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T H E
P A R L I A M E N T A R Y
O R
C O N S T I T U T I O N A L
History of England;
B E I N G A
F A I T H F U L A C C O U N T
Of all the
Most remarkable T R A N S A C T I O N S
I n P A R L I A M E N T,
From the earliest T I M E S,
T O T H E
R e s t o r a t i o n o f K i n g C H A R L E S I I.

C O L L E C T E D
From the R E C O R D S, the J O U R N A L S of both H O U S E S, original
M A N U S C R I P T S, scarce S P E E C H E S, and T R A C T S; all com-
pared with the several C o n t e m p o r a r y W r i t e r s, and connected,
throughout, with the H i s t o r y of the T i m e s.

By S E V E R A L H A N D S.

—*juvat integros accedere Fontes.*

V O L. XXII.

From the Disturbances in *October*, 1659, to the Restoration of the King;
and an Adjournment of the Convention Parliament in *September*, 1660.

L O N D O N,

Printed, and sold by WILLIAM SANDBY, against *St. Dunstan's Church,*
Fleet-Street. MDCCLX.

PARLIAMETARY

OF

CONSTITUTIONAL

History of England

Volume 2

PARTIAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

PARLIAMETARY TRANSACTIONS

IN PARLIAMENT

FROM THE YEAR 1701

TO 1702

By JOHN HANCOCK

ESQ; OF THE BARR

Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Sun in Pall-mall, and by J. Smith, at the Sign of the Anchor in Strand, 1702.

BY ROBERT A. HANCOCK

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T H E

Parliamentary History

O F

ENGLAND.



HE Army being now once again
entire Lords and Masters of all, had
many Consultations how they should
new model the Government; and
first they declared *Fleetwood* to be
their Commander in Chief. They

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The Army send
Letters to the
Forces in Scot-
land and Ireland.

next dispatch'd Messengers to the Armies in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to acquaint them with what they had done; knowing well, That it was of great Importance to secure those Forces in their Interest. The Council of State met very seldom, and that privately; at one of which Meetings, *Ludlow* informs us, Col. *Sydenham* made a Speech, in Vindication of the late Proceedings of the Army; and undertook to prove, That they were necessitated to make use of this last Remedy by a particular Call of the Divine Providence. But, that the Lord President *Bradshaw*, who was then present, tho', by long Sickness, very weak and much emaciated, yet, adds our Author, being animated by his ardent Zeal and constant Affection to the Common Cause,

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upon hearing these Words, stood up, and interrupted him, declaring his Abhorrence of that detestable Action; and telling the Council, That, being now going to his God, he had not Patience to sit there to hear his great Name so openly blasphemed; and thereupon departed to his Lodgings, and withdrew himself from public Employment. Whether this old Man was a Prophet or no we shall not determine, yet it is certain he went to his God on the last Day of this very Month; but, whether to receive Reward, or Punishment, is left to the Reader's Conjecture. *Whitlocke* says, 'He died of a Quartan Ague, which had held him a Year; that he was a stout Man, and learned in his Profession, but no Friend to Monarchy.' 'Tis certain, however, the Quartan Ague was a Friend to *President Bradshaw*; for, had he lived some Months longer, he must have made his Exit by the Hands of an Executioner.

The Death of
President *Brad-*
shaw.

But, maugre all Obstacles, the Army was resolved to go on and finish their Work; they suspended from their Commands the Officers of it, who had appeared against them. They nominated a Council of Ten, namely, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Whitlocke*, *Vane*, *Desborough*, *Harrington*, *Sydenham*, *Bury*, *Salway*, and *Warreston*, to consider of proper Ways to carry on the Affairs of Government. They made, as is said before, *Fleetwood* Chief Commander, and *Lambert* Major-General of the Forces in *England* and *Scotland*; which, says *Whitlocke*, much discontented *Monke*. They appointed *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Vane*, *Desborough*, *Ludlow*, and *Bury*, to be a Committee for nominating Officers of the Army; and, lastly, they kept a Day of Humiliation in *Whitehall* Chapel.

A Committee of
Safety named,

The next Thing they did was to constitute, what they called, A Committee of Safety, consisting of Twenty-three Persons; and that Letters should be sent to every one of them, to undertake the Trust. *Whitlocke* has preserved the Form of one of these Letters, sent to himself, which was as follows :

For

For our honoured Friend Bullstrode Lord Whitlocke. Inter-regnum.

S I R,

Whitehall, Oct. 27, 1659.

1659.

October.

‘ UPON Consideration of the present Posture
 ‘ of Affairs of this Commonwealth, the Ge-
 ‘ neral Council of Officers of the Army have
 ‘ thought fit to appoint a Committee of Safety, for
 ‘ the Preservation of the Peace, and Management
 ‘ of the present Government thereof; as also for the
 ‘ preparing of a Form of a future Government for
 ‘ these Nations, upon the Foundation of a Com-
 ‘ monwealth or Free State: And yourself being one
 ‘ of the Persons nominated for that Purpose, we do,
 ‘ by their Direction, hereby give you Notice thereof,
 ‘ and desire you to repair To-morrow Morning, at
 ‘ Ten o’Clock, to the Horse-Chamber in *White-*
 ‘ *hall*, in order to the Service aforesaid. We rest

Your faithful Friends and Servants,

ZANKEY,	ALLEN,	CREED,
PACKER,	ASHFIELD,	CLERK,
SALMON,	KELSEY,	GOUGH,
MILLES,	BISCOE,	KING.

The said Author makes a great many Apologies for his accepting this Office; and would fain persuade his Readers, That he had no lucrative Views in taking of it; but the Consequences will shew the contrary: However, his Reasons seem to give us some Light into the secret Workings of these dark Times, and therefore take them in his own Words:

October 28. ‘ The Committee of Safety were to meet, *Whitlocke* had revolved in his Mind the present State of Affairs, that there was no visible Authority or Power for Government at this Time, but that of the Army; that if some legal Authority were not agreed upon and settled, the Army would probably take it into their Hands, and govern by the Sword, or set up some Form prejudicial to the Rights and Liberties of the People, and for the particular Advantage and Interest of the Soldiery, more than would be convenient,

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‘ That he knowing the Purpose of *Vane* and others to be such, as to the lessening of the Power of the Laws, and so to change them, and the Magistracy, Ministry, and Government of the Nation, as might be of dangerous Consequence to the Peace and Rights of his Country : To prevent which, and to keep Things in a better Order and Form, he might be instrumental in this Employment. Upon these and the like Grounds, as also by the Engagement of divers of the Committee to join with him therein, he was persuaded to undertake it, and did meet with them at the Place appointed, where he was received by them with all Respect and Civility.’

This Committee of Safety, we are told, consisted, for the most part, of Officers of the Army, and their Creatures, into which our Author says he enlisted himself for the Public Good : And the first Thing we find they did, was to publish a Declaration from the Army, with the Grounds and Reasons of their late Proceedings. About this Time, also, came a Letter from General *Monke*, to those Officers of the Army, declaring his Dissatisfaction, and of those that were with him, on the late Turn of Affairs. This was the first Smoke perceived of that Fire, which soon after broke out to some Purpose. And since the Form of these Letters (for there were three of them) are yet preserved in a Pamphlet of these Times^b, in our Collection, we shall give them at Length :

To the Lord FLEETWOOD.

Right Honourable, Edinburgh, Oct. 20, 1659.

Monke's first Letter from Scotland to the English Army.

‘ I Have sent this Messenger to your Lordship, to let you know that we have received Notice, that a Part of the Army have put Force upon the Par-

^b Called, *A Collection of Letters and Declarations, &c. sent by General Monke, &c. Printed at London, in the Year 1660.* This Collection was certainly made and published, soon after the King was restored, by some that had a Mind to blacken the General, by exposing his many Declarations to stand by the Commonwealth. They are published simply, without any Remarks upon them; but, by putting the most striking Words and Passages in them into *Italicks*, and leaving out the Printer's or Publisher's Name, it must have been done by Design, and in a Time of Danger.

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Parliament, which they so lately called together and owned with the greatest Testimonies of Obedience and Repentance for their former Apostacy from them. I hope your Lordship will not abet an Action of such a dangerous and destructive Consequence: I know that you love the Liberty and Peace of *England* so well, that you will use your best Care that Attempts of this Nature be suppressed. I do therefore humbly intreat you, that the Parliament may speedily be restored to that Freedom which they enjoyed on the 11th of this Instant; otherwise I am resolved, by the Assistance of God, with the Army under my Command, to declare for them, and to prosecute this just Cause to the last Drop of my Blood. I bless the Lord that the Officers here are very unanimous; and for such, whose Hearts fail them, or which will not act according to their Commissions from the Parliament, I having Authority, as one of the seven Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament, do constitute such as are chearful for this Good old Cause, till the Parliament's Pleasure be further known. And I do plainly assure your Lordship, that I was never better satisfied in the Justice of any Engagement than in this. You cannot but remember, that God hath already shewed himself glorious in it, and determined the Quarrel on this Side, against arbitrary Power of raising Money, without the People's Consent first had, and the Management of the Militia by any other than the Parliament. I desire your Lordship not to be deluded by the specious Pretences of any ambitious Person whatsoever, and do not bring all the Blood that will be shed upon your own Head. My Lord, consider how you will answer to the dreadful God for the Ruin of Three Nations; for to serve a Lust, or to gratify a Passion. For my particular, I am ashamed of these Confusions and Changes that we have made, that we are now become a Scorn and a Reproach to our very Friends, and designed to Ruin by all our Neighbours. I take God to witness, that I have no further Ends than the

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‘ establishing of Parliamentary Authority, and those
 ‘ good Laws which our Ancestors have purchased
 ‘ with so much Blood, the settling the Nations in a
 ‘ free Commonwealth, and the Defence of Godliness
 ‘ and godly Men, tho’ of different Judgment: And
 ‘ I take myself so far obliged, being in the Parlia-
 ‘ ment’s Service, to stand, tho’ alone, in this Quar-
 ‘ rel. And I doubt not but your Lordship, having
 ‘ the Fear of God in your Heart, will carefully con-
 ‘ sider of this Matter; which is all at present from

Your Excellency’s humble Servant,

GEORGE MONKE.

To the Lord LAMBERT.

Right Honourable, Edinburgh, Oct. 20, 1659.

‘ **H**AVING Notice that a Part of the Army, un-
 ‘ der the Parliament’s Command, have, con-
 ‘ trary to their Duty, put Force upon them, I have
 ‘ therefore sent this Messenger to your Lordship, to
 ‘ intreat you to be an Instrument of Peace and good
 ‘ Understanding between the Parliament and Army:
 ‘ For, if they shall continue this Force, I am resol-
 ‘ ved, with the Assistance of God, and that Part of
 ‘ the Army under my Command, to stand by them,
 ‘ and assert their lawful Authority. For, Sir, the
 ‘ Nation of *England* will not endure any arbitrary
 ‘ Power, neither will any true *Englishman* in the
 ‘ Army; so that such a Design will be ruinous and
 ‘ destructive: Therefore I do earnestly intreat you,
 ‘ that we may not be a Scorn to all the World and
 ‘ a Prey to our Enemies, that the Parliament may
 ‘ be speedily restored to their Freedom, which they
 ‘ enjoyed on the 11th Instant. Which is all at pre-
 ‘ sent from

Your Lordship’s humble Servant,

GEORGE MONKE.

At the same Time with the former came also a
 Letter from *Monke*, directed to *Lenthall*, the Speaker
 of the secluded Parliament; which we shall add to
 the

the former, as another curious Anecdote of these Times: Inter-regnum.
1659.

To the SPEAKER.

October.

Right Honourable, *Edinburgh, Oct. 20, 1659.*

HAVING received Notice that there was a Force put upon the Parliament on the 12th of this Instant, I have sent this Messenger to your Lordship, to know whether that Force doth continue; for I am resolved, by the Grace and Assistance of God, as a true *Englishman*, to stand to and assert the Liberty and Authority of Parliament: And the Army here, praised be God, is very courageous and unanimous; and I doubt not but to give a good Account of this Action to you. I have, according to your Act of the 11th Instant, being constituted a Commissioner for the Government of the Army; put out such Persons as would not act according to your Commission. I do call God to witness, That the asserting of a Commonwealth is the only Intent of my Heart; and I desire, if possible, to avoid the shedding of Blood, and therefore intreat you, that there may be a good Understanding between the Parliament and Army: But if they will not obey your Commands, I will not desert you, according to my Duty and Promise. Which is all at present from

Your humble and faithful Servant,

GEORGE MONKE.

The Committee of Safety easily foresaw, by the Purport of these Letters, what an Hurricane from the North was coming upon them; and therefore cast about, with all their Cunning, to prevent the evil Consequences of such a Storm.

Some Persons were sent to the General to inform him better of Things, and wire-draw him into their Schemes of Government. But, at the same Time, *Lambert* was also ordered down to command the Forces that were quartered at *York*, and the Northern Parts of *England*, with some more Regiments with

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with him, in order to stop, or prevent, any sinister Design that *Monke* might have against them.

In the mean Time the said Committee appointed a Sub-Committee, consisting of *Fleetwood*, *Whitlocke*, *Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Salway*, and *Tichburn*, to consider of a Form of Government for the Three Nations, as a Commonwealth, and present it to the former. By a formal Order of State, they also constituted the Lord *Whitlocke* Keeper of the Great Seal, till further Order; and this, no doubt, our Patriot was in Pursuit of, when he came so readily into the last Scheme of Government.

About this Time the Committee of Safety had more Letters from *Edinburgh*, which confirmed *Monke's* Defection from their Party, and that he and many of his Officers had declared for restoring the Parliament: Also that he had imprisoned some of them, and cashiered others, who were of a different Judgment in this Affair.

Dr. Price, the Writer of the History of the King's Restoration, who was Domestic Chaplain to General *Monke* before and after this happened, and who, by his own Account, was most minutely concerned in every Step that led to it, has left us some curious Anecdotes to brighten up the Darkness of this whole Proceeding^k. We shall not trace this Author backwards, where he endeavours to prove, by many Incidents, that *Monke* had the Royal Cause at Heart long before, and only waited for such an Opportunity as this, to use the Doctor's own Words, 'to restore the King, the Liberties of the Subject, and the Laws of the Realm, to the State they were in, before our Civil Wars commenced, in the Year 1642.' Allow this Assertion to be true, yet the Method *Monke* took to bring about this Restoration was by no Means justifiable, since 'tis certain it was effected by the Breach of some Oaths, and the deepest Dissimulation. But we shall only touch upon such material Occurrences as happened after the General's

^k *The Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy Restoration laid open to public View. By John Price, D. D. one of the late Duke of Argyll's Chaplains, and privy to all the secret Passages and Particularities of that glorious Revolution. Lond. 8vo. 1680.*

ral's first Declaration of his Intentions to march for *London*, and restore the late *Fag-End* of the Long Parliament to their former Seats and Power!

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This Author acquaints us, 'That the first Step; the General took after his advancing from *Dalkeith* to *Edinburgh*, and reforming the Officers there; was to send out a Party of Horse to secure *Berwick*; which came but just in Time to perform that Service, for Col. *Cobbet*, sent from *Lambert* to seize on that Place, entered the Town a few Hours after; but was himself seized on and sent to the General, who committed him Prisoner to *Edinburgh* Castle.

He advances to
Edinburgh, and
sends to seize
Berwick.

Our Author remarks on this, 'That; had not the General been quick in frustrating *Lambert's* Intentions, 'tis probable *Cobbet* both would and could have sent him to the same Place. But now *Monke*, having secured this important Fortrefs; with *Edinburgh*, and some other Strong-holds in *Scotland*, prepared, in Earnest, to march for *England*.

'But, not to be more hasty in his March than Prudence would admit of, and having now some Ground to stand on, he dispatched away the three Letters directed to Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Major-General *Lambert*, and Mr. *Lenthall*, the late Speaker [before given], in all of which was signified his Resolution to restore the Laws and Liberties; which Expression was construed in a larger Sense than, adds our Author, might first have been intended. The Arrival of these Letters in *London* begot some faint Hopes in the Rumpers of a second Restoration to their Power; but, adds our Author, mightily surprized the Army Grandees, who neither expected such an Opposition, nor could they well believe it, it being so directly contrary to the Interest of any Part of the Army to divide against the rest. But they were, very soon after, undeceived in this; and *Lambert* sent out towards the North to take upon him his Command, which was still under *Fleetwood*; though it was thought that, had Success answered his Ambition, the Soldiery would, without much Difficulty, have created *Lambert* Dictator in the Field: For the true State of the Question was, then,
Whether

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Whether a third Protector, or the old Parliament again.

‘In the mean while *Monke* kept firm to his Purpose, though he met with great Discouragements at first. The Letters he wrote to the Army in *Ireland*, to the Officers of the Navy, and to some particular Garrisons in *England*, had no satisfactory Answers given to any of them; though another Letter, addressed to the City of *London*, met with better Fate; the Citizens were then about coming to their Senses again, from which they had been so long bewilder’d, and invited *Monke* to come up and assist in the Cause he had espoused.’ This is *Dr. Price’s* Account; but *Whitlocke* tells us, ‘That when himself, *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, and several Chief Officers of the Army, went to the Common Council of the City of *London*, and represented to them the Proceedings of *Monke*, and that the Bottom of his Design was to bring in the King upon a new Civil War, shewed the Danger of it to the City and Nation, and counselled them to provide for their own Safety, and that of the whole Commonwealth, by preserving Peace; the Common Council return’d them Thanks, and said they were resolved to follow their Advice.’

These three Speeches, spoken as above, were printed at that Time in one single Pamphlet¹, without any Notes upon them; a Copy of which is amongst our numerous Collection of these Matters, and which we shall add in this Place: And first the Lord *Whitlocke’s* Speech.

My Lord, and worthy Gentlemen,

Whitlocke’s,
Lambert’s, and
Desborough’s
Speeches in
Guildhall, *London.*

‘THE Committee of Safety, which are at present intrusted with the Preservation of the Peace of this Commonwealth, are inform’d of several Matters that relate particularly to the Peace of this City and Commonwealth: Some Passages whereof were lately delivered, particularly to the Court of Aldermen: But other Matters since coming to their Know-

¹ Intituled, *Three Speeches made to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, by the Lord Whitlocke, Lord Fleetwood, and Lord Desborough, at Guildhall, Tuesday, Nov 8, 1659.*—London, printed in the Year 1659.

Knowledge, they thought it requisite to communicate it to the Representative of this honourable and worthy City for their Advice, and to shew the Affections they particularly have thereunto, which I shall impart with Plainness.

‘ I shall say nothing in Commendation of that Blessing, Peace, which you all know, being sensible of the Calamities and Troubles of a Civil War. You were once pleased to make use of the Army, and with Thankfulness acknowledge the Good and Benefit received by them; and this honourable City contributed to that Work, for rescuing of their Liberties, as Men and Christians. It pleased God to give us Peace; but the old Enemy, when he could not appear in his own Strength, fought then, by Disguise and underhand Means, to interrupt it. The Infurrection of Sir *George Booth* pretended specious Matters, which are since made plain, and their Intentions discovered, which were only to reduce us to Slavery under Tyranny; but they were lately defeated: Now others are sprung up of the like Nature. The Rancour of the old Enemy is such, that he useth all Méans imaginable to interrupt our Peace, and particularly in the City, knowing the Greatness, Populoufness, and Wealth of it. All of you may be sensible of the great Calamities that will follow if your Peace be disturb’d, which hitherto hath been preserved, and you have been free from Acts of Hostility. I shall propound somewhat for Prevention: What Man of sober Principles, or fearing God, will hazard his Peace upon specious groundless Pretences? In Sir *George Booth*’s Business there was a Design to cause a Rising in the City; that, upon a Division among yourselves, Men of desperate Fortunes, joining with your Enemies, might have the Rising of your City. As it was their chief Design to raise Division, so the same is now on Foot; the Committee of Safety have Intelligence to that Purpose; but, alas! those happy Days and Blessings we have received have not been so improved by us, that we should have any Hope of the Continuance of that Blessing, Peace.

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‘It is evident, by Letters taken from private Messengers, that General *Monke* did send to several Parties to rise at this Time, and that in this City he should have a Party to declare for him; but if it should please God that such a Thing should be, the dreadful Consequences thereof are inexpressible. The Committee desires you would take Care of the Preservation of the Peace and Safety of the City, wherein the Safety of the Commonwealth is greatly concerned; you have been sufficiently informed of the Misery that follows such Disturbances. There is nothing that concerns the Committee shall be omitted, but that they will contribute the utmost of their Endeavours to prevent such Disturbances, and are resolved not willingly to be deficient in what they may do for the Preservation of your Peace and Safety; for they have a particular Respect and Affection to this worthy City, and desire, where any Ground or Occasion is given of Dissention, it may be laid aside; and whatever People may censure of what is past, let us look forward, and it will be made appear that their Aim is, that Magistracy and a godly Ministry may be encouraged and supported. The Committee therefore desire, that you would take especial Care to forbid any Meetings that tend to the setting on Foot the Design of the Enemy.’

‘There were several Letters from the North read Yesterday, which certify, That those which are coming in hostile Manner thought to have taken *Newcastle*, but were prevented. A diligent Care is taken about these Things in other Places. I will only instance that of a Divine, That where a great City is divided, great Miseries may be expected; therefore hazard not your Safety, whatever specious Pretences may be offered to you.’

‘I desire that these Things may be taken into Consideration, and that you would not be wanting to the Cause and your own Safety, which you have so long owned.’

Then

Then the Lord *Fleetwood* spoke as follows:

WE are once more to wait upon you, truly with Desire and sincere Intentions, that there may be a right Understanding between those in Authority in this City, and the Armies of these Nations, as hath formerly been, and that they may still remain an united Body; for the Common Enemy labours all he can to ruin and destroy both; and their only Means to accomplish their Design is Division; and there is nothing so much as that can disunite old Friends.

The City and Army had once the Happiness to esteem one another as Friends; but now if any thing give Occasion of Distrust, it will prejudice the Cause. You know this poor Army the Lord hath been pleased to make use of as an Instrument to preserve our Peace, so often attempted against; And we should render ourselves to be unworthy of the Name of Friends, if we should seek ourselves, and not the Good of this poor Nation, and to get Rule and Dominion to ourselves, and stand not to our Principles. These Things are frequent Discourses; but if we had that Guilt which is cast upon us, we would not appear in so Honourable an Assembly. I dare say our Design is God's Glory: We have gone in untrodden Paths, but God hath led us into Ways, which, if we know our own Hearts, we have no base or unworthy Design in. Turnings and Changes are not pleasing to us; we have a Love to this Cause, and God hath bless'd us in it. It may appear that we have no Design to rule over others; we have been raised and preserved to this Day upon common Account, and that your and our Liberty may not be violated, although we have been censured, it hath been the Design of our Hearts, if we appear designing, to be no other than for the Good of this Nation. We shall not want Enemies; but God will fight with us; let our Friends bear with us and observe the Event.

Nothing hath been more dear to us, than when God hath appeared to us to continue Friendship and
Peace

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Peace, that so we may be helpful one to another. Our Enemies know the City hath more Love to this Cause, than to comply with their specious Pretences. And whereas it is laid to our Charge, that we are Enemies to Parliaments; God he knows our Design is to preserve the Ends of all Parliaments and Authority; and, we hope, shall never appear to take away the Rights we have so long contended for. The great End of the Common Enemy is to ruin the City; yet, by the Help of God, we shall study your Preservation. We hope that there may be a right Understanding betwixt the Forces in the Northern Expedition; it shall not be wanting in us that the same may so be. Altho' it is our Portion that we cannot be more odious to our Friends than we are rendered, concerning the Nation's Peace, yet there shall be nothing wanting in us for the Settlement thereof: I would not have you to believe us so unworthy Persons, for we have no Design, but that Peace, Holiness, and Justice, may prosper in this City and Nation.'

Lastly, the Lord *Desborough* made the following Speech:

'I Was unwilling to speak any Thing, so much having been spoken by those Honourable Persons; but somewhat I must speak in relation to what was hinted, and touching the Commands of the Committee of Safety: A great Sense there is upon the Committee of the Difficulties this Nation struggles under; which are the greater, because the Common Enemy is in Forwardness to a Birth, and Bringing-forth. It is the Duty of all Men, as Christians and as *Englishmen*, to value Peace the greatest of outward Enjoyments; what I said may be looked upon as strange, from one brought up for several Years in martial Affairs; it being conceived of us, as of some in the Beginning of these Troubles, that they feared nothing more than that the Wars would end too soon; it was the Wickedness of those Men that had such Principles, rather to gratify filthy Lusts

Lusts in their Hearts, than for any Good to the Commonwealth.

‘ I hope I may say of the Generality of the Officers intrusted in this Nation, that there is no outward Thing more desired by them, than to live to see those blessed Foundations laid, so as to secure the Civil and Spiritual Rights of this Nation ; nor is there any greater Dread in them thereof, (notwithstanding that Blood-shed and Expence they have undergone) than that they shall not see a Settlement ; yet we hope in God, in Despight of the Cunning of Men, we shall see such a blessed Peace, as the Inhabitants of this Nation may bless his Name.

‘ There is none ignorant that there are not wanting Men, who, on various Accounts, make it their Business to hinder this so good a Work ; and their Design is to oppose or interrupt a Work the Providence of God is carrying on, to accomplish their Designs.

‘ It is a Mercy, whatever others judge, God hath borne us Witness, that we have not falsified that Trust which hath been reposed in our Hands. Our Difficulties have been such, that the Wealth of the City should not hire us to undergo them a Year longer ; but we may say, we are not without a Misrepresentation.

‘ Some say we are setting up Sectaries, this Party and that Party ; but if we have Guile in our Hearts, and have not a Love to the godly People of this Nation, yea, to all the People, God will find us out. God hath blessed some of us with a Spirit of Integrity, and there is nothing upon our Hearts but the Good of the Whole.

‘ There is a two-fold Party in this Commonwealth, whom God hath again and again made bow down before his People, yet are still labouring to heighten their Spirits ; we have not made them Slaves, (which in some Places is practised in the like Case) nor is it upon our Spirits so to do ; yet I think it our Duty not to suffer them to give Laws to us, if God gives us Leave to prevent it ; and tho’ we have it not in our Hearts to do any Thing to distinguish,

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guish, yet we are resolved never to put our Hands under the Feet of those we have vanquished.

Some say we shall not have Settlement till the old Family comes in, which if it should enter into any of our Hearts, we should be like the Dog returning to his Vomit, and the Sow to her wallowing in the Mire.

Many, by the Actings of the Army, by a forcible Providence they have been put upon, may think we go about to do something unworthy to this Nation. This Army hath been blessed seventeen Years wonderfully, we have not gone about to make ourselves great, or Masters of what is our Neighbours, but that which the Power in Being hath allowed us.

Some give out as if we were returning to a Single Person, and intended to debase Magistracy, and trample down Ministry; but God will bear us Witness to the contrary: The Truth of it is, we are so far from undervaluing of a Government, that we always thought a bad one with Peace, better than none at all.

If Peace be a great and choice Blessing to be valued by all, we desire that you, with us, will take Care to preserve it; we come not to court you, but only to let you know we have no Design in it; it was no prepared Business: That of dissolving the Parliament, we hope that God stood by us in it, notwithstanding there hath been many gloomy Days since. The Strength of an Army is the Unity of it, and it will be your Safety and Advantage to keep Unity; a City divided cannot stand: You will not want Assistance from the Army, if Interruptions come in this Place, whatever Calamities may be elsewhere, they will not be so great here. Your Interest as Christians, your Religion, your Estates, are great Engagements to preserve Peace.

The Desire of the Army is to preserve the Peace; if you go about, or others countenanced by you, to disturb it, an Inconvenience may fall upon you; but our Desire is, you would not fling Dirt on the Army; but as you see the Issue of their
Actions,

Actions, so to judge of them. Many Opinions may run touching our dark Actions in the late Alteration and Disturbance. As to the first, it is evident they had no Design of their own; and in the last, if they would have complied with a few Men to set them up, they needed not to have wanted Respect: It is said it was only to keep eight or nine in their Places; it is very well known some of us have laboured an Opportunity to be quit of our Commands; now it is my Desire that you would follow after Peace, and meddle not with Affairs beyond your Spheres; follow Peace and Holiness, and the God of Peace will bless you.'

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By this Time several Letters had passed to and fro, between the Committee of Safety and General *Monke*; till, at last, a Treaty was agreed on to settle Matters on a better Basis. *Monke* named and sent out three of his own Officers as Commissioners to treat, who were to meet as many of *Fleetwood's* at *London*. *Monke's* Commissioners coming to *York*, met *Lambert's* there; and so far satisfied him, says *Whitlocke*, of *Monke's* Intentions for Peace, that *Lambert* sent Orders to stop his Forces from marching further Northward. But this is different from what *Dr. Price* writes, who tells us, 'That *Lambert* made all the Haste he could Northward, with what Forces could be spared at home; and taking in more, which lay conveniently for him in the Country, after the Defeat of *Sir George Booth*, he arrived at *Newcastle* in *November*, with an Army of about 12,000 Men; wherein were, as it was reported, adds the Doctor, 7000 of the chiefest Cavalry. Insomuch that a Messenger from the Committee of Safety, sent to sound *Monke's* Intentions, told some of his Army, in the Doctor's Hearing, That the Lord *Lambert* was coming upon them, and that all *Monke's* Army would not be enough for a Breakfast for them: To which he had a smart Answer returned, That *Lambert* had a very good Stomach this cold Weather, if he could eat Pikes and swallow Bullets.'

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These Commissioners from Gen. *Monke* brought with them the following Letter to *Fleetwood*:^m

To his Excellency the Lord FLEETWOOD,

My Lord, *Edinburgh, Nov. 3, 1659.*

‘ AFTER I had answered the Letter your
‘ Lordship did me the Favout to send me by
‘ Col. *Talbot*, I received another from your Lord-
‘ ship, of the 29th of *October*, wherein your Lordship
‘ is pleased to express much of your Lordship’s Affec-
‘ tion and Friendship to me, for which I shall ever
‘ acknowledge myself engaged to you; but, truly,
‘ I must assure your Lordship, no personal Discou-
‘ ragements, altho’ I have had my Share of them,
‘ have induced me to the Justification I make of the
‘ Parliament’s Authority, but the Tie of Duty to
‘ which I am in my Conscience obliged; and I shall
‘ be heartily sorry if your Lordship makes any other
‘ Interpretation of it, for your Lordship knows my
‘ Command has been offered often up to those that
‘ had Power to place it better.

‘ We are all, I bless the Lord, very unanimous
‘ here; and, I am confident, when the Gentlemen
‘ we send from hence have given your Lordship a
‘ true Understanding of our Actions, you will not
‘ have so severe an Opinion of them, as you seem
‘ to have in your late Letters. The Persons Names
‘ are Col. *Wilkes*, Lieut. Col. *Clobery*, and Major
‘ *Knight*, all well known to your Lordship; to whom
‘ I beseech your Lordship to give Credit in what they
‘ shall propose from the Army here; and I beseech
‘ you to believe I am still, with a sincere Heart,

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s

Very humble Servant,

GEORGE MONKE.

The

^m This we give from a Pamphlet of these Times, intituled, *A true Narrative of the Proceedings in Parliament, Council of State, General Council of the Army, and Committee of Safety, from the 22d of September untill this present Time.*—London, printed by John Redmayne, in Lovel’s-Court, in Pater-noster-row, 1659.

The Treaty being begun at *London*, by Commissioners on both Sides, it was agreed by them, 'That a Committee of nineteen should be appointed, five for *England*, not Members of the Army, and five for *Scotland*; the rest, for all the Three Nations, were to be Officers of the Army: These were to determine of the Qualifications of Members of Parliament. That two Field-Officers of every Regiment, one Commission-Officer of every Garrison, and ten Officers of the Fleet, should meet as a General Council, to advise touching the Form of Government.' These Articles were actually agreed to by the Commissioners on both Sides, and a Copy of them sent away to *Monke* for his Ratification.

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But what had like to have proved the Ruin of all the Scheme, as *Dr. Price* observes, ended in the Ruin of others; for, all the Time this Treaty was subsisting, *Monke* was going on in new modelling his Army, turning out suspected Officers, and bringing the whole Corps over entirely to his Devotion. Though there were not wanting others in *London*, who advised, in the Committee of Safety, to write to *Lambert* to advance with all his Forces speedily to *Monke*, and attack him before he was better provided; for they began now to suspect the Reality of *Monke's* Intentions, says *Whitlocke*, and believed rather that he only sought Delays; both Armies lying inactive, one at *Newcastle* and the other at *Edinburgh*, all this Time, without, seemingly, doing any thing to the Purpose.

About the Middle of this Month, General *Monke* thought fit to call a Convention of the Estates in *Scotland*, to meet at *Edinburgh*; where he laid before them the Grounds of his Quarrel, requiring their peaceable Department during his Absence, and the Payment of what they were in Arrear to him for his Army; he having, on the Account of the Poverty of their Country, foreborne them long. This Request they readily complied with; but when

He calls a Convention of Estates to meet at *Edinburgh*,

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the *Scots* moved to have Arms allowed them to defend themselves against *Lambert*, and others, in his Absence, he would not grant it, as being too early and dangerous a Step, because his own Men were not to be disobligh'd: Besides, the two Armies were not yet so far exasperated as to force him, in Despair, to take in those who were Enemies to both. This was a refined Piece of Policy, and stopp'd the Mouths (says *Dr. Price*) of the General's invidious Adversaries, who were wont to be continually prating, as if the *Scots* Nation would soon be in Arms against them, were they once left to themselves.

In the mean while the Committee at *Wallingford-House*, as they are often called, were driven to great Straits; their Finances were very low, and no Means left to raise more, but by the Sword; their Army, therefore, must be soon unpaid, and left to Free-Quarter; which Sort of Guests could not be endured long. The late disbanded Parliament, as if they foresaw their Doom, had pass'd an Act to make it High Treason to levy Money without the Consent of Parliament; by which they were entirely cut out from raising any, but by arbitrary Proceedings; which they durst not attempt, for fear, in these dangerous Times, of disoblighing the whole Nation.

On the other Hand, *Monke* had got pretty good Supplies in *Scotland*, enough to encourage his Men to proceed, and seek for better Quarters in the *South*; but the Time of their marching thither he purposely delayed, for his Business was to protract it as much as possible; which *Lambert's* Inactivity at *Newcastle* gave him great Scope to do. It was certainly this General's Business to advance and fall upon *Monke* without Delay; but there he loitered, destitute both of Money and Authority, when sudden Action was his only true Interest. But (says the Doctor) it was the Almighty's good Time to disappoint the Strong, to infatuate their Councils, and to sow Seeds of Strife and Division amongst them.

Monke

Monke having now had Time to new-model his Army to his own Mind, began his March towards *England*, and came to *Berwick* about the 20th of this Month, tho' the News of his setting forward did not reach *London* till the 28th. He had found Means to break the Treaty of Pacification, then on foot, by desiring some Articles of it to be further explained, and absolutely refusing to ratify some others. But still he set forward with mighty Protestations of his adhering firmly to the Interest of the Parliament, as it sat the 11th of *October* last, when *Lambert* turned them out of Doors. He also wrote Letters to *Fleetwood*, full of Compliments and Expressions of his earnest Desire of a speedy Settlement of the present Differences: And because he perceived in the Agreement, signed by *Fleetwood*, that there were some Things remaining untreated of, and unagreed upon, it was the Resolution of him and his Officers to add two more to the Number, to have Conference with the like Number to be appointed here, to put a final End to the Business, which he desired might be as soon as possible.

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And advances
towards *England*
with his Army.

‘ Upon Consideration of this Letter, some of the Committee of Safety declared their Opinions, That this was only a Delay in *Monke* to gain Time, and be the better prepared for his Design to bring in the King, and to bring the Army here and their Party into more Straits for want of Pay, which he had got for his Forces: And therefore advised to fall upon *Monke* presently, to bring the Matter to an Issue, before his Soldiers were more confirmed, and *Fleetwood*'s Party discouraged. But this Advice was not taken, but a new Treaty consented to by Commissioners on each Part to be at *Newcastle*.’

December. But to leave these foolish Treaties, which were never designed for any thing but to amuse, the General marched his Army from *Berwick* to *Coldstream* and *Kelso*; and here they fixed for some Time, in Expectation of Events: What *Lambert*, what the excluded Parliament, and what

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the concealed Lord *Fairfax* would do, who lay darking in and about *York*, and Nobody knew what to make of him. ‘ And now (says *Dr. Price*) we fought in Paper, by sending and receiving Messages, laying aside Powder and Shot, as dangerous Things, and not fit to be employed against Brethren: Yet we were not so careless as to neglect our own Security; for had *Lambert* marched against us thro’ the Snows, he would have found a Battalion of Horse and Foot, commanded by *Col. Morgan*, drawn up ready to receive him.

‘ In this Situation we were, (adds the Doctor) when very comfortable News throng’d in upon us; as, That the growing Party in the *Irish* Army had declared for us, and were ready to lend us Assistance; that *Portsmouth* had opened her Gates to *Hasilrigge*, *Morley*, and *Walton*, three of the late Parliament’s Commissioners for governing the Army; *Col. Wetbam*, the Governor of it, did this, as well in Respect to the General, as his Duty to the Parliament; that the Fleet under *Lawson* had owned *Monke’s* Quarrel against the Army; and that the dark Lord *Fairfax* had at last unveiled himself, had raised Men, and was to fall upon *Lambert’s* Rear, should he advance against *Monke’s* Army; assuring us, That, whatever came on it, he would not fail being ready to assist us by the First of *January* next; which he performed better than his Word.

‘ The Stream of this good News did not hinder the General from continuing his wonted Care of keeping a good Guard; it being now evident, That, within a few Days, *Lambert* must either fight or fall. The Soldiers were much revived at these glad Tidings, and hoped soon to change their present cold Quarters for warmer and better Accommodations.’ *Dr. Price*, in his Narrative, here stops to make a Reflection of his own; which, since it lays open a very private Scene between his General and himself, we shall give it in his own Words; speaking of the former good Account of Affairs, he adds,

‘ As

‘As for myself, I must confess, that I was inwardly displeas’d at these many favourable Expresses; as apprehending that this Name of a Parliament would, by nominating and shifting Commissioners for it, engage the Army so much to their Devotion, and get such other Advantages of fixing their Oligarchy, that it would be no easy Matter to dispossess them. With these foolish Whimsies in my Head, I was resolv’d to steal privately to the General, (who had caution’d me before-hand not to be seen to appear in these public Transactions) and to do this, I knew between Midnight and the Morning to be the only Time: So between Two and Three o’Clock, by the Help of a Corporal, I came to his Chamber Door, found it only latched, the General in his Cloaths, his Head laid on the Side of the Bed, and his Body resting upon two Stools, or a Form, Fire and Candles being in the Room. He awakened at my first Entrancē; I desired his Pardon, and he kindly gave Liberty of Speech. Upon my representing to him what I judg’d to be his Interest and Duty, that is to say, the restoring of our known Laws, (for I never us’d to speak in any other Terms) I cannot forget his Passion and his Posture: ‘Mr. Price, said he, I know your Meaning, and I have known it; by the Grace of God I will do it, if ever I can find it in my Power, and I do not much doubt but that I shall.’ So closing my Hands in both his he lifted them up, and devoutly utter’d, ‘By God’s Help I will do it.’

‘I then took the further Liberty to mind him of the Papers he had sign’d, to stand to this Parliament as it sat the 11th of *October*, and no other; and of several other Restrictions, which he had needlessly, as I conceived, put upon himself. He answer’d me with some Regret, ‘You see who are about me, and write these Things: I must not shew any Dislike of them; I perceive they are jealous enough of me already.’ Bidding me not to look upon it as any Act of his. Having thus discours’d him of divers Things which I thought might be for his Service, (he courteously allowing me the Freedom) I left him

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him to his short Rest; for he was to be early at Business. And thus I became further satisfied at what Port he aimed; however then and afterwards, with the Winds, he steered his Course.

Affairs now began to ripen very fast; for, as soon as *Monke* perfectly understood that there were like to be powerful Diversions in the *South*; that *Hastigge* and his Party were actually in Possession of *Portsmouth*, and had given out Orders and were obeyed, he suddenly turned the Tables upon *Lambert*, and sent him Word he should enter into no more Treaties with him, till he had consulted his Brethren at *Portsmouth*, and obtained their Consent for it; *Lambert*, by this, found he had been fooled all this while; vented his Resentment against *Monke* and his Officers, and imprisoned him who brought him the Message. Very soon after *Lambert's* short Reign was at an End; he was dispossessed of his Command, by Order of the Restored Parliament, and skulk'd away from *Newcastle*, in Disguise, in order to save himself.

But, before that happened, the Committee of Safety kept their Seats, as usual, and gave out Orders, though often perplexed with saucy Petitions; particularly one from the City of *London*, desiring to have such a Parliament as was in 1642; but this was laid aside, says *Whitlocke*, as a Design to bring in the Common Enemy. The General Council of the Officers of the Navy also petitioned them, That Writs might be issued out for a new Election of Parliament Men. But this Committee of Safety, anxious to continue their Power safe to themselves, had devised and agreed to a Form of Government, which they hoped would please every one: And this Scheme was contained in the following short Articles: That there be no Kingship; no Single Person as Chief Magistrate; that an Army be continued; no Imposition upon Conscience; no House of Peers; the Legislative and Executive Powers to be in distinct Hands; Parliaments to be elected by the People. Upon this last Article the General Council of Officers, of the Armies and Fleet of
the

the Three Nations, voted, ' That a Parliament be called before *February* next, to sit and act according to such Qualifications as are or shall be agreed upon, and may best secure the just Rights, Liberties, and Privileges, both Civil and Religious, of the People of this Commonwealth ^h. ' So that, by this last Restriction, the People were to chuse the Members of Parliament, not such as they liked themselves, but such as were dictated to them by the Army.

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But all these fine-spun Schemes and Forms of Government came to nothing; a superior Hand was over the Directors of them, and turned all their Projects into Water: Nay, tho' the Officers of the Armies desired the Committee of Safety to issue out Writs for electing a new Parliament, to sit in *January* next, a shorter Date, and some Writs, *Whitlocke* tells us, he sealed himself; yet *Monke's* prevailing Arguments got the better of all, and drove them like Chaff before the Wind.

Indeed these might well be called *Hurling Times*; a Term made use of some Centuries ago, in the Course of this Work, on much the same Occasion. No Quiet was enjoyed by any Party; all were at Work, and the King's Party very active. *Whitlocke* tells us, ' That, now, every Man was guided by his own Fancy and Interest; those in Employment, or Power, most obnoxious to Trouble; that many wished themselves out of these daily Hazards, but knew not how to get free of them, the Distractions were so strangely high, and daily increasing.'

To shew the Reader what a Part our Memorialist acted in this Scene of Affairs, and how, like a hunted Fox, when the Cry came close upon him, he skulk'd and sought about for Refuge, we shall only subjoin his own Words; and truly, considering the Character of this Man quite through these Troubles, and how ready he was ever to serve the Side that was uppermost, he may, in this Affair, be easily believed. Speaking, as he always does in
the

^h *Whitlocke's* Memoirs, p. 691.

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1659. proceeds thus :

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A Conference
between Fleet-
wood and Whit-
locke about bring-
ing in the King.

‘ These Passages perplexed *Whitlocke*, as well as others, if not more, he all along suspecting *Monke’s* Design. The Lord *Willoughby*, Alderman *Robinson*, *M. G. Brown*, Mr. *Loe*, and others, came to him, and confirmed his Suspicion in this Particular ; and propounded to him to go to *Fleetwood*, and to advise him to send forthwith to the King at *Breda*, to offer to bring him in upon good Terms, and thereby to get before-hand with *Monke*, who questionless did intend to bring in the King. *Whitlocke*, upon serious Thoughts of this, went to *Fleetwood*, and they had a long private Discourse together, wherein *Whitlocke* told him, ‘ That, by the Desire of his Brother, Sir *William Fleetwood*, and of the Lord *Willoughby*, *M. G. Brown*, Alderman *Robinson*, Mr. *Loe*, and others, he was come to discourse freely with him about their present Condition, and what was fit to be done in such an Exigency as their Affairs were now in. That it was more than evident that *Monke’s* Design was to bring in the King, and that without any Terms for the Parliament Party ; whereby all their Lives and Fortunes would be at the Mercy of the King and his Party, who were sufficiently enraged against them, and in Need of repairing their broken Fortunes :

‘ That the Inclinations of the Presbyterian Party generally, and of many others, and of the City, and most of the Parliament’s old Friends, were the same Way, and a great Part of the Soldiery :

‘ And that these here were revolted from *Fleetwood*, as those in the *North* under *Lambert*, and those at *Portsmouth*, and other Places :

‘ That *Monke* would easily delude *Hasilrigge*, and the rest of the old Parliament Men ; and that all the insensd Lords and secluded Members would be, and were, active in this Design ; so that *Whitlocke* said, the Coming-in of the King was unavoidable, and that he thought, being that must be, that it was

more

more Prudence for *Fleetwood* and his Friends to be the Instruments of bringing him in, than to leave it to *Monke*:

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‘ That, by this Means, *Fleetwood* might make Terms with the King for the Preservation of himself and his Friends, and of that Cause, in a good Measure, in which they had been engaged; but if it were left to *Monke*, they, and all that had been done, would be left to the Danger of Destruction.

‘ *Whitlocke* therefore propounded to *Fleetwood* to do one of these two Things, either to give Order for all his Forces to draw together, and himself and his Friends to appear at the Head of them, and see what Strength they could make that would stand by them; and accordingly to take further Resolutions if they found their Strength but small, as *Whitlocke* doubted; then, with those few he had, to go to the *Tower* and take Possession of it; and to send to the Mayor and Common Council of *London*, that they would join with them to declare for a free Parliament; which he thought the City would willingly do, and furnish him with Money for his Soldiers, which would encrease their Numbers.

‘ *Fleetwood* ask’d *Whitlocke*, If he would go with him into the Field and to the *Tower*? *Whitlocke* said he would. *Fleetwood* then ask’d, What was the other Way that he had to propound to him in this Exigency? *Whitlocke* answered, It was this:

‘ That *Fleetwood* should immediately send away some Person of Trust to the King at *Breda*, to offer to him his and his Friends Service to the restoring of the King to his Right, and that upon such Terms as the King should agree upon: And, for this Purpose, to give Instructions to the Party whom *Fleetwood* should send upon this Affair.

‘ *Fleetwood* then ask’d *Whitlocke*, If he would be willing to go himself upon this Employment? Who answered, That he would go, if *Fleetwood* thought good to send him. And, after much other Discourse to this Effect, *Fleetwood* seemed fully satisfied to send *Whitlocke* to the King, and desired *Whitlocke* to go and prepare himself forthwith for the

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the Journey: And that, in the mean Time, *Fleetwood* and his Friends would prepare the Instructions for him; so that he might begin his Journey this Evening, or To-morrow Morning early.

‘*Whitlocke*, going away from *Fleetwood*, met *Vane*, *Desborough*, and *Bury* in the next Room, coming to speak with *Fleetwood*, who thereupon desired *Whitlocke* to stay a little; and *Whitlocke* suspected what would be the Issue of their Consultation: And within a Quarter of an Hour *Fleetwood* came to *Whitlocke*, and, in much Passion, said to him, ‘I cannot do it, I cannot do it.’ *Whitlocke* desired his Reasons why he could not do it? He answered, ‘These Gentlemen have remembered me, and it is true, that I am engaged not to do any such Thing without my Lord *Lambert*’s Consent.’

‘*Whitlocke* replied, ‘That *Lambert* was at too great a Distance to have his Consent to this Business, which must be instantly acted.’

‘*Fleetwood* again said, ‘I cannot do it without him.’ Then *Whitlocke* said, ‘You will ruin yourself and your Friends.’ He said, ‘I cannot help it.’ Then *Whitlocke* told him, He must take his Leave; and so they parted.’

But to go on with more material Affairs, and leave this Weathercock, for a while, to shift about with the Wind: The daily Revolts from this new-erected Council made them foresee their own Destruction, if they stood in the Gap any longer, and hindered the Parliament from resuming their old Seats in the House. Accordingly,

The Parliament
restored.

This Day, *December* 26, the Speaker, and Members of Parliament then in Town, met at *Whitehall*, from whence they proceeded to the Parliament House, on Foot; those very Soldiers shouting as they now pass’d by, who, but a little more than two Months ago, by Force shut them out of the House.

The late discarded Members having re-assumed their Seats and Power, we find their *Journals* begin again,

again, and proceed without the least Notice being taken of the Interruption in them. We shall therefore abstract from thence whatever seems to the Purpose, and explain it by, and connect it with, the Histories of the Times afterwards.

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But before we enter on the Proceedings of this other Session, of what we shall now call a Parliament, tho' it was composed of no more than the same Number, and the same identical Persons that sat last, we shall give our Readers an Account of another Push Mr. *Prynne* and his Colleagues made to get into the House, and sit among them. He tells us, ' That when *Lenthall*, their Speaker, with the other Members, found that they might have Leave, from their Masters, to meet again, they assembled at *Whitehall* just so many as to make a House: And late in the Evening, on *December 26*, marched from thence, by Torch and Candle-light, through *Channel-Row*, to the Parliament House. There they sat a good while, he says, and made some Orders about the Army to raise Money for them, and then adjourned till next Morning.—But the rest of this Affair take in Mr. *Prynne's* own Words:

' On *Tuesday* Morning, the 27th of *December*, they made Haste early to the House, whereof, and of the former Night's Practice, some faithful Members of the House (now eleven Years secluded by Force) having Notice, as many of them as could suddenly get together, judged it their Duty (now that the House seemed, by an admirable Providence of God, to be delivered from that Force and Bondage they had been under so many Years) to attend the Discharge of their Trust for their Country, and contribute their best Assistance and Advice for filling of the House, that, by full and free Councils, the sad Breaches of these Nations might be made up, and our Foundations settled. In pursuance of this their Resolu-

Prynne's second Account of his being refused Admittance into the House.

^a From another Pamphlet of *Prynne's*, with a very long Title, as usual, though he calls it only *A brief Narrative, &c.* printed for *E. Thomas*, at the *Adam and Eve, Little-Britain, 1659.*

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Resolution, there went to the House the Persons following, viz.

Sir Gilbert Gerard,	Mr. <i>William Prynne</i> ,
Sir <i>William Waller</i> ,	Mr. <i>Povey</i> ,
<i>John Crew</i> , Esq;	Mr. <i>Henry Hungerford</i> ,
<i>Arthur Annesley</i> , Esq;	Sir <i>Robert Pye</i> ,
Serjeant <i>Maynard</i> ,	Mr. <i>Owfield</i> ,
Mr. <i>Nathaniel Stephens</i> ,	Mr. <i>Charles Pym</i> ,
Mr. <i>Richard Knightly</i> ,	Col. <i>Lloyd</i> , and
Sir <i>Anthony Irby</i> ,	Mr. <i>Peck</i> ;
Sir <i>John Evelyn</i> , of <i>Surry</i> ,	Mr. <i>Francis Bacon</i> , com-
Serjeant <i>Waller</i> ,	ing alone to demand
Col. <i>Leigh</i> ,	his Right, was excluded
Mr. <i>John Nelthorp</i> ,	before they came.
Sir <i>John Temple</i> ,	

‘ Being come to the Lobby Door, through a Guard of Soldiers that were upon the Stairs, we knocked for Admittance; but the Door-keeper having opened the Door, and seeing us there, shut it again, telling us, *That he had Orders to keep all the secluded Members out*: We demanded, *From whom?* he said, *From the House*; yet two of us that were nearest the Door overcame him with Reason to let us into the Lobby; with which those that guarded the House Door being, it seems, alarmed; (for, by the whole Carriage of the Business, it was apparent they expected we would, as heretofore, continue our Claim in the People’s Behalf) cried out aloud, *Cooper*, (which was the Name of the outward Door-keeper) *Keep close the Door, the House hath ordered that none of them should be suffered to come in, and will be very angry if you admit any of them*; whereupon he kept out all the rest, closing the Door often upon them striving for Entrance, when others passed in or out. But those who had already got in expressed a great Resentment of this continued Force upon the House, demanding *If there were any there who could produce any Warrant for what was done?* And telling the Guards and Officers there, *That it was strange Usage to the Members of the House, to deny them this Privilege of Entrance into the Lobby, where the very Postmen and others were freely admitted*; and how

how there were some antient Members without, viz. Sir Gilbert Gerard, Mr. Crew, Mr. Stephens; Sir William Waller, and others, who could not bear the Croud upon the Stairs, and that we liked their Company so much better than what we found within, that, unless all were admitted, we and the People took sufficient Notice of the Force and Affront, and would be gone. Yet asked first for the Officers that commanded the Guard, who were pretended to have Orders for this Force, viz. Col. Okey and Col. Alured; who, being ready at Hand, were presently brought to us. They desiring us to be civil, and make no Disturbance at the Door: We replied, *We came thither in a civil and peaceable Manner to claim our Rights, and discharge our Trusts for our Country; and they were very uncivil towards us, and made the Disturbance, by secluding us forcibly, against their Trusts and Duties, not only out of the House, but Lobby too, free for all others but Members, whose Privileges were reduced to such a low Ebb, as not to enjoy the Right of the meanest Commoner.* After these Expostulations, they were so far convinced of our rude Entertainment, that Col. Alured caused the Door to be opened, and let the rest of us into the Lobby. Our next Attempt was to get into the House; but then the said Colonels desired us to forbear. We ask'd, *By what Warrant they kept us out whom they knew to be Members, they having sworn Obedience to the Parliament?* They replied, *They had Orders for what they did.* We desired a Sight of them, and we would retire and trouble them no further. Col. Alured said, *That their Order was not about them; but some others, and one Hage, by Name, said, They had verbal Orders to keep us out.* At length Col. Alured told us, *If we would rest ourselves in the inner Lobby, he would, by the Serjeant, acquaint the House of our Coming, and Demand of Admittance;* and accordingly he went presently to the House Door, and knocking, the Serjeant came to the Door to him; but at the opening of it, seeing some of us there offering to come in, held the Door almost shut; whereupon Col. Alured told him, *That the*

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Members were come, and endeavoured to get into the House, desiring him to acquaint the Speaker and House so much, (as some of the Members did also) which he promised, and immediately did, returning to the Door to tell us, That he had done so, and that the House had thereupon taken up the Debate of that Business; and the Turnkey presently took the Key out of the Door, to prevent any further Attempt of going in. Col. Ingoldsby, whilst we were at the first Door, came in, who was the only sitting Member that we saw, for none came out whilst we were there: Him we desired to acquaint the House with our Attendance, and the Force upon us, which he promised to do, and we believe did.

‘ Having attended above an Hour; with more Distance and Strangeness than ever we were used to when we went on Messages to the Lords House, who usually came many of them out, and discoursed very familiarly with us; whereas not one of these self-made Lordlings (whether out of Pride, Guilt, or both, let others judge) vouchsafed to come near us. We grew weary of waiting so long and servily upon those, who, in their highest Capacity, are but our Equals, though we had borne it thus far, to acquit ourselves of neglecting no Condescension that might make Way to the Discharge of the Trust we are in for our Country: And therefore we made Col. Alured acquainted, *That we were resolved to stay no longer, unless the House declared they desired we should*: Whereupon he went again to the House Door, which, upon his Knock, being opened, he acquainted the Serjeant so much, willing him to give Notice thereof to the Speaker and Members sitting; which he presently did, and, within a short Time after, the Serjeant came out to us, and having made a Preamble, *That he had no Direction to come and tell us any thing*, he told us of his own Civility, *That the House had passed a Vote in our Business; which, in Effect, was, the appointing the 5th of January to take the Business of the absent Members into Consideration*; which we looked upon as a disdainful Affront, being present, not absent Members, and

and an avowed Confirming and Owning of this forcible Exclusion of us, and so departed.—Thus far Mr. Prynne.

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And now the first Thing we find this House did, The Parliament's Proceedings. was to appoint a Committee, consisting of *Popham*, *Thompson*, *Okey*, *Alured*, and *Markham*, all Colonels, with Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and Mr. *Scott*, to order, direct, and conduct the Forces of the Army, and all other Forces; and to command the same, for the Safety of the Parliament and this Commonwealth; to suppress all Tumults, Insurrections, and Rebellions, and all such Forces which shall oppose, or resist, the Commands of the Parliament; and to observe such Orders and Directions as they shall receive, from Time to Time, from the Parliament, or the Commissioners appointed by Authority of Parliament. This Power to continue till further Orders.

Orders were also given to provide one Month's Pay, forthwith, for the Payment of the Non-Commission Officers, and all other Officers, under the Degree of Captains, with the private Soldiery, both Horse and Foot. The Committee for inspecting the Treasury to advance this Money out of the Treasuries of this Commonwealth.—The Government of the *Tower* was committed to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, *Weaver*, *Scott*, and *Josias Barners*.

December 27. The House being informed that the Duties on Excise and Customs would expire in a few Days, they immediately ordered in a new Act for the same; which being read a first and second Time, and committed, was reported back the same Day, Commissioners named, read a third Time, passed, and was ordered to be forthwith printed and published.

Ordered, ' That no Forces shall be raised, but by Authority of this present Parliament: And that all such Forces as have been, or shall be, raised, without Authority of Parliament, be forthwith disbanded. Provided, That this Vote extend not to any of the Forces raised by General *Monke*.

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Ordered, 'That all the Regiments of Horse and Foot, in the Northern Counties, do forthwith repair unto such Quarters as shall be appointed by the Commissioners for Management of the Army; and observe such Orders and Directions as the Commissioners, from Time to Time, shall give forth.'

Ordered, 'That it be referred to a Committee to prepare Letters of Thanks, and Acknowledgement of the Fidelity and good Service of General *Monke*, Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, and the Commissioners at *Portsmouth*. Mr. *Scott*, Mr. *Weaver*, and Col. *Martin* were to draw up the same, and the Speaker to sign and seal the said Letters with the Seal of the Parliament.'

Resolved, 'That Mr. Speaker be desired to write Letters to the several Members of this House, forthwith to give their Attendance on that Service.' This Vote was very necessary; when, on a Division this Day about a Commissioner of the Customs, the Numbers were only 20 to 17. Not a House at this Time.

December 28. Col. *Ingoldsbj* gave an Account to the House, of his taking and securing *Windsor* Castle for the Parliament; which Action the House approved of, and gave Thanks to him and the Forces under him.

December 29. The Speaker, by Order of the House, did return hearty Thanks to Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, Col. *Walton*, and Col. *Morley*, then present in the House; and they were ordered to bring in a Note of what Monies they had disbursed in the securing of *Portsmouth*, to the end that a Course might be taken for the speedy Repayment of them.

Next, the House voted their Approbation of what General *Monke* had done, in placing and displacing of Officers; and that the said Officers were thereupon confirmed in their Offices and Places. Another Letter of Thanks was also voted to be sent to the General for his Fidelity and faithful Service. The House also approved of what was done by so many of the Council of State, as acted for the Parliament

ment during the Time of the late Interruption of their Sitting; and gave them the hearty Thanks of the House, for their good and faithful Service done to the Parliament and Commonwealth.

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Ordered, 'That the Thanks of this House be given to Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, and all the Commanders and Officers of the Fleet, for their Fidelity and great good Service done for the Parliament and Commonwealth: And that Mr. *Scott* and Mr. Solicitor *Reynolds* do repair to the Fleet, and present these Votes and Letters of Thanks to the Vice-Admiral, Commanders, and Officers there; and to let them know, That the House will take Care for the Payment of their Arrears in due Time.'

Other Persons shared likewise the Thanks of the House on this Occasion; and, amongst these, their old Speaker, *Lenthall*, was not forgotten; for he, amongst the rest, had the Thanks of the House bestowed upon him, for his very good Service done to the Commonwealth.

In this Shower of Gratitude poured down upon Individuals on 'all Sides, for assisting this Tail of a Parliament to its warm Seat again, some one Member, we suppose, moved, That God Almighty might not be neglected. Thereupon it was ordered, 'That a Day should be set a-part and observed by the Members of this House, in this House, for Fasting and Humiliation; and for acknowledging of God's Mercy with Thankfulness: And for Prayer, for his further Blessings on the Councils of the Parliament, and Assistance in carrying on the great Work lying on their Hands.'—Ordered, also, 'That Mr. *Burgefs* of *Portsmouth*, Mr. *Venning*, and Mr. *Jenkins*, be desired to assist in carrying on the Work of that Day.

Dec. 30. According to an Order made the Day before, the House began on this to prepare for the electing a new Council of State, consisting of twenty-one of their own Members, and ten of such as were not of the House. It was done in the usual Way by Ballot; but the Form and Manner of it took up

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A new Council
of State elected.

the rest of this Day, so that the Nomination of them was not made till the next. ^a

The Names of the Persons who had most Voices, and were Members of this Parliament, were reported; and the Question being put upon each of their Names distinctly, the following Persons were allowed to be duly elected:

Sir <i>Arthur Hasilrigge,</i>	Col. <i>Thompson,</i>
Mr. <i>Herbert Morley,</i>	Mr. <i>John Dixwell,</i>
Mr. <i>Wallop,</i>	Mr. <i>Henry Nevill,</i>
Mr. <i>Thomas Scott,</i>	Col. <i>Fagg,</i>
Mr. <i>Nicholas Love,</i>	Mr. <i>John Corbet,</i>
Mr. <i>Oliver St. John,</i>	Mr. <i>Thomas Chaloner,</i>
Col. <i>White,</i>	Mr. <i>Henry Martin,</i>
Mr. <i>John Weaver,</i>	Mr. <i>William Say,</i>
Mr. <i>Robert Reynolds,</i>	Col. <i>Walton,</i>
Sir <i>James Harrington,</i>	Mr. <i>Luke Robinsen.</i>
Sir <i>Thomas Widdrington,</i>	

The ten Persons out of the House were,

Sir <i>Anthony Ashley Cooper,</i>	The Lord <i>Fairfax,</i>
General <i>Monke,</i>	Alderman <i>Foote,</i>
Vice-Admiral <i>Lawson,</i>	——— <i>Tyrrill,</i>
Alderman <i>Love,</i>	<i>Robert Roll,</i>
<i>Josias Barners,</i>	<i>Slingsby Bethell.</i>

The Time for the Continuance of this Council of State, to sit and act, was voted to be only from *January* the 1st, 1659, to the 1st Day of *April*, 1660. Instructions were drawn up and agreed for them to act by, which are not entered in the *Journals* at Length; but, by the short Hints given there of them, we suppose this Council had as much Power over the Liberties, Lives, and Fortunes, of their Fellow-Subjects, as ever belonged to the Regality. And, that they might be all true and trusty to the Good Old Cause, they devised the Form of an Oath, which every one of the Council were to take before

^a See the Form in the *Commons Journals*, p. 800.

^b This last was a Shake-Cap, for Mr. *Carew Raleigh* had the same Number of Voices on the Ballot; but both their Names being put into a Hat and shaken, the Speaker drew out Mr. *Robinsen*.

before they were admitted to their Seats; as were also the Members of Parliament, as well those who then sat in the House, as those that were to sit hereafter. The Oath, or Engagement, was in these Words :

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I A. B. do hereby swear, That I do renounce the pretended Title, or Titles, of Charles Stuart, and the whole Line of the late King James; and of every other Person, as a Single Person, pretending, or which shall pretend, to the Crown or Government of these Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any of them: And that I will, by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and constant to the Parliament and Commonwealth, and will oppose the Bringing-in, or Setting-up of any Single Person or House of Lords, and every of them, in this Commonwealth.

An Abjuration Oath.

The Parliament being thus reinstated in their former Sovereignty, and having taken Care, as they thought, to build a Wall of Brass quite round them, on which were many Watch-Towers, to guard all the Avenues, in order to prevent such perverse Accidents as had before happened to them: Thus, we say, were they seemingly barricaded against all sinister Events, when the unerring Hand of Providence brought Destruction upon them from afar, and gave them such a Fall as never to rise again.

It was on the 1st Day of *January*, 16⁵⁹, that *General Monke* began his March out of *Scotland*, and crossed the *Tweed* with the Infantry of his Army, his Horse following him on the next. *Dr. Gumble*, one of his Chaplains, and Author also of his Life, tells us, That the General had but four Regiments of Horse and six of Foot, making in all about 5000 Men, with him; and that this was all the Force he ever designed for the Expedition. It was without any Call, Orders, or Summons from his Masters at *Westminster*, that he began this March; and *Lambert* being now stolen away from *Newcastle*, and his Army left without a Commander, *Monke* had nothing to fear from that Quarter to stop his Progress.

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gress. The other Reverend Author we have before quoted, is very particular in his Account of this March, which we shall follow as oft as there is Occasion; observing here, that on this Day, *Jan. 2*, it was the General received a kind Letter from the Speaker, mentioned before out of the *Journals*, signifying, indeed, that they were returned to the Exercise of their Authority, but not one Word about his marching towards them: And this, adds the Doctor, did but increase his Jealousy of them. But we shall leave the General now to pursue his March Southward, and return to our *Journals*.

The same Day the House passed a Vote, 'That all Officers who were in Commission on the 11th of *October*, 1659, and all other Officers and Soldiers in the late Defection and Rebellion, who have already submitted, and such as shall hereafter submit themselves, and return to their Duty and Obedience to the Parliament, before the 9th Day of this Instant *January* shall be, and are hereby pardoned and indemnified for Life and Estate; and all such Officers to be disposed of by the Council of State, Commissioners of the Army, or General *Monke*.'

The Question being put, That *John Lambert*, Esq; shall be included within this Vote, the House divided, and it was carried for the Question, 28 against 18.—Ordered, 'That this Vote be forthwith printed and published, and that the Council of State see it put in Execution.'

Jan. 3. This Day it was resolved, on the Question, 'That Writs should issue out for electing Members to sit and serve in Parliament, in the Places of those Members of this House that were dead; under such Qualifications as should be agreed upon by the House; and a Committee was named to draw up and bring in such Qualifications for Members for the House to approve of.'

Sir *Arthur Haslrigge* reported a Bill to the House, For enacting the Oath of Renunciation of the Title of *Charles Stuart*, and the whole Line of the late King *James*, to be taken by every Member that

now.

now sitteth, or that shall sit, in Parliament.— This Bill being put to the Question for the first Reading, on a Division, it was carried by 24 to 15. The Bill was read accordingly, and ordered a second Reading on the 6th Instant.

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Jan. 4, was the Fast-Day, on which little Business was done, besides returning Thanks to their Preachers for their great Pains-taking, &c. Afterwards the House read some Letters from different Parts; one from York, dated Jan. 2, to Sir Arthur Hasilrigge. These might give some Account of Monke's and Lord Fairfax's Motions; but none of their Contents are entered in the Journals, nor have we met with them elsewhere.

Jan. 5. Nothing remarkable happened on this Day, save that, at the End of it, are some Alterations, the Note on which informs us, That here three Entries are erased in the Original, and on the Margin is written, *Null'd by Order of Feb. 21, 1659.* The Reason for which we shall know further when we come to that Day.

Jan. 6. Another Letter from General Monke, dated from Coldstream, Dec. 29, was read in the House, but the Contents not entered in the Journals: However, we have met with a Copy of it in the old Pamphlet before-mentioned, which we give accordingly:

A LETTER sent from General MONKE, superscrib'd
To the Right Hon. WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq;
Speaker to the Right Honourable the Parliament
of England,

To be communicated to the rest of the Members of
Parliament at London.

Right Honourable, Coldstream, Dec. 29, 1659:

I Received yours of the 22d Instant, and desire to
return to our good God hearty Thanks, that
he hath been pleased to own and appear for his
People

Another Letter
from him to the
Parliament.

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‘ People in such glorious Instances of Mercy and
 ‘ Deliverance. I bless the Lord, I never doubted
 ‘ of his Presence and Success in this Undertaking,
 ‘ being so righteous a Cause, and had long since
 ‘ put it to God’s Determination; but upon Adver-
 ‘ tisements from Friends in *England*, That if I could
 ‘ continue here without engaging till the first of
 ‘ *January*, the Work would be done without Blood.
 ‘ I cannot but admire upon what Intelligence you
 ‘ should be persuaded of a second Treaty: Indeed
 ‘ I was forced to make Use of such an Overture,
 ‘ to remove the Commissioners from *London*, whom
 ‘ I cannot but blame for receding from their In-
 ‘ structions; but I hope they will give you a satis-
 ‘ factory Account of their Proceedings; yet I ac-
 ‘ knowledge that I could not but resent their Car-
 ‘ riage, having secured one of them for betraying
 ‘ the private Instructions, of which I doubt not but
 ‘ you have been fully informed.

‘ My last Answer to the Lord *Lambert*, who sent
 ‘ several Messengers to invite me to a second Trea-
 ‘ ty, was, That I could not treat without Autho-
 ‘ rity from the Commissioners for the Government
 ‘ of the Army; and to that End desired a Pass for
 ‘ the same Messengers to go to *Portsmouth* to re-
 ‘ ceive their Commands and Instructions, who were
 ‘ returned back with this Answer from *Lambert* and
 ‘ the Council of Officers, That they could not con-
 ‘ sent thereunto; and since that I have not heard
 ‘ from them.

‘ I have your Army, I bless God, upon the River
 ‘ *Tweed*, within three Hours ready to be drawn
 ‘ together, and they are very chearful and unani-
 ‘ mous, willing to endure any Hardship for your
 ‘ Service.

‘ The last Night Capt. *Campbell* came Express
 ‘ from *Ireland*, giving a full Account of their Af-
 ‘ fection to the Parliament, and of the late Transac-
 ‘ tions there: That they had seized *Dublin* Castle,
 ‘ and secured *Jones* and others, with a Declaration
 ‘ to stand by and own your Authority; for which,

‘ on

‘ on this Instant, we kept a Day of Thanksgiving, Inter-regnum.
 ‘ They writ also to the *Irish* Brigade in *England*, 1659.
 ‘ which I dispatched to them. Sir *Hardress’ Waller*
 ‘ gives me an Account, that all the Forces and
 ‘ Garrisons in *Ireland* had declared for you. }
 ‘ January.’

‘ This is such a Mercy, that I hope the Lord
 ‘ will make us sensible of, and careful to improve.
 ‘ They required my Opinion as to managing of the
 ‘ Affairs of the Army, which in such an urgent
 ‘ Necessity I presumed to give. I have disposed of
 ‘ most of the vacant Commands in *Scotland* to very
 ‘ honest Men, who are ready to die for your Ser-
 ‘ vice, or to disband at your Command. And be-
 ‘ fore your Letter came to Hand, I had disposed of
 ‘ Col. *Saunders’s* and Major *Barton’s* Commands,
 ‘ the Lord *Lambert’s* Forces pressing upon me. I
 ‘ could not leave my vacant Places unsupplied; but
 ‘ I know that (this Work prospering) you will have
 ‘ Opportunity enough to gratify them. Capt. *Izods’s*
 ‘ Place is reserved for him according to your Plea-
 ‘ sure.

‘ I humbly thank the Members of the Council
 ‘ for that great Honour they were pleased to confer
 ‘ upon me, and hope you never shall find but such
 ‘ an absolute Obedience from me to your Com-
 ‘ mands, that I shall be more ready to return that
 ‘ Commission than to receive it. I believe that you
 ‘ never doubted of my persevering in those good
 ‘ Principles I declared for; and that I should com-
 ‘ fortably (if the Lord had pleased to frown upon
 ‘ us) have suffered in this most righteous Under-
 ‘ taking. I have made ready to march, but am
 ‘ unwilling to hazard your Justice and Authority
 ‘ upon a Fight, when it may be done with more
 ‘ Security. I shall attend your further Commands,
 ‘ and desire the Lord to bless your Forces and
 ‘ Counsels, and to restore you in your just Autho-
 ‘ rity; which is both the Prayer and Endeavour
 ‘ of

Sir, your most humble

And faithful Servant,

GEORGE MONKE.

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The *Journals* of Parliament inform us, That this Letter was highly pleasing to them; for an Answer to it was immediately ordered to be sent to the General, expressing the Thanks of the Parliament to him, and acknowledging his faithful Service and high Deservings; and that he, taking Care for the Safety and Preservation of *Scotland* in his Absence, should be desired to come up to *London* with all convenient Speed.

A Letter also from the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and *Henry Arthington*, Esq; dated *Po-pleton*, near *York*, *January 1, 1659*, was read^a; and Sir *Thomas Widdrington* was ordered to write a Letter of Thanks to the Lord *Fairfax*, and the other Gentlemen, for his and their good Service done to the Parliament. These two Letters were also ordered to be printed and published; but one from *Lambert*, dated from *Northallerton*, *December 31*, and read at the same Time, had no further Notice taken of it.

A Bill for borrowing 20,000 *l.* upon the Excise was read a third Time and passed: The Bill also for taking and subscribing the Oath for renouncing the Title of *Charles Stuart*, and of every other Single Person, to the Crown, or Government, of these Nations, was read a second Time, and debated; but the further Consideration thereof referred to next Day.

Jan. 7. Is remarkable for nothing being done upon it in the House, but a Report made by a Committee of Privileges and Elections, 'That Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* was duly elected Burgefs for the Town of *Downton*, in *Wiltshire*, which the House agreed to: And Sir *Anthony*, being called in, took his Place, and afterwards, at the Clerk's Table, he read openly the Engagement, and subscribed the same at the Table. He was afterwards made a Colonel of Horse. We mention these Things chiefly to shew what a Part this Man acted some few Months after.

^a This Letter is in our Collection; but we think it not particular enough to be inserted.

In the Afternoon of the same Day is this Entry :
 'Whereas this House do find an Entry in the
Journal-Book, the 20th of *April*, 1653, in these
 Words, viz. *This Day his Excellency the Lord-
 General dissolved this Parliament ;*' which was done
 without Consent of Parliament. Resolved, 'That
 the Parliament doth declare, That the same is
 Forgery.' Mr. *Scobell* was ordered to be sent for
 to the Bar of the House, who being shewed the said
 Entry, and asked who made it, confessed it was his
 Hand-writing, and that he did it without Direction
 of any Person whatsoever. Hereupon the House
 first ordered the Entry aforesaid to be expunged out
 of the *Journal*, and then appointed a Committee
 to consider, Whether the late Act of Indemnity did
 extend to pardon this Offence ; which 'tis probable
 it did, for we hear no more of the Matter.

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January 9. The Debate on the Bill for the new
 Oath was deferred to the next Day.

After reading another Letter from Gen. *Monke*,
 dated *Wooller*, *January 3*, and referring it to the
 Council of State, the Door of the House was or-
 dered to be shut, and Sir *Henry Vane* to be sent for
 to attend the Parliament forthwith.

In the mean Time the Book of Orders, and the
 Book of Letters, belonging to the Admiralty, were
 ordered to be brought to the House by the proper
 Officers.—A Committee was appointed to prepare
 and bring in a Bill for the Sale of the Estates of
 Delinquents and Traitors, in the late Rebellion of
 Sir *George Booth*. To send for the Commissioners
 for Sequestrations, and examine what Money had
 been received by the Sequestrations of Delinquents
 and Traitors Estates ; how the same had been dis-
 posed of, and by what Authority. The Council of
 State was also directed to examine what Persons, in
 the said Rebellion, had been released since the late
 Interruption of the Parliament, and to remand them
 to such public Prisons as they should think fit.—
 Vice Admiral *Lawson* appearing at the Bar of the
 House, had the hearty Thanks of the House return'd
 him

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him, for his constant Fidelity, and the great and eminent Services done by him, since the late Interruption of Parliament.

Sir *Henry Vane* having been sent for, according to the Resolution aforesaid, came to the House; and, being set in his Place, several Members of the House objected several Matters against him, acted since the late Interruption of the Parliament.

And several Letters sent from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, the one of the 15th of *October*, 1659, written to Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, in the *Downes*; and several Orders of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, one of the 29th of *October*, 1659, and another of the 31st of *October*, 1659, and another of the second of *November*, 1659, were read. Sir *Henry Vane*, standing up in his Place, made Answer to the said several Charges; and having sat down again, the House, on the Debate, resolved, 'That Sir *Henry Vane* be discharged from being a Member of this Parliament, and he was enjoined to repair to his House at *Raby*, in the County of *Durham*, and remain there during the Pleasure of the Parliament. It was also resolved, 'That the Colonels *John Lambert*, *Desborough*, *Ashfield*, *Bury*, *Kelsey*, *Cobbet*, *Barrow*, *Packer*, and Major *Creed*, be forthwith enjoined to repair to their respective Houses in the Country, farthest distant from the City of *London*, and to continue there during the Pleasure of the Parliament. The Council of State was ordered to see this Vote put in Execution, to whom it was referred, touching the sending such other Officers of the Army, as have been against the Parliament since the late Interruption, out of the City of *London*, to their respective Houses in the Country.'

January 10. The House seems to have been busy most of this Day in debating the Bill relating to the Engagement; which, at last, was committed. A Committee also had been appointed to state the Qualifications of Members to sit and serve in Parliament; who, this Day, brought in a Bill for disabling Persons to elect, or be elected, to this present Parlia-

Parliament; which was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading the next Morning the first Business. — Mr. *Thomas Scott*, the noted Regicide, was nominated and appointed, as a Secretary of State used to be, to take Care of all Papers, and receive Informations of public and private Intelligence, and present them to the Council of State.

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January 11. The Bill of Elections was again debated, and afterwards committed.—Col. *Morley* was made Governor of the Tower of *London*, which was all the material Business done on this Day.

January 12. The House received and read another Letter from Gen. *Monke*, which was sent by Mr. *Gumble*, one of his Chaplains, and dated from *Newcastle*, January 6, 1659. The House being informed that the Messenger was at the Door, Mr. *Gumble* was called in, and at the Bar he made a Relation of what the General gave him in Charge; and also delivered in two Letters, and withdrew. One of these Letters was from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled, directed to General *Monke*, dated *December 29*, 1659; and the other from the General at *Newcastle*, January 6, following, which was in Answer to the former. Both which Letters being read, and Mr. *Gumble* being called in again, and heard what he had further to say, the House came to the following Orders and Resolutions: Ordered, ‘That the Sum of 100 *l.* be given to Mr. *Gumble*; and it was referred to the Council of State to see the same forthwith paid him or his Assigns. The House, at the same Time, resolved to take him into further Consideration, for his Preferment, as Conveniency should offer; and the Particulars related by Mr. *Gumble*, touching what Persons are fit to be Judges in *Scotland*, were referred to the Council of State, who

§ This *Thomas Gumble*, D. D. wrote the Life of General *Monke*, Duke of *Albermarle*, &c. with some Remarks upon his Actions. *London*, 1671, 8vo. From which the Authors of this Work are indebted for several Observations.

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It was then resolved, ' That the Parliament doth justify and approve of what Gen. *Monke* hath done, in taking up *Horses*, and in his marching into *England*, and all other Things by him acted and done, in order to the Service of the Parliament and Commonwealth: And the *Sollicitor-General* was order'd to bring in an Act for justifying and approving what Gen. *Monke* had done.'

We are not told any more by the *Journals*, of the Purport of the General's Letter to the City, nor of their Answer to it; neither does our particular Historian explain them much further: For he only tells us, ' That Mr. *William Mann*, Sword-Bearer of *London*, met the General at *Morpeth*, with Adresses from the City, who had been early Rebels to the Parliament; that the General gave him Letters back, and, for *Reason of Camp*, sent Mr. *Gumble* along with him to the Parliament with Copies of both.'—But the before-quoted old Collection of Letters furnishes us, also, with these two extraordinary Anecdotes, which we shall give in their own Words:

A LETTER from General MONKE, directed and delivered to the LORD MAYOR, Court of ALDERMEN, and COMMON COUNCIL of the City of LONDON.

Right Honourable,

General Monke's Letter to the City of London; UPON the first Notice I had of the late Force put upon the Parliament, I directed a Letter to you, to acquaint you, that my Resolutions were according to my Duty to stand by them, and to endeavour their Re-establishment, though with the Hazard of whatsoever was dear to me; and that the Army under my Command was very cordial and unanimous in that Undertaking; but that Letter coming to a Mischance, I have, at the Desire, and with the Concurrence of the Officers here,

' here, again written to you, to let you know that
 ' we are still constant to our first Resolutions, in
 ' which we are the more confirmed, since we have
 ' been informed that the Authors of that Force
 ' have proceeded so far as to null and make void
 ' Acts of Parliament, (which the King, when he
 ' was at the highest, never pretended to do, and
 ' which no true *Englishman* can endure to see done
 ' by any but Parliaments themselves) and are now
 ' contriving, by their own Power and Authority, to
 ' set up a new Government over the 'Three Nations :
 ' If this be suffered, I know not to what Purpose all
 ' this Blood hath been spilt, all this Treasure spent,
 ' and all those Engagements made. We must take
 ' upon ourselves the Guilt of all, and look upon this
 ' Slavery we have brought upon ourselves, as a Judg-
 ' ment upon us for our Murder, Rapines, and Per-
 ' juries: I take God to Witness I have no other End,
 ' than to restore the Parliament to its former Free-
 ' dom and Authority, and the People to their just
 ' Rights and Liberties, in which I am sure I cannot
 ' want your Assistance. It is not the Desire of any
 ' here, that those, who truly fear God, should be
 ' hindred of their Liberty to worship him according
 ' to their several Persuasions, or that the congregated
 ' Churches should be abridged of any of the Privi-
 ' leges and Freedoms they have been used to enjoy,
 ' or even to claim; there are many Members of
 ' those Churches with us, which can give this Testi-
 ' mony, yet we could be content that some Men
 ' would not, under Pretence of maintaining that
 ' Liberty, endeavour the Overthrow of the National
 ' Ministry, and, by Consequence, leave the greatest
 ' Part of the People to utter Ignorance and Atheism :
 ' However this is not the Thing for which we at
 ' present contend, we shall leave this and all other
 ' Things to the Parliament, the confessed Supreme
 ' Judicature of the Nation; but for the Defence of
 ' that we are all resolved to venture to the utmost.
 ' If this good Cause shall miscarry in my Hands,
 ' through Want of your timely Assistance, it will
 ' be too late for you to endeavour to support it with
 your

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your own Strength ; and if it prosper, it will be
 dishonourable for a City so famous, and so much
 concerned, that its Liberties should be asserted
 without its own Help : I know you are so sensible
 of the Interest of God's People, the Rights of the
 whole Nation, and of your own Charter, (which
 cannot be safe in the Hands of these Over-turners,
 and which hath been already indirectly threatned
 by them) that you will not be wanting to that
 Opportunity which God hath put into your Hands ;
 but now, while their Army is waiting upon me
 in the North, use your utmost Endeavours in the
 South ; and therefore I shall need to use no other
 Persuasion to *Englishmen*, and Men that have en-
 gaged all along in the same Cause ; but shall pray
 to God to unite your Hearts, and strengthen your
 Hands in this good Work, and remain

Your Lordship's

Edinburgh, Nov. 12,
 1659.

Very humble Servant,

GEORGE MONKE.

*The LETTER of the LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN,
 and COMMON COUNCIL of the City of LONDON,
 to his Excellency the Lord General MONKE.*

Right Honourable,

The City of
 London's Answer
 to the foregoing.

WE dare not enter upon the Answer to the
 Merits of your Excellency's Letter of the
 12th of *November*, which came to our Hands the
 23d of the same, (which was the first and only one
 that came to us) without prefacing our hearty
 and thankful Admiring and Acknowledging the
 transcendent Mercy of God, in putting into your
 Heart those pious and noble Resolutions, to appear
 at such an Exigent to be the glorious Instrument
 in his Hand, both to assert and vindicate the
 greatest Interest, both Civil and Religious, of these
 Nations. And, next, That your singular Humility
 of Spirit, and Affection to this City, in commu-
 nicating to us, so early, those your just Resolves,
 and inviting us to share in the Honour of assisting,

to

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‘ to the obtaining of those great and glorious Ends,
‘ in which the Happiness of these Nations in gene-
‘ ral, and of the City, as a Corporation, consists.

‘ In all which our Spirits were both enlightened
‘ and warmed by a Spark from your Zeal, and ac-
‘ tuated by God to a present Activity, in our Sphere
‘ and Capacity, in Compliance with your Excellen-
‘ cy’s Advice, as we trust the whole World, that
‘ hath seen our Actings since the Receipt of your
‘ Letter, can bear us Witness; and That we hope
‘ may be our sufficient Plea for Pardon, for our not
‘ returning a more timely Answer to your Excellen-
‘ cy’s said Letter: But we desire your Excellency
‘ to believe, that was principally retarded by Suspi-
‘ cion cast on the Authentickness of it, by those who
‘ had the Confidence on that Score to imprison the
‘ Deliverers, and by the Interposition of the Forces
‘ here, and led out against your Excellency, who
‘ lay in the Passage to you.

‘ But now, may it please your Excellency, see-
‘ ing it hath pleased God, in some Measure, to re-
‘ move those Obstructions, we presume by this to
‘ assert in Writing, what, we hope, all our Actings,
‘ since the Receipt of your Excellency’s Advice,
‘ have evidenced:

‘ That we have cordially concurred with your
‘ Excellency, in disowning the Author of that Force
‘ who interrupted the Parliament, and ravished the
‘ Birth-right of these Nations, by daring to null and
‘ make void Acts of Parliament; and, we think,
‘ have contributed somewhat, by God’s Blessing on
‘ our Counsels and Actings, to the preventing of the
‘ sad Consequences of that exorbitant Presumption.
‘ How fully and entirely we comply with your Ex-
‘ cellency, in asserting the Authority and Freedom
‘ of Parliaments, and the just Rights and Liberties
‘ of the People, a National Ministry, for the en-
‘ lighting of the Ignorant, and suppressing of
‘ Atheism, we humbly refer your Excellency to our
‘ inclosed Declaration^a, and do seriously assure your

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^a The Declaration here referred to is not in the Collection of
Monke’s Letters, nor have we met with it any where else.

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‘ Excellency, That we shall, by God’s Assistance,
‘ persist faithfully and vigorously in this good Cause.
‘ And praying God to preserve your Excellency,
‘ and those noble Commanders with you, in these
‘ your just, honourable, and Christian Undertakings,
‘ shall remain

Your Excellency’s

Most affectionate

And faithful Friends and Servants,

*Guildhall, London,
Dec. 29, 1659.*

The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

In their Names, and by their Order,

SADLER.

This Letter is conveyed by the Sword-Bearer of London, by the several Directions of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Court of Common Council.

The LETTER of his Excellency the Lord-General MONKE, in Answer to the former Letter.^a

My Lord,

Newcastle, Jan. 6, 1659.

The General’s Answer to the last from the City.

‘ I Received a Letter from your Lordship, and the
‘ rest of the Common Council, of the 29th of
‘ December, and do humbly thank you for that great
‘ Esteem which you are pleased to put upon the
‘ poor Endeavours of the Parliament’s Army under
‘ my Command, far transcending our Merits and
‘ Services. As to those Ends which we then declared for, I bless the Lord I acted according to
‘ Conscience, and I hope we were found in the Way
‘ of Duty, and are resolved, by the Grace of God,
‘ to adhere to them, having found such wonderful
‘ Blessings following us, in these our just and honest
‘ Undertakings.

‘ As your prudent Counsels and courageous Actings were the great Means, under God, of restoring this Parliament to its just and lawful
‘ Authority, so of the Safety and Welfare of the
‘ Na-

^a This Letter was sent by Mr. Gumble expressly, to the City, at the same Time with the foregoing to the Parliament, and follows in the Collection.

Nations, for which I do, for myself and the rest of
 the Officers here, return my very hearty Thanks ;
 and we shall ever have Cause to bless the Lord
 for this great Mercy, in putting into your Hearts
 such righteous and honourable Resolutions, to
 appear at such a Time, when our Liberties and
 Properties, and all that is dear unto us, even the
 Ordinances of our blessed Saviour, were in such
 Hazard.

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Indeed it was much in our Hopes, that such a
 glorious City, that had redeemed themselves from
 Slavery, at the Price of so much Blood and Trea-
 sure, and had been the great Instruments, in the
 Hand of God, for the carrying on the Work of
 Reformation, and bringing Three Nations out of
 the Captivity of Tyranny and arbitrary Govern-
 ment, could ever consent to such illegal and unjust
 Proceedings. As we do acknowledge your great
 Activity in promoting those great Ends which we
 lately represented to you, so we do heartily thank
 you for the Honour and Encouragement which
 you have been pleased, in this your Letter, to give
 to the Parliament's Army here ; for ourselves, we
 have nothing to seek (we bless the Lord) in all
 this Affair, but to endeavour the Safety and Settle-
 ment of these Nations in general, and of the fa-
 mous City in particular.

We received your inclosed Declaration, and do
 cheerfully join with you therein. And I do pro-
 mise you for the Army under my Command, that
 they are resolved, by the Assistance of God, to
 stand by and maintain this present Parliament, as
 it sat on *October 11*, from whom we received our
 Commissions ; and do hope, that you that have
 been so eminently instrumental in their Restoring,
 will heartily concur with us therein ; and shall, to
 the utmost of our Power, defend the Freedom of
 successive Parliaments, and the Liberties, Spiritual
 and Civil, of the People in these Nations ; and
 shall encourage, in our Stations, the godly and
 learned Ministers, and shall continue faithful in
 this good Cause, that the Nations may be stablish'd
 in

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‘ in a Free Commonwealth, and the Army kept in
‘ due Obedience to the Civil Authority.

