd him a sharp Answer, letting him know, She was the Prince's Wife, and would never be any other than what should be in conjunction with him, and under him; and that she should take it extreme unkindly, if any, under the pretence of their Care for her, should set up a divided Interest between her and the Prince. Wife and generous Sentiments, worthy so pious and so prudent a Princess; nor content with this, she immediately sent both the Lord *Danby's* Letter, and her Answer, to the Prince, which open Proceeding was the most effectual Discouragement that could be to any future Attempt, to create a Misunderstanding or Jealousy between them. His Highness bore it coolly; and without any Expostulation with the Earl of *Danby*, who atton'd for this wrong Step by a warm Speech after the Report of the last Conference with the Commons, not only to prove the Vacancy of the Throne, but the Necessity of supplying it by the Prince of *Orange*, in which he was strenuously supported by the Marquis of *Hallifax*, who from the first of the Debates to the last had been most zealous for the Prince, and taking advantage of this favourable Opportunity, immediately put the Question, Whether their Highnesses the Prince and Princesses of *Orange* should be declar'd King and Queen? and it was carry'd in the Affirmative by 20 Voices. *Tea's 65, No's 45.*

A. D. 1688. *Resolv'd*, "By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled at *Westminster*, that the Prince and Princesses of *Orange* shall be declar'd King and Queen of *England*, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging." Which Vote their Lordships explain'd at their next Session by the following one.

Resolv'd, "That the Prince and Princesses of *Orange* shall be King and Queen of *England*, &c. for their natural Lives, and the Life of the longer Liver of them; and that the sole and full Regal Power be in the Prince only, in the Name of both. And that after their Deceases the Crown shall belong to the Heirs of the Body of the Princess; and for Default of such Issue to the Princess *Anne of Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the said Prince of *Orange*; and for Default of such Issue, to the Person that shall be nam'd, and in such manner as shall be limited by Act of Parliament; and for Default of such Limitation, and Regulation, to the lawful Heirs of the said Prince of *Orange*." A Lord, whom *Echard* does not think fit to name, mov'd several Lords to enter their Dissents to these Votes; but it seems, tho' they were ready enough in their Inclinations, yet they thought the Case so nice, that they all refus'd to subscribe their Names, for which I am very sorry; it would have been a fine Roll to have oblig'd Posterity with.

Their Lordships having agreed to abrogate the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which had been so mischievous in the former Reigns; *Resolv'd*, that the following Oaths should be taken instead of them.

I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear to bear true Allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary.

So help me God.

I A. B. do swear, that I do from my Heart abhor, detest, abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Position, that Princes excommunicated or deprived, by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be depos'd or murder'd by their Subjects; or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm.

So help me God.

These Votes and Resolutions being sent down by the Lords to the Commons for their Concurrence, the latter, after a short Debate, agreed to them with some Amendments; and to the new Oaths without any Amendment: But they were protested against in the Upper House by eleven Bishops, and twelve Temporal Peers, whose Number within two or three Days increas'd to thirty-seven; and who not only declar'd against the Oaths, but express'd themselves against the Abdication, and the Vacancy of the Throne.

In the mean while a select Committee of the House of Commons, Mr. *Somers* at their head, were busily employ'd in drawing up a solemn Declaration of Rights, containing the several Facts and Reasons for King *James's* Forfeiture of the Crown; asserting the undoubted Rights and Liberties of the Subject, settling the Succession of the Crown, and appointing the New Oaths. Mr. Archdeacon *Echard* discovers a Secret here, *The*

A. D. 1688.

Declaracion of Rights.