‘ And as we have experienced the great Affection
‘ of your City, in such a Day of Darknes and
‘ great Trial, so we shall ever study, to the utmost,
‘ to express our Services for you, and shall not think
‘ our Lives too precious to hazard for your Welfare.
‘ I think to wait upon you shortly, and shall reserve
‘ those further Acknowledgements to that Oppor-
‘ tunity, and remain

Your Lordship's very humble Servant,
GEORGE MONKE.’

The Business of the House seems now to be solely employed in nominating Officers to several Regiments; nothing else intervening of any Consequence, save that the Speaker, being taken ill in the House, desired Leave to absent himself for ten Days from it; which was granted, and Mr. *Say* elected to supply his Room.

January 14. The Council of State was authorized and enjoined to secure the Colonels *Lambert, Desborough, Bury, Kelsey, Cobbet, Ashfield, Barrow, Packer,* and Major *Creed*, and all other Persons whatsoever, who had been banished to their Country-Houses, by Orders, or Warrants, from Parliament, and have not obeyed such Orders.

One Thousand
Pounds Land a
Year voted for
General *Monke*.

January 16. The Parliament being willing to cajole General *Monke*; and shew some signal Mark of their Favour to him, ordered, ‘ That 1000*l.* a Year, Land of Inheritance, be settled upon Commissioner *George Monke*, and his Heirs, as a Mark of the Favour and Respect of the Parliament, for his eminent and signal Services for the Parliament and Commonwealth; and that it be referred to a Committee to consider what Lands were most convenient to be fixed on for that Purpose; who were ordered to report their Opinion to the Parliament, and to bring in a Bill for settling the said Lands on Commissioner *George Monke*, and his Heirs.’

It

It was also ordered, ' That Mr. *Scott* and Mr. *Robinson* be desired to go to Commissioner *George Monke*, to congratulate with him from the Parliament, for the good Success the Lord had given to his Endeavours, and to let him know the Sense they have of his great Services; and that Care is taken by the Parliament to provide Money for his Officers and Soldiers; and it was referred to the Council of State to provide Money to defray Mr. *Scott* and Mr. *Robinson's* Expences.'

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A Letter was likewise ordered to be sent to Commissioner *George Monke*, to let him know the Sense the Parliament had of his great Services, and that they are providing Money for his Soldiers: And that the Parliament were glad to hear of his repairing to *London*, according to their Desire.

It was referred to Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Mr. Solicitor *Reynolds*, and Mr. *Lechmere*, to draw the said Letter, and present it to the Parliament for their Approbation.

The same Day, according to former Order, an engrossed Bill, which had laid dormant ever since their being turned out of Doors, and which was for raising 100,000 *l.* a Month upon *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for twelve Months, from *September 29, 1659*, to the same Day, 1660; that is to say, on *England*, 70,000 *l.* on *Scotland*, 12,000 *l.* and on *Ireland* 18,000 *l.* a Month, was read a third Time. After which the Door of the House being ordered to be shut, the House debated this Bill; and a Question being put, That twelve Months do stand in the Bill, it passed in the Negative; so it was determined to subsist no longer than to the 24th Day of *June*, 1660.

January 17. The Parliament, according to former Order, did take into Debate the Business touching Members of Parliament, against whom Matters are objected: And some Matters having been objected against Col. *Sydenham*, he, standing up in his Place, made Answer thereunto. Some Things being also objected against Major *Salway*, he, stand-

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ing up in his Place, did acknowledge his Miscarriages since the late Interruption of the Parliament; And said, He doubted some such Words might fall from him as he was charged with, and therefore he would not, in any Measure, excuse nor justify himself, nor any ways extenuate his Fault; but did humbly submit himself to the Parliament, as one sensible of his Miscarriages; and humbly craved the Pity and Pardon of the Parliament.

Then it was resolved, 'That Mr. *Scobel* be sent for presently to attend the Parliament; and that he bring with him the Papers that related to a Scheme of Government framed and brought to the pretended Committee of Safety.'

It was also resolved, 'That Col. *Sydenham* be discharged from being a Member of this Parliament; and the Question being proposed, That Major *Salway* be discharged from sitting as a Member of this Parliament, and the previous Question being put, it passed in the Negative, 30 against 22.'

It was then resolved, 'That Major *Salway* be suspended from sitting in the Parliament during the Pleasure of the Parliament; and it being then proposed, That he be sent to the *Tower*, there to remain during the Pleasure of the Parliament, the previous Question being put, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 29 against 14.' Then it was resolved, 'That Major *Salway* be committed to the *Tower*, there to remain during the Pleasure of the Parliament:' And it was ordered, 'That the Cases of the rest of the Members, against whom Matters were objected, be taken into Consideration that Day Se'nnight; and that the Books of the pretended Committee of Safety, remaining in Mr. *Robinson's* Hands, be forthwith brought to the Clerk of the Parliament.'

January 18. Mr. *Lenthall* reported from the Committee to whom it was referred to consider of the Names of fit Persons to be Commissioners of the Great Seal, Judges of the several Courts of Justice in *Westminster-Hall*, Attorney-General, and of Judges

Judges for the Courts of Admiralty and Probate of Wills; when the following were severally resolved upon, viz. Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and Serjeants *Tirril* and *Fountaine*, to be Commissioners for the Custody of the Great Seal; Mr. Serjeant *Newdigate*, to be Chief Justice, and Serjeants *Hill* and *Nicholas*, to be Justices of the Upper Bench; Mr. Serjeant *St. John*, to be Chief Justice, and Serjeants *Windham* and *Archer*, to be Justices of the Court of Common Pleas; Mr. Serjeant *Wild*, to be Chief Baron, and Serjeants *Thorpe* and *Parker*, to be Barons of the Court of Exchequer; Mr. Solicitor *Reynolds*, to be Attorney-General; Mr. *Ellis*, to be Solicitor-General; Dr. *Walker*, Dr. *Turner*, and *William Cawley*, Esq; to be Judges of the Court of Admiralty, and of the Court of Probate of Wills, and granting of Administrations.

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It was also resolved, 'That Serjeants *Erle* and *Maynard* be Serjeants to the Commonwealth, and Mr. *Lechmere* one of the Learned Council for the same.

Patents were ordered to be prepared for the above Gentlemen, and the Speaker was authorized to sign a Docket for passing the said Patents under the Great Seal; which was ordered to be brought to the House the next Morning, and the Commissioners appointed for keeping thereof ordered to attend the House at the same Time, to receive it from the Speaker.

January 19. The House being informed that several Officers of the Army in *Ireland* were at the Door, they were ordered to be called in; and, being at the Bar, Col. *Bridges* said, 'These Gentlemen and myself have received Command, from the Council of Officers in *Ireland*, to give you an Account how the State of Affairs, relating to the Army there, do stand; which, by an extraordinary Providence of God, is brought over to your Service; and they are ready to obey your Commands in all Things.' Then he delivered a Letter from Sir *Hardrejs Waller*, and many other Officers of the

Affairs from *Ireland* considered by the House.

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the *Irish Army*, dated *Dublin, Jan. 7, 1659*, which was read; as also another Letter inclosed, subscrib'd by *Hardress Waller*, Lord *Broghill*, and *Charles Coote*, with Articles of Impeachment, by Sir *Charles Coote*, Knight and Baronet, President of the Province of *Connaught*, against Col. *John Jones*, *Miles Corbet*, *Matthew Tomlinson*, and Lieutenant-General *Edmund Ludlow*, and signed *Charles Coote*.

Upon reading of these and some other Papers, the House proceeded, first, to revoke and suspend all Powers given by them to the aforesaid Gentlemen, and then to command them forthwith to attend the Parliament, and answer to the Impeachment of High Treason, wherewith they were charged. That *Ludlow*, and others concerned with him, should forthwith deliver up the Fort of *Duncannon*, the City of *Cork*, &c. to Sir *Hardress Waller* and Sir *Charles Coote*, or either of them. After which a Letter was ordered to be sent to Sir *Charles Coote* to inform him of this, and to desire he would take Care to see it executed. Lastly, the *Irish Officers* were ordered to be called in again; when Mr. Speaker gave them this Answer:

Gentlemen,

THE Parliament have taken Notice of your very good Affections, and of your Care of preserving the Peace of *Ireland*, and of your great Pains of coming from thence, and have commanded me to give you Thanks; and, in their Name, I do give you Thanks accordingly. For the Business you came about; the Parliament have taken it into Consideration, and have put it into a proper Way.'

Dr. *Price*, the Author of the History of the Restoration, acquaints us with the Secret which occasioned these Commotions in *Ireland*; particularly against *Ludlow*, who was well known to be a steady Adherent to the Interest of the present Government. It seems that *Monke* was jealous lest this Man should obstruct his Designs, by keeping the Army in *Ireland* firm to the Parliament, and therefore he laid a Scheme

Scheme to circumvent him. The Doctor tells us, ' That the General, when he had got no farther on his March than *Morpeth*, dispatched away Sir *Joseph Douglas*, with Letters of great Moment, to Sir *Charles Coote* in *Ireland*. These Letters, he adds, were of great and dangerous Quality; for *Douglas* was to negotiate with *Coote*, that the various Interests there might be so managed, as to engage them to confederate quickly into a Declaration for a free Parliament, as the most proper and effectual Way to redress their Grievances. *Douglas* succeeded in his Embassy, and he had brought the Officers there to too mature a Pitch; for, just as they were about declaring for a free Parliament, they were alarmed with the astonishing News, that *Monke* had broken down the Gates of *London*: Whereupon the Conspirators in *Ireland* expostulated with *Douglas* as if he had betrayed them: But the next Packet from *England* assured them, that *Monke* had also declared for a free Parliament, which set all right.'

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But not to anticipate Matters, and to proceed: Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Serjeant *Tyrrill*, and Serjeant *Fontaine* were made Commissioners of the Great Seal, and had it delivered to them by the Hands of the Speaker, with the usual Ceremony, in the House; which was now very busy again in granting Commissions, and regulating the Officers of the Army, till this Day, *Jan. 21*, when it was ordered, ' That it be referred to a Committee to bring in a Declaration, on *Monday Morning* next, That the Parliament intends forthwith to proceed to the Settlement of the Government; and will uphold a learned and pious Ministry in the Nation, and their Maintenance by Tythes and the known Laws of the Land: That they will proceed to fill up the House as soon as may be; and to settle the Commonwealth without a King, Single Person, or House of Peers, and will promote the Trade of the Nation: That they will reserve due Liberty to tender Consciences; and encourage and settle the Universities;

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verfities: That they will not meddle with the Executive Power of the Law, but only in Cafes of Male-Adminiftration and Appeals; and that Proceedings fhall be according to the Laws: And alfo, That they will eafe the Burdens of the Nation as much as is confiftent with the preffing Neceffities of the Commonwealth.

January 23. Accordingly we find the Declaration was brought in by Lord Chief Juftice *St. John*, and read, firft at large, and after by Parts. The Debate on this took up the whole Day, and very many Additions and Alterations were made to it. In the Afternoon of this Day it was at laft perfected; and, being put to the Queftion, was agreed to be forthwith printed and published. This Declaration is in our Collection of old Pamphlets, and no where elfe that we know of; from which Authority it claims a Place in thefe Inquiries.

A DECLARATION of the PARLIAMENT *affembled*
at *Westminfter.*ⁿ

A Declaration of
the Parliament.

THE People of *England* having been neceffitated to take up Arms in the juft Defence of their Laws and Liberties againft the late King, and it having pleased God, after a long War, and many Battles fought in the Field, fo to blefs their Armies, and to bring the War to fuch an Ifue, that, if they were not wanting to themfelves, they might reap the Fruit of all the Blood and Treafure exhausted in that Quarrel, and not only be reftored to their Freedom for the prefent, but fecured againft all the like Attempts for the future: The Parliament, hereupon, as the Truftees of the People for the accomplifhing of thofe Ends, did declare and enact, That the People of *England*, and of all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, fhould be thenceforth governed as a Commonwealth and Free-State, by the Representatives of the People in Parliament, and that without any King,

ⁿ Printed by *John Streater* and *John Macock*, Printers to the Parliament, 1659.

King or House of Lords; judging this not only to
 be the undoubted Right of the People, but that the
 Office of a King in these Nations, or to have the
 Power thereof in any Single Person; as also the
 House of Lords, was burdensome and dangerous to
 the Safety and Liberty of the People: And, by this
 Means, the Foundations of a public Interest, being
 laid in the Place of that which was only private
 and personal, this People might grow up, thro' the
 Goodness of God, into perfect Freedom, being go-
 verned in the Supreme Power by their own Repre-
 sentatives; and, in the Executive Power, by their
 known Laws and Judicatory; the best Measure
 and Standard of Liberty. Their Navigation and
 Trade encouraged and promoted, which in all
 Monarchies is stinted and restrained. The true
 Protestant Religion, both at Home and Abroad,
 owned and countenanced; which, under the for-
 mer Constitution, was clogg'd with vain and super-
 stitious Ceremonies, and corrupt Opinions, touch-
 ing Faith and Worship, imposed upon all, without
 any Regard had to tender Consciences, and the
 Ministers of the Gospel, and the Professors there-
 of, with Godliness itself, discountenanced and per-
 secuted.

To this State of Things did the Parliament
 judge it their Duty to bring this Nation, and the
 free People thereof; and no Man can reasonably
 doubt, but that, long before this Time, the Par-
 liament, through the same good and gracious Pre-
 sence that had accompanied their Undertakings,
 would have accomplished their Intentions in these
 Things, and settled the Commonwealth upon the
 Basis and Foundation aforesaid, if they had not
 been so often interrupted, and thereby prevented
 hitherto from doing that which always was, and
 is, the utmost Desire and Intention of their Hearts.

And yet the Parliament cannot but take Notice
 of the Artifices that are used to misrepresent their
 Intentions, and to blemish their Proceedings before
 the People, unjustly charging them with a Design
 to perpetuate themselves now sitting, to subject the
 People

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' People to Arbitrary Power, and to govern them
 ' by Force. And as to Matters of Religion on one
 ' Hand, that they are Enemies to the Ministry,
 ' their Maintenance by Tythes, to the Universities
 ' and Learning, and Encouragers of fanatic Princi-
 ' ples; on the other Hand, that the Parliament is
 ' too severe, and of imposing Principles in Matters
 ' of Religion, not being ignorant that those who,
 ' by these Means, do industriously labour to disaffect
 ' the People to the Parliament, are such, who, by
 ' specious Pretences, would first put out their Eyes,
 ' that they might not see the Way to their own
 ' true Liberty, and then bring them back again into
 ' their old Servitude.

' The Parliament, therefore, to omit nothing in
 ' their Power that may undeceive honest and well-
 ' meaning Men, have thought it necessary, in this
 ' Conjuncture of Time and Affairs, to declare and
 ' manifest (as they do hereby) what their Intentions
 ' are, as to the Government of these Nations, with
 ' some other Particulars relating thereunto, wherein
 ' they are resolved, thro' the Goodness and Assist-
 ' ance of God, to remain constant and immoveable.

I. ' That the Parliament will provide forthwith
 ' to perfect those Beginnings which are already
 ' made for settling the Government of these Na-
 ' tions, and the People thereof, in the Way of a
 ' Commonwealth and Free State, without a King;
 ' Single Person, or House of Lords, in such Man-
 ' ner that they may be govern'd from Time to Time
 ' by Representatives in Parliament chosen by them-
 ' selves, in whom alone the Supreme Authority of
 ' these Nations doth and ought to reside, and by
 ' such as they shall appoint and constitute as Offi-
 ' cers and Ministers under them for the Good of
 ' the People; and that the Parliament will make it
 ' their Care to form the Army and Forces of these
 ' Nations in such Manner that, whilst it shall be
 ' found necessary for them, or any of them, to be
 ' kept up for the Safety of the Commonwealth, they
 ' may be wholly subject and obedient to the Civil
 ' Authority.

II. ' There being nothing more essential to the
 ' Freedom of a State, than that the People should
 ' be governed by the Laws, and that Justice be
 ' administered by such only as are accountable for
 ' Male-Administration, it is hereby further declared,
 ' That all Proceedings touching the Lives, Liber-
 ' ties, and Estates of all the Free People of this
 ' Commonwealth, shall be according to the Laws
 ' of the Land: And that the Parliament will not
 ' meddle with the ordinary Administration, or the
 ' Executive Part of the Law; it being the principal
 ' Care of this, as it hath been of all former Parlia-
 ' ments, to provide for the Freedom of the People
 ' against Arbitrariness in Government.

III. ' And that they will make effectual Provi-
 ' sion for the countenancing of a learned and pious
 ' Gospel Ministry through all the Three Nations,
 ' and for the encouraging and protecting them in the
 ' Work of their Ministry against Disturbances. And
 ' as to their Maintenance; That by Tythes shall
 ' be continued, it being already established by Law,
 ' and is in itself the most certain, convenient, and
 ' comfortable Way of Maintenance that, in the
 ' Judgment of the Parliament, can be settled; and
 ' therefore they do expect and require, that the
 ' Judges, Justices of the Peace, and others whom
 ' it concerns, do take Care that the Laws touching
 ' the same be put in effectual Execution: And for
 ' a further Increase of Maintenance than hath been
 ' antiently settled upon preaching Ministers, the
 ' Parliament doth declare, That the Augmentations
 ' by the Improvements of the late King, Bishops,
 ' Deans and Chapters, and Delinquents not com-
 ' pounded for, as likewise by Tenths and First-
 ' Fruits, shall be continued and settled upon the
 ' preaching Ministry, not to be aliened or altered
 ' from that Use, and distributed in such Manner as
 ' they may be applied to such Places as stand in most
 ' need, that every Place in the Land may have a
 ' preaching Minister, who may be able to teach the
 ' People the good Knowledge of the Lord, and may
 ' have a comfortable Livelihood and Encouragement
 ' among

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‘ among them; as also that Provision shall be made
‘ for due Liberty of Conscience in Matters of Reli-
‘ gion, according to the Word of God.

IV. ‘ The Parliament do declare, That they
‘ will uphold the public Universities and Schools of
‘ this Land, and not only continue to them the
‘ Privileges and Advantages they now enjoy, but
‘ shall be ready to give them such further Counte-
‘ nance as may encourage them in their Studies,
‘ and promote Godliness, Learning, and good Man-
‘ ners amongst them.

V. ‘ The Parliament being very sensible of the
‘ great Decay of the Trade of these Nations, will
‘ apply themselves to such Councils and Means as
‘ shall be found most proper both for the speedy
‘ restoring and increasing thereof, judging that there
‘ is no one Thing in the Affairs of State more im-
‘ portant to the Welfare, Strength, and Glory of a
‘ Commonwealth, especially of this, being an Island,
‘ than the Encouragement of Trade and Navi-
‘ gation.

VI. ‘ As to the present Burdens which are upon
‘ the Nation, the Parliament is very sensible thereof,
‘ and of those extravagant Councils and Actions
‘ which have engaged the Nation in so great a
‘ Debt and Charge, the Guilt whereof will not rest
‘ upon them, tho’ the Danger and Burden thereof
‘ doth. And it is one of the greatest Cares they
‘ have upon them, how to give the People that Ease
‘ which their Condition calls for, and also provide
‘ for their Safety, and answer the pressing Necessi-
‘ ties of the State; which the Parliament hopes, in
‘ some Measure, to do in a very short Time, in case
‘ the unreasonable Dissatisfactions and turbulent
‘ Actings of unquiet Men do not continue the
‘ Charge longer than otherwise will be necessary.’

Five Hundred
Pounds a-year
Land voted for
Admiral Law-
son.

The same Day 500 *l.* a-year was voted to be set-
tled on Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, and his Heirs, for
his Fidelity and good Service to the Parliament and
Commonwealth. The same Committee who were

appointed for the Settlement on General *Monke*. were to take Care of this also.

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January 24. It was ordered, ' That Col. *Fleetwood*, the Lord *Whitlocke*, Mr. *Strickland*, and Mr. *Holland*, be and are required to attend the Parliament on this Day Se'nnight; and that the Serjeant at Arms, attending the House, summon them to appear accordingly: That Col. *Bennett* be likewise enjoined to attend the Parliament forthwith: That all Clerks, and other Person and Persons, in whose Hands or Custody any Letters, Books, Journals, and Papers, of the late pretended Committee of Safety, and of any other Committees, which acted by or under their Authority, do deliver the same to the Clerk of the Parliament; and that they be brought into this House on this Day Se'nnight: That Mr. *Scobell* do attend the Parliament on this Day Se'nnight, with all Papers concerning the Draught of a Government, presented to the late pretended Committee of Safety, or Council of Officers of the Army.

And it likewise was ordered, ' That all such Members of Parliament, who have attended this House, and ought to give their Attendance here, do attend the Service of the Parliament on this Day Se'nnight, upon Pain of Twenty Pounds.'

The House had been several Days in settling the Assessment Bill, and naming the Commissioners for it throughout, and many Riders were offered and added to it; however, it was finally concluded on this Day, and ordered to be printed and published. After this another Business happened, which was a Letter they received and read from Gen. *Monke*, dated at *Nottingham*, Jan. 22, 1659; as likewise two others, from *Scott* and *Robinson*, dated from *Leicester*, Jan. 23, who were sent as Spies upon him. In one of these last was the Copy of a Letter from the General, directed into the West of England, which may be explained hereafter, though none of their Contents are entered in the Journals. The
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Consequence of these Letters will shew, that they were either very pleasing to the Parliament, or that they thought it necessary further to cajole the General by all the winning Ways they could think on: For the same Day a Bill was brought in, *For approving and justifying all the late Actions of General George Monke*; which was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading the next Morning. The House also ordered, 'That it should be specially recommended to the Provost and Fellows of *Eaton College*, to elect Mr. *Gumble*, his Chaplain, to the first Fellowship in that College, which should be vacant by Death, or otherwise.

January 27. Col. *White* reported the Amendments to the Bill for settling a Committee for the Army, and Treasurers at War, and the Names of Persons to be a Committee for the Army; which Amendments were twice read, and then the following Gentlemen were severally resolved upon to be a Committee for the Army, *viz.* *Thomas Pury*, the elder, Col. *John Downes*, Col. *Thomas Lister*, *Edmund West*, Esq; *Richard Lucy*, Esq; and *Anthony Samuel*, Esq; The Treasurers at War were also severally resolved on, and were, *James Nelthorpe*, Esq; and Mr. *John Laroson*. It was then resolved, That the *Quorum* of the Committee for the Army be three, and that the Treasurers at War and Committee for the Army do continue untill the 10th of *October*, 1660; and that the Blank in the Bill be filled up with these Words: *By Warrant from the Parliament, Council of State, or Commissioners for the Army.*

Another Amendment was offered to the Bill, in these Words, *viz.* *And be it enacted, and it is hereby further enacted, That John Blackwell, and Richard Dean; Esq; late Treasurers at War, shall forthwith pay unto the present Treasurers at War, by this Act constituted, all and every Sum: and Sums of Money, remaining in their Hands, as Treasurers at War; and do henceforth forbear, and are hereby discharged, to receive or dispose of any Monies, any way assigned for*

for the Armies and Forces of this Commonwealth; which was twice read, and, on the Question, agreed to; and the Bill, so amended, was ordered to be engrossed.

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January 28. Col. James Temple reported the Amendments to the Bill for constituting Commissioners for ordering and managing the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy; which were twice read, and it was resolved, That the Number of the Commissioners be twenty-one; and that fourteen of them be Members of Parliament. The following Gentlemen were then severally resolved upon for that Purpose, viz. Mr. Attorney-General Reynolds, Col. Valentine Walton, Col. Herbert Morley, Thomas Boone, Esq; Sir Michael Livesey, Knt. and Bart. Col. Thompson, Mr. Edmund West, Mr. Carew Raleigh, Mr. Thomas Challoner, Mr. Lenthall, Mr. Henry Darley, Mr. Weaver, Mr. Dormer, Lord-Commissioner Lisle, Gen. George Monke, Vice-Admiral Lawson, Mr. Richard Bradshaw, Col. Thomas Middleton, Edward Bushel, Mr. Slingsby Bethell, and Mr. George Cowper.

Resolved, That no one of the said Commissioners, for the Admiralty and Navy, shall continue in the Chair, for putting the Questions there, for above a Fortnight; and that the said Commissioners do take the Chair there by Turns.

January 30. Another Letter from Gen. Monke, on his March up to London, was received and read. It was dated from St. Albans, Jan. 28, 1659, and two Lists were inclosed therein: The House agreed with the Distribution of the Soldiers into Quarters, according to these Lists; and the Commissioners of the Army were ordered also to see the Soldiers so distributed. Ten Pounds a Day was likewise allowed towards the maintaining of a Table for the Commissioners of the Army, to begin when the General came to Town, and to be paid out of the Contingencies of the Council of State.

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At the same Time a Letter from *Scott* and *Rabinson* was read. It was dated *January* 29, at Midnight: In this was inclosed a Copy of the Address and Congratulation of the Gentlemen of *Bucks* to the General; as also a Copy of a Paper to invite the Gentlemen of that County to meet at *Aylesbury*. On the reading of which Papers the House ordered, 'That the Committee for Qualifications should meet that Afternoon, to perfect their Enquiries, and report them the next Morning, the first Business, nothing to intervene, that the Parliament might proceed to the filling up of the House.' Ordered, also, 'That the Judges who were Members, and all other Members of Parliament in Town, should attend the Service of the House at the same Time. The other Members who were ordered to attend the Parliament the next Day, were required to give their Attendance on the 7th of *February* next. Lastly, The Committee for the Army and Treasurers at War were ordered to meet that Afternoon, and to take Care to provide Money towards the Pay of such of the Soldiery as should be drawn out of Town to the Quarters assigned for them; and that both Horse and Foot should have a Month's Pay advanced, on a new Muster to be made of them.

Having now brought the Month of *January* to a Period, and given all the most material Transactions of Parliament which happened in it, and are entered in the *Journals*, it will be necessary to consult the Historians of those Times, in order to make the former more plain and intelligible to the Reader. Taking Notice, that as the *Journals* have now brought up Gen. *Monke* as far as *St. Albans*, in his Way to *London*, so we shall be obliged to go back a little, and report, more particularly, what happened to him further North on his March up.

Dr. Price's Account of Proceedings at this Time.

The Reverend Writer of the History of the Restoration tells us, 'That, in their March from *Newcastle* to *York*, they made no Stay; but at the latter Place they halted five Days. Here it was they met the Lord *Fairfax*, who being now willing to treat

tread back the Steps he had made so far in a wrong Way, had many private Conferences with Gen. *Monke* about it. It was moved to the General to stay at *York*, and declare for the King, assuring him, that he should have great Assistance. But, just at that Time, the General receiving Orders from the Parliament to march towards them, he thought it better, for the present, to obey their Commands, and go forward. Our Author hints, That the Parliament was jealous of the Lord *Fairfax* and his late rising, tho' seemingly, in their Favour, and therefore thought *York* no fit Place for *Monke* to lodge his Army in; and tho' he would not have removed Southward without Orders, and even disputed any Commands to return back again, yet now the coming of these Orders to march forwards, took away all Distrust that the Men at *Westminster* were jealous of him, and he resolved to obey them.

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‘ From *York* the General made no Stay till he came to *Nottingham*, where he halted for the Rear of his Army to come up, and hither came to him Dr. *Clargis* and Mr. *Gumble*, and they had all Leisure to debate, in Council, about their further Progress, and their Actings when they got to *London*. Various Projects, our Author says, were proposed, particularly one, That all the Officers should subscribe to be obedient to the Parliament, except in the Bringing-in of *Charles Stuart*. But this was as subtilly opposed, by Arguments to the Effect following; ‘ That this was the Way to fall into the same Error with the *English* Army; to make themselves Judges, and, consequently, Masters of the Parliament’s Actions; for whensoever they did any thing that we disliked, it was but suggesting, That the doing such Things tended to the bringing him in, and by that Way make themselves their own Carvers.’

‘ These Arguments, our Author adds, prevailed; and the rather, because the Commissioners from Parliament were to meet the General at the next Stage, which was *Leicester*. But, however, to remove all Distrust of himself, he consented that a Letter should be sent, in his Name, to his Countrymen in

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the West of *England*, wherein were many State Reasons alledged, asserting the Impossibility of the King's Return, and his own Protestation against it: For now, it seems, he had been informed, that these Western Gentlemen had conceived great Hopes of him. The Reader may observe, that a Copy of this last Letter is mentioned to be sent, by *Scott* and *Robinson*, to the Parliament; and, no doubt, would still help to remove any Jealousies they might have conceived of the General's Designs.

We have been so lucky as to retrieve this Letter from utter Oblivion, and we shall insert it in this Place:

For the Honoured ROBERT HOLLES, Esq; To be communicated to the Gentlemen of Devonshire, who signed the late Letter to the Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England,^f

Most honoured and dear Friends,

Gen. *Monke's*
Letter to his
Friends in the
West.

MEETING with a Paper, dated at *Exon* the 13th Instant, directed to *William Lenthall*, Esq; Speaker of the Parliament, and subscribed by divers of my Friends and Relations, purporting the recalling the Members secluded 1648, as the best Expedient for establishing these Nations upon a Foundation of lasting Peace, I have taken the Boldness, from my Relation to some of you as allied, and my affectionate Respects to all of you as dear Friends and Countrymen, to represent to your Consideration my present Apprehensions of the State of Affairs here, in order to all our better Satisfactions, wherein I humbly crave your Leave of Freedom without Prejudice.

Before these unhappy Wars the Government of these Nations was Monarchical, both in Church and State. These Wars have given Birth and Growth to several Interests, both in Church and State, heretofore not known; though now, upon many Accounts, very considerable; as the Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, and Sectaries of
all

^f From the Collection of *Monke's* Letters.

' all Sorts, as to Ecclesiastics; and the Purchasers of
 ' the King's, Queen's, Princes, Bishops, Deans and
 ' Chapters, and all other forfeited Estates, and all
 ' those engaged in these Wars against the King, as
 ' to Civils. These Interests again are so interwo-
 ' ven by Purchases and Intermariages, and thereby
 ' forfeited, as I think, upon rational Grounds, it
 ' may be taken for granted, That no Government
 ' can be either good, peaceable, or lasting to these
 ' Nations, that doth not rationally include and
 ' comprehend the Security and Preservation of all
 ' the aforesaid Interests, both Civil and Spiritual; I
 ' mean so far as, by the Word of God, they are
 ' warranted to be protected and preserved. If this
 ' be so, then that Government, under which we for-
 ' merly were, both in Church and State, *viz.* Mo-
 ' narchy, cannot possibly be admitted, for the future,
 ' in these Nations, because its Support is taken
 ' away, and because it is exclusive of all the former
 ' Interests both Civil and Spiritual; all of them be-
 ' ing incompatible with Monarchical Uniformity in
 ' Church and State thus expired. That Govern-
 ' ment, then, that is most able to comprehend and
 ' protect all Interests as aforesaid, must needs be
 ' Republic.

' Wherefore, to me, it is no small Doubt, if,
 ' upon the Premises, to admit of the Members se-
 ' cluded in 1648, were not to obstruct our Peace and
 ' continue our War, rather than establish the one
 ' and end the other; in that very many of those
 ' Members assert the Monarchical Interest, together
 ' with the Abolition of all Laws made since their
 ' Seclusion. Which I fear, upon account of Self-
 ' preservation, both of Life and Estate, as well as
 ' Spiritual Liberty, will immediately involve all
 ' these Nations in a most horrid and bloody War
 ' afresh; the very Apprehensions whereof, I con-
 ' fess, I do infinitely dread, and submit the danger-
 ' ous Consequence thereof to your prudent Consi-
 ' derations; and the rather, seeing the Army also
 ' will never endure it.

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‘ Having thus briefly laid before you the present
 ‘ Condition of Affairs, let me now intreat you to
 ‘ consider, whether it were not better to desist from
 ‘ that Paper, and submit to the Proceedings of this
 ‘ Parliament, who have resolved to fill up their
 ‘ House, determine their Sitting, and prepare a Way
 ‘ for future Successions of Parliament; by which
 ‘ Means being full, and thereby comprehending the
 ‘ whole Interest of these Nations, they may, thro’
 ‘ God’s Mercy, and all our Patiences, establish such
 ‘ a Government in the Way of a Commonwealth,
 ‘ as may be comprehensive of all Interests both Spi-
 ‘ ritual and Civil, to the Glory of God, and the
 ‘ Weal and Peace of the whole. But if, by your
 ‘ Impatiences, they be obstructed, our Peace will be
 ‘ so much the longer a Stranger to us; and we
 ‘ thereby a Prey to ourselves, and all foreign Ene-
 ‘ mies. Wherefore, humbly pressing these upon
 ‘ your serious Considerations, with all the friendly
 ‘ and affectionate Respects, and Service to you all,
 ‘ I remain,

*Dearest Friends,**Leicester, Jan. 21,*
1659.*Your very humble**And affectionate Servant,*

GEORGE MONKE.

At *Leicester* the abovesaid Emiffaries from Parlia-
 ment met the General, whom *Dr. Price* calls his
 Counterfeits, and were to be his Ears and his
 Mouth. This, he adds, was a hard Task for the
 General to bear, and yet not so bad to him as it
 would have been to most other Men; because he
 never loved to speak much, and valued none that did
 so. At *Harborough*, the next Stage, several emi-
 nent Citizens of *Landon* met the General; they
 complained of Grievances, which he durst not then
 promise to redress, so close did these Spies watch all
 his Motions, for he answered them with few and
 wary Words. The Citizens were somewhat sur-
 prized at this Reception, for they had Hopes of a
 better, by a Letter the General had sent them out

of *Scotland*, desiring their Assistance; but, adds the Doctor, what his Words did not promise his Countenance did; and Care was taken by others to inform them, that they should not despair of him.

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From the last-named Place, till the General came to *Barnet*, *Scott* and *Robinson*, the Doctor tells us, would still quarter in the same Inn with him, that they might be present to answer the Addresses of the Country; of which the most remarkable were presented to the General at *Northampton* and *St. Albans*. Our Author adds, That the Sum of the Desires, both of City and Country, was, either a full and free Parliament, or the Restitution of the secluded Members to their Seats in this. And, as it was observed, That the Gentlemen who made these Addresses had not been Cavaliers, so were they less suspected by *Monke's* Officers, who knew only by them what the Sense of the Country was. *Scott* and *Robinson* took upon them to answer all these Addresses, the General's Return being only a Nod, a Frown, or the rubbing of his Forehead, when the Speech was long. But, at *St. Albans*, when Sir *Richard Temple* had spoke long and well, *Scott* looked stern, and told him, 'That he would first take up the Sword again, as old as he was, before the Things they petitioned for should be granted.'

It was *January* the 28th when the General and his Army came to *St. Albans*; and here, we are told, it was that he dispatched away Col. *Lidcot* to the Parliament, without consulting their Commissioners, desiring Quarters might be assigned to his Army, and the Regiments which attended as Guards to the Parliament, to be removed to Country Quarters. Our Author says, That this Request was, with some Sort of Difficulty, obtained; but it does not appear so by the Abstracts we have given from the *Journals*; though, he adds, the Parliament had no Reason to be diffident of the General; for his whole Army, with which he was to enter the Town, was somewhat less than those which were to walk out: And the Parliament having had long and fresh
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Experience of the restless Spirit of their *English* Soldiers, they must look upon their *Scots* as Men of a different Temper, and better to be trusted. Nor, indeed, could they do less than to take these their Restorers for their Guards, the Smallness of their Number not giving the least Shadow of Jealousy: And when they were at *London* they were not to be under the sole Command of *Monke*, because the Army was governed by Commissioners, and *Hafilrigge* would not allow, adds the Doctor, that our General should be called by any other Name than Commissioner *Monke*.

It may be remembered, that, on the same Day the Parliament received the last Message from the General, they also got a Letter from *Scott* and *Robinson*, informing them with the Addresses of the Country to him, which *Dr. Price* explains the Tenor of above, and which produced the subsequent Order of the House. But this Writer further tells us, That, besides Addresses, the General was buſied in receiving numerous Visits; all of which were very distasteful to those Honourable Spies, *Scott* and *Robinson*, who sometimes in Civility, or for Dispatch of their own Business, would withdraw: But their Apartment was only separated from the General's by a Wainscot-Door, through which they either found or made a Hole to hear and see. This the General took Notice of to our Author, and animadverted upon it with a Sort of scornful Indignation.

We hope the Reader will forgive a Digression from the main Subject, if we insert the following Story in our Author's own Words. Speaking of their Quarters at *St. Albans*, he adds, 'But here we spent one Day extraordinary at the Church; the famous *Hugh Peters*, *Mr. Lee* of *Hatfield*, and another, carrying on the Work of the Day, which was a Fast. *Peters* supererogated, and prayed a long Prayer in the General's Quarters too at Night. As for his Sermon, he managed it with some Dexterity at the first, allowing the Cantings of his Expressions;

pressions: His Text was *Pſalm cvii. 7. He led them forth by the right Way, that they might go to the City of Habitation.* With his Fingers on the Cushion he measured the right Way from the Red Sea, through the Wilderness, to *Canaan*; told us it was not forty Days March, but God led *Israel* forty Years through the Wilderness before they came thither; yet this was still the Lord's right Way, who led his People *crinkledom cum crankledom.* And he particularly descended into the Lives of the Patriarchs, how they journey'd up and down, tho' there were Promises of Blessing and rest to them. Then he reviewed our Civil Wars, our Intervals of Peace, and fresh Distractions and Hopes of Rest; but tho' the Lord's People, he said, were not yet come to the City of Habitation, he was still leading them on in the right Way, how dark soever his Dispensations might appear to us. Before he concluded, he seem'd to me to preach his own Funeral Sermon.

‘ But it was in those Days observed of an Army-Fast, that it commonly proved the Fore-runner of some solemn Mischief, and rendered their Governors (whose Supremacy, in Causes Ecclesiastical, was not owned by these Kind of Subjects) jealous of them: For they would not scruple religiously to meet to seek the Lord, without the Mandate and Direction of their Masters; and, in Truth, they knew so well at what Turning to find him, that their Seeking was never in vain.’

We now leave the Doctor and his General at *St. Albans* a-while, and go back to see what is become of our other two Contemporary Historians, *Whitlocke* and *Ludlow*; especially since the Whirl of these Times, we find, greatly affected them both. In the Course of the *Journals*, before given, the Reader might observe that *Ludlow* was indicted for High Treason, and *Whitlocke* ordered to attend the Parliament at the Bar of the House; let us then see what Account they give of themselves, in these Affairs, in their own Works.

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Whitlocke's Account of Affairs at this Period;

After the Dialogue before-mentioned, between *Whitlocke* and *Fleetwood*, about being before-hand with *Monke* in restoring the King, and the latter's Refusal, that Memorialist goes on and tells us, 'That Col. *Ingoldsbj* and some others applied to him; and, representing the present Circumstances of Affairs, advised him to make off with the Great Seal, and convey it to the King; but he, unluckily, not consenting, they left him, and made Terms for themselves: That, afterwards, when the old Parliament was restored to their Seats again, *Whitlocke* saw how Things passed, and knew very well they would be severe against him for acting in the Committee of Safety: That *Scott* and *Nevil* had threatened to take away his Life; the former having said, *That he should be hang'd with the Great Seal about his Neck*; all which made him consider how to provide for his own Safety.

' However, having a Summons amongst the rest to take his Seat in the House, he ventured to appear there, and found many of his old Friends, who all looked very shy upon him; and some of them advised him not to come to the House on the Day appointed to consider of absent Members. That, some Days after, observing a great Sharpness in the House towards those who had acted during the Interruption; and being also informed of the Design of some to question him there, and to have him sent to the *Tower*, he thought it most adviseable to leave them, and retire to a Friend's House in the Country. Thus this Weathercock of a Man, who had chopped and changed with every Form of Government since the Regal one was subverted, had now made himself so fast, that, not being able to get backward or forward, he thought it best to abscond rather than wait his Doom. Here he still continued to write his Memoirs; but nothing more is to be found in them than what is in much better Authorities.

Ludlow's also.

Our other Memorialist, *Ludlow*, was a Man that acted upon much more steady Principles than the former;

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former; and, through the whole Course of his Memoirs, preserves a firm Attachment to the Republican Scheme, of having the Government of these Nations put into the Hands of a purged House of Commons, and a Council of State, without House of Lords; or any Single Person whatsoever. This Maxim, we say, he pursued to the last; and, being much more explicit than our former Historian, on the present Posture of Affairs, we shall beg Leave to quote his own Words, making no Apology for the Numbers of them, since they help much further to explain many Hints already given from the *Journals*, and set them in a clearer Light to the Reader. After reciting the many Protestations that *Monke* made, in his March from the North, to stand by and defend the Parliament, he adds, 'The Parliament being willing to encourage him in the good Resolutions he professed to have taken, sent Mr. *Thomas Scott* and Mr. *Luke Robinson*, Members of the House, to be Commissioners from them to him. Mr. *Scott* had kept a long Correspondence with him, and, after the last Interruption, had published some of his Letters, wherein *Monke* declared his Resolution to live and die with the Parliament, without a King, Single Person, or House of Lords. These two Persons were, in Appearance, much courted by *Monke*, who pretended to be wholly directed by their Advice. And when the Commissioners for the City of *London*, or the Gentry of those Parts where he passed, applied themselves to him for the Restitution of the secluded Members, he referred them to the Judgment of the Parliament, to whom, he said, he was resolved intirely to submit. He also solicited Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, and some others of the House, that the Sectarian Party might be removed out of the Army, sending a List of the Names of all those who had been continued in their Employments by the Army, during the late Interruption; and pretended that a Commonwealth could not possibly be established whilst such Men were in Power.

What he did relating to the Affairs of *Ireland*, was carried more covertly, and coloured with the Name

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Name of Sir *Charles Coote*. And because he knew I had some Reputation with Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, and the Commonwealth-Party of the House, he made use of Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Mr. *Weaver*, Mr. Justice *St. John*, Mr. *Robert Reynolds*, and some others, to obtain what he desired in that Matter.

These Gentlemen were informed that the Council of State, notwithstanding all the Arts that had been used to calumniate me, had agreed upon a Report to be made to the Parliament, That Sir *Hardress Waller*, Lieut. Col. *Walker*, and Major *Godfrey*, might be intrusted, in Conjunction with me, with the Management of Affairs in *Ireland*. They knew also that the two last would be ready to do any honest Thing I should advise; and therefore fearing, lest the Parliament might agree with the Council of State upon the Report, they procured the Debate to be adjourned for three Days, within which Time they so ordered the Matter, that Col. *Bridges*, and the two *Warrens*, presented to the Parliament the Charge of High Treason against the Commissioners and me, as I mentioned before: Whereof *Monke's* Party in the House made such Advantage, as not only to refuse their Concurrence with the Council of State, in their Report concerning me, but also, by the Help of the Lawyers Rhetoric, who were my professed Adversaries on account of my Endeavours to reform the Practice of the Law, passed a Vote to require me to deliver the Fort of *Duncannon* into the Hands of the Prosecutors; some of them moving, that, in case of Refusal, I should be declared a Traitor, and sent for in Custody; which perhaps might have passed also, if Mr. *Henry Nevill*, who singly had the Courage to defend me in that Conjunction, had not spoken in my Behalf, desiring them not to entertain a Jealousy of a faithful Servant upon Informations unproved, nor to do any thing to the Prejudice of my Reputation, till I should be heard; when, he doubted not, I would make appear, that I had always endeavoured to promote their Service: But I was not the only Person borne

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borne down by this Torrent. Sir *Arthur Haslrigge* himself having parted with Sir *Henry Vane* and Major *Salway*, his most able and best Friends, began to lose Ground, and all that he said in the House or elsewhere to go for nothing. And tho' they could find no Colour to remove him as they had done the other two, yet having already rendered him insignificant in the Parliament, they resolved he should have as little Power in the Army. To that End it was contrived that *Monke* should write to the Parliament, that, for their greater Security, the Forces that were in and about *London*, amounting to about 7 or 8000 Horse and Foot, might be removed to a farther Distance, to make Room for those that he had with him, presuming to name to the Parliament some particular Regiments which he principally insisted to have removed, amongst which Sir *Arthur Haslrigge's* Regiment of Horse was one. And so tame was the Parliament grown, that tho' it was most visible he designed their Ruin, yet, on his bare Word and empty Protestations, they not only trusted him, but obeyed him as their Superior, and ordered all that he desired to be put in Execution.

Notwithstanding this unhappy Posture of Affairs, thinking it my Duty to clear myself of the Aspersions cast upon me; and to improve the small Interest I had left for the Service of the Public Cause, I resolved to take my Place in Parliament: And, in order thereunto, being accompanied by Mr. *Henry Nevill*; I attended Sir *Arthur Haslrigge* at *Whitehall*, where I gave him a short Account of my Actions since I had last seen him, of my Endeavours in *Ireland* to serve the Public, of the State of Affairs there, of the Principles and Practices of those that had assumed the Power in that Country, and of the Readiness of the Soldiers, and most of the Officers in that Army, to have served the Parliament faithfully and usefully, if they had been true to themselves and their own Interest. I also acquainted him with the Sense I had of the late severe, if I might not say unjust, Proceedings against me, which seemed to me to be such a Requital of my faithful Services

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Services, that if I expected my Reward from Men; I should rather chuse to serve the *Great Turk*. But that I might not be wanting to myself, and in order to justify my own Innocence, if I could do no further Good, I had resolved to go to the Parliament-House the next Morning, desiring his Advice and that of Mr. *Nevill* for my Government when I should come thither. Sir *Arthur* was unwilling to enter into any Discourse concerning what had lately passed, saying, It was too late to recall Things now; and then told us how his Enemies thought to ensnare him, by *Monke's* Motion to the Parliament for removing his Regiment from *London*, thinking thereby to create a Difference between him and *Monke*, wherein he had disappointed them by desiring their Removal himself, contrary to their Expectation; entering into a prolix Commendation of *Monke*; and assuring us, that he was a Person on whose Fidelity they might safely rely.

‘ If I may be permitted to deliver my Sense touching this Discourse of Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, I conjecture it proceeded partly from an Apprehension that Things were already gone so far, that he doubted whether he should put any Stop to them, and partly from some Sparks of Hope that *Monke* could not be such a Devil to betray a Trust so freely reposed in him; for he kept a constant Correspondence with Sir *Arthur*, and in all his Letters repeated the Engagements of his Fidelity to the Parliament, with Expressions of the greatest Zeal for a Commonwealth-Government.

In the Conclusion it was agreed between us, that when I came into the House I should sit as privately as I could, and observe the Temper of the Members, before I should put them upon the Consideration of my Affair. Accordingly I went to the House, and though they had used me in the Manner I have related, yet they treated me very civilly, some of them telling me, in a jesting Way, that it was not usual for Men, accused of High Treason, to be so well received in that Place. Having taken out a Copy of the Charge exhibited against the Commissioners

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tioners and me, I found the Commissioners to be charged with altering their Title, during the late Interruption, from *Commissioners of Parliament* to *Commissioners of the Commonwealth*; and that they had sent a Ship of War to prevent any Relief to, or Correspondence with, the Garrison of *Ayr*, in *Scotland*, who had declared for the Parliament: Besides which, Col. *John Jones* was accused for taking part with the Army against the Parliament, not only in the Particulars aforesaid, but also in his Answer to the Letter written by *Monke* to me, on Supposition that I was then in *Ireland*, to invite me to a Conjunction with him for the Restitution of the Parliament; and likewise for promoting a Subscription to the Government of the Army amongst the Officers in *Ireland*. As for me, I was charged with assisting the Army in *England*, and doing Acts of Hostility by Sea and Land against those in *Ireland*, who had declared for the Parliament. Whereupon I moved the House that they would be pleased, according to their Order, to hear me touching their Affairs in *Ireland*, and to permit me to justify myself, which I did the rather that I might have an Opportunity to procure that mischievous Order for the Surrender of *Duncannon* to be recalled, hoping that it had not yet been put in Execution. But all that I could obtain was, to have a Day appointed when I should be heard. Mr. *Miles Corbett*, who arrived in *England* some Days before me, was so terrified with the Proceedings of the Parliament against Sir *Henry Vane* and Major *Salway*, together with the Name of a Charge of High Treason against himself, that he had never appeared publicly since his Arrival, till, upon some Discourse with me, he took Courage, and went with me to the House.

But we now leave these political Historians and go on with the *Journals*:

February 1. The Parliament, ever since it was re-instated in its Power and Authority, had given out new Commissions, by the Hands of their Speaker, almost every Day, to the Officers of the Army;

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Army; and was continued this Month, in order to make them, in some Measure, acknowledge the Parliament as the Source from whence they deduced their Maintenance and Support. But knowing very well that alone would not keep these restless Spirits quiet, and being alarmed at some Disturbance made by the Troops that were removed from *London* to make Way for *Monke* and his Army to take up their Quarters, they this Day ordered the Committee for the Army to issue out Warrants for one Month's additional Pay to be given to those Regiments of Horse and Foot who marched out on this Occasion.

The same Day they received another Letter from General *Monke*, dated *St. Albans, Jan. 30, 1659*; the Purport of it not entered; but, after the reading of it, it was ordered, 'That the Custody of *St. James's Park* be, and is hereby, granted and committed unto Commissioner-General *George Monke*, to hold and enjoy the Custody of the said Park during the Pleasure of the Parliament.'

The Serjeant at Arms was ordered forthwith to take Sir *Henry Vane* into Custody, and to take Care that he be conveyed to his House at *Bellew*, in order to his going to his House at *Raby*, according to the former Order of Parliament.

A Committee appointed to inspect the public Treasuries of the Commonwealth, to see what Monies are there, and give a speedy Account thereof to Parliament.

Lieut. Gen. *Ludlow* was ordered to give an Account to the House of the Affairs in *Ireland*, on this Day Se'nnight; the Petition from the Company of Foot in *Duncannon* Fort to be then read.

Lastly, the Bill for approving and justifying the Actions of General *George Monke*, was read a second Time, and, upon the Question, ordered to be ingrossed.

February 2. The Act for constituting a Committee for the Army and Treasurers at War, was this Day read a third Time, and passed, and was ordered to be printed and published.

Col.

Col. *White* reported from the Committee of Inspection of the Public Money the following Account :

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Remain, ended Oct. 12, 1659	1327	6	0			
Receipts sithence, usque Dec. 27, 1659. Public Revenue.						
Customs and Subsidies	38273	19	3½			
Excise and New Impost	27788	1	3			
Farmers of the Excise of Beer	4567	9	0			
Tonnage and Poundage of Coals	2000	0	0			
Conveying Water to <i>Westminster</i>	—	3	4			
Postage of Letters	2999	5	7			
Farmers of the Issues of Jurors	3	16	0			
Receiver-General	3350	0	0			
Rents of Lands	67	16	8			
Fines for Alienations	400	0	0			
Probate of Wills	120	0	0			
Sheriffs of Counties, &c.	48	0	0			
Sheriffs of Cities, &c.	9	16	4	115580	16	11½
Compositions in the Exchequer	2	0	0			
Recufants	40	0	0			
Lands seized and extended	8	5	4			
Treasurers at <i>Drury-House</i>	16154	6	5			
Commissioners of Excise, &c. for Beer, &c.	14456	16	8			
Treasurers for the <i>Piedmont</i> Money	300	0	0			
Arrears of Subsidies	—	15	9			
Treasurers for Dean and Chapters Lands	149	5	3½			
Loan-Money	2500	0	0			
Public Money deposited, and not yet accounted for	1014	0	0			
Whereof						
To <i>Gualter Frost</i> , Esq; Treasurer of the Council's Contingencies, in Part of 1500 <i>l.</i> for Contingencies, by Order of the Council of State, dated <i>Sept.</i> 17, 1659	280	0	0			
To him more, in Part of 3000 <i>l.</i> by Order of the Council of State, dated <i>Oct.</i> 13, 1659	1000	0	0			
Carried over,	1280	0	0			

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Brought over,	1280	0	0			
To him more, by Order of the Council of State, dated <i>Oct.</i> 25, 1659, for Salaries	1450	0	0			
To him more, in Part of 7000 <i>l.</i> in Satisfaction of Warrants charg'd on him, and answering Bills of Exchange, by Order dated <i>Oct.</i> 25, 1659	522	19	9			
To him more, by Order dated <i>Oct.</i> 20, 1659, to be by him issued to Mr. <i>Scott</i> , one of the Members of the Council	200	0	0	5572	19	9
To him more, by Letters Patent, dated <i>Nov.</i> 24, 1659, to be by him issued upon Warrants from the Committee of Safety	1000	0	0			
To him more, in Part of 5000 <i>l.</i> for the Garrison of <i>Dunkirk</i> , by Letters Patent, dated <i>Nov.</i> 28, 1659	1120	0	0			
<hr/>						
To <i>Richard Hutchinson</i> , Esq; Treasurer of the Navy, in Part of 100000 <i>l.</i> by Order of the Council of State, dated <i>Sept.</i> 7, 1659	53965	12	9½			
To him more, in Part of 200000 <i>l.</i> by Letters Patent, dated <i>Dec.</i> 1, 1659	19023	17	7½	72989	10	5½
<hr/>						
To <i>John Blackwell</i> and <i>Richard Deane</i> , Esqrs. Treasurers at War, in full of what remained due to them upon an Order of the Committee of Safety, of <i>May</i> 18, 1659, by Letters Patent, dated <i>Dec.</i> 1, 1659	4043	10	6½			
To them more, in Part of 17397 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i> in full of what remains due unto them upon an Order of the Council of State, of <i>July</i> 12, 1659, by the same Letters Patent	3413	18	5½	7457	9	•
<hr/>						
Carried over,				86019	19	2½
						T ^a

Of ENGLAND.

83

l. s. d.

l. s. d.
86019 19 2 $\frac{1}{4}$

Brought over,

To *John Bressy*, Esq; Treasurer for sick and maimed Soldiers, in Part of 4490 *l.* being the Remainder of 6000 *l.* for two Months Pay, appointed by Order of Parliament to be paid to the sick and maimed Soldiers, by Order of the Council of State, dated *Oct. 14*, 1659

500 0 0

To him more, upon Account, for sick and maimed Soldiers, by Letters Patent, dated *Nov. 24*, 1659

1000 0 0

To him more, in Part of 3000 *l.* for sick and maimed Soldiers, by Letters Patent, dated *Dec. 16*, 1659

750 0 0

2250 0 0

Affairs of Flanders.

To *Edward Blackwell*, of London, Goldsmith, in full of 4000 *l.* to be by him transmitted to *Dunkirk*, by Order of the Council of State, dated *Sept. 27*, 1659

2901 10 8

To him more, upon the weekly Sum of 1200 *l.* to be by him transmitted to *Dunkirk*, by Order of the Council of State, dated *Oct. 20*, 1659

1200 0 0

To him more, in Part of 1000 *l.* being so much charged on him by Bill of Exchange from the Lord *Lockhart*, by Order of the Council of State, dated *Oct. 20*, 1659

673 3 7 $\frac{1}{4}$

7501 10 8 $\frac{1}{4}$

To him more, in Part of 4600 *l.* to be by him paid to the Commander in Chief of the Forces at *Dunkirk*, by Letters Patent, dated *Dec. 1*, 1659

2400 0 0

To him more, in full of an Order of the Council of State, of *Oct. 20*, 1659, for 1000 *l.* being so much charged on him by Bill of Exchange from the Lord *Lockhart*, by Letters Patent, dated *Dec. 1*, 1659

326 16 5

Carried over,

95771 9 11
Pence

l. s. d. l. s. d.

9577 9 11

Brought over,
Fees and Pensions.

To the Lady *Elizabeth Carr*,
in Part of 160*l.* for the Arrears of
a Pension of 100*l.* per *Ann.* due
for one Year seven Months and
nine Days, by Letters Patent,
dated *Dec.* 13, 1659

40 0 0

To *Cornelius Holland*, Esq; for
Arrears of a Pension of 80*l.* per
Ann. due for six Years and an half,
ended *Sept.* 29, 1659, by Letters
Patent, dated *Dec.* 19, 1659. By
two Tallies, 400*l.* on Aliena-
tions; and 120*l.* on Probate of
Wills

520 0 0

840 0 0

To *Bulstrode Lord Whitlocke*,
Keeper of the Great Seal of *Eng-
land*, upon his Fee of 1000*l.* per
Ann. unpaid unto him for *Mi-
chaelmas* Term last, by Letters
Patent, dated *Dec.* 20, 1659. By
Tally on the Excise-Office

250 0 0

To Sir *Andrew Dick*, Knt. up-
on his Pension of 5*l.* per Week,
for six Weeks, ended *Nov.* 12,
1659, by Order of Parliament of
Aug. 11, 1659

30 0 0

Payments of sundry Natures.

To Mr. *Symball*, due and ow-
ing to him by the State, for Coals,
Oats, &c. by Order of the Coun-
cil of State, dated *Oct.* 13, 1659

1225 0 0

To *Martin Noell*, in Satisfac-
tion of several Sums of Money
by him paid upon Bills of Ex-
change, by Order of the Council
of State, dated *Oct.* 3, 1659

2000 0 0

To *Robert Walton*, Citizen and
Draper of *London*, for black Cloth
by him heretofore sold and deli-
vered for the Funeral of his late
Highness *Oliver* Lord Protector,
by Letters Patent, dated *Nov.* 22,
1659. By Tally on *Drury-House*

6929 6 5

Carried over,

10154 6 5

96611 9 11

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Brought over,	10154	6	5	96611	9	11
To <i>John Thurloe</i> , Esq; for Disbursements in the Business of Intelligence, and other public Services to the Commonwealth by him done and performed, by Letters Patent, dated <i>Dec. 3, 1659.</i> By Tally on the Post Office	2999	5	7			
To <i>George Downing</i> , Esq; in Part of 1216 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> due and owing to him upon his Account of Monies disbursed for the Service of his Negotiation in the <i>Low-Countries</i> , by Letters Patent, dated <i>Dec. 12, 1659</i>	200	0	0			
To <i>John Blackwell</i> , Esq; Administrator of the Goods and Chattels of <i>John Blackwell</i> , his Father, deceased, in Part of 1496 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> due to the Estate of his said Father, upon an Order of Parliament of <i>Nov. 15, 1659</i> , discovered by him, by Letters Patent, dated <i>Dec. 19, 1659.</i> By Tally on <i>Thomas Whittington</i>	1014	0	0	16367	12	0
To Capt. <i>Thomas Lodington</i> , in Part of 5000 <i>l.</i> for Victuals of several Sorts, Hay, and other Provisions, by him transported to <i>Dunkirk</i> , by Letters Patent, dated <i>Dec. 8, 1659.</i> By Tally on <i>Drury-House</i>	2000	0	0	112979	1	11
And so remaineth in the Receipt of the Public Exchequer, this 27th Day of <i>December, 1659</i>				Receipts from p. 81.		
				115580	16	11
				Disbursements as above,		
				112979	1	11
				2601	15	0

Then the House came to the following Resolutions :

Resolved, That the Sum of 520*l.* be paid out of the Public Revenue of the Exchequer to *Cornelius Holland*, Esq; upon Pre- tence of Arrears of a Pension of 20*l.* per Annum, alledged to be due for six Years and a Half, ending the 29th of *September, 1659*, was paid and issued out by an illegal Warrant.

Ordered, That *Cornelius Holland*, Esq; on Sight of this Or- der, do forthwith pay the said Sum of 250*l.* into the Public Re- ceipt of the Exchequer, for the Use of the Commonwealth.

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‘ Resolved, That the Sum of 520*l.* paid out of the Public Revenue of the Exchequer, to *Bulstrode Lord Whitlocke*, upon Pretence of his Fee of 1000*l.* *per Annum*, unpaid unto him for *Michaelmas* Term last, upon Pretence of Letters Patent, dated *December 20, 1659*, was paid and issued out by an illegal Warrant.

‘ Ordered, That *Bulstrode Lord Whitlocke* do forthwith, on Sight hereof, pay into the public Receipt of the Exchequer, the said Sum of 250*l.* for the Use of the Commonwealth.

‘ Ordered, That the Plate, in the Custody of the Committee appointed to take Care of the Goods belonging to the Commonwealth, in *Whitehall* and *Hampton-Court*, be forthwith sold; and that the Money raised thereby do go towards Payment of the Army.

‘ Resolved, That in case any Tally or Tallies, hath or have been struck for the Sum of 6929*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* or any Part thereof, or any Part of the said Money paid unto *Robert Walton*, Citizen and Draper of *London*, for black Cloth by him heretofore sold and delivered for the Funeral of the late Lord-General *Cromwell*, the same was done by illegal Warrant; and it is ordered, That all Monies paid out of the Treasuries of the Commonwealth, by Colour of any such Warrant, be forthwith repaid by the said *Robert Walton*.

Col. *White* also reported a Paper delivered in to the said Committee of Inspections, by *John Thurloe*, Esq; which was read,

‘ Resolved, That a Warrant for a Tally on the Post-Office for Payment of 2999*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* to *John Thurloe*, Esq; for Disbursements in the Business of Intelligence, and other public Services to the Commonwealth by him, by Colour of Letters Patent, dated *December 12, 1659*, is null and void.

‘ Ordered, That the said Paper and Case of *John Thurloe*, Esq; touching his Disbursements and Services for the Commonwealth, be referr'd to the Consideration of the Council of State, and they to report their Opinion therein to the Parliament forthwith.

‘ Or-

‘ Ordered, That the whole Business concerning the Post-Office, and what hath been received by Mr. *Prideaux*, late Attorney-General, out of the same, and what Account hath been made thereof, be referred to a Committee to examine, and they to state the Matter of Fact, and report it to the Parliament, with their Opinion thereon.

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‘ Resolved, That the pretended Warrant for Payment of 1014 *l.* to *John Blackwell*, Esq; in Part of 1496 *l.* 1s. 2d. pretended to be due to the Estate of *John Blackwell*, Esq; deceased, upon an Order of Parliament of the 15th of *November*, 1650, and other Warrants for Payment of 1800 *l.* more, and all other Tallies struck for the same, are illegal: And it is

‘ Ordered, That the said *John Blackwell* do forthwith, on Sight of this Order, pay into the public Exchequer the Sum of 1014 *l.* received out of the public Revenue of the Exchequer, by Colour of the said Warrant or Warrants.

‘ Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee, to whom the Business touching the Post-Office is referred, to examine what Sum or Sums of Money, or other Satisfaction in Lands, or otherwise, have been paid or made to *John Blackwell*, Esq; deceased, or to the said *John Blackwell*, his Son, in Satisfaction of the said pretended Debt, and report it to the Parliament.

February 3. This Day the House resumed the Debate on the Qualifications, but could not agree on the first Paragraph of it, so adjourned it to the next. These Qualifications were debated *de Die in Diem* for some Time before they were concluded; we shall therefore postpone them till they were finally agreed upon, and then an Abstract of the Act itself may be sufficient, as they were all vacated by a Resolution of the House on the 24th of this Month.

The City of *London* seems now to be growing very tumultuous; for, this Day, it was ordered, That it be referred to the Council of State, to examine

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amine the whole Business touching the Disturbances which happened last Night in the City of *London*, to state the Matter of Fact, and report their Opinion, what was fit to be done therein, and how to prevent the like Tumults for the future.'

February 4. Ordered, ' That Commissioner-General *Monke* do attend the House on *Monday* next the 6th Instant, to receive the Sense of the Parliament, in Relation to his signal and faithful Services; and that Mr. *Scott* and Mr. *Robinson* do accompany him.'

February 6. But, on this Day, we find no Mention made of an Interview between the General and the Parliament, in the *Journals*; though it certainly happened. There is a *Hiatus*, marked with Asterisks, at the End of this Day's Proceedings, in which, 'tis probable, the Clerk should have entered it: But we have met with the Speech the General made to the House, at this their first Meeting, which we give as follows: ^h

Mr. Speaker,

General *Monke's* ^c
first Speech to
the Parliament.

^c **A**mongst the many Mercies of God to these
^c poor Nations, your peaceable Restoration
^c is not the least: It is his Work alone, and to him
^c belongs the Glory of it. And I esteem it as a
^c great Effect of his Goodness to me, that he was
^c pleased to make me, amongst many worthier in
^c your Service, some way instrumental in it. I did
^c nothing but my Duty, and do not deserve to re-
^c ceive so great Honour and Respect as you are
^c pleased to give me at this Time and Place, which
^c I shall ever acknowledge as an high Mark of your
^c Favour to me.

^c Sir, I shall not now trouble you with large
^c Narratives, only give me Leave to acquaint you,
^c that, as I marched from *Scotland* hither, I observed
the

^d From a single Pamphlet, intituled, *The Lord-General Monke's Speech, delivered by him in the Parliament, on Monday, February 6, 1659.* Edinburgh, re-printed by Christopher Higgins, in Hart's Close, over-against the Trone Church, 1660.

the People in most Counties in great and earnest
 Expectations of Settlement; and they made several
 Applications to me, with numerous Subscriptions.
 The chiefest Heads of their Desires were,
 For a free and full Parliament, and that you would
 determine your sitting; a Gospel Ministry; Encouragement
 of Learning and Universities; and for Admittance of the
 Members secluded before 1648, without any previous Oath
 or Engagement. To which I commonly answered, That you
 are now in a free Parliament; and if there be any Force
 remaining upon you, I would endeavour to remove it;
 and that you had voted to fill up your House, and then
 you would be a full Parliament also; and that you had
 already determined your sitting. And for the Ministry,
 their Maintenance, the Laws and Universities, you had
 largely declared in your last Declaration, and I was
 confident you would adhere to it; but as for those
 Gentlemen secluded in the Year 1648, I told them you
 had given Judgement in it, and all People ought to
 acquiesce in that Judgment; but to admit any Members
 to sit in Parliament, without a previous Oath or
 Engagement to secure the Government in Being, it was
 never yet done in *England*. And although I said it
 not to them, I must say it, with Pardon, to you,
 That the less Oaths and Engagements are imposed,
 (with Respect had to the Security of the Common
 Cause) your Settlement will be the sooner attained
 to. I am the more particular in these Matters,
 to let you see how grateful your present Consultations
 about these Things will be to the People. I know all
 the sober Gentry will heartily close with you, if they
 may be tenderly and gently used; and I am sure you
 will so use them, as knowing it to be our common
 Concern, to expatiate, and not to narrow our Interests:
 And to be careful neither the Cavalier nor Fanatic
 Party have yet a Share in your Civil or Military
 Power; of the last of whose Impatience to Government,
 you have had so severe Experience.

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‘ I should say something of *Ireland* and *Scotland* :
 ‘ Indeed *Ireland* is in an ill Condition, and made
 ‘ worfe by your sudden Interruption, which pre-
 ‘ vented the passing an Act for the Settlement of the
 ‘ Estates of Adventurers and Soldiers there, which
 ‘ I heard you intended to have done in a few Days ;
 ‘ and I presume it will be quickly done, being so
 ‘ necessary at this Time, when the Wants of the
 ‘ Commonwealth call for Supplies, and People will
 ‘ unwillingly pay Taxes for those Estates of which
 ‘ they have no legal Assurance. I need not tell
 ‘ you how much your Favour was abused in the
 ‘ Nomination of your Officers of your Army there :
 ‘ Their Malice hath been sufficiently manifested. I
 ‘ I dare affirm that those now that have declared for
 ‘ you, will continue faithful, and thereby evince,
 ‘ that, as well there as here, it is the sober Interest
 ‘ that must establish your Dominion.

‘ As for *Scotland* ; I must say the People of that
 ‘ Nation deserve much to be cherished ; and I be-
 ‘ lieve your late Declaration will much glad their
 ‘ Spirits ; for nothing was more dreadful to them,
 ‘ than a Fear to be over-run with fanatic Notions.

‘ I humbly recommend them to your Affection
 ‘ and Esteem, and desire the intended Act of Union
 ‘ may be prosecuted, and their Taxes made propor-
 ‘ tionable to those in *England*, for which I am en-
 ‘ gaged, by Promise, to be an humble Suitor to you.
 ‘ And truly, Sir, I must ask Leave to entreat you to
 ‘ make a speedy Provision for their Civil Govern-
 ‘ ment, of which they have been destitute near a
 ‘ Year, to the Ruin of many Families : And ex-
 ‘ cept Commissioners for Management of the Go-
 ‘ vernment, and Judges to sit in Courts of Judica-
 ‘ ture, be speedily appointed, that Country will be
 ‘ very miserable. I directed Mr. *Gumble* lately to
 ‘ present to you some Names, both of Commission-
 ‘ ers and Judges : But by reason of your great Af-
 ‘ fairs, he was not required to deliver them in Wri-
 ‘ ting to you ; but I now humbly present them to
 ‘ your Consideration.’

‘ On

On the 7th a Bill was passed, intituled, *An additional Act for Sequestrations*, and ordered to be printed and published. Ordered, also, ' That the House take into Consideration the Cases of the Members of Parliament, against whom some Matters are objected, on the 10th Instant, nothing to intervene: And that Sir *John Norcott*, Sir *Copleston Bampfild*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Richard Temple*, and Mr. *Henry Chester*, be sent for in safe Custody by the Serjeant at Arms attending the Parliament.

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February 8. Mr. *Love*, from the Council of State, informed the House, That Col. *Lambert* either is, or lately was, secretly in *London*; and that it was the Council's Opinion he should be summoned to appear before them, and give good Security to do nothing to the Prejudice of the Commonwealth; afterwards to retire to *Holmby*, and not to remove from thence without Order from the Parliament; which was agreed to, and a Summons ordered to be drawn up accordingly. Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* to give an Account to the Parliament of the Affairs in *Ireland* on that Day Se'nnight.

February 9. Mr. *Scott* gave an Account to the Parliament of some Resolutions taken by the Council of State, in relation to the City of *London*, and the Reasons thereof; which Resolutions were read as follows:

' That Commissioners for the Government of the Army do appoint Forces to be, and continue in the City of *London*, for preserving the Peace thereof, and of the Commonwealth, and for reducing the City to the Obedience of the Parliament:

' That it be referred to the said Commissioners to consider and agree of the Time and Manner of putting the said Order in Execution:

' That the said Commissioners do take Order, That the Posts and Chains in the City of *London* be taken away, the Gates of the City unhinged, and the Portcullices thereof wedged in; and that they cause it to be done accordingly; and such as shall make Resistance to oppose them by Force:

' That

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‘ That the Commissioners for the Government of the Army have Power to apprehend and seize any of the Nine late Officers, who were ordered by the Parliament to leave this Town; or any other dangerous Persons, who have been in Arms against the Parliament and Commonwealth :

‘ That the Persons hereafter named be forthwith seized and apprehended, *viz.* Mr. *Vincent*, Merchant in *Bishopgate-street*; *Thomas Brown*, Grocer in *Wood-street*; *Daniel Spencer*, in *Friday-street*; *Lawrence Bromfeild* and *Thomas Fryar*, in *Tower-street*; *Major Chamberlayne*; *Richard Forde*, in *Seetbing-lane*; *Major Cox*, at the *Swan* in *Dowgate*; *Alderman Bludworth*; *Mr. Penning*, in *Fenchurch-street*; and *Lieut. Col. Jackson*: And that the Commissioners for Government of the Army do take Order that the same be done accordingly.’

The same Day a Letter was received from General *Monke*, which was read as follows :

To the Right Honourable WILLIAM LENTHALL,
Speaker to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of
England at Westminster:

Right Honourable, Guildhall, Feb. 9, 1659.

His Letter from
the City to the
House.

‘ I N Obedience to the Commands received from the Council last Night, I marched with your Forces into the City this Morning, and have secured all the Persons except two, ordered to be secured, which two were not to be found: The Posts and Chains I have given Orders to be taken away, but have hitherto forborne the taking down of the Gates and Portcullices, because it will, in all Likelihood, exasperate the City; and I have good Ground of Hopes from them that they will levy the Asses; they desiring only first to meet in Common Council, which they intend to do Tomorrow Morning. It seems probable to me, that they will yield Obedience to your Commands, and be brought to a friendly Compliance with you; for

‘ for which Reason I have suspended the Execution
 ‘ of your Commands touching the Gates and Port-
 ‘ cullices, till I know your further Pleasure therein;
 ‘ which I desire I may by this Bearer: I shall only
 ‘ desire that (so your Commands may be answered
 ‘ with due Obedience) such Tenderness may be used
 ‘ towards them, as may gain their Affections: They
 ‘ desired the Restoration of those Members of their
 ‘ Common Council that are secured; which Desires
 ‘ of theirs I shall only commend to your grave Con-
 ‘ sideration, to do therein as you shall think most
 ‘ expedient; and, in Attendance upon your further
 ‘ Commands, remain

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Your most humble and obedient Servant,

GEORGE MONKE.

P. S. ‘ I shall become an humble Suiter to you,
 ‘ that you will be pleased to hasten your Qualifica-
 ‘ tions, that the Writs may be sent out; I can assure
 ‘ you it will tend much to the Peace of the Country,
 ‘ and satisfy many honest Men.’

Then it was resolved, ‘ That the Answer to this
 Letter be, To send to General *Monke* the former
 Resolutions of the House, That the Gates of the
 City of *London*, and the Portcullices thereof, be
 forthwith destroyed; and that he be ordered to put
 the said Votes in Execution.’ Mr. *Scott*, and Mr.
Pury, jun. to carry this Message to the General.

Sir *Arthur Haslrigge* reported from the Council of
 State the Opinion of the said Council, That the
 House do take into Consideration the present Con-
 stitution of the Common Council of the City of
London: And, after some Debate, it was voted,
 ‘ That the present Common Council for the City of
London, elected for this Year, be discontinued, and
 are hereby declared null and void.’ The Lord
 Mayor of *London* to have Notice of this; himself
 commended by the House for his discreet Carriage;
 and a large Committee was appointed to bring in an
 Act

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Act for the Choice of another Common Council, with such Qualifications as the Parliament should think fit.

On the other Hand, and on the same Day, the House being informed that some Petitioners were at the Door, they were called in; and, being come to the Bar, the famous Mr. *Praise-God Barebone*, in the Name of the rest, addressing himself to the Speaker, said, We are come to wait upon this Honourable House with a Petition from such as are Lovers of the Good Old Cause. The Petitioners are such as have adhered to this Parliament, and such as are Lovers of Justice, Righteousness, Freedom, and Lovers of a Commonwealth, accounting it the best Government. There are many Subscriptions, I may say Thousands, and in their Names I do humbly present it to you; and thereupon presented the Petition; who being withdrawn, the Petition was read, and was as followeth:

To the PARLIAMENT of the COMMONWEALTH of ENGLAND,

The REPRESENTATION and ADDRESS of the well-affected Persons Inhabitants of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Places adjacent, being faithful and constant Adherers to this Parliament, who are resolved, by the Assistance of Almighty God, to stand by, assert, and maintain their Authority, against all Opposers, notwithstanding the present Confidence and bold Attempts of the Promoters of Regal Interest, by the declared Enemies of their Cause and Authority,

An Address to them from the Sectaries in the City.

‘ **W** Hereas the Good Old Cause was for Civil
‘ and Christian Liberty, against Oppression
‘ and Persecution: The Oppressors and Persecutors
‘ were, chiefly, the King, his Lords and Clergy, and
‘ their Adherents; who, to effect their Designs,
‘ raised War against the Parliament.

‘ Whereupon the Parliament, in Defence of Civil
‘ and Christian Liberty, call the Oppressed and Per-
‘ secuted to their Aid; by whose Assistance the

‘ Op-

‘ Oppressors and Persecutors have been subdued,
 ‘ Kingship and Peerage abolished, and Persecution
 ‘ check’d; by which the Number of conscientious
 ‘ Friends to the Parliament have been so exceed-
 ‘ ingly increased, that they are now, by God’s As-
 ‘ sistance, in a far more able Capacity of keeping
 ‘ down their Enemies, than they were in those
 ‘ Times when they subdued them.

‘ Nevertheless, so watchful hath the restless Enc-
 ‘ my been to make Advantage, that what, Time
 ‘ after Time, he hath lost in the Field, he hath en-
 ‘ deavoured to regain even in the Parliament’s
 ‘ Council; where, because they had not the Face
 ‘ openly to bring in the King, with the former
 ‘ Oppressions and Persecutions, they shrouded and
 ‘ veiled themselves, one while under a Personal
 ‘ Treaty, another while under a Cloak of Zeal
 ‘ against Blasphemy and Heresy, their Endeavours
 ‘ being to bring in the King upon any Terms; to
 ‘ cherish the persecuting Party, and to brow-beat
 ‘ their most conscientious Opposers.

‘ Upon which Pretences, nevertheless, they have,
 ‘ through Tract of Time and the Unsettledness of
 ‘ Government, prevailed so far as, under the Notion
 ‘ of a moderate Party, to get the subtillest of their
 ‘ Friends into many Places of Trust and Command,
 ‘ both Civil and Military; through whose Counte-
 ‘ nance and Encouragement, albeit the Parliament,
 ‘ upon good Grounds, voted the Government by
 ‘ Kings and Lords useles, burdensome, and dan-
 ‘ gerous, and declare very largely for Liberty of
 ‘ Conscience; yet of late a general Boldness hath
 ‘ been taken to plead a Necessity of returning to the
 ‘ Government of King and Lords, a taking in of
 ‘ the King’s Son; or, which is all one, for a Re-
 ‘ turn of the justly-secluded Members, or a Free
 ‘ Parliament, without due Qualifications; whereby
 ‘ the Good Old Cause of Liberty and Freedom (so
 ‘ long contended for against Regal Interest, with the
 ‘ Expence of much Blood and Treasure) and the
 ‘ Assertors thereof, will be prostituted to satisfy the
 ‘ Lusts of the Enemies of the Commonwealth;
 ‘ wherein

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wherein they have prevailed so far, that, unless all conscientious Persons in Parliament, Army, Navy, and Commonwealth, do speedily unite and watchfully look about them; as the Sword will certainly, though secretly and silently, be stolen out of their Hands; so also will they find all Civil Authority fall suddenly into the Hands of their enraged Enemies, and a Return of all those Violences, Oppressions, and Persecutions, which have cost so much Blood and Treasure to extirpate.

The serious Apprehensions whereof hath stirred up your cordial Friends to desire you to use all possible Endeavours to prevent the Commonwealth's Adversaries in this their most dangerous Stratagem; and, as the most effectual Means thereunto, we pray,

1. That you will admit no Person or Persons to sit or vote in this, or any future Parliament, or Council of State, or to be in any Office or Judiciary, or any public Trust in the Commonwealth; or Command in the Army, Navy, or Garrisons; or to be a public Preacher to the People at Sea or Land, or any Instructor of Youth, except such only as shall abjure, or, by solemn Engagement, renounce, the pretended Title or Titles of *Charles Stuart*, and the whole Line of the late King *James*; and of every other Person, as a Single Person, pretending, or which shall pretend, to the Crown or Government of these Nations of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, or any of them, and the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, or any of them; or any other Single Person, Kingship, Peerage, or any Power co-ordinate with the People's Representatives in Parliament: And all coercive Power in Matter of Religion, according to a Vote of a Grand Committee of this Parliament of the 11th of *September, 1659*.

2. We further pray that it may be enacted, That whosoever shall move, offer, or propound in Parliament, Council, or any other Court or public Meeting, any Matter or Thing, in order to the introducing of *Charles Stuart*, or any of that Family.

‘mily as aforesaid, or any other Single Person, House of Lords, coercive Power in Matters of Religion, or any Power co-ordinate with the People’s Representatives in Parliament, may be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason, and may suffer the Pains and Penalties thereof: And that whosoever shall, in Parliament, Council, or any other public Court or Meeting, move for or propose the Revocation of this Law, when by you enacted, may be deemed and judged guilty of High Treason, and suffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.

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‘In the Prosecution whereof we shall stand by you with our Estates and Lives, to assert and maintain your Authority against all Oppositions whatsoever, notwithstanding the present Confidence and bold Attempts of yours and our Enemies.

Signed by, &c.’

Then it was resolved, ‘That the Petitioners have the Thanks of the House for the Expression of their good Affections to the Parliament.’

The Petitioners being again call’d in, Mr. Speaker gave them this Answer:

Gentlemen, ‘The House have read your Petition, and they do find that you have been such as have constantly borne them good Affections, and that your Affections are the same still; and, for the Expressions of your good Affections, the House hath commanded me to give you Thanks, and, in their Names, I do give you Thanks accordingly.’

February 10. Ten Pounds a Day ordered by the House to be granted and allowed to General *George Monke*, to commence from his coming into *England* out of *Scotland*, to continue till this Parliament take further Order. Also all the Forces, both Horse and Foot, now in Town, were ordered a Month’s Pay; the Commissioners of the Army to take Care for the Payment thereof.

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February 11. A Letter from Gen. *Monke*, and the Officers under his Command, dated from *White-hall*, February 11, 1659, was read as follows:

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Mr. *Speaker*,

Another Letter from Gen. *Monke* and his Army to the Parliament.

WE cannot but with Thankfulness acknowledge the wonderful Goodness of God to you; in your Return to the Discharge of your remaining Trust; and your Forces under our Commands (after some Difficulties) in bringing of us by a tedious March in such Safety to this Place, to wait upon you in asserting the Freedoms of our native Country: And being here (as we have to our utmost Hazard and Power been instrumental in your Return) so we shall be still ready to pursue your Commands so far as possible we may.

To evidence which, we have observed and executed your late Orders in relation to the Chains, Posts, and Gates of the City; which was something grievous to us, and to the Officers and Soldiers under our Commands; and that because we do not remember any such Thing that was acted upon this City in all these Wars; and we fear that many sober People are much grieved at it, and apprehend further Force to be offered to them, while they seem principally to desire the speedy filling up of the House, which you have declared for, as well as we have expressed our just Desires of; and are apt to doubt, lest what we have done may be so far from answering the expected End, as that it may increase the Discomposure of Men's Spirits in the Nation.

Upon this Occasion, it comes fresh into our Minds, that when, by the Treachery of some Officers of the Army, you were interrupted, we declared to the World, *That the Ground of our Undertaking was not only your Return to your Trust, but also the Vindication of the Liberties of the People, and the Preservation of the Right of our Country, the Protection and Encouragement of the Godly and Faithful therein, as the Establishment of the Peace of these Nations; which Declarations* made

made before the Lord, Angels, and Men, in the Day of our Extremity, we (as we expect the Blessing of the Lord upon our future Undertakings) cannot but still own and stand by.

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We find that the asserting of the just Liberties of the People, is that which the Generality of the Nation is much in Expectation of; and that many sober People, together with ourselves, are under Fears, lest this great Price that God hath put into your and our Hands, as your Servants, should not be improved, but that we shall run into Confusion again.

Therefore we humbly crave Leave to present before you some Grounds of our Fears: We are afraid that the late wonderful and unparalleled Deliverance, is not so publickly and solemnly acknowledged as it might be, that the Lord, who wrought so stupenduously, may have the Glory of all: We are troubled that some, as yet, do sit in the House, who are impeached of Treason: We cannot but observe that divers Members of your House (who, contrary to their Trust, acted in that illegal and tyrannical Committee of Safety) are not actually disabled from sitting there; notwithstanding Col. *Lambert* hath only the Vote of Indemnity to secure him from as high Crimes as have been committed in this Nation, and is not obedient to your Orders, yet he seemeth to be winked at.

We understand that Sir *Henry Vane*, upon bare Pretence, is permitted to stay about the City, to the great Dissatisfaction of your best Friends; that there are dangerous Consultations, and that of those who had a chief Hand in your late Interruption, and the hazarding of the whole Nations, contrary to our Expectation.

We find continued in the Army some Persons of dangerous Principles, and such who were active enough in the late Defection.

Though we are far from wishing the Ruin of any, yet we could desire that your signal Indulgence to late notorious Offenders, did meet with that candid Reception from them, as to be so much

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‘ the more ingenuious in their professed Repentance:
 ‘ But we observe that many of them do seek to
 ‘ justify themselves, and are not without their Agents
 ‘ in Print to palliate their foul Enormities; which
 ‘ maketh us yet to suspect, that we are in some
 ‘ Danger of returning into the late Distempers, that
 ‘ you and the Nation are but newly delivered from.

‘ We are not ignorant, that there are those who
 ‘ lately struck at the Root of *English* Parliaments, in
 ‘ Practice and Design, thereby having inflamed the
 ‘ Nation, and given great Advantage to the com-
 ‘ mon Enemy; yet they are not without a strange
 ‘ Confidence to precipitate Men into a Belief, that
 ‘ they are not the only Persons against the one, and
 ‘ for the other.

‘ With Grief of Heart we do remember, and
 ‘ would lament over the too-palpable Breach of
 ‘ Engagements in this Nation; therefore we should
 ‘ think it a Duty rather to mourn over the same,
 ‘ than to promote any new Oath to be taken at this
 ‘ Time. Yet we perceive that there is a Design to
 ‘ provoke the Parliament to enforce an Oath upon
 ‘ the Nation, and to take Notice that, amongst
 ‘ others, there are some, who are most forward to
 ‘ promote the said Design, who have made the least
 ‘ (if any) Conscience in keeping Engagements al-
 ‘ ready taken.

‘ Here we must not silence our deep Resentment
 ‘ of a bold Petition, and of dangerous Consequence,
 ‘ which was lately presented to you, the Conse-
 ‘ quence whereof (if you should answer their De-
 ‘ sires) would be to exclude many of the most con-
 ‘ scientious and sober Sort of Men from serving
 ‘ under you in Civil and Military Employments,
 ‘ who have and would prove themselves most faith-
 ‘ ful, and a Door would be opened in Design to
 ‘ retrieve the Interest of those who have, by the just
 ‘ Hand of our gracious God, made themselves so
 ‘ apparently obnoxious.

‘ Moreover (which is not the least Part of the
 ‘ Venom of that Petition) we clearly see the same
 ‘ Spirit, which of late would have pull’d away the
 ‘ (by

‘ (by you declared just) Maintenance from Ministers,
 ‘ would now provoke you by an Oath to endanger
 ‘ the forcing away of many of the most Godly from
 ‘ their Maintenance.

‘ In urging our Fears from the Premises that
 ‘ concerns some of different Principles from us, we
 ‘ would not be thought (as we do not) to design
 ‘ any thing that may incur the Censure of unjust
 ‘ Rigidity.

‘ We freely profess our Desires, that Tenderneſs
 ‘ of Conscience may have its full just Liberty, but
 ‘ we cannot, in Judgment, account that Tender-
 ‘ neſs of Conscience which will not scruple at Trea-
 ‘ chery itself, or any Unrighteousness to carry on
 ‘ corrupt Designs.

‘ Having presented you with our Fears, we shall
 ‘ add our Resolutions, That, by the Help of God,
 ‘ we shall stand by you in the Pursuance of what we
 ‘ have declared for, and therefore do make this hum-
 ‘ ble Request to you : We could desire that, whilst
 ‘ you sit, your utmost Endeavours may be to mani-
 ‘ fest your affectionate Desires for the public Good
 ‘ of these Nations : Our further Desire is, That
 ‘ those Regiments under your Consideration (whose
 ‘ Officers are not named) may be speedily pass’d.

‘ And in regard we find that the grand Cause of
 ‘ the present Heats and Dissatisfactions in the Na-
 ‘ tion is, because they are not fully represented in
 ‘ Parliament ; and seeing no other probable Expe-
 ‘ dient whereby to keep the Nation in Peace, than
 ‘ by filling up your Number ; we must therefore
 ‘ make this our main Desire, upon which we can-
 ‘ not but insist, That you would proceed to issue
 ‘ forth Writs in order to Elections ; for the better
 ‘ effecting whereof we entreat, that you would con-
 ‘ clude upon due and full Qualifications, that not
 ‘ only those who have been actually in Arms against
 ‘ the Parliament may be excluded, but also such,
 ‘ who, in the late Wars betwixt King and Parlia-
 ‘ ment, have declared their Disaffection to the Par-
 ‘ liament. And because the distracted Condition of

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‘ this Nation is, at this Hour, so evident and pres-
 ‘ sing, we are constrained, for the just Maintenance
 ‘ of your Authority, and the Satisfaction of all true
 ‘ *Englishmen*, earnestly to desire, that all the Writs
 ‘ may be issued forth by *Friday* next, returnable at
 ‘ the usual and legal Time; for we think it conve-
 ‘ nient to acquaint you, that, to pacify the Minds of
 ‘ this great City, in the Prosecution of your late
 ‘ Command, the Chief of us did give an Assurance
 ‘ thereof.

‘ And we must not forget to remember you, that
 ‘ the Time hastens wherein you have declared your
 ‘ intended Dissolution; which the People and our-
 ‘ selves desire you would be punctual in.

‘ Hereby the Suspicion of your Perpetuation will
 ‘ be taken away, and the People will have Assurance
 ‘ that they shall have a Succession of Parliaments of
 ‘ their own Election; which is the undoubted Right
 ‘ of the *English* Nation.

‘ You have promised and declared no less; both
 ‘ the People and your Armies do live in the Hope
 ‘ and Expectation of it.

‘ That we may the better wait for your full and
 ‘ free Concurrence to these just Desires on the Na-
 ‘ tion’s Behalf, upon mature Deliberation we have
 ‘ thought it our Duty as to continue the usual
 ‘ Guards for the Safety of your sitting, so for the pre-
 ‘ sent to draw the rest of the Forces under our Com-
 ‘ mand into the City, that we may have the better
 ‘ Opportunity to compose Spirits, and beget a good
 ‘ Understanding in that great City, formerly re-
 ‘ nowned for their resolute adhering to Parliamen-
 ‘ tary Authority; and we hope that the same Spirit
 ‘ will be found still to breathe amongst the best,
 ‘ most considerable, and interested Persons there.

‘ This Action of ours, as we hope it will receive
 ‘ your favourable Interpretation, so we do believe it
 ‘ will, thro’ the Blessing of God, be of good Use
 ‘ for the present Peace and future Settlement of
 ‘ these Nations.

‘ These are our Thoughts which we communi-
 ‘ cated to you, in the Names of ourselves, and the
 ‘ Officers

Officers and Soldiers under our Commands, We Inter-regnum
 are Your Honour's most humble Servants, 1659.

GEORGE MONKE.

February.

THO. RANDERS,	THO. READ,	} Colonels,
LEON. LIDCOT,	RA. KNIGHT,	
JO. CLOBERY,	DAN. REDMAN,	
JO. HUBLETHORNE,		
ETHELBERT MORGAN, Lieutenant-Colonel,		
NATHAN. BARTON,	THO. PRYME,	} Majors.
THO. JOHNSON,	FRA. NICHOLS,	
JER. SMITH,	PET. BANISTER,	

Upon the reading of this Letter the House resolved, That the Thanks of this House be given unto Gen. *Monke* for his faithful Service in securing the City; and that as to filling up of the House, the Parliament were upon the Qualifications before the Receipt of the said Letter; and the same will be dispatch'd in due Time.

The House met again in the Afternoon of this Day, and first ordered Candles to be brought in; then a Question being proposed, That the Parliament do now proceed in settling the Commissioners for Government of the Army; and the Question being put, That this Question be now put, the House divided, and it was carried in the Affirmative, 35 against 16; Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge* and Col. *Martin* Tellers for the Yeas, and Mr. *Raleigh* with Col. *Lenthall* for the Noes. The main Question was carried without any Division; and then the House proceeded in settling the Government of the Army by Commissioners. The House, after some Debate, agreed, That the Number of these Commissioners should be five; of which General *Monke*, Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, Col. *Morley*, and Col. *Walton* were to be four of them; but the Question being proposed, That Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* be another of these Commissioners, the House divided again, when it went in the Negative, 30 against 15, and Col. *Matthew Alured* was voted in his

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his room. It was then proposed, That the *Quorum* of these Commissioners should be three, which was agreed to: But another Question being put, That Gen. *Monke* should be one of these three, it passed in the Negative without any Division. Resolved; also, That the Time for Continuance of the Powers of the Commissioners should be during the Pleasure of Parliament; and that the Word *Ireland* be added after the Word *Scotland* in the Act. Lastly, the Act for constituting Commissioners, &c. so amended, being put to the Question, passed, and was ordered to be forthwith printed and published.

We have now brought the *Journals* of this Parliament to a Crisis, not to be passed over without a clearer Explanation of these Events than can be expected from those Authorities which we have hitherto given in this Month, without any Annotations upon them. But being come now, as we say, to a Period, when the General pulled off his Puritanical Mask, and declared openly for a Free Parliament, which the universal Turn of the Times made very apparent, was no less than declaring for the King; it is necessary to consult the contemporary Writers, in order to trace out every Step which lead to this almost-miraculous Revolution. Amongst these Authors, Dr. *Price*, whom we have so often quoted before, may be very well supposed the most particular; since, as Chaplain and Confident to the General, he saw all the Turns and Windings that brought on this great Event. We shall pursue this Reverend Writer, therefore, from where we left him last, with his Master hearing *Hugh Peters* cant at *Hatfield*, and give an Abstract from him of their March into *London*, and all the Consequences, up to our present Period in the *Journals*.

The Doctor tells us, That, on the second of *February*, the General moved with an easy March to *Barnet*, where his troublesome Companions, *Scott* and *Robinson*, left him; so that here the General had none in his Quarters but his own Domestic. Much Business was now dispatched; and Orders given

Contemporary
Historians on
these Times.
And first Dr.
Price,

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given to the Soldiery to demean themselves civilly, and pay for their Quarters when they came to London, the General's Money still holding out, which he had brought from Scotland with him. That the Night before Scott left them, he came to the General in a dreadful Alarm, seemingly, and told him he had receiv'd Notice, That the Forces who were to march out of London had mutinied, and it was to be feared they would join with the Prentices there, and declare for a Free Parliament. He therefore desired, or rather required, the General to march his Troops immediately into London to prevent them. To which the General coolly answered, *I will undertake for this Night's Disturbance, and be in early enough in the Morning to prevent any Mischief.* This was looked upon as an Artifice of Scott's, if he could have drawn on the General, in order to mix the Soldiers of both Armies together, that they might be the less at his Devotion.

The next Day they marched towards London; and at Highgate the General drew up all his Forces, consisting only of 5800 Men, Horse and Foot. They entered the Town at Gray's-Inn-Lane, and, in their March towards Whitehall, met the Speaker in the Strand, coming from the House in his State Coach. The General alighted, and complimented, in his Soldier's Manner, this Representative of Sovereignty; he afterwards went to Whitehall, and had the Prince's Lodgings for his own Apartments, the rest of his Family were disposed of in that Palace. This happened on a Saturday, February 3, and they rested on Sunday very quietly.

Our Author next proceeds to tell us, That it was on Monday the General saw the Face of his Masters in the House, received solemn Thanks from them by their Speaker, and returned his to them; but because he took upon him to mind them of some Things which he judged were for the public Good, it was not well relished by some, and particularly by Scott and Robinson, they reflecting upon him as if he sought to impose his own Sense of Things

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Things upon the House; yet this was pass'd over, they being content to impute it to his Affection for their Service, rather than to any Distaste he had of their Proceedings. Thus, having been first nominated one of their new-molded Council of State, he was invited to take his Place among them: But then every Counsellor of State was, by Order of Parliament, to renounce the Title and Pretences of *Charles Stuart*, and all the Descendants of the Lineage of King *James*; nay, and of all other Single Persons who should pretend to the Government of these Nations. All this was to be done too by the Solemnity of an Oath.

' This had been propounded to him before, by those who had argued to this Effect, for the Necessity of it: That it was high Time for them to discriminate their own Party, that at last they might come to know whom they could trust; it being now found that there had been a great Defection, even among themselves. The General was not unprovided of an Answer, and so craves Leave to demur; adding, that he had not seen any Good come of their promissary Oaths, those who took them making no Scruple to break them. He instanced in the Covenant and Engagement; and suggested that seven, besides himself, who were nominated to be of the Council of State; had not yet abjured; besides, that he did not know how it would relish with his Army, who were very tender in that Point. And, indeed, I knew some of them who, tho' no Friends to Monarchy, yet had taken up a Notion, that it was not lawful to swear against the Providence of God. But, that they should see that they had no Reason to suspect him or his Army, he desired that they would make Trial of his and their Fidelity and Obedience to them; and if they found that he either disobeyed or disputed their Orders, he was then in their Power; for he brought not an Army with him to make them jealous of him; having sent back a great Part of it, after he understood that they were established in their Power.

' Hi-

Hitherto his Actions had not been such as, in the least Degree, to make the Parliament or Council of State distrustful of him; nay, they were rather such as ought to have produced a good Opinion of his Constancy to them, not only by his sending a great Part of his Army back, after they were restored, but also by contending so eagerly for them; for when a Treaty between both Armies was first propounded, and the Articles of it were debated in *Scotland*, it was with great Difficulty that he yielded to the Calling of another Parliament; and when he did, he recommended this his Condescension to his Commissioners, as the great Secret of their Trust, charging them to try all Ways for an Accommodation, before that should be discovered; nay, and broke the Agreement too, as much for this Reason as any other, and removed Col. *Wilkes* from his Command, because he disclosed this Instruction unnecessarily; he resolutely adhering to the Parliament of the Eleventh of *October*, and no other. And, indeed, no other could so well have done his Business, for this was become odious to his People. But Fears and Jealousies are Protestations *contra Factum*; to which, besides popular Expectations at home, the King's Court abroad administered Fuel: For Adversity will lay hold on a Bulrush.

At this Time a Gentleman (whose Sufferings were better known to me than I to him) came to me and told me, with great Secrecy, what Hopes there were beyond Sea of *Monke's* March; expressing a Desire to gain some from me, but I sent him away discontented. The General's March without Orders might, at first, reasonably create some Diffidence; but it was soon authorized, and countenanced by the coming of Orders, and Commissioners, from what we were obliged to call a Parliament.

It was now the General's Business to overcome *Scott's* Suspicions of him, as knowing him to be his Enemy, and to have plotted his Ruin. *Scott*, in our March, had very often complained of the great Malignancy of the City of *London*, (for which the coming of its Commissioners gave Occasion enough)

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enough) but the General would comfort him by hinting, that the Parliament needed not to fear any Danger from thence, so long as they had an Army by them: And it seems he had promised him to take down the Stomach of the City, if Need required. The Necessity at this Time was eminent; for now the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council-Men of *London*, by a public Vote, declared, That they would pay no more Taxes and Contributions, till the Parliament was filled up with equal Representatives of the People. Before this, only a few popular Tumults gave the Government a Disturbance; but now the Authority of the whole City rebelled against the Men of *Westminster*; and I may safely say, that the Citizens the rather made Choice of this Time, because the General, only with his *Scotts* Army, was in their Suburbs, and at *Westminster*, of whom they had entertained good Hopes, from the Time that divers Citizens, of good Note, had given the General Visits at *St. Albans* and *Barnet*: They knew too that many of the Officers had Relations and Friends among them; nor did any Citizens return from us with the ill News of Despair; nay, some of them used to carry more Hopes back than they had Reason for, their Affection for their Country supplying the Deficiency of Promises from us. Thus most of them hoped well, and none would despair of *Monke* and his Army.

On *Tuesday* Night the General was detained at the Council of State till past Two in the Morning, which (he being no Member, as yet being no Abjurer) created some Suspensions in his Friends and Servants, as if the Council meant not well towards him; and by some it was whispered as if it was designed that he should be sent to the *Tower*. Now, to speak the Truth, the Council might, without Reproach of Jealousy upon their Wisdom, have suspected that the City would not have thus boldly remonstrated, had not *Monke* given them some secret Encouragement.

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But his superlative Foresight of Things defeated the City, the Council of State, and his Friends and all; for he accepted of Orders, and the next Day executed them. He went into the City, and after he had placed his main Guards for his own Security, he distributed the Remainder of his small Army to their respective Posts, charged them to pull down the City Gates, break their Portcullices, and pluck up their Posts and Chains; himself in the mean Time sending for, and imprisoning, the most daring and disaffected Members of the Common Council, pursuant to his Orders.

It is God's Prerogative to change Times and Seasons, and to set up and pull down Kings and Governments: And this was the real fatal Crisis that so soon changed the Face of Things, and made the Revolution so swift. For never did Soldiers with so much Regret obey their General; obeyed, indeed, he was, but with Scorn to them who commanded their Commander. It was a pretty Medley of Passion when I saw them both merry and angry at this odious Drudgery; and a lively Pen that had observed and could express their Humours, might have made a Play of it. This was the Carriage of the ordinary Soldiery; but our Officers of Note ran wholly into Discontent, and offered up their Commissions to the General: But he was dark, and chewed his Tobacco, and I took Notice that he was more angry at the Spies that were about him, (as Col. Alured and others) than at the Work he was doing. Hither came his amazed Friends, and durst not say a Word to him: But I was not only amazed, but inwardly repented of what I had said to him at York; imagining that my Words, then, were not only for his Safety, but for his Honour, not to have the Game taken out of his Hands.

But no Accident of War, (no not if we had engaged into Blood against Lambert) could have more fully assured his Army unto him; for now the Parliament was detestable even to us their Restorers. That this was his own Contrivance (and, if so, a Master-piece of Cunning) I have these Inducements

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ments to believe : *Scott* solemnly told *Col. Wetham*, that *Monke* offered himself to him to do this odious Action, and that the Council of State would not put him upon it, had it not been for him, who assured him that *Monke* would undertake it. Thus much *Scott* alledged for himself to *Wetham*, who charged the Change of the Government upon this Miscarriage. *Scott* had little Reason to dissemble, you may be sure, when he saw his Day was lost, and his Life too; for he sat upon his Sovereign's. That *Scott* thus excused himself to *Wetham*, I will name my Voucher, viz. *Dr. Barrow*, (the Judge-Advocate of his Majesty's Army and Guards) a Gentleman who well deserved of the General for his Prudence and Integrity, for he was highly serviceable to him from his first declaring against the Army, and so continued. Nay, I soon after modestly asked the General, 'How he was engaged to undertake this detestable Piece of Service?' He merrily answered me, *This was a Trick you knew not of, and I do assure you that I could not have done my Business so soon without it, and possibly not at all.*

So I confessed that his Wisdom out-witted my Expectations, for I thought he would at first have lodged his Colours within the Walls of *London*; yet, true it is, that it was easy for him to foresee, that the City, upon his coming to Town, would run into Discontents; for they looked upon him as a Lover of his Country's Freedom, and therefore judged that he would not endeavour to uphold a Power that was not only usurped, but contemptible and ridiculous; they taking it in a great Disdain, that a bare Remnant of a House of Commons, legally dissolved, should give Laws to their Fellow-Subjects, supporting themselves by an Army, the great Officers of which put them in and out, and out and in, at their Pleasure. I knew too, that he would lay hold of the first Advantage against the Men of *Westminster*; and Advantages, besides this, could not but be offered, for they longed to fall upon the Sequestration of all those Gentlemen who had been in *Booth's* Conspiracy. Now the General could not,

in Honour, see them perish, because himself was concerned in it; neither was he without his Suspicions, that some could prove it against him; beside, that his Power was not long liv'd; and he must have soon found it so, were it but from his Fellow-Commissioners for governing the Army, whose Interests were bound up with that of the Parliament.

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On Friday, February the 10th, the General returned from the City to *Whitehall*, and his Scots Army to their Quarters in the Suburbs and *Westminster*. This some Members of the Council of State signified they were displeas'd at, saying, That his Return was without their Orders. And, in Truth; it was against them; for he was to stay there till further Order, and they had more Work for him there. Thus would the Parliament have rewarded this City, for their Assistance against the late King!

At this Time the Anabaptists, and such like Sectaries in and about the City, who were afraid of Peace and a National Interest, took Heart at the pulling down of the City Gates, and fell to remonstrating to the Parliament, That none were fit to bear any Office, Civil or Military, that would not abjure *Charles Stuart*, and his Title and Family^a. This was understood to have been the Artifice of some Abjurers in the Council of State, to win over Assistance to their narrow and almost-despised Party: And could they have gained the Point of encouraging Petitioners of this Nature, I doubt not to say but that the Council of State would have given a List to the Parliament itself, as Traitors to their Trust, because they were such squeamish Rebels, as not to abjure the Heirs of the Crown. By this Means to have engrossed the Sovereignty to themselves, would have been no hard Matter, had but *Monke* been their Friend in Reality, as in Appearance he was their Servant, and the Executioner of their odious Orders.

These Sectaries most grossly flattered the Parliament in their Petition, and renowned them for their glorious Actions; though these were the very Men

^a See p. 94.

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who, but a few Weeks before, had been of another Temper, being *Lambert's* Confidants, and the Parliament's Enemies.

‘ It was further observed by us, in this little Time we had been in Town, that the Parliament began to encourage those who had appeared in the *English* Army against them. *Ludlow* sat in the House, tho’ he had been accused of Treason by the *Irish* Officers; and it was said that some of the House kept Correspondence with *Lambert* himself. This our Officers looked upon as done in Diffidence of them and their General, who had been their Restorers, and had approved themselves their faithful Servants in the Day of Trial. Soldiers are not ordinarily that crafty Kind of Men that can dissemble Injuries; and some of them were so just to their Country, as not to think it worth their Pay to uphold only a few Men in an arbitrary Tyranny, contrary to the Sense of the whole Nation. Of this Sort the boldest came to the General, dutifully and freely to represent to him the State of Things, and that some speedy Remedy was of Necessity to be thought upon and applied. The General was too wise to lose this Advantage; but, however, seemed to require Time to deliberate on it: But they earnestly replied, That if something were not forthwith done, to bear their Witness against such Proceedings, he would soon be lost, and they with him; but he in the first Place, because he had now more Enemies in the Council of State and Parliament too, than he dreamt of; for though he had executed his Orders against the City, and thereby rendered himself odious to the free-born People, yet the Manner of doing it was such, as made him suspected by his Taskmasters.

‘ The General yielded at length to their Fears and Counsels, and the rather, for that he was assured of the Tower of *London*, the Lieutenant of it (*Col. Morley*) having before offered it him. This the noble Colonel had done in the City, pitying the Consternation of its Citizens, when he saw what Work was doing, what Influence it would have upon

upon the Country. In all Secrecy, therefore, it was debated, and soon agreed upon, that a Letter should be sent to the Parliament the Day following; and late at Night Orders were issued, That our principal Officers should meet early at the General's Lodgings the next Morning, and they came accordingly: To whom the Occasion of their convening was expounded by our Secretaries of the Night, who had sat up, and penned the Letter to the Parliament. Their Assent to it was desired, the General being present; he subscribed it first, and they, in their Order, set their Hands to it. The Tenor of this Letter was very peremptory, viz. That by the *Friday* following they should send forth Writs to fill up all the vacant Places in the House; and, when that was done, fix a determinate Time to their own sitting, and give Place to another Parliament.

This now was a State of War between the Scots Army and the Parliament. Heretofore, when *Cromwell* and *Lambert* turned these few Members of the House of Commons out of their Place at *Westminster*, they did but respite the Exercise of their Power, and it was their good Chance to return again to it; for their Servants, who so usurped upon them, drove on the same Interest still with themselves, and ruled by the Force of an Army, which protected the Lives and Fortunes of these Parliament-Men: Now all of them being equally guilty, they were never questioned for what they had done, but enjoyed the Peace and Liberty of Subjects, even when, by their own Indiscretion, and the restless Ambition of the Great Officers of the Army, they lost the Sovereignty: Whereas this Letter now forced them to be their own Executioners within their Walls of Empire; for to fill up the House with new-elected Members out of the Country, at a Time when every Village was so exasperated against them, in plain *English* amounted to no less; for they were sure to be out-voted, and consequently, liable to be questioned.

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‘ The General sent this Letter to the House by two Colonels, *Clobery* and *Lidcot*, and, not staying for an Answer to it, puts himself at the Head of his Army, marched into *Finsbury-Fields*, and from thence sends to the Lord Mayor of *London*, desiring that Quarters might presently be set out for his Men within the City. Our Quarter-Masters had no Orders to intimate the Breach that was made between our Army and the Parliament; and so they found the Lord Mayor of *London* somewhat astonished at this Message; but he soon after understood the End of his Coming; for some of the Citizens were earlier informed of it. As soon as the General left *Whitehall*, I went into the City, and not knowing where he would quarter that Night, I came to the *Three Tuns* before *Guildhall*, where the General had quartered two Nights before. I entered the Tavern with a Servant, and a Portmanteau, and asked for a Room, which I had scarce got into, but Wine followed me as a Present from some Citizens, desiring Leave to drink their Morning’s Draught with me. I accepted of the Civility; but, in Requital of their Wine and Company, was asked What News, and what might be the Meaning of my so returning hither: I freely told them that we were not now the same Men that we were two Days ago; and that this they should find before Night, to the full Satisfaction of the Injuries done them. The good Men were transported into Joy, and most of them left me and their Wine, and ran to communicate this hopeful News.

‘ A Citizen of good Quality, *Mr. William Stanley*, staid longer, and invited me to his House to Dinner, and most courteously lodged me there, during the General’s Stay in the City; for it happened not to be far from his Quarters. This I mention out of a grateful Remembrance of his Hospitality.

‘ The General came late into the City, and his Army later, staying for the Lord Mayor’s Return to his Messengers for quartering his Men; when they entered, they were welcomed as the Restorers of their Country’s Freedom; Bells, Bonfires,

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fires, Wine, and several Largeſſes of Money among our Soldiers, being the Atteſtations of the Citizens Joy. This was *Saturday, February 11*, renowned for the Night of burning the Rump; (for thus the young Men, who were Haters of this long-urſurped Power, called the Parliament) Butchers had quick trading for their Rumps, and many Cooks loſt their Fees.

‘ The Parliament cloſely debated upon the Letter ſent them; and wiſely diſſembling the Inſolency of *Monke* and his Officers, in preſcribing Rules to them, gave them Thanks for their joint Care with them of the Commonwealth; aſſuring them, over and above, that they were conſidering of Qualifications for the next Parliament. With this Meſſage came *Scott* and *Robinſon*, with ſome others, that Evening into the City to the General: Adding, that his Return to *Whitehall* was required by the Council of State, it being for their Safety; and that if he and his Army kept their old Quarters, they would be better ſatiſfied with their Proceeding, being near them; but if his Army continued in the City, they were afraid, they ſaid, that it would be debauched from its Obedience to the Parliament, they looking upon the Citizens as Enemies to the Government. The General gave them no other Reply, but that, If the Parliament will do as they are deſired in my Letter, they need not fear but all Things will go well.

‘ The Noiſe of *Scott* and *Robinſon*’s coming to the General ſo alarmed the ’Prentices in the Streets, that they were ſearched for as ſtrictly as were the Spies that came to *Jericho*. The General was now at the *Bull’s Head* Tavern in *Cheapſide*. The Streets were thronged; Mr. *Gumble* and I were in a Coach, that was becalm’d in a Croud, coming from *Guildhall*, where the General had been to expound the End of his coming: Now the ’Prentices went, it ſeems, from Coach to Coach in Queſt of *Scott* and *Robinſon*; and when they looked into ours, they cried out, *Here they are*. Plenty of Dirt was brought againſt us in Shovels from the Kennel,

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we defending ourselves with the Curtains of the Coach as well as we could, till the Mistake was over, which soon was by the Means of our Officers. But the young Men's Fury was much longer liv'd; for, in roasting the Rump, it was scarce cool till *Sunday Morning*.

' There was now a Report that the Parliament had taken away the General's Commission: And there was something of Truth in it too; for, upon the Letter sent them, which so much threatened their very Being, they called for the Names of their Commissioners for governing of their Army, retrenched two of them, and constituted only five, of which *Monke* was one, and of which Number three were a *Quorum*. But it being unhappily moved, Whether *Monke* should be of it, it was carried in the Negative: So tho' his Commission was not formally voted from him, (for that they durst not do) yet virtually it was; and *Monke* and *Morley* were left to stem the Tide against *Hafbrigge*, *Alured*, and *Walten*.

' The General that Night removed from *Cheapside*, after he had disposed his Men into Quarters, and took up his own at the *Glass-House*, where there was one large Room set apart for him to receive the grateful Visits of the Citizens, who had already forgot their Yesterday's Injuries; and having long before this repented that their Treasure and their Arms had been successfully employed against their Prince, and their Country, they now promised them to *Monke*, hoping for a better Issue of both; and in this he did not deceive them.'

Dr. Gumble. *Dr. Gumble*, our other Reverend Writer of *Monke's* and his Officers' Actings in these Affairs, tells us, ' That, after they had done the late dirty Work for the Parliament, and the General was returned to *Whitehall*, a Conference was held, the Result of which was, That some Method must be taken for immediate Recovery from this politic Distemper. After which the General retired to rest, but that four of his Officers sat up all Night in order

to draw up, what the Doctor calls, a brisk and smart Letter to be sent to the House, and which was read and signed by the General the next Morning, with several other Officers who were convened for that Purpose; and it was sent to the Parliament by Col. *Globery* and Col. *Lidcot*. Our Author remarks, That it was a refined Piece of Policy in the General, to seem to be persuaded in this, to what he himself had contrived; and before the Letter could be read in the House, he marches back with his whole Forces into the City, and drew them up in *Finsbury-Fields*, to the great Consternation of the Citizens, who knew not yet what to expect from this strange Conduct. ^a

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A Copy of this Letter here mentioned, is already given at p. 98.

But now, to shift the Scene from the late-quoted Reverend Authors, who some Readers may think were more inclined to write Panegyrics on their Master's Conduct in these Affairs than strict Truth, we shall turn to their Opposite, *Ludlow*, and learn what this Memorialist and stiff Republican has left us concerning this Period: Which also we shall give, as near as possible, in his own Words. Speaking of the *Scots Army's* March up to Town, he adds,

‘ In the mean Time *Monke* was come to *Barnet*, and being expected at *London* the next Day, Orders were issued out for the old Regiments of the Army to march from the Town; which so disgusted them, that many refused to march till their Arrears were paid. This Mutiny began at *Somerset-House*, where a whole Regiment was quartered, who were joined by divers Parties of the rest. The Cavaliers and Presbyterians of the City hoping to improve this Opportunity, invited them to join with the City, as they term'd their Party there, promising them their whole Arrears, constant Pay, and a present Gratuity, giving them some Money in Hand as an Earnest of the rest. The Soldiers took their Money; but, withall, threatened them, that, unless they departed immediately,

Mr. *Ludlow*,

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^a Life of General *Monke*, p. 244, &c.

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they would fire upon them, declaring their Resolution to continue faithful to the Parliament. Hereupon the Council of State, that they also might cut the Grass from under their own Feet, sent Orders to *Monke* to hasten his March, and with all Diligence to come to their Relief. These Malecontents were very numerous, amounting to more than 2000 Foot, and about the same Number of Horse were ready to join with them. But no considerable Person appearing at the Head of them, their new Officers, who laboured the whole Night to satisfy them, prevailed with them to march the next Morning, upon Promise that their Arrears should be paid at their next Quarters. The following Day *Monke* marched to *London* at the Head of his Party, which, for the most Part, were quartered about *Whitehall*, where Lodgings had been provided for him; and immediately some Members of Parliament were sent to congratulate his Arrival. The same Evening I met Vice-Admiral *Lawson* at Sir *Henry Mildmay's* Lodgings at *Whitehall*, and knowing him to be familiarly acquainted with *Monke*, I desired that we might make him a Visit together, which he readily consented to. We found him alone in the Prince's Lodgings; where, having congratulated the Success of his Attempt to restore the Parliament to the Exercise of their Authority, I took the Freedom to tell him, That, having an Opportunity put into his Hands to free these Nations from the Danger of being oppressed, as they had lately been, by the Power of the Sword, I hoped he would improve it to the public Advantage, by giving his Assistance to the Parliament, in settling the Government upon so just a Foundation, that it might be supported for the future by the Love and Affections of the People. He answered, That as God had owned him in his Work, so he desired, that he alone might have the Glory: That it was true Factions had been carried on; but that he was fully resolved to promote the Interest of a Commonwealth. Which Resolution when I had commended, and encouraged him as well as I could to continue, he said, *We must live*

live and die for and with a Commonwealth. Then I told him, That I had met lately with one Mr. *Courtney*, who said he was his Relation, and having drank too much at the Inn where I lay in my Way to *London*, boasted that his Cousin *Monke* would do great Things for the King; but that upon my objecting his public Declarations and Protestations to the contrary, he began to doubt, and said, That his Cousin being a Man of Honour, he feared he would be as good as his Word. *Yea* (said *Monke*) *if there were nothing in it but that, I must make good my Word, and will too.* I presume (said I) that the Answer you have lately published to your Countrymen's Letter, hath given them all Satisfaction concerning you. He replied, That he hoped it had. These and many other Protestations of Zeal to the Common Cause, with many Professions of Friendship to ourselves, we received from him at that Time; wherewith Vice-Admiral *Lawson* was so well satisfied, that he said to me, after we had parted from him, That since the *Levite* and the *Priest* had passed by and would not help us, he hoped we had found a *Samaritan* that would do it.

The Parliament having Notice of *Monke's* Arrival, sent a Message to him by Mr. *Scott* and Mr. *Robinson*, to desire his Attendance at their House the next Day; whither being come, a Chair was ordered for him, but he refused to sit, contenting himself to stand behind it uncovered, laying his Hand upon the Chair. The Speaker, as had been ordered, gave him the Thanks of the House for the Service he had done, extolling him above all the Worthies of former and latter Ages. To whose Rhetoric he answered, That as to what was done, he desired God might have the Glory, in that he had wrought Deliverance by so weak an Instrument. After which he informed the House, That, in his March, many Applications had been made to him, by all Sorts of Persons, for a Free Parliament; and that he had acquainted them, That the End of his March being to free the Parliament from the Power of those who had imposed on them, he doubted not they

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they would take all possible Care of the Public Good. Then he put them in Mind of their Resolution to fill up the House, which, he said, would tend much to the Satisfaction of the Nation. He desired that Fanatical Persons (as he called them) might be removed from Places of Trust, and undertook to answer for the Fidelity of those who had assumed the Power in *Ireland*; concluding with Professions of the utmost Zeal and Faithfulness to their Service. Thus he gave the Parliament good Words, for which they heaped their Favours upon him, and voted 1000 *l. per Ann.* to be settled on him. And that nothing might be wanting to compleat this Scene, *Monke's* Wife took especial Care to treat the Wives of the Members that came to visit her, running herself to fetch the Sweetmeats, and filling out Wine for them, not forgetting to talk mightily of Self-denial, and how much it was upon her Husband's Heart that the Government might be settled in the Way of a Commonwealth. In the mean Time the secluded Members had their Meetings with those of the same Faction in the City; and some of those that sat in Parliament were earnest Promoters of their Return to the House, of whom were Col. *Lascelles* and Col. *Richard Ingoldsby*, who had been two of the King's Judges: But the Person I most wondered at was Col. *Hutchinson*; who having exceeded most of the Members of the High Court of Justice, in Zeal for putting the King to Death, at this Time acted a very different Part, pressing the House, with an unbecoming Importunity, to proceed against Sir *Henry Vane* for not removing into the Country according to their Order, when it was well known he was so much indisposed that he could not do it without the apparent Hazard of his Life.

Many Alarms were given to the Parliament, by their faithful Friends, in printed Discourses, and otherwise, whereby they were put in Mind that the Enemies Quarrel, was not so much against Persons as Things; and, as one termed it, not against *Ludlow* and *Rich*, but against the Cause itself.

self. They were advised to accept the Assistance of their old Servants, and to encourage them in their Fidelity, as the only Means to preserve themselves and the Commonwealth from certain Ruin. But they were deaf to all salutary Counsel; and resolved to finish the Work with the new Instruments which they had chosen. To this End they proceeded on the Bill for filling up the House; which, by wise Men, was thought a most dangerous Expedient in that Conjunction, unless *Monke* should prove more honest than they could believe him to be. The City of *London* also took upon them, in their Common Council, to receive Petitions from the adjacent Counties, touching the Payment of Taxes, and other public Affairs; presuming not only to call in the Petitioners, and to give them Thanks for their good Affections, but also passed a Vote that they would pay no Taxes, but such as should be imposed by a Free Parliament.

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The Council of State having received a particular Account of the Proceedings in the City, sent for *Monke* to consult with him concerning the best Means to put a Stop to these Disorders; and some of them moving that the Common Council should be forbidden to sit, some few of the most active seized the Gates of the City taken down, the Portcullices wedged, and the Posts with their Chains pulled up: *Monke* said, That if they did no more, that would serve for nothing, because the Damage might be soon repaired. He added, That the Disaffection of the City was so great, that they would never be quiet till some of them were hanged; and that it was absolutely necessary, for the present, to break in Pieces their Gates and Portcullices, to burn their Posts, and to carry away their Chains to the *Tower*; offering himself, if they would command these Things to be done, to see their Orders put in Execution. Hereupon the Council ordered him to march into the City with his Forces early the next Morning, before the Occasion of his coming among them should be known. Various Reports were pub-

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published touching the Design of his March into the City, and many suspected that he had already declared for the King. But when the House was met, the Council of State made their Report to us, and informed us of the unwarrantable Proceedings of the Common Council, and of their own Resolutions and Orders concerning them; in the Execution of which they assured us *Monke* had by that Time made a considerable Progress, having already pulled up the Posts with their Chains, taken down the Portcullices, and the Gates of the City, which he had begun to cut in Pieces, and seized some of the most active of the Common Council. The Parliament having heard the Report of the Council of State, approved of what they had done, and ordered Fifty Pounds to be given to *Monke* to defray the Expence of his Dinner that Day, he having refused to dine at the Charge of the City, tho' earnestly importuned to it by divers Citizens.

All Things going so well that Morning, both in the Army and in the Parliament, Sir *Arthur Haslrigge* was again so elevated, that, coming into the House in the Afternoon, he broke out, in the Presence of divers Members, into these Expressions, *All is our own, he will be honest*. But it was not long before his Wine was turned into Water; for as soon as the House was met, a Letter was presented to the Speaker from *Monke*, the Contents whereof made them easily perceive that his Zeal to their Service began to cool. Therein he acquainted them with what he had done in Prosecution of the Orders he had received, and that he wanted Tools and Instruments to finish the Work, having already spoiled all those that he had brought with him to cut the Gates and other Defences of the City in Pieces; that the Mayor and Citizens had promised Obedience to the Parliament for the Time to come, and therefore he desired they would respite the Execution of what remained of his Instructions; hoping that what had been done would be a sufficient Admonition to the City for their future good Behaviour.

‘ The

The Parliament, understanding the Tendency of this Letter, were highly offended with *Monke*, for presuming to neglect and dispute their Commands; and being resolved to do as much as they could in this Matter to preserve their Authority, they dispatched a Message to him, requiring the exact Performance of the Orders he had received. Upon the Receipt of these second Orders, *Monke* seemed much disturbed, but yielded little or no Obedience to them, and lay that Night in the City. The Day following he returned with his Forces to *Whitehall*, and about two Days after he sent a Letter to the House, directed to the Speaker, and subscribed by himself and some of his Officers; wherein they complained that the Parliament had put them upon the late disobliging Work in the City, to render them odious to the Citizens; that they continued to favour the Fanatic Party, by not prosecuting those that had acted with the Army in the late Committee of Safety, and by permitting *Sir Henry Vane* and *Col. Lambert* to stay in Town contrary to their own Order for their Removal; that they admitted Men to sit with them in the House, who lay under Accusations of High Treason, (meaning *Mr. Miles Corbet* and me, tho' not naming us); that, on the contrary, they shewed a Backwardness to repose any Confidence in those who were their truest Friends; upbraiding them with refusing to approve some Officers that had been presented to them, and delaying to grant Commissions to others whom they had approved. They also reflected upon the Parliament for not making Provision for the Army, nor minding the Public Work, putting them in Mind of the Vote for their Dissolution in *May* following; and adding some threatening Expressions, in case they should not issue out Writs for filling up the Parliament according to their Promise.

After the reading of this Letter from *Monke*, I perceived most of the Members, who had any Affection to their Country, to be much dejected. But the Parliament having divested themselves of their own Strength, and abandoned all into the Hands of *Monke*,

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Monke, tho' no Man had ever before presumed to address himself to them in so insolent a Manner, yet they took his Letter into Consideration, and resolved to give him as much Satisfaction as they could with any Colour of Justice. To that End they quickened their Committee to bring in their Report touching those that had acted in the late Committee of Safety. They ordered Sir *Henry Vane* to depart the Town by a certain Day, and that Col. *Lambert* should render himself within a limited Time. They also resolved to issue out Writs of Summons for recruiting the House; but being fully persuaded that the Charge of High Treason against me was groundless and frivolous, they omitted to make any Order concerning it. However, being desirous to procure some Relief for those whom I had left at *Duncannon*, and to endeavour that the Forces in *Ireland* might be put into good Hands, I hoped that, if I should move to be heard, I might at the same Time have an Opportunity to press the two last Things, which I esteemed very necessary in that Conjunction. I desired, therefore, that since I conceived myself aimed at in one Part of *Monke's* Letter, the Parliament would be pleased to hear me in Vindication of my Innocence: But I could not obtain a present Hearing, my Case being put off till a farther Time, and then delayed from Day to Day, till the Dissipation of those who should have been my Judges.

' Sir *Henry Vane*, according to the late Order, was preparing to leave the Town; of which having Notice, I went to make him a Visit at his House, where he told me that, unless he was much mistaken, *Monke* had yet several Masks to pull off; assuring me, for what concerned himself, that he had all possible Satisfaction of Mind as to those Actions God had enabled him to do for the Commonwealth, and hoped the same God would fortify him in his Sufferings, how sharp soever, to bear a faithful and constant Testimony thereto. *Monke* having alarmed the Parliament by the foresaid Letter, and either not daring to trust himself at *Whitehall*, or thinking *London* a fitter Place to pursue his Design in, he retired

tired with his Forces into the City, where he mustered his Men, and was splendidly entertained at Dinner by the Mayor and others. Hereupon the Parliament, who endeavoured by all Means to give him Satisfaction, sent Mr. *Thomas Scott* and Mr. *Luke Robinson*, who had been their Commissioners to him, as I mentioned before, to assure him of their good Intentions towards him. But he having now fortified himself by the Conjunction of the City, began to treat them in a Manner much different from his former Carriage, not admitting them, without Difficulty, to his Presence; and, when he condescended to speak to them, his Discourse tended always to the same Purpose with his Letter, aspersing the Proceedings of the Parliament; and, amongst other Things, reproaching them with their Favour to me, as Mr. *Scott* afterwards informed me; insomuch that he who had so lately undertaken to the Parliament for *Monke's* Integrity and Fidelity to their Service, began to lose all Hopes of him. Yet for all his insolent Carriage to the Parliament and their Commissioners, his Party in the House had the Confidence to move that he might be made General of their Forces, the Time limited by Act of Parliament, for commissionating him, with others, to command the Army in *England* and *Scotland*, being almost expired. Many Arguments were used to that End, tho' those which were most pressed were taken from the Consideration of the present Posture of their Affairs.

But the Parliament still retaining some Sparks of that Courage with which they had been formerly animated, and having found, by sad Experience, what Miseries they had brought upon the Nation and themselves, by trusting *Cromwell* and others too far, chose rather to perish by the Hands of an Enemy, if *Monke* should resolve to be so, than by the Delusions of a pretended Friend: And therefore, having rejected the Proposition to make him General, they passed a Vote, That their Armies in *England* and *Scotland* should be governed by Commissioners, the

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Number of them to be five, and any three of them to make a *Quorum*. But that they might avoid, as much as possible, to give him the least just Cause of Discontent, they first agreed that he should be one of the said Commissioners: Then they proceeded to the Nomination of the rest, and chose Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, (tho' he earnestly pressed them to excuse him) Col. *Morley*, and Col. *Walton*. These four being elected, it was visible that the Balance of the Commission would be in the fifth Man that should be chosen, *Monke* having, in a Manner, declared himself our Enemy, and Col. *Morley* being sufficiently known to be of a temporizing Spirit.

' Hereupon *Monke's* Party in the House moved that Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* might be the fifth Commissioner; and, on the other Side, the Commonwealth Party had resolved to use their Endeavours for Major-General *Overton*: But upon Consideration of the Differences that had been between him and *Monke*, whereby they feared he would not pass, they laid aside that Resolution, and agreed to put up Col. *Alured*. Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, being first named, was first put to the Question, and by the Majority of Votes excluded. Col. *Alured* being next proposed, the Question was carried for him, to the great Satisfaction of the Commonwealth Party.

' Whereupon, sitting by Col. *Martin* in the House, and being persuaded of the Integrity of the major Part of these Commissioners, I desired him to move that the Command of the Forces in *Ireland* might be inserted in this Commission, which, upon his Motion, was ordered accordingly; and the Act, being but short, was read thrice, and passed before the rising of the House: And this I did, because I found no other probable Way open to force the Power in *Ireland* out of the Hands of those that had usurped it. Though these Proceedings did not a little disturb *Monke*, yet he endeavoured to disguise his Dissatisfaction, and began again to court the Members of Parliament more than before; whilst, with the Advice and Assistance of his Party in the City, he was forming a Militia there, and nominating Officers to command

command them, who were chosen for that Purpose, rather on Account of their Disaffection to the Parliament, than any other good Quality to be found among them.

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‘ Having received Advice of these Transactions, I acquainted Sir *Arthur Haslrigge* with my Information, and desired him to think of some speedy Remedy, proposing that he would cause our scattered Forces to rendezvous forthwith. But Sir *Arthur* was so deluded by the Hypocrisy of *Monke*, that he assured me he had given him all the Satisfaction, both by Words and Letters, that a Man could give touching his Integrity to the Parliament; shewing me, and divers other Members of Parliament, two Letters, which he had lately received from him, wherein were many Expressions of his Zeal for the Establishment of a Commonwealth, with earnest Desires that there might be no Difference between them touching the Way, seeing they were both intirely agreed in the same End.’

Neither must we forget the Lord *Whitlocke* in our Searches after the History of those Times; for, tho’ still in his Country Retirement, yet we find, by his Memoirs, that he had very good Intelligence of what was doing in Town. This Writer, after telling us of *Monke’s* March into *London*, and of an Order made by the House, That he should attend the Parliament and receive their Sense, in relation to his signal and faithful Services, has left us a larger Account of the General’s Speech in the House, than either of the foregoing.

He says, ‘ That when *Scott* reported that *Monke* Mr. *Whitlocke*. was come to attend the House, and was in the Court of Wards, the Serjeant at Arms was sent for him, and brought him into the House, accompanied with *Scott* and *Robinson*. After his Obeisance, a Chair of Velvet being set for him on the Left Hand within the Bar, the Speaker desired him to sit down; but he desired to be excused, and stood behind the Chair, whilst the Speaker made a Speech
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to him, magnifying his Service and Merits, and giving him the hearty Thanks of the House.

L^d. *Monke* answered him, extolling the Mercy of their Restitution, and acknowledging the Goodness of God to him, in making him instrumental therein; which was but his Duty, and deserved not the Honour they had done him. He told them of the many Addresses to him, in his Journey, for a free and full Parliament, and that this Parliament would determine their sitting.

‘That, as to the secluded Members, he answered them, That this Parliament had already given their Judgment, in which all ought to acquiesce; and that no Parliament had admitted new Members to sit without a previous Oath or Engagement; and he now saith it to the Parliament, that the less Oaths and Engagements are imposed, the Settlement will be the sooner attained; and he hoped the Parliament would be careful that neither the Cavalier nor Fanatic Party have yet a Share in the Civil or Military Power.

‘Then he spake of *Ireland* and of *Scotland*, who feared nothing more than to be over-run with Fanatic Notions; and he desired a Settlement there, and their Favour to that Nation.

‘Part of his Speech troubled and amused some of his Masters of the Parliament; and how himself pursued what he pretended, will afterwards appear.’

We have now done with all the Quotations from old Authorities, which we think necessary to introduce, towards clearing up the History to this Period, and proceed with the *Journals* for the succeeding Days of this Month.

The Journals. February 13. The first Thing we find on this Day is another Order of the House, for the Serjeant at Arms to carry Sir *Henry Vane* to his House at *Bellew*, in the County of *Lincoln*. A Proclamation was also read and agreed to by the House, for Col. *John Lambert* to render himself, on a Day fixed,

to the Council of State, and give an Account of his Contempt of the Order of Parliament; or, in Default thereof, that his Estate, Real and Personal, be sequestered. This Proclamation to be forthwith printed, published, and proclaimed by the Serjeant at Arms, in *Westminster-Hall*, the *New Palace-Yard*, and at the *Old Exchange*, *London*.

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We have met with a Copy of this Proclamation, printed amongst the various Diurnals, or News Papers, of these Times, which take in its own Words:

By the PARLIAMENT.

‘ **W** Hereas *John Lambert*, Esq; being com- A Proclamation
‘ manded by the Parliament to repair to against *Lambert*.
‘ one of his Dwelling-Houses, most remote from
‘ the City of *London*, in order to the Quiet and Peace
‘ of the Commonwealth, and afterwards, upon Re-
‘ quest made on his Behalf, was ordered to repair
‘ to *Holmby*, in the County of *Northampton*, there
‘ to remain and abide during the Pleasure of Par-
‘ liament; to which Command the said *John Lam-
‘ bert* hath not submitted, but doth, or did lately,
‘ lye privately in and about the City of *London*, as
‘ is informed, and is vehemently suspected to have
‘ promoted, countenanced, and abetted the late Mu-
‘ tiny and Tumult at *Somerset-House*, in the *Strand*,
‘ upon the second of *February*, 1659: It is therefore
‘ ordered that the said *John Lambert* do render him-
‘ self, by *Thursday* next, to the Council of State, to
‘ give an Account of his Contempt of Order of Par-
‘ liament; and, in Default thereof, the Estate, Real
‘ and Personal, of the said *John Lambert*, is to be
‘ seized and sequestered to and for the Use of the
‘ Commonwealth: And the Commissioners of Se-
‘ questrations sitting at *Haberdashers-Hall*, in *Lon-
‘ don*, are hereby commanded to sequester the same
‘ accordingly: And it is further ordered, That this
‘ present Order be proclaimed and published in
‘ *Westminster*, according to usual Course.’

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‘Ordered, also, That the Members of this House, who had acted at the pretended Committee of Safety, do appear in Parliament on this Day Se’night; the House then to go upon the Business relating to the said Members, the first Thing, and nothing to intervene.’ A Committee likewise was appointed to send for *Henry Scobell, Esq;* and *Mr. Robinson*, late Clerk to the Committee of Safety, to examine all the Books, Papers, &c. that are in their Hands, particularly a Draught of a Form of Government, presented to the said Committee, and report their Opinion which of the Things were worthy for the Consideration of Parliament.

The Vote was also renewed for a Month’s Pay to be forthwith advanced to all the Forces and Garrisons in *England*; the Committee for the Army to provide the same.

February 14. *Mr. Millington* reported from the Committee, to whom the Bill touching the Engagement was referred, the Amendments to the said Bill, which were twice read, and then it was resolved, That the Engagement be in these Words, *viz.*

I A. B. do promise and declare, That I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, and the Government thereof, in the Way of a Commonwealth and Free State, without a King, Single Person, or House of Lords.

Lord-Commissioner *Widdrington* and *Mr. Solicitor Ellis* were ordered to bring in an Act the next Morning, for the Council of State to take this Engagement, instead of the Oath of Renunciation; and that, upon taking thereof, with the Residue of the Instructions given to the Council of State, they do sit and act with the rest of that Council.

February 15. Letters from *Col. Overton* at *Hull*, dated *February 12, 1659*, and a Declaration, under the Hands of several Gentlemen in *Yorkshire*, were read, declaring for the secluded Members, or a Free Par-

Parliament, and against paying of Taxes. Referred to the Council of State. Inter-regnum.
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A Paper was given to the House, by Alderman *Atkins*, of several Informations taken by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*; with their Desire that it might be examined, the same being scandalous to divers Members of Parliament. Referred to a Committee.

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February 16. The Act concerning the Oath, or Engagement, to be taken by the Members of the Council of State, was read a second Time, with Amendments; and, upon the Question, passed.— Some additional Qualifications for Members of Parliament were also brought in, read, and agreed to be Part of the Bill. A Division of the House happening on one of these Additions, the Numbers were 27 to 26; which we mention only to shew the Strength of the House at that Time.

February 18. Some more Additions were offered, but rejected, and no more were voted to be added to this Bill; which, upon the third Reading, was passed, and ordered to be printed and published: The Title to be, *An Act concerning Elections of Members to serve in Parliament.*

This extraordinary Act, which took up so much Time to model and make fit for their Purpose; we have never yet met with at Length; but the Reader will have some Notion what it was, by the following Abstract of it, taken from one of the weekly News Papers of those Times, published by Authority. Some of the principal Heads of this Act are as followeth:

‘ No Person who hath been concerned in the *Irish*
 ‘ Rebellion, or who are Professors of the Popish
 ‘ Religion, or who have married a Wife of the
 ‘ same, or brought up his Children therein, or have
 ‘ been in Arms against the Parliament since *Jan. 1,*
 ‘ *1641*, unless restored by Commission since *May 7,*
 ‘ *1659*, and continued faithful since; or such as
 ‘ have been concerned in any Plot for *Charles Stu-*

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‘ art since 1648, or that have advised or promoted.
 ‘ a Single Person since *Jan. 1, 1659*; nor any Per-
 ‘ son disabled by *Act 17. Car.* intituled, *An Act*
 ‘ *disabling Persons in Holy Orders*; neither any Per-
 ‘ son who denieth the Scriptures to be the Word
 ‘ of God, or the Sacrament, Prayer, Magistracy, or
 ‘ Ministry to be the Word of God; nor such as are
 ‘ guilty of any of the Offences in the *Act* bearing
 ‘ Date 1650, intituled, *An Act against several blas-*
 ‘ *phemous and execrable Opinions*, derogatory to the
 ‘ Honour of God, and destructive to human Socie-
 ‘ ty; no common Profaner of the Lord’s Day, no
 ‘ common profane Swearer or Curser, nor common
 ‘ Drunkard; nor the Son of a sequestered Person
 ‘ (unless such Sons as have borne Arms for the Parlia-
 ‘ ment, and continued faithful thereto) during the
 ‘ Life of his Father; nor any that promise or give a
 ‘ Reward to be elected, or any Entertainment to the
 ‘ Electors; also that the Elected takes the Engage-
 ‘ ment before he sits in the House. They who are
 ‘ elected and sit in Parliament, contrary to these
 ‘ Qualifications, to forfeit 1000*l.* to the Common-
 ‘ wealth; and those who elect contrary to the Tenor
 ‘ of this *Act*, to forfeit one Part of their Real Estate
 ‘ and one Part of their Personal Estate to the Com-
 ‘ monwealth.’

February 18. Being *Saturday*, the House, on the breaking up, adjourned itself to *Monday* the 20th; on which Day we meet with nothing but an *Hiatus*, marked with some Asterisms, in the *Journals*; the Reason of which will be explained in the Sequel, as well as the following extraordinary Resolutions, which are entered as made on the next Day, when we find the Face of Things greatly changed in the House.

Several Resolu-
tions for expun-
ging Passages in
the *Journals*.

Resolved, ‘ That the Resolution of this House,
 of the 18th of *December, 1648*, that Liberty be gi-
 ven to the Members of this House, to declare their
 Dissent to the Vote of the 5th of *December, 1648*:
 That the King’s Answer to the Propositions of
 both Houses, was a Ground for this House to pro-
 ceed

ced upon, for Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, be vacated, and made null and void, and obliterated.

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Resolved, ' That the Resolution of this House; of the 20th of *December*, 1648, touching Members declaring their Dissent or Disapproval of the said Vote, of the 5th of *December*, 1648, to a Committee therein named; and every Clause of the said Order, be vacated, and made null and void, and obliterated.

Resolved, ' That the Order of the 23d of *February*, 1648, that no Member that hath not sitten in this House since the 31st of *January* then last, should sit in any Committee, untill this House take further Order, be vacated, and made null and void, and obliterated.

Resolved, ' That the several Votes, of the 20th of *December*, 1648, touching the Manner and Entry of the disapproving of the several Members to the Vote of the 5th of *December*, 1648, be made null and void, and obliterated out of the *Journal-Book*.

Resolved, ' That the Vote of the 9th of *June*, 1649, touching the suspending the sitting of such Members as should not enter their Dissent or Disapproval of the said Vote of the 5th of *December*, 1648, and should not, before the 30th of the said Month of *June*, give Satisfaction to the said Committee, and that the House would proceed to the Election of new Members in their room, be vacated, and made null and void, and obliterated.

Resolved, ' That all Orders of this House made upon a Paper, intituled, *A solemn Protestation of the imprisoned and secluded Members of the Commons House, against the horrid Force and Violence of the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, on Wednesday and Thursday last, being the 6th and 7th of December, 1648*, be, and are hereby, vacated, and made null and void, and obliterated: And that the said Paper be taken off the File.

Resolved, ' That the Resolution of Parliament, of the 5th of *January*, 1659, for confirming the former

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former Votes, be likewise vacated, and made null and void, and obliterated.

Resolved, ' That all Votes of this House, touching new Elections of Members to sit and serve in this Parliament, be, and are hereby, vacated : And that Mr. Speaker be, and is, required not to sign any such Orders.

And it was ordered to be referred to Mr. *Raleigh*, Col. *Pury*, Mr. *Weaver*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Mr. *Annesley*, Mr. *Prynne*, or any three of them, who were to meet in the Speaker's Chamber that Afternoon, to expunge and obliterate the Votes and Resolutions of the House, vacated this Day ; who were to consider what other Votes there are of this Nature, and to report their Opinion to the Parliament.

Then it was resolved, ' That General *George Monke* be constituted and appointed Captain-General and Commander in Chief, under the Parliament, of all the Land Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* ; and that Vice-Admiral *Lawson* be continued Vice-Admiral of the Naval Forces.

The Act appointing Commissioners for Government of the Army being next read, it was resolved, ' That all the Powers thereby granted to General *George Monke*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, Colonels *Walton*, *Morley*, and *Alured*, do cease ; and that the said Commissioners be requir'd to forbear to proceed to act any further thereupon ; and Col. *Morley* to give Notice of this Vote to the rest of the said Commissioners ; and an Act for Repeal of the said Act appointing Commissioners for Government of the Army be brought in by the before-mentioned Committee, to whom Mr. *Scawen* and Mr. Serjeant *Maynard* were to be added.

Then it was resolved, That Sir *Robert Pye*, Major *Fincher*, Mr. *Vincent*, Mr. *Bludworth*, Major *Chamberlayne*, Col. *Blomfield*, Mr. *Jackson*, Major *Cox*, Mr. *Thomas Browne*, and Mr. *Rootes*, be discharged of their Imprisonment, upon giving Security

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to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* not to disturb the Peace of the Commonwealth. The Lieutenant of the *Tower* was ordered to give an Account to the Parliament the next Morning of the Cause of Sir *George Booth's* and Major *Peter Brooke's* Imprisonment.

Ordered, ' That all such Orders as have been made since *Saturday* last, by the Council of State, or Commissioners of the Army, concerning the Forces and Garrisons, be communicated to General *George Monke*; and that there be no Proceedings upon any of the said Orders, without the Approbation of the said General *Monke*.

Resolved, ' That all the Powers given to the Council of State be, and are hereby, suspended untill the Parliament take further Order; and that Mr. *Weaver* do give Notice of this Order to the Council of State, and leave the Order with the Clerk of the Council.

Ordered, ' That Serjeant *Maynard*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Mr. Sollicitor *Ellis*, do bring in a Bill this Afternoon for constituting a new Council of State.

In the Afternoon of this Day the Order of the 9th of *February*, for discontinuing the present Common Council of the City of *London*, was vacated: And it was resolved, That the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*, have Liberty to make up their Gates, Posts, Portcullices, and Chains, as they shall see Cause, and Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Mr. *Vassel*, and Alderman *Atkin*, were ordered to deliver these Votes to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council.

It was also ordered, That Mr. Sollicitor-General, Mr. Serjeant *Glynn*, and Mr. Serjeant *Maynard*, do bring in a Bill for repealing the Act constituting Commissioners for Government of the Army.

Mr. *Weaver* acquainted the House, that he had given Notice to the Council of State of the Order of the House for suspending them, and that ready Obedience was yielded thereunto.

Mr. Serjeant *Maynard* reported a Bill, constituting a Council of State, which was read the first and

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and second Time this Day, and, upon the Question, committed to a Committee, who were to meet that Afternoon in the Speaker's Chamber, with Power to consider of these Instructions, and of former Instructions given to the Council of State, and to present such Instructions to the Parliament as they should think fit for their Consideration.

Then it was resolved, That the Number of the Council of State be Thirty-one; that General *George Monke* be one of the Council of State; and that the respective Members of Parliament prepare their Papers to make up Thirty Persons more to be of the Council of State, who were to be chosen by Glasses, as formerly accustomed, the next Morning.

Mr. *Chester*, High-Sheriff of *Buckinghamshire*, *Henry Brooke*, Esq; *Sir John Norcott*, *Sir William Courtney*, *Sir Richard Temple*, *Sir Copleston Bamfield*, and the Apprentices of *London*, now in Prison at *Lambeth-House*, were ordered to be discharged from their Imprisonment; and the Keeper of *Windser Castle* was ordered to certify to the Parliament the Causes of the Imprisonment of the Earls of *Crawford* and *Lauderdale*, and Lord *Saintclair*, now in Prison there.

February 22. It was resolved, That *Sir George Booth* be discharged from his Imprisonment in the *Tower*, upon giving 5000 *l.* Bail to answer any thing that shall be objected against him, and the Sequestration of his Estate was suspended untill the Parliament take further Order. Mr. *Faunt*, Sheriff of the County of *Leicester*, was also discharged from his Imprisonment.

Sir Gilbert Gerrard reported, That he acquainted the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, with the Resolves made Yesterday; and that they return their humble Thanks to the Parliament for their Respects to the City.

Then it was resolved, That the Gates, Portcullices, and Posts, of the City of *London*, be made up at the public Charge of the State.

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February 23. It was ordered, 'That Sir *William Mann*, now in Prison in *Dover-Castle*, Sir *John Boys*, Mr. *William Sumner*, and all other Persons who stood committed only for tendering an Address, or Declaration, for a Free Parliament, be discharged from their Imprisonment; and all Warrants for apprehending Persons for making any such Declarations or Addresses, were declared null and void.'

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Resolved, 'That all the Militias in the respective Counties, and the Powers given to them, be revoked; that the levying of any Men, Monies, Horses, or Arms, be forborne; that this Vote be forthwith printed and published; that the Members do send them into their respective Counties by the Post this Night; and that a Committee be appointed to bring in a Bill for settling the several Militias in the respective Counties.'

The House, according to former Order, proceeded in the Election of the Council of State; and, after telling the House by Order of the Speaker, there appeared to be 113 Members present, the following, after being balloted, were severally resolved to be the Council of State, viz. *William Pierpoint*, *John Crew*, Col. *Rossiter*, *Richard Knightley*, Col. *Popham*, Col. *Morley*, Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Lord Commissioner *Widdrington*, Sir *John Evelyn*, of *Wilts*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Sir *William Lewis*, Col. *Edward Montague*, Col. *Edward Harley*, *Richard Norton*, *Arthur Annesley*, *Denzil Holles*, Sir *John Temple*, Col. *George Thompson*, *John Trevor*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Potts*, Col. *John Birch*, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, *John Swinfen*, *John Weaver*, and Serjeant *Maynard*. Mr. *Annesley* was ordered to bring in Instructions for the Council of State the next Morning.

Sir *Richard Onslow* reported, 'That the Committee appointed Yesterday had, according to the Command of the Parliament, acquainted the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London* with the Votes of the Parliament; and that the City was so forward to express their Affections to the Parliament,

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ment, that, notwithstanding the great Decay of Trade, and Poverty of the City, they did offer to advance 60,000*l.* towards the present Supply of the Army and Navy; and did therefore humbly request the Parliament to appoint some of the Aldermen of the City to receive the Assessments, for their Reimbursement.

The City of London's verbal Address to Parliament;

The House being informed that divers Aldermen of the City of *London* were at the Door, they were called in; and, being come to the Bar, Mr. Alderman *Fowke* acquainted the House, 'That the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*, being sensible of the Goodness of God, in uniting the Parliament, and restoring the Members to the Discharge of their Trust, thought it their Duty, upon their first Meeting, to give Glory to God, and had set apart *Tuesday* next for a Day of Thanksgiving: That they acknowledge it their Duty to return their humble Thanks for the Favour of the Parliament, expressed in their late Votes; and the Seasonableness of it: That though they had been laid low, and not fully answered what had been expected from them; and had been looked upon as Persons disaffected to the Parliament; tho' they were in some Things dissatisfied, yet they were ever Well-willers to the Parliament. He did, with Thankfulness, own the Resolutions of the Parliament, in restoring the Members that were imprisoned; and in ordering their Gates, Portcullices, Posts, and Chains, to be set up at the public Charge of the State: That the Confidence the Parliament put in the City would not be misplaced, nor their Expectations frustrated: That the City did congratulate the happy Return of the Parliament: That they found some Persons for a Monarchical, some for a Commonwealth, some for no Government at all. The last they did dislike; for the other they would not presume to direct, but should acquiesce and submit to the Determination of Parliament. And concluded with an humble Desire, That the Militia of the City might be put into

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into such Hands as the City might confide in: And, to that End, tendered a List of Names of Commissioners for their Militia; yet with humble Submission to the Judgment of the Parliament. And also deliver'd a Petition, which, after the Petitioners were withdrawn, was read, and was address'd to the Parliament of *England*, and intituled, *The humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.*

The Petitioners being called in again, Mr. Speaker gave them this Answer:

'Gentlemen, If we may measure Affections by the Number of the Persons that came to present your Petition, we may say you brought the Affections of the whole City with you. Your Expressions at the Bar intimate no less; and you may rest assured of the like from the Parliament, you acknowledging that Duty and Respect which is due from you to the Parliament. They have read your Petition, and have also already read your List, and pass'd it, as you desired. The Members of Parliament, who were Yesterday with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, have made a Report of the great Readiness of the City to advance Money for the present Supply of the Army and Navy. Whatever Mistakes have been formerly, it can't but be an happy Day to all but our Enemies, in that all the Affections of the City and Parliament are joined together. You have shew'd yours, as well by your Words as Actions. And the Parliament have commanded me, for your good Affections and Actions, to give you hearty Thanks: And, in their Names, I do give you very hearty Thanks.'

Then it was resolv'd, That *Tuesday* the 28th Inst. be set apart for a Day of Thanksgiving to the Lord, to be observ'd by the Parliament in *Margaret's Church, Westminster*, for the happy Union of the Parliament, and the Return of their Members to the Discharge of their Trust; and order'd, That Mr. *Calamy* be desired to carry on the Work of the Day,

Inter-regnum. Day, and Mr. *Annesley* to give him Notice there-
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A Letter from General *Monke*, at *Whitehall*, of the 21st of *February*, 1659, was read: This is all the Intimation the *Journals* give us of a Letter of this Date; but the old Collection which we have mentioned calls it a Speech and a Declaration which the General made to the House at *Whitehall*, on *Tuesday, February 21*, from which Authority we shall here introduce them. ^b

The SPEECH of his Excellency the Lord-General
MONKE.

Gentlemen,

A Speech and Declaration to the Parliament from General *Monke*.

‘ YOU are not, I hope, ignorant what Care and Endeavours have been used, and Means essayed, for healing the Breaches of our Divisions amongst ourselves; and that, in order thereunto, divers Conferences have been procured between you, though to small Effect; yet having at length received fuller Satisfaction from these worthy Gentlemen that were secluded than formerly, I was bold to put you all to the Trouble of this Meeting, that I might open myself to you all, even with more Freedom than formerly: But, lest I might be misapprehended or mistaken, as of late it befell me, I have committed to writing the Heads of what I intended to discourse to you, and desire it may be read openly to you all.’

The DECLARATION.

Gentlemen,

‘ IT appears unto me, by what I have heard from you and the whole Nation, that the Peace and happy Settlement of these bleeding Nations, next under God, lyeth in your Hands. And when I consider that Wisdom, Piety, and Self-denial, which I have Reason to be confident lodgeth in you;

^b These were also printed by themselves in a single Pamphlet, by the General's Order, for *John Playford*, in the *Temple*, 1659.

' you; and how great a Share of the Nation's Suf-
 ' ferings will fall upon you, in case the Lord deny
 ' us now a Settlement, I am in very good Hopes
 ' there will be found in you all such melting Bowels
 ' towards these poor Nations, and towards one ano-
 ' ther, that you will become Healers and Makers-
 ' up of all its woful Breaches. And that such an
 ' Opportunity may clearly appear to be in your
 ' Hands, I thought good to assure you, and that in
 ' the Presence of God, that I have nothing before
 ' my Eyes but God's Glory, and the Settlement of
 ' these Nations upon Commonwealth Foundations:
 ' In pursuit whereof I shall think nothing too dear;
 ' and, for my own Particular, I shall throw myself
 ' down at your Feet, to be any thing or nothing in
 ' order to these great Ends.

' As to the Way of future Settlement, far be it
 ' from me to impose any thing; I desire you may be
 ' in perfect Freedom; only give me Leave to mind
 ' you, that the old Foundations are, by God's Pro-
 ' vidence, so broken, that, in the Eye of Reason,
 ' they cannot be restored, but upon the Ruin of the
 ' People of these Nations, that have engaged for
 ' their Rights in Defence of the Parliament, and the
 ' great and main Ends of the Covenant, for uniting
 ' and making the Lord's Name one in the Three
 ' Nations. And also the Liberty of the People's
 ' Representatives in Parliament will certainly be
 ' lost; for if the People find that, after so long and
 ' bloody a War against the King for breaking in
 ' upon their Liberties, yet at last he must be taken
 ' in again, it will be out of Question, and is most
 ' manifest, he may for the future govern by his
 ' Will, dispose of Parliaments and Parliament-Men
 ' as he pleaseth, and yet the People will never more
 ' rise for their Assistance.

' And as to the Interests of this famous City,
 ' (which hath been, in all Ages, the Bulwark of
 ' Parliaments, and unto whom I am, for their great
 ' Affection, so deeply engaged) certainly it must lye
 ' in a Commonwealth; that Government only be-
 ' ing

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ing capable to make them, through the Lord's Blessing, the Metropolis and Bank of Trade for all Christendom, whercunto God and Nature hath fitted them above all others.

And as to a Government in the Church, the Want whereof hath been no small Cause of these Nations Distractions; it is most manifest, that, if it be Monarchical in the State, the Church must follow, and Prelacy must be brought in; which these Nations, I know, cannot bear, and against which they have so solemnly sworn: And indeed moderate, not rigid, Presbyterian Government, with a sufficient Liberty for Consciences truly tender, appears at present to be the most indifferent and acceptable Way to the Church's Settlement.

The main Thing that seems to lye in the Way is the Interest of the Lords, even of those Lords who have shewed themselves Noble indeed, by joining with the People; and, in Defence of those just Rights, have adventured their dearest Blood and large Estates. To that I shall only say, That though the State of these Nations be such as cannot bear their sitting in a distinct House, yet certainly the Wisdom of Parliament will find out such hereditary Marks of Honour for them, as may make them more Noble in After-ages.

Gentlemen, Upon the whole Matter, the best Result that I can make at present for the Peace of these Nations, will be, in my Opinion, that you forthwith go to sit together in Parliament, in order,

1. To the settling the Conduct of the Armies of the Three Nations in that Manner as they may be serviceable to the Peace and Safety of them, and not to its own and the Nation's Ruin by Faction and Division.

2. To the providing sufficient Maintenance for them; that is, for the Forces by Land, and for the Navy by Sea, and all the Atrears of both, and other Contingencies of the Government.

3. To the appointing a Council of State, with Authority to settle the Civil Government and Judicatories

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dicatories in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to take
Care for the issuing of Writs for the summoning a
Parliament of these Three Nations united, to meet
at *Westminster* the 20th Day of *April* next, with
such Qualifications as may secure the Public Cause
we are all engaged in, and according to such Dis-
tributions as were used in the Year 1654: Which
Parliament, so called, may meet and act in Free-
dom, for the more full establishing of this Com-
monwealth without a King, Single Person, or
House of Lords.

4. To a legal Dissolution of this Parliament, to
make Way for Succession of Parliaments.

And, in order to these good Ends, the Guards
will not only willingly admit you, but faithfully,
both myself and every the Officers under my
Command; and, I believe, the Officers and Sol-
diers of the Three Nations will spend their Blood
for you and successive Parliaments.

If your Conjunction be directed to this End,
you may part honourably, having made a fair Step
to the Settlement of these Nations, by making a
Way for successive Parliaments.

But I must needs say, that if any different
Counsels should be taken, which I have no Reason
to fear, these Nations would presently be thrown
back into Force and Violence, and all Hopes of
this much-desired Establishment be buried in Dis-
order; which the Lord, in his great Mercy, I
hope, will prevent: And so God speed you well
together, and unite your Hearts for the Prefer-
vation of Peace, and Settlement of these Nations
to his own Glory, and yours and all our Com-
forts.

February 24. It seems that this Speech and De-
claration were both very pleasing to the Members,
for this Day the Bill for constituting him Captain-
General and Commander in Chief of all the Land-
Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, was read
a first and second Time, and committed. They
also

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also read a first and second Time, and passed, a Bill, intituled, *An Act making void the Acts appointing Commissioners for the Government of the Army, and for making Charles Fleetwood, Esq; Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces,* and order'd it to be printed and published.

Instructions for the new Council of State were also debated this Day, and many Additions and Alterations made to them; after which they were ordered to be ingrossed. The Question being put, That a particular Time be limited for the Continuance of the Council of State, it passed in the Negative, 36 against 26, and agreed the Time should be till the Parliament take further Order. *Lastly*, a Bill was ordered to be brought in, for the Dissolution of this present Parliament; and that Mr. *Annesley*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Mr. Solicitor-General do prepare and bring in the said Bill.

February 25. The Bill for constituting General *George Monke* Captain-General, &c. was this Day read a third Time; and a Clause being offered to be added to it, *viz.* 'Whether it was by Pretence, or Colour of Authority from *Charles Stuart*, Son of the late King, or from any other Single Person or Persons whatsoever?' And the Question being put, That this Clause be now read, it passed in the Negative, without any Division.

Another Bill was brought in, and read a first Time, for settling the Honour and Manor of *Hampton-Court*, and other Lands, upon General *George Monke*, and his Heirs, and ordered a second Reading the next Day. These Donations of the Royal Palaces and Domains were, no doubt, artfully mov'd for in the House by some, who might otherways wish him hang'd out of the Way, in order to bind the General more to their Interest for the Sake of his own.

The Bill for constituting a Council of State, with Instructions, was read a third Time; and a Clause was offered and agreed to be added to it, 'That the
Act

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Act with the Instructions for a Council of State, passed Jan. 2, 1659, with all the Powers, Clauses, Articles, and Instructions therein contained, be and hereby are repealed, made null and void.' After which the said Act, being put to the Question, passed; but was not ordered to be printed and published, for Reasons of State.

A Bill for Continuance of the Customs and Excise was this Day read a third Time, passed, and ordered to be printed and published.

The Circuits for the *Lent* Assizes, for the several Counties of the Commonwealth, was ordered to be put off, and a Proclamation published, declaring the Grounds and Reasons of it.

'Ordered, also, That *Peter Brooke*, Esq; Col. *Holland*, *Henry Brooke*, and Col. *Charles White*, be discharged from their Imprisonment, and the Sequestrations against their Estates stopp'd. Several Persons more, by Name, who, we suppose, were concerned in *Sir George Booth's* Affair, were pardoned.

February 27. *Sir Thomas Middleton*, *Thomas Middleton*, Esq; his Son, with others, who were taken on the Surrender of *Chirk-Castle*, were also discharged from their Imprisonment, and the Sequestration of their Estates suspended. The several Votes of *Sept. 17, 1659*, for the dissolving and disincorporating of the City of *Chester*, and that the said City and County of the same be no distinct Jurisdiction, were all vacated, and made null and void: And an Act was ordered to be brought in for reviving the Jurisdiction of the Counties Palatine of *Chester* and *Lancaster*.

Lastly, A Committee was appointed to consider who were in Prison, and upon what Account; who were fit to be discharged from their Imprisonment, and the Sequestrations of their Estates suspended; and present their Opinions therein to the Parliament.

By Desire of the Council of State, Liberty was given by the House, in case of special Exigencies

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for the Public Safety, to seize and secure any Person or Persons that they shall have just Ground to suspect to carry on any Designs of public Danger, though such Persons be, for the present, Members of Parliament.

John Thompson and *John Thurloe*, Esqrs. being both nominated for a Secretary of State, the House divided on the Question, when *Thurloe*, who had been Secretary to *Oliver Cromwell*, was elected by a Majority of 65 to 38; in all 103 Members in the House at that Time.

A Bill for dissolving this present Parliament was this Day read once, and referred back to the Committee who brought it in, to prepare a Form of a Writ for Election of Members to sit and serve in Parliament, and how, and in what Manner, the new Parliament should be summoned.

Another Bill, for settling the Militia in the several Counties of the Commonwealth, was also read a first Time. Both these last Bills were ordered to be read on the 29th Instant; to which Day the House adjourned, on Account of the Thanksgiving-Day intervening.

February 29. This Year, we find, was the Bisextile, or Leap Year, by their reckoning this Day; on which the first Thing the House did was to return Thanks to *Mr. Calamy* and *Mr. Manton*, for their great Pains taken the Day before in *Margaret's Church, Westminster*, in carrying on the Work of Thanksgiving for the Union of the Parliament, and restoring the Members of it to the Discharge of their Trust. It may be well supposed that these Preachers had put the House in Mind of settling Religion in their Sermons; for, immediately after, a Committee was appointed to consider of settling of Ministers, and all Matters concerning Religion and the Confession of Faith: To report their Opinion to Parliament what they think fit to be done. By another Order of this Day, the aforesaid Committee had

had further Power given them, to consider of such Ministers as are in sequestrated Livings, and of Ministers sequestered; and to examine the Business touching such Ministers who have been put out of their Livings in *Wales*; to state the Matter of Fact, and report it to the Parliament.

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The Militia Bill, that for a new Parliament, and an Act for Security to the City of *London*, for such Sums as they should advance on the present Occasions, were all read a second Time, and committed.

March 1. We now enter into that Month of the Year 1659, which determined the End of this Parliament, that had sat, by Intervals, for twenty Years; but were now under a Necessity to dissolve themselves. The first Thing we find on this Day's Proceedings, remarkable, is an Order for appointing a Committee to consider of the State of the Revenue of the Commonwealth; what the Charge of it is; what Obstructions hinder the Bringing-in of the Revenue; how the State of the Debts stand; and how the Revenue may be managed for the best Advantage of the Commonwealth: To report their Opinions of all to the Parliament.

The same Day the Question being put, That the Dissolution of this Parliament shall be on or before the 15th Day of this Instant, it was carried in the Affirmative, without any Division. Col. *Lambert*, on a Letter of his sent to the Council of State, was dispensed with for not appearing on the Proclamation against him; and, on Security given, was to be permitted to live quietly at his own House in the Country.

March 2. The House now began to settle Religious Matters; a Bill was brought in, read a first and second Time, for Approbation of Ministers, before they be admitted to any public Benefice, and committed. The House also agreed to that Confession of Faith, which was presented from the Assembly

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bly of Divines, by Dr. *Burgefs* and others, *Sept. 25, 1646*, and ordered an Act to be brought in, for declaring and owning that to be the public Confession of Faith of the Church of *England*. Many Commissioners for the general Assessment in several Counties were likewise nominated and appointed.

In the Afternoön of this Day Mr. *Prynne* reported from the Committee, to whom it was referred to confider what Votes were fit to be expunged out of the *Journals*, That the Votes of *Jan. 27, 1647*, for discharging Mr. *Denzil Holles*, and others, of the House; and *Jan. 29, 1647*, for accusing Mr. *Holles*, and others, of High Treason, ought to be expunged; and they were ordered accordingly. Votes and Resolves, of *Jan. 25, 1659*, relating to Sir *Robert Pye* and Major *Fincher*, upon a Paper delivered by them to the Speaker; and the Votes of *July 21, 1659*, relating to some Reports publish'd by Major *Harley*, be declared null and void, and ordered to be obliterated.

A Bill for repealing two Acts for Sequestrations was this Day read a third Time, and, upon the Question, passed, and ordered to be printed and published.

A Bill for Security of 27,000*l.* advanced with much Chearfulness by the City of *London*, for the present Service of the State, was read a third Time, and passed.

General *George Monke* and General *Edward Montague* made joint Generals, or Admirals of the Navy, for the next Summer's Expedition.

Lastly, The Militia Bill was debated, some Amendments made to it, and the Members of the House were ordered to take special Care, that, to the best of their Judgments, they present none to be Commissioners in this Bill, but who are Persons well affected to the Cause of the Parliament.

March 3. Colonel *Thompson* reported the State of the Account of the Monies, charged on the Assessments

payments for the Use of the Navy, and what hath been received thereupon, which was read as follows :

	l.	s.	d.
By Order of the 7th of <i>September</i> , 1659,	60000	0	0
More, by like Order, of the 29th of <i>October</i> ,	70000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	130000	0	0
	<hr/>		
Whereof received, ———	80414	17	5
	<hr/>		
So there remains unpaid, ———	49585	2	7
	<hr/>		

Memorandum. There hath been no Monies received from the Customs or Excise, between the 23d of *December*, 1659, and the 15th of *February*, 1659; and besides several Sums formerly diverted, to the Value of 32950 *l. viz.*

	l.	s.	d.
From the <i>East-India</i> Company, 15000	15000	0	0
From the Excise, ———	5950	0	0
From Mr. <i>Noell's</i> Farm, —	12000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	32950	0	0
	<hr/>		

Besides other Sums lately diverted; which will appear in the Exchequer.

He also reported an Estimate of the Debts of the Navy, now due to the First of *February*, 1659, as followeth :

	l.	s.	d.
For Victuals, ——— ——— ———	56000	0	0
Upon Bills signed, and to be signed, for Provi- sions, }	230000	0	0
Wages to Seamen, ——— ———	354112	0	0
Wages and Salaries to the Officers of the Navy, and Yards, }	54000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	694112	0	0
	<hr/>		

An Estimate of the Charge of setting forth to Sea a Fleet, to consist of Twenty Thousand Men for eight Months Service, to end the last of September, 1660, as followeth :

	l.	s.	d.
For Entertainment of Flag-Officers, Wages of Captains, other Officers and Seamen, with Victuals for the said Time; the Charge of equipping the Ships, Wear and Tear, and Expence of Carpenters, Boatswains, and Gunners Stores, and maintaining them in Warlike Manner at Sea; with Pilotage, and other contingent Expences, &c. at 4 <i>l.</i> a Man, <i>per Mens. Medium</i> ,	640000	0	0
For the Ordinary of the several Yards and Ships that will remain in Harbour, with ne- cessary Repairs of Docks, Store-houses, and Ships,	12000	0	0
For Salaries of the Commissioners for the Navy, Treasurer, Auditors of Imprest, Clerks of the Admiralty, &c.	5000	0	0
For furnishing the Stores, so as they may answer any Emergency, they being now exceedingly exhausted,	100000	0	0
	757000	0	0
Totals,	694112	0	0
	757000	0	0
	1451112	0	0
	in all.		

March 5. An Act, declaring the public Confession of Faith of the Church of England, was this Day read a third Time, and ordered to be printed and published. — A Proclamation ordered out, for putting all the Laws and Statutes against Popish Recufants, Priests, and Jesuits, in speedy and effectual Execution. And twenty Pounds Reward order'd, also, to be given by every Sheriff, to such Person or Persons, as shall discover any such Priests, &c. to be allowed in their Accounts. — The solemn League and Covenant once more revived, and ordered to be printed and published, set up, and forthwith read in every Church; and that the said solemn League shall be also put up in the House.

March

March 6. Mr. Annesley reported from the Council of State, ' That Yesterday Col. *John Lambert*, was called into the Council, to give Security, according to the Order of Parliament of the First of *March* Instant; which being accordingly propounded unto him by the Lord President, he spoke to this Effect:

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' That he did acknowledge he had had the Advantage of a Sight of those Votes which passed the House concerning him, and did look upon them as a very great Favour and Justice from the House, that they would please to take Notice so far, as to remove that Inconvenience that was both upon his Person and his Estate:— And said, He must needs deal freely and plainly; that he did cast himself upon the Parliament, and now upon the Council, in Hopes of a further Testimony of their Favour, than upon those Votes. He said, He did not at all think it amiss, that there should be all Care taken to preserve the Peace of these Nations; for he had himself, when he was in that Station, held it his Duty to do so: That, whatever may be suggested against him, he hath his own Satisfaction within him: Whatever Reports may be concerning him, he conceives they do not extend towards him; for as to Reports, he cannot be safe either here or at his House, if all Reports may be taken for Truth. He said, That, for his own Part, he could hardly say, since he last came to Town, and more especially within fewer Days since, that he hath not said any thing, nor meddled in any thing, that might tend to hinder Settlement; but, on the contrary, as he had Opportunity to converse with any, he contributed in his Discourse towards Settlement, and no otherwise. He said, He did exercise Plainness, and hoped not to fare the worse for it: That he had a long Time contended for a due and moderate Liberty for the People of these Nations; and he must needs say, that he did not know how to put a Difference betwixt himself and the good People of these Nations. He desired his Case might be truly and fully known, before such a Distinction be made, to put a Mark or
Cha-

Lambert's Speech
before the Council
of State.

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Character upon him. He said, That common Liberty had, Day after Day, been granted unto others, but not to him. He did freely cast himself upon the Ingenuity of the Parliament and Council.'

'Having ended his Discourse, the Lord President desired his Answer, as to what Security he would give. To which he replied, 'It was not fit for him to argue: That he understood the Council were under Command from the Parliament; and he did not yet know whether his Case was well stated to the Parliament. *I shall clearly, however, submit to what you do*: That he knew not what kind of Security the Council did intend: That giving Security in this Kind, was very strange unto him.' Hereupon he withdrew.

'That the Council, after Consideration of what Col. *Lambert* had said, came to this Resolution: To propose unto him to enter into a Bond of twenty thousand Pounds, with four good Securities, upon Condition to live peaceably at his House at *Wimbledon*, and not to act any thing to the Prejudice of the Government, or Disturbance of the Public Peace; and not to remove from *Wimbledon* without Leave of the Parliament, or Council of State; and to render himself, upon Summons from the Parliament, or Council of State. And this Bond to continue in Force till the Parliament or Council give further Order to the contrary.

'Hereupon Col. *Lambert* was called in again, and the Resolution of the Council made known unto him, by the Lord President. And he, desiring Leave to speak a few Words, spoke to this Effect:

'That he desired to take the Freedom to say, That it was severe on his Part: That he had met To-day with an Ordinance of Parliament of Indemnity to many Persons, who have had their Hands in several Actions of higher Nature than himself had. He found them all indemnified, and restored to the same Condition which formerly they had been in. He said, He would not say, That that Ordinance did reach as to his Person; it is not clear whether it doth so or no. He said, He was unwilling

ling to give it under his Hand that he deserved not to be put into the Condition with others; and tho' there have been among ourselves Differences of Judgment, Ways, and Forms; yet, as to the main Point, he said, he could not be taxed in the least Kind: That he finds himself there equally so with the greatest Offender: That he did cast himself upon the Council, to dispose of him as they thought fit. And then he withdrew.

' And the Council thereupon resolved to call in Col. *Lambert* once more, and positively to demand of him, Whether he would give Security, as was last propounded unto him.

' Whereupon he was called in, and accordingly the Lord President acquainted him with the Resolution of the Council: To which he replied, ' He did believe that he could not procure the Security proposed: That he did not hear of a Fault assigned to him; therefore he desired Leave to petition the House; adding, That, if he be found an Offender, he will submit; if none, he beseeches it may be considered: That he is not willing to give it under his Hand that he is an Offender, tho' he freely submits to the Parliament's Pleasure: But, being unheard, uncharged, and untaxed, to write it under his Hand that he is a guilty Person, not fit to be trusted in his own Country without a Clog and Tie upon him, he knows not what to say to it; but he shall submit.'

' Being pressed again, Whether he would give that Security propounded, he said, He believed he could not do it; twenty thousand Pounds being a Sum that he believes he cannot get Sureties for.

' Hereupon, after he was withdrawn, it was ordered, That he be forthwith committed to the *Tower* till further Order, for refusing to give Security, according to the Order of Parliament; but instead of that, standing to justify his Innocency; and that a Warrant be prepared accordingly.'

The same Day the humble Petition of *John Lambert*, Major-General, being read, it was resolved,
That

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That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State have done, in committing of Col. *John Lambert* to the *Tower*.

The aforesaid Mr. *Annesley* also reported, from the Council of State, That Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge* having the Command of a Regiment of Horse, and also a Commission to be Governor of *Berwick, Carlisle, and Tinnmouth*, three considerable Garrisons in the North of *England*, that they do find his Name mentioned in some Information sent to the Council; Sir *Arthur* was ordered to attend the House the next Morning. The said Council was enjoined to take special Care of the Safety and Peace of the Nation, and to proceed vigorously in securing such Persons as they should think dangerous to the State.

Hasilrigge questioned.

March 7. Mr. *Annesley* gave into the House the several Informations taken by the Council of State against Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*; and he, standing up in his Place, said, He was not guilty of any Thing wherewith he was charged. The House ordered the whole of this Matter to be referred back to the Council of State, to examine it further, and report it to the Parliament.

The Time for the Dissolution of this Parliament being now near at Hand, the House agreed to proceed only with Matters of Religion, the Militia, the Qualifications, and the Writs of Summons.

March 8. Accordingly, we find that, this Day, a Bill for calling and holding a new Parliament, to sit at *Westminster* the 25th Day of *April*, 1660, was brought in, read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading on the next. Many Commissioners for the Militia were also named to serve for several Counties in *England*.

March 9. The Act for calling and holding a new Parliament was read a second Time and committed; but the Question being put, That this Bill be committed to a Grand Committee of the whole House, it passed in the Negative, 84 against 66.

March

March 12. The House went upon nothing, for some Days, but settling the Militia-Bill; and, on this, the whole being perfected, it passed, and was ordered to be printed and published forthwith. Several Sheriffs for Counties were also nominated to serve for the Year ensuing.

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March 13. This Day the House resolved, That the Engagement, appointed to be taken by Members of Parliament and others, in these Words, *viz.* *I do declare and promise, That I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a King or House of Lords,* be discharged and taken off the File: Also, That all Orders, enjoining the taking of the said Engagement, be, and are hereby, vacated and expunged out of the *Journal-Book* of Parliament. Mr. *Prynne*, Serjeant *Maynard*, and Col. *Harley*, were ordered to see it done accordingly.

Ordered, That it be referred to a Committee to consider what had been done in this House concerning the Lords House, to state the Matter of Fact, and report it to the Parliament the next Morning.

March 14. Mr. *Annesley* reported, from the Council of State, That the Council having given Directions for the securing of Major *Creed*, in order to public Safety; and being informed by a Letter, this Night read, That he was withdrawn from his House, and, by the likeliest Conjecture, come up to *London*, having been seen, not many Days before, upon the Road as far as *Stony-Stratford*: And that, having caused Inquiry to be made after Col. *Cobbet* and Col. *Ashfield*, they received an Account that their Places of Abode could not be heard of: Which three are of the Number of those Officers, who, by Order of Parliament, were confined to their Dwellings most remote from *London*: And that the House be humbly moved to declare their Pleasure, what further Proceedings the Council shall make in these, or other Cases of the like Nature.

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Hereupon it was resolved, 'That the Council of State be, and are hereby, authorized to issue forth Proclamations, at any Time, untill the first Sitting of the next Parliament, against such Persons as they shall find dangerous to the Peace and Safety of the Commonwealth, who absent themselves from their Dwellings and Places of their Habitations, to summon them to appear before them, at a certain Day, under such Penalties as the Case shall require, and as the Council of State shall think fit, to answer such Matters as shall be objected against them by the Council of State.'

Resolved, 'That this be added an Instruction to the Council of State.'

A Bill for reviving the Court of the Duchy-Chamber of *Lancaster* was read a third Time, and passed. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* was voted Chancellor of the Duchy-Court of *Lancaster*, and *Nicholas Lechmere*, Esq; Attorney of the same.

Another Bill, for restoring *William Lentball*, Esq; Speaker of the Parliament, to the Chamberlainship of *Chester*, was also passed.

Serjeant *Waller*, Serjeant *Evan Seys*, *William Jones*, *William Foxwith*, *John Corbett*, *Bennet Hoskins*, *Thomas Manby*, and *John Radcliffe*, Esqrs: were appointed Judges for the several Districts in *Wales*.

March 15. An engrossed Bill for settling Lands on his Excellency the Lord-General *Monke*, and his Heirs, was this Day read a third Time; and the Question being put, That this Bill pass as a Law, it was carried in the Negative, 44 against 37: But at the same Time it was resolved, 'That the Sum of 20,000 *l.* be conferred on his Excellency the Lord-General; and that the same be charged upon the Receipts of the public Exchequer.'

An Act, enabling to sue Bonds and Securities, taken in the Name of *Oliver* Lord Protector, and *Richard* Lord Protector, was brought in, read a first and second Time, passed, and ordered to be printed
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and published: As was also an Act for bringing in the Rents and Revenues of Delinquents and Popish Recufants Estates.

In the Afternoon of the same Day Mr. *Annesley* reported, from the Council of State, an Act for giving Power to the said Council to act during the Interval of Parliament, in order to public Safety. Some Amendments were made to it; and, being put to the Question, it passed.

An Act for impressing of Seamen, to continue till June 24, 1660, was passed: Also another for removing Obstructions in bringing in the Assessments.

Mr. *Annesley* reported a Letter from Col. *Lambert*, desiring to know the Council's Pleasure concerning his Restraint, and offering to give Security, in as much as he was able to procure. That the Council of State humbly moved to know the Pleasure of the Parliament, how they should act in that Case: On which it was resolved, 'That Power be given to the said Council to discharge Col. *Lambert* from his Imprisonment, on his Parole, or Security, as they should see Cause.' Resolved, also, 'That Dr. *Wren* be released from his Imprisonment, and the Lieutenant of the *Tower* ordered to discharge him: That Power be given to the Council of State to discharge any other Person or Persons imprisoned upon any Crime committed against the State.

March 16. The Bill for conferring 20,000*l.* on Captain-General *Monke*, for his signal Services, was read twice; but, on the third Reading of it, the Word *signal* was changed for *eminent*, and then the Bill passed. The General was also constituted, by the Parliament, Steward of the Honour and Manor of *Hampton-Court*, and Keeper of the House and Parks there; with all the Rights and Privileges to the said Stewardship belonging, in as ample a Manner as any Steward of the same had heretofore enjoyed.

Some Amendments were offered to the Bill for re-settling Incumbents in sequestered Livings; a Proviso of which was, 'That if any Minister or Mini-

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Ministers have been formerly ejected or sequestered, whose Conversation and Lives have been and are blameless, and they sound in Doctrine, shall be capable to be presented to any Living in the Church of *England*, so as such Minister do officiate according to the Directory established, and not otherwise.