A. D. 1688. *The Management of the Prince had such an Effect upon the Leaders, as to cause them to hasten and shorten the famous Declaration, which was sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence, February the 11th, At what time the singular Lord he speaks of, who stuck fast by King James, propos'd to those Peers, who in most of the Votes had been of his mind, That they would all agree by Consent to leave the House at once; by which they would have abdicated their Seats there, as King James had abdicated the Throne; and no doubt that August Assembly would have dealt with them accordingly. But two wise and noble Lords, the Earls of Pembroke and Nottingham, could not approve of such Rashness and Temerity, and told them, that it would be of ill Consequence, that they must support the Government as well as they could, and could never answer it if they left the House.*

On the 12th of February the Lords had a Conference with the Commons about the Declaration, and the Amendments to the Votes before-mention'd. Managers for their Lordships were,

Earl of Bridgewater.	Earl Rivers.
Lord Delamere.	Earl of Stamford.
Earl of Kingston.	Lord Viscount Newport.
Bishop of London.	Lord Vaughan.
Earl of Macclesfield.	Lord Ward.
Lord Montagu.	Earl of Northampton.

The very Names of these Lords lead us to the Expectation of a happy Agreement between the two Houses for the Settlement of the Nation; which was soon compleated, and both Lords and Commons agreed to the Votes and Declaration of Rights by which King William and Queen Mary were settled on the Throne, and the Subjects Liberties asserted and secur'd in the manner following.

It was objected by Mr. F. . . . against the Grand Vote for the Abdication, that King James's ill Acts of Government amounted not to what was understood by the Word, *Such a Violation of his Trust, as was a Subversion of the Constitution, and a Renouncing of it.* We shall see best, whether it was so or not, by reading the following Declaration.

Whereas the late King James II. by the Assistance of divers evil Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers employ'd by him, did endeavour to subject and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom,

By assuming and exercising a Power of dispensing with, and suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without Consent of Parliament,

By committing and prosecuting divers worthy Prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excus'd from concurring to the said assum'd Power,

By issuing, and causing to be executed, a Commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court call'd, *The Court of Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs,*

By levying Money for and to the Use of the Crown, by pretence of *Prerogative*, for other Time and in other Manner than the same was granted by Parliament,

By raising and keeping a *Standing Army* within the Kingdom in time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament, and quartering Soldiers contrary to Law,

By causing several good Subjects, being Protestants, to be disarm'd, at the same time when Papists were both arm'd and employ'd contrary to Law.

By violating the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament,

By Prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench, for Matters and Causes cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other Illegal and Arbitrary Courses,

And whereas of late Years Partial, Corrupt and Unqualify'd Persons have been return'd and serv'd on Juries in Trials, and particularly divers Jurors in Trials for High-Treason, which were not Freeholders,

And excessive Bail hath been requir'd of Persons committed in criminal Causes, to eclude the Benefit of the Laws for the Liberty of the Subject,

And excessive Fines have been impos'd, And Illegal and Cruel Punishments inflict'd,

And several Grants and Promises made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judgment against whom the same was to be levied: All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws, and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm,

And whereas the late King James II. having abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby vacant,

His Highness the Prince of Orange, whom it hath pleas'd Almighty God to make the Glorious Instrument of delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power, did, by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal Persons of the Commons, cause Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other Letters to the several Counties, Cities, Universities, Boroughs and Cinque-Ports, for the chusing of such Persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster, January 22, 1689, in order to such an Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws and Liberties might not be again in danger of being subverted; upon which Letters, Elections have been accordingly made,

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective Letters and Elections, being now assembled in a full and free Representation of this Nation, taking into their most serious Consideration the best means for the attaining the Ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, as their Ancestors in the like Cases have usually done, for the vindicating their ancient Rights and Liberties, DECLARE,

That the pretended Power of suspending Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, without Consent of Parliament, is illegal,

That the pretended Power of Dispensing Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal,

That the Commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other Commissions and Courts of like nature, are Illegal and Pernicious,

That levying Money to or for the Use of the Crown, by Pretence of *Prerogative*, without Grant of Parliament for longer Time, or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal,

That it is the Right of the Subject to petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such Petitioning, are illegal,

That the raising and keeping a *Standing Army* within the Kingdom in time of Peace, unless it be by Consent of Parliament, is against Law,