Resolved, also, 'That all Acts and Ordinances, made for the Payment of Tythes, be revived and stand in full Force. The Act, so amended, being put to the Question, passed; and was ordered to be printed and published, with this Title, *An Act for Ministers and Payment of Tythes.*

A Letter from General *Monke*, dated *St. James's, March 16, 1659*, was read; after which the House ordered three Gentlemen, viz. *Mr. Morris*, *Mr. Annesley*, and *Mr. Holles*, to wait upon the General, and give him Satisfaction: Who, returning soon after, reported, That the General, on his reading the Clauses in the Militia Act, rested well satisfied. *Whitlocke* remarks, 'That this Interposition of *Monke's*, in an Act of Parliament, was thought, by some, too high.'

An Act for taking the Accounts, and redressing of Grievances, concerning Tythes and Church-Livings in *Wales*, and for Advancement of Religion and Learning there, was read a third Time, and passed.

The Act for Dissolution of this present Parliament was ordered to be read the first Business in the Afternoon, and nothing to intervene. Accordingly

A Bill, engrossed, for dissolving the Parliament begun and holden at *Westminster*, the third Day of *November, 1640*, and for the calling and holding of a Parliament at *Westminster* on the 25th Day of *April, 1660*, was read a third Time, and the following Proviso was tendered: 'That the single Actings of this House, enforced by the pressing Necessities of the present Times, are not intended, in the least, to infringe, much less take away, that antient native Right which the House of Peers, consisting of those Lords who did engage in the Cause of the Parliament against the Forces raised in

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the Name of the late King, and so continued to the Year 1648, had and have to be a Part of the Parliament of *England*.' Which Proviso, being read twice, was agreed to be Part of the Bill. Resolved, also, 'That the Day for the Dissolution of the Parliament shall be from this Day, *March 16, 1659*.' Then the Bill, so amended, being put to the Question, passed, and was ordered to be printed and published.

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Lastly, It was resolved, 'That *Friday* the 6th Day of *April* next be set apart for a Day of public Fasting and Humiliation, to be solemnized throughout the Nation, under the Sense of the great and manifold Sins and Provocations thereof; and to seek the Lord for his Blessing upon the Parliament, now shortly to be assembled, that the Lord will make them Healers of our Breaches, and Instruments to restore and settle Peace and Government in the Nations, upon Foundations of Truth and Righteousness.'

We have now drawn down our History of this Parliament through a long Series of Years; being called, by the King's Writ, to sit on the third Day of *November*, 1640, and dissolved by themselves, *March 16, 1659*; a Course of near twenty Years Duration. The Changes and Revolutions it suffered, during this long Period, there can be no Occasion to recapitulate here, since they are all distinctly given, annually, monthly, and diurnally, in the Course of this Work, and may be found in their proper Places. But as there yet remains a small Space of Time, taken last from the *Journals*, as above, and unexplained by the contemporary Historians, as hath been hitherto our Custom, we shall first give their Sentiments on those Occurrences, and then fill up the Vacancy between the Dissolution of the last, and the Beginning of the next Parliament, from the same Authorities.

Mr. *Ludlow*, whose Zeal for the Republican Cause now carries him a great Way, is not sparing
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in his Inveſtives againſt *Monke*, for deſerting that Intereſt which had raiſed him to the Power he then enjoyed. But, when we conſider that Gentleman's Memoirs were wrote after the Reſtoration, when he ſmarted with the Reſentment of a true *British* Parliament, we may reaſonably think him too partial to his Cauſe: For *Edmund Ludlow*, Eſq; having been proſcribed a Traitor, and forced to leave the Land, to avoid an ignominious Death, for ſitting and acting as one of the King's Judges, and ſigning the Bloody Warrant, retired into *Switzerland*, where he wrote his Memoirs, as abovesaid. However, to do Juſtice to both Sides of the Queſtion, and preſerve that Impartiality hitherto ſtrictly followed in theſe Enquiries, we ſhall firſt give the Senſe of what Mr. *Ludlow* and *Whitlocke* has left us, concerning theſe Times, and then the oppoſite Writer, Dr. *Price's* Account of the very ſame Proceedings.

Ludlow's Account of theſe Times.

To begin from where we left Mr. *Ludlow* laſt: He tells us, ' That *Monke* being lodged in the City, he reſolved to make him a Viſit, if poſſible, to learn his Intentions in regard to the Parliament. The Subject of this Converſation between them is ſome-what foreign to our Purpoſe; ſufficient it is to ſay, That our Author came away from the General as wiſe as he went; but to ſhew how ſuſpicious they were of each other, he adds, That, on his taking Leave, he took Notice one of *Monke's* Footmen ſtood at the Door of the Room where they had been diſcourſing, placed there, he ſuppoſed, by his Maſter's Order, to prevent him from dealing with *Monke*, as his Conſcience told him he deſerved.

But, notwithstanding the outward Shew of Reſpect and Civility our Author had received at this Viſit, he tells us, he could ſee through all *Monke's* Diſguiſes, and that he was not ſteering to the Harbour he pretended; and could he, *Ludlow*, but have prevailed with the Majority of the Parliament to be of the ſame Opinion with himſelf, *Monke* ſhould not have carried on his Deſign ſo ſmoothly. But into ſuch a deſperate Frenzy were they then fallen, that
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many in the House, either thro' Fear, or what other Reason he could not tell, discovered themselves daily to be Favourers of *Monke*, who, by this Time, had so far advanced his Affairs, as to pull off another Mask, and introduce the secluded Members into the House.

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In order to bring about this nice Affair, the same Author tells us, That *Monke* pretended it was only to give the secluded Members Satisfaction touching their Exclusion from the House, with which he declared himself thoroughly convinced; and to that End, some sitting Members of the House were desired to meet their former Brethren at a Conference. But this produced nothing but Disputes and Quarrels between them, the latter reflecting very indecently on the other's Proceedings, since they were excluded; so that both Sides parted in no good Humour with one another.

About this Time, as our Memorialist tells us, came a Letter from *Ireland* to the Parliament, the Contents of which were still more insolent than the Letter *Monke* had sent to them, before he retired into the City: For, after they had reproached them with extending their Favours to Men accused of High Treason, and the Discouragements they laid upon those who had been sent to *England* to prosecute them, they openly told the Parliament they could no longer own their Authority; and therefore desired, That a new Parliament might be called, to put an End to the Confusions which their Miscarriages had brought upon the Nation.

In the mean while *Monke* had desired the Mayor of *London* to assemble the Common Council, though the Parliament had dissolved them; and, in Defiance of their Authority, says our Author, attended on them in Person at *Guildhall*. He there excused himself for what he had been constrained to, he said, by Order of the Council of State; and assured them he was much troubled at that rigorous Service: He declared himself ready to expose his Person to all Dangers for their Sakes, and that he had not forgot the kind Letter they had sent him whilst he was yet

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in the North : That he was then of the same Opinion with themselves, but was obliged; at that Time, to conceal it, till he might have an Opportunity to discover his Sentiments with better Advantage.

Lastly, he acquainted them, That he had sent a Letter to the Parliament to fill up their House, and put an End to their Sitting by the 6th of *May* next.

This Speech of the General's, our Memorialist says, greatly encouraged the Cavalier Party in the City, insomuch that a Rabble of them cried out for *A Free Parliament*, as he passed by from *Guildhall*; and perceiving him not to be displeas'd with their Insolence, they made Bonfires in *London* and *Westminster* for roasting the Rump; which, adds our Authority, they presumed to call that Parliament, which, in the five Years Time that they governed without Interruption, had rais'd the Glory of the Nation from the Dust wherein it had been buried, by the Negligence and Corruption of the preceding Governments, and had rendered the *English* Name formidable to all *Europe*.

He next tells us, That the secluded Members were now grown very confident of attaining their Ends; which the sitting Men foreseeing, cast about to prevent them, by issuing out Writs for filling up the Parliament by new Elections. Whereupon the Speaker was ordered to sign a Warrant to authorize the Commissioners of the Great Seal to send out Writs according to Custom: But he refused to do it, pretending, That if he should sign any Warrant for that Purpose, he might be sued at Law by every individual Person, in whose Room any other should be elected; and therefore desired that the House would pass an Act to enable their Clerk to sign the Warrant; or that the Commissioners of the Great Seal might issue out their Writs of Summons upon a general Act to be pass'd for that End. It was answer'd, That the Duty of his Place oblig'd him to perform the Commands of the House; that having received their Order in this Affair, he was thereby fully indemnified; and that he signed

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not the Warrant in his personal, but in his politic Capacity. But the Speaker continued positive in his Refusal, submitting himself to the Pleasure of the House, if they should think fit to send him to the *Tower*, and chuse another Person to be Speaker in his Place. Whereupon, our Author informs us, the House condescended to pass an Act to empower the Clerk to sign the Warrant to the Commissioners of the Seal; though, for his own Part, he was for taking the Speaker at his Word; but instead of sending him to the *Tower*, he was for placing another Person in the Chair, and adjourning themselves to the *Tower*; but, he adds, he could prevail with very few to be of his Opinion.

Notwithstanding the Condescension of the Parliament about filling up their House, Things continued in great Disorder and Confusion amongst themselves. The Council of State received Advice, late one Night, That the secluded Members intended to force themselves into the House the next Morning; on which, they sent a Message to *Monke* to acquaint him of it, and required him to prevent it if it should be attempted. He returned for Answer, to the Council, 'That he was well assured no such Thing was designed; but, for their Satisfaction, and to hinder it, if endeavoured, he would not fail to double the Guards which were to attend the Parliament. But for all this the secluded Members, attended by divers of *Monke's* Officers, went early the next Morning to *Westminster*, and were admitted into the House by the Guards he had placed there, who were more ready to defend than prevent them. Thus, adds, our Author, *Monke* having violated his Promises, and abused the Trust reposed in him by the Public, took up his Quarters again at *Whitehall*, the same Morning the other Affair happened in the House.

At this Time it was that Mr. *Ludlow's* scrupulous Conscience, in Regard to Politics, made him quit his Seat in Parliament; for, he tells us, he was resolved to give no Countenance to the secluded Members, by sitting with them who had no Right

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to any Place in Parliament, having been expelled the House by more than a *Quorum* of lawful Members. From this Time, therefore, we shall leave this Author; for, though he carries on his Memoirs to the calling home of the King in this Volume, and, in a subsequent one, much further, yet, flying his Country from Justice into *Switzerland*, he could have little Knowledge of Parliamentary Affairs in *England*, but what were transmitted to him, from hence, by Men as partial as himself. Besides, his third Volume is so stuffed with personal Invectives against the King and his Ministers, (the former of which he does not stick to brand with the Imputation of committing Incest with his own Sisterⁿ) that here we think fit to leave him, and all that Rancour and Malice against the Royal Family, which is plentifully shewn in this third and last Volume of his Memoirs

Mrs. Whitlocke.

The other Memorialist, *Whitlocke*, has little in him, at this Time, but bare Accounts of Proceedings, which are much better given from the *Journals* themselves, being very sparing in his Reflections on Persons and Things; his own precarious Situation then requiring him to be very circumspect and wary, in what he wrote and said. He seems, however, much concerned at the Doublings and Changings of the Times, and fears that the choice Oates, he and his Sect had been devouring for twelve Years together, would be for ever taken from them. He apprehended the coming in of the King, from the Time the secluded Members were admitted to sit again; and says, That though *Hastlrigge*, *Nevil*, *Scott*, and *Robinson*, did all they could with *Monke* to prevent it, yet neither they, nor any of their Party, could prevail with him to forbid their Admission; the Spirit of the People in general, especially

ⁿ The Duchess of *Orleans*, who, our Author says, was suspected, by her Husband, for a too great Familiarity with her Brother, after her Return from a Visit she had made him in *England*, and therefore he poisoned her in a Glass of *Lemonade*. ——— *Ladlow's Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 227.

especially of the Presbyterians, running that Way; and the Cavaliers agreeing to it as a Step to bring in their King.

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In order to pave the Way towards such a Design, our Author goes on to tell us, That, on the Admission of the secluded Members, several former Votes were vacated, particularly those passed in 1648 and 1649, by which they were excluded the House. Then, to please their Patron, they voted *Monke* to be Captain-General of all the Forces in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and joined him in Commission with *Montague* to be Commanders in Chief of the Fleet; both fit, adds he, for the intended Work. The Militia was next to be regulated by a new Bill, and such Persons nominated, throughout all *England*, for Commissioners, as were to be confided in. Many Cavaliers, Delinquents to the late Times, were discharged out of Prison: And, lastly, the Engagement, 'To be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, without a King or House of Lords,' was voted to be discharged, and all Orders for taking of it expunged. After all this, the Parliament having passed a Bill for calling a new Parliament, and another for giving full Powers to the Council of State, in the Interval they dissolved themselves, every one departing on their own particular Occasions.

We come next to a Writer of a different Com-
plexion from either of the former, who, as hath been said, being Domestic Chaplain to the General, and his chief Confident, must certainly be best acquainted with his Designs; and, if impartially related, may be well supposed the best Authority. To begin, then, where we last left off with this Author, we shall also here give his Sense and Reasoning on these Proceedings in his own Words:

'The Parliament and Council of State, upon the first Revolt of *Monke*, and retiring to the City with his Army, easily saw what they were to trust to; however they still courted his Return: But, not trusting

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to the Charms of Words to allure him, they distributed those Arms to Anabaptists and Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and employed Agitators in their Army (now by *Monke's* successful Artifice dispersed in Country Quarters) to whisper his Treason against the Parliament, and to give out openly, that *Charles Stuart* was like to come in.

‘ *Sir Arthur Haslrigge* was tax’d, by the General, as the Promoter of this ill Office, but he had not the Courage to own it; or, though as good a General as himself, to rendezvous his Country Army against *Monke's* in the City. But it was God’s Time.

‘ For now the secluded Members of 1648, who, in the House of Commons, had refused to serve the Army’s Design of the total Subversion of Monarchy in the Royal Line, began to appear; and that not without some secret Encouragement neither. The General had before moved it, by some of his Confidants; and he looked upon it as the easiest and safest Change he could make on the sudden, and most consistent with his Declaration in *Scotland*.

‘ These Gentlemen (the General now being at *Drapers-Hall*) insist upon their Re-admission, but with Modesty and Prudence, becoming their Condition; for they were then much opposed by the Zealots of Oligarchy, who loved their Room better than their Company. These urged *Monke's* Declaration, when he first appeared for them against the Army, that he was for the Parliament, as it sat the 11th of *October*: The Secluded Reply, That their Re-admission was no Infringement of it; for the same Parliament would sit still; adding, further, that the Purpose of that Declaration was to reduce the Military Power in Obedience to the Civil; and that they had been secluded from the House only by Force of the Sword; they having no more forfeited their Right of sitting there, than had the other: It was said that, in Law, neither had any.

‘ These were the Occurrences of the more public Remark, for about a Week; at the End of which the General thought it not safe to hold his Design any longer

longer in Suspence, for the Army in several Parts of the Country began to grow mutinous, and some of our Officers to express their Fears: Wherefore he convened a select Number of both Parties, to debate upon the Affair, several of his own Officers being present. The sitting Members had nothing to alledge (besides their Love of Power) but their own Safety and the Army's, the Consciences of the Godly, and the Sale of public Lands; all which, they feared, would be disturbed by the Introduction of the secluded Members: But they gave satisfactory Answers to all these Objections, and engaged upon their Parole (over and above) that they would not look upon what had been done since their Seclusion, nor disturb the Property or Pretences of any; but would amicably sit and act for the Good of their Country, till, by their Dissolution, they made Way for another Parliament. This now was so fair a Proposition, that no *Englishman*, who had any Sense of the Distractions of these Nations, and Love to the Commonwealth, could any way except against it: Besides that, all their Returns were managed with such Modesty of Words and Behaviour, that our Officers soon entertained a very good Opinion of the Secluded; nay, and many even of the sitting Members themselves, that were there present, expressed a Disposition to give Way to their Re-admission; only they could not give their Votes for it but in the House. Thus ended the Conference; and, in the Close of it, one or two of our Officers (more discerning, or more busy, than the rest) moved that the Government might be declared to be by a Commonwealth, and a further Security devised for the Sale of the public Lands. This pinched; but it was artificially shuffled off by suggesting, That the Writs, to be issued out for the next Parliament, must necessarily run in the Name and Stile of the Keepers of the Liberties of the Commonwealth of *England*; and that the State of public Lands was already as secure as the Government could make it.

‘The Men at *Westminster*, understanding that the secluded Members were like to keep House with them

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them again, began to be very froward upon it, as if they should not have Elbow-Room enough; yet they durst not remonstrate against it, because they could not get the crafty General (who was now judged capable, with a little Help, of giving Check to the Army) out of his Hole in the City: Beside, that the popular Cry ran for a full and free Parliament, this Rump in the last Week's Debate, touching Qualifications for Members to serve in the ensuing Parliament, having also exasperated and incensed the People, by voting, as if none were fit to serve in that Capacity for the future, who had not contracted equal Guilt with themselves. Now, to obviate *Monke's* Design to restore the secluded Members, some of them fell to offering a speedy Resignation of their own Power; giving out, that, within a few Days, they would dispatch the Qualifications before them for the next Parliament; for they thought it not fit to resign up their Authority to those who would cut their Throats: But they found it to be too late for this Pin to be driven forward; for the General having gained, in Appearance at least, the Consent of his Officers, for the resisting of the secluded Members, upon certain Conditions, they, all of them that were in and about the Town, were sent for, and the Articles of their Re-admission, which were these following, read to them.

1. ' To settle the Command of the Armies in the Three Nations, as might best secure the common Peace and Safety of them.

2. ' To raise a Tax for the Payment of the Ar-rears of the Army and Navy; and what further Supplies should be found necessary for the Support of the Forces and Government of the Commonwealth.

3. ' To issue forth Writs for a Parliament, to sit at *Westminster* the 20th of *April* then next ensuing; and to constitute a Council of State to see this done.

4. ' To consent to their own Dissolution, by a Time that should be limited unto them.

' To which, with Chearfulness, they agreed and subscribed; and, before they left the Place, in Confidence

fidence that *Monke* was a true Patriot, promised to make him Commander in Chief, both by Sea and Land. Thus they went away, rejoicing that they should be accounted worthy to be the Restorers of their Country's Freedom.

‘ So on *Tuesday, February 21*, these Gentlemen met the General at *Whitehall*; for to that End only he returned thither. He spoke some few Words to them, reminding them chiefly of their Promises to him, and assuring them that he would not impose any new Thing upon them; and he was as good as his Word. That Morning they were conducted by Adjutant *Miller*, to take their former Places in the House of Commons; which, as soon as they entered, some of the sitting Members arose in a Heat, and left the House. *Hafilrigge* and others openly cried out (but too late) That *Monke* was a Traitor; but *Hafilrigge* met with no other Punishment afterward for his Treason, than his own native Rage and Fury.’

The same Author goes on and tells us, ‘ That some of the Peers, who had formerly agreed with the Commons, in drawing the Sword against their King, watched the Re-admission of the secluded Members, and would have entered their own House at the same Time; but the General, having Intimation of their Design before-hand, commanded *Miller* to withstand them; which the surly Officer obeyed, though he was threatened by some of the Lords for doing it.

‘ The General now quitted the City, and came to *Whitehall*, and was soon after, says the Doctor, stiled *His Excellency, Captain-General of all the Forces of the Commonwealth by Sea and Land*: Though, in the former, *Montague* was joined in Authority with him, which was a Breach of Promise; but he had Work enough to do at Land, and Ambition, adds he, was not his Aim.

‘ Letters were immediately dispatched away by the General, to the Commanding Officers in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to several others in the Garrisons and Stations in *England*; in which was signified the

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Necessity of acting what had been done in order to preserve and enlarge the Interest of the Commonwealth. And the secluded Members, now coming from all Parts of the Kingdom, soon swallowed up the Rump, and left it, says he, as a bare Bone.’

The last Instrument we find in the Collection so often mentioned, is a Copy of this very singular Letter, mentioned in the last Paragraph from Dr. Price’s Memoirs, which we shall also add to the rest, in its own Words, without any Comment.

A LETTER from the Lord-General MONKE, and the Officers here, to the several and respective Regiments, and other Forces, in England, Scotland, and Ireland,

Dear Brethren and Fellow Soldiers,

‘ **Y**OU cannot be ignorant of the many Endeavours, and earnest Desires, of many good Men in these Nations, to bring us to a Settlement; which it hath pleased God to disappoint unto this Day, and leave us as a broken and divided People, ready to run into Blood and Confusion; which that we might prevent so great Calamities impending, after our earnest seeking God for his Direction and Assistance, we find no Expedient so likely for the Satisfaction of the good People, and the Quiet and Welfare of this Commonwealth, as the Re-admission of the secluded Members, in order to a legal Dissolution of this Parliament by their own free Consents; and to issue Writs for a future full Representative of the whole Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, under such Qualifications as may secure our Cause, to convene on the 20th of *April* next at *Westminster*, for the establishing this Commonwealth upon the Foundations of Justice and true Freedom. And, to take away all just Jealousies from you, we do assure you, that we shall join with you in the Maintenance of those Ends expressed in the inclosed^a, and do expect your chearful Concurrence with us. And we desire to

‘ take

^a This was his Speech at the re-admitting the secluded Members.

' take God to witness, that we have no Intentions
 ' or Purposes to return to our old Bondage; but since
 ' the Providence of God hath made us free at the
 ' Cost of so much Blood, we hope we shall never be
 ' found so unfaithful to God and his People, as to
 ' lose so glorious a Cause. But we do resolve, with
 ' the Assistance of God, to adhere to you in the con-
 ' tinuing of our dear-purchased Liberties, both Spi-
 ' ritual and Civil. The Reason of our Proceedings
 ' in this Manner may seem strange; but if you duly
 ' consider the Necessities of our Affairs, and the pre-
 ' sent State of Things, you will certainly conclude
 ' nothing so safe to secure public Interest, and to
 ' engage the Nations peaceably to submit to a Free
 ' State; most of these Members having given us full
 ' Assurance, that their Session in Parliament shall
 ' not be longer than absolute Necessity will require
 ' to the putting the Government into successive Par-
 ' liaments, they not being free so to act by the old
 ' Writs, as when they shall be called upon a Com-
 ' monwealth Account: And it is the Opinion of the
 ' truest Friends to a Free State, That it cannot be
 ' consistent with the perpetual sitting of these Mem-
 ' bers, being contrary to the Nature of such a Go-
 ' vernment.

' And as we are confident the present Parliament,
 ' now sitting, will not repeal any of the Acts, Or-
 ' dinances, or Orders of this Parliament, for Sales or
 ' public Dispositions of Lands; so we shall, in our
 ' Station, observe, and cause to be observed, all
 ' other Acts and Ordinances of this Parliament
 ' whatsoever, and humbly interpose with the next
 ' succeeding Parliament, not only to pass a further
 ' Act of Confirmation of all such Sales and Dispo-
 ' sitions of Lands, here and in *Scotland*, but also
 ' of all the Distributions and Dispositions of Lands
 ' and Houses in *Ireland* to the Soldiery, Adventu-
 ' rers, or any other Persons, made by or in pursu-
 ' ance of any of the Acts, Ordinances, or Orders,
 ' of this present Parliament, or any pretended Par-
 ' liamentary Authority.

' And

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‘ And we entreat you to send up an Officer, to give
 ‘ to the Lord-General *Monke* an Account of your Ac-
 ‘ quiescence with us herein. And if any disaffected
 ‘ Persons shall hereby take Occasion to make Di-
 ‘ sturbance of the Peace of the Commonwealth,
 ‘ either in Favour of *Charles Stuart*, or any other
 ‘ pretended Authority, we desire you to secure them
 ‘ till the Pleasure of the Parliament or Council of
 ‘ State be known in that Behalf. You shall spee-
 ‘ dily receive Encouragements and Supplies of Mo-
 ‘ nies; and, indeed, it was not the least Motive that
 ‘ induced us to this Way of Composure of Affairs,
 ‘ that we might facilitate the raising of Monies for
 ‘ the Subsistence of the Army and Navy, which
 ‘ would not otherwise have been done, if at all, but
 ‘ with Effusion of Blood. We have nothing more
 ‘ at this Time, but to assure you that we shall ever
 ‘ remain,

Dear Brethren and Fellow Soldiers,

Whitehall, Feb. 21,
1659.

Your very affectionate Friends,

GEORGE MONKE,

R. KNIGHT,
JOHN CLOBERY,
THO. READ,
JO. HUBBLETHORNE,
LEONARD LIDCOT,
THO. SANDERS,

WILLIAM EYRE,
RICH. MOSSE,
WILLIAM FARLEY,
ARTHUR EVELIN,
JOHN STREATER,

}
Colonels,

JO. BUTLER, *Quarter-Master-General,*

ETHELBERT MORGAN,
JAMES MUTLOW,
JAMES EMERSON,
JOSEPH WITTER,
DENNIS PEPPER,

}
Lieutenant-Colonels,

JAMES DENNIS
RICH. WAGSTAFF,
THO. JOHNSON,
FRA. NICHOLS,

JER. SMITH,
NATH. BARTON,
THO. HIGGS,
JOHN CLARK,

}
Majors,

W. GOODWIN,
HEN. OGLE,

}
Captains.

To

To proceed now again with the Doctor: We shall purposely pass over some private Conversation between the General and his Chaplain, about Bishops, &c. as well as of some other Matters, of little or no Consequence, relating to the Church; and pursue, with our Author, the Civil and Military Affairs of the Nation, which were now every where on the Wheels of Motion. The Parliament had constituted a new Council of State; had taken off the Engagement against the King and House of Lords. This last, he tells us, was imposed on the Subject soon after the Murder of the King, when the Army had set up the Remainder of the House of Commons for a Free State. Though, he adds, the Solemn League and Covenant, which was in some Sense for Monarchy, but in all against Prelacy, hung still on the Walls of the House of Commons, and which, with the Names of the renowned Subscribers, was left to the Censure of the next Parliament.

‘The General kept a watchful Eye on his Enemy, the other Army; but, being now in full Martial Power over all, he went on reforming the Colonels and the other Officers, who were found troublesome or disaffected, till he had not left a Zealot or a Preacher amongst them. The Parliament eased him also of much Trouble, by settling the Militia; in which, the Doctor tells us, neither Independent, Anabaptist, Fifth-Monarchy-Man, or Quaker, had any Sort of Command; a Cavalier was then become a less odious Name. And thus, adds he, were Things carried all over the Nation, and a fair Prospect given of the King’s Return, all the ambitious and puritanical Officers of the marching Army being laid aside.

‘There did not want the Power of Money, also, to assist the Cause, which will always do great Matters with the common Soldiery, the Parliament having taken Care to continue the 100,000 *l.* monthly Assessment on *England* and *Wales*, for six Months more. By this Means Col. *Overton*’s Garrison at *Hull*, of which he was Governor, were gained from him, and he obliged to give up that

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strong Fortrefs to the Parliament, which otherwise might have proved very troublesome.

But still, the Doctor acquaints us, there was another great Rub to get over; all the Officers in the Army, who kept their Commissions, had actually signed their Concurrence for introducing the secluded Members, and owned the Necessity of it; but yet they would understand their Obedience to the Parliament to extend no further than as they were grounded upon a Free State: For this was the Phrase *Monke* and his Officers used in their Letter to the Parliament, which intimated a Readiness in them to take Care these should not be lost. But now they were not satisfied of the good Intentions of the Parliament touching this Government; nor much better of the General's, who had refused the Offer of the Honour and Manor of *Hampton-Court*, (the only Portion of Crown-Lands yet unfold) possessed by *Cromwell*, when he assumed the Title of Protector: For the old sitting Members had craftily proposed the giving of this to him, and the secluded could not fairly withstand the Motion of rewarding him: But the General, upon his refusing the Donation of these Lands, as a House too great for him, was recompensed with a Gift of 20,000 *l.* yet this Non-acceptance rendered him still more suspected.

Now these Officers, when they saw the General had refused these Crown-Lands, and even the Dignity of the Crown itself, when offered by some who best understood their own Safety, combined into dangerous Resolutions, and contrived a Paper to be universally subscribed, (presenting it to the General for his Subscription in the first Place) the Purport of which was, To declare that the Government of these Three Nations should be a Commonwealth, without Kingship or any other Single Person, by what Name or Title soever dignified or distinguished: And that this present Parliament should be required to pass this into an Act, as a Fundamental Constitution, not to be shaken or questioned by future Parliaments; and that the Army ought, upon no other Terms, to maintain their Authority. These Officers

Officers did assemble very daringly before the General, Col. *Okey* being their Prolocutor. This Gentleman was a better Soldier than an Orator; beside that his Life lay at Stake, having sat as Judge upon the King's. He was also a known Stickler for the Commonwealth's Party, and but lately as much a General as *Monke* himself; neither did he want either a Courage to act, or, possibly, a Party of the Army to follow him: Wherefore the General did not esteem it prudent to ruffle in Words, though he was resolved not to gratify their Request, by subscribing to the Paper: So that Commissary *Clargis* (for so now he was of the Musters) was put upon undertaking the Debate, for he had the General's good Opinion, as favouring his Design: And indeed it concerned him to deserve it, both their Interests being bound up in the same Bottom.

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‘ I happened to be present at the Debate, which *Clargis* managed with much Resolution and Dexterity of Words, laying before them their own Danger, in making at that Time such an Address to the Parliament, in regard this was the very Parliament that would not be frighted with their Arms or Impeachments of High Treason before; much less now, when all sober Men saw the Inconveniency of being govern'd by an Army: Further insinuating, That the General and his Officers were not to prescribe unto them: That the Parliament had an Authority, in which themselves, by their Subscription, did acquiesce: That they could vote the General, and whom else they thought fit, out of their Commands; and, when that was done, pass a Vote for their own Dissolution, without appointing the issuing out of Writs for the succeeding Parliament: For if the General, he said, would break his Promise of not disturbing them, they might very well break theirs for calling another Parliament: And that there would be no Fear of a Civil Government, because there was none to assume it, (unless they would trust *Richard Cromwell*) the General having refused it, as some of themselves well knew, who had made him an Offer of it. These Reasons the General approved of; and

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and added, That he would rather be torn in Pieces by wild Horses, than be so treacherous to his Country's Freedom.

‘ The Debate was long, and not without some Heat of Words; but after our Officers had spent their Fears and Jealousies of losing the Good Old Cause, the General, with Gravity and Calmness, admonished them, that it was contrary to the Discipline of an Army to meddle with Civil Government: That they and he were under the Command of the Parliament, their Superiors: That he did not doubt but the next Parliament would quiet all their Apprehensions; and that this could not hurt them, for that they were upon the Point of dissolving themselves: Then he severely commanded his Officers to have no more of these Meetings without his Privacy, soon after removing some of them from their Commands.

‘ The next Trouble the General found, our Author tells us, was from the Parliament itself; several of whose Members, desirous to keep their Places, were offering at breaking the Articles of their Admission, and not to yield to the calling of another Parliament. Mr. *Prynne* spoke it openly, ‘ That, if the King must come in, it was safest for them that he should come in by their Votes, who had made the War against his Father.’ But, Mr. *Prynne* being sent for, he was admonished to be quiet; and it was the Business of some others, the Doctor says, to keep their expiring Session of Parliament steady, and clear from intermeddling with Change of Government. They did not, however, part without leaving some Testimony of their Disloyalty behind them, as, by passing a Vote for the General to give no Commissions to any Officer, but to such as would make the following Declaration :

I A. B. do acknowledge and declare, That the War undertaken by both Houses of Parliament, in their defensive Part, against the Forces raised in the Name of the late King, was just and lawful.

‘ They

They also added the following Clause in the Qualification Bill :

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That all and every Person and Persons, who have advised, aided, abetted, or assisted, in any War against the Parliament, since the first of January, 1641; he, they, or their Sons, shall be incapable to be elected to serve as Members of the next Parliament, unless he or they have since manifested their good Affections to this Parliament.

And now the Parliament having done all the General's Work for him, he longed to get rid of them; and thinking them a little dilatory, he took the Liberty to put them in Mind of it himself. But as the longest Day will have an End, adds the Doctor; this Long Parliament dissolved themselves; *March* the 16th; and as for their Votes, they were no more regarded than dead Men's Shoes, the Country hastening to new Elections as fast as the Writs came down.—Thus far our Historians.

And now, before we take an eternal Leave of these Men, who had lorded it over Three Nations, under the Name of a Parliament, for so many Years together, we think fit to subjoin to our History of them, another short Pamphlet, printed in the Year 1660, very near their Fall. By this the Reader will see, that the Patriots of those Times had the same lucrative Views, in serving their Country, as those of later Dates; and that the *Auri sacra Fames*, (the Motto to the Book) whatever their Pretensions might be, was more cogent than the Laws and Liberties they seemingly fought for. We shall not take upon us to assert the Truth of every Man's Character, which is alphabetically put down in the Pamphlet; the Reader will find that many Names of Members are omitted in the Catalogue, which makes us charitably suppose, that those Men shared not in the general Plunder made on Church, Crown, and Bishops Lands, forfeited Estates, &c. whilst

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others apparently did so, at an exorbitant Rate. No doubt it was to blacken those Men only, that this Catalogue was printed; and we believe the Reader will find, on comparing Lists, that they were by far the Majority of the then House of Commons. The Title of the Pamphlet is as follows :

The Mystery of the Good Old Cause, briefly unfolded, in a Catalogue of such Members of the late Long Parliament, that held Offices, both Civil and Military, contrary to the Self-denying Ordinance. Together with the Sums of Money and Lands which they divided among themselves during their Sitting, at least such as were disposed of publickly.^b

*Such as have this Mark * before their Names, were Recruiters of that Long Parliament, and illegally chosen; and those with this Mark † were the King's Judges.*

‘ **W**ILLIAM ALLANSON, Kt. Alderman of York, was made Clerk of the Hanaper, a Place worth 1000*l.* per Annum. had *Cawood-Castle*, worth 600*l.* per Annum, once the Bishop of York's, and hath purchased a vast Revenue of Bishops Lands at easy Rates.

‘ *John Ash* had given him out of Mr. *Coventry's* Composition, 4000*l.* out of Sir *Edward Moseley's*, 1000*l.* out of Mr. *Edward Phillips's*, 1200*l.* out of Sir *John Stowel's* Estate, 8000*l.* and, which is worth all this, was the great Chairman at *Goldsmiths-Hall*. Is not this better than Cloathing?

‘ *† *Francis Allen*, a Goldsmith at *St. Dunstan's* in *Fleet-street*, was made Customer of *London*, besides other Offices and Gifts, and hath purchased, at a low Rate, the Bishop of *Chester's* Houses at *Winchester* and *Waltham*, was one of his Sovereign's Judges, and a constant Rumper.

‘ † *John Alured*, Colonel, one of his Sovereign's Judges, and a constant Rumper.

‘ *Thomas*

^b *London*, printed in the first Year of *England's* Liberty, after almost twenty Years Slavery, 1669.

‘ *Thomas Atkins*, Alderman, as honest as sweet : He was a Treasurer at War, and licked his Fingers at the Time the major Part of the House of Parliament was, by unheard-of Insolence, secluded from sitting. He was the only Member left in it that served for the City of *Norwich*, and was a constant Rumper to the last.

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‘ *Edward Ash*, Woollendrapery, Treasurer for providing of Cloaths for the *Irish* Soldiers.

‘ * *William Ayscough*, Captain of a Troop of Horse.

‘ *William Armyne*, Knt. Agent in *Scotland* for the State ; a factious wicked one in his Way.

‘ *William Armyne*, Colonel.

‘ ——— *Ashurst*, went a Commissioner into *Scotland*, had the Clerk of the Peace’s Place for *Lancashire*, and 1000 *l.* in Money given him.

‘ *† *John Bradshaw*, Serjeant of the Law, Lord-President of the High Court of Injustice, and President of the Council of State. There was given him (besides the Earl of *St. Albans*’s Manor of *Summers-Hall*, in *Kent*, worth 1500 *l. per Annum*) the Lord *Cottingham*’s Estate, called *Fantehill*, in *Wiltshire*, his Manor of *Hanworth*, near *Hunslow*, in *Middlesex*, and the Dean’s House at the College at *Westminster*. He was one of the Judges of the Sheriff’s Court in *Guildhall*, *London*, and Justice of the County Palatine of *Chester*. After the most notorious Villainies that ever were committed, for the keeping up a Tail of a Parliament in perpetual Power, he saw it interrupted for almost six Years together, and at length died, during the last Interruption of it by *Lambert*.

‘ *Edward Bishe*, Garter Herald in *Sir Edward Walker*’s Place, worth 3 or 400 *l. per Annum* : An honest Man.

‘ * *John Bond*, Son to *Dennis Bond*, a Parliament Man, made Master of *Trinity-Hall*, in *Cambridge*, which *Mr. Selden* refused to accept of.

‘ * *Nathaniel Bacon* had given him 3000 *l.* afterwards Master of the Requests to the *Cromwells*, during the greatest Part of their Usurpation, his Salary for which

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which was 500 *l. per Annum*, and it is likely would be in the same Office for whomsoever would pay him the same Wages.

‘ *Sir William Brereton*, Colonel, General for the *Cheshire* Forces, had the Sequestration of *Casbioberry*, and other Lands of the Lord *Capel*, worth 2000 *l. per Annum*, and the Archbishop’s House and Lands at *Croydon*, where he hath turned the Chapel into a Kitchen.—A goodly Reformation, and fits with his Stomach as well as his Religion. He was one of the Rumpers, and a base Coward.

‘ † *John Blakeston*, a Shop-keeper in *Newcastle*, was Executor to the Executor of *Sir Jo. Farmer*, trusted with 6000 *l.* for charitable Uses, and was sued in Chancery to perform the Trust, but got himself returned a Burgefs for *Newcastle*, by the *Scots* Garrison there; had 3000 *l.* given him out of the Marquis of *Newcastle’s* and the Lord *Widdrington’s* Estates, in Compensation of the Loss of his Pedlar’s Ware in his Shop. He had formerly given him 14,000 *l.* and 560 *l.* was given to his Brother *John*, as was made appear before a Committee, whereof *Mr. Sandis* of the Temple was Chairman. He had also a Coal-meter’s Place, worth 200 *l. per Annum*, and the Bishop of *Durham’s* Castle at *Durham*, and Lands of great Value. He was one of the King’s Judges.

‘ * *John Birch*, Colonel, afterwards a secluded Member.

‘ *Godfrey Boswell*, Colonel.

‘ *Richard Brown*, Major-General and Governor of *Abingdon*, was afterwards prosecuted for designing to secure the City of *London*, when *Fairfax*, by the Command of his Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, marched with his Army against the City, the chiefest Occasion and Inlet of all our Woes. He was imprisoned for the most Part of the Rumps and *Oliver’s* Tyranny, and hath manifested himself, both by his Actings and Sufferings, a cordial Lover both of his Prince and Country, and hath been a very active Instrument for the Good of these Kingdoms.

‘ *William*

‘ *William Bingham*, Colonel of Horse and Foot, Governor of *Pool*, had given him 1000 *l.*

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‘ *John Brown*, married Sir *Richard Trenchard*'s Sister, a petty Committee-Man, seized 1000 *l.* of the Stock and Goods of Farmer *Wades*, in *Portland*, whom, tho' the Committee acquitted of Malignancy, yet could not his Goods, being in the Hands of a Member, be re-delivered: So they are malignant still, and secured in Mr. *Brown*'s Hands.

‘ † *Dennis Bond*, a Woollendraper, he takes, by his Trustees, his Sons and Brother, one Son he made Master of *Trinity-Hall*, in *Cambridge*, another Auditor of the Excise, worth 500 *l. per Annum*; and his Brother, Governor of *Portland*, Receiver of the King's Rents in *Southampton* and *Somerset*. He was one of the King's Judges.

‘ *John Bell*, Apothecary to the Body Politic, hath as little given him as he deserves in honest Times; but, to preserve the Privilege of the House, is protected for what he can get. He was a Trustee for the Poor at *Westminster*; Receiver of Mr. *Anthrobus*'s and others Money for the Poor; was sued for an Account, said he could not answer without Breach of Privilege of Parliament, and that he durst not; by which Means Parliament-Men are the surest Keepers of a Trust.

‘ *Thomas Boone*, formerly a Tapster, had 6000 *l.* given him: A cruel Committee-Man, that lick'd his Fingers, and hath got a vast Estate.

‘ *Richard Barry*, Colonel, Governor of *Carlisle*.

‘ *Francis Bacon*, Recorder of *Ipswich*, in the Place of Requests to both the Protectors, for the same Salary with his Brother *Nat*.

‘ * *Sir Thomas Barnardiston*, Colonel.

‘ * *Robert Blake*, Colonel, Governor of *Taunton*, and one of the Admirals of *England*.

‘ † *Daniel Blagrave*, a Counsellor at Law, a great Committee-Man, Steward of *Reading*, and was made Treasurer of the said County; had given him the Exegenter's Office of the Common Pleas, worth 500 *l. per Annum*. He bought the King's Fee Farm

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of the great Manor of *Sunnings*, in *Berkshire*, and other Estates, at very easy Rates; Master Extraordinary in Chancery, a constant Rumper, and one of his Majesty's most cruel Judges: He was a great Persecutor of the Ministers of *Reading*, or else they slander him, which is hardly possible.

† *Oliver Cromwell*. This Scourge of God was, in the Beginning of these Troubles, a Man of no considerable Fortune. There are Letters of his to be seen in the Hands of a Person of Quality, wherein he mentions his whole Estate to amount to about 1300 *l.* which at that Time he intended to lay out upon a Purchase of drained Fen Lands. He passed thro' the several Degrees of Military Command, till he was advanced to be General of the Army, during which Time he received great Gifts out of the Estates of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Francis Villers*, the Marquis of *Worcester's* Estate, worth 5 or 6000 *l. per Annum*, and others, besides great Sums of Money at several Times; and, 'tis said, for some Years, the whole Revenue of near all the Benefices in *Wales*, employing four itinerant Teachers to coast about that Country, for 100 *l. per Annum* a Man; and took Occasion to dissolve the Rump of the Long Parliament, just as they were going to call for the Accounts of that Money, which amounted to a vast Sum. One would have thought all this, with the General's Pay, might have satisfied such a Man's Appetite, whose Beginning was so mean; but, having projected Greatness and Sovereignty to himself from the Beginning, he waded to it thro' the Blood of his natural Prince, and great Numbers of his Fellow Subjects, and made himself Supreme Governor of these Nations, under the Title of Protector, which Power he held with much Oppression, Dissimulation, Hypocrisy, and Bloodshed, for about five Years, when God cut him off before he had well provided for the Establishment of his Son in the Succession. His Funeral was solemnized with great Pomp, they say to the Expence of 30,000 *l.* which is yet unpaid. He spent a vast deal of Treasure to maintain his
Tyranny;

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Tyranny; but he is gone to his own Place, and let his Memory be accursed for ever.

† *Miles Corbet*, at the Beginning of this Parliament, a Man of small Estate, made one of the Registers in Chancery, worth 700 *l. per Annum*, and hath Money in his Purse. He was ten Times one of the Commissioners in *Ireland*, worth what he will *per Annum*, and one of the King's Judges, and a Rumper.

† *Sir John Clotworthy*, Treasurer for *Ireland*, and, by the Army, charged with defrauding the State of 40,000 *l.* which may be one Reason the King could never get an Account of the Money raised for the *Irish*, though he much desired it.

† *Thomas Ceely*, much indebted, if not helped out of Prison by the Parliament, and made Recorder of *Bridgewater*.

† *Gregory Clements*, Merchant in both Senses: When he had been a Member two Months, protested he had scarce cleared the Purchase Monies, which was but 60 *l.* but said, Trading he doubted not would mend. He was one of the King's Judges.

† *Sir Henry Cholmley*, Colonel of Horse, and once a zealous Commissioner of *Yorkshire*. Since, he hath given some Testimonies of Loyalty.

† *Robert Cecil*, Son to the Earl of *Salisbury*, Colonel of Horse, procured one *Collings* to be made Auditor in Chief for the Revenues of the King, Queen, and Prince, worth 2000 *l. per Annum*; but in Trust for the Colonel.

† *Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper*, a Colonel; since, he hath manifested his Loyalty to his Prince very eminently.

† *William Constable*, Colonel, and one of the King's Judges. Sold his Lands to *Sir Marmaduke Langdale* for 20,000 *l.* and had them given him again by the Parliament.

† *Sir John Danvers*, Colonel. After the Death of his Brother, the Earl of *Denby*, he proved him to be a Malignant, and, by Parliamentary Proceedings, endeavoured to overthrow his Will, and out his Sister *Gargrave*, and *Sir Peter Osborne* of the Estate worth

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worth 30,000*l.* and to have it himself. He was one of the King's Judges.

‘ *Edmund Dunce*, Constable of *Wallingford-Castle*.

‘ *Henry Darly* and *Richard Darly*. Given to their Father, for them, 5000 *l.* A Pair of zealous Rumpers; the former was extreme active in bringing in the Army of the Brethren of *Scotland* to the Ruin of his native Country. Both base.

‘ *William Ellis*, Steward of *Stepney*, worth 200*l. per Annum*, and by him sold to one of the *Temple*. He made Haste to be rich, and was a mighty thriving Committee-Man during the late destructive Wars: He was afterwards Solicitor-General to the two Protectors; was very zealous for the making of *Oliver King*, for which his good Lord made him Knight. He hath, from nothing, in a few Years, got an Estate supposed to be worth 3000*l. per Annum*.

‘ *Sir Walter Erle*, Colonel of Horse, and Lieutenant of the Ordnance in *Sir John Heydon's* Place, worth 1000 *l. per Annum* in Time of Peace; but, in Time of War, worth 50,000 *l. per Annum*.

‘ *Thomas Erle*, Son to *Sir Walter*, Captain of a Troop of Horse, seldom attended the House, but followed his Business in the Country, where he was a great Committee-Man, helping himself and his Friends.

‘ * *James Fenwick*, Captain of a Troop of Horse.

‘ *William Fenwick*, had but 500 *l.* So small a Sum deserves not a Christian Name.

‘ *Nathaniel Fiennes*, once Governor of *Bristol*, and thereby hangs a Tail; afterwards one of the Commissioners of the Seal under *Nol*, and one of his Privy Council; but now his Lordship is gone.

‘ † *George Fleetwood*, Colonel, a constant Rump-er, and one of the King's Judges.

‘ * *Charles Fleetwood*, Colonel, and Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*. This pitiful Anabaptist was *Oliver's* Son-in-Law, and, upon that Score, advanced to be Lieutenant-General of the Army; for Merit he never had any. In the dividing of the murdered King's Inheritance, *Woodstock*, and other rich Possessions, fell

fell to his Share. About a Year since he, with some other Officers, ungratefully dethroned Protector *Richard*, restored the Rump for a while, and then unroofed them again; after which, during the Space of near six Weeks, he acted King at *Wallingford-House*, (one of his Palaces) but the Rump coming to sit again, the tender-hearted Mock-Prince melted into Tears; and, his hypocritical Vizard of Religion being pulled off, he went off the Stage, *ridiculously*.

‘ *John Goodwin*, the other Register in Chancery, worth 700 *l. per Annum*.

‘ *Sir Gilbert Gerrard*, Pay-Master to the Army, had 3 *d. per Pound* allowed, worth 60,000 *l.* and was Chancellor of the Duchy, worth 1200 *l. per Annum*.

‘ *Gilbert Gerrard*, his second Son, Clerk to the Duchy, for whose Benefit the Clerkship of Affize of *Norfolk* is granted to Mr. *Edward Gerrard*, his Cousin, by the Procurement of *Sir Gilbert*, and was worth 500 *l. per Annum*.

‘ *Gyles Green*, the Receiver of *Yorkshire*, being put out of his Place, got it for his Son-in-Law; is Chairman for the Navy; and as for *Sir Thomas Dawes*'s Estate, and what it was worth to him, *Sir Thomas*'s Creditors will tell you, for they got nothing.

‘ * *Thomas Gell*, Lieutenant-Colonel to *Sir John Gell*, made Recorder of *Derby* in Mr. *Allestrey*'s Place.

‘ † *Thomas Lord Grey*, of *Groby*, Colonel, and hath given to him the Queen's Manor-House, Park, and Lands at *Holmby*; also purchased a large Part of the Lord *Craven*'s Estate, particularly *Coombe-Abbey*, judged worth 3000 *l. per Annum*, for an inconsiderable Sum, and one of the King's Judges.

‘ * *John Glyn*, some Time a Counsellor at Law, and Steward of the Court at *Westminster*, one of the Long Parliament that helped to bait the worthy Earl of *Strafford*, and bring him to the Block; was Clerk of the Petty-Bag in *Sir Edward Warder*'s Place, worth 1000 *l. per Annum*. He made his Father-in-Law, Mr. *Squib*, *Clarenceaux* Herald in Sir

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Sir *William Neves's* Place, worth 400 *l. per Annum*, and made his Creature and Kinsman *Falconbridge* Comptroller of the Excise, a Place worth 500 *l. per Annum*, as also a Receiver-General of the King's Queen's, and Princes Revenues, worth 2000 *l. per Annum*. Mr. *Glyn* conferred on his Cousin *Lawrence Swetnam* the Wine-Office, worth 300 *l. per Annum*, and made him Receiver of the First-Fruits, worth 200 *l. per Annum*; but, Mr. *Swetnam* dying, he got both the Places for his Brother-in-Law *Bordardo*, that they might not go out of the Tribe. He was made Recorder of *London*; and then, being made a Serjeant at Law, by Agreement, as it is said, resigned to Mr. *William Steel*, and was made a Judge; and for his Zeal in *Conie's* Case, to advance the Protector's Will above the Law of the Land, and finding him so fit for his Purpose, he sent him into the West, (Chief-Justice *Rolls* refusing) to arraign that valiant Gentleman Col. *Penruddock*, and the rest of those Gentlemen taken at *Southmoulton*, in *Devon*, by Article-breaking *Crooke*; for which good Services, and his complying Principles to advance the Protector, he was made Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and no doubt behaved himself in the Place as his Master would have him, by whom he was also made a Lord of his Other House; but that and he fell with the Idol *Dick*. He was one of the eleven Members impeached by the Army for Treason, and by that Parliament committed to the *Tower*.

‘ *Thomas Grantham*, Colonel of Foot, since dead.

‘ * *Ellis Grimes*, Captain.

‘ *Arthur Goodwin*, Colonel of Foot, since dead.

‘ *Brampton Gurdon*, Colonel.

‘ Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*. This boisterous Incendiary having, by base and vile Courses, possessed himself of several Coal-pits near *Newcastle*, was some Years, as it may be feared, the Occasion of the starving many poor People in *London* to Death, thro' Cold; for he, (being Governor) without any public Authority, laid a Tax of four Shillings *per*
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Chaldron, upon the Coals there, amounting to 50,000 *l. per Annum*. He got three great Manors of the Bishops, *Auckland*, *Everwood*, and another, for an inconsiderable Matter: He hath been an implacable Enemy to one Mr *Collingwood*, and wronged him of a great Estate: He hath a rich Fleece, reported to the Value of 20,000 *l. per Annum*; but it is hoped he will, e'er long, be sheared.

‘ Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Colonel, famous for plundering of *Warder-Castle*; had the Lands of the Countess Dowager of *Rutland*, worth 1500 *l. per Annum*, and she was allowed but 500 *l.* out of them.

‘ † *Cornelius Holland*. His Father died in the *Fleet* for Debt, and left him a poor Boy in the Court waiting on Sir *Henry Vane*, then Comptroller of the Prince's House. He was still Sir *Henry Vane's* Zanny, but now, coming in with his Master for the Revenue of the King, Queen, and Prince, this Phariſee was engaged with other Monopolists and Patentees, while they stood, his Conscience scrupling not the Means where Profit was the Prize. He was turned out of the Office of the Green Cloth for Fraud and Breach of Trust; but, with the Help of his Master, made himself a Farmer of the King's Feeding-Grounds at *Crestoe*, in *Buckinghamshire*, worth 1800 *l.* or 2000 *l. per Annum*, at the Rate of 20 *l. per Annum*, which he discounted. He possessed *Somerſet-Houſe* a long Time, where he and his Family nested themselves. He was Keeper of *Richmond-Houſe* for his Country Retreat, and Commissary for the Garrisons at *Whitehall* and the *Mewes*. He had an Office in the Mint, and, having ten Children, he long since gave 5000 *l.* with a Daughter, after which Rate we must conceive he had laid aside 50,000 *l.* for Portions. He was one of the King's Judges, and one of the Committee of Safety.

‘ Sir *Robert Harley*, Master of the Mint in the Place of Sir *Ralph Freeman*, and Sir *Thomas Ayleſbury*. Before the Parliament he was much indebted, very poor, and could not pay; now he is rich, and will not pay.

‘ *Henry*;

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‘ *Henry Herbert* had given him 3000*l.* and the Plunder of *Ragland-Castle*.

‘ *John Hampden*, Colonel of Foot, killed at *Calgrove Field*, where he made his first Muster. His eldest Son made since a Lord by *Oliver Cromwell*.

‘ *Col. Hacker*, Governor of *Lincoln*, a Commissioner to bring in the *Scots*, and one of the three to whom the bloody Warrant, for his late Majesty’s Execution, was directed.

‘ * *Sir Henry Hayman* had given him 5000*l.*

‘ *Denzil Holles* had 5000*l.* ordered him, but refused it, and desired them to pay their Debts before they paid their Legacies. He was one of the eleven Members impeached by the Army, was very hot in the Beginning of the Troubles, but is since of a better Temper, and hath contributed much to the Restoration of his Prince, and his Nation’s Peace.

‘ *Roger Hill*, a Barrister of the Temple, of no considerable Estate till he had granted him, from the House, the Bishop of *Winchester*’s Manor of *Taunton-Dean*, being the best in *England*, worth 12,000*l. per Annum*, when the Estates for Lives determine. He was one of the Commissioners of *Haberdashers-Hall*.

‘ † *John Hewson*, at first a Cöbler of *London*, or at best a Shoe-maker, went out a Captain upon the Account of the Cause. His Zeal brought him to be a Colonel, and was afterwards made Governor of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, from whence he was sent for to be one of *Barebone*’s Parliament, and of all the mock Parliaments since; was made a Knight of the new Stamp, and afterwards was thought a fit Person to be a Lord of the Other House; and, for his Wisdom and good Service in all his other Employments, was thought worthy to be one of the twenty-three honourable Persons of the Committee of Safety, that were to manage all public Affairs of the Nation, and to consider upon a Frame of Government to be established; but, in the Heat of that great Work, he was in all Haste, by his Brethren of that Committee, sent in a Rage into *London*, to kill and still the innocent Boys playing at Foot-ball in the Streets, much

much like his Brother *Pride*, who cruelly destroyed the innocent Bears. Afterwards the Coroner's Jury that sat upon the murdered Persons, found his Lordship guilty. He had been tried at the Sessions House in the *Old Baily*, had not the News of his Majesty's happy Arrival prevented the sitting of that Court; and no doubt, before this Time, received the Reward of his Works. He was likewise one of the murderous Judges sitting upon his Prince.

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‘ * *Oliver St. John*, the Son of one Mr. *St. John*, of *Bedfordshire*, who was supposed to be a Bye-blow of one of the Earls of *Bedford*. This *Oliver* was a Gentleman of slender Fortune, brought up to the Profession of the Law; who, by special Grace of his late Majesty, was both his Solicitor and Attorney-General. He deserted his Master, and, adhering to the Parliament, was promoted to Places of very great Advantage many Years together. He and *Walter*, called *Lord Strickland*, were sent Ambassadors to the *United Provinces*. He had also, many Years together, the passing of all Fines and Compositions, said to be worth 5000*l. per Annum*. He was also Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas many Years, a Place of vast Profit. He was made Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*, in the Earl of *Manchester's* room, a Person signally anti-monarchical, till the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*.

‘ † *Henry Ireton*, Commissary-General and Colonel, Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, one of the King's Judges, and one of the Appointers of the Time and Place of his Execution.

‘ † *Richard Ingoldsby*, Colonel, and Governor of *Oxford*, related to *Cromwell*, one of the King's Judges; but since a true Penitent for it.

‘ Sir *Thomas Farvis* had Mr. *Web's* Place in *Richmond Little Park*, and had 9000*l.* given him out of the Marquis of *Winchester's* Estate.

‘ * *Philip Jones*, Colonel, a Member of the Long Parliament. His Original is from *Wales*: At the first of the War it is said he had not above 20*l. per Annum*, but hath since very much improved his Interest

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terest upon Account of the Cause; became Governor of a Garrison, and Steward of some of the Protector's Lands in *Wales*; was a great Stickler to advance his Master to be Protector, for which good Service he was advanced to be one of his Council, worth 1000*l. per Annum*; afterwards Comptroller of his Household, or Court. He made Hay while the Sun shined, and hath improved his Revenue, as it is believed, to 4000*l. per Annum*, if not more. He was also one of the Rump.

‘ † *John Jones*, at first a Serving-man, then a Colonel of the Long Parliament; was sent a Commissioner into *Ireland* for the governing that Nation. He likewise helped to change the Government, was Governor of the Isle of *Anglesey*, married the Protector's Sister, and thorough-paced for his Court Proceedings; who was thought fit, with his Namesake and Countryman *Philip*, to be called Lords, and to be taken out of the Rump into the Other House, to have a Negative Voice against the People. He was also one of his Prince's Judges.

‘ *William Lenthall*, of *Lincoln's-Inn*, a Counsellor at Law, Speaker of the House of Commons, worth 2000*l. per Annum*, besides Rewards for Courtesies; Master of the Rolls, worth 3000*l. per Annum*; besides the Sale of Offices; Chamberlain of *Chester* in the Earl of *Derby's* Place, and, untill lately, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, worth 1000*l. per Annum*. He was a Commissioner of the Seal, worth 1500*l. per Annum*, and had 6000*l.* one Time given him by the House, and the Rectory and Demesne of *Burford*, with a stately House belonging to the Lord *Falkland*, worth 500*l. per Annum*. *Oliver* once made a Sponge of him, and squeezed him out of 15,000*l.* who turning him and his Tribe out of Doors, he veer'd about to save himself and his great Offices; and he that had been so long Bell-weather in the Commons House, was thought, for his Compliance and his Money, to deserve to be one of the Herd of Lords in the Other House.

‘ † *John Lisle*, Barrister of the Temple, Master of *S. Crosses*, in *Dr. Lewis's* Place, being a Place for

a Divine, worth 800*l.* per Annum; one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, worth 1500*l.* per Annum; one of the King's Judges, afterwards became a *Cromwellian*, and swore *Oliver*, at his first installing, Chief Magistrate. He was President of the High Court of Justice, (so called) which tried Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Dr. *Hewit*, &c. for Treason against the Protector, and passed Sentence of Death against them.

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† *Nicholas Love*, the Son of Dr. *Love*, of *Winchester*, Mr. Speaker's Chamber-Fellow in *Lincoln's-Inn*, was made one of the six Clerks in Chancery, in Mr. *Penruddock's* Place, worth 1000*l.* per Annum; one of the Council of State in 1651; a constant Rumper, one of his Sovereign's cruel Judges, and one of the Abjurators against Kingly Power.

* *John Lenthall*, Son to the Speaker, made one of the six Clerks, worth 1500*l.* per Annum, knighted by *Oliver Cromwell*; was a Colonel of Foot, and Governor of *Windsor-Castle*.

† *Sir Oliver Luke*, Colonel of Horse,

† *Sir Samuel Luke*, his Son, Colonel and Scout-Master for the Counties of *Bedford*, &c.

† *Sir Michael Livesey*, of the Isle of *Sheppey*, in *Kent*, heretofore a Colonel under *Sir William Waller*, but a most notorious Coward; a penurious sneaking Person, and one that could act an Hypocrite to the Life, in Voice and humble Gesture. He was one of his Sacred Majesty's cruel Judges, Committee-Man General of *Kent*, and an eminent Rumper.

† *Walter Long*, Colonel, had 5000*l.* and the Office of Register in Chancery for four Years.

† *Henry Lawrence*, a Member of the Long Parliament, fell off at the Murder of his Majesty, for which the Protector, with great Zeal, declared, That a neutral Spirit was more to be abhorred than a Cavalier Spirit, and that such Men as he were not fit to be used in such a Day as that, when God was cutting down Kingship Root and Branch. Yet he came into Play again, and contributed much to the setting up of the Protector and a Single Person, affirming

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firming that no other Foundation could stand; for which worthy Service he was made and continued President of the Protector's Council, where he signed many arbitrary and illegal Warrants for the carrying faithful honest Men to Prison, for their not apostatizing with them. He was thorough-paced, and one, no doubt, who hath well feathered his Nest, being also one of the Lords of the Other House; and when that Honour vanished, he became one of the Honourable Committee of Safety: What he will be next is worth the Enquiry.

‘ Lord Viscount *Liste*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Leicester*. He was of the Long Parliament to the last, and at the Change of Government, and making Laws against his Sovereign; and, no Question, concurred with the rest in these sad Effects. He was also of the Little Parliament, commonly stiled *Barebone's* Parliament; was all along of the Protector's Council, and was never to seek; who having learned so much by changing with every Change, and keeping still (like his Father-in-Law the Earl of *Salisbury* and *Peter Sterry*) on that Side which hath proved Trump; nothing need further be said of his Fitness, being such a Man of Principles, to be taken out of the Rump Parliament, to have settled a Negative Voice in that Other House, over all the good People of these Lands.

‘ * *Thomas Lister*, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Deputy-Governor of *Lincoln*.

‘ † *Edmund Ludlow*, Colonel, Governor of *Wardour-Castle*, Lieutenant-General of the Horse, one of the King's Judges, a great Fanatic, and Favourer of such. He hath much improved his Fortune in *Ireland*; but now is gone to seek his Fortune elsewhere.

‘ * *Thomas Moore*, Officer in the Custom-house, and his Brother was Governor of *Ludlow-Castle*.

‘ † *Henry Martin*, Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Whores. He had given him 3000*l.* at one Time, to put him upon the holy Sisters, and take off from the Levellers. He had the Reputation of a precious Saint from his Youth,

in

in reference to all Kinds of Debauchery, Unclean-
ness, and Fraud, having sold his Estate three Times
over. He lay many Years Prisoner in the King's
Bench for Debt, and disgraced the Place by renew-
ing the old Stews upon the Bank Side. He had se-
veral other large Sums given, and was one of the
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‘ Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Major-General for *Den-
bigh*, and five other Counties, who hath manifested
his Loyalty to his Prince, and is a true Patriot of his
Country.

‘ † *Thomas Hammond*, of *Surry*, was Lieutenant-
General of the Artillery under the Lord *Fairfax*,
and became a great Creature of that ambitious Ty-
rant *Cromwell*, and a Promoter of his Interests; by
whom he was drawn in to be one of those most
cruel Judges of his Prince, to the very great Grief,
and contrary to the Admonitions, of his Reverend
Brother Dr. *Hammond*.

‘ † *John Moore*, Colonel of the Guards. For
some Time he had the Benefit of Passes out of *Lon-
don*, and was one of the King's Judges.

‘ Sir *John Merrick*, Major-General.

‘ † *Gilbert Millington*, a Lawyer, had given him
1000 *l.* was Chairman to the Committee of plun-
dered Ministers, where *Phelps* the Clerk and he
were believed to share their Fees, worth God knows
what. He was one of the King's Judges.

‘ * *Richard Norton*, Colonel, and Governor of
Southampton.

‘ *Anthony Nichols*, Mr. *Pymme*'s Nephew, by him
was made Pay-Master to the Messengers of Intelli-
gence, by which, in a short Time, he put himself
in a Parliamentary Equipage of Coaches, Horses,
and Attendants, got Money and paid his Father's
Debts; but was afterwards suspended the House, and
now would not pay his own Debts by his Goodwill.

‘ — *Nicholas*, one of the Judges of the Upper
Bench, and afterwards one of the Barons of the *Ex-
chequer*.

‘ *Michael Oldsworth*, no Colonel, but Governor
of *Old Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, and had a Share

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with his Lordship out of Sir *Henry Compton's* Office, worth 3000*l.* per *Ann.* was Keeper of *Windsor Park*, one of the two Masters of the Prerogative Office, and made the Bailiff of *Westminster* give him 50*l.* per *Ann.* to continue him there.

* *Arthur Owen*, Colonel.

† Sir *John Bourchier*, of *Yorkshire*, a Person of no great Note, nor Estate, till by his Activeness in our late Distempers, and Fishing in troubled Waters, he angled fair, and caught a great Estate, which was that he fought for: He was a Man as constant at Committees as at his Dinners in Hell; where he may, in Time, sup with his Father Satan, having been a constant Rumper, and one of the King's cruel Judges.

† *Thomas Challoner*, also a *Yorkshireman*, eminent for his Speech in the House, for the delivering of his late Majesty out of the *Scots* Clutches, into whose Protection he had put himself; a Man most virulently invective against Monarchy, having been one of his Majesty's cruel Judges; also now, at the soberest, an inseparable Rumper, and to the last an eminent Stickler for a Commonwealth.

† *Richard Dean*, Boy to *Goodman Button*, an Hoyman of *Ipswich*, after a Matros in the Army, then Colonel and Commander in Chief in *Scotland*, till made one of the Generals at Sea; he was there killed, having left a great Estate behind him, viz. *Havering Manor* in *Essex*, whose Park he unmercifully demolish'd: He was not only one of the King's implacable Judges, but one of those that signed the Warrant for his Death, and appointed the Time and Place for his Execution.

† *John Thurloe*, a Servant and Secretary to *Oliver St. John*, was after that made Principal Secretary of State to *Oliver Cromwell* and *Richard*, and chose Post-Master of *England*, a Place of a vast Income; he may be justly said to be also a principal Instrument, and to have a great Hand in bringing in all those abominable and wicked Practices and Oppressions that have been for these many Years last past; by which, and his under-hand Dealings, he did not only

only attain to much Greatness and Honour, but to a vast Estate. He was brought into all the Mock Parliaments to give Aim to his Masters; and it is believed that he had a great Hand with his Brother *Noel* in selling some Scores of those Gentlemen as Slaves, to the *Barbadoes* and other Plantations, that were accused for being in the Business at *Salisbury* with Mr. *Penruddock* and others; and was assisting in that Committee of Safety, whereof *Fleetwood* sat as Prince; but now where he is, and what will befall him next, is well worth the Knowledge.

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‘ † *Henry Mildmay*, that Prodigy of Ingratitude, was Servant to the late King, and not only knighted by him, but his Majesty was pleased also in his own Person to become an Advocate for the obtaining Alderman *Holiday*'s Widow for him; who, being also made Master of the King's Jewels, most impudently had the Face to appear and sit as one of his gracious Sovereign's Judges. He is a shallow Fellow, by some surnamed Sir *Whimsy Mildmay*; a pestilent Republican, and a Rumper.

‘ † *Augustin Garland*, an old Stander in the Long Parliament, an indefatigable Stickler in most Committees; a notable Commonwealth's-Man, and a resolute Opposer of the Government in a Single Person; therefore out of Date upon the Intrusion of *Oliver Cromwell*; but in again upon the Restoration of the Rump, of which Fraternity he was free. He was also one of his late Majesty's most cruel Judges.

‘ † *John Barkstead*, the Son of *Michael Barkstead*, Goldsmith, who also was himself in his Minority a petty Goldsmith in the *Strand*, a very empty shallow-pated Person; therefore the most fit to be cajoled and wrought on, being of the malleable Temper: He forsook his Shop, shuffled himself into the Camp, where, more by Fortune than Valour, he climb'd up to be a Colonel, and after Lieutenant of the *Tower*; adopted to be an Alderman, Major-General of *Middlesex*, a severe Persecutor of the King's Party; who also was one of his Judges: A thorough-paced Agent for all Governments, and a most active Imp of *Oliver* the Usurper.

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‘ † *Edmund Harvey*, late a poor Silk-Man, afterwards made a Colonel. He got into the Bishop of *London's House*; and by his juggling Insinuation crept into the Custom-Houle, and was one of the Farmers thereof; but, being accused of fraudulent Dealings there, was discarded by *Cromwell*, though he had feasted him before most magnificently at *Fulham*. I never heard any that could speak of his Honesty or Courage, being, as to the last, a little inconsiderable Rat; and, as to the other, a factious Rumper, and one of his Majesty's cruel Judges.

‘ † *Thomas Harrison*, a Man of very mean Birth, being the Son of a Butcher in or near *Newcastle-under-Line*: He was Servant to Mr. *Hulk* an Attorney at Law; but, preferring War before Peace, got into the Army, and, having the Knack of Canting, was believed to be a Person of surpassing Piety; and so insinuated himself from one Command to another, till he became Major-General of *Wales*, being dangerously unabaptistical in his Tenets, and a perfect Hater of orthodox Divines and a Devourer of their Maintenance; he was very lately a Preacher, and indeed Head of a re-baptized Congregation in *London*; he was clearly against Monarchy, not only sitting a malicious Judge against his Majesty, but was one of those five who appointed the Time and Place for the King's Execution.

‘ † *William Heveningham*, of *Norfolk*, a Gentleman of a most antient Extraction, and a very fair Estate, who was conceived to be drawn away more out of some Animosity than Interest: He was, amongst the rest, seduced to be one of the King's Judges, and was also one of the Rumpers.

‘ † *John Okey*, his Parentage was as mean as his Calling, some deeming him a Drayman, others a Yeastman; but he was a Stoaker in a Brewhouse at *Islington*, and next a most poor Chandler near *Lion-Key* in *Thames-Street*, where living very poor and indigent, he converted his blue Apron into a Buff-Coat, and became a Colonel of Dragoons; a Fellow of greater Bulk than Brains, and Strength than Wit

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or Conscience, otherwise he would have had more Grace than to have sat one of the King's Judges, and be one of that most impudent Committee that signed the Warrant for his Death, and appointed the Time and Place for his Execution.

‘ † *John Downs*, Colonel, a Person who did strike whilst the Iron was hot, and so with his Sword opened the Trap-Door to his Fortune; one that hath thriven well by the Times, having raised himself to a considerable Estate; an Enemy to Monarchy, and a main Man for a Commonwealth, being one of the King's Judges, and a Hater of any Government in one Single Person; one of the Council of State in Fifty-one, and an inseparable Rumper to the last Gasp.

‘ † *James Temple*, of *Suffex*, one of the Long Parliament, a Colonel, and Governor of *Banbury-Castle* in *Suffex*, got the Estate of *Sir Charles Shelly* violently, by Order from the Rump Parliament, under the Notion of his being Grand-child of a Papist, and possessed it without giving any due Account for it, pretending his good Service; and, upon the Interruption of the Rump, he took to the King's Bench, and afterwards came out by the Five Pound Act. The chief Service he did was to be one of his Prince's cruel Judges, and a constant Rumper to the last.

‘ † *Simon Mayne*, of *Buckinghamshire*; one of the Long Parliament, a great Committee-Man, wherein he licked his Fingers. He was one of his Prince's cruel Judges, and a constant Rumper to the last.

‘ *Matthew Tomlinson*, before these Times, was a Gentleman Usher to a Lady, and afterwards became a Major in the Army, and then a Colonel; was sent a Commissioner into *Ireland* by *Oliver Cromwell*, and was knighted there by *Henry Cromwell*, the second Son of that Tyrant. He was one that conducted the King to the Scaffold, and hath got a great Estate.

‘ † *John Dixwell*, Burgess for *Dover* in the Long Parliament; was a Colonel of Foot, a great Com-

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mittee-Man in *Kent*, one of the Council of State, one of his Prince's cruel Judges, and a constant Rumper to the last.

‘ † *Isaac Euer*. He was but a Serving-man at first, as it is reported; his Zeal led him into the Wars, and so he became a Colonel. He had much Land given him in *Ireland* for his good Service, and for being one of the cruel Judges of his Prince.

‘ † *Sir Gregory Norton*, of *Suffex*, a Man but of a mean Fortune before these Times, as it is said; had *Richmond-House* and much of the King's Goods for an inconsiderable Value, only they were the Price of Royal Blood, he being one of his Prince's Judges, and a constant Rumper to the last.

‘ *Edmund Prideaux*, formerly Commissioner to the Great Seal, worth 1500 *l. per Annum*; did, by Ordinance, practise within the Bar, as one of the King's Counsel, worth 5000 *l. per Annum*; and, after that, was Attorney-General, worth what he pleased to make it; Postmaster for all the Inland Letters, at Six-pence the Letter, worth 15,000 *l. per Annum*; and he got it thus, the Lord *Stanhope*, the Postmasters, and Carriers of *England*, complained in Parliament against Mr. *Witherings* and others, touching the carrying of Letters, whereupon the Benefit of foreign Letters was given to the Earl of *Warwick*, worth more than 7000 *l. per Annum*, and Inland Letters to Mr. *Prideaux*. Was not this good Justice?

‘ * *Thomas Pury*, sen. first a Weaver in *Gloucester*, then an ignorant Country Sollicitor, had 3000 *l.* given him; and, Mr. *Gerrard's* Place in the Petty-Bagg, worth 400 *l. per Annum*.

‘ *Thomas Pury*, jun. Son to the Elder, in the first Year of the Parliament, Servant to Mr. *Townshend*, an Attorney of *Staples-Inn*, Receiver of the King's Rents in *Gloucestershire* and *Wilts*, Clerk of the Peace of *Gloucestershire*, worth 200 *l. per Annum*, and Captain of Foot and Horse.

‘ *Francis Pierpoint* hath the Archbishop of *York's* Lands, lying in *Nottinghamshire*.

‘ *William*

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‘ *William Pierepoint* hath 7000 *l.* given him, and all the Earl of *Kingston’s* Estate, (being sequestered) worth 10,000 *l.*

‘ * *John Palmer*, Doctor of Physic, Master of All-Souls, in *Oxford*, in *Dr. Sheldon’s* Room; a Place which was proper only for a Divine.

‘ * *Sir John Palgrave*, Colonel at the Siege of *Newark*.

‘ *Charles Pymme*, Captain of a Troop of Horse, Son to the great Incendiary.

‘ † *William Purefoy*, Colonel and Governor of *Coventry*, fought resolutely against the Cross in the Market-place at *Warwick*; and against the antient Monuments at the Earl’s Chapel, in *St. Mary’s* Church there, who took the Mourners in Brass to be Monks and Friars, for which he had 1500 *l.* given him; but, when he should have fought with the Enemy, hid himself in a Barley Field, (for which a Waterman, who had been his Soldier, afterwards refused to carry him) and was one of the King’s Judges.

‘ † *Isaac Pennington*, once Lieutenant of the Tower, a Year and a half Lord Mayor of *London* before his Time, had 7000 *l.* given him, and hath Store of Bishops Lands; yet this will not yield ten Shillings in the Pound to his Creditors. He was one of the King’s Judges.

‘ *Henry Pelham*, Recorder in *Lincoln*, in the Place of *Sir Charles Dalison*.

‘ *Alexander Popham*, Colonel.

‘ * *Edward Popham*, Colonel, afterwards one of the Generals at Sea.

‘ *Francis Rous*, Provost of *Eaton* in *Dr. Steward’s* Place, worth 1000 *l. per Annum*. He was Speaker of the pretended Parliament, which surrendered their Authority to the Protector *Oliver*, and was afterwards one of his Council, and a Lord of his Other House.

‘ *Sir Benjamin Rudyard* had 5000 *l.* given him.

‘ *Robert Reynolds* had 2000 *l.* given him, besides *Abingdon-Hall*, and the Lands worth 400 *l. per Annum*; hath bought a good Pennyworth of the Bishops

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shops Land, and, as it is reported, had 20,000*l.* beyond Seas, as he made appear upon his Marriage, besides the Sollicitor-General's Place.

‘ *Edward Roffiter*, Colonel and General of all the *Lincolnshire* Forces, and Governor of *Belvoir-Castle*, but since a Promoter of the Nation's Happiness.

‘ * *Sir Francis Ruffell*, Colonel, Brother-in-Law to *Oliver Cromwell*, and one of his Lords.

‘ * *Thomas Rainsborough*, Governor of *Woodstock*, *Taunton*, and once Admiral of *England*.

‘ *Alexander Rigby*, Colonel and Governor of *Boston*, and one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

‘ *Richard Rose*, hath the House and Furniture of one *Bailey*, the King's Glazier, which he got thus : He and Mr. *J. Trenchard* went to several Houses about the *Strand* to hire Lodgings for Malignants, gave good Rates, but would have the best Furniture; and they, being Members of the House, would secure them; Mr. *Bailey* was one Mr. *Rose* caused to be sequestered, and got it to himself, for which he and Mr. *Trenchard* fell out; but *Bailey*, though an honest Man, got not his Goods again, which crosses the Proverb.

‘ *John Roll*, Merchant, had 1500*l.* given him out of Sir *John Worsenham's* Estate.

‘ *Humphrey Salway*, the King's Remembrancer in Mr. *Fanshaw's* Place, worth 400*l.* per Annum.

‘ *Sir Walter Strickland*, Agent in *Holland* for the two Houses of Parliament, worth 5000*l.* per Annum, or what more he was pleased to make it; was of all the Mock Parliaments, and of the Protector's Council, and Captain of his Foot-Guard in *Whitehall*. He was lately one of the Commonwealth-Makers of the Committee of Safety, so called.

‘ *John Selden* had 5000*l.* offered him, which he refused to accept, and kept his Conscience.

‘ * *John Stephens* had 1000*l.* given him out of the Lord *Astley's* Composition.

‘ * † *Henry Smith* made one of the Six Clerks, worth 1000*l.* per Ann. one of the King's Judges, and a constant Rumper.

‘ * *Richard*

‘ * *Richard Salway*, once a Grocer’s Prentice, and their Spokesman in one of their tumultuous Hurries to the Long Parliament, and ever since was taken Notice of for a great Talker. He was a main Man in the Committee of Safety; for which the Rump, when they sat again, rebuked him gently, as one that had gone astray from the Good Old Cause; a Major in the Army, and a great Purchaser.

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‘ *Algernon Sydney*, Governor of *Dover-Castle*.

‘ * *Philip Skippon*, Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, Major-General of *London*, and Governor of *Bristol*; a Member of all the Parliaments, one of *Noll’s* Council, and a Lord of his Other House; a forward Man in the decimating Oppression. He hath gotten a vast Estate, hath been of all Parties, first a Presbyterian, till *Philip Nye* opened his Eyes, and shewed him the Way to worldly Greatness.

‘ † *Anthony Stapley*, Colonel, and Governor of *Chichester*, and one of his Prince’s Murderers.

‘ *John Sydenham*, Colonel of Horse and Foot, Governor of *Weymouth* and *Melcomb-Regis*, and Commander in Chief in *Dorsetshire*, had 1000*l.* given him; one of *Cromwell’s* Council, a Lord of his Other House, had a great Command in the Isle of *Wight*, and was one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. He was lately one of the Committee of Safety, and a great Rumper.

‘ *Richard Shuttleworth*, Colonel, and had very many of the Recusants Lands in *Lancashire* in Sequestration, himself being Chief for Sequestrations there.

‘ * *Augustin Skinner*, by his Industry in the Service, hath purchased the Bishop of *Rochester’s* Manor of *Brumley*, in *Kent*, at a very low Rate.

‘ * *Robert Scowen* had 2000*l.* given him towards his Losses, but hath the Esteem of an honest Man.

‘ † *William Say*, a leud Lawyer, dealt much in Fen-Lands; one of his Prince’s Murderers, a stately Committee-Man in *Kent*, and Speaker for ten Days to the Rump, while *Lenthall* was sick or fullen.

‘ *Francis*

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‘*Francis Thorpe*, Receiver of the Money in *Yorkshire*, charged by some of the Country for detaining 25,000 *l.* and one of the Barons of the Exchequer, for which he hath 1000 *l.* *per Ann.* besides the Profits of the Place; a bitter Enemy to his Prince, and a Creature of the Rump’s making.

‘*† *Peter Temple*, Captain of a Troop of Horse, a great Committee-Man, a constant Rumper, and one of the King’s Judges.

‘*Sir Thomas Trenchard* had 1200 *l.* given him: Thus he married his Daughter to a Malignant, gave Security for the Payment of 1200 *l.* Portion, besides Parliamentary Courtesies; got his Son-in-Law sequestered, discovers the Debt, and had it given him for his Fidelity to the State. A neat Parliamentary Way to pay Portions.

‘*John Trenchard*, Brother to *Sir Thomas Trenchard*, but a better Father-in-Law. He was Governor of *Wareham*, married two of his Daughters to *Mr. Bingham* and *Mr. Sydenham*, procured them to be made Colonels of Horse and Foot, and Governors of several Garrisons; got them to be chosen Members of the House of Commons, and to be made free of his own Trade by their Father’s Copy.

‘*Thomas Toll* had the Customer’s Place of *Lynn-Regis*, in his Son’s Name, worth 300 *l.* *per Ann.* yet it is another’s Grant.

‘*Sir John Trevor* had 9000 *l.* out of the Marquis of *Winchester*’s Estate, and the Marquis was put to his and *Mr. Wallop*’s Allowance for divers Years together: Besides *Richmond-Park* and Ground, and the great Park at *Nonsuch*, he had a Monopoly of 1500 *l.* *per Ann.* out of *Newcastle* Coals.

‘*Benjamin Valentine* had 5000 *l.* given him.

‘*Samuel Vassel* had 1000 *l.* given him.

‘† *John Ven*, Colonel, Governor of *Windsor*, and one of the King’s Judges, had 4000 *l.* given him for Losses, besides the Plunder of the Country about *Windsor*, much of the King’s Household Stuff, as Hangings, Linen, and Bedding.

‘*Sir Henry Vane*, sen. hath the Bishop of *Durham*’s Manor, Park, Demesne of *Evenwood*, and had 5000 *l.*

5000*l.* given him: He was also Chairman for the King's, Queen's, and Prince's Revenue, the Epitome whereof is Lord-Treasurer. His Man *Cozens* was Clerk to the Committee, and got 1500 or 2000*l.* per Ann. by it.

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*And if the Man such Profits have,
What must be then that keeps the Knave?*

‘ *Bulstrode Whitlocke*, once a Counsellor at Law of the *Middle-Temple*, then a Member of the Long Parliament, where he profited much, advanced his Interest, and became Commissioner of the Great Seal. Before the Troubles he was an intimate Friend to Sir *Richard Lane*, who, going to *Oxford*, entrusted him with his Chambers in the *Temple*; of which, with all the Goods and an excellent Library, he hath kept Possession ever since; and would not own that ever he knew such a Man, when Sir *Richard's* Son was brought to wait upon him in his Greatness. He was sent Ambassador into *Sweden* in great State, and, when his Masters were turned out, acted there for the Protector. He was since Commissioner of the Treasury under him, and one of his Lords of the Other House. Under *Dick* he was made Commissioner of the Seal again; and, he being discarded, wheeled about and worshipped the Rump; and, when *Lambert* unseated them, he became President of the Committee of Safety; since which he has had the Leisure to consider of his former honest Actions, for which he had 2000*l.* given him at one Time, and hath a good Fleece, and Heir to *Lilly* the Astrologer.

‘ Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, a Lawyer. By his Practice, and a formal Compliance with the Enslavers of these Nations, he hath advanced his Fortune. He was lately Commissioner of the Treasury, and of the Great Seal. He was Speaker of that Parliament that betrayed the Liberties of the People of *England*, by making Acts of incredible Injustice. He put on *Oliver's* Robes at his Installation, and made him

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him a worthy Oration: For which good Service he was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer. His fly Formality restored him to the Great Seal since the Rump's re-sitting. No doubt he is a weakly Man, and has more of the Willow than the Oak.

‘ † *Edward Whaley*, formerly a Woollendrapery, or petty Merchant, in *London*; where not thriving, and being much in Debt, he fled into *Scotland* till the Wars began, which he hath found a more gainful Trade, and in which he was Commissary-General of Horse. He was of the later Parliaments, and a Promoter of *Oliver's* ambitious Designs and his Country's Slavery; for which he was made a Major-General of two or three Counties, and a Lord of the Other House: But the restoring of the Rump check'd this little Man's Greatness, till *Lambert* turn'd them out, and then he was sent into *Scotland* to desire *Monke* to be quiet. He was one of the accursed Crew that dared to sit in Judgment upon his Sovereign.

‘ Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Son to the Elder, totally outed Sir *William Russell*, and was sole Treasurer to the Navy; a Place at least worth 6000*l.* per Ann. in Time of War, especially when the Lord-Treasurer was his Friend, more when he was his Father. He was a Discontent during all *Oliver's* and *Richard's* Government. He is, no doubt, a Man of much Religion, and would become one of the Rulers of *Israel*, if the intended Match between his Son and *Lambert's* Daughter had not been spoiled by the Restitution of the Rump.

‘ Sir *William Waller* lost two Armies, and yet a Gainer. He was afterwards one of the eleven impeached Members, and is become an honest Man, and a Patriot of his Country.

‘ Sir *Thomas Walsingham* had the Honour of *Eltham* given him that was the Earl of *Dorset's*, the middle Park and an House which were Mr. *White's*, and had cut down 5000*l.* worth of Timber Trees, but hath scarce one left of his own to make a Gibbet.

‘ *† *Thomas*

‘ * † *Thomas Waite*, Colonel, Governor of *Burley-on-the-Hill*, where he thrived so well that he bought 500*l.* per Ann. He was one of the King’s Judges.

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‘ † *Rowland Wilson*, Colonel, one of his Prince’s Judges; and, as it is said, died with the Conceit of it, being accused by a Parrot for killing of his King.

‘ *Thomas Westrow*, Captain under Sir *Michael Livesey*, and hath gotten the Bishop of *Worcester’s* Manor of *Hartlebury*.

‘ Sir *Christopher Wray*, Colonel, since dead.

‘ * *William Wray*, his Son, Colonel.

‘ *William White*, Colonel, and was Treasurer of War to the Army in the North under the Command of the old Lord *Fairfax*.

‘ Serjeant *Wylde*, Lord Chief Baron, had, after the hanging of Capt. *Burley*, 1000*l.* out of the Privy Purse of *Derby-House*. ’Tis thought he afforded a great Pennyworth in his Service, which another would not have done for 10,000*l.* and it is affirmed he had 1000*l.* more upon the Acquittal of Major *Rolph*; so it is all one to him whether he hangs or hangs not. He lived retired during the Protectorian Government, but was lately restored to the Exchequer for being a Lover of the Rump.

‘ *Robert Wallop* had 11,000*l.* out of the Marquis of *Winchester’s* Estate, as it is reported.

‘ † *Valentine Walton*, Colonel, and Governor of *Lynn-Regis*, purchased the Queen’s Manor of *Somersham*, in the Isle of *Ely*, for a small Matter, which he has improved to a large Revenue by Decoys, &c. which the Rage of the People has lately demolished utterly. He was one of the King’s Judges.

‘ † Sir *Hardress Waller*, Major-General of the Army, a Colonel of Horse, a great Committee-Man, and one of those five who were appointed to consider of the Time and Place of his late Majesty’s Execution, which they appointed before his own Door. He, with his Assistants, were also the King’s Judges.

‘ It was reported that *Stephen Kirk*, *Daniel Cox*, *Robert Wakeman*, and *John Stinte*, Prime Clerks and

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and Solicitors to their Committees, shared 1100*l.* of Sir *Edward Seabright's* Money, to keep him from being a Delinquent; and that Records were taken off the File, and others put in their Room, who gained great Estates to themselves. The Truth of this were worth inquiring after.

‘ How many of those Members have undertaken to secure Malignants Houses and Good; but, in the End, have taken them all for their own Use. What Castles, Houses, Chases, and Parks have they have had, and the Public no Benefit thereof, is worth the Inquiry: Besides the King’s Revenues and Compositions, which amounteth to *****.

‘ Besides these Offices, Commands, and Gratuities, every Member of the House of Commons, being in all 516, are, by their own Order, allowed 4*l.* per Week a Man, which amounts to 107,328*l.* per Ann. By the Ordinance for sequestering Delinquents, April 1, 1643, it was declared that their Estates should go for Maintenance of the Public Affairs; and several other Ordinances designed Bishops Lands for Payment of 200,000*l.* Public Debt; yet you may see by this that Delinquents Estates and Bishops Lands were by the Members of Parliament shared amongst themselves, whilst the Public Debt is unsatisfied, and the Excise and Taxes held up.

‘ Besides all this, the Incomes they raised upon the People, under Colour of the War, amounted to Three Millions per Ann. at least.

‘ And did they not intend to perpetuate their Parliament, and entail their Session (as the Priesthood on *Levi*) on confiding Families to furnish them with Votes, as, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* and his two Sons, Sir *Robert Harley* and his two Sons, three *Fiennes*, three *Ashes*, four *Stephens*, four *Pelhams*, four *Herberts*, four *Temples*, Sir *Thomas Jervois* and his Son, Sir *Henry Vane* and his Son, two *Purys*, two *Chaloners*, two *Bacons*, two *Pierepoints*, two *Bonds*, two *Onflows*, two *Pools*, two *Lentballs*, &c. And that our Ecclesiastics may comply with our Temporal Go-

Governors, the House abolish (as superstitious, because legal) the Convocation of learned Divines, regularly chosen by the King's Writ, and duly elected by the Clergy; and the House of Commons nominated an Assembly of gifted Divines, for that there is not an Assembly-Man but what is thrust into another's Benefice.'

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We have now gone thro' the Historians, Memorialists, and other Authorities of these Times, up to the Dissolution of this Parliament. What happened between and the Meeting of the next Convention (for Parliament it cannot be called) is not much to our Purpose. But, in this Interval, Dr. *Price* tells us, the General was founded as to his Intentions for restoring the King, by Sir *John Grenville*, sent over purposely, being a near Relation of *Monke's*, and very intimate with him. The Doctor has left us a full Account of what passed when Sir *John* delivered the King's Letter first to the General; of his Shyness in receiving it, and at last of his open Declaration to Sir *John Grenville*, 'That he hoped the King would forgive what was past, both in his Words and Actions, according to the Contents of his gracious Letter; that his Heart was ever faithful to his Majesty, but he was never in a Condition to do him Service till the present Time.' He bid him assure the King, 'That he was now not only ready to obey his Commands, but to sacrifice his Life and Fortune in his Service.'

After such a Declaration, from a Man who had it in his Power, we may suppose the King's Restoration was not far off. And, indeed, some of the warmest and most powerful Men against his Father saw the Thing so inevitable, that they began to think of making Terms for themselves. These, we are told, were earnest with the General, That if the King must be brought in by the next Parliament, he should be admitted upon no other Terms than the Concessions of the Isle of *Wight*. But these Articles were thought too strait for Monarchy,
and

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and wholly destructive to the Constitution of the Church, as governed before those Troubles. Besides, King *Charles* the First yielded to these hard Articles, at a Time when he was a Prisoner in *Carisbrook-Castle*, in the Year 1648; and the Parliament voting them to be a sufficient Ground for a Treaty with the King, the Army turned out all the Voters, who were afterwards called the secluded Members. However, adds the Doctor, to solicit the General, That the King's Restoration might be hampered with his Father's Concessions, in the Isle of *Wight*, was no idle or unreasonable Proposition, from such as found themselves concerned now to look about them. But this Proposal being judged to be anticipating the Acts of the ensuing Convention, or Parliament, it was laid aside by the General, being also inconsistent with his Design of restoring the King, without any Condition whatsoever.

The King being now made thoroughly acquainted, by Means of Sir *John Grenville*, with the General's Intentions in his Favour, began to entertain more certain Hopes of his Restoration than ever he had done before. But still the Determination of the whole Matter rested principally on the Resolutions of the next Parliament, whose Writs of Election were almost wholly returned by the Middle of *April*, 1660. In the mean Time one Interruption happened, which might have proved of dangerous Consequence, if it had not been timely prevented.

It is said that, by the Connivance of the Under-Keepers, *Lambert* was suffered to escape out of the *Tower*; and he being of a boisterous and daring Spirit, and well beloved by the Soldiery, it was thought he might blow up a Flame not easy to be extinguished, if not taken in Time. The General had quick Notice of this Escape, and was too wise not to take Care to prevent *Lambert's* Designs. A Proclamation was first issued out against him and all his Abettors, declaring them Traitors; for he soon mustered together a Number of Men of the same ill Principles with himself, ready to overturn any Government

vernment in which they had no Share or Power. With these *Lambert* intended to rendezvous at *Edgehill*; and the General was preparing to march in Person against him; but hearing that his Party was inconsiderable, he altered his Purpose, and sent Col. *Ingoldby* on that Expedition. The Colonel soon brought Matters to a Crisis; and, without Bloodshed, took *Lambert* and his chief Officers Prisoners, and brought them to *London*, where this factious Person, with *Cobbet* and *Creed*, two others of the same Stamp, were, by the Council of State, committed close Prisoners to the *Tower*. This happened the very Day before the Meeting of the Parliament.

And, surely, there could not be a more proper Crisis for such a Meeting, which now consisted of both Lords and Commons; for it was not disputed by any who called and gave them this Authority, the most rebellious in the Three Kingdoms then submitting to it. Now it appeared, says our Reverend Author, that God's Mercy, the King's Clemency, the General's Conduct, and this Parliament's Sitting, prevented all Fears, and the Effusion of Blood, either by the Sword of War, or of Justice. For none suffered upon the old Score, but those who sat in Judgment on the late King, and signed to his Execution; and even some of these were pardoned. Some few others were also thought fit to be exempted from Pardon, by the Parliament, as Sir *Henry Vane* and *Hugh Peters*, the Guilt of which last Secretary, our Author adds, was thought greater than some of the highest of the Criminals, who sat in a Court of Mock-Justice upon the Life of their Sovereign.

But before we begin with the Proceedings of this ever-memorable Convention of two Estates of the Kingdom, we shall insert the Names of those Members who composed the lower of them, *viz.* the House of Commons; reserving a List of the Peers to another Place, when there were more of them together, and their King at the same Time executing his respective Office of Dignity and Priority.

A LIST of the Names of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, BURGESSES, and BARONS of the Cinque Ports, of England and Wales, as they were returned to the Crown-Office, for the Parliament begun at Westminster, April 25, 1660, commonly called the CONVENTION PARLIAMENT, which was sitting at the Return of King Charles, and voted his Restoration.¹

Where there was a double Return, those in the Italic Character were not allowed to sit.

BEDFORDSHIRE.	R obert Lord Bruce.
	Samuel Brown, Serjeant at Law.
Bedford T.	Sir Samuel Luke, Knt. Humphrey Winch, Esq;
BERKSHIRE.	Sir Robert Pye, Knt. Richard Powell, Esq;
New-Windsor B.	Alexander Blake, Esq; Roger Palmer, Esq; <i>Richard Winwood, Esq;</i>
Reading B.	Thomas Rich, Esq; John Blagrove, Esq;
Abingdon B.	Sir John Stonehouse, Bart. <i>Sir John Lenthall, Knt. and Bart.</i>
Wallingford B.	Hungerford Dunch, Esq; made his Election for <i>Cricklade</i> . New Writ ordered to be issued <i>May 1.</i> Thomas Saunders, Esq;
BUCKINGHAM- SHIRE.	Thomas Tyrrel, Serjeant at Law, one of the Lords Commissioners. Made one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, and a new Writ ordered to be issued <i>July 28.</i> William Boyer, Esq;
Buckingham T.	Sir Richard Temple, Bart. John Dormer, Esq;
Wicomb B.	Edmund Petty, Esq; Richard Brown, Esq; <i>Thomas Scott, Esq;</i>
Aylesbury B.	Richard Ingoldsby, Esq; Thomas Lee, Esq;
Amersham B.	Charles Cheyne, Esq; Thomas Proby, Esq;

Wendo-

¹ From a Pamphlet of the Times, which has been carefully compared with the Journals.

- Wendover* B. Richard Hampden, Esq;
John Baldwin, Esq;
- Marlow* B. Peregrine Hoby, Esq;
William Borlace, Esq;
- CAMBRIDGE-
SHIRE. Thomas Wendy, Esq;
Isaac Thornton, Esq;
- Cambridge* Uni- General George Monke, made his Election
versity. for *Devonshire*. New Writ ordered to be
issued *May* 22.
Thomas Crouch, A. M.
- Cambridge* T. Sir Dudley North, Knt. of the Bath,
Sir Thomas Willis, Bart.
- CHESHIRE. Sir George Booth, Bart.
Thomas Manwaring, Esq;
- Chester* C. John Ratcliff, Esq;
William Ince, Esq;
- CORNWALL. Sir John Carew.
Hugh Boscawen, Esq;
- Dunchevit*, alias Thomas Gewen, Esq;
Launceston B. Sir John Clobery.
Edward Elliot, Esq;
- Leskard* B. John Connock, Esq;
John Robinson, Esq;
Thomas Johnson, Esq;
- Lestwithiel* B. John Clayton, Esq;
Walter Moyle, Esq;
Henry Ford, Esq;
- Truro* B. Walter Vincent, Esq;
Edward Boscawen, Esq;
Henry Roberts, Esq;
- Bodmyn* B. Henry Roberts, Esq;
John Scilly, Esq;
Sir Peter Killigrew, Knt.
- Helston* B. Thomas Robinson, Esq;
———— Godolphin, Esq;
Sir Peter Killigrew, Knt.
- Camelford* B. Sir Peter Killigrew, Knt.
William Cotton, Esq;
Henry Nicol, Esq;
Samuel Trelawney, Esq;
- Westlow* B. John Buller, Esq;
John Keneal, Esq;

- Grampond B.* Hugh Boscawen, Esq; made his Election for *Cornwall*. New Writ ordered to be issued *August 14.*
- Eastlow B.* Thomas Herle, Esq;
Henry Seymour, Esq;
John Trelawney, Esq;
George Strelley, Esq;
Nathaniel Moyle, Esq;
- Penryn B.* Samuel Enys, Esq;
James Cobins, Esq;
- Tregony B.* Edward Boscawen, Esq; made his Election for *Truro*. New Writ ordered to be issued *August 25.*
John Temple Esq;
William Tridinhm, Esq;
Dr. Clargis.
- Bossiney B.* Francis Gerrard, Esq;
Charles Pymme, Esq; made his Election for *Minehead*. New Writ ordered to be issued *May 15.*
- St. Ives B.* John St. Aubin, Esq;
Edward Nofworthy, Esq;
James Pread, Esq;
Peter Cely, Esq;
- Fowey B.* Edward Herle, Esq;
John Barton, Esq;
- St. Germans B.* John Elliot, Esq;
Richard Knightley, Esq;
- Michel B.* Thomas Carew, Esq;
Heneage Finch, Esq; made his Election for the *City of Canterbury*; and a new Writ ordered to be issued *May 5.*
Humphry Burace, Esq;
- Newport B.* Sir Francis Drake, Bart.
William Morrice, Esq; made his Election for *Plymouth*. New Writ ordered to be issued *July 12.*
- St. Mawes B.* William Tredingham, Esq;
Arthur Spry, Esq;
John Clobery, Esq;
- Kellington B.* Robert Roll, Esq;

Edward Herle, Esq; made his Election for
Fowey. New Writ ordered to be issued
May 14.

- CUMBERLAND. Col. Lord Charles Howard.
Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Knt.
- Carlisle C.* William Brisco, Esq;
Jeremy Tolhur, Esq;
- Cockermouth B.* Richard Tolson, Esq;
Wilfrid Lawson, Esq;
- DERBYSHIRE. Henry Cavendish, Viscount Mansfield.
John Ferrers, Esq;
- Derby T.* John Dalton, Esq;
Roger Aleby, Esq;
- DEVONSHIRE. Lord General Monke, called up to the House
of Peers. New Writ ordered to be issued
July 16.
- Exeter C.* Sir John Northcott, Bart.
John Maynard, Serjeant at Law.
Thomas Bampfield, Esq;
Richard Ford, Esq;
- Totness B.* Thomas Chafe, Esq;
Thomas Clifford, Esq;
- Plymouth B.* Samuel Trelawney, Esq;
William Morrice, Esq; Secretary of State.
John Maynard, Serjeant at Law.
Edmund Vowel, Esq;
- Barnstaple B.* John Roll, Esq;
Nicholas Dennis, Esq;
- Plumpton B.* William Strode, Esq;
Christopher Martyn, Esq;
- Tavistock B.* William Ruffel, Esq;
George Howard, Esq;
Ellis Crimes, Esq;
- Clifton, Dart-*
mouth, Hard-
ness B. } John Hale, Esq;
 } — Frederick, Esq;
- Beralstone B.* George Howard, Esq; made his Election for
Tavistock. New Writ ordered to be issued
May 30.
John Maynard, Esq;
Sir Francis Drake, Bart.

- Tiverton* B. Thomas Bampffield, Esq; made his Election for *Exeter*. New Writ ordered to be issued *June 12.*
- Ashburton* B. Robert Shapcot, Esq;
Sir William Courtney.
John Fowel, Esq;
- Honyton* B. Sir John Young, Knt.
Samuel Serle, Esq;
- Okehampton* B. Edward Wise, Esq;
Josias Calmady, Esq;
Robert Reynolds, Esq;
- DORSETSHIRE. John Fitz-James, Esq;
Robert Coker, Esq;
- Poole* T. Sir Walter Erle,
George Cooper, Esq;
- Dorchester* B. Denzil Hollis, Esq;
John Whiteway, Esq;
- Lyme-Regis* B. Walter Young, Esq;
Thomas Moor, Esq; made his Election for *Heytesbury*. New Writ ordered to be issued *May 14.*
- Weymouth* B. General Edward Montagu.
Sir William Penn, Knt.
- Melcomb-Regis* B. Henry Weltham, Esq;
Samuel Bond, Esq;
Peter Middleton, Esq;
- Bridport* B. John Drake, Esq;
Henry Henly, Esq;
- Shaftsbury* B. Thomas Grove, Esq;
James Baker, Esq;
- Wareham* B. George Pitt, Esq;
Robert Colleford, Esq;
- Corfe-Castle* B. Ralph Banks, Esq;
John Tregonwell, Esq;
- ESSEX. John Bramston, Esq;
Edward Turner, Esq;
- Colchester* B. Sir Harbottle Grimston, Bart. SPEAKER.
John Shaw, Esq;
- Malden* B. Tristram Conyers, Esq;
Henry Mildmay, Esq; declared void. New Writ ordered to be issued *May 14.*
Edward Harris, Esq;

- Harwich B.* Capel Luckyn, Esq;
Henry Wright, Esq;
- GLOUCESTER-**
SHIRE. Matthew Hale, Serjeant at Law.
Gloucester C. Edward Stephens, Esq;
- Cirencester B.* Edward Maffe, Esq;
James Stephens, Esq;
- Tewkesbury B.* Thomas Master, Esq;
Henry Powell, Esq;
- HEREFORD-**
SHIRE. Henry Capell, Esq;
Richard Dawdeswell, Esq;
- Hereford C.* Edward Harley, Esq;
William Hinson, alias Powell, Esq; made his
Election for *Dover*. New Writ ordered
to be issued *June 4*.
- Weobly B.* Roger Bosworth, M. D. } Declared void, and a
James Pitts, Esq; } new Writ ordered to
Richard Weston, Esq; } be issued *July 17*. I
- Leominster B.* John Birch, Esq;
Edward Pytt, Esq;
- HERTFORD-**
SHIRE. Rowland Litton, Esq;
St. Albans B. Henry Cæsar, Esq;
Richard Jennings, Esq;
William Foxwift, Esq;
Col. Alban Cox.
- Hertford T.* James Cooper, Esq;
Arthur Spark, Esq;
- HUNTINGDON-**
SHIRE. Robert Lord Mandevil.
Huntingdon T. Henry Cromwell, Esq;
John Bernard, Esq;
Nicholas Pedley, Esq;
- KENT.** Sir John Tufton, Bart.
Sir Edward Deering, Bart.
- Canterbury C.* Sir Anthony Archer, Knt.
Heneage Finch, Esq;
- Rocheſter C.* John Manſham, Esq;
Peter Petit, Esq;
- Maidſtone B.* Thomas Twiſden, Serjeant at Law. On the
3d of *July* a Writ was ordered to be iſſued
to elect one in his room, being made one of
the Juſtices of the Court of King's Bench.
Robert Barnham, Esq;

<i>Queenborough</i> B.	James Herbert, Esq; Sir William Wheeler, Knt.	
LANCASHIRE.	Sir Robert Bindlos, Bart. Roger Bradshaigh, Esq;	
<i>Lancaster</i> T.	Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Bart. William West, Esq;	
<i>Preston</i> B.	Richard Standish, Esq; Alexander Rigby, Esq;	} Declared void, and a new Writ ordered to be issued <i>June 20.</i>
<i>Newton</i> B.	Richard Leigh, Esq; William Banks. jun. Esq;	
<i>Wigan</i> B.	William Gardiner, Esq; Hugh Forth, Esq;	} Declared void, and a new Writ order'd to be issued <i>July 31.</i>
<i>Clithero</i> B.	Sir Ralph Ashton, Bart. William Hulton, Esq;	
<i>Liverpool</i> B.	William Stanley, Esq; Gilbert Ireland, Esq;	
LEICESTER- SHIRE.	Thomas Merry, Esq; Jathew Babinton, Esq;	
<i>Leicester</i> T.	John Grey, Esq; Thomas Armstrong, Esq;	
LINCOLNSHIRE.	Edward Rossiter, Esq; Sir George Saunderfon, Bart.	
<i>Lincoln</i> C.	John Monson, Esq; Thomas Meeres, Esq;	
<i>Boston</i> T.	Sir Anthony Irby, Knt. Thomas Hatcher, Esq;	
<i>Great Grimsby</i> B.	William Wray, Esq; Edward King, Esq;	
<i>Stamford</i> B.	John Hatcher, Esq; Francis Wingfield, Esq; <i>John Weaver, Esq;</i>	
<i>Grantham</i> B.	Thomas Skipwith, Esq; John Newton, Esq; <i>William Ellis, Esq;</i>	
MIDDLESEX.	Sir William Waller, Knt. Lancelot Leke, Esq;	
<i>Westminster</i> C.	Gilbert Gerrard, Esq; Thomas Clargis, Esq;	
<i>London</i> C.	William Wild, Esq; Recorder. Major-General Brown.	

- JOHN ROBINSON, Esq; Alderman.
 WILLIAM VINCENT, Esq;
 HENRY LORD HERBERT.
 WILLIAM MORGAN, Esq;
 SIR TREVOR WILLIAMS, Bart.
 SIR HORATIO TOWNSHEND, Bart.
 THOMAS RICHARDSON, Baron of Cramond.
 WILLIAM BARNHAM, Esq;
 THOMAS RANT, Esq;
 SIR RALPH HARE, Bart.
 EDWARD WALPOLE, Esq;
 JOHN POTTS, Knt. and Bart.
 SIR WILLIAM D'OYLEY, Knt.
 SIR JOHN PALGRAVE, Bart.
 MILES CORBET, Esq;
 SIR PHILIP WODEHOUSE, Bart.
 ROBERT PASTON, Esq;
 SIR JOHN HOLLAND, Bart.
 JOHN SPELMAN, Esq;
 SIR HENRY YELVERTON, Bart.
 JOHN CREWE, Esq;
 CHARLES LORD DE LE SPENCER.
 HUMPHRY ORME.
 FRANCIS ST. JOHN, Esq;
 SIR JOHN NORWICH.
 RICHARD RAINSFORD, Esq;
 THOMAS CREWE, Esq;
 WILLIAM LISLE, jun. Esq;
 SIR THOMAS DACRES.
 EDWARD HARVEY, Esq;
 SIR WILLIAM FENWICK, Bart.
 RALPH DELAVAL, Esq;
 ROBERT ELLIFON, Esq;
 WILLIAM CALVERLEY, Esq;
 SIR THOMAS WIDDINGTON, one of the Lords
 Commissioners of the Great Seal of Eng-
 land. Made his Election for *York*. New
 Writ ordered to be issued *May 14*.
 JOHN RUSHWORTH, Esq;
 THOMAS WIDDINGTON, Esq;
 COL. RALPH KNIGHT.

- NOTTINGHAM- SHIRE. William Pierepoint, Esq;
 Gilbert Lord Haughton.
 Nottingham T. Arthur Stanhope, Esq;
 Col. John Hutchinson, expelled the House
June 9, and rendered incapable of bearing
 any Office of public Trust; and it was also
 resolved that he should not be within the
 Clause of Exception in the Act of general
 Pardon, as to any Fine or Forfeiture of any
 Part of his Estate not purchased of, or be-
 longing to, the Public. A new Writ or-
 dered to be issued *June 12*.
- East-Retford B. William Hickman, Esq;
 Wentworth Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare.
- OXFORDSHIRE. Sir Thomas Wenman, Knt. afterwards Vis-
 count Wenman.
 James Fiennes, Esq;
 Oxford University. Thomas Clayton, M. D.
 John Mills, LL. D.
- Oxford C. Henry Carey, Viscount Falkland.
 James Haxley, Esq;
- Woodstock B. Sir Thomas Spencer, Bart.
 Edward Atkins, Esq;
- Banbury B. Sir Anthony Cope, Bart.
- RUTLANDSHIRE. Philip Sherard, Esq;
 Samuel Brown, Esq;
- SHROPSHIRE. Sir William Whitmore, Bart.
 Henry Vernon, Esq;
- Shrewsbury T. Samuel Jones, Esq;
 Thomas Jones, Esq;
- Bridgnorth B. Walter Acton, Esq;
 John Bennet, Esq;
- Ludlow B. Tim. Lyttleton, Serjeant at Law.
 John Charlton, Esq;
- Great Wenlock B. Sir Francis Lawley, Bart.
 Thomas Whitmore, Esq;
- Bishops-Castle T. William Oakley, Esq;
 Edmund Waring, Esq;
- SOMERSETSHIRE. George Horner, Esq;
 Hugh Smith, Esq;
- Bristol C. John Stephens, Esq;
 John Knight, sen. Esq;

- Bath C.* Alexander Popham, Esq;
William Prynne, Esq;
- Wells C.* Thomas White, Esq;
Henry Bull, Esq;
- Taunton B.* William Windham, Esq;
Thomas Gorger, Esq;
- Bridgewater B.* Sir Thomas Wroth, Knt.
Francis Rolle, Esq;
- Minehead B.* Francis Luttrell, Esq;
Charles Pymme, Esq;
- Ilchester B.* Robert Hunt, Esq;
Henry Dunster, Esq;
- Milborn-Port B.* William Milborn, Esq;
Michael Maller, Esq;
- SOUTHAMPTON-
SHIRE. Richard Norton, Esq;
John Buckley, Esq;
- Winchester C.* Thomas Cole, Esq; made his Election for
Petersfield. New Writ ordered to be issued
May 29.
- Southampton T.* John Hooke, Esq;
William Stanley, Esq;
Robert Richbell, Esq;
- Portsmouth T.* Richard Norton, Esq; made his Election for
Southamptonshire. New Writ ordered to
be issued *May 1.*
- Yarmouth B.* Henry Whitehead, Esq;
Sir George Leigh, Knt.
- Petersfield B.* Richard Lucy, Esq;
Thomas Cole, Esq;
- Newport B.* Arthur Bold, Esq;
Robert Dillington, Esq;
- Stockbridge B.* William Oglander, Esq;
Francis Rivet, Esq;
Sir John Evelin, Knt.
- Newton B.* Sir John Barrington, Bart.
Sir Henry Worsley, Bart.
- Christ-Church B.* John Hildesley, Esq;
Henry Fulse, Esq;
- Whitchurch B.* Robert Wallop, Esq; He was expelled the
House *June 11*, and excepted out of the
Act of general Pardon and Oblivion, in
respect only of such Pains, Penalties, and
For-

Forfeitures, (not extending to Life) as should be thought fit to be inflicted on him.

New Writ ordered to be issued *June 12.*

- Giles Hungerford, Esq;
Lymington B. John Button, Esq;
 Henry Bromfield, Esq;
Andover B. John Trott, Esq;
 John Collins, Esq;
 STAFFORDSHIRE. Edward Bagot, Esq;
 William Snead, Esq;
Litchfield C. Michael Biddolph, Esq;
 Thomas Manners, Esq;
Stafford T. Sir Charles Wolfeley, Bart.
 John Swinfen, Esq;
Newcastle under John Bowyer, Esq;
Line. Samuel Terrick, Esq;
Tamworth B. Richard Newdigate, Lord Chief Justice of the
 Upper Bench.
 Thomas Fox, Esq;
 SUFFOLK. Sir Henry Felton, Bart.
 Henry North, Esq;
Ipswich T. Nathaniel Bacon, Esq;
 Francis Bacon, Esq;
Dunwich B. John Rous, Esq;
 Henry Beddingfield, Esq;
Orford B. Walter Devereux, Esq;
 Allen Broderick, Esq;
Aldborough B. Robert Brook, Esq;
 Thomas Bacon, Esq;
Sudbury B. John Gurdon, Esq;
 Joseph Brand, Esq;
Robert Cordel, Esq;
Eye B. Charles Cornwallis, Esq;
 George Reeve, Esq;
St. Edmundsbury B. Sir Henry Crofts, Knt.
 Sir John Duncombe, Knt.
Thomas Chaplin, Esq;
Thomas Clarke, Esq;
 SURREY. Francis Angier, Baron of Langford.
 Daniel Harvey, Esq;
Southwark B. John Langham, Esq;
 Thomas Bludworth, Esq;

- Blechingley B.* Sir John Evelin, Knt.
John Goodwyn, Esq;
- Ryegate B.* John Hele, Esq;
Edward Thurland, Esq;
- Guildford B.* Sir Richard Onslow, Knt.
Arthur Onslow, Esq;
- Gatton B.* Thomas Turgis, Esq;
William Oldfield, Esq; } Declared void, and
Roger James, Esq; } new Writs ordered
Robert Wood, Esq; } to be issued the 5th
of *May*.
- Haslemere B.* John Westbrook, Esq;
Richard West, Esq;
- SUSSEX.
Sir John Pelham.
Henry Goring, Esq;
- Chichester C.* Henry Peckham, Esq;
John Farrington, Esq;
William Cawley, Esq;
- Horsham B.* Thomas Middleton, Esq;
Hall. Ravenscroft, Esq;
- Midhurst B.* Will. Willoughby, Esq;
John Steward, Esq;
- Lewes B.* John Staple, Esq;
Nifel Rivers, Esq;
- Shoreham B.* Herbert Springet, Esq;
Edward Blaker, Esq;
- Bramber B.* John Byne, Esq;
Edward Eversfield, Esq;
- Steyning B.* Henry Goring, Esq; made his El
Suffex. New Writ ordered t
May 3.
John Fagg, Esq;
- East-Grinstead B.* Marmaduke Gresham, Esq;
George Courthop, Esq;
- Arundel B.* Roger Lord Broghill.
Henry Viscount Falkland, made his
for *Oxford City*. New Writ ordere
issued *May 1*.
- WARWICKSHIRE. George Brown, Esq;
Thomas Archer, Esq;
- Coventry C.* John Beake, Esq; } Declared void,
Richard Hopkins, Esq; } new Writs or
to be issued *7*

- Warwick B.* Clement Throckmorton, jun. Esq;
John Rous, Esq;
- WESTMORE-
LAND.* Sir John Lowther, Bart.
Sir Thomas Wharton, Knight of the Bath.
- Appulby T.* Sir Henry Cholmley, Knt.
Christopher Clapham, Esq;
- WILTSHIRE.* Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper.
John Earnely, Esq;
- Salisbury C.* Henry Eyre, Esq;
Edward Tooker, Esq;
- Wilton B.* John Swanton, Esq;
William Hughes, Esq; His Election declared
void, and a new Writ issued *June 14.*
Francis Swanton, Esq;
Richard Grobham Howe, Esq;
- Downton B.* Gyles Eyre, jun. Esq;
John Elliot.
Thomas Fitz-James, Esq;
William Coles, Esq;
- Hindon B.* Sir Thomas Thyn, Knt.
George Grobham Howe, Esq;
Edmund Ludlow, Esq;
- Heytesbury B* Thomas Moore, Esq;
John Jolliffe, Esq;
- Abury B.* Richard Lewes, Esq;
William Bruncker, Esq;
Edward Bainton, Esq;
William Ducket, Esq;
William Lewis, Esq;
Robert Aldworth, Esq;
John Norden, Esq;
- Ham B.* Edward Hungerford, Esq;
Edward Pool, Esq;
- ry B* Robert Danvers, Esq;
Sir Fran. Hen. Lee, Bart.
- de B.* Hungerford Dunch, Esq;
Nevil Maskeline, Esq;
- win B.* Robert Spencer, Esq;
Thomas Gape, Esq;
Sir Walter St. John, Bart.
Sir Ralph Varney, Knt.

Ludgershall

- Ludgershall* B. William Prynne, Esq; made his Election for
Bath, and a new Writ ordered to be issued
May 3.
William Thomas, Esq;
Sir John Evelin.
- Old Sarum.* Seymour Bowman, Esq;
John Norden, Esq;
Algernon Cecil, Esq;
- Wootton-Basset* B. John Pleydell, Esq;
Henry Lord Herbert, made his Election for
Monmouthshire.
- Marlborough* B. Henry Hungerford, Esq;
Jeffrey Daniel, Esq;
- WORCESTER-
SHIRE.
Worcester C. Henry Bromley, Esq;
John Talbot, Esq;
Thomas Street, Esq;
Thomas Hall, Esq;
- Droitwich* B. Samuel Sandys, Esq;
Thomas Coventry, Esq;
- Evesham* B. Sir Thomas Rous, Bart.
John Egiocke, Esq;
- Bewdley* B. Thomas Foley, Esq;
YORKSHIRE. Thomas Lord Fairfax.
John Dawnay, Esq;
- York* C. Sir Thomas Widdrington, one of the Lords
Commissioners of the Great Seal of Eng-
land.
Metcalf Robinson, Esq;
- Kingston upon*
Hull. John Ramsden, Esq;
Andrew Marvel, Esq;
- Knaresbrough* B. William Stockdale, Esq;
Henry Bethell, Esq;
- Scarborough* B. William Thompson, Esq;
Luke Robinson, Esq; On the 21st of *June,*
1660, Mr. Robinson was discharged by an
Order of the House from sitting, and a
Writ ordered to be issued to elect another
in his room; but the Journals do not give
us the Reason for this Expulsion.
- Ripon* B. *John Legard, Esq;*
Henry Arthington, Esq;
Edmund Jennings, Esq;
John Lambert, Esq;

- Richmond B.* James D'Arcy, Esq;
Sir Christopher Wyvell, Bart.
- Heydon B.* Col. Hugh Bethell.
John Clobery, Esq; made his Election for
Launceston. New Writ issued *July 6.*
- Boroughbridge B.* Conyers D'Arcy, Esq;
Henry Stapylton, Esq;
- Thirsk B.* Barring Bouchier, Esq;
William Stanley, Esq; made his Election for
Liverpool. New Writ issued *May 15.*
Thomas Harrison, Esq;
- Aldborough B.* Solomon Swale, Esq;
Francis Goodrick, Esq;
- Beverley B.* Sir John Hotham, Bart.
Col. Hugh Bethell, made his Election for *Hey-*
don. New Writ ordered to be issued *May 22.*
- Pontefract B.* Sir George Savile, Bart.
William Lowther, Esq;
John Hewly, Esq;
Lionel Copley, Esq;
- Malton B.* Philip Howard Esq;
- Allerton B.* Thomas Heblethwayt, Esq;
Francis Lascelles, Esq; expelled the House
June 9, rendered incapable of bearing any
Office of public Trust; and it was resolved
that he should not be within that Clause of
Exception in the Act of general Pardon,
as to any Fine of Forfeiture of any Part of
his Estate not purchased of, or belonging
to, the Public. New Writ ordered to be
issued *June 12.*
Thomas Lascelles, Esq;

C I N Q U E P O R T S.

- Hastings.* Denny Ashburnham, Esq;
Nicholas Delves, Esq;
- Romney.* Sir Norton Knatchbull, Bart.
John Knatchbull, Esq;
- Hythe.* Philip Lord Viscount Strangford.
Phineas Andrews, Esq;
- Dever.* Edward Montagu, one of the Generals at Sea.
Arnold Braimes, Esq;

Sandwich.

Sandwich. Henry Oxenden, Esq;
James Thurbarne, Esq;
Seaford. Sir Thomas Dike.
George Parker, Esq;
Rye. Herbert Morley, Esq;
William Hay, Esq;
Winchelsea. William Howard, second Son of Edward
Lord Howard, of Escrick.
Samuel Gott, Esq;

W A L E S.

Anglesey. Robert Lord Viscount Buckley.
Beaumaris B. Griffith Bodurda, Esq;
BRECON. Sir William Lewis, Bart.
Brecon T. Sir Henry Williams.
CARDIGAN. } *May 16*, on a Petition of the Freeholders of
Cardigan T. } this County, Writs were ordered to be is-
fued for the Election of Members for the
County and Town, and it was referred to
the Committee of Privileges and Elections
to examine into the Miscarriage of the
former Writ for the said Election.
CARMARTHEN. John Lloyd, Esq;
Carmarthen T. Arthur Annesley, Esq;
CARNARVON. John Glynn, Serjeant at Law.
Carnarvon T. William Glynn, Esq;
DENBIGH. Sir Thomas Middleton, Knt.
Denbigh T. Sir John Carter, of Kimuel, Knt.
FLINT. } We find no Return for these two Places. It
Flint T. } is probable the Writ miscarried in the same
Manner as that for *Cardigan*.
GLAMORGAN. Sir Edward Mansel, Bart.
Caerdiff T. Bussley Mansel, Esq;
MERIONETH. Edmund Merrick, Esq;
MONTGOMERY. John Purfell, Esq;
Montgomery T. Thomas Middleton, Esq;
PEMBROKE. Arthur Owen, Esq;
Pembroke T. Sir Hugh Owen, Kt. and Bart. Declar'd void.
New Writ ordered to be issued *June 29*.
Haverford-West. William Phillips, Esq;
RADNOR. George Gwin, Esq;
Radnor T. Robert Harley, Esq;

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The *Journals* of both Houses now begin again, which we shall faithfully abstract up to our determined Period; and first, as in Justice it is due to the Upper House, and because we have been long Strangers to them, their *Journals* must claim the Preference. And, to do more Honour to them, we think proper to give their first five Days Proceedings at full Length, as they are entered on their *Journals*.

Journals of the House of Lords; *Die Mercuri Viceffimo Quinto Die Aprilis, Anno Regni Sereniffimi Domini nostri Caroli Secundi, Dei Gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Regis, Fidei Defensor, Duodecimo.*

PRAYERS by Mr. Ashe.

Domini presentes fuerunt,

The Earl of *Manchester* appointed by the Lords to be Speaker *pro Tempore,*

The Earls of *Northumberland, Lincoln, Suffolk,* and *Denbigh,* Viscount *Say* and *Sele,* Lords *Wharton, Hunsden, Grey de Werk, Maynard, &c.*

Ordered, That *Monday* next be appointed to be kept, by this House, as a Day of Fasting and Humiliation, for seeking a Blessing from God by Prayer, upon the Meeting of both Houses of Parliament, in order to a Settlement of this Nation; and the Place to be the Abbey Church in *Westminster* for the Peers, wherein the House of Commons are to be desired to do the like for their House.

A Message was sent to the House of Commons by Mr. *Rich* and Mr. *Eltonhead,* to let them know that the Lords have appointed to keep *Monday* next as a Fast-Day, for seeking of God for a Blessing upon the Meeting of both Houses, in order to a Settlement of this Nation, and to desire their Concurrence for the same Day to be kept as a Fast by their House.

The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Lincoln,* the Lords *Wharton, Hunsden,* and *Grey de Werk,* were appointed to consider of the Draught of an Order for *Henry Scobell, Esq;* to deliver all Acts, Records,
and

and Journal-Books, and all Papers and Writings whatsoever, that are in his Custody, belonging to the Peers, to *John Brown*, Esq; Clerk of the Parliament, and likewise the Stone Tower and Dwelling-House belonging thereunto, and report the same to this House. Their Lordships to meet presently.

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‘ Resolved, That *George Monke*, Esq; is nominated and appointed, by this House, to be Captain-General of all Land Forces in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Concurrence of the House of Commons be desired therein.’

The Earl of *Lincoln* reported from the Committee the Order concerning the Records of this House, which was read and approved of, and ordered to be signed by the Speaker of this House, viz.

‘ **W** Hereas *Henry Scobell*, Esq; is now in the Possession of the Dwelling-House in the Old Palace Yard at *Westminster*, belonging to the Clerk of the Parliament, who attends as Clerk to the House of Peers, and hath in his Custody the Acts, Journals, and other Records of that House: It is ordered by the Lords in Parliament, That the said *Henry Scobell* shall, upon Sight hereof, forthwith deliver unto *John Brown*, Esq; Clerk of the Parliament, or his Assigns, the Possession of a certain Stone Building, standing within the said Dwelling-House, commonly called the *Tower*, wherein the Records were usually kept, and the Keys and other Things belonging to the same: As also the Acts, Ordinances, Journals, Records, Writings, and Papers appertaining, or any wise belonging to the said Office. And lastly, That the said *Henry Scobell* shall deliver the quiet Possession of the said Dwelling-House, with the Appurtenances, unto the said *John Brown*, or his Assigns, within fourteen Days next after the Date of this Order, and hereunto Obedience is required accordingly.’

Order to Mr. Scobell to deliver up the Records of that House.

The Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Viscount *Say* and *Sele*, with the Lords *Wharton* and *Hunsden*, were appointed to consider of such Lords as shall

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have Letters written to them, to desire their Attendance on this House. To meet presently in the Prince's Lodgings.

The Lord *Wharton* reported the Names of those Lords, and likewise a Draught of the Letter, which were read and agreed to, *viz.*

My Lord,

‘ I Am commanded by the House of Peers, hereby to signify their Pleasures, that you do repair to attend the House with what convenient Speed you can : And so rest

Your Lordship's humble Servant,
MANCHESTER, Speaker *pro Tempore.*

The Earls of *Northumberland*, *Suffolk*, and *Manchester*, Viscount *Say* and *Sele*, and the Lords *Hunsden*, *Grey de Werk*, and *Maynard*, were appointed by the House to go to the Lord-General *Monke* to deliver this Message to him, from the Lords in Parliament, and the Earl of *Manchester*, Speaker, was to speak it, *viz.*

‘ THE Peers in Parliament assembled, have commanded me to own your Lordship's Valour and Prudence in managing the great Affairs intrusted to you; and they likewise return your Lordship their Acknowledgements for the Care and Respects which you have expressed to the Peers, in restoring them to their antient and undoubted Rights. And they hope that God will still bless you in the Use of all Means for the procuring a safe and well-grounded Peace, according to the antient fundamental Government of this Nation, wherein they shall employ their Councils and utmost Endeavours in Concurrence with you.’

Post Meridiem.

PRAYERS by *Mr. Rood.*

Domini presentes fuerunt,

The Earl of *Manchester*, Speaker *pro Tempore*,
The Earls of *Northumberland*, *Lincoln*, *Suffolk*, &c.

‘ Or-

‘Ordered, That Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Hardy* are appointed to preach before the Lords on *Monday* next, being the Fast-Day; and that the House be called To-morrow.’

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Die Jovis, viz. 26° Die Aprilis, 1660.

PRAYERS by Mr. Hodges.

Domini presentes fuerunt,

The Earl of *Manchester*, Speaker *pro Tempore*,
The Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Lincoln*,
&c.

The Messengers sent Yesterday to the House of Commons return with this Answer, That they concur with this House in keeping *Monday* next a Fast-Day.

‘Ordered, That *Francis Tyton* and *John Macccke* are appointed to be Printers to this House, upon such Conditions as the Clerk of the Parliament shall think fit.’

‘Ordered, That the antient Order of this House be revived for the Lords to pay coming after Prayers, *viz.* every Earl 2*s.* and every Baron 1*s.*’

The Earls of *Northumberland*, *Lincoln*, *Dorset*, &c. were ordered to prepare an Ordinance in pursuance of the Vote made Yesterday by this House, concerning the Lord-General *Monke*. Their Lordships, or any four of them, to meet To-morrow Morning at Eight of the Clock, and Mr. *Rich* and Mr. *Eltonhead* to be Assistants.

The Roll of the standing Orders of this House was read.

The Earl of *Manchester* reported that his Lordship and the rest of the Lords Committees delivered to General *Monke* what this House had directed Yesterday; and the General expressed himself to this Effect: ‘That he took it for a great Honour and Civility from the House of Peers; and said he would be ready to carry on all Things that tend to the Safety and Settlement of this Nation; and desir’d that

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their Lordships would be pleased to look forward and not backward, in transacting of Affairs.'

A Message was brought from the House of Commons by *James Herbert*, Esq; who said he was commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees of the House of Commons in Parliament assembled, to acquaint this House, that they have resolved that this Day Fortnight be set apart for a Day of Thanksgiving to the Lord, for raising up his Excellency the Lord-General, and other eminent Persons who have been instrumental in the Delivery of this Nation from Thraldom.

Also that they have resolved, That this Day Fortnight be the Day set apart for a Day of Thanksgiving for that House, and within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and late Lines of Communication; and this Day Month for the whole Nation.

To all which the House of Commons desire their Lordships Concurrence.

The Answer returned to this Message from the House of Commons was, That the Lords do, with thankful Hearts, acknowledge God's great Mercy in delivering them out of their long Thraldom, Confusion, and Misery, and do fully concur with you in setting apart those public Days of Thanksgiving.

'Ordered, That these Votes be forthwith printed and published.'

'Ordered, That *Mr. Henry Barker*, Deputy to *Valentine Willis*, Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, be admitted to sit in this House as an Assistant, it appearing to this House, by Patent under the Great Seal of *England*, granted by the late King, that the said *Mr. Willis* had a good Title to the said Office, and had Power to make a Deputy.

Die Veneris, viz. 27° Die Aprilis, 1660.

PRAYERS by *Mr. Hodges*.

Domini presentes fuerunt,

The Earl of *Manchester*, Speaker *pro Tempore*,
The Earls of *Oxon*, *Northumberland*, *Derby*, &c.

'Or-

‘Ordered, That Mr. *Hodges* is appointed to preach before the Lords, the next Day of Thanksgiving, in the Abbey Church.’

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Signification being given to the House, that divers Lords were in the Lobby, ready to attend the Service of this House, having never sat in Parliament since the Death of their Ancestors, the House gave the Gentleman Usher Authority to call them in to sit in their Places in this House. The Names of the aforesaid Lords were, the Earls of *Oxon*, *Derby*, and *Stafford*, Lord Viscount *Conway*, and the Lords *Cromwell*, *Gerrard*, *Tenham*, and *Capell*.

‘Ordered, That the Speaker of this House do write several and respective Letters to the Earls of *Leicester*, *Bedford*, and *Clare*, and Lord *Paget*, to give their Attendance on this House as Peers.’

The Earls of *Oxon*, *Northumberland*, *Rutland*, &c. were ordered to frame an Ordinance for the constituting of a Committee of Safety of both Houses, and to report the same to this House. Their Lordships, or any four, to meet when they please.

‘Resolved, That the Earl of *Manchester* is hereby nominated and appointed one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England*, and to send to the House of Commons for their Concurrence.’

Lords Committees appointed to consider of the Privileges of this House, viz. Earls of *Oxon*, *Northumberland*, *Derby*, &c. Their Lordships, or any nine of them, to meet in the Prince’s Lodgings when they please, and to adjourn from Time to Time, as they shall see Cause.

‘Ordered, That it is referred to the Lords Committees for Privileges to consider of the different Cases of those Lords that have late come to sit in this House, and those that do not; and also what Assistants that formerly sat in this House, and are now alive and capable of being admitted, to be Assistants to this House.’

‘Ordered, That a Conference be had with the House of Commons, to consider of some Way and Means to be found out to make up the Breaches and Distractions of this Kingdom. This Conference

to

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to be on *Tuesday* Morning next in the *Painted-Chamber*: And the Earls of *Oxon*, *Northumberland*, *Bedford*, &c. were appointed to consider and draw up Heads for this Conference. Their Lordships, or any seven of them, to meet To-morrow in the Prince's Lodgings at Nine of the Clock.

A Message was sent to the House of Commons, by Mr. *Rich* and Mr. *Eltonhead*, to desire a Conference on *Tuesday* Morning next, at Ten of the Clock, in the *Painted-Chamber*, in order to the Settlement of the great Affairs of this Kingdom.

Die Lunæ, viz. 30^o Die Aprilis, 1660.

PRAYERS by Mr. Reynolds.

Domini presentes fuerunt,

The Earl of *Manchester*, Speaker *pro Tempore*,
The Earls of *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Lincoln*, &c.

Ordered, That the Lords of this House do receive Sacrament in the Abbey-Church of *Westminster*; and, as concerning the Time, it is referred to the Committee of Privileges to consider of it, and report the same to this House.

Ordered, That the Lady *Suffex* and her Children shall have a Pass to go into *France* for their Health, with their Servants and necessary Attendants, and such Horses as are convenient for their Service.

The Lords, before they went to the Fast-Sermons, made a Collection for the Poor, which was to be distributed as the House should thereafter appoint.

Then the Lords went from this House together, in their Order, to keep the Fast in the Abbey-Church.

Proceedings of
the House of
Commons.

The *Journals* of the House of Commons begin with acquainting us, That, on the Day of their Meeting, the Members of that House first went to *Margaret's Church, Westminster*, to hear a Sermon, and then repaired to their own House; where, on a Motion made by Mr. *Pierepoint*, Sir *Harbottle Grimston* was chosen Speaker, and placed in the Chair by the

the Lord-General *Monke*^m, Mr. *Holles*, and the said Mr. *Pierepoint*. Next *William Jessop*, Esq; *James Northfolk*, Esq; and *Ralph Darnall*, Esq; were chosen Clerk, Serjeant at Arms, and Clerk-Assistant, of the Commons House of Parliament.

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The Clerk of the Crown attended with a Book, containing an Account of the Members chosen to serve in this present Parliament, by which the House was called over; and those Members who were present did, upon their Naming, withdraw into the Committee Chambers and Gallery above. Afterwards, when the Book was gone through, they returned and took their Places in the House.

On a Message from the Lords, the House agreed to hold a Fast on *Monday* the 30th; and that Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Gauden*, and Mr. *Baxter*, be desired to assist in carrying on the Work of Fasting and Humiliation, on that Day, at *Margaret's Church, Westminster*, in order to seek the Lord for a Blessing on these distracted Nations. So long did the canting Expressions of the former Zealots continue in Use.

A large Committee for Privileges and Elections was appointed, with full Powers for that Purpose.

Ordered, That all Persons who will question Elections now returned, do it within fourteen Days, and so on within the same Time, after any new Return.—A Day of Thanksgiving to the Lord was appointed, for raising up his Excellency the Lord-General, and other eminent Persons, who have been instrumental in the Delivery of this Nation from Thraldom and Misery. *May* the 10th to be the Day, and that the Lords Concurrence be desired herein.' Ordered, also, 'That Mr. *Price*, the Lord-General's Chaplain, (Author of the History so often quoted) be desired to carry on the Work of Thanksgiving, before this House, at *Margaret's Church*,

^m The General was elected a Member, unanimously, by the University of *Cambridge*; which Honour, Dr. *Gumble* says, he ever remembered with Thankfulness. But being at the same Time returned one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Devon*, he chose to represent the latter as his native Country.

Dr. *Gumble's* Life of General *Monke*, p. 288.

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Church, *Westminster*; and that Dr. *Clargis* do give him Notice thereof.

‘Resolved, That his Excellency the Lord-General *Monke* have the Recognition, Acknowledgement, and hearty Thanks of this House, for his eminent and unparallel’d Services done to these Nations. Accordingly the Speaker gave the Thanks of the House to the Lord-General, standing in his Place, to the Effect following:

Solemn Thanks
given to General
Monke.

‘That he was commanded by this House to take Notice of his eminent Services, his Wisdom being such, and God having so blessed him in his great Affairs, that he hath made a Conquest of those who are Enemies and disaffected to the Government, Happiness, and Welfare of this Church and State, without a bloody Nose: That this hath much advanced the Honour of his Services, having been effected without the Expence of Blood or Treasure, of both which the Nation had been so much exhausted, that nothing but a Necessity could rationally have satisfied any Man to draw out more: That his Lordship hath been our Physician, and hath cured us with his Lenitives: That Statues have heretofore been set up for Persons meriting much of their Country; but his Lordship hath a Statue set up higher, and in another Place, as high as may be, in the Hearts of all Well-wishers to the Good of this Nation, and a Crown of Glory, he doubts not, laid up for him in Heaven: That God hath made him instrumental, by his helping Hand, to keep the Nation from sinking, when no Way was represented to our Understanding, whence Deliverance should arise; so that God’s raising him up, accompanying, blessing, and assisting him in his Counsels, in such sort as to accomplish his Work to that Height, cannot be otherwise owned by those that look upon him, and his Actions, than as a Miracle: And therefore, in the Name of the House, he returns to his Lordship the hearty Thanks of this House; adding, he was sure his Lordship would believe it if he had not said so.’

Then

Then it was resolved, That Col. *Ingoldby* should have the Thanks of the House, for his former and late great and eminent Services done for this Nation, which the Speaker accordingly gave him to the Effect following:

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‘ That he is commanded by the House to take Notice of his former Services, and of his late Action, wherein God hath made him instrumental to do so great and eminent a Service to the Nation, for which he returns him their hearty Thanks; having made him as high in Favour as he is in his own Merit, for adventuring himself so far in the public Cause; and that the House’s good Acceptance thereof is the more valuable, being taken Notice of on the same Day with the great Services performed for the Nation by his Excellency the Lord-General.’

April 27. The House of Commons did nothing material on this Day, but hear a Report from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, concerning several double Returns, &c. at the End of which it was ordered, That the great Business, touching the Settlement of these Nations, be taken into Consideration on *Tuesday* the first of *May* next, at Eight o’Clock; to which Day the House adjourned itself, reserving Power to all Committees to sit and act in the mean Time, notwithstanding this Adjournment.

During this short Interval of the Commons, for^{A short Anecdote.} the Lords did not adjourn at all, there happened an Affair, which Dr. *Price* hath given us, and is a Piece of secret History very necessary to be known previous to their next Meeting. This Author tells us, ‘ That, in this short Recess, the General and Sir *John Grenville* consulted together about the Delivery of his Message, Letters, &c. from his Majesty to both Houses. That which was superscribed to the General, to be by him communicated to the Army and Council of State, was, by his Appointment, delivered to him at the Door of the Council-Chamber, where *Grenville* attended, and into which, as Col. *Birch*, one of the Members of it, was entering, *Grenville* requested him (but unknown) that he

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he might speak with my Lord-General; who, upon *Birch's* Intimation, came to the Door, and there, in the Sight of his Guards attending, received *Grenville's* Letters, but not with much Regard either to his Person or his Business; of which the General seemed to understand somewhat by the Seal, and asked him if he would stay there till he had his Answer, otherwise his Guards should secure him, commanding them to look to him. So his Excellency produceth his Letters to the Council of State, *Grenville* is sent for in, and *Birch* protested that he neither knew the Gentleman nor his Business. The Lord-President of the Council examined *Grenville* from whence those Letters came, whose they were, and how he came by them, (for as yet they were not opened) he told the President that the King, his Master, gave him them with his own Hands at *Breda*: So the opening of them was deferred till the Parliament sat. *Grenville* was to have been sent into Custody, but the General was his Bail, who said he knew the Gentleman, (being his near Kinsman) and would take his Parole to appear before the Parliament.'

It is easy to see by this Quotation from the Reverend Author, which we have given *verbatim*, that the General had thought it his Interest to carry on the Delusion to the last. But now, he adds, the *Monke's Hood* was to be taken off, and the General was to declare his Attachment to the King and Royal Family in full Parliament. How far this Chicanery was commendable we shall not determine; 'tis plain he gained his Point quite thro' by the deepest Dissimulation, and waded thro' some very dirty Ways to come at it. But, if we may believe our Reverend Writer, his Master designed to have played a nobler Game, if this he was acting should be circumvented. For, on *Lambert's* Escape, and his taking the Field, he sent for Sir *John Grenville*, and told him, 'That if Col. *Ingoldsby* was beaten, and the Army went over to follow *Lambert*, he was resolved then to put off his Disguise, declare the
King's

King's Commission, own it for the Authority by which he acted, and commission the Royal Party into Arms in all Places throughout *England, Scotland, and Ireland*: Wherefore he required Sir *John* to attend him, and receive Orders from him for his Majesty's Service.

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But Providence directed the King's Return by milder Ways; for, on the first of *May*, when the two Houses were met, after the Lords had done some other Business, and ordered a Call of their House to be on the 3d Instant, they were informed, That there was a Gentleman, Sir *John Grenville*, in the Lobby, who had a Letter to deliver to this House from the King; the House thereupon was adjourned during Pleasure, and the Speaker was appointed to go to the lower End of this House, and receive it at the Hands of the Messenger.

The House being resumed, the Speaker reported, That Sir *John Grenville* delivered to him a Letter, which he said he received from the King, his Master, to deliver to the House of Peers. Hereupon the House commanded the said Letter, with a Declaration inclosed therein, to be read twice; which was done accordingly, and are as follow:

To the SPEAKER of the House of PEERS, and to the LORDS there assembled.

CHARLES R.

Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousins, and Right Trusty and Well-beloved, we Greet you well:

WE cannot have a better Reason to promise ourself an End of our common Sufferings and Calamities, and that our own just Power and Authority will, with God's Blessing, be restored to us, than that we hear you are again acknowledged to have that Authority and Jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by your Birth, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land: And we have thought it very fit and safe for us to call to you for your Help in the composing the

The King's Letter to the House of Peers.

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confounding Distempers and Distractions of the Kingdom, in which your Sufferings are next to those we have undergone ourself; and therefore you cannot but be the most proper Counsellors for removing those Mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a Trust we repose in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed Peace and Security for the Kingdom, will appear to you by our inclosed Declaration; which Trust, we are most confident, you will discharge with that Justice and Wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that, upon your Experience how one Violation succeeds another, when the known Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed, you will be as jealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for the Honour of your King, as for yourselves, and then you cannot but discharge your Trust with good Success, and provide for and establish the Peace, Happiness, and Honour of King, Lords, and Commons, upon that Foundation which can only support it, and we shall be all happy in each other: And as the whole Kingdom will bless God for you all, so we shall hold ourself obliged, in an especial Manner, to thank you in particular, according to the Affection you shall express towards us. We need the less enlarge to you upon this Subject, because we have likewise writ to the House of Commons, which we suppose they will communicate to you; and we pray God to bless your joint Endeavours for the Good of us all: And so we bid you very heartily Farewell. Given at our Court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{7}$ Day of April, 1660, in the twelfth Year of our Reign.

His Majesty's Declaration from *Breda* to all his loving Subjects, inclosed in the foregoing.

CHARLES R.

His Majesty's
Declaration.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting.

If the general Distraction and Confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken
all

all Men to a Desire and Longing that those Wounds, which have so many Years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no Purpose; however, after this long Silence, we have thought it our Duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the Hope, in good Time, to obtain the Possession of that Right which God and Nature hath made our Due; so we do make it our daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in Compassion to us and our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable Possession of that our Right, with as little Blood and Damage to our People as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs, by a full and entire Administration of Justice throughout the Land, and by extending our Mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

And to the End that the Fear of Punishment may not engage any conscious to themselves of what is past, to a Perseverance in Guilt for the future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country, in the Restoration both of King, Peers, and People to their just, antient, and Fundamental Rights, we do, by these Presents, declare, That we do grant a free and general Pardon, which we are ready, upon Demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, who, within forty Days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our Grace and Favour, and shall, by any public Act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects; excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament, those only to be excepted. Let all our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King, solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever, committed against us or our Royal Father before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question, against any of them, to the least Endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in our Power) so much as to the Prejudice of
their

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their Reputations, by any Reproach or Term of Distinction from the rest of our best Subjects; we desiring and ordaining, that henceforth all Notes of Discord, Separation, and Difference of Parties be utterly abolished among all our Subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themselves, under our Protection, for the Re-settlement of our just Rights and theirs, in a Free Parliament, by which, upon the Word of a King, we will be advised.

And because the Passion and Uncharitableness of the Times have produced several Opinions in Religion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and Animosities against each other, (which, when they shall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Conversation, will be composed, or better understood) we do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no Man shall be disquieted or called in Question, for Differences of Opinion in Matter of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as, upon mature Deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

And because, in the continued Distractions of so many Years, and so many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to, and by, many Officers, Soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law upon several Titles, we are likewise willing that all such Differences, and all Things relating to such Grants, Sales, and Purchases, shall be determined in Parliament; which can best provide for the just Satisfaction of all Men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, That we will be ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the Purposes aforesaid, and for the full Satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army under the Command of General Monke; and that they shall be received into our Service upon as good Pay and Conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our Sign Manual and Privy-Signet, at our Court, at Breda, this $\frac{4}{4}$ Day of April, 1660, in the twelfth Year of our Reign.

May

May 1. In the House of Commons, Mr. *Annesley* reported from the Council of State, a Letter from the King, unopened, directed *To our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monke, to be communicated to the President and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command,* being received from the Hands of Sir *John Grenville*.

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The House being informed that Sir *John Grenville*, a Messenger from the King, was at the Door, it was resolved that he should be called in; which being done, and he at the Bar, after Obeisance made, said,

‘ Mr. Speaker, I am commanded by the King, my Master, to deliver this Letter to you, and his Desires that you would communicate it to the House.’

The Messenger being withdrawn, the Letter was read to the House by Mr. Speaker, and was as follows :

To our Right Trusty and Well-beloved the
SPEAKER of the House of COMMONS,
CHARLES R.

Trusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well.

IN these great and insupportable Afflictions and Calamities under which the poor Nation hath been so long exercised, and by which it is so near exhausted, we cannot think of a more natural and proper Remedy, than to resort to those for Council and Advice, who have seen and observed the first Beginning of our Miseries, the Progress from bad to worse, and the Mistakes and Misunderstandings which have produced and contributed to Inconveniencies which were not intended; and after so many Revolutions, and the Observation of what hath attended them, are now trusted by our good Subjects to repair the Breaches which are made, and to provide proper Remedies for those Evils, and for the lasting Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom.

A Letter to the House of Commons from the King,

We do assure you, upon our Royal Word, that none of our Predecessors have had a greater Esteem of Parliaments than we have; in our Judgment, as well as

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from our Obligation, we do believe them to be so vital a Part of the Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary for the Government of it, that we well know, neither Prince nor People can be, in any tolerable Degree, happy without them: And therefore you may be confident, that we shall always look upon their Counsels as the best we can receive, and shall be as tender of their Privileges, and as careful to preserve and protect them, as of that which is most near to ourself, and most necessary for our own Preservation.

And as this is our Opinion of Parliaments, that their Authority is most necessary for the Government of the Kingdom, so we are most confident that you believe and find, that the Preservation of the King's Authority is as necessary for the Preservation of Parliaments; and that it is not the Name, but the right Constitution of them, which can prepare and apply proper Remedies for those Evils which are grievous to the People, and which can thereby establish their Peace and Security: And therefore we have not the least Doubt but that you will be as tender in, and as jealous of, any thing that may infringe our Honour, or impair our Authority, as of your own Liberty and Property, which is best preserved by preserving the other.

How far we have trusted you in this great Affair, and how much it is in your Power to restore the Nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any Infamy it hath undergone, and to make King and People as happy as they ought to be, you will find by our inclosed Declaration, a Copy of which we have likewise sent to the House of Peers^k: And you will easily believe that we would not voluntarily, and of ourself, have reposed so great a Trust in you, but upon an entire Confidence that you will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a Manner, and with such due Consideration of us who have trusted you, that we shall not be ashamed of declining other Assistance, (which we have Assurance of) and repairing to you for more natural and proper Remedies for the Evils we would be freed from; nor sorry that we have bound up our
own

^k Given before at p. 238.

own Interest so intirely with that of our Subjects, as that we refer it to the same Persons to take Care of us, who are trusted to provide for them. We look upon you as wise and dispassionate Men, and good Patriots, who will raise up those Banks and Fences which have been cast down, and who will most reasonably hope, that the same Prosperity will again spring from those Roots from which it hath heretofore and always grown. Nor can we apprehend that you will propose any thing to us, or expect any thing from us, but that we are as ready to give as you to receive.

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If you desire the Advancement and Propagation of the Protestant Religion, we have, by our constant Profession and Practice of it, given sufficient Testimony to the World, that neither the Unkindness of those of the same Faith towards us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from those of a contrary Profession, (of both which we have had abundant Evidence) could in the least Degree startle us, or make us swerve from it. And nothing can be proposed to manifest our Zeal and Affection for it, to which we will not readily consent. And we hope in due Time ourself to propose somewhat to you for the Propagation of it, that will satisfy the World that we have always made it both our Care and our Study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring Disadvantage to it.

If you desire Security for those, who, in these calamitous Times, either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those Bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each other's Rights, we have left to you to provide for their Security and Indemnity, and in such a Way as you shall think just and reasonable; and, by a just Computation of what Men have done and suffered, as near as is possible, to take Care that all Men be satisfied; which is the surest Way to suppress and extirpate all such Uncharitableness and Animosity, as might hereafter shake and threaten that Peace, which, for the present, might seem established. If there be a crying Sin, for which the Nation may be involved in the Infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt but that you will be as solicitous to redeem and vindicate the Nation from that Guilt and Infamy as we can be.

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If you desire that Reverence and Obedience may be paid to the Fundamental Laws of the Land, and that Justice may be equally and impartially administered to all Men, it is that which we desire to be sworn to ourself, and that all Persons in Power and Authority should be so too.

In a Word; there is nothing that you can propose, that may make the Kingdom happy, which we will not contend with you to compass; and, upon this Confidence and Assurance, we have thought fit to send you this Declaration, that you may, as much as is possible, at this Distance, see our Heart; which when God shall bring us nearer together, (as we hope he will do shortly) will appear to you very agreeable to what we have professed. And we hope that we have made that right Christian Use of our Affliction, and that the Observation and Experience we have had in other Countries hath been such, as that we, and we hope all our Subjects, shall be the better for what we have seen and suffered.

We shall add no more but our Prayers to Almighty God, that he will so bless your Counsels, and direct your Endeavours, that his Glory and Worship may be provided for, and the Peace, Honour, and Happiness of the Nation may be established upon those Foundations which can best support it. And so we bid you farewell. Given at our Court at Breda this 14th Day of April, 1660, in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

After reading the foregoing, with the Declaration inclosed, the following Letter from his Majesty to General Monke was also read.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved General MONKE, to be by him communicated to the PRESIDENT and COUNCIL of STATE, and to the OFFICERS of the ARMIES under his Command.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well.

To Gen. Monke
and the Council
of State.

*I*T cannot be believed but that we have been, are, and ever must be, as solicitous as we can, by all Endeavours, to improve the Affections of our good Subjects

Subjects at home, and to procure the Assistance of our Friends and Allies abroad, for the Recovery of that Right, which, by the Laws of God and Man, is unquestionable, and of which we have been so long dispossessed by such Force, and with those Circumstances, as we do not desire to aggravate by any sharp Expressions; but rather wish that the Memory of what is past may be buried to the World. That we have more endeavoured to prepare and to improve the Affections of our Subjects at home for our Restoration, than to procure Assistance from abroad to invade either of our Kingdoms, is as manifest to the World: And we cannot give a better Evidence that we are still of the same Mind than in this Conjunction, when common Reason must satisfy all Men that we cannot be without Assistance from abroad, we chuse rather to send to you, who have it in your own Power to prevent that Ruin and Desolation which a War would bring upon the Nation, and to make the whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Happiness, Security, and Glory it shall enjoy, to your Virtue; and to acknowledge that your Armies have complied with their Obligations for which they were first raised, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land; and that you have vindicated that Trust which others most perfidiously abused and betrayed. How much we desire and resolve to contribute to those good Ends, will appear to you by our inclosed Declaration, which we desire you to cause to be published for the Information and Satisfaction of all good Subjects, who do not desire a further Effusion of precious Christian Blood; but to have their Peace and Security founded upon that which can only support it, an Unity of Affections amongst ourselves, an equal Administration of Justice to Men, restoring Parliaments to a full Capacity of providing for all that is amiss, and the Laws of the Land to their due Veneration.

You have been yourselves Witnesses of so many Revolutions, and have had so much Experience how far any Power and Authority, that is only assumed by Pas-

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sion and Appetite, and not supported by Justice, is from providing for the Happiness and Peace of the People, or from receiving any Obedience from them, without which no Government can provide for them; that you may very reasonably believe that God hath not been well pleased with the Attempts that have been made, since he hath usually increased the Confusion, by giving all the Success that hath been desired, and brought that to pass without Effect, which the Designers have proposed as the best Means to settle and compose the Nation; and therefore we cannot but hope and believe that you will concur with us in the Remedy we have applied; which, to human Understanding, is only proper for the Ills we all groan under; and that you will make yourselves the blessed Instruments to bring this Blessing of Peace and Reconciliation upon King and People, it being the usual Method in which Divine Providence delighteth itself to use and sanctify those very Means which ill Men design for the Satisfaction of private and particular Ends and Ambition, and other wicked Purposes, to wholesome and public Ends, and to establish that Good which is most contrary to the Designers; which is the greatest Manifestation of God's peculiar Kindness to a Nation that can be given in this World. How far we resolve to preserve your Interests and reward your Services, we refer to our Declaration; and we hope God will inspire you to perform your Duty to us and to your native Country, whose Happiness cannot be separated from each other.

We have intrusted our well-beloved Servant Sir John Grenville, one of the Gentlemen of our Bed-Chamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give us an Account of your Reception of it, and to desire you, in our Name, that it may be published; and so we bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at Breda this 4th of April, 1660, in the twelfth Year of our Reign.

Received May 1, 1660.

Besides the foregoing, the following Letter from the King was sent to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen,

men, and Common Council of the City of London: Inter-regnum.
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To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of our City of London.

May.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well.

*IN these great Revolutions which of late have hap-
pened in that our Kingdom, to the Wonder and
Amazement of all the World, there is none that we
have looked upon with more Comfort than the so-fre-
quent and public Manifestations of their Affections to
us in the City of London, which hath exceedingly
raised our Spirits, and which, no doubt, hath proceeded
from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary Mercy
to the Nation, which hath been encouraged by you, and
your good Example to assert that Government, under
which it hath so many hundred Years enjoyed as great
Felicity as any Nation in Europe, and to discounte-
nance the Imaginations of those who would subject our
Subjects to a Government they have not yet devised;
and, to satisfy the Pride and Ambition of a few ill
Men, would introduce the most arbitrary and tyranni-
cal Power that was ever yet heard of. How long we
have all suffered under those and the like Devices, all
the World takes Notice, to the no-small Reproach of
the English Nation, which we hope is now providing
for its own Security and Redemption, and will be no
longer bewitched by those Inventions. How desirous we
are to contribute to the obtaining the Peace and Happi-
ness of our Subjects without further Effusion of Blood,
and how far we are from desiring to recover what be-
longs to us by a War, if it can be otherwise done, will
appear to you by the inclosed Declaration; which,
together with this our Letter, we have intrusted our
right trusty and well-beloved Cousin the Lord Viscount
Mordaunt, and our trusty and well-beloved Servant
Sir John Grenville, Knt. one of the Gentlemen of our
Bed-Chamber, to deliver to you, to the end that you,
and all the rest of our good Subjects of that our City of
London, (to whom we desire it should be published)*

may

To the Lord
Mayor and City
of London.

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may know how far we are from the Desire of Revenge, or that the Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom should be raised upon any other Foundation than the Affection and Hearts of our Subjects, and their own Consents. We have not the least Doubt of your just Sense of those our Condescensions, or of your Zeal to advance and promote the same good End, by disposing all Men to meet us with the same Affection and Tenderness, in restoring the Fundamental Laws to that Reverence that is due to them, and upon the Preservation whereof all our Happiness depends: And you will have no Reason to doubt of enjoying your full Share in that Happiness, and of the improving it by our particular Affection to you. It is very natural for all Men to do all the Good they can for their native Country, and to advance the Honour of it: And as we have that full Affection for the Kingdom in general, so we would not be thought to be without some extraordinary Kindness for our native City in particular, which we shall manifest on all Occasions, not only by renewing their Charter, and confirming all those Privileges which they have received from our Predecessors, but by adding and granting any new Favours which may advance the Trade, Wealth, and Honour of that our native City; for which we will be so solicitous, that we doubt not but that it will, in due Time, receive some Benefit and Advantage in all those Respects, even from our own Observation and Experience abroad: And we are most confident we shall never be disappointed in our Expectation of all possible Service from your Affections; and so we bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at *Breda* the $\frac{1}{4}$ th Day of *April*, 1660, in the twelfth Year of our Reign.

After reading these Letters, with the Declaration, in the two Houses, the Lords ordered Sir *John Grenville* to be called in again, and the Speaker, by Direction of the House, gave him Thanks, in their Name, for his Care in bringing this gracious Message from the King. They also ordered, That the King's Letter to them and the Declaration should be forthwith printed and published, with this Title, *His Majesty's*

jesty's gracious Letter and Declaration, sent to the House of Peers by Sir John Grenville, Knt. Lastly, the Lords appointed a Committee to consider of a Letter of Thanks to the King for his gracious Message sent, this Day, to the House, and to present it for their Lordships Consideration.

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And now, to do Justice to the House of Commons, we shall give the Proceedings of that House on this Day, as they are entered in their *Journals*, in which all the further Transactions of the Lords are interwoven; so that there will be no Occasion for Repetitions on that Score. We think it needless to make any Apology for re-printing the King's Letters, &c. to both Houses; for, tho' they have been many Times published, and are extant in almost every *English* History of these Times, yet they are so consonant to these Parliamentary Inquiries, as not to be omitted in this Work. They are entered, at large, in the *Journals* of both Houses; and, in the late printed Edition of the Commons, the Editors of which have taken Care to give a Similitude of the King's Hand-writing, on the Top of each Letter, in Imitation of the Originals.

Mr. *Rich* and Mr. *Eltonhead*, Masters of the Chancery, being sent by the Lords, with a Message, desiring a Conference with the Commons this Day (*May 1*) at Eleven o'Clock, in the *Painted-Chamber*, in order to the Settlement of the great Affairs of the Kingdom, the Messengers were called in, and the Speaker acquainted them, That the House had considered their Message, and would return an Answer by Messengers of their own.

Then it was resolved, *nem. con.* 'That an Answer be prepared to his Majesty's Letter, expressing the great and joyful Sense of this House of his gracious Offers, and their humble and hearty Thanks to his Majesty for the same, with Professions of their Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty; and that this House will give a speedy Answer to his Majesty's gracious Proposals.'

Mr. *Finch*, Mr. *Annesley*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*,

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per, the Lord-General, Sir *William Lewis*, Mr. *Morris*, and Mr. *Holles*, were ordered to prepare the said Answer.

It was also resolved, *nem. con.* 'That the Sum of 50,000*l.* be presented to the King's Majesty from this House; and the Committee appointed to draw up the Answer to the King's Letter were ordered to go to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, to consider with them how the said Sum of 50,000*l.* may be raised; what Security they will desire for the Repayment thereof with Interest after the Rate of 6*l. per Cent.* and to offer such Security as they shall think fit, for Repayment thereof to the Persons who shall advance the same.'

'Resolved, That it be referred to the same Committee appointed to consider with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, about a further Sum to be raised and applied for the paying of the Army, and to consider how the Arrears of the Army may be satisfied.'

In our numerous Collection of Pamphlets of these Times, we meet with a Speech said to be made by an Honourable Member of the House of Commons; but neither Name nor Time it was spoke in is mentioned in the Title. It is only said to be made on the Re-establishment of Kingly Government in this Nation; which, as it was the Topic both Houses of Parliament were then upon, we shall introduce here; and we believe the Reader will judge with us, that, if it was not, it ought to have been spoke on that Occasion.

A pertinent SPEECH made by an Honourable Member of the House of Commons, tending to the Establishment of Kingly Government, as the only Way to the settling of these Three distracted Nations in their due Rights, Privileges, and Immunities^a.

Speech made in the House of Commons on Kingly Government.

Mr. Speaker,

AS we who were forcibly excluded by the Ambition of General *Cromwell*, and his rebellious

^a *London*, printed, 1660.

lions Army, from sitting in the House, or performing those Trusts imposed on us by the People, as their Representatives in Parliament, ought to acknowledge our Re-investing as a high Providence of God, and look upon it as a gracious Dispensation of his Mercy to us and these Three Nations; so I think it our Duty and Obligation, in answer to such a Mercy, to endeavour, to the utmost of our Power, the re-establishing of these Nations in Peace and Quietness, and the Settlement of such a Government as may best quadrate with the Spirits and Temper of the People.

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‘ That Vicissitudes and Changes of Government, such as hath lately been imposed upon us by a Parcel of the most fanatic and mad-brain’d Spirits of the Nation, do clearly tend to the Ruin of any Kingdom, Commonwealth, or Society of Men whatsoever, we have lately seen by too sad Experience. Such Changes being only the Scourges wherewith God chastises rebellious Kingdoms, and such Spirits only sent into the World to be the Ruin and Distraction of those Nations they live in.

‘ I need not at all insist upon our forcible Exclusion; those Things we resolved on before it; the Solemn League and Covenant we took to establish and defend the King and his Successors in their Estate; the many Fallacies and Cheats since put upon the Nation by those, who, under a Pretence of Right to establish a Government over them, have only endeavoured to maintain their own, or introduce others to execute an unjust, illegal, and arbitrary Power over these Kingdoms.

‘ But, Mr. Speaker, let me say a little to the present Sense of the Nation; let us take the Generality of the People, even to the very Plowman, (who is not possessed with a fanatic Spirit) and we shall find that they were now so highly sensible of the Oppressions and Burthens laid upon them, that, like desperate Men, they are ready to catch at what they before disfavoured, and gape after the Government by a King, which they formerly so resolutely declaimed and fought against; by so sad Experience have they

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they learned the Difference between the Governmen^t by a Prince and by Peasants: And though they might (if those who then pretended themselves a Parliament and the Supreme Authority of the Nation, had struck whilst the Iron was hot) have accepted of a Government by a Commonwealth, which was then so highly pretended to be established; yet, having now found out the fraudulent Designs of those Men, who, under such Pretences, endeavoured only to perpetuate themselves in the Government, to enslave the People, intrench upon their Liberties, and ingross their Estates, they are wholly revived from that fanatic Slumber so far, that, had God continued still his Scourge upon this Nation, the Name of a Parliament would, e'er 1660 had been past, have grown as odious to the People, who were sufficiently gulled with Mock Representatives, as that of a King was in 1648. And sufficiently odious indeed already grown, the whole Nation groaning under their Exorbitances, having turned the Scale, and made the Name of a King grown sweet again in their Mouths, they finding by Experience, that the Government of a King, though tyrannical, is far better than the usurping Tyranny of many Plebeans.

‘Nor, Sir, do the common People only understand their own particular Interest, but begin to pry into a National; the lawful Heir, who was formerly cried up for the common Enemy of *England’s* Peace, is now (with as much Applause, as before with Disgrace) fainted, and now looked upon as the only Person whose Re-admission to the Crown can make these Nations happy, and restore them to their due Rights, Liberties, and Privileges; there being many, who are now listened to as Oracles, living to recount the Halcyon Days they enjoyed under his Father.

‘’Tis, Sir, an old Proverb, and has proved as true as old, *Vox Populi Vox Dei*, The general Voice of the People is the Oracle by which God declares his Mind; they are his Prophet by whom he speaks: What have we then to do? ’Tis the Voice of God, ’tis the hearty Desires of the People, ’tis the Interest
of

of the Nation, 'tis according to our own Oath in the Solemn League and Covenant: And shall we, when press'd by all these, still resist the Re-admittance of the lawful Heir to the Crown? Shall we still resist our own Interest? Shall we still deny the Cry of the People for Right? Or shall we further provoke the Vengeance of God upon us for those crying Sins of his Father's Murder and his Expulsion?

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‘ But, Mr. Speaker, there are many People, say some, whose Interests are so opposite to that of the lawful Heir, that they cannot subsist together: These Men have bought his, the Bishops, Deans and Chapters Lands, and have ventured their Lives and Fortunes against him: Nay, it may be objected, That the whole Nation hath been engaged against him to regain their Liberties, and free themselves from the pretended Tyrannies of his Father. But, Sir, did the Parliament, when it was free and full, ever deem or vote the late King a Tyrant or Traitor? Was his Imprisonment, much less his Death, ever voted in the House when so? Was not the first taking up of Arms, under Declaration, to maintain the Parliament's Privileges without infringing the King's Prerogative? Did we not all unanimously swear to maintain the King in his due Rights, to bring him back to his Parliament, to settle him in his Throne with Glory? How comes it then to pass that we, who, when we were excluded the House, left a King alive, left a House of Lords (the second Estate of the Kingdom, and which only can complete a Free Parliament) sitting without a House of Commons, full and chosen by the free Votes of the People; now, at our Admission, find our King murdered, our House of Peers excluded, the House of Commons reduced to the fifth Part of their due Number, and their numerous Fellow-Members impeded sitting for eleven Years?

‘ I think, Mr. Speaker, it would not be amiss to examine by what Authority these Things have been done. Is it thus that the whole Nation was engaged

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gaged to regain their Liberties? A fair Hazard: But what Power had those who continued sitting to execute this arbitrary Authority? Which of the Fundamental Laws of the Land did invest them with Authority to cut off their King's Head, to degrade the Bishops, to disinherit his Posterity, to abolish Kingly Government, under which this Nation had so long and happily flourished, and to sell the King's, Queen's, Princes, Bishops, Deans and Chapters Lands, or rather to enslave themselves in them, and to act at their Will and Pleasure, tho' to the Ruin of the Nation?

' The Law allows any Man to take his own Goods where he finds them, though bought by the then Possessor: Why should not then those Men, who have bought those Lands which were, in Effect, stolen, (the others having no Power to sell them) be enforced to restore them, and (if there could be any, their Woods and Rents having already more than made good the Purchases) sit down with the Loss for their surreptitious Bargains?

' But, Sir, 'tis objected that the violent Restoration of these Lands will (together with that Bugbear, Liberty of Conscience) breed a new Civil War: That the Land hath been sufficiently water'd with its native Blood: That a new Disturbance will be the Ruin of the whole: And that we have found, by Experience, that it is better to sit still and content ourselves under the Oppression, than seek Help by Civil Disturbance, whose Remedy proves often worse than the Disease; so that, these Lands not being restored, the Re-admission of the lawful Heir may be judged impossible, there being no Estate found to maintain a Kingly Court and Charge.

' Could we, Mr. Speaker, find Ways to maintain our aspiring General *Cromwell*, and to keep his Court in more Splendour than ever did King of *England*? And cannot we as well find Means to maintain the true and lawful Heir, the Charge likewise likely to be abated by the Pay of the Army being clearly taken off; which, by his Re-admittment, will be found superfluous?

‘ I need not at all enlarge myself in Reasons; there are none so dull but must necessarily yield to his Re-admitment, except their Interest infatuates their Understandings. Let us then, Mr. Speaker, who are yet looked upon by the People to have our Hands dipp’d, in some Measure, in the Nation’s Miseries, by beginning that deplorable War, lay a Plaster to the Wounds, and Balsom to the Sores, of these distressed Nations, by restoring them their Kings as at the first, and their Princes as at the Beginning.

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‘ Nor let us be ashamed, after having so long gone out of the Way, after all this Obstinacy of Spirit, after the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure; to return again unto those Paths of Truth from which we have so greatly deviated; but rather repent for the Wrongs we have done our Prince, for the Wrongs we have done our Country, and for the Wrongs we have done ourselves, and recall our true and rightful Prince, who will, without Doubt, be so gracious as to pardon all Offences.

‘ But if, Sir, there be some particular Crimes of so high a Nature that they admit not Pardon, shall the Nation still remain miserable for the Offences of those particular Men? Shall *England* still be unhappy for Want of an Axe or an Halter to be bestowed on some who have so justly deserved it? It must not, cannot be.

‘ Pardon, Sir, this Passion and Prolixity, and give me Leave to answer one more Objection; *i. e.* That the People would be better satisfied if this Parliament would wholly omit the settling of any Government, and leave it to a Free Parliament. Though this be disputable, yet we will grant it: But then what a Parliament shall they have, we have been long debating about their Qualifications? Shall the People have a Free Parliament, or shall they not? If they shall have a Free Parliament, then must they have Free Liberty to chuse whom they please; if not, we do but follow former Steps, and still endeavour to enslave them.

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‘ To conclude: Mr. Speaker, we may, in Reason, judge, that the first Thing done by a Free Parliament, will be to invite the lawful Heir to Possession, there being no Likelihood that any other Government can be settled; and therefore I think we had as good do it now upon such Terms and Conditions as may secure the Peace and Quiet of these Nations, and be safe to them who have engaged against him.’

A Conference having been desired by the Lords with the other House, the Commons sent up Sir *George Booth* to let them know, that they were ready for it as they desired. The Committee appointed by the Commons to manage this Conference, were, Mr. *Annesley*, Mr. *Finch*, Mr. *Turner*, Lord *Falkland*, Mr. *Pierepoint*, Serjeant *Hales*, and Serjeant *Brown*. The Subject was the Settlement of the Government of these Nations; the very Topic on which the Speech before given turns.

In the Afternoon of this Day, for they sat both Ends of it, Mr. *Annesley* reported the Effect of the Conference had with the Lords: That the Earl of *Manchester* had acquainted the Committee of this House with the Lords’ Receipt of a Letter from his Majesty, and of a Declaration inclosed: He told us, it was a Maxim, “ Where the Word of a King is, there is Power; ” and where the Word of our King is, as it is now received, there is Truth; and Power and Truth are the best Supports of Government: He wished us to consider the mistaken Maxims of some Politicians, that Distrust and Jealousies are the Nerves and Sinews of Wisdom; but he hopes that we will rather consider that Wisdom from above, which is first pure, * *^b easy to be intreated; and that all Distrust and Jealousy might be laid aside: He took Notice of some new State-Builders, that had been framing imaginary States of Government; which brought into Consideration our ancient Government, the best in the World: And thereupon took Notice of a Vote in the Lords’ House,

con-

^b *Sic in Orig.*

concerning the Government of this Kingdom, to the Tenor following, *viz.*

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“The Lords do own and declare, That, according to the Antient and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons.”

‘Then he proceeded further, and took Notice of the great Revolutions and Changes that have been, and the Occasion of them to be, the Separation of the Head from the Members; and therefore he acquainted the Committee with another Vote of the Lords, *viz.*

“That the Lords, having a deep Sense of the Miseries and Distractions that this Kingdom hath been involved in, since the violent Attempts to dissolve the established Government; and conceiving that the separating the Head from the Members hath been the chiefest Occasion of all our Disorders and Confusions, they desire that some Ways may be considered how to make up these Breaches, and to obtain the King’s Return again to his People.”

‘And that he also acquainted them with a third Vote of the Lords, in order to a further Proceeding on the former, *viz.*

“That a Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to meet with a Committee of the Lords, to prepare such Things as may be in order to these good and necessary Ends; and to frame a Letter of Thanks and Acknowledgments to his Majesty for his gracious Letter and Declaration.”

‘And, lastly, his Majesty’s said Letter and Declaration, sent to the Lords, was read there; and that they had intrusted the Committee with them, that they might also be read here, and a Resolution given upon the whole.’

After hearing this Report, the Commons ordered the King’s Letter to the Lords, with his Majesty’s Declaration there inclosed, to be read; and then it was

‘Resolved, &c. That this House doth agree with the Lords, and do own and declare, that, according to the Antient and Fundamental Laws of this

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Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons.

Ordered, also, That the following Committee be appointed to peruse the Journals and Records, and to examine what pretended Acts or Orders have passed, which are inconsistent with the Government, by King, Lords, and Commons, and report them, with their Opinion thereon, to this House; and also to offer such Expedients, as may carry on the Courts of Justice of this Kingdom; and how Fines, Recoveries, Assurances, Judgments, and Decrees, passed, may be confirmed and made good. Mr. *Pryme*, Mr. *Finch*, Lord *Falkland*, Mr. *Turner*, Sir *William Lewis*, Serjeant *Hales*, Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Lord Commissioner *Tyrrel*, — *Cope*, Serjeant *Glynne*, Lord Commissioner *Widdrington*, Sir *John Courtop*, and all the Gentlemen of the Long Robe.

May 2. The Lords did nothing material this Day, but what will be taken Notice of in the Proceedings of the Commons, except reading, a first and second Time, an Ordinance for making *George Monke*, Esq; Captain-General of all the Land-Forces, &c. and committing it. They also ordered, That the Committee for Privileges do take into their Consideration the great Violation that hath lately been made upon the Peers of this Kingdom.

The House of Commons were busy, this Day, in altering and correcting the Form of an Answer to the King's Letter to them; which, being all read, was agreed to, and ordered to be superscribed, *To the King's Most Excellent Majesty*. Ordered that Sir *John Grenville* be called to the Bar, and that the Speaker return him Thanks for his Care, moreover the House voted him 500*l.* to buy him a Jewel, as a Testimony of their Respects to him, and as a Badge of Honour, for bringing so gracious a Letter from the King's Majesty to this House. Ordered that the Council of State do take Care to pay the said 500*l.* to Sir *John*, forthwith, out of the Contingences of the Council.—More of this hereafter.

A Message came from the Lords to acquaint this House, That they had appointed a Committee of eight Lords to meet another of the Commons, to consider of an Answer to his Majesty's gracious Letter and Declaration. To which the Commons returned this Answer, by Sir *Henry Cholmley*, That they had already agreed upon an Answer to the King's Letter, directed to them, and intended to send it to his Majesty by some Members of their own House; and he was also to acquaint their Lordships, That the Commons had concurred with them in their Vote touching the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom.

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Alderman *Robinson* informed the House, That he was commanded, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*, to acquaint them that they had received a Letter^a and Declaration from the King's Majesty, by the Hands of the Lord Viscount *Mordaunt* and Sir *John Greenville*; and that they desire the Leave of this House to give an Answer to them; to which the House readily agreed.

May 3. This Day, in the House of Lords, the Earl of *Manchester* reported the Draught of an Answer to the King's gracious Letter to their House; which; being read, was approved of, and ordered to be sent to the King by the Earls of *Oxford*, *Warwick*, *Middlesex*, Viscount *Hereford*, Lord *Berkely*, and Lord *Brooke*; who were to consider what Time they desire to prepare themselves to go. A Message was sent down to the other House, to acquaint them with this Vote. The Letter of the Peers to the King is entered in their *Journals*, and was *in his Verbis*:

For the KING's Most Excellent Majesty,

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR loyal Subjects the Peers, now assembled, do, with all Humility and Thankfulness, return their Acknowledgments to your Majesty

The Answer of the House of Peers to the King's Letter,

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^a Before given at p. 247.

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' jesty for your gracious Letter and Declaration; and
 ' do esteem it their greatest Honour that your Ma-
 ' jesty is pleased to express a Confidence of their
 ' Counsels and Endeavours for the composing the
 ' sad and unhappy Distractions of your Kingdoms;
 ' and they own this as their great Advantage, that
 ' they may now act in Discharge of their own Duty
 ' by your Majesty's Command. Your Majesty's
 ' great and many Sufferings have long affected their
 ' Hearts with deep Resentments of Trouble and
 ' Sorrow; but the same Power that usurped and pro-
 ' faned your Sceptre, divested them of their Rights
 ' and Privileges, and kept them under such Pressures
 ' and Difficulties, as they were rendered incapable
 ' of serving your Majesty in order to those Ends, to
 ' which their Duty and Allegiance did engage them.
 ' It hath been their constant Desire that the Nation
 ' had continued happy and innocent; but your Ma-
 ' jesty's Piety and Wisdom hath shewed you to what
 ' Degree your Clemency is to be extended; and we
 ' hope all your Subjects will answer your Majesty's
 ' Grace and Favour to the utmost Point of Fide-
 ' lity and Obedience. The Peers have a just
 ' Ground to own a more particular Dependence and
 ' Subserviency to the Throne of Majesty, not only
 ' by the Prescriptions of Law, but by that Affection
 ' and Duty which is fixed in their Hearts upon the
 ' Foundations of Loyalty, which gives them the
 ' Privilege to stile themselves

Your Majesty's most loyal,

Most dutiful,

Westminster, May 3, }
1660.

And most obedient

Subjects and Servants.

*Signed in the Name, and by the Command, of the
said House of Peers, by*

E. MANCHESTER,

Speaker of the House of Peers pro Tempore.

And, as if the Lords intended to vie with the House
of Commons in Testimonies of Loyalty to their Sove-
reign,

reign, an Order was made, That the Statues of the late King's Majesty be set up again in all the Places from whence they were pulled down: And that the Arms of the Commonwealt be demolished and taken away wherever they are, and the King's Arms be put up in their Stead: That the King's Majesty be publickly prayed for by all Ministers in their Churches: And, lastly, that some Place be considered of where General *Monke's* Statue may be set up. All which Particulars were referred to the Committee of Privileges to consider of and make Report to the House.

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An Order was made by the Lords to put a Stop, or Stay, to the demolishing, defacing, or committing Waste, in the Houses or Lands, Park, Woods, &c. belonging to the King, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Worcester*, and some other of the Peers, where sad Havock had been made for some Years.

The House of Commons heard several Reports, from their Committee of Privileges and Elections, concerning double Returns, which were regulated. Amongst these we find that *Edmund Ludlow*, Esq; our Memorialist, was voted duly elected for the Borough of *Hindon*, in *Wilt's*; but then he was order'd to attend the Service of the House on that Day Se'nnight.

A Committee of this House had been appointed to go to the City of *London*, to borrow Money of them for the present Occasions; who returning, Mr. *Annesley* reported from them, That they had treated with the Lord Mayor, &c. for a Loan of 100,000 *l.* which the City was willing to advance on the Security of an Ordinance for three Months Assesment; the Money arising from it to be paid in to the Chamber of *London*; and that their Chamberlain should be Receiver for the whole. The House agreed to this Proposal; and also voted 6 *l.* per Cent. Interest, from the Time of receiving to the paying in the Sum. An Ordinance for three Months Assesment was ordered to be brought in the next Morning.

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The Committee who were ordered to prepare the aforesaid Ordinance, were also to consider how the 50,000*l.* which was voted to be presented to his Majesty may be remitted to him, to his best Advantage, and so that there be no Loss upon the Exchange.

The House being informed that Sir *John Grenville*, who brought the King's Letter, was at the Door, he was called in to receive the Thanks of this House, according to the Order of Yesterday; who, standing at the Bar, the Speaker said to him, in Effect, as followeth:

Sir *John Grenville* thank'd by the Speaker.