That

A. D. 1688.

A. D. 1688. " That the Subjects, being Protestants, may have Arms for their Defence suitable to their Condition, and as allowed by Law,
 " That the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be free,
 " That the Freedom of Speech, or Debates and Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeach'd or question'd in any Court or Place out of Parliament,
 " That excessive Bail ought not to be requir'd, nor excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted,
 " That Jurors ought to be duly impannell'd and return'd; and Jurors, which pass upon Men in Trials for High-Treason, ought to be Freholders,
 " That all Grants, and Promises of Fines and Forfeitures of particular Persons before Conviction, are illegal and void,
 " And that for Redress of all Grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently,
 " And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the Premises, as their undoubted Rights and Privileges; and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings or Proceedings to the Prejudice of the People in any of the said Premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter in Consequence or Example,
 " To which Demand of their Rights, they are particularly encourag'd by the Declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full Redress and Remedy therein. Having therefore an intire Confidence, that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the Deliverance so far advanc'd by him, and will still preferve them from the Violation of their Rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Rights and Liberties,
 " The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at Westminster, do Resolve,

That WILLIAM and MARY, &c.

Then follows the Resolution before-mention'd for the Settlement of the Crown; at the close of which, they say,

" And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess of Orange to accept the same accordingly: And that the Oaths hereafter mention'd be taken by all Persons of whom the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy might be requir'd by Law instead of them, and that the said Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be abrogated," Which Oaths are there inserted.

Princess of Orange arrives in England.

The Day before this Declaration and Tender of the Crown were offer'd to their Royal Highnesses, the Princess of Orange arrived in Holland than she desir'd to have done, by Frost and contrary Winds; which gave the Prince's Enemies occasion to give out, she was detain'd there by his Order, that she might not come and put in her Claim to the Crown; for the Cavaliers, Tories, and Jacobites have always been fed with false Reports, to keep up their Spirits in Distress and Despair; and those Reports being ever so foolish, absurd and incredible, have not hinder'd their Currency. They also gave out, That she was not well pleas'd with the late Transactions, with respect both to her Father and the present Settlement. Upon which, it is said the Prince wrote to her, " That it was necessary she should at first appear so chearful, that no one might be discourag'd by her Looks,

" or made to apprehend that she was uneasy at any thing that had been done:" Which Advice she very punctually follow'd, and put on an Air of Gaiety, which had very little of Affectation in it. The Prince and Princess of Denmark met her Royal Highness at Greenwich; from whence they pass'd by Barge up to Whitehall, amidst the loud Shouts and Acclamations of the Multitude, who doubly rejoic'd for her happy Arrival, and her being just declar'd Queen. Never was Joy so reasonable, so general, and so transporting.

Echard very squeamishly observes, *She had some tender Pangs when she enter'd her Father's Palace, and was going to mount his Throne; which is doubtless as false as what follows: She said, She was under Direction, and acting a part that was not natural to her. I can hardly think even he would have ventur'd to have reported such a Falstity, had he seen her then as I did, and there was nothing to be seen in her Looks which was not as natural and as lovely, as ever were Charms in Woman; nor was her Empire less over the Hearts than over the Wills of the English.*

A Popish Lady furnish'd the Archdeacon with the next Story. " Falling the same Night into a more private Conversation with the Earl of Danby, she shew'd her Sentiments with full Freedom and Openness." Upon his Discourse to her of the late Proceedings, and the intended Settlements, she said to this effect: *Do you but take care to secure the Protestant Religion, the Liberties of England, and the general Good of the Publick, and then make me what you please — I value neither Titles nor Honours, but to support these great Things. When you can make them sure without me, send me back as soon as you please.* Such Notions as these, are indeed worthy the Greatness of her Royal Highness's Soul. However, Mr. Echard's pretended Pangs for her mounting her Father's Throne; which, by the way, was then no more her Father's, than it was the Archdeacon's; agree very little with what I have heard that she should say at her Coronation. The Princess of Denmark observing that she was heated with the Royal Robes, the Breath of such a prodigious Crowd as assist'd at it, and tired with the Time and Ceremony, said softly to her, *I pity your Fatigue, Madam.* Her Majesty reply'd, *A Crown, Sister, is not so heavy as it seems to be, or something like it.*

The next day, February 13th, both Houses of Convention waited upon their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange in a Body at the Banqueting House, where the Prince and Princess sat on two large Seats under a Canopy of State.