' Sir *John Grenville*, I need not tell you with what grateful and thankful Hearts the Commons, now assembled in Parliament, have received his Majesty's gracious Letter: *Res ipse loquitur*: You yourself have been *ocularis & auricularis Testis de Rei Veritate*: Our Bells and our Bonfires have already proclaimed his Majesty's Goodness, and our Joys. We have told the People that our King, the Glory of *England*, is coming home again; and they have resounded it back again in our Ears, that they are ready, and their Hearts are open, to receive him. Both Parliament and People have cried aloud to the King of Kings, in their Prayers, *Long live King Charles the Second!!*

' Sir, I am likewise to tell you, that this House doth not think it fit that you should return back to our Royal Sovereign, without some Testimony of Respect to yourself: They have therefore ordered and appointed that 500*l.* shall be delivered to you to buy a Jewel, as a Badge of that Honour which is due to a Person whom the King hath honoured to be Messenger of so gracious a Message: And I am commanded, in the Name of the House, to return you their very hearty Thanks.'

After this the House sent a Message to the Lords by Sir *William Lewis*, to acquaint their Lordships, That they had prepared an Answer to his Majesty's gracious Letter sent to their House, and that they

in-

ntended to send the same by some Members of their own.

‘ Resolved, That, for determining what Members of this House shall carry the Letter to his Majesty, the several Members of it shall put in Papers of Names; and that it be referred to a Committee to view those Papers, and make Report to the House who have the greatest Number of Voices. Sir Henry Yelverton, Major-General Brown, Sir Henry Cholmley, and the Lord Howard, were nominated a Committee accordingly.’

‘ Ordered, also, That the Letter agreed to by this House, in Answer to his Majesty’s gracious Letter, shall be kept by the Clerk, under such Privacy, that no Copy thereof may come to any Hand, till it hath been communicated to his Majesty.’

This Letter is not entered in the *Journals*; but we have a Copy of it in our Collection, printed, by Order of the Commons, by *Edward Husbands* and *Thomas Newcomb*, from which Authority we give it.

To the KING’s Most Excellent Majesty,

Most Royal Sovereign,

‘ WE your Majesty’s most loyal Subjects, the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, do, with all Humbleness, present unto your Majesty the unfeigned Thankfulness of our Hearts, for those gracious Expressions of Piety and Goodness, and Love to us and the Nations under your Dominion, which your Majesty’s Letter of *April* $\frac{1}{17}$, dated from *Breda*, together with the Declaration inclosed in it, of the same Date, do so evidently contain; for which we do, in the first Place, look up to the great King of Kings, and bless his Name, who hath put these Thoughts into the Heart of our King, to make him glorious in the Eyes of his People, as those great Deliverances which that Divine Majesty hath afforded unto your Royal Person from many Dangers, and the Support which he hath given unto your heroic and princely Mind, under various Trials, make it appear

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The Answer of
the House of
Commons to the
King’s Letter.

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‘pear to all the World, that you are precious in his
‘Sight.

‘And give us Leave to say, That as your Ma-
‘jesty is pleased to declare your Confidence in Par-
‘liaments, your Esteem of them, and this your
‘Judgment and Character of them, That they are
‘so necessary for the Government of the Kingdom,
‘that neither Prince nor People can be in any tole-
‘rable Degree happy without them; and therefore
‘say, that you will hearken unto their Counsels, be
‘tender of their Privileges, and careful to preserve
‘and protect them: So we trust, and will with all
‘Humility be bold to affirm, That your Majesty
‘will not be deceived in us, and that we will never
‘depart from that Fidelity which we owe unto your
‘Majesty, that Zeal which we bear unto your Ser-
‘vice, and a constant Endeavour to advance your
‘Honour and Greatness.

‘And we beseech your Majesty we may add this
‘further, for the Vindication of Parliaments, and
‘even of the last Parliament convened under your
‘Royal Father, of happy Memory; when, as your
‘Majesty well observes, through Mistakes and Mis-
‘understandings, many Inconveniencies were pro-
‘duced which were not intended: That those very
‘Inconveniencies could not have been brought upon
‘us by those Persons who had designed them, with-
‘out first violating the Parliament itself; for they
‘well knew it was not possible to do a Violence to
‘that sacred Person, whilst the Parliament, which
‘had vowed and covenanted for the Defence and
‘Safety of that Person, remained entire. Surely,
‘Sir, as the Persons of our Kings have ever been
‘dear unto Parliaments, so we cannot think of that
‘horrid Act committed against the precious Life of
‘our late Sovereign, but with such a Detestation and
‘Abhorrency as we want Words to express it.

‘And, next to wishing it had never been, we wish
‘it may never be remembered by your Majesty, to
‘be unto you an Occasion of Sorrow, as it will ne-
‘ver be remembered by us, but with that Grief and
‘Trouble of Mind which it deserves, being the
‘greatest

'greatest Reproach that ever was incurred by any
 'of the *English* Nation; an Offence to all the Pro-
 'testant Churches abroad, and a Scandal to the
 'Profession of the Truth of Religion here at home;
 'though both Profession and true Professors, and the
 'Nation itself, as well as the Parliament, were most
 'innocent of it, having been only the Contrivance
 'and Act of some few ambitious and bloody Per-
 'sons, and such others as, by their Influence, were
 'misled.

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'And as we hope and pray that God will not im-
 'pute the Guilt of it, nor of all the evil Conse-
 'quences thereof unto the Land, whose Divine Ju-
 'stice never involves the Guiltless with the Guilty,
 'so we cannot but give due Praise to your Majesty's
 'Goodness, who are pleased to entertain such re-
 'conciled and reconciling Thoughts; and with them
 'not only meet, but, as it were, prevent your Par-
 'liament and People; proposing yourself, in a great
 'Measure, and inviting the Parliament to consider
 'further, and advise your Majesty what may be ne-
 'cessary to restore the Nation to what it hath lost,
 'raise up again the Banks and Fences of it, and
 'make the Kingdoms happy, by the Advancement
 'of Religion, the securing our Laws, Liberties, and
 'Estates, and the removing of all Jealousies and
 'Animosities which may render our Peace less cer-
 'tain and durable; wherein your Majesty gives a
 'large Evidence of your great Wisdom judging
 'aright; that, after so high a Distemper, and such
 'an universal shaking of the very Foundations, great
 'Care must be had to repair the Breaches, and
 'much Circumspection and Industry used to provide
 'Things necessary for the strengthening of those
 'Repairs, and preventing whatever may disturb and
 'weaken them.

'We shall immediately apply ourselves to the pre-
 'paring of these Things; and in a very short Time,
 'we hope, be able to present them unto your Maje-
 'sty: And, for the present, do, with all humble
 'Thankfulness, acknowledge your Grace and Fa-
 'vour, in assuring us of your Royal Concurrence
 'with

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‘ with us, and saying, ‘That we shall not expect any
‘ thing from you, but what you will be as ready to
‘ give as we to receive. And we cannot doubt of
‘ your Majesty’s effectual Performance, since your
‘ own Princely Judgment hath prompted unto you
‘ the Necessity of doing such Things; and your
‘ Piety and Goodness hath carried you to a free
‘ Tender of them to your faithful Parliament.

‘ You speak as a gracious King, and we will do
‘ what befits dutiful, loving, and loyal Subjects,
‘ who are yet more engaged to honour, and highly
‘ esteem your Majesty for your declining, as you are
‘ pleased to say, all foreign Assistance, and rather
‘ trust to your People; who, we do assure your Ma-
‘ jesty, will, and do, open their Arms and Hearts to
‘ receive you, and will spare neither their Estates
‘ nor their Lives, when your Service shall require it
‘ of them.

‘ And we have yet more Cause to enlarge our
‘ Praises and our Prayers to God for your Majesty, that
‘ you have continued unshaken in your Faith: That
‘ neither the Temptation of Allurements, Persuasions,
‘ and Promises from seducing Papists on the one Hand,
‘ nor the Persecution and hard Usage from some seduced
‘ and misguided Professors of the Protestant Reli-
‘ gion on the other Hand, could at all prevail up-
‘ on your Majesty to make you forsake the Rock of
‘ *Israel*, the God of your Fathers, the true Protestant
‘ Religion, in which your Majesty hath been bred;
‘ but you have still been as a Rock yourself, firm to
‘ your Covenant with your and our God, even now
‘ expressing your Zeal and Affection for the Pro-
‘ testant Religion, and your Care and Study for the
‘ Propagation thereof. This hath been a Rejoicing
‘ of Heart to all the Faithful of the Land, and an
‘ Assurance to them that God would not forsake
‘ you; but after many Trials, which should but
‘ make you more precious, as Gold out of the Fire,
‘ restore your Majesty unto your Patrimony and
‘ People with more Splendour and Dignity, and
‘ make you the Glory of Kings, and the Joy of
‘ your

‘ your Subjects; which is, and ever shall be, the
 ‘ Prayer of your Majesty’s most loyal Subjects the
 ‘ Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament.’

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*Signed by the Order, and in the Name, of your
 Majesty’s Subjects the Commons of England as-
 sembled in Parliament,*

HAR. GRIMSTON,

*Westminster, May 2, } Speaker of the Commons House of
 1660. } Parliament.*

‘ Resolved, &c. That a Committee of this House
 be appointed to consider of the King’s Majesty’s
 Letter and Declaration, and for preparing of Bills
 accordingly, viz. Mr. Finch, Serjeant Maynard,
 Lord Howard, Mr. Recorder of London, Mr. Good-
 ricke, Col. Bowyer, Sir Walter Erle, Sir Gilbert
 Gerrard, Mr. Swaile, Mr. Holles, Sir Edward
 Deering, Mr. Morrice, Mr. Francis Gerrard, Lord-
 General, Mr. Charlton, Mr. Peirepont, Sir Richard
 Onslow, Mr. Bunckley, Sir Horatio Townsend, Col.
 Maffey, Mr. Clifford, Sir John Holland, Lord Her-
 bert, Sir William Waller, Sir George Booth, Lord
 Falkland, Mr. Crewe, Sir Robert Pye, Mr. Tolson,
 Mr. Brodrick, Sir Dudley North, Col. Birch, Sir
 Trevor Williams, Mr. Clapham, Sir Henry Yelverton,
 Mr. Williams, Mr. Swinfin, Mr. Annesley, Col. Mor-
 ley, Mr. Knightley, Mr. Dunch, Sir Anthony Irby,
 Mr. Onslow, Sir William Lewis, Col. Harley, Lord
 Bulkley, Mr. Henry Hungerford, Mr. Stanhope, Mr.
 Boderda, Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, Sir John Evelyn
 of Surry, Mr. Clobery, Mr. Turner, Lord Howard,
 Sir Thomas Spencer, Mr. Dawnay, and all the Gen-
 tlemen of this House of the Long Robe. This Com-
 mittee have Power to prepare a Bill for taking away
 Tenures *in Capite*, and by Knights Service, and
 Socage *in Capite*, and also of the Court of Wards;
 and to consider and propound to this House, how
 one hundred thousand Pounds a Year may be raised
 and settled on his Majesty, in Compensation for
 Wardships and Liveries, and the Court of Wards:
 And this Committee are to meet in the Inner Court
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of Wards, at Three of the Clock this Afternoon; and Mr. *Finch* is to take Care of this Business.'

May 4. The Lords, after doing some other Business of less Consequence, heard a Report from the Earl of *Dorset*, That the Committee had sent a Draught of an Order, concerning the Affair of the nine Lords, formerly impeached; which was read and approved of by the House as follows:

'Whereas, upon *Wednesday* the 20th Day of *July*, 1642, it was, by the Lords then assembled in this High Court of Parliament, awarded and adjudged, in these Words following; that is to say, 'That *Spencer* Earl of *Norhampton*, *William* Earl of *Devonshire*, *Henry* Earl of *Dover*, *Henry* Earl of *Monmouth*, *Charles* Lord *Howard* of *Charlton*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Charles* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, *Thomas* Lord *Coventry*, *Arthur* Lord *Capell*, shall not sit or vote in the Lords House, during this present Parliament, nor enjoy the Privileges of Parliament; that they shall stand committed to the *Tower* during the Pleasure of this House.' With other Matters therein contained, as by the said Judgment, or Award, remaining on Record, may appear. Now, upon serious Debate and Consideration had by the Lords now assembled in Parliament, of the said Judgment, or Award, and of the Matters and Things therein contained, they do declare, ordain, and adjudge the said Judgment, or Award, and every Matter therein, shall be repealed, annulled, and made void, and the same is hereby repealed, annulled, and made void, to all Intents and Purposes, as if no such Judgment had been therein.'

The Committee, according to Order, had now began to prepare Bills, to be offered to the King on his Return, for the Security of the Parliament itself, and of their Properties who had purchased Lands, &c. under Titles, depending wholly on the late Revolutions. And, first, Mr. *Finch* did this Day exhibit

exhibit a Bill to the House, declaring the Continuance of this present Parliament, which was read a first and second Time, and committed. The said Gentleman also brought another Bill, concerning Lands purchased from the Trustees of the late Parliament, which was likewise read twice, and committed.

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A Declaration ordered to be prepared, to give Notice to the People, That there will be no Proceedings in *Westminster-Hall* next *Easter-Term*, upon Causes depending in any of the Courts, till the two last Returns of the said Term. Agreed to by the Lords.

The Recorder of the City of *London*, Alderman *Vincent*, Alderman *Robinson*, and Alderman *Bludworth*, had Leave given them by the House to go to the King, with a Letter from the City, in Answer to another the City received from his Majesty; which Letter was as follows :

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

YOUR Majesty's most loyal, humble, and affectionate Subjects, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of this your City of *London*, being this Day assembled in Common Council, received your Majesty's gracious Letter and Declaration of the 4th of *April* last, by the Hands of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Viscount *Mordaunt* and Sir *John Grenville*; in which they find that God hath been pleased at last to give a bountiful Return to their constant Prayers, patient Hopes, and loyal Endeavours, by your Majesty's Owning and Acceptance thereof, and by inclining your Princely Heart to descend so far, not only to impart to them your Majesty's benign Declaration of Grace extended to your Majesty's Subjects in general, but also to convey it to them under a particular Assurance of special Love and Tenderness to this City, to which they presume not to intitle themselves on any other Account, than upon that of your Majesty's gracious Inclinations; for they confess that all those Manifestations of their Affections, for which your Majesty

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London's Answer
to the King's
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' Majesty is pleased to put those signal Marks of Favour
 ' upon this City, were but a partial Payment of that
 ' Duty which they owe to your Majesty's Right as
 ' Subjects, and Virtues as Christians: And therefore,
 ' as they desire to bless God for inclining the Hearts
 ' of both Houses of Parliament this Day to express
 ' their joyful Sense of, and their humble and hearty
 ' Thanks for, your Majesty's gracious Offers, and
 ' to profess their Loyalty and Duty to your Majesty,
 ' so they desire that their intire and unanimous Con-
 ' currence therein may, in its Place, find your gra-
 ' cious Acceptance; which they hope your Majesty
 ' will give them Leave, in all Humility, to claim,
 ' when your Majesty shall have seen their inclosed
 ' Declaration and Vindication, which their Inno-
 ' cence and Affections warranted them to publish to
 ' the World, before they received the Honour and
 ' Encouragement of your Majesty's Letter. And
 ' they cannot omit to acquaint your Majesty, that
 ' the most eminent and clear Characters of your
 ' Princely Goodness, expressed in this your Letter
 ' and Declaration, hath, as by a Miracle, at once
 ' bound them all up in one common Band of Loy-
 ' alty to your Majesty, and Affection among them-
 ' selves, and given them more than pregnant Hopes,
 ' that God will suddenly establish your Majesty in an
 ' honourable and peaceful Government of these your
 ' Kingdoms, and fix you among them as the Center,
 ' in which all the opposite Lines of the distracted In-
 ' terests of this Nation will meet and acquiesce, to
 ' the Glory of God, and the perpetual Settlement,
 ' Peace, and Welfare of your Subjects. They have
 ' intrusted their Fellow-Members, *Thomas Adams,*
 ' *Abraham Reynardson, Richard Brown, William*
 ' *Thompson, John Frederick, John Robinson, Anthony*
 ' *Bateman, and William Wale,* Aldermen; *William*
 ' *Wild, Esq;* Recorder; *John Langham, Sir James*
 ' *Bunce, Bart. Sir Nicholas Crisp, Knt. Theophilus*
 ' *Biddulph, William Bateman, Thomas Chamberlain,*
 ' *William Vincent, Richard Ford, Laurence Brem-*
 ' *field, and John Lewes, Esquires,* to present to your
 ' Majesty's Royal Hand this their humble and hearty
 Pro-

‘ Profession of Duty and Affection, and with it a
 ‘ small Earnest of the Reality thereof; which tho’
 ‘ it be extremely disproportionable to your Royal
 ‘ Dignity, and the Measure of their Zeal to your
 ‘ Service, yet they beg most instantly that it may
 ‘ find your gracious Acceptance, as coming from
 ‘ that City which have been the greatest Sharers in
 ‘ the many and heavy Pressures and Losses that have
 ‘ befallen your Subjects during the Want of your
 ‘ Royal Protection: And assuring your Majesty of
 ‘ their continued Prayers to God for your Majesty’s
 ‘ speedy and safe Return into these your panting
 ‘ Dominions, that your Majesty may enjoy your un-
 ‘ doubted legal Sovereignty; and we your Subjects,
 ‘ the long’d-for Influence thereof, by your maintain-
 ‘ ing them in the Exercise of the Protestant Religion,
 ‘ according to the Scriptures, and the Example of
 ‘ the best Reformed Churches, and Enjoyment of
 ‘ our Civil Liberties and Properties, according to
 ‘ the Antient Fundamental Laws of this Nation, and
 ‘ those other Immunities and Favours expressed in
 ‘ your Majesty’s Letter and Declaration, we do most
 ‘ humbly take Leave, and have hereunto set the Seal
 ‘ of this your Majesty’s Royal Chamber, the City
 ‘ of London, the 1st of May, 1660.’

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May 5. The Commons having passed the Bill this Morning, for continuing the present Parliament, sent it up to the Lords with this Title, *An Act for removing and preventing all Questions and Disputes, concerning the Assembling and Sitting of this present Parliament,* Which Bill the Lords read twice, and committed it to a Committee of the whole House; and accordingly the House adjourned itself into a Committee, and, when resumed, it was ordered, That the Matter of this Bill be referred to the Consideration of all the Judges and Assistants of this House, who were to report their Opinions on the Bill to the House, on *Monday* Morning next, the 7th of *May*.

Ordered; That it be referred to the Committee for Privileges, to consider how the Peers of this King-

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Kingdom may be assessed by themselves, for the finding of Horse and Arms, according to their ancient Privileges, and not to be assessed by the Commissioners of the Militia, in the several Counties.

The Commons, almost this whole Day, were employed in regulating Elections of their Members, on double Returns, &c. after which the House came to a Resolution, That, in all Cases where the Great Seal of *England* was to be used, all Proceedings should go in the King's Name; and referred it to a Committee to consider from what Time all Proceedings should so do, and what Seal should be for the present used.

Mr. *Annesley*, from the Council of State, informed the House, That there were many Distemperatures in several Parts of the Kingdom; and that unquiet Spirits might make an Advantage to foment new Troubles and Distractions, by Pretence and Colour that the Sheriffs, and other public Ministers of Justice, are not impowered, in this present Juncture of Affairs, with sufficient Authority, to dispense the ordinary Acts of Justice, belonging to their respective Places, for preserving of the public Peace. The Council of State did desire, That a Declaration should be set forth, for requiring all Officers of Justice to attend their Places, and the Duties thereof, as by Commission they are enjoyned; that so the public Peace may be secured, and the Justice of the Nation carried on without any Interruption. The Commons appointed a Committee to draw up a Declaration accordingly, which was done and agreed to by the Lords, and was as follows:

A Declaration of
Parliament for
keeping the
Peace, &c.

THE Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, having received several Informations that there hath been divers Tumults, Riots, Outrages, and Misdemeanors; lately committed in sundry Parts of this Realm, by unquiet and discontented Spirits, to the Disturbance of the public Peace, and fomenting of new Troubles, do hereby order and declare, That all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Constables, and other Ministers

‘sters of public Justice, that were in Office the 25th
 ‘of April, 1660, shall be continued in their respec-
 ‘tive Offices, and shall exercise the same in the
 ‘King’s Majesty’s Name and Style, and shall use
 ‘their best Endeavours to suppress and prevent all
 ‘Riots, Tumults, unlawful Assemblies and Misde-
 ‘meanors whatsoever, against the Laws and Peace
 ‘of the Realm; and all treasonable and seditious
 ‘Words, Reports, and Rumours against his Maje-
 ‘sty’s Royal Person and Authority, and proceed
 ‘against all Offenders therein according to Law and
 ‘Justice: And all Military Officers and Soldiers,
 ‘and all others, are to be aiding and assisting to
 ‘them therein.’

The House proceeded to the Election of twelve of their Members, who were to go to the King, with their Letter, which was done by Ballot in the same Manner they used to elect their Council of State. The Number of the Members then in the House were 408, of which four were appointed for Tellers, who received a Paper from each Member in a Glass, with twelve Names wrote in it; all which were delivered to the Committee, who were to examine and report the greatest Number of Voices at their Meeting on *Monday* next.

May 7. The Lord *Howard* brought in the Numbers, when it appeared that Sir *George Booth*, Lord *Falkland*, Mr. *Holles*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Lord *Bruce*, Sir *Horatio Townshend*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord *Castleton*, Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and Lord *Mandeville*, were duly elected by a Majority, to carry the Answer to the King’s Letter from the House, who were all separately put to the Vote, and approved on by them.

This Day both Houses agreed, that the King should be proclaimed on the next; but, previous to this Ceremony, a Committee of four Lords and eight of the Commons were agreed on to meet to consider of the Manner, Time, and other Circum-
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stances, to be observed on that Occasion. The Report of this to be made the first Thing the next Morning.

Another Committee had been appointed to draw up some Orders, relating to Ministers praying for the King, &c. and this Day Mr. *Finch* reported two Votes, which, upon the Question, were agreed to, as followeth :

‘ Resolved, That all and every the Ministers throughout the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, do, and are hereby required and enjoined, in their public Prayers, to pray for the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, by the Name of our Sovereign Lord *Charles*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. and for the Most Illustrious Prince *James*, Duke of *York*, and the rest of the Royal Progeny.’

‘ Resolved, That the Ministers who are appointed to officiate before this House upon *Thursday* next, being the Day appointed for a public Thanksgiving, and all other Ministers within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and the late Lines of Communication, who in their several Churches and Chapels are to carry on the Duties of that Day; and also all other Ministers who are, on that Day Fortnight, to perform the like Duty throughout the Kingdom of *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, shall be, and are hereby enjoined, to return Thanks to Almighty God, for his Majesty’s several gracious Letters to both Houses of Parliament, and to the Commanders in Chief of the Forces both by Land and Sea, and to the Lord Mayor and Common Council of the City of *London*, together with the Declarations inclosed, and the just and honourable Concessions therein contained; and for the hearty, loyal, and dutiful Conjunction of the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, and the universal Concurrence of all the Commanders and Forces both by Land and Sea,

to receive his Majesty into his Dominions and Government, according to their bounden Duty and the Laws of the Land; and that the Ministers upon *Thursday* Fortnight be enjoined to read his Majesty's Letters and Declarations to both Houses, in their several Churches and Chapels at the same Time.

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These Votes being communicated to the Lords, were agreed to by them.

May 8. This Day a Form of a Proclamation, agreed on by a Committee of Lords and Commons, was read and approved of by both Houses, and was as followeth:

‘ **A**lthough it can no way be doubted but that
 ‘ his Majesty's Right and Title to this Crown
 ‘ and Kingdoms is, and was every way, compleated
 ‘ by the Death of his most Royal Father, of glorious
 ‘ Memory, without the Ceremony or Solemnity of
 ‘ a Proclamation; yet, since Proclamations in such
 ‘ Cases have been always used, to the End that all
 ‘ good Subjects might, upon this Occasion, testify
 ‘ their Duty and Respect; and since the armed
 ‘ Violence and other the Calamities of many Years
 ‘ last past, have hitherto deprived us of any such
 ‘ Opportunity, wherein we might express our Loy-
 ‘ alty and Allegiance to his Majesty: We, there-
 ‘ fore, the Lords and Commons now assembled in
 ‘ Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Al-
 ‘ dermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, and
 ‘ other Freemen of this Kingdom, now present, do,
 ‘ according to our Duty and Allegiance, heartily,
 ‘ joyfully, and unanimously, acknowledge and pro-
 ‘ claim, That, immediately upon the Decease of
 ‘ our late Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, the Impe-
 ‘ rial Crown of the Realm of *England*, and of all
 ‘ the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights belonging
 ‘ to the same, did, by inherent Birth-right, and law-
 ‘ ful and undoubted Succession, descend and come to
 ‘ his Most Excellent Majesty *Charles* the Second, as
 ‘ being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next Heir of

Form of a Pro-
clamation of the
King, agreed to
by both Houses,

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‘ the Blood-Royal of this Realm ; and that, by the
‘ Goodness and Providence of Almighty God, he is
‘ of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, the most
‘ potent, mighty, and undoubted King ; and there-
‘ unto we do most humbly and faithfully submit and
‘ oblige ourselves, our Heirs, and Posterities for
‘ ever.’

Dated the 8th Day of May, 1660.

‘ Ordered, That a Copy of this Proclamation, to
be signed by the Speakers of both Houses, be forth-
with sent to the Lord Mayor of the City of *London* ;
and that the Members of the House of Commons,
who serve for the several Counties, Cities, and Bo-
roughs, in *England, Wales*, and the Town of *Ber-
wick upon Tweed*, do take Care, forthwith, to send
the Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Head Offi-
cers of these Counties, &c. for which they served,
the Proclamation for proclaiming the King’s Ma-
jesty, that it might be done accordingly. At the
same Time was sent down a Declaration, touching
Acts which were preparing to be passed, to be read
along with the Proclamation.’

It was then ordered, ‘ That the Lords Commis-
sioners of the Great Seal, in their Gowns, with the
Purse and Mace before them ; the Lord President
of the Council of State, with his Mace, should at-
tend the Proclamation, next after the Speaker of the
House of Commons.’ And both Houses, with their
Speakers, went in their Coaches, in Procession, at
the Solemnity ; which was performed this Day,
with great Pomp and Ceremony, and all imaginable
Demonstrations of Joy, first at *Whitehall*, then at
Temple-Bar, where they met the Lord Mayor,
Sheriffs, Aldermen, Common Council, and other
Officers, &c. of the City ; as also at the *Fleet, Con-
duit in Cheapside*, and the *Royal Exchange*. The same
Proclamation was soon after made over all the three
Kingdoms.

May 9. Both Houses had Letters from Admiral
Montagu at Sea, intimating, That he had received
his

The King pro-
claimed.

his Majesty's Declaration, and a Letter directed to AN. 12. CAR. II. General *Monke* and himself, to be communicated to the Fleet, which he had done accordingly: That all the Commanders, Officers, and Seamen, were desirous that they should express to his Majesty their great Joyfulness of Heart for the Declaration, and Favours to them, in the said Letter; as also their Loyalty and Duty to him. Therefore they humbly intreated the Houses to know their Pleasure, whether such an Answer should be returned to his Majesty or not. Both the Speakers were ordered to write to the Admirals, to give them Thanks for their Respects shewn to them, and gave them Leave to send such an Answer, either jointly or severally, as they should think fit. 1660.
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Mr. *Prynne*, from the House of Commons, brought up several Votes, which they had passed, and desired their Lordships Coucurrence to them, *viz.* That the King's Majesty be desired to make a speedy Return to his Parliament, and to the Exercise of his Kingly Office.—Votes enjoining all Ministers to pray for the King.—A Bill, intituled, *An Act for removing and preventing all Questions and Disputes concerning the Assembling and Sitting of this present Parliament.*—That the Arms of the Commonwealth, wherever they are standing, be forthwith taken down, and that the King's Arms be set up in their Stead: The Commons having lead the Way, by altering the Arms over their Speaker's Chair, in the same Manner. All which Particulars the Lords ratified and confirmed.

The Lords appointed a Committee to consider and take Information where any of the King's Goods, Jewels, or Pictures, were placed; and to advise of some Course how the same might be restored to his Majesty.—Upon Information to the House, That Yesterday a Breach of Privilege was made, by the President of the Council of State, in going before the Peers with his Mace, at the Proclaiming of the King, it was ordered to be referred

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to the Committee of Privileges, who were to meet that Afternoon upon it. But this Affair, we suppose, was accommodated privately, for we find no more in the *Journals* about it.

The House of Commons had resolved, That all Proceedings should go in the King's Name, from the first of *May* inclusive; and that in all Cases where the Great Seal shall be necessary to be used, all Proceedings do pass accordingly. Also, that for carrying on and expediting the Justice of the Kingdom, the Great Seal, now remaining in the Custody of the Earl of *Manchester*, and the rest of the Commissioners, be used till further Orders. In like Manner all the Seals belonging to any other Courts should be so used; and all Process and Proceedings there run in the King's Name. The Lords agreed to the last Part of this Vote; but, as to the Seals, they ordered it to be laid aside.

The Lords appointed a Committee to consider how the King was to be received on his Return; and when to be sent for, and by whom. Both Houses also ordered, That Admiral *Montagu* do observe such Commands as the King's Majesty shall please to give him, for the Disposal of the Fleet, or any Part thereof, in order to his Return. A Committee of twelve Lords and twenty four Commons was appointed to meet and prepare Instructions for those who were to go with the Letters from both Houses to his Majesty, and they were ordered to set forward on *Friday* the 11th Instant.

May 10. This being the Day appointed for the *Thanksgiving*, both Houses attended their Devotions in the Forenoon; but, after Noon, they both met again to do Business. The Commons sent up a Copy of the Instructions for the Commissioners who were to go to the King; which being read, some Alterations were made in them, concerning the Arms of the Commonwealth, and then they were agreed to by the Commons. They were in these Words:

INSTRUCTIONS for Auberry Earl of Oxford, An. 12. Car. II.

Charles Earl of Warwick, Lionel Earl of Middlesex, Leicester Viscount Hereford, George Lord Berkeley, Robert Lord Brooke, Lord Herbert, Lord Mandeville, Lord Bruce, Lord Castleton, Lord Falkland, Lord Fairfax, Denzil Holles, Esq; Sir Horatio Townshend, Sir John Holland, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir George Booth, and Sir Henry Cholmley.

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‘ YOU are to begin your Journey towards his Majesty on Friday next, and make a speedy Repair to such Place where his Majesty shall be, and humbly to present the Letters wherewith you are respectively intrusted by both Houses of Parliament.

Instructions for the Commissioners of both Houses that were to go to the King.

‘ You are to acquaint his Majesty with what great Joy and Acclamation he was proclaimed in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, upon the 8th Day of May Instant, and present the Proclamation itself unto his Majesty; and to acquaint him with the Orders of both Houses to have the same proclaimed throughout the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, Dominion of Wales, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed. And that both Houses have ordered that all and every the Ministers throughout the Kingdoms of England and Ireland be enjoined, in their public Prayers, to pray for his Most Excellent Majesty, and for the Most Illustrious Prince, James Duke of York, and the rest of the Royal Progeny. And also that they have ordered that the assumed Arms of the late pretended Commonwealth, wherever they are standing, be taken down; and that his Majesty’s Arms be set up instead thereof. And you are to communicate to his Majesty the Resolutions of both Houses relating to this Instruction.

‘ You are to acquaint his Majesty with the earnest Desire of both Houses, that his Majesty will be pleased to make a speedy Return to his Parliament, and to the Exercise of his Kingly Office: And that, in order thereunto, both Houses have given Directions to General Montagu, one of the Generals at Sea, and other Officers of the Fleet,

‘ to

An. 12. Car. II.
1660.
May.

‘ to observe such Commands as his Majesty shall
‘ please to give him or them for Disposal of the Fleet,
‘ in order to his Majesty’s Return. And you are
‘ to communicate to his Majesty the Resolutions of
‘ both Houses relating to this Instruction.


‘ That the Committee from both Houses do be-
‘ seech his Majesty that they may know where he
‘ proposeth to take Shipping, and to land at his
‘ coming over, that Preparation may be made for
‘ his Reception; and which of his Majesty’s Houses
‘ he intendeth to make use of at his first coming to
‘ *London*; and whether he will come all the Way by
‘ Land after he comes on Shore, or whether he will
‘ please to come by Water from *Gravesend* to *Lon-*
‘ *don*; and that his Majesty will declare in what
‘ Manner he is pleased to be received.’

The Commons had sent to desire a Conference with the Lords, on the Matter of laying aside their Vote, about using the Great Seal; which being held, the Earl of *Manchester* made a Report of it to this Effect:

‘ That Mr. *Annesley*, who managed the Conference, said, there were many Inconveniencies the Kingdom suffered for want of the Use of the Great Seal; and, to fortify this, he gave many Reasons to move their Lordships Concurrence herein.

1. ‘ There was so great an Obstruction in all the Courts of Justice for want thereof, that all Writs, Fines, and Assurances, were stopped, so as there could be none now, whereby the Subject suffered much; that three Terms have been lost already, and there is Danger of having no Assizes; so there will be Loss of a whole Year’s Justice.

2. ‘ There is an Obstruction in the Revenue.—Orders are made for issuing out of Monies which are not obeyed: No Provision can be made for the King’s Reception: Business at the Committee for the Army is slackened, and they fear that if Monies cannot be brought in for paying the Army, the Soldiers will be necessitated to lie upon free Quarter: The Committee for the Navy and Admiralty can-

cannot set out the Fleet for want of the Great Seal : An. 12. Car. II.
 The Officers are at a Stand, the Excise and Customs 1660.
 are at a Stand, because the Officers are tender to 
 act without Orders under the Great Seal, whereby May.
 great Losses come to the Kingdom: For whereas
 the Excise and Custom came lately to 10,000 *l.* per
 Week, now they are not above 5000 *l.* per Week,
 by reason of this Obstruction.

‘ He further said, In former Times Use was made
 of other Great Seals upon Occasion; as, in King
James’s Time, upon the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*:
 That the House of Commons could not send forth
 Writs, to fill up their House with Members, for
 want of the Use of the Great Seal; and they did not
 know what Inconveniences may be, if their Lord-
 ships do not speedily concur with the House of
 Commons, that there may be a present Use of the
 Great Seal.’—But we are deficient whether it was
 agreed to or not.

The Commons, on their meeting this Day, first
 ordered the Thanks of the House to be returned to
 Mr. *Price*, for his great Pains-taking in his Thank-
 giving Sermon, preached in the Forenoon before the
 House; and that he be desired to print his Sermon.

They also voted the Sum of 5000 *l.* for the
 Duke of *York*, and the same Sum to the Duke of
Gloucester, for their present Supply and Accommo-
 dation; but afterwards, that of the Duke of *York’s*
 was made 10,000 *l.*—Ordered, ‘ That the *Scots*
 Colours, taken at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, and now
 hanging up in *Westminster-Hall*, be forthwith taken
 down; the Serjeant at Arms to see it done accord-
 ingly: Ordered, also, ‘ That *Whitehall* and the *Mews*
 be cleared of all Soldiers, Lodgers, &c. except those
 who are attendant on the Council of State; and that
 all the Lodgings should be broke open belonging to
 those who were gone out of Town, and had taken
 the Keys with them.’

Mr. *Annesley* reports, from the Committee ap-
 pointed to consider of the Manner of the King’s
 Return and Reception, and of Preparations requisite

AN. 12. CAR. II. to those Ends, three Lists of Things necessary to be
 1660. provided for his Majesty's Service. viz. ^a . . .

May.

I. *Things necessary to be provided for his Majesty's Service, and his Brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester.*

Necessaries to be provided for the King's Household.

‘ A rich Bed, to be of Velvet, either embroidered with Gold or laced, and lined with Cloth of Silver or Sattin, as shall be best approved of; with a high Chair of State, two high Stools, one Foot-stool, and two Cushions, all suitable to the Bed.

‘ Two great Quilts or Mattresses of Sattin, suitable to the Lining of the Bed.

‘ Two thick Fustian Quilts, to lie under the Sattin Quilts; one Down Bolster, one Pair of Fustian Blankets, and one Pair of *Spanish* Blankets.

‘ One Close-stool suitable to the Bed.

‘ Six Pair of *Holland* Sheets, having twenty-four Ells of *Holland* in a Pair, at ten Shillings, eleven Shillings, or twelve Shillings the Ell.

‘ Two Beds more for the King's Majesty, to be removing Beds, either of Scarlet Cloth or of Velvet, all lined with Sattin; and all Necessaries to each Bed as to the former Bed, except Sheets.

‘ And for the present, two Beds, of the like Goodness, to be made for the Duke of *York* and the Duke of *Gloucester*, with all Particulars as the others, and six Pair of Sheets for each of the Duke's Beds.

‘ For the present twenty large Pallet Beds, with Bolsters, twenty large Tapestry Counterpains, twenty Pair of good large Blankets, forty Pair of good *Holland* Sheets, of eighteen Ells in each Pair, being of *Holland* of three Shillings and Sixpence *per* Ell for those Beds.

‘ Twenty good double yellow Ground Carpets, of *Turkey* making, and six Hides, six Cart Canvasses.

‘ There must be provided also Tenter-hooks, Hammers, Tacks, and such like Necessaries for the Wardrobe.

‘ For Table Linen for his Majesty, twelve Damask Table-Cloths for his Majesty's own Table, as many

^a From the *Journals* of the Commons, Vol. VIII, p. 21.

many Towels, and six Napkins for every Table-Cloth. The like for each Duke, if they eat asunder; but if they eat together, half the Proportion.

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May.

‘ For other Diets for the great Lords, tho’ Table Linen was allowed them, yet they used their own Linen.

‘ Inferior Diets had *Holland* or Flaxen Table-Cloths, but no Napkins.

‘ A rich Coach also, the Inside Crimfon Velvet, richly laced and fringed; Liveries for two Coachmen and two Postillions suitable. The Footmen should have Liveries and Coats suitable.

II. *A Particular of what is at present necessary to be provided for his Majesty’s Service, humbly offered to the Consideration of this Honourable Board.*

‘ Two Coaches, the one for travelling, the other to be a rich one.

‘ Two Sets of Coach Horses.

‘ Liveries for two Coachmen, two Postillions, six Grooms, and ten Footmen.

‘ Two rich Saddles for the great Horse.

‘ Six Pad-Saddles.

‘ Four Sumpter-Horses and Cloaths to them.

‘ Two Horses for the great Saddle.

‘ Provisions of all Sorts to be laid into the *Mews* against his Majesty’s coming.

III. *A Memorial of Flags, &c. for the Fleet.*

Naseby.	{	A Standard,	—	—	} Silk.
		A Jack,	—	—	
		An Ensign,	—	—	
		A Suit of Pendants,	—	—	
		Waist Clothes,		Scarlet.	
	{	A rich Barge, of the same Dimension as this we have, of thirty-three Feet, with a Standard.			
Vice-Admiral.		{	Flags,	—	—
	Jacks,		—	—	
Rear-Admiral.	Ensigns,		—	—	
	{	A Suit of good Kersey Waist Clothes.			

‘ In

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‘ In most of the Frigates there will need the King’s Arms, either carved or in painted Cloth.

‘ Carvers, Painters, and a Glazier, for every Flag Ship, will be necessary.

‘ The General’s Cabbin to be new glazed with square Glafs.

‘ Wardrobe Men and Upholsterers to be brought down.

‘ Mr. *Kennerfley* will be very useful to confer with about what is necessary herein.

‘ *Beale’s* Galley, and a Standard.

‘ *Beale* and *Simpson*, and a choice Noife of Trum-pets.

‘ *Singleton’s* Music.

‘ Resolved, That this House doth agree with the Committee, that the Particulars, contained in the three Lists now presented, be forthwith provided and furnished for the Service and Accommodation of his Majesty.

‘ Ordered, That it be referred to the Council of State, to cause the same to be provided and furnished accordingly; and that they are empowered to charge any Part of the public Revenue, for raising of Monies to pay for the same.’

A Declaration was drawn up, for directing the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy of the Customs and the Excise, the Committee for the Army, and all other Officers relating to the Revenue, Army, and Navy, who were in Office on the 25th of *April*, 1660, to proceed forthwith in the Execution of their respective Commissions, Offices, and Employments; and shall exercise the same in the King’s Majesty’s Name and Stile, according to their several Powers, Authorities, and Instructions, to them given, on the 25th Day of *April* aforesaid, till further Orders. Agreed to by both Houses, and ordered to be printed and published.

May 12. This Day a Petition was presented to the House of Lords, and read, and was as followeth:

To the LORDS in Parliament assembled.

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The PETITION of Auberry de Vere Earl of Oxford,

May.

Shewing,

‘ THAT the Office and Place of High Cham-
 ‘ berlain of *England*, with all the Rights and
 ‘ Privileges thereunto appertaining, hath, ever since
 ‘ the Beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* the
 ‘ Second, belonged unto your Petitioner’s Ancestors,
 ‘ and is the undoubted Right and Inheritance of your
 ‘ Petitioner; and hath, thro’ many Ages and De-
 ‘ scents, been enjoyed by his Progenitors untill that,
 ‘ in the first Year of the Reign of the late King
 ‘ *Charles* of Blessed Memory, *Robert* Lord *Willoughby*,
 ‘ of *Ersbye*, afterwards Earl of *Lindsay*, did, with-
 ‘ out any Right or Title, usurp the same, and in-
 ‘ trude himself therein, getting into his Hands divers
 ‘ antient Evidences concerning the same. And
 ‘ *Montagu* Earl of *Lindsay*, his Son, doth now claim
 ‘ the said Office, as belonging to him and his Heirs,
 ‘ Humbly prayeth, That you would be pleased
 ‘ to suspend the said *Montagu* Earl of *Lindsay*’s Exe-
 ‘ cution of the said Office untill your Petitioner’s
 ‘ Right and Title may be heard and determined:
 ‘ And that the said *Montagu* Earl of *Lindsay*, may
 ‘ shew what Right and Title he hath to the said
 ‘ Office and Chamberlainship, and make Answer
 ‘ unto the Premises. OXFORD.

Petition of the
Earl of Oxford
for Precedency.

This Petition was agreed to by both Houses.

Upon the humble Address of the Commissioners employed from the Kingdom of *Ireland*, shewing, That, in regard his Majesty’s Letters and Declarations to both Houses of Parliament do not at all mention *Ireland*, or any the Concernments of that Kingdom; which, by reason of the sad Consequence of the late bloody Rebellion there, hath been cast into great Disorder and Confusion, and so doth necessarily require speedy and healing Provisions and Remedies; and therefore desiring the Assistance and Concurrence of the Houses of Parliament to his Majesty for the calling and holding a Parliament there

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as formerly, for Remedy of the unsettled Condition of this Kingdom: It is ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, 'That it be offered and presented, and it is hereby offered and presented, as the Advice and Desire of the Parliament, That his Majesty may be graciously pleased, upon the Repair of Commissioners to him from that Kingdom, with all convenient Speed, to call a Parliament in *Ireland* to consist of Protestant Peers and Commons, as being the most visible Means for the regulating and settling of the respective Interests in that unsettled Kingdom.'

The House of Commons proceeded in their 70,000*l.* a Month Assessment Bill, and read over the Commissioners Names, and then ordered it to be engrossed.—Information being given to the House, that there was an Offer made of discovering 200,000*l.* due to, and concealed from, the Government, they immediately appointed a Committee to examine into the said Discovery.

An Act of General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion, was this Day read a second Time in that House; and some Votes in the *Journal* of Dec. 12, 1650, concerning the Trial of the late King, were also read, as also a Record, intituled, *A Journal of the Proceedings of the High Court of Justice, erected by an Act of the Commons of England, for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, King of England*, was read. After which, divers Members of the House, then present, who were named Commissioners in the said Act, stood up in their Places, and did severally express how far they were concerned in the said Proceedings, and their Sense thereupon.

One Mr. *Lenthall*, a Member of the House, happening to speak in the Debate on the Bill of Indemnity, said, *He that drew his Sword against the King, committed as high an Offence as he that cut off the King's Head.* Exception was taken at these Words, and Mr. *Lenthall* was ordered to the Bar; when the Speaker, by Order of the House, gave him the following Reprimand:

‘ Mr.

‘ Mr. *Lentball*, The House hath taken very great An. 12. Car. II.
 ‘ Offence at some Words you have let fall, upon 1660.
 ‘ Debate of this Business, of the Bill of Indemnity; }
 ‘ which, in the Judgment of this House, hath as May.
 ‘ high a Reflection on the Justice and Proceedings A severe Reprimand from the
 ‘ of the Lords and Commons, in the last Parlia- Speaker to a
 ‘ ment, in their Actings before 1648, as could be Member.
 ‘ expressed. They apprehend there is much of
 ‘ Poison in the Words, and that they were spoken
 ‘ out of Design to set this House on Fire; they tend-
 ‘ ing to render them that drew the Sword, to bring
 ‘ Delinquents to condign Punishment, and to vindicate
 ‘ their just Liberties, into Balance with them
 ‘ that cut off the King’s Head; of which Act they
 ‘ express their Abhorrence and Detestation, appealing
 ‘ to God, and their Conscience bearing them
 ‘ Witness, that they had no Thoughts against his
 ‘ Person, much less against his Life. Therefore I
 ‘ am commanded to let you know, That had these
 ‘ Words fallen out at any other Time but in this
 ‘ Parliament, or at any Time in this Parliament but
 ‘ when they had Considerations of Mercy, Pardon,
 ‘ and Indemnity, you might have expected a sharper
 ‘ and severer Sentence than I am now to pronounce:
 ‘ But the Disposition of his Majesty is to Mercy;
 ‘ he hath invited his People to accept it, and it is
 ‘ the Disposition of the Body of this House to be
 ‘ Healers of Breaches, and to hold forth Mercy to
 ‘ Men of all Conditions, so far as may stand with
 ‘ Justice, and the Justification of themselves before
 ‘ God and Man. I am therefore commanded to let
 ‘ you know, that That being their Disposition, and
 ‘ the present Subject of this Day’s Debate being
 ‘ Mercy, you shall therefore taste of Mercy; yet I
 ‘ am to give you a sharp Reprehension; and I do as
 ‘ sharply and severely as I can (for so I am com-
 ‘ manded) reprehend you for it.’ ^b

May 14. However, the House of Commons began at this Time to question the Regicides, and an Order was made this Day, That all those Persons,
 ‘ who

^b From the *Commons Journals*, Vol. VIII. p. 24.

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who sat in Judgment upon the late King's Majesty, when the Sentence was pronounced for his Condemnation, should be forthwith secured: Also that Mr. *John Cooke*, *Andrew Broughton*, *John Phelpes*, and *Edward Dendy*; those two Persons who were employed for the Execution of his late Majesty, and one *Matthew*, who boasted that he was an Instrument in the said Execution, and had a Reward of 300 *l.* for it: Likewise Cornet *Joice*, who seized upon the Person of his late Majesty at *Holmby*, should be all secured.

A List of the Names of those who sat in Judgment on the late King, was ordered to be delivered to the Serjeant at Arms attending this House; and all Officers, both Civil and Military, were required to be Assistants to the Serjeant, or his Deputies, in securing those Persons, or such others as are named above. The House being informed that Mr. *John Cooke* was in Custody in *Ireland*, they ordered him to be sent over hither with all Speed.

Resolved, on the Question, That the Number of seven, of those who sat in Judgment, when Sentence was given upon the late King, shall be excepted, for Life and Estate, out of the Act for General Pardon and Oblivion.'

The Lords sent a Message to the Commons, That they had appointed a Committee of sixteen, to meet that Afternoon, to confer about the Manner of the King's Reception, and desired a proportionable Number of the other House would meet them at the same Time. On which the Commons named the following Gentlemen to attend the Lords as a Committee of their House for that Purpose: The Lord-General *Monke*, Mr. *Pierepoint*, Mr. *Crewe*, Col. *Rossiter*, Mr. *Knightley*, Col. *Popham*, Col. *Morley*, Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Lord-Commissioner *Widdrington*, Sir *John Evelyn*, of *Wilts*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Sir *William Lewis*, Col. *Harley*, Col. *Norton*, Mr. *Annesley*, Mr. *Holles*, Sir *John Temple*, Mr. *Trevor*, Sir *John Holland*, Col. *Birch*, Mr. *Swinfin*,
Ser-

Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *John Northcot*, Sir *Anthony An. 12. Gar. II,*
Irby, Lord *Howard*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Finch*, Mr. 1660.
Morris, and Sir *Henry Yelverton*.

May,

May 15. This Day the Lords appointed a Committee of their own House, to consider what Ordinances have been made, since the Peers in Parliament were voted useles, and which now pass as Acts of Parliament. And that they draw up and prepare a Bill to present to the House, to repeal what they shall think fit.

The same Day the Commons ordered Secretary *Thurloe* to be secured by the Serjeant at Arms, on a Charge of High Treason exhibited against him; and appointed a Committee to take his Examination that Afternoon. Ordered, 'That Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, and Mr. *Nicholas Love*, do attend the Committee, for the King's Reception; to give an Account what was become of the Crowns, Robes, Sceptres, and Jewels, belonging to his Majesty; and that such other Robes, or Sceptres, as have been provided at the public Charge, be forthwith brought to the said Committee, by such Persons as have them in their Custody.' It is probable these Regalia were not easily found; for we find that the Commons, this Day, appointed *Thomas Langborn*, Citizen, and Skinner, of *London*, to provide new Robes of Ermines for his Majesty; and Alderman *Vyner* to provide a Crown and Sceptre, the Estimate of which amounted to about 900 *l*. To which the Lords also agreed.

The Commons next resumed the Debate upon the Bill for a general Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion: And, after some Time spent therein, it was resolved, 'That *John Bradshaw*, deceased, late Serjeant at Law, *Oliver Cromwell*, deceased, *Henry Ireton*, deceased, and *Thomas Pride*, deceased, be some of those who shall be attainted, by Act of Parliament, for the Murder of the late King's Majesty: And that their Attainders shall take Place from the the 1st Day of *January*, 1648;' after which the said Bill was committed to Lord Commissioner *Tyr-*
rell,

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The Bill for a
general Pardon
committed.

rell, Sir *Anthony Irby*, Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *John Stephens*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Turner*, Lord President *Annesley*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *Walter Erle*, Mr. *Swanton*, Mr. *Boderda*, Mr. *Foxwist*, Mr. *John Hatcher*, Serjeant *Hales*, Mr. *Finch*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Mr. *Gott*, Mr. *Weston*, Sir *Ralph Ashton*, Colonel *Ireland*, Mr. *Bulkley*, Mr. *Ellison*, Colonel *Birch*, Mr. *Jolliffe*, Mr. *Charlton*, Mr. *Calmady*, Colonel *King*, Sir *John Northcot*, Mr. *Mallet*, Lord Commissioner *Widdrington*, Sir *John Lowther*, Mr. *Brodrick*, Colonel *Litton*, Mr. *Peckham*, Mr. *Henry Hungerford*, Serjeant *Brown*, Mr. *Lucy*, Mr. *Bansfield*, Sir *Trevor Williams*, Colonel *Jones*, Sir *Peter Temple*, Mr. *Crouch*, Sir *Wilfrid Lawson*, Mr. *Ferrers*, Mr. *Earnley*, Mr. *Wendy*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Bowyer*, Lord *Howard*, Mr. *Young*, Mr. *Brooks*, Colonel *Harley*, and all the Gentlemen of the Long Robe.

The late King's
Statue, now at
Charing Cross,
discovered.

May 16. The Lords were this Day informed, that the Earl of *Portland* had lately discovered where a Brafs Horse, with his late Majesty's Figure upon it, was hid; which, in Justice, the Earl supposes belongs to him; and there being no Courts of Justice now open, wherein he can sue for it, doth humbly desire the Lords to order it to be removed from the Place where it now is; not defaced nor otherways disposed of, till the Title be determined at Law to whom it belongs. The Lords ordered accordingly. This was the famous Statue since set up at *Charing-Cross*.

The Earl of *Dorset* reported, from the Committee for the King's Reception, that Yesterday they had before them several of the King's Servants, Sir *Robert Fenn*, Sir *Henry Wood*, Clerk of the Green Cloth, Mr. *Kennerley*, of the Wardrobe, Mr. *Armory*, of the Stable, and Mr. *Jackson*, Clerk of the Kitchen; and they gave in these Estimates following, viz.

For Necessaries for the King's present Reception, as Silver Plates of several Sorts and Sizes	}	l.	s.	d.
		2200	0	0

Brought

	l.	s.	d.	An. 12. Car. II.
Brought over	2200	0	0	1660.
For Table Linen of all Sorts —	300	0	0	} May.
For a Week's Diet at 53 <i>l.</i> per Diem	350	0	0	
For Coaches and Stables — —	2950	0	0	
For furnishing his Majesty's Bed- Chamber, &c. }	1801	19	0	
For repairing the <i>Mews</i> — —	1000	0	0	
Repair of <i>Whitehall, St. James's</i> and <i>Somerset-House</i> , estimated at }	5000	0	0	
The Crown and Sceptre, besides Robes }	900	0	0	
	14501			
		19	0	

This Report was confirmed by the House.

An Order was made by the House of Commons, on this Day, that *James Northfolk*, Esq; Serjeant at Arms attending that House, should forthwith seize upon, and secure, all the Goods, &c. late belonging to *John Bradshaw*, Serjeant at Law, wherever he can find them: And that, in Case of Resistance, he be empowered to break open any Doors and Locks for the more effectual Execution of this Service. Also, that the Records, Books, Papers, and other Writings, relating to the Public, in the Hands of Mr. *John Phelpes*, be forthwith secured by Mr. *Prynne* and Colonel *Bowyer*, Members of this House, and such as have been removed and secured, in whose Hands soever they may be found. An Order was made likewise, That all the Books and Papers belonging to the Library of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and now, or lately, in the Hands of *Hugh Peters*, be forthwith secured.

Mr. *Annesley*, Lord President of the Council of State, reported, from them, a Particular of the Sums of Money charged, by Order and Warrants of the Council of State, upon the several Treasuries therein named, from *February 25th, 1659, to May 15th, 1660*, which was as follows:

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May.

A PARTICULAR of the Sums of Money, charged by Orders and Warrants from the Council of State, upon the several Treasuries after-named, from February 25, 1659, to May 15, 1660, viz.

Charged on the Receipt of the public Exchequer.

Charges on the Revenue by the Council of State.

	l.	s.	d.
For his Excellency the Lord General <i>Monke</i> , on an Act of the late Parliament, of which there is yet unpaid the Sum of 4856 l.	20000	0	0
For <i>Dunkirk</i> Garrison	19006	8	10
For <i>Savoy</i> and <i>Ely-House</i> Hospitals	2000	0	0
For the Council's Contingencies	8400	0	0
For Mr. <i>Martin Noell</i> , to enable him to strike a Tally, for so much paid by him, on Orders of the former Council of State, to Gen. <i>Montagu</i> , and for the Commissioners Plenipotentiaries of this Commonwealth at the <i>Sound</i>	7252	6	2
For Alderman <i>Thomas Vyner</i> and Ald. <i>Christopher Packe</i> , Treasurers for the Collection-Money for <i>Piedmont</i> and <i>Poland</i> , for so much ordered from them, by the late Parliament, into the Exchequer, none of which is paid	7978	8	9
And for so much deposited in the Exchequer, of clipp'd Brass Money, Part of the said Collection-Money	475	19	10
For the Earl and Countess of <i>Nottingham</i> , on Pensions from his late Majesty, and confirmed by Parliament, viz.			
To the said Earl, all unpaid	300	0	0
To the said Countess, all unpaid	200	0	0
For the Gentleman Porter, Warders, and Gunners, at the <i>Tower</i> , for two Quarters, ended <i>March</i> 25, 1660, no Part paid.	1160	4	4½

Carried over 66773 7 11
Brought

of ENGLAND 293

l. s. d. An. 12. Car. II.
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Brought over

For Christopher Piercehay, Esq;
Receiver-General for Yorkshire,
to enable him to strike a Tally for
so much paid by him out of his Re-
ceipt, on Order of the late Coun-
cil, to Col. Samuel Clarke, for Pay
of his Regiment on their March to
Scotland

66773 7 11½

1500 0 0

68273 7 11½

Of which Sum of ———
There is paid but ———

68273 7 11½

34386 13 3½

So there is unpaid thereof .
And of what was paid, there
came into the Council's
Contingencies no more
than

33886 14 8½

3000 0 0

Charged on the Council's Contingencies.

By Warrant on Mr. William
Jessop, on the 1000 l. by him re-
ceived at the Receipt of Exche-
quer

1000 0 0

*Charged on Mr. Thomas Parry,
Treasurer of the Council's Con-
tingencies.*

For several public Services ——— 1427 14 10

For Salaries and Disbursements }
to Officers in Arrear } 1901 17 3

To several Persons, on Account }
for Repairs } 710 0 0

To the Officers of the late Par- }
liament, on their Orders } 1438 15 0

To the Officers of the present }
Council } 1132 0 4

For Dunkirk ——— 1650 10 3

For Bills of Exchange from }
public Ministers abroad } 1700 0 0

Carried over 9960 17 8

T 3

Brought

		l.	s.	d.
	Brought over	9960	17	8
An. 12. Car. II. 1660.	For Repair of Garrisons	800	0	0
} May.	For Relief,	To Lady <i>Inchequin</i> , not paid	20	0
		To <i>Ann Hopkins</i> , not paid	10	0
} May.	For the Army,	To Col. <i>Stretter</i> , to pay off Gunners, &c. not p ^d	69	0
		To Lt. Col. <i>Peppar</i> , for Fire and Candle at <i>Bury St. Edmond's</i>	5	13
		To Sir <i>John Grenville</i> , by so much borrow'd of Mr. <i>Forth</i>	500	0
} May.	By Order of the present Parliament,	To General <i>Edward Montagu</i> , not paid	500	0
		So the Total charged on the Council's Contingencies is,	19065	10
	By Warrants charged on Mr. <i>Jessop</i>	1000	0	0
	on Mr. <i>Parry</i>	11865	0	0
		12865	0	0
	Whereof paid by Mr. <i>Jessop</i> , being the Whole received by him	1000	0	0
	By Mr. <i>Parry</i> , Part of 2000 <i>l.</i> by him received, with the 500 <i>l.</i> advanced by Mr. <i>Forth</i>	2460	13	3
	Total paid is	3460	13	3
	So rests unpaid	9404	6	9
	<i>Charged on the Committee for the Army.</i>			
	For the Forces in <i>England</i>	8938	4	6
	Carried over			
	Brought			

	l.	s.	d.	An. 12. Car. II. 1660. May,
Brought over	8938	4	6	
For the Forces in <i>Scotland</i> —	13329	8	0	}
For the Forces in, and belong- ing to, <i>Ireland</i> }	23350	0	0	
For transporting 70 Recruits to <i>Dunkirk</i> . }	40	0	0	
	<u>45657</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>	

Charged on the Almoner, Dr. Barnard.

For <i>Lady Inchequin</i> , not paid -	100	0	0
For Inhabitants of <i>Dover</i> , for quartering sick and wounded Sol- diers sent from <i>Dunkirk</i> , not paid }	300	0	0
For Mr. <i>Samuel Hartlib</i> , in Part of his Arrears of what was allow'd him by the State, not paid }	200	0	0
	<u>600</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

Charged on the Treasury of the Navy.

For General <i>Montagu</i> , advanced on his going to Sea }	500	0	0
For General <i>Penn</i> , for a spe- cial Service }	100	0	0
Charged on the Treasurers for the <i>Piedmont</i> Collection-Money }	156	0	0
Charged on the Revenue in <i>Scotland</i> , &c. }	4500	0	0
Charged on the Prize-Office —	45	0	0
Charged on <i>Sherwood-Forest</i> —	20	0	0
	<u>5321</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

PENSIONS charged by Orders of the Council of State.

On the Exchequer, <i>per Week</i>	17	5	0
On the Council's Contingen- cies, <i>per Week</i> }	10	0	0

The House approved of this Account, in all its Particulars; and ordered, That the Monies charged by the respective Warrants be paid accordingly: And the Thanks of the House were ordered also to be returned by the Speaker to the Council, for their great and careful Services.

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A List of such of his Majesty's Ships of the Navy-Royal, now in Pay, and not of the Summer's Guard; with an Account of the Wages due to them to the first of *May*, 1660, and the Charge they are at, was read as followeth :

	Rates.	Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Wages due to May 1.		
					l.	s.	d.
A List of the Navy of England at this Time,	3.	Lampport —	210	50	8854	1	9
		Torrington —	210	52	9286	3	9
	4.	Kentish —	150	40	3025	6	0
		Maidstone —	140	40	6386	14	3
		Centurion —	150	40	4432	8	8
		Dover —	140	40	5206	11	9
		Hampshire —	130	38	2163	14	3
		Namptwich -	140	40	4430	14	3
		Preston —	140	40	3785	14	3
		Portland —	156	40	6578	11	9
		Taunton —	140	40	5220	0	3
		Dragon —	130	38	4370	6	0
		Elias —	110	36	5175	4	8
		Succes	100	34	3310	10	3
		President —	130	38	3167	3	0
		Const. Warwick	115	32	2619	10	3
		Tyger —	130	38	5147	7	6
		Marmaduke -	110.	32	2629	18	6
	5.	Sorlings —	100	22	5811	18	0
		Forester —	100	22	2787	7	2
	Coventry —	90	20	3579	8	10	
	Convert —	90	26	4604	19	0	
	Hector —	85	20	2480	12	0	
	Greyhound -	85	20	3512	3	9	
	Lizard —	60	16	1619	0	0	
6.	Weymouth -	60	14	1415	10	0	
	Wolfe —	60	16	3452	15	0	
	Francis —	45	10	1007	6	4	
	Cygnat —	35	6	840	14	0	
	Lilly —	35	6	833	2	6	
	Roc —	35	8	1545	19	6	
	Hunter —	30	6	881	7	6	
Carried over					120162	4	8
						Brought	

Rates.	Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Wages due to May 1.			An. 12. Car. II. 1660.	
				l.	s.	d.		
	Brought over	344	1	120	162	4	8	} May.
6.	Griffin	40	12	169	3	11	8	
	Chefnut	40	10	144	0	14	0	
	Cagway	35	8	64	8	9	8	
	Pearl	25	4	198	5	9	9	
	Dolphin	25	4	62	0	17	3	
	Truelove	60	12	117	9	17	6	
	Henrietta							
	Hart	35	8	126	0	19	6	

Ships 40 — Men 3681 — 128992 4 0

Memorandum, The Charge of these forty Ships, which are unnecessarily kept abroad, will, for every Month they continue unpaid, amount to the Sum of 11,085 l.

May 17. The Lords heard a Report, from their Committee of Privileges, by the Lord *Roberts*, that it was their Opinion, that when a Message is brought from the House of Commons, the Speaker of this House is to go to the Bar alone, and receive the Message; the rest of the Lords sitting in their Places; which the House approved of, and ordered it to be added to the Roll of the Orders of this House.

The Commons ordered, That all the Titles of Honour received from the late Protectors, *Oliver* and *Richard*, or from *Henry Cromwell*, Son of the said *Oliver*, by any Person named a Commissioner, in the Ordinance for three Months Assesment, be omitted and struck out of the said Ordinance.

The Bill for laying an Assesment of 70,000 l. a Month, for three Months, was this Day read a third Time; and, after allowing the following additional Amendment, sent from the Lords, the Commons passed the Bill; and sent it back to the Lords for their Concurrence.

‘Whereas the Pay of his Majesty’s Armies depends upon due Satisfaction of the Arrears of former Assesments and of the Assesment of 100,000 l. by the Month, now collecting by virtue of an Act, for six Months,

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Months, beginning the 25th of *December* last past, and ending the 24th of *June* next, and other Revenues due by Recusants and others; whereof, if punctual and timely Payment be not made (tho' not originally imposed by such an Authority as was legal) the Soldiers will be necessitated to live upon free Quarter, to the great Oppression of the several Counties: Out of a tender Care, therefore, to prevent so great an Inconvenience to the Country, and Discouragement to the Soldiery, and to promote his Majesty's present Service, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled do hereby order and declare, (in respect of the instant Necessity, there being no other Way to avoid the Inconveniency herein mentioned) That the Commissioners for the Assessment, in the several Counties, Cities, and Places, by virtue hereof, do proceed effectually for the getting in of all Arrears of Assessments, and of the Monies unpaid upon the said Act, or any other Act, according to the Proportions and Powers therein contained: And all Collectors and other Persons whatsoever, charged with the Gathering or Payment of any Part thereof, are forthwith (all Pretences and Excuses to the contrary set aside) to satisfy and pay their several and respective Proportions, according to the Directions of the said Acts, as they will avoid such Penalties as will necessarily fall upon them, in case of their Refusal, and the further Displeasure of the Parliament. And it is further ordered and declared, That all Receivers, and other Officers and Persons, as well Tenants, as others whatsoever, concerned in the Receipt or Payment of any Part of the Revenue, do make due Accounts and Payments of what they, and every of them, are charged with, or liable to; as they will be answerable for their Contempt and Neglect, in a Time when his Majesty's and the Kingdom's Service and Occasions require the most punctual Satisfaction of what is respectively due from them: And the Receipt of the several Treasurers appointed for the Assessments, and the Officers of the Exchequer thereunto appointed respectively, shall be a sufficient Discharge to all Person and Persons, that shall make Pay-

Payment of any Sum or Sums of Money, by virtue hereof. An. 12. Car. II. 1660.

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May 18. A Message was brought from the House of Commons, by Mr. *Prynne* and others, with several Votes, whereunto he desired their Lordships Concurrence.

Resolved upon the Question by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That all the Persons who sat in Judgment upon the late King's Majesty, when Sentence of Death was pronounced against him and the Estates, both Real and Personal, of all and every the said Persons (whether in their own Hands, or any other in Trust for their or any of their Uses) who are fled, be forthwith seized and secured, and the respective Sheriffs and other Officers whom this may concern are to take effectual Order accordingly.

Resolved by the Commons in Parliament assembled, That nothing in the Orders touching the seizing of the Persons or Estates of those who sat in Judgment upon the late King, do in anywise extend to Col. *Matthew Tomlinson* or his Estate.

Resolved by the Commons in Parliament assembled, That the Council of State do forthwith take Order for stopping of all the Ports, to the End that none of those who are ordered to be apprehended, as having sat in Judgment upon the late King's Majesty, may make his Escape beyond the Seas.

Resolved, That these Votes, with a List of the Names of those who are to be secured, be sent up to the Lords and their Concurrence desired.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, President of the pretended High Court of Justice.

John Lisle, Esq;

William Say, Esq;

Oliver Cromwell, Esq;

Col. *Henry Ireton*.

Sir *Hardress Waller*.

Valentine Wauton, Esq;

Thomas Harrison, Esq;

Edward Whaley, Esq;

Thomas Pride, Esq;

Isaac Ewer, Esq;

Lord

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Lord Grey, of Grooby.	<i>John Jones</i> , Esq;
Sir <i>John Danvers</i> , Knt.	<i>Miles Corbet</i> , Esq;
Sir <i>Thomas Maleverer</i> ,	<i>Francis Allen</i> , Esq;
Knt. and Bart.	<i>Peregrine Pelham</i> , Esq;
Sir <i>John Burchier</i> , Knt.	<i>John Moore</i> , Esq;
<i>Wm. Heveningham</i> , Esq;	<i>John Alured</i> , Esq;
Alderman <i>Pennington</i> of	<i>Henry Smyth</i> , Esq;
London.	<i>Humphrey Edwards</i> , Esq;
<i>William Purefoy</i> , Esq;	<i>Gregory Clements</i> , Esq;
<i>Henry Marten</i> , Esq;	<i>Thomas Wogan</i> , Esq;
<i>John Barkstead</i> , Esq;	Sir <i>Gregory Norton</i> , Knt.
<i>Matthew Tomlinson</i> , Esq;	<i>Edmund Harvey</i> , Esq;
<i>John Blakiston</i> , Esq;	<i>John Penne</i> , Esq;
<i>Gilbert Millington</i> , Esq;	<i>Thomas Scott</i> , Esq;
Sir <i>William Constable</i> ,	<i>Thomas Andrews</i> ,
Bart.	<i>William Cawley</i> ,
<i>Edmund Ludlow</i> , Esq;	<i>Anthony Stapley</i> ,
<i>John Hutchinson</i> , Esq;	<i>John Downes</i> ,
Sir <i>Michael Livesay</i> ,	<i>Thomas Horton</i> ,
Bart.	<i>Thomas Hammond</i> , Esq;
<i>Robert Tichborne</i> , Esq;	<i>Augustin Garland</i> , Esq;
<i>Owen Rowe</i> , Esq;	<i>George Fleetwood</i> , Esq;
<i>Robert Lilburne</i> , Esq;	<i>James Temple</i> , Esq;
<i>Adrian Scrope</i> , Esq;	<i>Daniel Blagrove</i> , Esq;
<i>Richard Deane</i> , Esq;	<i>Thomas Wayte</i> , Esq;
<i>John Okey</i> , Esq;	<i>Nicholas Love</i> , Esq;
<i>John Hewson</i> , Esq;	<i>Vincent Potter</i> , Esq;
<i>William Goff</i> , Esq;	<i>John Dixwell</i> , Esq;
<i>Cornelius Holland</i> , Esq;	<i>Simon Mayne</i> , Esq;
<i>John Carew</i> , Esq;	<i>Peter Temple</i> , Esq;

} Ald. of Lond.

The Earl of *Lincoln*, Visc. *Say and Sele*, and Lord *Roberts* being appointed by the House to consider of the said Votes with the List of the Names, they went out of the House presently to consider of the same.

The Messengers of the House of Commons being called in, they were told by the Speaker, That the Lords would return an Answer concerning the said Votes and List by Messengers of their own.

Lord *Roberts* reported, That the Committee thought fit, instead of the first Vote, to have this Order following to be made, *viz.*

‘ Upon

‘ Upon Complaint made this Day, by the Com-
mons in Parliament assembled, That all these Per-
sons, viz. *John Bradshaw*, *John Lisle*, and the rest,
(except *Matthew Tomlinson*) who sat in Judgment
upon the late King’s Majesty when Sentence of
Death was pronounced against him; and the Estates,
both Real and Personal, of all and every the said
Persons (whether in their own Hands, or in the Hands
of any in Trust for their or any of their Uses) who
are fled, be forthwith seized and secured; and the
respective Sheriffs and other Officers whom this may
concern, are to take effectual Order accordingly.’

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The House, after some Consideration of the said
Report, agreed unto the Alteration, and consented
unto the Order accordingly; and ordered, that the
same, with the List aforesaid, shall be printed and
published.

And touching the rest of the said Matters in the
Votes, the Lords sent a Message to the House of
Commons by Mr. *Rich* and Mr. *Eltonhead*, for a
Conference to be had with them the next Morning,
by Eleven o’Clock, in the *Painted-Chamber*.

May 19. This Day the Conference was held be-
tween the two Houses, on the Subject of the Votes
aforesaid; when the Earl of *Manchester*, deputed
by the Lords, offered the following Reasons: He
was to let the House of Commons know, ‘ That
their Lordships do not agree to these Votes as they
were brought up, in respect they do intrench upon
the antient Privileges of this House; Judicature in
Parliament being solely in the Lords House, and the
Votes brought up were such.

‘ That notwithstanding their Lordships were so
careful of the Matter as they would not lose Time
for the Manner, and therefore have issued out an
Order of their own for doing that which was desir’d;
in which Order Col. *Tomlinson* is omitted, accord-
ing to the Desire of the House of Commons.

‘ That the third Vote relates to a Council of
State, which the Lords conceive not in Being, and
therefore have resolved that such Emergencies as shall

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necessarily arise during his Majesty's Absence, and untill his Pleasure be further known, for his Majesty's Service and the Peace of the Kingdom, shall be transacted henceforth by the Committee of Lords and Commons appointed for the Reception of his Majesty, wherein their Lordships desire the Concurrence of the House of Commons.'

The Commons, in a Grand Committee, went upon Ways and Means for the speedy raising of a considerable Sum of Money, for the Satisfaction of the Arrears due to the Army and Navy; and came to a Resolution, That a Poll-Bill should be brought in for raising 400,000 *l.* for that Purpose.

May 21. The Commons heard the Report of the late Conference with the Lords, concerning their Votes for securing the Persons and Estates of the King's Judges; and appointed a Committee to peruse their own Journal-Books, state the Matter of Fact upon the whole, and prepare Heads for a free Conference with the Lords about it. They also ordered that all the Ports should be stopp'd, to the End that none of those Persons should make their Escape beyond the Seas: And that no Money or Bullion be exported without the Approbation of Parliament.

May 22. This Day another Conference was held between the two Houses, on the Subject of the last; and of which we find this Entry in the *Lords Journals*:

'The Earl of *Manchester* reported the Effect of the free Conference this Morning, which his Lordship said was managed by Mr. *Annesley*; who said, The House of Commons had an earnest Desire to continue a fair Correspondency between both the Houses; and they were sensible what Distempers have been for many Years past; and they desired that all Breaches might be healed; that this Conference was to preserve a good Understanding.

'The Commons said, That they had seen a printed Paper, which was printed and publish'd from their

their Lordships, without their Concurrence or a Con-
ference, or taking Notice of it: The Paper is dated
the 18th of *May* Instant, which mentions, That,
upon Complaint made by the Commons in Parliam-
ent, it is ordered, by the Lords in Parliament,
That divers Persons should be secured, who sat in
Judgment upon the late King's Majesty, when Sen-
tence of Death was pronounced; which Order leaves
them out, contrary to their Resolution, as they pre-
sented it to this House for Concurrence.

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' The House of Commons take Notice that there
was no Complaint in this Case made by the Com-
mons, nor is there any Entry thereof in their *Jour-
nals*.

' If there had been a Complaint preceding, the
Lords could not have proceeded as they have, in a
judicial Way, without Consent of the Commons.

' As this Case is, the Point of Judicature is not
in Question.

1. ' The Order sent by the Commons to the
Lords for their Concurrence, is not in a judicial,
but in an extraordinary Way, and for a notorious
and transcendent Crime.

2. ' The Law allowed no such Proceedings regu-
larly before Conviction.

3. ' This was in order only to bring them to a
judicial Proceeding.

4. The Lords sent several Orders to the Com-
mons in the Cases of Sales, securing Rents, and
hindering of cutting or selling of Wood or Timber;
wherein the Commons concurred, and this before
the Parties heard: And this is a Case of Members
of the Lords House, all being assented unto as Cases
of Extremity.

' The House of Commons say they cannot admit
the Lords Judicature so largely as they assert it; but
Judicature, as aforesaid, not being in Question, they
decline this Dispute.

' They conceive the Lords intrench upon the
Commons Privileges; for Colonel *Hutchinson*, a
Member of the House of Commons, could not
be under such an Order of the Lords, upon any

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Account, unless the Commons Order had been consented to.

‘ By this Way, if allowed, the Lords may vary from any Orders sent up by the Commons, without a Conference, and ground their Variation upon pretended Complaint of the Commons when there is none.

‘ The printing of the Lords Order before the Conference with the Commons, or their Assent, is a further intrenching upon the Privilege of the Commons.

‘ Hereupon the House appointed a Committee to consider what Answer is fit to be returned to the House of Commons, upon the Matter of this free Conference, whereby a good Correspondency may be kept between the Houses, and the Privileges of this House preserved.’

However, for the present, the Lords ordered their Speaker to let the Members of the House of Commons know, that their Lordships will be careful to preserve the Privileges and good Correspondency between both Houses; and that they will take the Matter of this free Conference into speedy Consideration,

Several Peers had Leave given them to attend the King on his Landing; the same Leave was given to General *Monke* by the House of Commons, and to such other Members of that House as he should desire to accompany him.

May 23. The following Letter from the Lords, who were sent by their House to his Majesty, was read:

*For the Rt. Hon. the Earl of MANCHESTER,
Speaker of the House of PEERS,*

My Lord,

A Letter from
the Committee
of Lords sent to
the King.

‘ WE have delivered the Letters and Message intrusted to us by the House of Peers, and found a most gracious Reception from his Majesty, who

‘ who is pleased to declare (which we desire your
 ‘ Lordships to communicate to the House) that he
 ‘ intends to depart from hence on *Monday* next, be-
 ‘ ing the 21st of this Month, to land at *Dover*; and,
 ‘ after a short Stay at *Canterbury*, to continue his
 ‘ Journey to *London*, and there to reside with his
 ‘ Court at *Whitehall*. This we are commanded to
 ‘ impart to your Lordships from his Majesty, and
 ‘ remain

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Your Lordship's most humble Servants,

OXFORD, BERKLEY.
 MIDDLESEX, BROOK.
 Visc. HERTFORD,

‘ Ordered, That the Committee for the King’s
 Reception do meet this Afternoon, and consider
 what is fit for the present to be done to receive his
 Majesty:’ And

A Message was sent to the House of Commons to
 let them know that the Lords have appointed their
 Committee for the King’s Reception to meet this
 Afternoon, and to desire the Committee of that
 House may likewise meet; which was agreed to.

Another Letter was sent, of the same Date, to the
 House of Commons, from their Members sent to
 the King, but it is not entered in their *Journals*.

To shew the Frugality of those Times, in Re-
 gard of the Furniture thought necessary to be pro-
 vided for the King’s and Royal Family’s Reception,
 the following List, as it was read and approved on
 by the House of Commons, may not be unaccept-
 able to the Reader.

	l.	s.	d.
An Estimate of the Charge of making up of a rich Cloth of State, with a Chair, three Stools, and two Cushions, out of an old Canopy of State, and some imperfect Furniture of a Crimson Velvet Bed suitable, will amount to about the Sum of	200	0	0
For repairing of an old Chair of State, with three Stools suitable to it	20	0	0
Carried over	220	0	0
U		0	0
			Brought

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	Brought over	220	0	0
For repairing, with some Additions, of the rich incarnate Velvet Bed, being for the Reception of his Majesty, before the other can be made	}	10	0	0
For a Counterpoint to it, which will contain 30 Yards of Cloth of Silver, lined with Bays and Taffaty Sarfenet	}	46	0	0
Three Pair of fine Fustian Blankets	}	16	10	0
For 12 new Fustian and Holland Quilts for his Majesty's incarnate Velvet Bed, and the two Dukes Beds	}	48	0	0
For three Pair of the best <i>Spanish</i> Blankets for those Beds	}	12	0	0
For three large fine round Down Bolsters	}	9	0	0
For three necessary Stools of Velvet for those Beds	}	30	0	0
For three <i>French</i> Tables for those Beds	}	3	18	0
For 30 Pallet-Beds, of the largest Size, for the two Dukes; 30 Tapestry Counterpoints, and 30 Pair of Blankets	}	630	0	0
Twelve Pair of fine <i>Holland</i> Sheets for the Dukes of <i>York</i> and <i>Gloucester's</i> own Beds	}	172	16	0
For making and washing these 12 Pair of Sheets	}	6	12	0
For 60 Pair of Sheets for 30 Pallet Beds aforesaid will cost	}	267	10	0
For making and washing these 60 Pair of Sheets	}	6	0	0
For 12 ^{lb.} of Sweet Powder to put to the whole Provision of Sheets	}	3	0	0
For 10 Damask Curtains, containing 240 Yards of Damask, and lined with Fustian, and Making, with Rings and Tape to them	}	240	0	0
	Total	1721	6	0

May

May 24. Nothing was done this Day in either An. 12. Car. II. House, but reading some Bills, an Account of which 1660. will fall better in the Sequel. But, } May.

May 25. Both Houses agreed to send congratulatory Letters to their Committees with the King, to deliver to his Majesty on his landing in *England*; which he was now very near doing, as the Reader will find by a subsequent Letter from Admiral *Montagu* to the Lords. The Letter from the House of Commons to the King is only mentioned in their *Journals*, as reported and approved on by that House, but not entered: Those from the Lords are, and ran in these Words:

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty,

May it please your Majesty,

THE Sense your faithful Subjects the Peers, Another Letter from the Speaker of the House of Lords to the King. now assembled, have of your Majesty's safe Arrival into this your Realm of *England* is so great, as obligeth them, by all dutiful Acknowledgments, to express the same by these Lines, before they have the Honour and Happiness to do it personally to your Majesty; which they intend to perform so soon as they shall receive Signification of your Majesty's Pleasure when, where, and in what Manner they shall wait upon you. And, as your faithful Council, do humbly offer to your Majesty's Deliberation so to consult the Safety of your Royal Person, wherein they are highly concerned, that, in your Return to *London*, the Security thereof be preferred to all external Considerations; which, out of our Zeal to your Majesty, is humbly offered by

Your Majesty's most humble, faithful,

And obedient Subjects and Servants.

Signed in the Names, and by the Command, of the said House of Peers, by

Westminster, }
May 25, 1660. }

E. MANCHESTER,
Speaker *pro Tempore*.

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The Letter to the Commissioners was as follows:

*To the Rt. Hon. the Earl of OXFORD, and the rest
of the Lords Commissioners with his Majesty,**My Lords, Westminster, May 25, 1660.*

‘ I Am commanded by the House of Peers, now
 ‘ assembled, to inclose this Letter in your Lord-
 ‘ ships to his Majesty from them, which they desire
 ‘ your Lordships would present to his Majesty so
 ‘ soon as with Conveniency you may. This is all
 ‘ I am commanded, who am

Your Lordships most humble Servant,

E. MANCHESTER,
*Speaker of the House of Peers
 pro Tempore.*

General *Montagu's* Letter.*To the Rt. Hon. the SPEAKER of the House of PEERS.**About ten Leagues from Scheveling,
May 23, 1660.**My Lord,*

Notice from Ad-
 miral *Montagu*
 of the King's
 embarking.

‘ HAVING appointed a Rendezvous of as many
 ‘ Ships as could be got together in the Bay of
 ‘ *Scheveling*, that I might the better receive his Ma-
 ‘ jesty's Commands, in order to his happy Return to
 ‘ *England*, it pleased his most gracious Majesty, this
 ‘ Day about Noon, to embark himself in the *Naze-*
 ‘ *by*, riding before *Scheveling*. Their Royal High-
 ‘ nesses the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, the Prin-
 ‘ ces Royal, Queen of *Bohemia*, and the Prince of
 ‘ *Orange*, accompanied his Majesty on board; and,
 ‘ about three Hours after, the Duke of *York* em-
 ‘ barking in the *London*, the Duke of *Gloucester*
 ‘ in the *Swiftsure*, the Princess Royal, the Queen
 ‘ of *Bohemia*, and Prince of *Orange*, returned to
 ‘ *Scheveling*; and the Fleet set Sail, by his Majesty's
 ‘ Command, bound for the Port of *Dover*, whither
 ‘ I trust God will give us a speedy and prosperous
 ‘ Passage. I apprehend it my Duty to give your
 ‘ Lord-

‘ Lordships the soonest Advertisement thereof I An. 12. Car. II.
 ‘ could, and so remain 1660.

Your Lordship’s most humble

And faithful Servant,

E. MONTAGU.

May.

The Commons read a second Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House, a Bill for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and all Tenures *in Capite*, or by Knights Service; and, on the Question, resolved, ‘ That the Sum of 100,000 *l.* a-year be settled on the King’s Majesty, in lieu of the said Court and Tenures.’

May 28. Nothing material was done in either House, *Sunday* intervening, till this Day; when the Speaker of the House of Lords acquainted their Lordships with a Letter he had received by the Hands of Mr. *Berkeley*; which, being opened, appeared to be a Letter from the King, and was read *in his Verbis*:

To our Trusty and right Well-beloved the SPEAKER of our House of PEERS, to be communicated to the Lords there assembled;

CHARLES R.

Right Trusty and Intirely-beloved Cousins, Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousins, and Right Trusty and Well-beloved, we Greet you Well.

*A*fter we had received your Invitation, we made all possible Expedition to embark, and return to our native Kingdom. It hath pleased God to bring us safe to Land, and we hope that Peace and Happiness shall be brought to our Kingdoms with us. We know our own Heart to have nothing but Affection to the Good of all our People; and we cannot doubt of God’s Blessing on our Councils and Endeavours, for the advancing the Honour and Happiness of our Kingdoms. We cannot distrust but that you will answer the Pro-
 The King’s Letter to the Lords after landing.

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essions you have made of your Loyalty and Affection to our Service; and, you may be sure, that we will be deficient in nothing that becomes a gracious Prince to his faithful Subjects. We hope shortly to see you, and do intend to set forward from hence on Monday next, and we hope to arrive at London on Tuesday in the Afternoon, and will then give you timely Notice where, and when, to attend us; and, in the mean Time, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at *Canterbury*, this 26th Day of *May*, 1660, in the 12th Year of our Reign.

After the foregoing Letter was read, the Lord *Berkley*, one of the Commissioners sent over to the King, acquainted the House, That he was commanded by his Majesty to let their Lordships know, the King intended to be the next Day at *Whitehall*, at Twelve o'Clock, where he expected their Lordships to attend him in a full Assembly.

Another Letter, to the same Purport as the last to the Lords, from the King, was presented to the House of Commons by Lord *Falkland*, and was read to that House by their Speaker, standing up in his Chair.

The late Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, according to the Order of the House, did this Day bring the Great Seal, in their Custody, to the Clerk's Table, and deliver'd the same to the Speaker: And a Smith being sent for forthwith, he was ordered to deface and break in Pieces the said Seal at the Bar, the House then sitting; which was done accordingly, and the Pieces thereof were delivered to the late Commissioners as their Fees.

May 29. The Commons had been busy some Time in preparing Orders and Ordinances on several Occasions, which the Lords thought fit to alter the Nature and Titles of, and throw them into the Prerogative Royal by Proclamations, as was anciently the Practice in this Realm. The first Instance of this Kind, since the late Usurpations, which both Houses agreed to, was an Ordinance changed

changed into a Royal Proclamation, concerning the Rebels in *Ireland*, thought necessary at this Time to be offered to the King, with others, to damp all the Hopes the Papiſts might cherish on this extraordinary Revolution. The Form of these Acts of State are only preserved in the *Journals* of the Lords, and two of them being entered there, as this Day, it is thought proper to give them as they run in the ancient Form of Proclamations; the rest, as they occur, in the Sequel.

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CHARLES, *by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.*

To all our loving Subjects of England and Ireland, Greeting.

WE taking Notice, by the Information of the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, that, after the vast Expence of Blood and Treasure for the suppressing of the late horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, begun in *October, 1641*, there are yet many of the Natives of that our Kingdom, deeply guilty of that Rebellion, who have lately broke out into new Acts of Force and Violence, some robbing, murdering, and despoiling several of our *English* Protestant Subjects there planted; others of them, by Force, entering upon and disquieting the Possession of several Adventurers and Soldiers there, to the great and manifest Disturbance and Hinderance of our *English* Plantation: And being very sensible of the innocent Blood of so many Thousands of our *English* Protestant Subjects formerly slain by the Hands of those barbarous Rebels, and of new Mischiefs of the same Kind likely to fall out, as the sad Issue and Consequence of so unhappy Beginnings, do therefore, by the Advice of the said Lords and Commons now assembled, as well to testify our utter abhorring the said late Rebellion, as to prevent the like for the future, and for the present Establishment of Peace of that our Kingdom, hold

it

A Proclamation
for *Ireland*, in the
King's Name.

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‘ it our Duty to God and the whole Protestant In-
 ‘ terest, to command, publish, and declare; and do,
 ‘ by this our Proclamation, command, publish, and
 ‘ declare, That all *Irish* Rebels, other than such as
 ‘ by Articles have Liberty to reside in their own
 ‘ Dominions, and have not since forfeited the Bene-
 ‘ fit thereof, now remaining in, or which hereafter
 ‘ shall resort to *England* or *Ireland*, be forthwith
 ‘ apprehended, and proceeded against as Rebels and
 ‘ Traitors, according to Law. And that the Ad-
 ‘ venturers and Soldiers, and other our Subjects in
 ‘ *Ireland*, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators,
 ‘ and Assigns, who, on the 1st Day of *January* last
 ‘ past, were in the Possession of any the Manors,
 ‘ Castles, Houses, Lands, Tenements, or Heredita-
 ‘ ments of any the said *Irish* Rebels; shall not be di-
 ‘ sturbed in any such their Possessions, till we, by
 ‘ Advice of the Lords and Commons now assembled
 ‘ as aforesaid, or such Parliament as we shall call
 ‘ in *England* or *Ireland*, shall take further Order;
 ‘ or that they be legally evicted by due Course of
 ‘ Law. And all our Justices of the Peace, May-
 ‘ ors, Sheriffs, and other Officers, both Civil and
 ‘ Military, both in *England* and *Ireland*, are hereby
 ‘ required to be aiding and assisting in the Execution
 ‘ of this our Proclamation, as often as Occasion shall
 ‘ require.’

CHARLES, *by the Grace of God, of England,*
Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of
the Faith, &c.

To all our loving Subjects of our Realm of England
and Dominion of Wales, Greeting.

Another for
keeping the
Peace, &c.

‘ **W**H. taking Notice of the Information of the
 ‘ Lords and Commons now assembled in
 ‘ Parliament, that several Riots have been commit-
 ‘ ted, and forcible Entries made upon the Possessions
 ‘ of divers of our Subjects, as well Ecclesiastical as
 ‘ Temporal, who have been settled in the said Pos-
 ‘ sessions by any unlawful or pretended Authority,
 ‘ and that without any Order of Parliament or legal
 ‘ Evic-

‘ Eviction, to the Disturbance of the Public Peace, An. 12. Car. II.
 ‘ whilst these Matters are under the Consideration 1660.
 ‘ of our Parliament: We therefore, by the Advice
 ‘ of our Lords and Commons aforesaid, for the Pre-
 ‘ vention of the like Riots, forcible Entries, and
 ‘ Preservation of the Public Peace of this our Realm,
 ‘ do, by this our Proclamation, command, publish,
 ‘ and declare, That no Person or Persons, Ecclesi-
 ‘ astical or Temporal, shall presume forcibly to en-
 ‘ ter upon, or disturb, the said Possessions, or any of
 ‘ them, till our Parliament shall take Order therein,
 ‘ or an Eviction be had by due Course of Law. And
 ‘ all our Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, and
 ‘ other Ministers of Justice, and all other our loving
 ‘ Subjects, are hereby required to be aiding and as-
 ‘ sisting in the Execution of this our Proclamation,
 ‘ as often as Occasion shall require, as they will
 ‘ avoid our Royal Displeasure.’

May.

After the reading and agreeing to these two Proclamations, in the Forenoon of this Day the Lords adjourned to after Dinner, which was only to go from their own House, in Procession, to wait upon the King at *Whitehall*. The Earl of *Manchester* was appointed to speak what his Lordship thought fit, to express the Joy of that House for his Majesty's safe Return to his Throne.

The House of Commons did nothing material in the Forenoon of this Day, but resolve, *nem. con.*
 ‘ That the King's Majesty be pleased to give Order, that the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance be administered according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm now in Force.’

In the Afternoon they met again, read and committed a Bill for Confirmation of the Privileges of Parliament, *Magna Charta*, *Statutum de Talagio non concedendo*, the Petition of Rights, and other Acts: After which we find the following Entry in their *Journals*:

‘ The King's Majesty having, by Letter to this House, signified his Pleasure to be at *Whitehall* this Day, and the Lord *Herbert* having communicated his

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his Majesty's Intentions to give a Meeting to this House there, the House did, after their Adjournment, walk on Foot from *Westminster* to *Whitehall*, divers Gentlemen going before Mr. Speaker; and, after them, the Clerk, and Clerk-Assistant of this House; and next, before Mr. Speaker, the Serjeant at Arms attending this House bearing his Mace, (being all uncovered) the Members of this House following Mr. Speaker three in a Rank: And, being come to *Whitehall*, they went up into the *Banquetting-House*, and there attended his Majesty's coming to *Whitehall*; which being about Seven of the Clock, his Majesty, about Half an Hour after, came into the *Banquetting-House*, and there placed himself in his Chair of State: Whereupon Mr. Speaker, being before retired to the lower Part of the Room, and the Way being clear to the Chair of State, did, after his humble Obeisance, walk up towards his Majesty; two Members of the House going, one on one Hand, and another on the other Hand of him, and divers other Members following him, the Serjeant going immediately before him, with the Mace turned downwards; and, in his Way, made two other Obeisances to his Majesty; and, coming up to his Majesty, he did address himself to him, in the Name of this House, by an eloquent Oration, to which his Majesty gave a gracious Answer: Which being performed, the Members of this House, then attending, kissed his Majesty's Hand: And, after that, his Majesty retired out of the *Banquetting-House*; and Mr. Speaker, and the rest, thereupon departed.

May 30. The two Houses having congratulated his Majesty on his Return to his Dominions, and the Exercise of his Kingly Office, by the Mouths of their distinct Speakers, they met again this Day to proceed in National Affairs, which were now to be carried on according to the antient Government of this Realm, by King, Lords, and Commons. The Speech the Earl of *Manchester*, Speaker of the House of Lords, till a Lord Chancellor; or Lord Keeper of
the

the Great Seal could be created, made to the King, is entered in the Proceedings of this Day, in their *Journals*. But that which Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Bart. delivered on the same Occasion, has no farther Notice taken of it in their *Journals*, than what is mentioned above. The King's separate Answers to them are entered in both *Journals*; and since our large Collection of old Pamphlets, Speeches, &c. which still holds out, furnishes us also with Sir *Harbottle Grimston's* learned Oration on this solemn Occasion, we shall here give them all together, and leave them to the Reader's own Comment.

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The Earl of MANCHESTER's Speech to his Majesty.

‘ THAT this Day may prove happy to your Majesty, is the Hope, the Expectation, and the earnest Desire of my Lords the Peers, whose Commands are upon me to make this humble Tender to your Majesty, of their loyal Joy for your Majesty's safe Return to your native Kingdom, and for this happy Restoration of your Majesty to your Crown and Dignity, after so long, and so severe, a Suppression of your just Right and Title.

The Speaker of the House of Lords Addresses to the King at Whitehall.

‘ I shall not reflect upon your Majesty's Sufferings, which have been your People's Miseries; yet I cannot omit to say, That as the Nation in general, so the Peers, with a more personal and particular Sense, have felt the Stroke that cut the Gordian Knot, which fastened your Majesty to your Kingdom, and your Kingdom to your Majesty.

‘ For since those strange and various Fluctuations and Discomposures in Government, since those horrid and unparallel'd Violations of all Order and Justice, Strangers have ruled over us, even with a Rod of Iron: But now, with Satisfaction of Heart, we own and see your Majesty our native King, a Son of the Wise, a Son of the Antient Kings, whose Hand holds forth a golden Scepter.

‘ Great King! Give me Leave to speak the Confidence, as well as the Desires, of the Peers of *England*. Be you the powerful Defender of the true Protestant Faith; the just Asserter and Maintainer

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tainer of the Laws and Liberties of your Subjects ; so shall *Judgment run down like a River, and Justice like a mighty Stream* ; and God, the God of your Mercy, who hath so miraculously preserved you, will establish your Throne in Righteousness and in Peace.

‘ Dread Sovereign ! I offer no flattering Titles, but speak the Words of Truth. You are the Desire of Three Kingdoms, the Strength and the Stay of the Tribes of the People, for the moderating of Extremities, the reconciling of Differences, the satisfying of all Interests, and for the restoring of the collapsed Honour of these Nations. Their Eyes are toward your Majesty, their Tongues, with loud Acclamations of Joy, speak the Thoughts and loyal Intentions of their Hearts ; their Hands are lift up to Heaven with Prayers and Praises : And what oral Triumph can equal this your Pomp and Glory.

‘ Long may your Majesty live and reign ; a Support to your Friends, a Terror to your Enemies, an Honour to your Nation, and an Example to Kings of Piety, Justice, Prudence, and Power ; that this prophetic Expression may be verified in your Majesty, King *Charles* the Second shall be greater than ever was the greatest of that Name.’

To which his Majesty made the following Answer :

My Lord,

His Majesty's
Answer.

I Am so disordered by my Journey, and with the Noise still sounding in my Ears, (which I confess was pleasing to me, because it expressed the Affections of my People) as I am unfit at the present to make such a Reply as I desire ; yet thus much I shall say unto you, That I take no greater Satisfaction to myself in this my Change, than that I find my Heart really set to endeavour, by all Means, for the restoring of this Nation to their Freedom and Happiness : And I hope, by the Advice of my Parliament, to effect it. Of this also you may be confident, that, next to the Honour of God, from whom principally I shall ever own this Restoration

storation to my Crown, I shall study the Welfare of my People; and shall not only be a true Defender of the Faith, but a just Asserter of the Laws and Liberties of my Subjects.

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The SPEECH of Sir HARBOTTLE GRIMSTON, Bart.

Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons, to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, delivered in the Banqueting-House, at Whitehall, May 29, 1660, the Members of that House being then present.

Most gracious and dread Sovereign,

IF all the Reason and Eloquence that is dispersed in so many several Heads and Tongues as are in the whole World, were conveyed into my Brain, and united in my Tongue, yet I should want Sufficiency to discharge that great Task I am now enjoined.

The Speaker of the House of Commons Address to the King.

The Restitution of your Majesty to the Exercise of your just and most indubitable native Right of Sovereignty, and the Deliverance of your People from Bondage and Slavery, hath been wrought out and brought to pass, by a miraculous Way of Divine Providence, beyond and above the Reach and Comprehension of our Understandings, and therefore to be admired; impossible to be expressed.

God hath been pleased to train your Majesty up in the School of Affliction, where you have learn'd that excellent Lesson of Patience so well, and improved it so much for the Good of your People, that we have all just Cause for ever to bless God for it, and we doubt not but your Name is registered in the Records of Heaven, to have a Place in the highest Form amongst those glorious Martyrs of whom it is reported, that, thro' Faith in *Christ* and Patience in their Sufferings, they converted their very Tormenters, and conquered those barbarous bloody Tyrants, under whom they then suffered, insomuch as they themselves were many Times enforced to confess and cry out, *Sat est vicisti Gallilæus*, they had their *vicisti*, and that deservedly; but your

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Majesty must have a treble *viciſti*, for with the ſame Weapons, Faith and Patience, you have overcome and conquered the Hearts and Affections of all your People in Three great Nations, the Hearts and Affections of all that are worthy the Name of good Chriſtians, or reaſonable Men.

‘Tis God, and God alone, to whom be the Glory, that hath made your Majesty ſo great a Conqueror; indeed your Conqueſt is incomparable, no Story can inſtance the like, or furniſh us with an Example to paralel it withal. ’Twas a Uſe and Cuſtom amongſt the *Romans*, when any of their Commanders had done eminent Services abroad, at their Returns, to honour them with Triumphs, and riding through their Streets; there they received the Praises and Applauſes of the People, with this Inſcription upon their laurel Crowns, *Vincenti dabitur*. But your Majesty’s Victory is of another Nature; and as it differs much from theirs in the Quality of it, ſo your Triumph muſt differ as much from theirs in the Manner of it. They conquered Bodies, but your Majesty hath conquered Souls; they conquered for the Honour and Good of themſelves, but your Majesty hath conquered for the Honour and Good of your People; they conquered with Force, but your Majesty hath conquered with Faith; they conquered with Power, but your Majesty hath conquered with Patience; and therefore God himſelf hath written your Motto, and inſcribed it upon your Royal Crown, *Patienti dabitur*. Their Triumphs were in narrow Streets, but your Majesty’s Triumph muſt be in large Hearts; their Triumphs laſted but for a Day, but your Majesty’s Triumph muſt laſt for all your Days, and after that to triumph in Heaven to all Eternity.

‘I have read of a Duke of *Burgundy*, who was called *Carolus Audax*, the Hiſtorian tells us that his Father was called *Carolus Bonus*: An Obſervator hath this Note upon it, That Goodneſs doth ever produce Boldneſs. Sir, you are the true Son of ſuch a good Father; and ſo long as you ſerve our good God, he, who is Goodneſs itſelf, will give you

you Boldness, a princely Virtue, and the best Foil An. 12 Car. II.
 your Majesty can use, to set out the true Lustre of all 1660.
 your other most eminent and lovely Graces.

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‘ Most Royal Sovereign, I have yet a few Words more, and to doubt your Patience, who is the Mirror of Patience, were to commit a Crime unpardonable and fit to be excepted out of that Act of Oblivion, which your Majesty hath so graciously tendered unto your People ; therefore, with an humble Confidence, I shall presume to acquaint your Majesty, that I have it further in Command to present you, at this Time, with a Petition of Right, and humbly, upon my bended Knees, to beg your Royal Assent thereunto. Sir, it hath already passed two great Houses, Heaven and Earth, and I have *Vox Populi*, and *Vox Dei*, to warrant this bold Demand. It is, That your Majesty would be pleased to remove your Throne of State, and to set it up in the Hearts of your People ; and as you are deservedly the King of Hearts, there to receive from your People a Crown of Hearts. Sir, this Crown hath three excellent and rare Properties, ’tis a sweet Crown, ’tis a fast Crown, and ’tis a lasting Crown ; ’tis a sweet Crown, for ’tis perfumed with nothing but the Incense of Prayers and Praises ; ’tis a fast Crown, for ’tis set upon your Royal Head, by him who only hath the Power of Hearts, the King of Kings ; and ’tis a lasting Crown, your Majesty can never wear it out, for the longer you wear this Crown, it will be the better for the wearing ; and it is the hearty Desires, and most earnest Prayers of all your loyal, loving, and faithful Subjects, that you may never change that Crown till you change it for a better, a Crown of eternal Glory in the highest Heavens ; and the Lord say *Amen.*’

To this last Harangue the King returned the following Answer :

I Shall not trouble you with many Words, for really The King's Answer.
 I am so weary that I am scarce able to speak : swer.
 But I desire you may know thus much, That whatsoever may concern the Good of this People, the Defence
 and

An. 12. Car. II. 1660. *and Confirmation of your Laws, and the Establishment of your Religion, I shall be as ready to grant as you shall be to ask: And I shall study nothing more than to make them as happy as myself.*

But, before we go on with the Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, we shall revert a little, to give some Account of the King's Landing at *Dover*, and the public Entry he afterwards made into his City of *London*, and to that Palace to which he was then so great a Stranger. We are conscious this Affair has been amply related by most or all of our general Historians; but as we shall copy none of them, and give one quite different, from an Eye and an Ear-Witness of all these glorious Works, we may more readily be excused for the Recital. The Author we shall quote from is *Dr. Gumble*, who wrote the *Life of General Monke*, as has been mentioned, and who accompanied his Master down to *Dover*, to meet and receive the King on his Landing.

Dr. Gumble's Account of the King's Entry into London.

‘ That on *Saturday, May 26*, his Majesty landed at the Beach on *Dover Pier*, with the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, and many other Noblemen and Gentlemen: That the General received him with becoming Duty, but his Majesty embraced him with an Affection so absolutely entire and vehement, as higher could not be expressed from a Prince to a Subject; he embraced and kissed him. Our Author says he had the Honour to be at the General's Back when this happened, and was the third Person that kissed the Hem of his Majesty's Garments after he set Foot in *England*: That he set himself to observe his Majesty's Countenance on his first Landing, where he did see a Mixture of other Passions besides Joy in his Face. Certainly, adds this Author, he had the Remembrance of the cruel Persecutions of both his Father and himself, besides the Numbers of People shouting, the Great Guns from the Ships in the Road, and from the Castle, thundering with all the Expressions of Glory that were possible: These, with a Reflection of Things past not many Years before,

before, might as well amaze as rejoice his Royal Heart. An. 12. Car. II.
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We shall not trace this Author any further in the King's Journey from *Dover* to *London*, where he says the King pressed to be, that he might enter his Capital on the 29th of *May*, the Day of his Birth; on which Day, being got as near as *Blackheath*, he found the Army drawn up, and there expressed their dutiful Allegiance in an humble Address, offering to sacrifice their Lives, or whatsoever could be more dear to them, for his Service, against whatsoever Opposers; and would shew their Obedience better in their Actions than in Words. This Sight did please his Majesty very much, and he took a full View of them. They were as brave Troops as the World could shew, appearing to be Soldiers well disciplined, and seemed to be Men of one Age and one Mind. His Majesty did like rather to have them loyal Subjects, as they now protested, than (what some of them had been formerly) violent Enemies. These Men had bought Wit at the Hazard of their Souls, as well as by the Loss of some Blood, and now resolved Loyalty into their Nature and Principles, and, I hope, (says our Author) keep this Resolution to this Day.

‘ At *St. George's Fields* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had pitched a glorious Tent, and provided a sumptuous Collation, and there, upon their Knees, did their Duties; and the Lord Mayor delivered his Sword, and received it again. After a short Stay his Majesty hastened to see *Whitehall*, being glutt with the Ceremonies of the Day. Princes need their Solitudes and Retirements, and certainly he must be wise to a Miracle, that is never alone and always himself.

‘ All the Streets were richly adorned with Tapestry, the Conduits flowing with the richest Wines, every Window filled with Numbers of Spectators, and upon Scaffolds built for that Purpose, and all other Places of Conveniency. There were rank'd, in good Order, the Trained Band Forces on the one

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Side of the Streets, and the several Companies in their Liveries on the other. From *Temple-Bar* to *Whitehall* the Trained Bands of *Westminster* and the Parts adjacent on one Side, and some Companies of the Army on the other, to whom was joined a Company of the late King's Officers, commanded by Sir *John Stowel*. This was one of the pleasantest Sights that ever *England* beheld, to see a good Prince and an obedient People striving who should exceed in Love and Affection. May there never be other Contention between them.

The Procession was led by Major-General *Brown*, who had a Troop of 300, all in Cloth of Silver Doublets; then followed 1200 in Velvet Coats, with Footmen in Purple Liveries attending them; then another Troop, in Buff Coats, led by Sir *John Robinson*, with Sleeves of Cloth of Silver, and very rich green Scarfs: After these a Troop of 150, with blue Liveries, laced with Silver Lace, with six Trumpeters and seven Footmen in Sea-green and Silver. Then a Troop of 220, with 30 Footmen in grey and Silver Liveries, and four Trumpeters richly clothed; then another Troop of 105, with grey Liveries, and six Trumpets; and another of 70, with five Trumpets. Then three Troops more, two of 300, and one of 100, all richly habited and bravely mounted; after these came two Trumpets with his Majesty's Arms; the Sheriffs Men in red Cloaks, richly laced with Silver Lace, to the Number of 80, with Pikes in their Hands. Then followed 600 of the several Companies of *London*, on Horseback, in black Velvet Coats with Gold Chains, each Company having Footmen in rich Liveries attending.

After these came a Kettle-Drum, five Trumpets, three Streamers, and many rich red Liveries with Silver Lace: After these 12 Ministers, and then another Kettle-Drum and four Trumpets, with his Majesty's Life-Guard of Horse, commanded by the Lord *Gerrard*. Then three Trumpets in rich Coats and Sattin Doublets, and the City Marshal with

with eight Footmen in *French Green*, trimm'd with Crimfon and White, the City Waits, and all the City Officers in Order; then the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen in their Scarlet Gowns and rich Trappings, with Footmen in Liveries, red Coats laced with Silver and Cloth of Gold and Silver, the Heralds and Maces in rich Coats; then the Lord Mayor carrying the Sword bare, and next to him the Duke of *Buckingham* and the General, and then the King's Majesty betwixt the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*; after which followed a great Troop of his Majesty's Servants; then followed a Troop of Horfe with white Colours; then the General's Life-Guard, commanded by Sir *Philip Howard*; wherein, befide the established Number, rode feveral Noble Perfons; in the firft Rank were fuch as had 100,000*l. per Ann.* of Inheritance among them; after them five Regiments of the Army Horfe, led by Col. *Knight*; and then two Troops of Noblemen and Gentlemen to clofe the Proceffion.'

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Having now brought our Parliamentary Inquiries to this happy Crifis of Time, when King, Lords, and Commons, were all equally reftored to their antient and juft Rights of Government in this Nation: The King to his hereditary Throne, the Peers alfo to their hereditary Seats in Parliament, and the Houfe of Commons, confifting of the true Representatives of the People, to their Freedom of Speaking and Voting, without Danger of being turned out, gutted, or garbled, by the Power of a Standing Army, we fhall here leave them for a Time, in order to make a fhort Digreffion from the Courfe of this History, to trace out the dark and intricate Steps which led to this furprizing Revolution.

A fmall Digreffion concerning this Revolution.

We think it unnecelfary to trouble the Readers with recapitulating any Matters we have already given, or harraffing ourfelves, after fo long and tirefome a Journey, with needlefs Repetitions or Comments, on Facts which we rather chufe to

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leave to their own Judgment. Yet, since this wonderful Revolution was seemingly brought about by the unerring Hand of Providence alone, Man being only the Agent, whose Ways were made smooth and easy to him, by many unforeseen and unthought-of Accidents, and at last even compelled, as it were, to act what he did; we shall just touch upon some of these Matters, in order to shew, that neither the banished King, nor his small Court abroad, nor his most sanguine Friends and Well-wishers at home, could foresee this Change, till within a very few Weeks before it actually happened.

It has been the Opinion of some, and Dr. Price has endeavoured to inculcate it throughout his short History of the Restoration, that General *Monke* had a real Design in his Head, to restore the King and Royal Family, even before he set out with his Army from *Scotland*. In the Collection of *Monke's* Letters, &c. before quoted, there is yet one we have not mentioned from the General to the King, and is dated from *Edinburgh*, December 30, 1659. In this he gives his Majesty all imaginable Assurances of his steady Attachment to his Interest, and urges some Stipulations necessary to ground his Restoration upon. We make no Doubt but this Letter is spurious, and put at the Head of the rest, in order to shew what a double, deceitful Part the General had acted in the whole Affair. For, first, the General was not at *Edinburgh*; but with his Army at *Coldstream*, on the Day this Letter is dated; and he passed the *Tweed* two Days after, in his March for *England*: And no Author, that we know of, mentions any such Letter being sent. But the strongest Reasons of all are the great Uncertainty of *Monke's* Designs, which the King and his Court had much nearer to his open Declaration for his Majesty's Interest, and the Support of the Royal Cause. To prove this, we shall give some short Abstracts from some Letters, printed in the Appendix to the Life of Dr. *John Barwick*, once Dean of *St. Paul's, London*; which Letters were all wrote by the King himself,

or the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, not many Months, An. 12. Car. II. or even Weeks, before the Restoration. ^a 1660.

In one of these Letters from the latter, dated *Brussels*, January 12, 1660, N. S. and indorsed, *Received the same Date, O. S.* ^b are these Expressions: ' I send you herewith two Letters from the King, to your two Friends, which is all that his Majesty can think of, in order to *Monke*. Since he knows there is a Letter for him from the King, and hath no Mind to receive it, he would have the same Shyness or Perverseness, if another was sent, or any Messenger employed to him. The Interest for which he declares, seems not worth such an Engagement; and if his Conjunction with the *Scots* be real, that Interest cannot be supported by him. Yet it is strange, he nor any of his Friends should let the King know of their Purposes, if, in Truth, he hath any good Purposes towards his Service. The whole Dependence the King hath of any Good from him, is from your Negotiation; and therefore the Service cannot be enough valued.' In another Letter from the Chancellor, dated also from *Brussels*, March 8, N. S. and indorsed, *Received March 6*, he expresses himself thus: ' As *Monke's* Proceeding hath been very mysterious throughout, so nothing is more wonderful than the Secresy of all that hath been transacted in *Scotland*; of all which Intrigues the King knows no more, than he doth of his [*Monke's*] present Intentions; nor hath any Express been dispatched from *Scotland* to the King, to give him any Account of what they demanded, or the other promised. Therefore the King desires you would use the best Means you can, to inform yourself of all the Particulars.' Again, in the same Letter, as a Postscript: ' This hath been written these two Days, and I meant not to have made any Additions, but the Express is just now arrived with the great

May.

X 3

News,

^a *Vita* Johannes Barwick, S. T. P. &c. Cui adjicitur Appendix Epistolarum, tam ab Rege Carolo secundo, quam a suo Cancellario exulantibus; aliarumque Chartarum ad eandem Historiam pertinentium.

Omnia ab ipsis Autographis nunc primum Edita, O. S. Lond. 1721.

^b Lit. N^o. 22. ^c Lit. N^o. 29.

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‘ News, who likewise brings your Letter of the
 ‘ 21st, which gives the King great Hope that *Monke*
 ‘ is better disposed and resolved than he yet avows :
 ‘ However, the Business is in a good Way, and he
 ‘ will, by Degrees, be brought to it, if he had not
 ‘ rather others should have the Glory of such an
 ‘ Action than himself. But, methinks, this calling
 ‘ another Parliament is the farthest Way about,
 ‘ and I believe not easy to be practised.’

To come still nearer to the Time, the King and his small Council had very certain Intelligence of his being recalled, we meet with another Letter^d, in the same Appendix, dated from *Breda*, April 16, 1660, N. S. indorsed, *Received on the same Date, O. S.* we have these Words : ‘ The Prospect of your Affairs looks very well towards us ; and I am persuaded that *Monke* will in the End appear to have proceeded like a sober Man ; and assure yourself your Friend cannot be without a very good Acknowledgement, for contributing much towards bringing him to that Temper ; and whatever Jealousies there be among themselves, between the Civil and Martial Counsellors, I do not find there is any of the last Classis, by whom *Monke* is like to be advised, or who are like to be of so much Service in the Army, as your two Friends are : And therefore I pray continue your Interposition with them, with all the Encouragements that can be desired from the King, of which they may be most confident. And here I must not omit to tell you, that some Persons, of unquestionable Affections, and of great Quality, have sent lately to the King, to make Propositions to him, of engaging Col. *Clobery*, as a Person most able to do him Service with the General. They not imagining that we have any Knowledge of, or Communication with, him ; nor do we pretend to it, but seem to decline writing such Letters as they desire, out of an Apprehension that he is of the Republican Party, and not to be wrought upon. This we think very necessary that you should know, and it
 ‘ may

^d Lit. N^o. 32.

‘ may be he [*Monke*] himself, lest it should be inti-
 ‘ mated to him, that there is an ill Opinion of him
 ‘ here, which sometimes falls out by the Weakness
 ‘ of our Friends; when, to avoid some unseasonable
 ‘ Overtures, or a more unseasonable Discovery, we
 ‘ seem to have Prejudice towards those, in whom we
 ‘ have most Confidence.’

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• This last Letter from Chancellor *Hyde* must have been wrote after the General’s Message, by Sir *John Grenville*, had been delivered to the King; and yet the Beginning of it implies rather a Diffidence than an absolute Confidence in him. The Parliament was not yet met, and what the General and they might do on the opening it, was still uncertain; for the Chancellor, in a former Quotation, plainly intimated, that he did not like such round-about Proceedings, the Name of Parliament not yet founding well in the Ears of the King, or any of his Party. And, if the General had not found, by many Addresses made to him from different Counties, in his March up to *London*, that the Hearts of the People were changed as one Man, to recall their injured Monarch, ’tis probable he might have played a different Game, and set up himself instead of the Lord’s Anointed. But *Vox Populi* was certainly, at this Time, *Vox Dei*; though others will have it, that this wonderful Change was brought about by common Means; that those very People who had murdered the Father and banished his Progeny, should join so unanimously to recall them again, and place them upon the Throne; that this Revolution should be rather ascribed to the late bad Government of the Republic; to the known Mutability and wavering Temper of the *English* Nation, who are never long pleased with their Rulers, be they ever so just and righteous; and lastly, to *Monke’s* Fears, that the setting up himself as another *Cromwell*, would not hold; and because he durst not be the first, make sure of being the second Man in the Kingdom; some of these Opinions, we say,

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say, may be right; but we shall not trouble ourselves to contradict any of them. But

There is yet another Opinion to be treated of, which prevails amongst our Historians, and many others, That the Nation was so far infatuated with the Return of their King, that they would have made him absolute, had not his natural Indolence prevented him from either pushing for it, or even desiring of it^b. Indeed, the many and various Kinds of Miseries which the Nation had suffered, under their different Governors, for the last twelve Years, might make them rather chuse to put an absolute Power into the Hands of one of the Royal Line, than be ruled, as they had been, with a Rod of Iron; by their own Fellow Subjects. The Government of these Nations had been tried, in various Shapes, ever since the Death of the late King, and all found unstable. It was first thrown into a Commonwealth; under *Oliver*, a despotic Tyranny; under *Richard*, nothing at all; and under the Council of State, a Heap of Changes and Confusions. So that the People, being weary of these Distractions, readily agreed to recall their lawful Sovereign, and submit to their antient Form of Government. Notwithstanding all these Sufferings, to shew there was no such Intention in the People, (if we may allow this Convention to be the true Representative of them) to give up their Liberties, we need do no more than refer to the Titles of the Bills, which they had prepared for the King to pass on his Arrival, and which were all made Laws soon after; except one, For taking away the Courts of Wards and Liveries, which the Commons dropp'd of themselves, as bearing too hard on the Royal Prerogative. So the King was restored to the Exercise of his Regal Power, butted and bounded in the same Manner as his Father found it, at his Accession to the Crown.

To conclude this Deviation from the general History. In all the Kingdoms and Governments upon

^b Bishop *Barnet* says the whole Nation was drunk and mad for three Years together after it. *His own Times.*

upon Earth there have been Revolutions, though we believe none brought about without some Bloodshed, as this before us was. The natural Consequences of Things, when once they deviate from the Right, will, at last, revolve into their pristine State again: And, as a *Spanish* Author, tho' a Jesuit, justly observes, who, speaking of Heresies in the Church, says, *Omnis Hæresis cum ad Adtheismum delapsa est, per Sapientem Prophetam in Veritatis Viam reduci- tur: Habent enim Hæreses Periodos suos, ad Modum Rerum publicarum; quæ a Regibus in Tyrannidem, a Tyrannide in Statum Optimatum, et inde in Oligarchiam, atque, tandem, in Democratiam; et, in Fine, rursus, in Statum REGIUM revolvuntur.*^a

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But now to return to our History.

After all the formal Greetings and Congratulations on this happy Occasion were over, both Houses went upon the Business of the Nation, and principally to regulate all those Matters that had gone wrong during so long an Usurpation:

May

^a Thomas Campanella de Monarchia Hisp. C. 30. quoted by W. Prynne.

In a Copper-Plate Print 4to. of this Time, in our Collection, intituled, *An Account of the many Revolutions in the eleven Years from the Murder of the Royal Martyr to the Restoration of the Right Heir*, is the Representation of a Snake with its Tail in its Mouth, on which is engraved, *The Old Serpent, or Spirit of Resistance; within the Circle of which is,*

1. Rump.
2. Oliver and his Officers, April 20, 1653.
3. Council of State. — — 30.
4. Barebone's Parliament, July 4.
5. Oliver and his Officers, second Time, December 12.
6. Oliver Protector, — — — 16.
7. Richard Protector, September 3, 1658.
8. Rump, second Time, May 6, 1659.
9. Wallingford-House Junto with Lambert and Fleetwood. } October 13.
10. Council of Ten Men, — — — 19.
11. Committee of Safety — — — 26.
12. Rump, third Time, December 26.
13. Secluded Members and Rump, February 21, 1659-60.
14. Council of State, March 16.
15. The Devil leaves the Roundheads it's Lurch,
Without the Circle,
16. The Restoring Parliament.
17. The RESTORATION.

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Parliamentary
Proceedings.

May 30. The Earl of *Manchester* acquainted the House of Lords, that the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester* commanded him to return Thanks to the House, for their Lordships Civility Yesterday to them; and to signify their Desire to come and sit in that House, as Members, and that Places might be provided for them. Hereupon a Committee of Lords was appointed to attend his Majesty, and to acquaint him, That there being no Precedent which shews where their proper Places are in the House, they desire his Majesty will please to consult with such Persons as he thinks fit, and then determine on the Places himself.

Soon after the Earl of *Northumberland* reported, That the Lords Committees had waited on his Majesty, concerning the Seats where the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester* were to sit in Parliament, and that his Majesty said, He conceived that the Seat on the Right Hand of the State, where the King of *Scots* antiently used to sit, will be of no more Use, now that the Title is included in his Majesty; and said he himself, at the Parliament at *Oxford*, sat in that Seat. Therefore he desired that Place might be reserved for a Prince of *Wales*; and that the Seats of the Left Hand the State might be fitted up for his Brothers the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*; which the House gave Direction for accordingly.

The Commons shewed off their Loyalty this Day, by ordering a Bill to be prepared and brought in, For keeping a perpetual Anniversary, as a Day of Thanksgiving to God, for the great Blessing and Mercy he had been graciously pleased to vouchsafe to the People of these Kingdoms, after their manifold and grievous Sufferings, in the Restoration of his Majesty, with Safety, to his People and Kingdoms. And that the Twenty-ninth of *May*, in every Year, being the Birth-Day of his Sacred Majesty, and the Day of his Majesty's Return to his Parliament, should be yearly set apart for that Purpose.

Resolved also, That the Lords be desired to join with this House, in beseeching the King's Majesty to appoint a Day, to be set apart for public Thanksgiving to God, throughout this Realm, for the great Bless-

Blessing and Mercy God hath vouchsafed to these Kingdoms, in the happy Restoration of his Majesty.' An. 12, Car. II.
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The Commons next resolved themselves into a grand Committee, to consider of Ways to raise Money; and, after some Time spent therein, they agreed to appoint a Sub-Committee, and that no Person should have a Vote in it that had received any public Money, or was liable to be brought to Account.

May.

The House of Lords read a third Time an Act for Continuance of Process in all judicial Proceedings, passed, and sent it down to the Commons. The next Day that House sent a Message to the Lords, desiring their Concurrence in a Petition to his Majesty, to give Leave that a solemn Day of Thanksgiving should be appointed, to give Thanks for God's great Mercy, in the last great Revolution of Affairs, for bringing his Majesty safe to his own Dominions; which was read, and agreed to unanimously. The Lords also ordered, 'That his Majesty be moved that he would be pleased that an Act may be passed for the keeping the 29th of May as an Holy-Day and Thanksgiving, in Commemoration of his Majesty's happy Return into this Kingdom, and the Day of his Majesty's Nativity.' Their Speaker, the Earl of *Manchester*, to present it.

The Earl of *Berkshire* acquainted the House, That he was commanded by his Majesty to signify his Desire to this House, that those who were created Peers by Patent, by his late Majesty at *Oxford*, should sit in the House. On which the Lords ordered the same Lord to attend the King, and acquaint him, That Matters of Honour did belong to his Majesty, and this House did acquiesce in his Pleasure. And agreed, That the Order formerly passed, for excluding any Lords made at *Oxford*, from sitting in the House, should be cancelled, null'd, and made void; and that the Lords' Sub-Committees for Privileges, &c. should see this done and executed accordingly. Also, that the said Lords should meet to consider of placing the Seats and Forms of the House, for making more Room for the Peers. — And now, at this Period, we think it pro-

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proper to introduce a List, or Catalogue, of the Peers of *England*, as they sat in this Convention Parliament, according to their Precedence and Superiority, from a printed List of that Time.

D U K E S E A R L S.

A List of the Peers of Parliament.

Of the Blood Royal.
James Duke of York and Albany, Lord High Admiral of England.
Rupert Duke of Cumberland.

The first three take Place in respect of their Offices.

Montagu Bertie, Earl of Lindsay, Lord High Chamberlain of England.

These two take Place in respect of their Offices.
Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England.
Thomas Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer of England.

James Butler, Earl of Brecknock, Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household.

Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household.

Auberry Vere, Earl of Oxford.

D U K E S.

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.
William Seymour, Duke of Somerset.
George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.
Charles Stuart, Duke of Richmond.
George Monke, Duke of Albemarle.

Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.

— *Grey, Earl of Kent. Infra Ætat.*

Charles Stanley, Earl of Derby.

John Manners, Earl of Rutland.

— *Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. Inf. Æt.*

M A R Q U I S S E S.

John Paulet, Marquis of Winchester.
Edward Somerset, Marquis of Worcester.
William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle.
Henry Pierrepont, Marquis of Dorchester.

Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.

William Russel, Earl of Bedford.

Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

John Cecil, Earl of Exeter. Theophilus

<i>Theophilus Clinton</i> , Earl of Lincoln.	<i>Henry Carey</i> , Earl of Monmouth.	An. 12. Car. II. 1660.
<i>Charles Howard</i> , Earl of Nottingham.	<i>James Leigh</i> , Earl of Marlborough.	} May.
<i>James Howard</i> , Earl of Suffolk.	<i>Tho. Savage</i> , Earl Rivers.	
<i>Richard Sackville</i> , Earl of Dorset.	<i>Nicholas Knollis</i> , Earl of Banbury.	
<i>William Cecil</i> , Earl of Salisbury.	<i>Henry Carey</i> , Earl of Dover.	
<i>John Egerton</i> , Earl of Bridgewater.	<i>Henry Mordaunt</i> , Earl of Peterborough.	
<i>Robert Sydney</i> , Earl of Leicester.	<i>Henry Gray</i> , Earl of Stamford.	
<i>James Compton</i> , Earl of Northampton.	<i>Heneage Finch</i> , Earl of Winchelsea.	
<i>Charles Rich</i> , Earl of Warwick.	<i>Charles Dormer</i> , Earl of Carnarvon.	
<i>William Cavendish</i> , Earl of Devon.	<i>Mountjoy Blunt</i> , Earl of Newport.	
<i>Basil Fielding</i> , Earl of Denbigh.	<i>Philip Stanhope</i> , Earl of Chesterfield.	
<i>George Digby</i> , Earl of Bristol.	<i>John Tufton</i> , Earl of Thanet.	
<i>Lionel Cranfield</i> , Earl of Middlesex.	<i>Jerome Weston</i> , Earl of Portland.	
<i>Henry Rich</i> , Earl of Holland.	<i>William Wentworth</i> , Earl of Strafford.	
<i>John Hollis</i> , Earl of Clare.	<i>Robert Spencer</i> , Earl of Sunderland.	
<i>Oliver St. John</i> , Earl of Bolingbroke.	<i>James Savile</i> , Earl of Suffex.	
<i>Mildmay Fane</i> , Earl of Westmoreland.	<i>George Goring</i> , Earl of Norwich.	
<i>Edward Montagu</i> , Earl of Manchester.	<i>Nicholas Leak</i> , Earl of Scarsdale.	
<i>Thomas Howard</i> , Earl of Berkshire.	—— <i>Wilmot</i> , Earl of Rochester. <i>Inf. Ætat.</i>	
<i>Thomas Wentworth</i> , Earl of Cleveland.	<i>Henry Germain</i> , Earl of St. Albans.	
<i>Edward Sheffield</i> , Earl of Mulgrave.	<i>Edward Montagu</i> , Earl of Sandwich.	

James

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James Butler, Earl of *Brecknock*.
Edward Hyde, Earl of *Clarendon*.
Arthur Capel, Earl of *Essex*.
Thomas Brudenell, Earl of *Cardigan*.
Arthur Annesley, Earl of *Anglesey*.
John Grenville, Earl of *Bath*.
Charles Howard, Earl of *Carlisle*.

VISCOUNTS.

Leicester Devereux, Viscount *Hereford*.
Francis Brown, Viscount *Montagu*.
William Fiennes, Viscount *Say and Sele*.
Edw. Conway, Viscount *Conway*.
Baptist Noel, Viscount *Cambden*.
William Howard, Viscount *Stafford*.
Thomas Bellasis, Viscount *Fauconberg*.
John Mordaunt, Viscount *Mordaunt*.

B A R O N S.

John Nevil, Lord *Abergavenny*.
James Touchet, Lord *Audley*.
Charles West, Lord *Delawar*.
George Berkley, Lord *Berkley*.

Thomas Parker, Lord *Morley and Mount-Eagle*.
Francis Leonard, Lord *Dacres*.
Conyers D'Arcy, Lord *D'Arcy*.
William Stourton, Lord *Stourton*.
William Lord Sandys de la Vine.
Edw. Vaux, Lord *Vaux*.
Thomas Windsor, Lord *Windsor*.
Thomas Wentworth, Lord *Wentworth*.
Wingfield Cromwell, Lord *Cromwell*.
George Eure, Lord *Eure*.
Philip Wharton, Lord *Wharton*.
Francis Willoughby, Lord *Willoughby of Parham*.
Will. Paget, Lord *Paget*.
Dudley North, Lord *North*.
William Bruges, Lord *Cbandois*.
John Carey, Lord *Hunsden*.
William Peters, Lord *Peters*.
Dutton Gerrard, Lord *Gerrard*.
Charles Stanhope, Lord *Stanhope*.
Henry Arundel, Lord *Arundel, of Wardour*.
Christopher Roper, Lord *Tenham*.
Foulke Grevil, Lord *Brook*.

Ed-

Edward Montagu, Lord
Montagu, of Bough-
ton.

Charles Lord Howard, of
Charleton.

William Grey, Lord Grey,
of Werk.

John Roberts, Lord Ro-
berts.

William Craven, Lord
Craven.

John Lovelace, Lord Love-
lace.

John Paulet, Lord Paulet
William Maynard, Lord
Maynard.

Thomas Coventry, Lord
Coventry.

Edward Lord Howard,
of Eskricke.

Warwick Mohun, Lord
Mohun.

William Botelar, Lord
Botelar.

Percy Herbert, Lord
Powis.

Ed. Herbert, Lord Her-
bert, of Cherbury.

Francis Seymour, Lord
Seymour.

Thomas Bruce, Lord
Bruce.

Francis Newport, Lord
Newport.

Tho. Leigh, Lord Leigh,
of Stone-Leigh.

Christopher Hatton, Lord
Hatton.

Henry Hastings, Lord
Loughborough.

Richard Byron, Lord
Byron.

Richard Vaughan, Lord An. 12. Car. II.
Vaughan. 1660.

Charles Smith, Lord Ca-
rington.

William Widdrington,
Lord Widdrington.

Humble Ward, Lord
Ward.

Thomas Lord Colepeper.

Isaac Astley, Lord Ast-
ley.

Richard Boyle, Lord
Clifford.

John Lucas, Lord Lu-
cas.

John Bellasis, Lord Bel-
lasis.

Lewis Watson, Lord
Rockingham.

Charles Gerrard, Lord
Gerrard, of Brandon.

Robert Lord Sutton, of
Lexington.

Charles Kirkhoven, Lord
Wooton.

Marmaduke Langdale,
Lord Langdale.

William Crofts, Lord
Crofts.

John Berkley, Lord
Berkley.

Denzil Holles, Lord
Holles, of Eyfield.

Frederick Cornwallis,
Lord Cornwallis.

George Booth, Lord De-
lamere.

Horatio Townshend, Lord
Townshend.

Anthony Ashley Cooper,
Lord Ashley.

John Crews, Lord Crews.

May.

An. 12. Car. II.
1660.
Junc.

The Address to the King from the Commons, and afterwards agreed to by the Lords, for a Day of Thanksgiving, is entered at the End of this Day's Proceedings in these Words :

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, &c.

Humbly sheweth,

A Petition of
Parliament for a
Thanksgiving.

‘ **T**HAT such is the inestimable Blessing of your Majesty's Restoration to your Royal Throne, which at once hath put a Period to the Calamities of Three Kingdoms, and to all the Sorrows and Sufferings of your Royal Person and Family, that we cannot but account it as an Instance into that State of Joy and Happiness, which obligeth all your Subjects to render an everlasting Tribute of Praise and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for those glorious Mercies which he hath vouchsafed to his afflicted People.

‘ And to the end that some solemn Time may be set apart, for the public Performance of this Duty, and that all your Majesty's Subjects, in *England* and in *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, who equally share in the Joy of this Deliverance, may be united in these Devotions which are offered for it, we therefore humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased, by your Royal Proclamation, to set apart some such Day, for a public Thanksgiving, throughout all these your Majesty's Dominions, as to your Majesty's great Wisdom shall seem meet.’

The King comes
to the House.

June 1. This Day the King came to the House of Lords for the first Time, and, sending for the Commons, his Majesty made a short Speech to both Houses, and then commanded the Lord Chancellor to deliver his Mind further to them, which he accordingly did, say the *Journals*, in a very large one; but neither of them are entered in those Authorities. Nor have we met with them, at Length, elsewhere; there is only a short Abstract of the Chancellor's Speech preserved in History, which he made after
the

the King had given his Royal Assent to these three An. 12. Car. II.
Bills, viz. 1660.

June.

An Act for preventing and removing all Questions and Disputes, concerning the Assembling and Sitting of this present Parliament.

An Act for putting in Execution an Ordinance mentioned in the said Act.

An Act for Continuance of Procefs, and all judicial Proceedings.

After which the Lord Chancellor told both Houses, 'With how much Readiness his Majesty had passed these important Acts, and how willing they should at all Times hereafter find him, to pass any other that might tend to the Advantage and Benefit of the People; in a particular Manner desiring, in his Majesty's Behalf, That the Bill of Oblivion, in which they had made so good a Progress, might be expedited: That the People might see and know his Majesty's extraordinary gracious Care to ease and free them from their Doubts and Fears; and that he had not forgotten his gracious Declaration made at *Breda*, but that he would in all Points make good the same.'

June 2. The House of Commons, after preparing and passing the aforesaid Bills, fell upon debating an Act for a general Pardon, Oblivion, and Indemnity, in which were many Clauses and Exceptions: And the Question being put, That all Receivers, Collectors, &c. of the public Revenues of the Kingdom, be only accountable from the Year 1648, it passed in the Negative, 165 to 150; so they were accountable from the Year 1642. The Tellers in this Division were Mr. *Holles* and Sir *John Holland* for the Yeas; and Lord *Falkland* and Sir *Richard Temple* against it. A Majority so small shews that this Affair must have been warmly debated, and that there were many in the House who had been concerned in these public Accounts, who were afraid of such a Scrutiny.

The same Day the House resolved, 'That the Gentlemen, the Members of this House, who were

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1660.

June.

Thanks return'd
by the Speaker
to the Committee
sent to the King.

sent to his Majesty with a Letter from this House, have the Thanks of this House, for their eminent Service performed in that Employment. Accordingly the Speaker said,

Gentlemen, I shall not need to tell you what Notice the House hath taken of the eminent Service you have performed in your late Employment to his Majesty; you have brought home the Ark, the Glory of *England*, his Majesty's Person, in Safety; and truly, if ever a Service deserved to be called a Service of ever-blessed Memory, this is such a Service: Therefore the House hath commanded this Service to be singled out from all your former eminent and worthy Services, and to do it *per Excellentiam*, as much exceeding all that ever hath been done before for this Nation. And since the Merit thereof is such, that no Thanks can be proportionable thereunto, but the Thanks of this House, I am therefore commanded, in the Name of this House, and of all those they represent, the Commons of *England*, to return you their very hearty Thanks.

At the same Time Mr. *Holles* inform'd the House, That he having been sent, with the other worthy Members, to the King, some Aspersions had been cast upon him, as if he had, in his Speech to the King, transgressed the Instructions given him by the House: On which the House ordered, 'That he should have Leave to print the Speech he made to his Majesty, as also the King's Answer to it, for which he had the King's Leave, as well as the Instructions of the House, for his own Vindication.

The Lords were busy in sending out their Orders to stop the felling of Timber, and other Depredations in the King's Parks, Forests, &c. in which, and several other Estates belonging to several Peers and other Loyalists, great Havock had been made, and was still carrying on.

June 4. This Day the Commons sent up Mr. *Prynne*, and others, to the Lords, to desire their Concurrence in sending to his Majesty, to desire him to issue out his Proclamation, against those that had

had a Hand in the horrid Murder of his late Majesty: An. 12. Car. II.
 The Lords agreed to this, and the King consenting, 1660.
 the Proclamation was published, the Form of which June.
 was in these Words :

CHARLES, *by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.*

To all our loving Subjects of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Greeting,

WE take Notice, by the Information of our Lords and Commons, now assembled in Parliament, of the most horrid and execrable Murder and Treason committed upon the Person, and against the Life, Crown, and Dignity, of our late Royal Father *Charles the First*, of blessed Memory; and that *John Lisle, William Say, Esq;* A Proclamation against the late King's Murderers, &c.
Sir Hardress Waller, Valentine Wauton, Edward Whaley, Esq;
Sir John Bouchier, Knt. William Haveningham, Esq;
Isaac Pennington, Alderman of London, Henry Marten, John Barkstead, Gilbert Millington, Edmund Ludlow, John Hutchinson, Esq;
Sir Michael Livesay, Bart, Robert Tichborne, Owen Roe, Robert Lilburne, Adrian Scrope, John Okey, John Hewson, William Goffe, Cornelius Holland, John Carew, Miles Corbett, Henry Smith, Thomas Wogan, Edmund Harvey, Thomas Scott, William Cawley, John Downe, Nicholas Love, Vincent Potter, Augustin Garland, John Dixwell, George Fleetwood, Simon Mayne, James Temple, Peter Temple, Daniel Blagrove, and Thomas Wayte, Esqrs. being deeply guilty of that most detestable and bloody Treason, in sitting upon, and giving Judgment against, the Life of our Royal Father; and also *John Cooke*, who was employed therein as a Solicitor, *Andrew Broughton* and *John Phelpes*, who were employed under the said Persons as Clerks, and *Edward Dendy*, who attended them as Serjeant at Arms, have, out of the Sense of their own Guilt, lately fled and obscured themselves, whereby they cannot be apprehended, and brought to a personal and legal Trial, for their said Treason,

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son, according to Law: We do therefore, by the Advice of our said Lords and Commons, command, publish, and declare, by this our Proclamation, That all and every the Persons before named, shall, within fourteen Days next after the publishing of this our Royal Proclamation, personally appear and render themselves to the Speaker or Speakers of our House of Peers and Commons, or unto the Lord Mayor of our City of London, or to the Sheriffs of our respective Counties of England and Wales; under the Pain of being excepted from any Pardon or Indemnity, both for their respective Lives and Estates: And that no Person or Persons shall presume to harbour or conceal any of the Persons aforesaid, under Pain of Misprision of High Treason'

The Lords also ordered, That the Chancellors of both the Universities should take Care, that the several Colleges in the same should be governed according to their respective Statutes; and that such Persons, who have been unjustly put out of their Headships, Fellowships, and other Offices, relating to the several Colleges, or Universities, may be restored according to the said Statutes of Universities, and Founders of Colleges therein.

The Commons were busy most of this Day in taking the Oaths to the new Government, or rather to the old one re-established. The Right Honourable James, Marquis and Earl of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, came into the Lobby at the Door of the House of Commons; where a Table being set, and a Chair prepared, being attended by the Clerk of the Crown, and the Clerk of the Commons House, with the Rolls of such Members as were returned to serve in this Parliament, his Lordship gave the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to several Members, who he had by his Commission deputed to administer the same to other Members in his Absence; and accordingly the following Members were called out of the House and sworn, and appointed

pointed for that Office: *Arthur Annesley, Esq;* *Den-* An. 12. Car. II.
zil Holles, Esq; *Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bart.* 1660.
Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Bart. *Sir William Waller, Knt.* }
Sir Anthony Irby, Knt. *Sir Richard Brown, Knt.* }
Sir William Morris, Knt. Principal Secretary of }
 State, *Sir John Holland, Bart.* *Sir William Lewis,* }
 Knt. *Sir Walter Erle, Knt.* *Sir Dudley North,* }
 Knight of the Bath, *Heneage Finch, Esq;* *William*
Prynne, Esq; *Richard Knightley, Esq;* *Thomas*
Hatcher, Esq; *Job Charleton, Esq;* *Edward Turner,*
Esq; *Edward King, Esq;* and *Samuel Jones, Esq;*

June.

The FORM of the OATH of SUPREMACY.

I A. B. do utterly testify and declare in my Conscience, That our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second is the only Supreme Governour of this Realm, and of all other his Majesty's Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things, or Causes, as Temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm: And therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Jurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities; and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Majesty, his Heirs and lawful Successors; and, to my Power, shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preheminences, and Authorities, granted or belonging to the King's Majesty, his Heirs and Successors; or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm: So help me God, and by the Contents of this Book.

Form of the Oaths to be taken by the Members, &c.

The FORM of the OATH of ALLEGIANCE.

I A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare, in my Conscience, before God and the World, That our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second is lawful and rightful King of this Realm, and of all other his Majesty's Dominions and Countries; and that the Pope, neither of himself, nor by any Authority of the Church, or See of Rome, or by any other

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Means, with any other, bath any Power or Authority to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Majesty's Kingdoms or Dominions, or to authorize any foreign Prince to invade or annoy him, or his Countries; or to discharge any of his Majesty's Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majesty; or to give Licence or Leave to any of them to bear Arms, raise Tumults, or to offer any Violence or Hurt to his Majesty's Royal Person, State, or Government, or to any of his Majesty's Subjects, within his Majesty's Dominions.

Also I do swear from my Heart, That, notwithstanding any Declaration, or Sentence of Excommunication or Deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the Pope, or his Successors, or by any Authority derived, or pretended to be derived, from him, or his See, against the said King, his Heirs or Successors, or any Absolution of the said Subjects from their Obedience, I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors; and him and them will defend, to the uttermost of my Power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their Persons, their Crown and Dignity, by Reason or Colour of any such Sentence or Declaration, or otherwise; and will do my best Endeavour to disclose and make known unto his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, all Treasons, and traiterous Conspiracies, which I shall know, or hear of, to be against him, or any of them.

And I do further swear, That I do, from my Heart, abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes, which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do believe, and in Conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any Person whatsoever, hath Power to absolve me of this Oath, or any Part thereof; which I acknowledge, by good and full Authority, to be lawfully ministered unto me; and do renounce all Pardons and Dispensations to the contrary: And all these Things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express Words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common Sense

Sense and Understanding of the same Words, without any Equivocation, or mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever: And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian: So help me God.

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June 5. The House of Commons were still busy in carrying on the Act of Indemnity and general Pardon, and this Day it was proposed to except seven Persons for Life and Estate. And it being likewise proposed, That they should be then named, *Thomas Harrison, William Say, John Jones, Thomas Scott, Cornelius Holland, John Lisle, and John Barkslead,* were severally named, and agreed to for that Purpose.

June 6. The Commons had voted a Present of 10,000 *l.* to be made to the Duke of York, and this Day they received a Letter of Thanks from his Highness for it, with which that House was so pleased, that they ordered the Lord-General to signify to his Highness the grateful Sense they had of his affectionate Letter to them; and the Letter to be entered in their Journals, viz.

Mr. Speaker, Whitehall, June 5, 1660.

I Desire you to assure the House of Commons, that I have a great Sense of the many Demonstrations of their Affection towards me; and that, tho' the Necessities of many Years had prepared me to give a welcome Reception to the Present I lately received from them, yet nothing did so much recommend it to me, as that it was an Argument of the Affection of that House, to which I shall always study to make such Returns as become

Duke of York's
Letter of Thanks
to the Commons.

Your most affectionate Friend,

J A M E S.

The King had published a Declaration under his Sign Manual and Privy Signet, dated *Breda, April 4,* O. S. of a free and general Pardon, with Reservation to except such Persons as shall be excepted by

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by this present Parliament, in an Act of general Pardon and Oblivion. Both Houses thought proper, at this Time, to claim it for themselves; and thereupon they prepared Votes and Resolutions to be severally laid before his Majesty for that Purpose.

June 8. The King having appointed this Day to be waited on, the several Speakers, attended by their whole House, went up to lay Claim to this Pardon; and humbly to desire his Majesty, That it might be as effectual to all his Subjects in particular, (except as before excepted) as if every of them had at any Time, since the first of *May* last, personally laid hold of his Majesty's Grace and Pardon, and by public Act declared their so doing. And that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to declare his Acceptance thereof, and, by his Royal Proclamation, to assure the Hearts of his Subjects of the same.—The King expressed his Readiness and Willingness to satisfy all the Particulars, offered in his Declaration, both concerning the two Houses and all other Persons.

The Commons proceeded the same Day to except more Persons out of their Act of Pardon, when *John Cooke, Andrew Braughton, and Edward Dendy*, Solicitors and Agents at the late King's Trial, were excepted both as to Life and Estates. And having examined some Witnesses, touching the Person who executed the late King, they resolved, That those two Persons, who were upon the Scaffold in Disguise, when the detestable and traiterous Sentence upon the late King was executed, be excepted out of the general Act of Pardon for Life and Estate.

A Letter from Prince *Henry*, returning Thanks to the House of Commons for the Present of Money they made him ^d, on his coming over, was received and read; the Contents of which were as follow:

Mr. Speaker,

June 5, 1660.

Prince *Henry* to
the same.

‘ I Am so sensible of the good Affections expressed
‘ to me by the House of Commons, in the late
‘ Supply

^d Five Thousand Pounds.

‘ Supply of Money, which they sent me into *Hol-* An. 12. Car. II.
 ‘ *land*, that I think myself obliged to intreat you to 1660.
 ‘ give them Thanks for it in my Name; and to assure
 ‘ them, that tho’ my Condition abroad was such as
 ‘ made that Assistance very seasonable, yet it was
 ‘ not so welcome to me, out of that Consideration,
 ‘ as because it was a Testimony of their Esteem,
 ‘ which I value at a much higher Rate; and whereof
 ‘ my Actions shall evidence how much I desire a
 ‘ Continuance. I am, Mr. Speaker,

June.

Your very affectionate Friend,

HENRY.

The House was so pleased with this Letter also, that they ordered it to be entered in their *Journals*, as a Testimony of his Highness's Affection and high Esteem to their House, and of their humble and hearty Acknowledgment thereof.

The House of Commons, in carrying on the Act of Oblivion, were still seeking out for such as were to be excepted out of it, and had appointed a Committee to inform themselves, by perusing the *Journal* of the pretended High Court of Justice, for Trial of the late King, what Persons not sitting at the said Trial, on the 27th of *January*, 1648, did sit at the said Trial, in *Westminster-Hall*, any of the Days preceding, and to report their Names to the House.

June 9. Accordingly Mr. *Prynne*, from this Committee, brought in several Names of such Persons, with the Times of their Sitting at the Trial; on which the House resolved, That *William Lord Munson*, *Thomas Challoner*, *James Challoner*, *John Fry*, *Francis Lascelles*, *Sir Henry Mildmay*, *Robert Wallop*, *Sir Gilbert Pickering*, *Sir James Harrington*, *Thomas Lister*, and *John Phelpes*, one of the Clerks under the pretended High Court of Justice, should all be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion, for and in respect only of such Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures, (not extending to Life) as shall be thought fit to be inflicted on them by another

An. 12. Car. II. another Act, intended to be hereafter passed for that Purpose.

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At the same Time the following Persons were voted to be spared for Life, tho' all sat in Judgment on the late King; the Lord Grey of *Grso*by, Sir *Hardress Waller*, *Valentine Wauton*, *Edward Whalley*, *Isaac Ewer*, Sir *John Danvers*, Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Sir *John Bouchier*, *William Heveningham*; *Isaac Pennington*, *Henry Marten*, *William Purefoy*, *John Blakiston*, *Gilbert Millington*, Sir *William Constable*, Bart. *Edmund Ludlow*, Sir *Michael Livesay*, Bart. *Robert Tichborne*, *Owen Rowe*, *Robert Lilburne*, *Richard Deane*, *John Okey*, *John Hughson*, *William Goffe*, *John Carew*, *Miles Corbett*, *Francis Allen*, *Peregrine Pelham*, *John Moore*, *John Allured*, *Henry Smyth*, *Humphry Edwards*, *Gregory Clement*, *Thomas Wogan*, Sir *Gregory Norton*, Bart. *Edmund Harvey*, *John Venn*, *Thomas Andrews*, Alderman of *London*, *William Cawley*, *Anthony Stapely*, *John Downies*, *Thomas Horton*, *Thomas Hammond*, *Nicholas Love*, *Vincent Potter*, *Augustin Garland*, *John Dixwell*, *George Fleetwood*, *Symon Mayne*, *James Temple*, *Peter Temple*, *Daniel Blgrave*, and *Thomas Wayte*.

June 11. The House were informed by Mr. *Prynne*, one of the Committee for swearing the Members, that, in comparing the Returns of Members to serve in that House, with the Lists of those who had taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, he finds their Number to be 455; and that he knows not any sitting Member that has refused to take them. The Lord General *Monke*, and the Lord High Admiral of *England*, were desired to take effectual Care that the said Oaths should be administered to all the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, and all the Commanders, Officers, and Marines of the Navy: And that his Majesty be desired to issue out a Proclamation, requiring all and every Person and Persons in this Realm, who by Law ought to take the said Oaths, to take them accordingly.

The House next resumed the Debate on the Act
of

of general Pardon and Oblivion, when a Letter from *William Lenthall*, Esq; the late Speaker, was read, and the Question being put that he be one of the twenty Persons to be excepted out of the general Act of Pardon, to suffer such Pains and Penalties, Life only excepted, as should be thought proper to inflict upon him? The House divided, and it was carried against him by 215 to 126. — Sir *Henry Vane* was also voted to lie under the same Dilemma, without any Division.

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The Lords had had an Affair of their own Privilege before them for some Time, relating to the Choice of their own Speaker in some Cases: And a Committee being appointed to examine into this Business, the Lord *Roberts* reported their Result to the House. 'That it is the Duty of the Lord-Chancellor, or Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, of *England*, ordinarily to attend the Lords House of Parliament; and that in case those great Officers be absent from the House, and that there be none authorized, under the Great Seal, by the King, to supply that Place in the House of Peers, the Lords may then chuse their own Speaker during that Vacancy.' The House confirmed this Report, and ordered it to be entered in the Roll amongst the standing Orders of the House: And, soon after, the King thought proper to grant a Commission, under his Great Seal, to Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, to execute that Place in the House, whenever the Lord Chancellor should have Occasion to be absent.

The Lords also appointed a Committee to consider of the great Violation that hath been committed upon the Peers of this Realm, by restraining their Persons, burning them in the Hand, refusing their Privileges when they have been claimed, and many other Breaches: And that the said Committee have Power to send for all Offenders in those Kinds, and, after Examination thereof, to report it to the House.

June 13. This Day the Commons agreed that the following Persons should be of the Twenty who were

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were to be excepted out of the Act of Pardon, for Pains and Penalties not extending to Life, viz. *William Burton, Serjeant Richard Keeble, Oliver St. John, John Ireton, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Col. William Sydenham, John Desborough, and Daniel Axtell*: On *Sydenham* there was a Division, but it was carried against him, 147 to 106. The Trial of *Bulstrode Whitlocke*, a Person well known in these and former Times, came also on; and the Question being put, Whether the main Question be now put, it passed in the Negative, 175 against 134; so Mr. *Whitlocke* was respited for that Time.

The Commons continued to except Persons out of their Act of Pardon, but though it had been voted to except no more than twenty, yet they went on with their Exceptions for of Pains and Penalties, and Colonel *John Lambert, Christopher Packe*, Alderman of London, and *John Blackwell*, of *Mortclack*, were named for that Purpose.

The famous *John Milton* comes next to be questioned for writing two Books, one intituled, *Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonimi, alias Salmastii Defensionem Regiam*; the other, an Answer to a Book called, *The Portraiture of his late Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings*. At the same Time one *John Goodwin* was mentioned for writing another Book, intituled, *The Obstructors of Justice*, in Defence of the traitorous Sentence against the late King's Majesty. These two Persons were ordered to be taken into Custody by the Serjeant at Arms, to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General; and, lastly, the King desired to issue out his Proclamation to recall their Books, along with such other Books as should be presented to his Majesty, in a Schedule from the House, in order to their being burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman.

This Day Mr. Secretary *Morrice* acquainted the Commons that he had a Message from his Majesty in Writing; which he was commanded to deliver to that House, and desired it might be read, which was as follows:

CHARLES

CHARLES R.

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WE have had too ample a Manifestation of your Affection and Duty toward us, the good Effect whereof is notorious to the World, to make the least Doubt of the Continuance and Improvement thereof, or in the least Degree to dislike what you have done, or to complain of what you have left undone. We know well the Weight of those Affairs, which depend upon your Counsels, and the Time that must unavoidably be spent in Debates, where there must naturally be Difference of Opinion and Judgment, amongst those whose Desires of the public Peace and Safety are the same; and, neither we nor you must be overmuch troubled, if we find our good Intentions, and the unwearied Pains we take to reduce those good Intentions into real Acts, for the Quiet and Security of the Nation, mis-represented and mis-interpreted by those who are; in Truth, afflicted to see the public Distractions, by God's Blessing, so near an End; and, by others, upon whose Weakness, Fears, and Jealousies, the Activity and Cunning of those ill Men have too great an Influence.

How wonderful and miraculous soever the great Harmony of Affections between us and our good Subjects is, (and that is so visible and manifest to the World, that there scarce appears the View of any Cloud to overshadow or disturb it) yet, we must not think that God Almighty hath wrought the Miracle to that Degree, that a Nation so miserably divided for so many Years, is so soon and entirely united in their Affections and Endeavours, as were to be wish'd; but that the evil Consciences of many Men continue so awake for Mischief, that they are not willing to take Rest themselves, or to suffer others to take it: And we have all had too sad Experience of the unhappy Effects of Fears and Jealousies, how groundless and unreasonable soever, not to think it very necessary to apply all timely and proper Remedies to those Distempers, and to prevent the Inconveniencies and Mischiefs which too naturally flow from thence: We well foresaw, that the great Violation, which the Laws of the Land had for so many Years sustained, had filled the Hearts of the People with a terrible Apprehension

A Message from
the King to the
House of Com-
mons.

An. 12. Car. 11.

166c.

Junc.

of Insecurity to themselves, if all they had said and done should be liable to be examined and punished by those Laws which had been so violated; and that nothing could establish the Security of King and People, but a full Provision, that the returning to the Reverence and Obedience of the Law, which is good for us all, should not turn to the Ruin of any, who are willing and fit to receive that Protection hereafter from the Law, and to pay that Subjection to it that is just and necessary; and, therefore, we made that free Offer of a general Pardon in such a Manner, as is expressed in our Declaration; and how ready and desirous we are to make good the same, appears by our Proclamation, which we have issued out upon, and according to, your Desire.

However, it is evident, that all we have, or do offer, doth not enough compose the Minds of our People, nor, in their Opinions, can their Security be provided for, till the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion be passed; and we find great Industry is used by those, who do not wish that Peace to the Kingdom they ought to do, to persuade our good Subjects, that we have no Mind to make good our Promises, which, in Truth, we desire to perform for our own Sake as well as theirs: And we do therefore very earnestly recommend it to you, that all possible Expedition be used in the passing that most necessary Act, whereby our good Subjects generally will be satisfied, that their Security is in their own Hands, and depends upon their future Actions, and that they are free for all that is past, and so all the Endeavours of ill Men will be disappointed, which would persuade them not to do well now, because they have heretofore done amiss. And we are the more engaged to this our Recommendation, because, upon the Reflection of your eminent Zeal and Affection for our Service, and hearty Concurrence with us in all we have desired from you, Men are apt to persuade others, though they do not believe it themselves, that the passing the Act is therefore deferred, because we do not enough press the Dispatch of it, which we do desire from our Heart, and are confident you will the sooner do, upon this our earnest Recommendation.

After

After the reading of the above Remonstrance from the King, the Commons desired the Secretary to return their humble Thanks to his Majesty for his gracious Message; and to acquaint him, That the House would make it their Endeavour to give a speedy Dispatch to what is mentioned in the Message; and to all other Matters relating to the Public.

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Accordingly the House resumed the Act of Indemnity; when, after Debate, it was resolved, That *Charles Eleetwood, John Pyne, Richard Dean, Major Richard Creed, Philip Nye, John Goodwin, Clerk, Colonel Ralph Cobbet, William Hewet, and Hugh Peters,* should be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion; the two last for Life.

A curious Manuscript,^a which has certainly been the Note-Book to some Member of this Parliament, and sent in to the Editors of this Work since their last Advertisement to the Public, informs us, That when this Debate was entered into, at this Time, Sir *Henry Cholmley* moved, That all such Members as had sat in any High Court of Justice should withdraw, but refused to name any. This Motion was seconded by Sir *William Vincent*; to which Mr. *Charlton* and Mr. *Prynne* added, all those that abjured, or signed the Instrument of Government. Mr. *Goodrick* spoke to lay that Business aside; and Sir *George Booth*, not to question them now, but to go to the Business of the Day. Lord *Falkland* moved, to exclude them; as did also Sir *George Ryves*, and Col. *King*.

Some other Speakers are named in the Manuscript for and against the Motion; but we do not find that the House divided upon it, but went to the Business of the Day, which was to name the twenty Persons who were to be excepted out of the general Pardon. Mr. *Prynne*, the Manuscript says, moved first against

Col.

^a This Manuscript is by Way of Diary, and begins with June 18, 1660; but is broke into sometimes by Lacerations, &c. It is wrote in the Hand of the Times, coincides exactly with the Journals of the Commons, but is much more particular in the Names of the Speakers in each Debate. It was communicated to the Editors of this Work, by the Rev. *Charles Lyttelton*, LL. D. Dean of *Exeter*, to whom they are also obliged for many other Favours of this Kind, in the Course of this History.

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Col. *Fleetwood*; which was answered by Sir *Ralph Knight*, for him; but Mr. *Palmer* and Col. *King*, speaking also against him, he was voted to be excepted; making, as the Note-Book says, the 14th Man. Lord *Falkland* named Col: *Pynè*; which Mr. *Swanton* and Mr. *Chafe* seconding, saying, He was called the King of the *West*, and was a great Tyrant, upon the Question; he was voted to be excepted, being the 15th Man. Mr. *Philip Jones* was named next; but, on reading a Petition from him, justifying himself that he was not guilty of the King's Death, and Mr. *Annesley* and Mr. *Finch* speaking for him, his Affair was dropt. Mr. *Prynne* moved against *Richard Cromwell*; but, no one seconding, the House proceeded no farther against him at that Time. The same Member named Major *Salway*; seconded by Mr. *Goodrick*; but Mr. *Dolewell* delivering a Petition from the Major, and he and Mr. *Knightley* speaking for him, he was also passed by. Sir *Thomas Clarges* moved against *Richard Dean*; saying, There was a Suspicion that he had lately dispersed dangerous Papers in *Scotland*; and was an Anabaptist; upon which he was voted amongst the Excepted, and made the 16th Man.

The Cause of Mr. *Whitlocke*, the Memorialist, who had acted in high Stations in every Revolution since the late King's Death, came on once again this Day. The Manuscript informs us, That Mr. *Prynne* first moved the House against him, which was seconded by Sir *Ralph Ashton* and Sir *Henry Finch*, who said, *Whitlocke* was as much an Ambassador as *St. John* was; was for fining him, but not to exceed the Value of two Years Income of his Estate.

Mr. *Annesley* was for not quitting him, but to set some Mark of Disfavour upon him only, by reason of his numerous Family. Mr. *Charlton* also spoke against him, but moderately; and Mr. *Palmer* moved to spare his Estate for his Children's Sake. For *Whitlocke* spoke Mr. *Willoughby*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, Mr. *Turner*, Lord *Howard*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *John Robinson*,
and

and Sir *Richard Brown*, who said, Mr. *Whitlocke* An. 12. Car. II,
 preserved him from being taken; and Sir *John Hol-*
land, who urged his sending the King over 500 l.
 and his securing *Lyme* for him, of which his Son
 was Governor. On the whole, Mr. *Whitlocke* was
 again acquitted.

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The next Person who was named was Major
Creed, and only Major *Archer* spoke for him; how-
 ever the House divided twice on this Affair; first,
 Whether the Question should be then put; which
 was carried, 147 against 101; and the Main Que-
 stion being put, *Creed* was cast by 133 to 103: So
 he made the 17th Man.

Sir *William Wylde* moved the House against *Philip*
Nye, a Minister, which was seconded by Sir *Henry*
Finch; who said, *Nye* had enriched himself very
 much in those Times of Plunder and Rapine; and
 that there needed no particular Charge, since the
 Hue-and-Cry was general against him. Mr. *Turn-*
ner also urged it home against *Nye*, and said, That
 he being the Grandee at the Committee for bestow-
 ing Benefices, a young Man of Learning and Merit
 would not pass with him, when a worthless good-
 for-nothing Fellow was always preferred. Sir *Ri-*
chard Temple moved to charge *Nye* with some capi-
 tal Crime; but the House was more moderate, and
 one Mr. *Folie* speaking for him, he was only ex-
 cepted as above, and made the 18th Man.

John Goodwin, the Author before-mentioned, was
 next named by Mr. *Prynne*, and voted to be the
 19th Man.

Col. *Cobbet* was moved against by Mr. *Hopkins*;
 Sir *Henry Finch* seconded; but not to put him on the
 List of the Twenty, but except him by himself as
 capital: But this not being agreed to, it was resol-
 ved, on the Question, That *Cobbet* should only stand
 for Pains and Penalties, and he made the 20th Man.

Judge *Thorpe* was named at the same Time with
Cobbet, by Col. *King*, seconded by Mr. *Winfield* and
 Mr. *Prynne*; who mentioned one *Thorpe*, that was
 a Judge in *Edward* the Second's Time, who, for
 taking Bribes and other Misdemeanors, was punish-

An. 12. Car. II.

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ed; and therefore desired that this Judge *Thorpe* might also suffer the same: But several Members speaking in Behalf of *Thorpe*, he was acquitted, and *Cobbet*, as above, taken in his Place.

The Case of *Hugh Peters*, that Pulpit Incendiary, came next to be considered by the House; Serjeant *Tyrrell* produced an Information against him, from one *Dr. Young*, a Physician in *Wales*: That *Peters*, being very sick and like to die, told him, that it was he and *Cromwell* who consulted together how to dispose of the late King. *Hewlet*, the Man suspected to have cut off the King's Head, was also named with *Peters*, there being two Witnesses ready to swear against him: On which the House thought proper to except them out of the Act for Life, and leave them to the Law.

But it is now Time to return back to see what the House of Lords were doing all this while; and they were not without their Trials of some of those Wretches, who had done so much Mischief in the Nation.

One Major *Rolph* was informed against by two Witnesses, for having had a Design to make away with the late King, when he was Prisoner in *Carisbrook-Castle*: On which the Lords ordered the Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod to take *Rolph* into Custody, as a dangerous Person, and bring him, along with the Witnesses, before them the next Morning.

Accordingly this Day, *June* 14, the Major was brought to the Bar, as a Delinquent, when *Richard Osbourne*, on his Oath, produced a printed Paper, formerly printed, in which were Letters he had wrote; and swore that the Matter in that printed Paper was true. *Dowcett*, the other Witness, was also sworn, and asked what he had to charge against the Prisoner; who also delivered in a Paper of Information, which he had before given as Evidence, and swore the same to be true. The House then ordered both these Papers to be read; the Contents of which, as entered in the *Journals*, were as follow:

A

A LETTER to the Lord WHARTON, sent by Richard An. 12. Car. II.
Osbourne. 1660

My Lord,

June 1, 1648.

June.

‘ **T**HOUGH I cannot but imagine I stand so
‘ highly condemned in your Lordship’s and
‘ many Persons Thoughts, that any thing of Vindi-
‘ cation from me must come with all the Disadvan-
‘ tage and Prejudice that may be: Yet, my Lord,
‘ being conscious of my own Integrity, and confi-
‘ dent that I shall be judged by your Lordships by
‘ no other Rules but those of Justice and Reason. I
‘ cannot doubt but, when I have discovered the
‘ Grounds and Reasons of my Actions, that it will
‘ appear to your Lordships, that what I have done
‘ hath been agreeable to the several Duties I stand
‘ engaged in, as I am supposed to have acted con-
‘ trary before I am heard.

A Letter to the
Lord Wharton
on Rolph’s An-
swer.

‘ Not to detain your Lordship in Circumstances,
‘ I shall make this Protestation, That as no other
‘ Thing but the Danger of the King’s Life could, in
‘ Reason, excuse such an Attempt, so I protest that
‘ no inferior Considerations did or could have moved
‘ to such an Action: But, my Lord, having had such
‘ particular and well-grounded Information that so
‘ horrid a Design was intended and moved, from
‘ those that could, when they pleased, have had the
‘ Power to put it in Execution, I hope I shall not be
‘ censured for having postponed all other Considera-
‘ tions to that Loyalty which cannot be questioned
‘ but I owe to the King.

‘ But not to leave your Lordship unsatisfied with
‘ the general Account: The Intelligence I speak of
‘ concerning this Design I received from Captain
‘ *Rolph*, a Person very intimate with the Governor,
‘ privy to all Councils, and one that is very high
‘ in the Esteem of the Army; he, my Lord, in-
‘ formed me that, to his Knowledge, the Governor
‘ received several Letters from the Army, inti-
‘ mating, they desired the King might, by any
‘ Means, be removed out of the Way, either by
‘ Poison or otherwise: And that another Time the
‘ same Person persuaded me to join with him in a
‘ Design

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Design to remove the King out of that Castle to a Place of more Secrecy, proffering to take an Oath with me, and to do it without the Governor's Privy; who, he said, would not consent for losing the Allowance of the House. His Pretence to this Attempt was, That the King was in too public a Place, from whence he might be rescued; but if he might be conveyed to some Place of Secrecy, he said we might dispose of his Person upon all Occasions as we thought fit: And this he was confident he could effect without the Governor's Privy.

My Lord, considering all these pregnant Circumstances, I think it will appear that there were, if there are not, such Intentions concerning his Majesty's Person, as may well justify my Endeavours that have been made for his Remove from so much Danger; and, for my own Part, my Lord, I must be so plain as to declare concerning my own Actings in relation to this Business, that had I not done this, having such Grounds, I must believe I had then verified all those Aspersions of Disloyalty, and Breach of Trust, which I am contented to suffer from those, whose Interest is, perchance, opposed to my Endeavours to prevent such damnable Designs.

My Lord, I have spoken nothing here but what I shall be ready to testify upon Oath, whenever I shall be called to it, with Promise of Freedom and Security; 'till then I must be contented to support all Censures, and satisfied with the Vindication I receive from my own Conscience. I am

Your Lordship's humble Servant,

RICHARD OSBOURNE.

To the Rt. Hon. the Earl of MANCHESTER,
Speaker of the House of Peers pro Tempore,

Right Honourable,

June 16, 1648.

*To the Lord
Manchester on
the same.*

I Did, by a Letter of the first of June, acquaint my Lord Wharton with what I send here inclosed, expecting it would, before this, have been communicated to both Houses. What should be the Reason of concealing a Business of this Nature

‘ ture I know not, except it be to give those Time An. 12. Car. II.
 ‘ that are concerned in it, better to think of some 1660.
 ‘ Stratagem to evade this Discovery. June.

‘ I humbly desire your Lordship, upon Sight of
 ‘ this Relation, to communicate it to the House of
 ‘ Peers, which I shall be ready to attest upon Oath
 ‘ in every Particular, whenever your Lordship shall
 ‘ please to allow me that Freedom and Security,
 ‘ which ought to be afforded to any Gentleman and
 ‘ Christian in witnessing a Truth. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble Servant,

RICHARD OSBOURNE.

‘ *Abraham Dowcett, of Windsor, in the County of* Mr. Dowcett's
Berks, Esq; aged forty-eight Years, or thereabouts, Evidence against
 sworn and examined before the Lords in Parliament, Rolph.
 assembled the 18th Day of *July*, in the 24th Year
 of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *Charles*,
 and in the Year of our Lord God 1648, informeth
 and sayeth, upon his Oath, as followeth, *viz.*

‘ That the Examinant being placed by the Com-
 ‘ missioners of both Houses of Parliament, to attend
 ‘ upon his Majesty as Clerk of his Majesty's Kitchen,
 ‘ at *Newcastle*, about the End of *January*, 1646, and
 ‘ continued in that Service always afterwards in se-
 ‘ veral Places, to which his Majesty, from Time to
 ‘ Time, removed, until the 28th Day of *May* last past.

He deposeth, and sayeth, ‘ That, about a Fort-
 ‘ night before the said 28th of *May*, *Mr. Richard*
 ‘ *Osbourne*, who attended upon the King as Gentle-
 ‘ man-Usher to his Majesty, at *Carisbrook-Castle*, in
 ‘ the Isle of *Wight*, came unto this Examinant, into
 ‘ his Chamber, in the said Castle, and then and there
 ‘ told him, That the King was weary of his being in
 ‘ the said Castle, and had a great Desire to be gone
 ‘ from thence: To which the Examinant made An-
 ‘ swer, That he could not blame his Majesty for it,
 ‘ being in the Condition he there was; but this
 ‘ Examinant conceived that it would be very

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‘ difficult for his Majesty, and hazardous to his Per-
 ‘ son, to attempt any Escape from thence, or used
 ‘ Words to that Effect: Whereupon the said Mr.
 ‘ *Osbourne*, at that Time, left this Examinant, but
 ‘ repaired to him again about three or four Days af-
 ‘ terwards, in his Chamber, and then and there told
 ‘ this Examinant, That Capt. *Edmund Rolph*, now
 ‘ Major *Rolph*, had a Design on foot for conveying
 ‘ his Majesty’s Person away from *Carisbrook Castle*,
 ‘ to some Place of Secrecy, where but three should go
 ‘ with him, and where they might dispose of his
 ‘ Person as they should think fit.

‘ This Examinant, fearing that the said Mr. *Os-*
 ‘ *bourne* came but to entrap him, made Answer, That
 ‘ if he might see something under his Majesty’s
 ‘ Hand, testifying his Majesty’s Desire that this Ex-
 ‘ aminant should assist the said Mr. *Osbourne* con-
 ‘ cerning his Majesty’s Escape, that then he would
 ‘ be ready to assist him therein: Whereupon the said
 ‘ Mr. *Osbourne* again left the Examinant; and the
 ‘ same Day, after Supper, came to this Examinant’s
 ‘ said Chamber, bringing with him a Note of his
 ‘ Majesty’s Hand-writing to this Effect, *viz.* Dow-
 ‘ cett, *I desire you to assist the Bearer hereof, Os-*
 ‘ *bourne, for my Escape*: Upon Sight whereof this
 ‘ Examinant asked the said Mr. *Osbourne*, If his
 ‘ Majesty should escape, whither he would then go?
 ‘ To which the said Mr. *Osbourne* made Answer,
 ‘ That his Majesty would go to his Parliament:
 ‘ And thereupon this Examinant yielded, and pro-
 ‘ mised to join with the said Mr. *Osbourne*, as was
 ‘ by him propounded, and by his Majesty desired:
 ‘ But this Examinant, not daring to keep the said
 ‘ Note, did presently burn the same. And after-
 ‘ wards this Examinant, upon Conference, from
 ‘ Time to Time, with the said Mr. *Osbourne*, and
 ‘ in pursuance of their said Agreement in that Be-
 ‘ half, dealt with one *Tillius*, one *Wenscall*, and
 ‘ *Lloyd* and also with one *Featherstone*, Soldiers at
 ‘ *Carisbrook*, for Rewards to them given, and pro-
 ‘ mised to be given, that they should be assistant to
 ‘ the said Mr. *Osbourne* and the said Examinant, to-
 ‘ wards

wards his Majesty's intended Escape; which they promised to be, and *Sunday* Night, the 28th of *May* last, was agreed for the Accomplishment thereof.

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The Manner thereof should have been thus: The King was to be furnished with a Cord by the said Mr. *Osbourne*, and with the same his Majesty, by himself alone, was to come down out of his Chamber-Window within the said Castle, in the Dark of the Night, and was then forthwith to walk on to the new Platform in the said Castle; from thence he was to get down by another Cord, which this Examinant had provided, to be delivered to the said *Lloyd*, who was therewith to help the King in his getting down from the said Platform; from which Place his Majesty being once gotten down, he might, without farther Help of Cords, pass well enough to a Place where Mr. *Edward Worsey*, an Inhabitant of the said Island, privy and consenting to the said intended Escape, was to attend with Horses for his Majesty, and that his Majesty, being got on Horseback, should, from that Place, ride about three Miles and an half from the said Castle, to the Sea, where the said Mr. *Osbourne* was to attend with a Boat, ready to receive and carry off his Majesty.

This Examinant further sayeth, That about three Hours before the Time that his Majesty was to escape, it did plainly appear to this Examinant, that the said Plot for his Majesty's Escape was discovered; whereupon this Examinant, without delivering any Cord to the said *Lloyd*, went to Bed in his Chamber in the Castle, and about an Hour and a half after the said Col. *Hammond*, the Governor, and the said Capt. *Rolph*, with others, came into this Examinant's Chamber, where they found him then in his Bed, and the said Governor used then forthwith to this Examinant Words to this Effect, viz. *Oh! Sir, you are in Bed, you are he that should have helped to convey away the King To-night,* with many other Speeches. And this Examinant

was

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‘ was forthwith commanded to rise and make himself ready; which he did, and from thenceforth was confined to his said Chamber, and a Guard of Musketeers set upon him by Command of the said Governor.

‘ This Examinant also sayeth, That, about three Days after, the said *Rolph* came again to his Chamber, and then and there, in a tearing Manner, asked this Examinant, Why the King came not down according to his Appointment? To which this Examinant answered, Because you prevented him. Whereupon the said *Rolph*, with great Indignation and Fury, said, He waited almost three Hours under the new Platform with a good Pistol, ready charged, to receive him if he had come.’

After the Reading of those Letters, Major *Rolph* was asked, What he could say to quit himself of this horrid Offence of conspiring the late King’s Death, at *Carisbrook-Castle*? He denied himself to be guilty of any such Delign as to make away with the King at the said Castle; that he was for that Business tried at *Winchester* Assizes, by Order of both Houses of Parliament, and was there acquitted by the Grand-Jury; and that he had laid hold upon the King’s gracious Offer of Pardon in his Declaration.

‘ The Lords on this ordered, That the Business concerning *Rolph* be recommended to the Judges, to consider and state this Affair, and report it to the House, that their Lordships may see whether there be Ground sufficient to except the said *Rolph* from his Majesty’s gracious Offer of Pardon: In the mean Time, that he be committed to *Newgate*, till the further Pleasure of the House be known.

June 15. This Day the Lords had another Case before them, somewhat of the like Kind as the former, but which concerned a Member of their own House. The Earl of *Pembroke*, from the Committee for Privileges, reported, That it was their Opinion the Lord
Vise.

Visc. *Purbeck* should be secured by Order of the House, for treasonable Words alledged and offered to be proved against him; for that the Earl of *Monmouth*, upon his Honour, averred, That he heard the said Lord *Purbeck* say, ‘That rather than the late King should want one to cut off his Head, he would do it himself.’ The said Earl also delivered in a Paper to the House, containing blasphemous Words. Upon this Information, the Lords ordered the Gentleman Usher, attending the House, forthwith to take the said Lord Viscount *Purbeck* into Custody, and then bring him to the House, to answer an Information of High-Treason, and other high Misdemeanors against him.

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The Lord Visc.
Purbeck accused
for treasonable
Words, &c.

The very next Day the Gentleman-Usher acquainting the House, That he had attached the Lord Visc. *Purbeck*, according to the Order of Yesterday, the House took into Consideration how he should be called in, and the House ordered that he should come into his Place as a Peer, and hear the Information read against him; but the Gentleman-Usher informing the House, That the said Viscount *Purbeck* told him, That he had neither Writ nor Patent to be a Peer; and therefore knew no Place he had here in this House, but was now a Member of the House of Commons; and therefore he would not come: Hereupon this House, conceiving this Answer and Refusal to be a Contempt to this House, ordered, That he should be brought to the Bar as a Delinquent; and accordingly he was brought in, and kneel'd at the Bar as a Delinquent, untill, by Order of the House, he was commanded to stand up; then the Information was read to him, viz.

1. The Information of the Earl of *Monmouth*, who heard the said Viscount *Purbeck* say, ‘That rather than the late King should want one to cut off his Head, he, the said Viscount *Purbeck*, would do it himself.’

2. The Information of the Lord *Petre*, who, at the pretended High Court of Justice upon the late King, did hear the Lord Viscount *Purbeck* say to this

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this Effect, ' That *Bradshaw* was a gallant Man, the Preserver of our Liberties; and that the said Lord Viscount *Purbeck* hoped that *Bradshaw* would do Justice upon the Tyrant, speaking of the late King.

3. An Information that the said Viscount *Purbeck* should say, in the House of Commons, in *Richard's* Convention, standing near the Speaker's Right Hand, ' Mr. Speaker, I wonder that I should be accused of being a Cavalier, or bearing Arms for *Charles Stuart*, which I never did; for I protest I so much hated him, and his Cause, that, because those of the Name of *Villars* did side with him, and assist him, therefore I hated that Name also, and changed it for *Danvers*.

4. The Information of *John Harris*, That, on *Monday, December 17, 1649*, young *Robert Villars*, Son to Viscount *Purbeck*, came in the Afternoon to the Earl of *Monmouth's* House, being then in *Queen-street, London*, and, among other atheistical Speeches, wherein he denied the Immortality of the Soul, and scoffed at Judgment to come, he ask'd the Lady *Philadelphia Wharton* what she fear'd? That she had read of the Three-headed Dog *Cerberus*, and was afraid he would bite her. He also, with blasphemous Words, dared God to maintain his own Quarrel; asking her, supposing she were shut up in a Sheet of Lead, only a little Hole left against her Mouth to breathe at, if that Hole was suddenly soldered up, whither her Soul would go? *Lastly*, He scoffingly said, That God was a good old Man, and troubled himself with little, &c. but he had a Son that was a dapper young Man, that was likely to bestir himself, &c.'

These being read, the Lord Viscount *Purbeck* desired to know whether he might have Liberty to speak, which the House granted, and then he said, He valued the Honour of this House very much, but he hath no Right himself to this Honour of a Peer, because he can find no Patent for any such Honour, in the Petty-Bag Office, nor any Writ: He said further, He petitioned the King to give him Leave to levy a Fine to clear him of any Title to that Ho-

Honour, and his Majesty hath made an Order to the Attorney-General for that Purpose, and the Reasons, he said, to induce him to this, were,

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1. This Honour was but a Shadow without a Substance.

2. His small Estate was unfit to maintain any such Honour.

3. That Noble Family he came of never owned him, neither hath he any Estate from them.

As touching the Information now against him, he said, He is chosen a Member of the House of Commons, to serve there this Parliament, and being so, he did not know whether he should answer or no; but appealed to their Lordships, whether he is to be tried here by their Lordships or no.

Hereupon the House commanded him to withdraw; and the Lords, upon Consideration what the Lord Viscount *Purbeck* had said, the Speaker of their House was directed to tell him, That the Lords were not satisfied with his Plea, but expected he should make further Answer; and he being called in again as before, the Speaker told him the Resolution of the House as aforesaid; and then he desired he might have a Copy of his Charge.