The Clerk of the Crown having read the Declaration of Right with a loud Voice, the Marquis of Halifax, Speaker of the House of Lords, in the name of both Houses, the Representative of the Nation, made a Tender of the Crown to them, pursuant to the Prayer in that Declaration. To which his Royal Highness the Prince return'd the following Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

This is certainly the greatest Proof of the Trust you have in us that can be given, which is the thing that makes us value it the more, and we thankfully accept what you have offer'd. And as I had no other Intention in coming, than to preserve your Religion, Laws, and Liberties, so you may be sure that I shall endeavour to support them, and shall be willing to concur in any thing that shall be for the Good of the Kingdom,
and

A. D. 1688. and to do all that is in my power to advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation.

Thus have I finish'd my Journey with great Pains and Patience. I have travel'd thro' difficult and dangerous Ways, where many Travellers before me have been bewilder'd and lost. Some have fallen from Precipices, and perish'd by their Rashness and Obstinacy; probably the Author or Authors of *Clarendon's* History will be reckon'd among these. Others have been misled into Bogs and Mire by false Lights, like that of *Ignis fatuus*, which was the Misfortune of the *Compleat* Historian and Archdeacon *Echard*; and none have kept their Way with an equal and sober Pace, which is the only sure one to bring a Man to his Journey's End with Pleasure and Profit.

A. D. 1688.

Upon which there was a Shout so just and so loud, that it may bear Comparifon with the Acclaim in Holy Writ, when *the Morning Stars sang, and the Sons of God shouted for Joy*. Such was the Voice of a People, who had their Deliverer and Liberty before them. The Multitudes without caught the grateful Acclamation, and Joy and Rapture founded in every Mouth, and sparkled in every Eye.

Both Houses had pass'd a Proclamation in form, and it was solemnly publish'd, with a noble and numerous Attendance, in all the usual Places, filling City and Suburbs, and afterwards the three Kingdoms with such Exultations, as they had never felt or heard of before. The Proclamation was in the following Terms.

Proclamation for King WILLIAM and Queen MARY. Whereas it has pleas'd Almighty God, in his great Mercy to this Kingdom, to vouchsafe us a Miraculous Deliverance from Popery and Arbitrary Power, and that our Preservation is due, next under God, to the Resolution and Conduct of his Highness the Prince of Orange, whom God hath chosen to be the Glorious Instrument of such an inestimable Happiness to us and our Posterity: And being sensible and fully persuaded of the great and eminent Virtues of her Highness the Princess of Orange, whose Zeal for the PROTESTANT Religion will, no doubt, bring a Blessing along with her upon this Nation; And whereas the Lords and Commons now assembled at Westminster, have made a DECLARATION and presented the same to the said Prince and Princess of Orange, and therein desir'd them to accept the Crown, who have accepted the same accordingly: We therefore, &c. do with full Consent Publish and Proclaim, according to the said Declaration, WILLIAM and MARY, Prince and Princess of Orange, to be KING and QUEEN of England, France and Ireland, with all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, &c.

What I propos'd by this Undertaking, was to shew that the Royal House of *Stuart*, from the Accession of the *First King James* to the Throne of *England*, to the Abdication of the *Second*, did endeavour to subvert the Constitution, and subject this Kingdom to Arbitrary Power Ecclesiastical and Civil; That in the Prosecution of their Design, they met with vigorous Opposition from the most Virtuous and Generous of the *English* Nation, who asserted their Liberty upon all Occasions, according as the Necessity of the Case requir'd, and preserv'd it, when in the utmost Peril of being lost, by their Courage and Constancy.

The Fate of King *James* the Second, which is the *Catastrophe* of this History, would, like that of a Tragedy, move Pity as well as Terror, if that Prince had been the least sensible of his Misgovernment: But all Compassion is taken off by his glorying in the Attempt to bind these Nations in the Chains of Spiritual and Temporal Bondage, and his shewing no Sorrow, but for his not being able to accomplish it.

There is nothing in his Example which is in any danger of Temptation, but there is much in the Example of our Countrymen to invite us to imitate it, and to leave it in the best manner recommended to Posterity, for whose sake chiefly this Work was undertaken.

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