Then the House commanded his Lordship to withdraw again, and their Lordships, advising upon the Answer, ordered, That he should be called in again, and told by the Speaker, That what was now read unto him was but an Information, and no Charge; and the House does not think fit to give him a Copy; but expects he should answer the Information.

Unto which his Lordship replied, That he desired Leave to advise with his Counsel whether he should answer, and he did not know, in regard he is a Member of the House of Commons, whether he might answer. After this he was commanded again to withdraw; and then the House ordered, That the said Viscount *Purbeck* should remain in the Custody of the Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod, until the Pleasure of this House be further signified.

A few Days after the Lords made another Order on this Business, That the several Informations, and like-

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likewise the Paper of Precedents read, concerning the Lord Viscount *Purbeck*, be delivered to the King's Attorney-General, and the King's other learned Counsel, to make a State of this Case to the House, that so their Lordships might give further Directions concerning this Business.

The Lords for several Days after this had nothing remarkable before them fit for our Purpose; Orders to prevent cutting down Woods and other Wastes in the King's Parks, Manors, Chaces, &c. as well as in the Estates of the Nobility; taking off Sequestrations, receiving and reading a great Number of Petitions from private Persons, and others, for Redress of the Grievances they had suffered during the Usurpation, being all their chief Business: We shall leave them therefore, and return to the Commons;

Who this Day, *June 19*, thought it highly proper that the Thanks of the House should be given to the Lord-Admiral, *Edward Montagu*, in the Name of themselves, and of all the Commons of *England*, for his great and eminent Services to his Majesty and the Kingdom. The Admiral standing up in his Place, the Speaker addressed himself to him in these Words:

‘ *My Lord*, If you please to cast your Eyes about you, you may read in our chearful Faces, our thankful Hearts; which do indeed express your Praises, more than ten thousand Tongues can possibly do. God hath done you the Honour to be the Conveyancer of the greatest Blessings that ever this Nation received: You have landed our Sovereign upon the safest Shore that ever *English* King set his Foot on, the Hearts of his People.

‘ The House have therefore ordered this eminent and transcendent Service to be recorded in their *Journal*, there to remain for your Honour as long as the World endures. Indeed, no Measure of Thanks is proportionable to the Measure of your Merit, but the Thanks of this House; and therefore I am commanded, and I do, in the Name of this House, and in the Name of all those whom they represent, the
Com-

Commons of *England*, give you their most hearty Thanks.' An. 12. Car. II.
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A Day or two after this, the Lord-General *Monke* stood up in his Place, and acquainted the House, That the King, by Patent, had called him up to the House of Peers; and gave the House of Commons Thanks for the many several Favours he had received from them.

}
July.

After this the Commons went on for some Days with regulating Elections; perfecting the Bill of general Pardon; raising Money; and putting the Queen Dowager into Possession of her Jointure and Estate, and sending her 20,000 *l.* for her present Occasions, with other Matters; but none remarkable enough for the Course of this History.

July 2. The Business of raising Money for the present Exigencies of the State came first on the Carpet, in the House of Commons, the Beginning of this Month; which our Manuscript Diary tells us was first moved for by Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, in an excellent Speech for that Purpose. This Motion was seconded by Mr. *Stevens* and Mr. *Annesley*, who were for doing of it speedily. But Sir *William Lewis* argued, That it was best to proceed with the Act of Indemnity first, that People might be more ready to pay. Sir *John Northcote* spoke on the same Side, as did also Mr. *Prynne* and Mr. *Knightley*. However, Lord *Falkland*, speaking in Behalf of the first Motion, which was to raise Money speedily to pay the Debts of the Nation; and Mr. *Pierpoint* saying, That the Charge of the Army and Navy, and the Interest, came to 6000 *l.* a Day; that it was inconsistent for an Army and Parliament to subsist together, and that the Trained-Bands were sufficient: To all which, Col. *Birch* adding, That the People's Liberties were not safe with such an Army; that, though he was a Member of it himself, yet he moved it might be paid off; and said, that 260,000 *l.* would disband ten Regiments of Foot; the House agreed to set aside every *Tuesday*, *Thursday*, and *Saturday*, to go upon Means to raise Money for that Purpose.

The

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Debate on the
Bill of Indem-
nity.

The same Day the House went upon the Act of Indemnity; in which a strong Debate and a Division upon it ensued, scarce mentioned in the *Journals*, but which we give from the Authority of our Manuscript Diary. There had been many Provisoës offered to the House, in the Course of this Bill, some of which were taken, and others rejected. But, this Day, a Proviso was put into the House by some unknown Member, to be added to the Bill; which was, to disable all the Persons of the High Court of Justice; all Decimators, Major-Generals, Abjurors, and all those that petitioned against the King. Hereupon a hot Debate began; Mr. *Annesley* moved to have it thrown out, which was seconded by Sir *John Northcot*; Mr. *Goodrick* to throw it out, saying, It was as dangerous as a Hand-Granado in a Barrel of Gunpowder. Sir *Henry Finch* for throwing it out; saying, It did include all Men. Sir *Thomas Clarges* for the same, adding, That it was a most dangerous Thing, and an Indulgence not to inquire who brought it in, for he deserved to be called to the Bar.

On the other Side, there were several Members who spoke for the whole Proviso, and others to mitigate and take Part. Mr. *Prynne* was for the whole, seconded by Mr. *Charlton*, who added, That he who said the Person who brought it in deserved to be called to the Bar, deserved it himself; and moved against those that petitioned against the King, or sat in Parliament in the Years 1647 and 48, and in the High Court of Justice: Also against all those who were the Contrivers of the Instrument of Government, those that were Imposers of Taxes under *Oliver*, Major-Generals, and Decimators; adding, That though he never pressed the Death of any Man, yet, to secure the future Peace of the Nation, he could not be silent. Col. *King* was likewise for receiving the Proviso; saying, It was not Prudence to set up those in Power that now lay under their Feet; nor that any in the House, who were guilty of such Crimes, should plead their own Causes.

The Mitigators were, first, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, who moved to take in the Proviso in Part. Mr. *Trel-
lany*

lany was only against Major-Generals and Decimators. Mr. *Palmer* against all Abjurors, Major-Generals, and High Court of Justice Men. Sir *William D'Oiley* was for referring the Proviso to a Committee. Mr. *Knight* urged, That the Proviso was too large and not to be mended. Sir *Thomas Meeres* to amend it, if possible; but he feared it was impossible. But Serjeant *Hales*, being for rejecting the whole Proviso, argued, That it was contrary to the King's Desire, and even the Act itself, which excepted but twenty Persons for Pains and Penalties; and therefore moved, in order to cement all Differences, to reject it. And Mr. *Young* saying, That though he was not concerned in the Proviso, yet he was against it, because it was against the King's Desire. Mr. *Thomas* concluding, That this ought to be laid aside, and to take another something like it. At last, upon the Question, the Proviso was ordered to be laid aside.

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But this Debate begot another, though a much shorter one; for Col. *White* immediately moved the House, That any Proviso brought in, read, and nobody owning it, might be laid aside. This was seconded by Col. *Shapcot* and Sir *George Booth*. Mr. *Knightley* was for owning of it the first Time of reading it; Mr. *Stevens*, to subscribe their Names; Mr. *Trelany*, to cast it out the first Reading, if none spoke to it; and though Mr. *Charlton* argued, That if the Gentleman that brought in the Proviso be out of the House, and no one speak to it, then to reject it, yet no Order was made on this Motion, says our Diary, nor is any such Thing in the Journals.

July 3. This Day the Commons read a third Time, and passed, a Bill, intituled, *An Act for the Confirmation and future Preservation of the Privileges of Parliament, and of the Fundamental Laws made for Conservation of the Lives and Liberties of the Subject*; and ordered Mr. *Prynne* to carry it up to the Lords.

The Commons had been some Time on a Poll Bill, in which they this Day made some Progress; and a Clause being offered for Insertion in this Bill,
Whe-

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Whether to impose this Tax in Proportion to Titles and Estates, on a Division, it passed by a Majority of 129 to 104, and the Members for the several Counties, Cities, Boroughs, &c. were ordered to bring in Names for being Commissioners to this Bill; but that no Decimators, High Court of Justice Men, Abjurors, &c. should be of the Number.

July 4. A Debate happened in the House of Commons this Day, not at all mentioned in their *Journals*, but which is in our Diary. It seems some Orders of the Lords being read, and one which was to stay all Profits for the ejected Ministers, in the Hands of the Churchwardens, Mr. *Bamfield* stood up and produced several Orders of the Lords likewise against Laymen; wherein, he said, the Lords took upon them to order their Clerk to receive Petitions himself, and grant Orders upon them; which was contrary to their Privilege. He particularly mentioned Mr. *Pitt's* Case, a Member of this House, in which the Lords made an Order to stay him from cutting Wood upon *Ludlow-Castle* Lands, which now belongs to his Lady. Col. *Shapcot* moved for a Committee to consider of this Case, which was seconded by Sir *Anthony Irby* and Mr. *Knightley*; which last Gentleman said, That the Ministers came into their Livings without any Order. Mr. *Annesley* was also for a Committee, saying, That Mr. *Pitt's* Case was a great Breach of Privilege; and their Order to their Clerk the greatest Reflection that could be on their own Honours and Judgments: On which a Committee of Inquiry into this Case was appointed.

The same Day the House of Commons resuming the Affair of the Bill of Indemnity, another Proviso was offered; the Debate on which, tho' but slightly mentioned in the *Journals*, was stronger than any we have yet met with; lasting, as our Manuscript says, above two Hours. Col. *Jones* spoke first, very strongly, to it, in every Particular. This Proviso was to cause all Officers, during the Protectorate, to refund their Salaries. Particularly aimed against
Mr.

Debate continued on the same.

Mr. *Prideaux* for the Post-Office; likewise against the High Court of Justice Men, the Council and Committee of Safety, Commissioners for Excise and Customs, the Trustees for King and Queen's Lands, Dean and Chapter's Commissioners, with all those that were Commissioners of Sequestrations, or concerned in the Prize-Office.

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This Motion was seconded by Mr. *Prynne*, in all its Articles; who said also, That he knew those Persons had received above 250,000*l.* for their iniquitous Doings, and therefore moved that they might be made to refund it. Col. *King* spoke on the same Side very warmly, saying, amongst other Things, It was fit such Spunges should be squeezed.

But this Motion for refunding met with a very warm Repulse, as might be well expected, since there were too many Members of that House concerned in this Inquiry, to suffer such a Proviso to pass. Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, our Manuscript says, was the first who pleaded strongly against it; a Man whose History these Memoirs are full of; and he ended his Arguments by saying, That if he was included in the Proviso, he had much better have been wholly excluded the Act. Sir *Heneage Finch* said, That most of these Complaints were already named in the Act, and particularly Accountants excepted, but not their Heirs, which this Proviso would include. Mr. *Stevens*, That those were not Accountants, but might be included in the Proviso, notwithstanding the Act, if some little Amendments were made in it. Mr. *Charlton* said, The Proviso might be amended, and moved that it might stand. Sir *William D'Oiley* was also for receiving the Proviso, but to refer it to two or three Persons to word it better, and to leave out the Judges. Some other Members, Sir *Thomas Meeres*, Mr. *Palmer*, &c. spoke for the Proviso; but all ineffectual:

For several Members speaking on the other Side of the Question, as Sir *Thomas Clarges*, Mr. *Young*, Serjeant *Littleton*, Mr. *Bodardo*, and Mr. *Briscoe*, who said, Such Rigour would confound Men, whereas Mercy would convert them. To which Mr.

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Goodrick, on the same, argued, That the Refunding would be to some a greater Punishment, than to be one of the twenty excepted Persons; and that all the Soldiers were included: And, lastly, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* closed^d the Debate, with saying, He might freely speak, because he never received any Salary; but he looked upon the Proviso as dangerous to the Peace of the Nation; adding, That it reached General *Monke* and Admiral *Montagu*, after the House had given them Thanks, and Thousands besides. On all which the Question being called and put, Whether the Proviso should stand or be laid aside, the House divided, when the Numbers were, for standing, 151, for the latter, 181. A very large House, and shews of what Importance the Subject in Debate was to many at that Time.

The same Day another Proviso was offered to the Bill; which was to enable Persons to bring Actions for Recovery of Damages against Persons that imprisoned the Members in *December*, 1648; except such Persons as were, the 29th of *May* last, Members of the Army; but, on the Question, this was soon rejected.

The last Proviso offered this Day, was against such as shall not take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; to which Mr. *Turner* added, or shall refuse them. A great Debate followed on this also, many Members speaking for and against this Proviso. The most remarkable on each Side were these: Mr. *Trevor*, in Behalf of the Papists, said 'Twas not fit to make an Oath the Price of a Pardon. Mr. *Bamfield* was for not imposing the Oaths so rigorously; for then, he said, they would force Persons, for saving their Lives and Estates, to damn their Souls. Mr. *Knight* moved to leave out the Oath of Supremacy, and then none would stick at the other. Mr. *Holles* moved to consider more of this Motion, and to be very tender in imposing Oaths; asking, Whether this was intended to destroy all Catholics, which it would infallibly do; that he was as much against Papists as any Man, but thought this Proviso was better laid aside. There were many

many Advocates for the Motion; on which Side An. 12. Car. II. 1660. Sir *William Morrice* speaking, said, There seemed to be something lay hid in the Opposition to it: Which Words Mr. *Holles* took Exception at, because he had spoken against it. On the whole, this Proviso was laid aside, or rather rejected, without calling for the Question; which probably is the Reason that there is no Entry made of it in the *Journals*. July.

July 6. A Bill for the Settlement and Maintenance of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, and for the Suppression of Popery, Superstition, Profaneness, and other Disorders and Innovations, in Worship and Ceremonies, was this Day read a second Time. Several Members spoke to have the Bill committed; others went further, which was to call a National Synod at the same Time; but this was the Presbyterian Religion that was to be established, not one Member speaking for the Episcopal, excepting Mr. *Throgmorton*, who said, He would not be for a Presbyterian Government, because he had taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. He urged, That *Buchanan* and *Knox* had both wrote against Kings, if they govern'd not well, and said, *No Bishop, no King*. But the Conclusion was, That the Bill should be referred to a Grand Committee of the whole House, who were to sit every *Monday* on this special Affair. Debate on Religion;

The same Day another warm Debate happened on a Proviso offered to the Bill of Indemnity, which was, To question any Attorney, or Solicitor, that acted for the Protector, or in any High Court of Justice. This was first spoken to by Mr. *Prynne*, who was for questioning them, and then to leave them to the Law for Recovery of Damages. This Motion was seconded by Sir *Robert Brook*; but after him several Members spoke against this Proviso to have it laid aside; till Mr. *Charlton* moved not to reject it, but to amend it; and particularly moved against one Mr. *Ellis*, who was Solicitor at Dr. *Hewitt's* Trial. Col. *Shapcot* spoke against On the Bill of Indemnity again.

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the Proviso, and in Favour of the Sollicitor, and said, Dr. *Hewitt* did not refer himself in Time to the Court; for Sentence being once given, the Sollicitor told the Doctör the Court could not hear him then: To which Mr. *Raynesford* answered, in Behalf of the Sollicitor, That he never sat in Court but one Day, and never said any such Word as was laid to his Charge. To which Mr. *Grey* added, That he heard Dr. *Hewitt* say, If any Judge or Counsel would say he ought to plead, he would have done it. At last, the Question being put, Whether the Proviso should be laid aside, the Speaker gave it for the Ayes; but Sir *Robert Brook* stood up and said the Noes had it; upon which the House dividing, Sir *Thomas Widdrington* said, There were two Gentlemen gone out. Several Motions, *pro* and *con*, ensued on this, to divide the House notwithstanding; and after that it took up half an Hour's Debate, Whether the Ayes or Noes should go out; but the Speaker saying the Ayes should, although several old Members in the House said the contrary, their Numbers were 138 for the Proviso, and 163 against it; so this also was laid aside.—The House of Commons were very merciful in all their Proceedings relating to the Bill of Indemnity, rejecting several Provisoes the Day after this; and indeed the culpable and inculpable were so intermixed and woven with the Members themselves, that it was hard to distinguish them.—But now return we to the Lords a little.

July 7. That House seems to be making Inquisition for Blood, drawn from some of their own Members, during the late Troubles; for Alderman *Viner* was called before them, and ordered to produce the Warrants for the Execution of the Lord *Capel*, when he was Sheriff of *London*, under the Hands and Seals of the High Court of Justice that condemned him. It appearing to their Committee of Privileges, that the Lord *Capel* was put to Death contrary to the Articles of War, for the Surrender of *Colchester*, without any Authority from any legal Power.

Power. The said Alderman delivered in two other Warrants, under the Hands and Seals of those that sat in the High Court of Justice, for the Execution of the Marquis of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Holland*. On which the Lords made the following Order:

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‘ Ordered, That all such Persons as had appeared before the Committee of Privileges, and have confessed to have set their Hands and Seals to those three Warrants for Execution, shall be sent for to appear before this House as Delinquents.

The Lords heard a Cause this Day, concerning two Officers of their own House, *Humphrey Leigh*, Esq; Serjeant at Arms, attending the Lord-Chancellor, and *Alexander Thayne*, Gentleman-Usher of the Black-Rod, attending the House of Peers; wherein the Serjeant affirmed, That all Warrants of that House ought to be directed to him for apprehending and bringing of Delinquents before the Lords in Parliament, and for carrying them into safe Custody. The Lords, after hearing Precedents, and a serious Debate of this Matter, ordered and declared, That they would reserve the Power to themselves, to employ such Persons as they should think fit for sending for Delinquents, and keeping them in Custody as they should see Cause.—A Place thought well worth struggling for, at that Time, by the two Opponents above.

On an Information given to the House, That *Elizabeth Cromwell*, Widow, and *Richard Cromwell*, Esq; &c. had many Deeds, Evidences, and Writings in their Custody, belonging to the Lord Marquis of *Worcester*, an Order was made for their Resumption. But we only mention this to shew how those Stars were fallen; who, not a Twelvemonth before, shone the brightest in the *English* Hemisphere.

July 9. The Commons went on with their Bill of Indemnity, and the Bill for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings; the latter of which this Day passed that House, after a Debate of two Hours; though the Di-

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ary does not give us the Particulars of it. The other Bill was now also drawing near a Conclusion; and, after all, the Mercy of the Commons was shewn in it much greater than their Power, for there were only the following Persons, that were the late King's Judges, and who did not surrender themselves according to the Proclamation, excepted for Life and Estate in the Bill, *viz. Valentine Wauton, Edward Whalley, Sir Michael Livesay, John Hughson, William Goffe, Miles Corbet, William Cawley, Nicholas Love, John Dixwell, and Daniel Blagrove.*

In the Afternoon of this Day the Grand Committee for Religion sat according to Order; the Debate on which, no where mentioned but in our Diary, we shall give at large; observing, That now was the Contest whether the Presbyterian Church-Government, or the Church of *England* formerly established, should reign. A tender Point to treat of at that Time; and the Reader may find, that, in the Course of this Day's Debate, the Name of Bishop was scarce ever mentioned by any of the Speakers in it.

Debate on Religion resumed.

Sir *Trevor Williams* first opened the Debate, by moving for the established Religion, according to the Thirty-nine Articles; which he said was not only according to the Old and New Testament, but was as much as all that own Christianity profess. Several Members after him spoke for and against this Motion; as, Mr. *Gower*, Dr. *Clayton*, Col. *King*, Mr. *Broderick*, Mr. *Stevens*, and Mr. *Throgmorton*; who said, All Protestant Churches did profess according to the Scripture, and mov'd that the Thirty-nine Articles should be inserted in the Bill. Lord *Richardson* and Sir *John Northcot*, for the same; Serjeant *Hales* said he was for the Thirty-nine Articles; but thought it not fitting to join them with the Old and New Testament, in the same Paragraph, but in some other. Mr. *Broderick* again for the Articles; saying, He had often conversed with those of several Churches abroad, and that all professed their Religions were according to the Scriptures; and moved for a National Synod.

Lord

Lord Falkland spoke on the same Side, and said, It was not fit to debate the whole Bill in that House, but to leave the Doctrinal Part to a Synod. And Mr. Peckham was not for altering our Religion without proper Judges of it, as by a Synod; and urged a Case in a Trial in *Westminster-Hall*, where the Judges sent for a Falconer about a Hawk; saying, *Quilibet in Arte sua*; and therefore moved for a Synod in this Case, lest, going further, they should be like little Boys, who, learning to swim, go out of their Reach and are drowned.

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Sir Heneage Finch, our Diary says, spoke most excellently concerning this Subject, and said, That not one Letter of the Bill made good the Title of it; that the Religion of our Church was not to seek, but we have enjoyed it long; and therefore should not now be inquiring for it.

However, he moved this should be referred to an Assembly of Divines, for which they ought to petition the King; for he knew no Law for altering the Government of the Church by Bishops. And, lastly, as for Liberty for tender Consciences, he said no Man knew what it was.

Mr. Prynne spoke very honestly and passionately, says the Diary, in this Debate for the Paragraph in the Bill; and concluded with saying, The Determination of the Synod must be confirmed by the King and Parliament. To whom Sir Heneage Finch again said, That the Original of the Paragraph was from *Cromwell*, and he did hope they would not cant after him; but that, if the Faith grounded upon Scripture, and the Discipline according to the Laws, were put in the Paragraph, he then would give his Consent to it.

Several more Members spoke, *pro* and *con*, in this Debate, till at last it was moved to adjourn it to another Time, which was opposed by others; and the Committee sat an Hour in the Dark, before Candles were suffered to be brought in, and then they were twice blown out; but the third Time they were preserved, though with great Disorder; till at last, adds our Authority, about Ten at Night it was voted,

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voted, That the King should be desired to convene a select Number of Divines to treat concerning that Affair, and the Committee not to sit again till the 23d of *October* next.

The Poll Bill
debated.

July 10. The next Day the House of Commons resumed the Affair of the Poll Bill, on which our Manuscript gives us the Substance of another great Debate, and in which Religion, or Conscience, were again concerned. An Amendment was offered to the Bill, That all those Recusants that shall refuse to take the Oath of Supremacy shall pay double. To which Mr. *Holles* moved, that not only Catholics, but other Recusants also, as Fanatics. This Motion was opposed by Mr. *Annesley*, Mr. *Knightley*, Mr. *Bacon*, and some others, who were for laying it on Papists only; but Mr. *Holles's* Motion being followed by Mr. *Chase*, Sir *Roger Bradshaw*, Sir *Walter Erle*, and Mr. *Knight*, who said it was the best Way to know the King's Friends from his Enemies; and Sir *John Northcot*, also on the same Side, saying, It was best to lay it on both Papists and Fanatics together; for he did think he could prove, That one of those Persons, who sat upon the King's Death, was a Papist in Orders, having made some Progress in that Discovery already. The Clause was taken and ordered to be Part of the Bill; and all from eighteen Years were to take the Oaths, or pay double.

The Bill of Indemnity pass'd the House of Commons.

July 11. This Day the long-expected Bill of Indemnity passed the House of Commons; it was intitled, *An Act of free and general Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion*; and was ordered to be sent up to the Lords by Mr. *Annesley* and Sir *William Lewis*.

There had been another Bill of great Consequence brought into that House, and read once, called, *A Bill of Sales*. This was to consider the Cases of those who had been Purchasers of the King's, Queen's, and Church's Lands, during the late Times of Plunder and Devastation. And this Day the said Bill coming to be read a second Time,

a Debate arose, of which our Diary gives us this An. 12. Car. II.
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Abstract :

It was opened by Col. *Jones*, who moved the House against those who had bought the King's Lands and Woods, as also of Deans and Chapters; to examine what Money the Purchasers had paid, July.
Debate on the
Bill of Sales.
bona Fide, for them; but to consider the Soldiers under General *Monke* at the same Time. A Petition from the Purchasers of *St. James's*, and *St. Martin's* in the Fields, being offered to the House by Sir *Anthony Irby*, Col. *Shapcot* opposed the Reading of it there; but moved for a Committee to receive Petitions. Mr. *Palmer* spoke very high and excellently, says our Authority, against the whole Bill; and moved that the King's Lands, as well as those of others, should be restored to them implicitly. Sir *Thomas Wroth* seconded this last Motion, and said, That, as to his own Case, whatever he had bought he did freely give back again, though he had paid eighteen Years Purchase for them. Sir *Heneage Finch* and Mr. *Knightley* spoke to have the Bill committed. Mr. *Prynne*, very warmly, That no Compensation should be made to those who had bought the King's Lands; that it was against their Oaths to suffer it, except to those who were antient Tenants, who had bought the same in order to preserve themselves and Titles; and, in that Case, to petition the King: Also to consider those who had purchased Land in and about *Westminster*, which then was worth nought; but, having now built fair Houses upon them, the Rents amount to a considerable Value, and will be so for the future. Mr. *Goodrick* spoke also for the old Tenants that were forced to buy or be turned out, and to commit the Bill. Mr. *Barton* and Mr. *Gewen* for a Commitment also; but the former was not for confirming any Sale to those who sat after 1648, or High Court of Justice Men: The latter urged, That it was the King's Interest to have the Bill committed. Whether it was that this last Assertion stirr'd up the Zeal of another Member, one Mr. *Calmady*, or from some other Cause, but he moved to have the Bill cast out;

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or else, if they would commit it, to commit it to the Necessary-House above. Which Motion, as it might properly enough be called, Mr. *Annesley* rebuked, as unbecoming such an Assembly.

The Debate still continuing, Mr. *Stevens* argued against the Bill, saying, That they ought not to encourage Evil-doers; but, instead of confirming Estates, to punish the Purchasers: He moved also for an Act of Resumption, wherein they were to be left to the King's Mercy; but was for committing the Bill. After him Col. *West* spoke for the Bill; but to allow the Purchasers very indifferent Terms. Mr. *Knight* against it; saying, He could not in Conscience consent to it, as he should answer at the Day of Judgment. Sir *Anthony Cope* would have all Persons in the House to imitate Sir *Thomas Wroth*, and restore their purchased Lands; which, he said, would be a good Example to others without. Mr. *Lowther* against the Bill; saying, The old Proverb was, *That he that eats the King's Goose should be choaked with the Feathers*; and that he was against the Bill by reason of his Oath. Sir *Thomas Meeres* desired the House not to have a greater Care of the King than they had of the Church; and said, The Purchasers had already paid themselves; and moved for Resumption and a Grand Committee. Mr. *Thomas* against much of the Bill; and added Decimators and High Court of Justice Men to be excepted out of it; but to commit the Bill. Several more Members, as, Col. *King*, Sir *Richard Temple*, and Mr. *Street*, were also for committing of it; the last to have all Major-Generals and Rumpers excepted out of the Bill: Not one Member speaking directly in Defence of it, except Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, who might be a Person deeply interested in its Consequences.

The Debate drawing near a Conclusion, Lord *Falkland* moved the House in Behalf of the Queen, and to refer her Case to a Committee. This was seconded by Mr. *Montagu* and the Lord *Bruce*. Sir *George Ryves* spoke also in Behalf of the Queen, and against the Purchasers; and said, It was not fit
the

the *French*, who all this while durst not demand the Queen's Jointure, should now be suffered to do it; but that they should prevent them, and give her it themselves. Upon the whole it was ordered, That all the King's and Queen's Lands, Rents and Profits, be left out of the Bill; and to be referred to a Grand Committee of the whole House, which was to sit the next Day in the Afternoon, upon the Cases of the several Purchasers concerned in this Bill. Our Diary mentions the next Sitting; and that, after another long Debate, the Question was carried, That Petitions should be read before the Body of the Bill was; but mentions no more Particulars about it at this Time.

The Commons had now no very material Business before them for some Time: On the 14th Instant the Poll Bill was passed, and sent up to the Lords by Sir *Heneage Finch*. There had been several Motions made, *pro* and *con*, on this Bill, Whether the *Irish* and *Scots* Peers should pay, upon their Honours, equal with the *English*: But it was voted to pass as it was.

Another Bill, For granting the King Tonnage and Poundage, had been before them some Time; and the several old Rates, on which this Tax had been formerly raised, carefully examined. Several false Returns for Elections regulated. A Breach of Privilege from the House of Lords complained of, in the Case of Alderman *Tichborne*, who had been committed by the Commons, and after sent for to the Lords, and committed by them; and when he was demanded back by the Serjeant, the Usher of the Black Rod refused to deliver him. On Sir *Johr Northcot's* saying, That the Privileges of the House were too much invaded by the Lords, it was ordered that he be sent for again by the Serjeant of that House. Lastly, another Order was made to take off the Guards of Soldiers, who had for some Years attended the House, and that the Lord-General be desired to withdraw them accordingly.

But

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But now return we back to the Proceedings of the other House. On the 11th Instant the Lords received from the Commons two Bills, *viz.* For a general Pardon, Oblivion, and Indemnity, and For Confirmation of all judicial Proceedings. On the former the Lords made an Order, That the daily Proceedings of the Trial of the late King, by the High Court of Justice, in what Court soever inrolled, should be brought into that House. And the Lords being informed, the same Day, that those Proceedings were inrolled in every Court, the House made another Order for the Officers of the King's Bench, That, after Sight thereof, they do speedily send a Copy of those Proceedings to the Clerk of that House. The next Day the Bill of Indemnity was read a first Time by the Lords.

A Letter from *Ireland*, concerning the Behaviour of Col. *Axtell*, at the Execution of the late King, was this Day read in the House of Lords, *in hæc Verba*:

May it please your Lordships,

Letter from *Ireland*, concerning Col. *Axtell*.

I Have thought it fit to communicate unto your Lordships, in order to a due Execution of Justice, in a Matter concerning Col. *Axtell*; who would (as I humbly conceive) have been brought under a more severe Condemnation, than what the News out of *England* report, had his Deportment been as well known unto others as unto me, concerning his late Majesty, when he was brought before the pretended High Court of Justice; for I (then having the Honour to attend his Majesty, as being one of his menial Servants) heard the said Col. *Axtell* advise and earnestly incite the Soldiers then in *Westminster-Hall*, in a barbarous Manner, to cry out for Justice (as he termed it) against his said Majesty. And on the Day when that pretended Court pronounced Sentence against his then Majesty, I heard him then say to his Soldiers, Cry out for Execution; which they did accordingly.

What

What I have now written I am ready to aver upon Oath, whensoever I shall be brought to testify against him; which I should have sooner made known unto your Lordships, had I not been kept in this Place by my bodily Infirmities, and had I not been persuaded that the same had been more publickly taken Notice of than now it seems to be. Having nothing at present to occasion or justify the longer Continuance of these Lines, I shall take Leave to conclude, myself,

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Right Honourable,

Kilkenny, } Your Lordships most humble Servant,
June 30, 1660. }
J. H. O. V. A. R.

An Order was made to secure the Person of the said Daniel Axtell, and to bring him to the Bar of that House.

July 13. This Day the Lord-Chancellor inform'd the House, That his Majesty had conferred the Honour and Title of Duke of *Albemarle* on the Lord-General *Monke*; whereupon the House ordered, That he should be introduced between the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Marquis of *Winchester*, the Lord Great-Chamberlain, without Robes, Garter King at Arms going before him. Being thus brought in, he delivered his Patent, on his Knees, to the Lord-Chancellor, who delivering the same to the Clerk of Parliament, it was publickly read; after which Garter King at Arms delivered back the Patent to the Lord-General *Monke*; who, by this Grant from his Majesty, was created *Baro de Potheridge, Beauchamp et Teys, Comes Torrington, et Dux Albemariae*. The Ceremony aforesaid being ended, the Duke was placed, by Garter, between the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Marquis of *Winchester*. The Lords ordered also, That the Lord Great-Chamberlain and the Lord *Berkley* should wait upon his Majesty to give him Thanks, from that House, for the Honour he had been pleased to confer

General *Monke*
created Duke of
Albemarle.

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Lord *Purbeck's*
Case continued.

July 16. The Case of the Lord Viscount *Purbeck*, mentioned before in the Transactions of this House, came to be considered of; when the Attorney-General, on an Order made for that Purpose, deliver'd in to the House the following Paper:

'The Attorney-General reports, in pursuance of the Order of your Lordships, dated the 26th Day of *June*, 1660, whereby we are required to state the Case of the Lord Viscount *Purbeck*, concerning Precedents of the Surrender of Dignities to the Crown: We find that the said Viscount *Purbeck* hath petitioned his Majesty to accept of a Surrender of the Honour of Baron of *Stoke* and Viscount *Purbeck*, and of the pretended Title to him in Remainder of the Honour of Baron *Whaddon* of *Whaddon*, Viscount *Villars*, and Earl of *Buckingham*; which his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept of, and referred it to one of us, and his Attorney-General, to take Care that a Fine or some other Conveyance be made thereof.

'And we find the Precedents for surrendering of Honours to the King to be as followeth:

1. '*Roger Bigot*, the last Earl of *Norfolk*, and Marshal of *England* of that Family, resigned his Office, Honour, and Estate unto King *Edward I.* conditionally, to be restored to him if he had Issue.

2. '*William Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke*, 19. *Edward IV.* resigned that Earldom.

3. '*Charles Brandon*, Viscount *Lisle*, surrender'd that Honour to *Henry VIII.*

4. '*Roger Stafford*, Esq; 15. *Car.* levied a Fine to the King of the Honour, State, Degree, Dignity, and Name of the Barony of *Stafford*; which the King accepted of.

5. '*Sir Edward Tyrrell*, Bart. 14. *Car.* levied a Fine unto the King, of the State, Degree, Title, and Name of a Baronet; which the King accepted of.

Besides

‘ Besides we are informed there are many more An. 12. Car. II.
Precedents of the like Nature. 1660.

‘ And the said Viscount *Purbeck* hath produced unto us the Opinion of the several learned Counsel, that he may legally surrender his said pretended Dignities to his Majesty; and we are also of the same Opinion, that he may legally do it with his Majesty’s Consent, without the Consent of any other Person whatsoever.

July.

JOHN GLANVIL.
JEFFREY PALMER.
HENEAGE FINCH.

‘ We find also these Informations to be in these Words: Informed by the Earl of *Monmouth*, ‘ That rather than the late King should want one to cut off his Head, the Lord Viscount *Purbeck* would do it himself.’

‘ The Earl of *Oxford*: ‘ That the Lord Viscount *Purbeck* said he had rather wash his Hands in the King’s Blood, than in the Blood of any Dog in *England*.’

‘ That, at the pretended High Court of Justice, the Lord *Purbeck* said to this Effect: ‘ That *Bradshaw* was a gallant Man, the Preserver of our Liberties; and that he, the Lord *Purbeck*, hoped that *Bradshaw* would do Justice upon that Tyrant, speaking of the King.’

‘ Mr. *Danvers*, in *Richard’s* Convention, the 12th of *February*, 1658, spoke thus, standing near the Speaker’s Right Hand:

‘ Mr. *Speaker*, I wonder that I should be accused of being a Cavalier, or bearing Arms for *Charles Stuart*, which I never did; for I protest I so much hated him and his Cause, that, because those of the Name of *Villars* did all side with him and assist him, therefore I hated that Name also, and changed it for *Danvers*.’

Monday, Dec. 17, 1649. Memorandum. ‘ That, the Day and Year above-written, young *Robert Villars*, Son to Viscount *Purbeck*, came in the Afternoon to the Earl of *Monmouth’s* House, being then

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‘ then in *Queen-street, London*; and, amongst many
‘ other atheistical Speeches, wherein he denied the
‘ Immortality of the Soul, &c. as given at p. 362;
but is too profane for Repetition.

‘ This is the Information of *John Harris*: All
which Words, Matters, and Things the said Vis-
count *Purbeck* utterly denies.

JOHN GLANVIL.
JEFFREY PALMER.
HENEAGE FINCH.’

Before the Lords had begun to debate the Act of Indemnity, in which the Commons had made such a Work, in relation to the Sale of the King’s and Queen’s Lands, &c. their Lordships thought fit, this Day, to make the following Orders, which, for Brevity’s Sake, we put in one:

‘ Ordered, by the Lords in Parliament assembled, That the King’s and Queen’s Majesties should be, and was thereby, restored to the Possession of all his and her Honours, Jointure, Manors, Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments, notwithstanding any Sales, Alienations, or Dispositions made by any pretended Authorities whatsoever.

July 17. The Act of Indemnity was read a second Time in the House of Lords, and ordered to be referred to a Committee of the whole House, to be proceeded in on the 20th, the first Business; and that no new private Business, or Petitions, shall be brought into this House untill the public Business, now depending, shall be dispatched, except such Business as shall concern the public Bills, to be promoted by any private Persons, by Way of Proviso, or otherwise.

The Lords also made a general Order, in relation to the Earl of *Derby*, whose Father’s Murderers, at a Court-Martial, were all in Custody, That his and several other Lords Lands which have been sold, without their Consent, shall be repossessed by them without any Molestation.

July

July 20. This was the Day appointed for the Lords to take into Consideration the Bill of Indemnity; and, accordingly, the same was begun by a Committee of the whole House; but before we give the Result of those Consultations, it will be necessary to look into the Proceedings of the Commons, in order to carry on a better Connection between the two Houses.

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We have already given, from our Manuscript Diary, the Substance of a Debate on Religion, by a Committee of the Commons appointed for that Purpose. The same Authority gives us another, which happened on the 16th Instant, in the Afternoon; wherein the Reader will find a nearer and closer Combat between *Martin* the Bishop and *Jack Presbyter*, as *Dr. Swift* humorously stiles our first Reformers, than in what has before been recited.

Sir *John Northcot* began the Debate, by speaking very highly against Deans and Chapters; but spared the Bishops, saying, The former did nothing *but eat and drink and rise up to play*, or something worse: Upon which Mr. _____ stood up and reproved him; but he was justified by Sir *Walter Erle*. Mr. *Prynne* spoke next, and said, He could not be for Bishops, unless they would derive their Power from the King, and not vaunt themselves to be *Jure Divino*. Mr. *Walpole* was for putting the Question, Which was the Protestant Faith, according to the Scriptures and the Government of the Church, and according to Law. Mr. *Knightley* was for the Clergy, in general, saying, The Faults of private Persons ought not to make the Function criminal. Sir *Thomas Widdrington* said, The Question, as it was, was not for a Committee, or even a Parliament; but moved to make two Questions of it. Mr. *Grove*, on the same Side also, said, The Question was complicated, and desired that the first Part of the Question might be put; adding, That the King was then consulting with Divines about the Discipline of the Church. To which *Dr. Clayton* said, That Discipline was as necessary with Doctrine, as

A long Debate
on Religion.

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Life in a natural Body. Mr. *Stevens* said, The first Part of the Question they should all agree in; but, for the second, not to anticipate the King, who was, at that Time, consulting about it. Several Members, as Lord *Falkland*, Mr. *Thomas*, Sir *Thomas Meeres*, Sir *John Masham*, Mr. *Winfield*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Broderick*, and Mr. *Howard*, argued for the whole Question; which last Gentleman, particularly, said, That as Monarchy had been so long interrupted by Rebellion and Faction, so had Episcopacy by Schism and Heresy; and that no one that spoke against Episcopacy offered any Thing better.

Other Members were for dividing the Question; as, Sir *Thomas Widdrington* and Sir *John Northcot* again, who said, He was for Bishops, but not their Appendants. Mr. *Young* was for dividing, and not to mix the Doctrine and Discipline together; yet, he said, he was for Episcopacy, though he did not think it an Article of Faith: And urged the King's Declaration for tender Consciences formerly, and his present Endeavours for settling of Peace amongst all People. Sir *John Temple* argued for a Division of the Question, saying, The former Discipline was the Occasion of their former Troubles; and moved for a Synod. Col. *King* said, That no Man could tell what the Discipline according to Law was; and therefore moved to divide the Question. Mr. *Throgmorton* spoke highly for Bishops, saying, That, except *Scotland*, there was scarce any Reformed Church but what had Bishops. Mr. *Bunckley* said, He thought a moderate Episcopacy might take in the Good of both Parties; and urged the King's present Inclinations and Endeavours for it: That Episcopacy, in its Extent, was more boundless than Monarchy; adding, That some of the Bishops gloried in putting down all Lectures in a Country, and it was a Fault to preach twice a Day; but concluded, That Government by Episcopacy, if circumscribed, was to be wished; and moved to divide the Question. Some other Members, as Mr. *Swinfen*, Mr. *Gott,*

Gott, and Mr. Prynne, spoke on the same Side; but An. 12. Car. II. no further Remarks were made on them. 1660.

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On the other Hand, the Debate still continuing, some Members more argued for putting the whole Question, as Sir *Heneage Finch*, who said, The first Part was not to be put singly, after one hundred and forty Years Practice. Mr. *Thurland* and Mr. *Knight* were for the same. Sir *John Talbot* said, Those that formerly desired to hasten the Settlement of Religion, now strove to obstruct the Question. Sir *Heneage Finch*, again, to put the Question, Whether the main Question should be put or not.

Various Opinions now started in this Debate: Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* said, He could not give his Vote for the Question, untill he knew whether it was against the Covenant. This was seconded by Colonel *Shapcot*, who argued, That many Things in the Liturgy might be amended; and hoped that Men would not be imposing on other's Consciences: That he was not against Bishops, but their Power; and moved to divide the Question. Sir *Thomas Wharton* said, He was in his Judgment Episcopal; but moved the Question might not be put at present, because the King was in Consultation about it. Mr. *Bunckley*, again, was now for laying the whole Question aside; because, he said, If it was put and carried, all Ministers made since 1648 would be abolished. Sir *John Northcot* again moved in Behalf of the Ministry, and said, Many of those who were ordained by Presbyters, were active in bringing in the King. Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* said, Our Religion was too much mix'd with Interest; neither was it ripe enough now to handle that Subject; and moved that this Debate be now laid aside, and the whole Committee adjourned for three Months. This last Motion was followed by Sir *John Evelyn*, Sir *Anthony Irby*, Mr. *Broderick*, Sir *Edmund Jennings*, Sir *Trevor Williams*, Mr. *Cbase*, Mr. *Boscawen*, Mr. *Holles*, and Sir *Heneage Finch*; and, after seven Hours Debate, about Ten at Night, it was at last agreed to refer the Matter to the King, and to such Divines as he should please to chuse;

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and to adjourn this Committee to the 23d of October next: Which Resolution of the Committee being reported by their Chairman, Mr. *Charlton*, to the whole House, it was confirmed by a general Vote thereof.

The same Day, *July* 20, the Lords, according to Order, adjourned themselves into a Committee, to consider of the Bill of Indemnity; and, after some Time, the House was resumed, but no Report made of their Proceedings therein as yet.

At the same Time the Lords received a quickening Message from the Commons, to hasten the Dispatch of that Bill; and another for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings: Alledging these two Reasons for it, That, unless the latter Bill be passed, there can be no Assizes kept; though they are appointed; and, unless the former be the same, the Animosities of the People will be increased, and thereby the Peace of the Kingdom greatly disturbed.

On the Receipt of this Message the Lords went again into a Committee on the Bill of Indemnity; and the House being resumed; the Lord *Roberts* reported the Opinion of the Committee was, That all those Persons who gave Sentence of Death upon the late King, or signed the Warrant for his Murder, shall be excepted out of the Bill of Indemnity: And, that to know who those Persons are, the original Evidences shall be desired from the House of Commons for their Lordships Information: Which Opinion the House confirmed, and ordered a Message to be sent accordingly.

In the Debate, this Day, on the Bill before-mentioned, we meet with a Speech in our Collection, said, in the Title Page, to be made by the Earl of *Bristol*, on the Occasion, which we here insert without any Comment. ^a

My Lords,

The Earl of *Bristol's* Speech on the Bill of Indemnity.

BEING to speak unto your Lordships somewhat more extendedly than what is my Use, and upon a Subject wherein there may be, perhaps, not only

^a London, printed in the Year 1660.

only Difference, but even Fervour of Opinions, I find myself obliged, by somewhat that happened to me here the other Day, to beg a Favour of your Lordships, that, if I should chance to err in Forms and Orders of the House, or that there should slip from me, unawares, any Expression that may be dissonant to the Ears of those who understand better than I the Force and Propriety of Words, you will not be severe unto me; but be pleased to consider, That I have been sixteen Years out of my Country, and in a Profession far different from what I am now a-doing: In Confidence of this Indulgence I shall proceed.

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‘ My Lords, You have here before you, in this Bill of Indemnity, the most important Business that, perhaps, the House of Peers hath at any Time had in Deliberation; it is that upon which the Honour or eternal Reproach of the Nation abroad, and its Happiness or Confusion at home, seems (next under God’s inscrutable Providence) most principally to depend: For, on the one Side, how abhorred a Nation must we be to all others, if the Infamy of our Sovereign’s Murder should not be thoroughly washed away, by Justice, in the Blood of the Guilty? And, on the other, what Happiness or Quiet can we hope for at home; nay, what new Combustions ought we not to apprehend, if the Criminal and the Mised, (between whom the Eye of the Law can make little Distinction) making up so numerous a Part of the Nation, their Fears, which might urge them to new Crimes, should not be secured, by the firmest Assurances of Impunity? Punishing and Securing are, certainly, the two principal Ends of this Bill; and wherein, as certainly, every one of your Lordships doth concur; but whether the Means of attaining those Ends have been sufficiently lighted upon by the House of Commons, in this Bill, That, I suppose, is the present Question; and wherein I think myself in Duty obliged to express unto your Lordships, with Freedom and Sincerity, my Judgment, in all humble Submission unto yours.

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‘ As for that Part of the Bill which relates to our Sovereign’s Murder, I find it so short, and so much out of the Way of what we owe, both to the Severity and Solemnity of that Revenge, that I cannot but think it, in some Sort, (pardon the Expression) a Profanation of the due Rights of that sacred Expiation, to handle it in the same Bill, promiscuously, with other more vulgar Things.

‘ My Motion therefore shall be, That there be forthwith a Committee appointed, to consider of all Things fit to be done, for the washing away of that Stain from the Nation, and from the Age wherein we live ; and to draw up an Act purposely and solely for that End. In Confidence that this Motion will either be embraced by your Lordships, or that, if it be opposed, I shall have the Liberty to fortify it by my Reasons; I shall set that Business apart, and apply my Discourse to what concerns this Bill, in all other Relations ; in which I shall not make nice to tell your Lordships, that I think it defective in many Things reasonable, and redundant in some Things unreasonable ; and yet, notwithstanding, not only my humble Motion, but my most earnest Pressure, as far as with Humility I may, shall be, That we may proceed immediately to the passing of this Bill, with little or no Alteration.

‘ This, my Lords, may appear a surprizing Motion from a Person thought to be, as indeed I am, as much inflamed as any Man living with Indignation at the detestable Proceedings of the late usurped Power, so pernicious to the Public, and so injurious to my own Particular ; in whom the Motion may seem yet more surprizing, when I shall have told you, with Truth, that I am irreparably ruined in my Fortune for my Loyalty, if this Bill of Indemnity, to others for their Disloyalty, should pass as it is here offered unto your Lordships : But the Ground I go upon is this received Maxim, as to all public Sanctions, Better a Mischief than an Inconvenience ; yea, Better innumerable Mischiefs to particular Persons and Families, than one heavy Inconvenience to the Public.

‘ My

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‘ My Lords, I profess unto you I find myself set on Fire, when I think that the Blood of so many virtuous and meritorious Peers, and Persons, and others of all Ranks, so cruelly and impiously shed, should cry so loud for Vengeance, and not find it from us.

‘ That many of the wickedest and meanest of the People should remain, as it were, rewarded for their Treasons, rich and triumphant in the Spoils of the most eminent in Virtue and Loyalty, of all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom.

‘ What generous Spirit can make Reflection on these Things, and not find his Heart burn into Rage within him?

‘ Here it is, my Lords, that we Sufferers have Need of all our Philosophy.

‘ But when I consider that these are Mischiefs only to the Sufferers, and that, to insist upon a Remedy, might perhaps expose the Public to an irreparable Inconvenience, I thank God I find, in an Instant, all my Resentments calmed and submitted to my primary Duty.

‘ My Lords, We have here in our View a Kingdom tossed, and rolling still with the Effects of past Tempests; and though, God be thanked, the Storm be miraculously ceased, we cannot say that the Danger is, untill we get into still Water: That still, that smooth Water is only to be found in the Generality’s Security from their guilty Fears, and in the two Houses’ Union between themselves, and with their Sovereign.

Whether the latter may not be endangered, if we should enter into Controversy upon the Particulars of this Bill, I leave unto your Lordships to judge.

But, certainly, as to the former, there can be no Hopes of raising Monies, or disbanding Armies, or of settling that Happiness and Tranquility which we all sigh for, of being governed under our gracious Sovereign by the antient and known Laws of the Land, whilst universal Fears shall subsist by the Delay in passing this Bill.

‘ My Lords, I shall sum up unto your Lordships my whole Drift in a few Words.

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‘ I think that, in this Bill, there are many Things wanting, which solid and important Reasons would require to be added, and many Things inserted into it, which Justice to his Majesty’s Interest, and to particular Persons, would require to be omitted, or rectified: But, I conceive, at the same Time, that the Mischiefs of the Delay in passing it, do far outweigh all the Advantages of improving it.

‘ My Lords, I shall conclude my Discourse, and your Lordships Trouble, with the Application, to this Purpose, of a memorable Saying of that illustrious Minister, the Cardinal *Mazarine*, at a Council in the Wars of *France*, whereunto I had the Honour to be called. It was, That in the great Affairs of the World, he had not known any Thing do more Hurt than these two Words, *Faisons Mieux*, let us do better: For, said he, whilst good Wits endeavour, by Debates, to bring good Councils to a greater Perfection, they do, for the most Part, lose the Opportunity of timing Things rightly; which, in great Actions, is of far more Importance than the Preference, according to refined Reason, betwixt Good and Better.

‘ Upon this Ground, my Conclusion is, That that Part which concerns the King’s Death, being put in the Way proposed, we should proceed to the speedy passing of this Bill, without losing any Time in Emendations; but, if we be destined to so fatal a Loss, by raveling into Particulars, I shall, in that Case, desire Leave to offer unto your Lordships therein my Reflections also.’

July 21. The Commons sent up Mr. *Holles* to the Lords, with the Instrument for proclaiming the High Court of Justice for judging the late King, together with a Journal of their Proceedings; but that the House of Commons desire that, when their Lordships have made Use of them, they may be returned to them again, having Occasion for them. That as to the Warrant for Execution, it was sent to Col. *Hacker*, who is now a Prisoner in the *Tower*.

The same Day the Lords read and passed the
Poll

Poll Bill, intituled, *An Act for the speedy Provision* An. 12. Car. II.
of Money, for disbanding and paying off the Forces 1660.
of this Kingdom, both by Sea and Land; with this
 Alteration, to leave out the Clause for Recufants
 being double taxed.

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July 23. The Lords made an Order, That the Lieutenant of the *Tower* should examine Colonel *Hacker*, touching the original Warrant for Execution of the late King, who soon after came down to the House, and acquainted their Lordships, That he had examined the Colonel, and that he confessed he had the Warrant at his House in the Country, and that he believes it agrees with what was printed. But his Wife and Family being in Town, he could not get it, without sending her down to fetch it. Hereupon the Lords ordered, That the Wife should go into the Country to fetch the Warrant, and that the Gentleman-Usher of that House should send a Man with her for that Purpose.

The Lieutenant of the *Tower* also acquainted the Lords, That he had asked Col. *Hacker* if he knew the Person that executed the late King, and he told him he heard it was a Major, but did not know his Name; but he would endeavour to find it out.

The Lords ordered Lists to be made out from the Journal that came from the House of Commons, of all those Persons concerned in the Murder of the late King, which were read as follows:

The Names of those Persons who sat when the pretended Court of Justice gave Sentence of Death upon the late King.

John Bradshawe, Serjeant
 at Law, President.

John Lisle.

William Say.

Oliver Cromwell.

Henry Ireton.

Sir Hardress Waller.

Valentine Wauton.

Thomas Harrison.

Edward Whalley.

Thomas Pride.

Isaac Ewer.

Gilbert Millington.

Sir Will. Constable, Bart.

Edmund Ludlowe.

Thomas Lord Grey of
Grooby.

Sir John Danvers.

Sir Thomas Maleverer.

Sir John Burchier, Knt.

William

A List of the
 late King's
 Judges,

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*William Heveningham.**Isaac Penington.**Henry Marten.**William Purefoy.**John Barkstead.**John Blakiston.**Gregory Clement.**Thomas Wogan.**Sir Gregory Norton.**Edmund Harvey.**Sir Michael Livesay.**Robert Tichborne.**Owen Rowe.**Thomas Challoner.**Robert Lilburne.**Adrian Scrope.**Richard Deane.**John Okey.**John Hewson.**William Goff.**Cornelius Holland.**John Carew.**John Jones.**Miles Corbet.**Francis Allen.**Peregrine Pelham.**Joseph Moore.**John Allured.**Henry Smyth.**Humphry Edwards.**John Venn.**Thomas Scott.**Thomas Andrews.**William Cawley.**Anthony Stapley.**John Downes.**Thomas Horton.**Thomas Hammond.**Nicholas Love.**Vincent Potter.**Augustin Garland.**John Dixwell.**George Fleetwood.**Symon Mayne.**James Temple.**Peter Temple.**Daniel Blagrave.**Thomas Wayte.*

The Names of those who signed the Warrant for
the Execution of the late King.

And of those
that sign'd the
bloody Warrant.

*John Bradshawe.**Thomas Grey.**Oliver Cromwell.**Edward Whalley.**John Dixwell.**Valentine Wauton.**Symon Mayne.**Thomas Horton.**Michael Livesay.**Peter Temple.**John Harrison.**John Hewson.**Henry Smyth.**Peregrine Pelham.**Richard Deane.**Robert Tichborne.**John Okey.**John Danvers.**John Burchier.**Henry Ireton.**Thomas Maleverer.**John Blakiston.**William Goff.**John Jones.**J. Hammond.**Richard Ingoldsby.**Hardress Waller.**Gilbert Millington.**George Fleetwood.**John Allured.**Robert*

Robert Lilburne.
 William Say.
 Anthony Stapley.
 Humphry Edwards.
 Daniel Blagrove.
 Owen Rowe.
 William Purefoy.
 Adrian Scrope.
 James Temple.
 Augustin Garland.
 Edmund Ludlowe.
 Henry Marten.
 Vincent Potter.
 William Constable.
 John Penne.

William Cawley.
 John Barkstead.
 Gregory Norton.
 Thomas Challoner.
 Thomas Wogan.
 John Venn.
 Gregory Clement.
 John Downes.
 Thomas Wayte.
 Thomas Scott.
 John Carew.
 Miles Corbet.
 Isaac Ewer.
 J. Hutchinson.

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After the reading of these Lists, the Lords made an Order, That all those in the before said Lists should be absolutely excepted out of the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion; and that all their Persons should be forthwith secured.

July 24. In the further Proceedings of the Lords this Day, on the Bill of Indemnity, the Lord *Roberts* reported it as the Sense of the Committee, That the House of Commons should be desired to give Leave that Mr. *Rushworth*, a Member of their House^b, may attend them, to give their Lordships an Account of somewhat relating to the King's Death; which being agreed to, and Mr. *Rushworth* appearing before the Lords, the Speaker asked him, What he knew of the Meeting of twelve Persons at the *Bear* at the *Bridge-Foot*, concerning the Contrivance of the King's Death? He answered, That this was the first Time he had ever heard of it. After which he was ordered to withdraw, and the Speaker was directed to ask him this Question, What he knows of a Meeting at the *Bear* at the *Bridge-Foot* at *Windsor*, or any other Place? Mr. *Rushworth* being called in again, and the last Question put to him, he answered, That Scout-Master *Watson* told him, That

^b *Rushworth* was chosen a Member in this Convention for the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*. See the List.

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That some Officers of the Army at *Windsor* did speak about trying of the King, and they were of Opinion, that if the Army did desire it of the Parliament, they would not deny it: That Mr. *Watson* did name to him Col. *Dean* and Col. *Ireton*; but further he knows not. Upon which their Lordships dismissed Mr. *Rushworth* from any further Attendance concerning that Business.

The Commons had been busy for some Time in carrying on an Act for a Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Sums of Money payable to the King, upon Merchandize imported and exported. In debating on which, each particular Article in Trade was nominated, by a Book of Rates, in which the Reader may see, in their *Journals*, what Branches of Merchandize were then dealt in, and what Customs they then paid. The Lords read this Bill, when it was sent up, three Times in one Day, passed, and returned it along with another Bill, for continuing the Excise a Month longer, to the Commons. They then made an Order, That no private Business should intervene, untill the Bill of Indemnity, and other public Affairs, should be dispatched.

After this the Lords went on, *de Die in Diem*, with the Bill aforesaid, without any other material Business interfering, except the Introduction of Admiral *Montagu* into their House. On his taking Leave of the Commons, the Speaker was ordered to give him the Thanks of that House, for his many eminent Services to his Country; which he did in these Words:

The Thanks of
the House of
Commons given
to Admiral *Montagu*.

‘ *My Lord*, Full Hearts have no Need of the Help of a Tongue. You see, upon the least Joy, they break out in Thanks for your many eminent Services, which is our Happiness and the Crown of your Merits. This House is like a Ship, and you like a Steersman: As you have one Eye on your Compass, so you have your other Eye upon God, who will steer all your Courses aright. You have acted in this lower Sphere these many Years; now his Majesty is pleased to draw you up into an higher Orb, and that, on your Part, deservedly. We rejoice

joyce much at your Preferment to that Honour, and bid you heartily farewell. An. 12. Car. II.
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‘ I am commanded to give you the most hearty Thanks of this House, for your many eminent Services, and I do it accordingly.’

July.

After which the Admiral went out, many Members of the House following him; and when he came to the Lords, he was introduced there between the Earl of *Northampton* and the Earl of *Litchfield*, with the other usual Ceremonies. His Patent, bearing Date *July 12, 1660*, creating him Baron of *St. Neots*, Viscount *Hinchenbrook*, and Earl of *Sandwich*.

July 27. The Marquis of *Ormond* was also introduced into the House of Lords, by the Stile and Title of Baron of *Lanthony*, and Earl of *Brecknock*.

The same Day the House of Commons sent up a Message to the Lords by Mr. *Prynne*, to put their Lordships in Mind of some Business of great Concernment that then lay undispatch'd before them, viz. the Bill for fundamental Liberties; the Bill for continuing all Judicial Proceedings; the Bill for a general Pardon and Indemnity; and the Proclamation for putting the Laws in Execution against Priests and Jesuits. On the same Day, and on the same Occasion, partly, the King came down to the House of Lords, and made the following Speech to them :

My Lords,

WHEN I came first hither to you, which was within two or three Days after I came to Whitehall, I did, with as much Earnestness as I could, both by myself and the Chancellor, recommend to you and the House of Commons, the speedy Dispatch of the Act of Indemnity, as a necessary Foundation of that Security we all pray for. I did since, by a particular Message to the House of Commons, again press them to hasten that important Work; and did likewise, by a Proclamation, publish to all the Kingdom, That I did

The King's
Speech to the
House of Lords.

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did with Impatience expect, that that Act should be presented to me for my Assent, as the most reasonable and solid Foundation of that Peace, Happiness, and Security, I hope and pray for, to myself and all my Dominions. I will not deny it to you, I thought the House of Commons too long about that Work, and therefore, now it is come up to you, I would not have you guilty of the same Delay. I thank God, I have the same Intentions and Resolutions now I am here with you, which I had at Breda; and I believe that I owe my being here to God's Blessing upon the Intentions and Resolutions I then expressed to have. I will read to you what I then said.

And to the End that the Fear of Punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is passed, to a Perseverance in Guilt for the future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country, in the Restoration both of King, Peers, and People, to their just, antient, and fundamental Rights, we do, by these Presents, declare, That we do grant a free and general Pardon, which we are ready, upon Demand, to pass under our Great Seal of *England*, to all our Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, who, within forty Days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our Grace and Favour, and shall, by any public Act, declare their doing so: And that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects, excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament. Those only excepted, let all our loving Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King, solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever committed against us or our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question, against any of them, to the least Endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lays in our Power) so much as to the Prejudice of their Reputations, by any Reproach, or Term of Distinction from the rest of our best Subjects. We desiring and ordaining, that henceforward all Notes of Discord, Separation, and Difference of
Par-

Parties be utterly abolished among all our Subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themselves under our Protection, for the Re- settlement of our just Rights and theirs, in a free Parliament; by which, upon the Word of a King, we will be advised.

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My Lords, if you do not join with me in extinguishing this Fear, which keeps the Hearts of Men awake, and apprehensive of Safety and Security, you keep me from performing my Promise, which if I had not made, I am persuaded neither I nor you had been now here. I pray let us not deceive those who brought, or permitted, us to come together. I knew well there were some Men who could neither forgive themselves, or be forgiven by us; and I thank you for your Justice towards those, the immediate Murderers of my Father: And I will deal truly with you, I never thought of excepting any other. I pray think well upon what I have offered, and the Benefit you and I have received from that Offer, and encourage and oblige all other Persons, by not excluding them from the Benefit of this Act. This Mercy and Indulgence is the best Way to bring them to a true Repentance, and to make them more severe to themselves, when they find we are not so to them. It will make them good Subjects to me, and good Friends and Neighbours to you; and then we have all our Ends, and you shall find this the securest Expedient to prevent future Mischief. Therefore I do earnestly desire and conjure you to depart from all particular Animosities and Revenge, or Memory of past Provocations, and that you will pass this Act, without other Exceptions, than of those who were immediately guilty of that Murder of my Father.

My Lords, I have told you my Opinion, and I hope you will be of the same. If any Persons appear of such dangerous and obstinate Principles, that the Peace of the Kingdom cannot be preserved whilst they have Liberty in it, some other Course may be taken, that they shall not be able to do Hurt; and I assure you, there is nothing can enable them to do so much Harm, as the deferring the passing this Act.

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I hope I need say nothing of Ireland, and that they alone shall not be without the Benefit of my Mercy. They have shewed much Affection to me abroad, and you will have a Care of my Honour, and of what I have promised to them. I do again conjure you, that you will use all Expedition in the Dispatch of this Bill.

After the King was departed, the Lords made an Order for a Call of their House, to be on the 3d of August following.

The King comes again to the House of Lords to pass some Bills.

July 28. This Day, when the Lords had thrown themselves into a Committee on the Bill of Indemnity, and were again resumed, the King came again to that House, in order to pass some Bills that then lay ready for the Royal Assent. The Commons being sent for as usual, and come up, their Speaker presented his Majesty with two Bills; one, For a Grant of Tonnage and Poundage; the other, For a Continuance of Excise. After which he made a short Speech to the King, to this Effect:

Abstract of the Speaker of the House of Commons Speech to him on the Occasion.

‘That it never was the Custom of Parliaments to charge the People with Payments, untill their Liberties and Grievances were first confirmed and redressed; yet, out of the greatest Trust and Confidence that ever Subjects had in a Prince, the House of Commons did now go out of their old Way, and had now supplied his Majesty’s Necessities with the greatest Gift that ever Prince of this Kingdom had ever given him by his People.’

The Bills were then read by the Clerk of Parliament, and passed the Royal Assent with these Bills following:

An Act for the present nominating of Commissioners of Sewers.

An Act for restoring unto James Marquis of Ormond, all his Honours, Manors, Lands, and Tenements in Ireland, which he was in Possession of the 23d of October, 1641, and at any Time since.

July 30. The Lords continuing to go into a Committee every Day, on the Bill of Indemnity, it was

was ordered, That the Lord-Chamberlain should go and acquaint his Majesty with the great Sums of Money in Arrears in the Court of Wards, which are mentioned in the Act of Indemnity; and to know his Majesty's Pleasure therein. The next Day the said Lord brought back from the King the following Answer in Writing:

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CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty is very well informed of the Value of these Concessions, which are to pass in the Act of Indemnity, which relate intirely to his Majesty's Profit, and which have little or no Relation to the War: He knows well that the Arrears of the Wars, the Licences of Alienation, and Alienations without Licence, Purveyance, Respite of Homage, the Arrears of Rent still in the Hands of the Tenants, and the other Particulars, amount to a great and vast Sum; all which are released and discharged by this Act. But his Majesty is so well satisfied of the good Affection of his House of Commons, and of their Intentions and Resolutions to settle such a Revenue upon his Majesty as may preserve the Crown from Want, and from being undervalued by his Neighbours; that he is resolved not to insist upon any Particulars which the House of Commons desired his Majesty should release: And therefore, as his Majesty thanks the House of Peers for the Information they have given him, and for the Care they have expressed of his Majesty's Profit, so he is well contented that that Clause shall pass in such Manner as the House of Commons hath set down: And continues his earnest Desire, that all Expedition be used in passing the said Act in the Manner he hath formerly expressed.

The King's Answer to a Message from the Lords.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, this 30th Day of July, in the twelfth Year of our Reign.

By his Majesty's Command,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

This Answer the Lords thought proper to communicate to the Commons at a Conference; who

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The Commons
return their
Thanks to the
King for it.

were so pleased with it, that they immediately appointed a large Committee to sit and consider of settling such a Revenue on his Majesty; as should maintain the Splendour and Grandeur of his Kingly Office, and preserve the Crown from Want, and from being undervalued by his Neighbours. They ordered also the Members of the House, who were of his Privy Council, to wait upon his Majesty, and give him their humble and hearty Thanks for his gracious Message, and to acquaint him in what Way the House had put the settling a Revenue on his Majesty: And at the same Time ordered, That this Message from the King should be entered in their *Journals*, as a Memorial of his Majesty's Grace and Goodness.

The Lieutenant of the *Tower* brought in the original Warrant for the Execution of the late King, which he had received of Col. *Hacker*, and presented it to the Lords.

August 1. The Lords continued to scrutinize very closely into the principal Actors of the late King's Death; and this Day Col. *Tomlinson*, who commanded the Guard at *St. James's*, and conducted the King to *Whitehall*, was examined; but by the Evidence of Mr. *Seymour*, a Member of the other House, who said that the late King told him, That the Colonel did carry himself civilly towards his Majesty in all Respects: Therefore their Lordships, because it did not appear that the said Col. *Tomlinson* signed the bloody Warrant, on the Question, acquitted him, and ordered him to be left out of the List of excepted Names in the Act of Indemnity.

The Lord *Roberts* reported, from the Committee on the said Act, That it was their Opinion that Col. *Francis Hacker*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, Col. *John Lambert*, and Col. *Daniel Axtell*, should be wholly exempted out of the Bill of Indemnity. Then was read the rest of the Clause, wherein the aforesaid Persons were named in the Bill; and the Question being put, Whether
this

this Clause should be left out of the Bill, it was carried in the Affirmative; the Earl of *Lincoln* only dissenting, by subscribing his Name, *T. Lincoln.*

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August 2. The Lords reported this Day, from the Committee on the Bill of Indemnity, that their further Opinion was, That if any of the Persons following, viz. *William Lentball, Esq; William Burton, Oliver St. John, Col. William Sydenham, Col. John Desborough, John Blackwell of Mortclack, Christopher Packe, Alderman, Richard Keeble, Charles Fleetwood, John Pyne, Richard Deane, Major Richard Creed, Philip Nye, Clerk, John Goodwin, Clerk, Col. Ralph Corbet, and John Ireton, Alderman,* shall hereafter accept, or exercise, any Office, Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military, or any other public Employment, within this Kingdom, Dominion of *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, or in *Ireland*, that then such Person or Persons that do so accept or execute as aforesaid, shall, to all Intents and Purposes in Law, stand as if he or they had been totally excepted by Name in this House. All which the Lords agreed to accordingly.

Further Proceedings of the Lords on the Bill of Indemnity.

Thomas Lister, Esq; and Sir Gilbert Pickering, put into the Bill by the Commons, were voted to be left out by the Lords. They also ordered that four Persons, viz. *John Blackwell, Col. Croxton, William Wyberd, and Edmund Waring,* who sat upon the Trial at a pretended Court of the late Earl of *Derby*, the Earls of *Holland and Cambridge*, and the Lord *Capel*, should be totally exempted out of the said Bill, and left to the Law; their Persons also to be forthwith secured.

August 9. This Day, and every Day, the Lords pushed on this Affair; when the Lord *Roberts* reported from their Committee, That it was their Opinion all those who sat in any High Court of Justice shall be made incapable of bearing any Office, Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military, within this Kingdom, &c. And that all such Persons shall be liable to such further Penalties as by any future Act of Par-

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liament may be inflicted upon them, not extending to Life; which the House confirmed.

Notwithstanding the Diligence the Lords used to finish this Business, yet the King and the House of Commons thought them very slow in the Matter. The King had, in his last Speech, recommended Expedition to them very strongly; and this Day the Commons sent up a Message to the Lords to desire a Conference with them on Matters of Importance: Which being granted, and the Lords returned, the Lord-Chancellor made the following Report of it, *viz.*

‘ That the House of Commons desired earnestly the keeping of a good Correspondency between the two Houses, and to acquaint their Lordships, That they had sent up several Bills to charge the People of this Kingdom with Payments, contrary to former Precedents of Parliaments before Acts of Grace; for, as yet, there had been no such Act of Grace and Pardon to satisfy their Representatives: And as we had a King, exceeding his Predecessors in Goodness and Grace towards his People, so, the House of Commons say, they have exceeded in their Duty and Proceedings beyond all former Parliaments: That they had brought up divers Bills of great and public Concernment to the King and the whole Kingdom; as, the Bill of Indemnity, the Bill of Judicial Proceedings, one for Confirmation of *Magna Charta*; and the Subjects cannot go on in chearfully paying their Taxes, untill the passing these Bills, especially that of Indemnity, which the Houses have been so pressed for; first, by his Majesty’s Letter from *Breda*, and his Speech and Message, to give Expedition to.

‘ And the House of Commons further say, That they have such great and urgent Occasions for present Monies, that they must be forced to desire a Loan of 100,000*l.* of the City of *London*, wherein they desire their Lordships Concurrence; but they had little Hopes to obtain it, in regard of their Fears, by the not passing the aforesaid Bill: That they had that Day received a Message from the King

con-

The Commons
urge them again
to finish it.

concerning providing of Money speedily, for the Army and the Navy, who are in great Necessity for Money; there being twenty-four Ships lately come into Harbour for Want of Provisions, which cannot be got without Money; also, for Want of passing the Bill of Judicial Proceedings, the Judges cannot go their Circuits, whereby the Subjects suffer in their Properties, Estates, and Lives; therefore the House of Commons desired their Lordships to give all possible Expedition to the aforesaid Bills.

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After the Hearing of this long and strong Remonstrance from the Commons, the Lords went into a Committee on the Pardon Bill; and, being resumed, the Lord *Roberts* reported from them, That the Opinion of the Committee was, That, for the more speedy Dispatch of this Bill, no further Addition or Exception shall be made to it, unless in the Business of *Ireland*; which Opinion was confirmed by the House.

The Committee for the Bill for Judicial Proceedings were also ordered to meet that Afternoon.

August 10. The Lords concluded the tedious Affair of the Bill of Indemnity, with divers Amendments and Alterations; and ordered it to be sent down to the Commons for their Concurrence; as were, a very few Days after, the Bills for Poll Money and for Confirmation of all Judicial Proceedings.

The Lords pass the Bill, with many Amendments, &c.

Before we go on with any more Business in the House of Lords, it is necessary to look back a little into the Proceedings of the Commons, after they had sent up the Bill of Indemnity.

And, first, we find in our Diary, That, on the 27th *ult.* when the Commons had prepared the Money Bill, and it only waited for the Royal Assent, a Motion was made, by Mr. *Annesley*, for carrying it up; on which Sir *John Northcot* said, That his Duty to his King, and his Love for his Country, made a Conflict within him; and desired the Bill for Money might not be carried up before the Act of Indemnity was passed: To which Mr. *Pierpoint*

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Debate in the
House of Com-
mons, whether
the Money Bill
should precede
the Act of
Grace.

answered, That, notwithstanding the Lords Delay, yet they ought not to stop the Money Bill; considering the great Occasion the State had for Money; and moved, rather to desire the King to quicken the Lords. Mr. *Stevens* seconded the last Motion. Sir *George Downing*, on the same Side, said, That it was not proper to distrust the King, but to pass the Bill for Money, without making Conditions with him; and leave it to his Majesty to hasten on the Bill of Indemnity. Col. *King* and Col. *Jones* spoke for sending up the Money Bill, and to trust the King. Mr. Secretary *Morrice* said, That they were afraid of their own Fears; for Fear did take Things as they might happen: That they should have Charity; and Charity with Reverence to Princes; that, after having the King home without Conditions, they should not then distrust him: Adding, That Confidence was the greatest Obligation; that he had Commands from the King to speed the Bill of Indemnity; but that they should shew their Duty, and trust their King. Sir *Henry Hungerford* said, He could not be jealous of his Majesty, but the Lords gave great Cause for Jealousy, in retarding the Bill so long; and desired the King might be moved to quicken them. Mr. *Holles* next said, If he thought the stopping the Bill of Indemnity, at present, was meant to injure the Subject, he would not open his Mouth for the Money Bill; but, as he was assured the King would do, and had done, all he could to hasten the Bill of Indemnity, if, after this, it stop only at the House of Lords, the Commons had acquitted themselves. Mr. *Prynne* moved against the Delay of the Lords in other Bills, as well as the last; especially in that against Priests and Jesuits: And, after all, it was voted, That the Bill for Money should pass; and the King be desired to appoint a Time when the House should wait upon him with this and other Bills for the Royal Assent. At the same Time the Members of the Privy Council and others, who were appointed to carry up this Message, were also to represent to his Majesty, That although Acts of Grace ever preceded Acts for Money, yet the House

of Commons had such Confidence and Assurance in his Majesty's Grace and Goodness, that they do present the Bill for Money first, and shall wait his Majesty's Pleasure for speeding the Act of Grace.

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This Message was carried to the King by Mr. *Holles*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir *William Morrice*, Sir *William Lewis*, and Mr. *Pierepoint*; and, at their Return, Mr. *Holles* reported the King's Answer to the Message, which was in these Words:

A Message to the King, from them, and his Answer.

That, if he knew his own Heart, he took this Kindness of the House so kindly, that he knew not how to be revenged of them for it; and, for the Confidence they had in him, he only desired this, that they would retain it untill he deceived them: And then he appointed the next Day at Eleven o'Clock. What was then done, at the King's coming to the House of Lords, is already given from their Journals.

On the 30th ult. Col. *Birch* brought in a Bill in-
to the House of Commons, to enable Sir *George Booth* to sell some Lands for the Payment of his Debts, and provide Fortunes for his younger Children. Upon which Sir *Ralph Knight* moved to throw out the Bill; because he thought it was not fit so worthy a Person as Sir *George*, who had done such Service, should be forced to sell his Lands to pay those Debts which he had contracted for the Good of the Nation. Sir *John Northcot* moved for to give him 10,000*l.* and save his Lands. On which Sir *George* himself stood up, and desired the House to pass the Bill speedily; which, he said, was the greatest Testimony of his Country's Affection to him that he did desire. Mr. *Palmer* was for the House to think of some Recompence for him: And was seconded by Col. *Birch*, who said, That Sir *George Booth's* Engagement was the Beginning of their present Happiness. Sir *Ralph Ashton*, Sir *Trevor Williams*, Mr. *Knightley*, and Sir *Thomas Wharton*, spoke for the Gift of 10,000*l.* and to lay the Bill aside. Sir *George Booth* rose up again and begg'd the House to lay the Question for 10,000*l.* aside, and to speed

Sir *George Booth's* Affair debated.

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speed the Bill. But several other Members, as Sir *Dudley North*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *William D'Oiley*, and Mr. *Trevor*, speaking on the same Side; and the last-named Gentleman moving for the Gift and to read the Bill also, it was voted, That he should have the 10,000 *l.* as a Gift, and the Bill was read a second Time, with the Addition of Five *per Cent.* Interest, till the whole Sum charged on the Excise was paid.

The same Day a Bill for settling and restoring Ministers in their Ecclesiastical Livings and Promotions, was read a second Time; and on which a notable Debate ensued, for which we are solely indebted, as well as for the former, to our Manuscript Diary.

The Ministers
Bill debated.

Serjant *Littleton* moved against this Bill, because, he said, it was to continue all scandalous Ministers out, and not remove all scandalous ones that were in. Sir *William Wheeler* was for committing the Bill, and to refer the Consideration of their Characters to the Justices of the Peace in their respective Counties. Mr. *Palmer* was for stopping all extravagant Preaching. On which Sir *Thomas Clarges* moved against one *Bond*, a Preacher, that writ a Book to justify the King's Murder, and produced the Book. Mr. *Prynne*, to send for *Bond*; which was ordered. Several Members, after this, spoke for committing the Bill; as, Sir *Anthony Irby*, Mr. *Gewen*, Mr. *Crouch*, and Sir *George Ryves*, who was for committing it, provided there was Care taken against factious Ministers. Mr. *Thurland* moved, that all those who were to be continued, should read the Thirty-nine Articles. Sir *Thomas Meeres* seconded this last Motion; and spoke against the Triers at *Whitehall*, who put in Persons of anabaptistical Principles into good Livings; saying, They would put in any Body into mean Livings; but none but those of their own Humour into a great one. Mr. *Raynesford* moved, That they should also take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Mr. *Swinsfen* spoke for the Bill; and that those who have now two Livings may have but one; the present Possessor to enjoy till

till *Michaelmas*; and not to impose all the Articles upon them; but only such as concern Doctrine and not Discipline; saying, It was too grating to the Conscience. He moved also to bring the Bill in again by a Committee speedily. Sir *Heneage Finch* said, The Bill was not brought in according to the Votes of the Committee; and moved against all such Ministers as will not conform to the Laws of the Land; saying, They could not punish the Papists with any Justice, if they did not punish their own Ministers for refusing to be regulated according to Law. He added, That there was not a Line in the Bill which provided against the Scandalous, who were then Incumbents; but that there was one against the Ejected, and against those also who had two Benefices. Lastly, He moved against all those Ministers who were presented against the Consent of the Patron, and were allowed to have Grace but no Allegiance: Not to confirm any such; nor abate one of the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Oaths, to those that should stay in, but to leave them to their several Patrons to be prosecuted according to Law. Mr. *Prynne* was for all Ministers to take the Oaths; but their Presentations to be good throughout, though not by the right Patrons, in Times of Trouble. Sir *John Masham* was for setting aside the whole Bill, or bringing in another; saying, That it was needless, or unjust, to confirm those Persons in their Livings against the Patrons; and, having voted the King all his Lands and Appurtenances, this Confirmation would contradict that Act. Mr. *Allen* was not for taking Care of the Patron if he neglected to present within six Months; but, if he did, he said it was fitting there should be Care taken to name very choice Men, in the respective Counties, to examine the Matter, what Sort of Men they presented. Sir *John Bowyer* said, There was before the House what was fit and what was just to be done; that he was for the just; and moved for the Oaths and the Thirty nine Articles to be taken and subscribed by all Priests; but moved, more especially, against those who were instrumental against the King. Mr. *Trevor* spoke

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spoke next, for mixing Prudence with Justice, and restoring all those who were truly deserving to their Benefices: But yet to consider those who are in, that were as deserving too. He moved also against Patrons, *pro hac vice*, and said, There was no Provision in the Bill against those who are scandalous, and were then in. Mr. *Charlton* spoke against the referring the Bill to a Committee, but to refer it to the Law; so as to let every Man then in Possession continue so, if he can prove the right Owner scandalous; but, if he do not, then to be liable to Arrears. He hoped the House would not be more cruel than *Harry VIII.* who allowed his turn'd-out Priests Maintenance for their Lives; and therefore moved for all Arrears of Fifths only to be restored; but that no one Man that was a Trier, and had a Living then given him, should enjoy it. Mr. *Hungerford* was for Prudence and Moderation, and committing the Bill. Mr. *Thomas*, not for any to have the Benefit of their Livings that would not conform to the Law; nor that Justices or Commissioners should be any Judges of this Business, but refer all to the Law. Mr. *Stevens*, to restore the Orthodox, and against the Scandalous; saying, He knew one that said, The Devil take the Flock so he had the Fleece; and was for having six orthodox Divines to join with the Commissioners. Mr. *Barton* was for having all to take the Oaths and read the Articles; but none to stay in that would not conform to the Law; also to have some Divines joined to the Commissioners. Sir *John Temple* spoke for committing the Bill; Sir *Richard Temple* for referring it to a Grand Committee; Col. *Jones*, for the present Possessors to stay till *Michaelmas*, and then to divide the Profits; Col. *Birch*, not to impose the subscribing the Articles, but to commit the Bill without it. Mr. *Chafe* argued for their taking the Oaths and subscribing the Articles, and the Patrons not to lose their Presentations, notwithstanding they did not present in Time.

This long Debate still continuing, may prove too tedious for the Reader, we shall therefore only give the Names of the rest of the Speakers in it; for, in general,

general, they spoke nothing more than what had been urged by others. Their Names were, Mr. Knight, Sir Henry North, Mr. Bramston, Col. King, Mr. Broderick, Sir Walter Erle, Mr. Bunckley, Mr. Bamfield, Mr. Knightley, and Sir William Lewis. The two last Members moved to take Care of Patrons against scandalous Ministers; to commit the Bill; to let the Discipline alone to the Consideration of the King and Divines, for it was impossible to come at the old Government, *per Saltum*, but by Degrees.

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On the whole, the Bill was voted to be committed to a very large Committee at first; but afterwards, on the Question, it was carried for all that came to have Voices.

On the 31st of July a Bill For settling a suitable Revenue on the King, for abolishing the Court of Wards, stated at 100,000 *l.* a-year, was debated in the House of Commons. Sir John Holland spoke against it, saying, That the County of Norfolk, for which he served, was assessed at a higher Rate than Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Northamptonshire, and Derbyshire. Several Motions were made to raise it by a Pound-Rate; others, to lay it on the Excise of Beer and Ale. Mr. Thomas moved, That those who were eased by such a Bill should pay it; or at least none to be taxed to it but such as have 100 *l.* a-year. But this was referred to another Day.

In the Afternoon of this Day the Committee on the Ministers Bill sat for the first Time, when divers Motions were made, says our Authority, against those who were instrumental in the King's Death: And the Question being put, That all those who were ignorant and insufficient for the Work of the Ministry, or that have been any way instrumental in the King's Death, should not enjoy any Benefice, the Ayes had it *nemine contradicente*. Which was all the Business they did at this Meeting.

The next Day came on in the House, the Affair of Money furnished to the Plenipotentiaries, by Order

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der of the late Council of State: When, after a long Debate, Whether the Act should be allowed, because they were employed by the said Council, the House divided, and the Ayes that went out lost it by three. The *Journal* tells us, the Numbers were 91 to 88, and that Sir *Solomon Swale* and Sir *John Temple* were Tellers for the Yeas, and Sir *John Bowyer*, Teller for the Noes.

The same Day a Bill was brought in, For empowering Commissioners to inquire after Goods and Estates which have been embezzled, to the defrauding of the Public: And the Question being put, That this Bill be read a second Time, a long and warm Debate ensued; which we give from our Manuscript Diary as follows:

Debate on the
Bill for Inquiry
after embezzled
Goods or Estates.

Sir *Heneage Finch* moved to throw it out, as contradictory to the Act of Indemnity. Serjeant *Maynard* went further, and said, It included the Star-Chamber, Exchequer Court, Court of Wards, Haberdashers-Hall, all together. On the same Side spoke Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Col. *Shapcot*, and Serjeant *Littleton*. Sir *John Masham* was also against the Bill; but said, Some other Way should be found to call Accountants to Question. Mr. *Stevens* spoke against it too, but was willing to question Accountants by Way of the Exchequer.

On the other Side, Mr. *Prynne*, Sir *John Bowyer*, Sir *Richard Temple*, Mr. *Knight*, Col. *King*, and Sir *Thomas Meeres*, spoke for the Bill. Mr. *Annesley* was against it; but was not for speaking too severely against the Bill, nor for discouraging the Pains of those that drew it; but moved that some Course should be taken to question Accountants, as referring them to the Exchequer, and to draw a short Bill for that Purpose. Sir *Anthony Irby*, Mr. *Allen*, Mr. *Shaw*, Col. *Jones*, Mr. *Goodrick*, Mr. *Knightley*, and Mr. *Trevor*, spoke, *pro* and *con*, either to mend the Bill or to make a new one; till at last, on the Question, Whether to read the Bill a second Time, it was carried in the Negative, 131 against 113: And, on another Motion of Mr. *Annesley*, To draw a new Bill, after a long Debate, it

was

was carried, and referred to a Committee named for An. 12. Car. II. that Purpose. 1660.

The Committee on the Ministers Bill sat in the Afternoon of this Day; when, according to our Diary, another long Debate ensued, and the Question put, Whether such Ministers as, by Preaching, Printing, Writing, or constant Refusal to baptize, have declared their Judgments against Infant-Baptism, shall be incapable to hold any Living, the Committee divided, and the Numbers were, on both Sides, 82; when Col. King, the Chairman, gave it for the Yeas.

August.

The next Day, Aug. 2; the Bill For appointing an Anniversary for the perpetual Observation of the 29th of May (being the Day on which the King entered into London, and his Birth-Day) to be kept as a Day of Thanksgiving for ever, was read a second Time, and committed.

One Sir Robert Byron petitioned the House for 400*l.* promised by the Long Parliament to any one who should bring the Head of *Arthur Roe*, an Irish Rebel, which this Sir Robert did. This was read, but laid aside.

Next, the Amendments in the Poll Bill, sent down by the Lords, were read; and one of them being, That all Papists or others, that will not take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, shall not pay double, the Bill being to the contrary, Sir *Anthony Irby* moved, to desire the King to exclude all Popish Lords from the House of Lords; which Motion was seconded by Sir *John Northcot*. On the same Side also spoke Mr. *Stevens*, Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, and Mr. *Prynne*. For an Agreement with the Lords in their Amendments, were only Sir *John Masham* and Mr. *Clifford*; and, on the Question, it was resolved, That this House doth adhere to the Clause as it stands in the Bill.

The Committee on the Ministers Bill sitting again this Afternoon, our Diary has preserved some more Debates on this important Affair. Col. *Shap-*

cot

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The Ministers
refused.

cot was for not imposing any Thing on them. Mr. *Giles Eyre* moved to lay aside the Debate on the Thirty-nine Articles. Mr. *Prynne* spoke very passionately against the Articles. Mr. *Stevens* attacked the Book of Common Prayer; unless imposed by Act of Parliament, and not by the Bishops. Only one Member, Mr. *Thurland*, spoke for imposing the Thirty-nine Articles: And the Question being put, as the former, That such as, by Preaching, Printing, Writing, or a constant Refusal to administer the Sacraments, shall not be admitted to a Living, the House divided on the Words *constant Refusal*, whether they should be left out, and the Noes carried it. Mr. *Crouch* was for leaving out *scandalous, or ignorant* in the Ministers Refusal to the Sacrament; saying, It was their Duty to give to all, but such as were very notorious; asking only who should be the Judge of Scandal. Mr. *Charlton* and Mr. *Giles Eyre* were for putting the Question in the same Words as the former about Baptism. Mr. *Walpole* was for having those Ministers excluded who had refused for some Years; Mr. *Allen* named two Years; in which he was seconded by Sir *Thomas Meeres*; but Mr. *Annesley* saying, That would exclude all Ministers out of the Act of Oblivion, and Sir *Heneage Finch* moving to lay the Debate aside, it was dropt for that Time.

August 4. A Bill was brought in by the Lord *Falkland*, and once read, For Continuance of Money at Six Pounds Interest by the Hundred; and no greater Brokerage for it than Five Shillings, or for the Continuance.

This Day also the Business of the Court of Wards was assumed; when Sir *Dudley North* spoke against the Proportion set upon *Cambridgeshire*, and desired it might be raised by a Pound-Rate. Sir *William D'Oiley* spoke in the Behalf of *Norfolk*, which was extremely over-rated, and was for a Pound-Rate. Sir *William Morrice* was against any Person's paying to this Tax, but such as should receive Benefit thereby;

thereby; saying, That a Pound-Rate was a very An. 12. Car. II.
injurious and a partial Way. Mr. *Holles*, on the 1660.
contrary, was for a Pound-Rate; but to last only
for three Years, by way of Probation. Mr. *Piere-
point* spoke also, as well as several others, for the
Pound-Rate. Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* against it,
because it excluded all Estates, in Money or Stock,
which ought to pay. On the whole, after four
Hours Debate, says the Diary, it was resolved to
refer it to the Members of the House that were of
the King's Council.

August.

The Committee on the Ministers Bill sat again
in the Afternoon of this Day, when only two Que-
stions were agreed to be put: The first was, That
all such as have been ordained by Bishops, or Bi-
shops and Presbyters, or Presbyters alone, before
the 25th of *December* last, shall continue in their
Livings, it was ordered accordingly. The next
Question, Whether voluntary Resignation should be
inserted, was agreed to, as well as the former, with-
out any Division.

On the 6th of *August*, Serjeant *Maynard* moved
in the House, That, out of the Impropriations of
Bishops, Deans and Chapters, there might be an
Augmentation allowed to the Ministers that served
the Cure; many of which, he said, wanted Shoes
and Stockings. This was seconded by Sir *Allen
Broderick*, who spoke in Behalf of the poor Clergy.
Whereupon it was voted, That a Stop should be
put to all Bishops, &c. from granting any Estates
whilst the Bill was under Consideration. Voted
also, That Consideration should be had of poor Mi-
nisters, who served in Parishes where great Impro-
priations were belonging to other Ecclesiastical Per-
sons.

The Committee of Sales sat in the Afternoon of Several Votes on
this Day, when several important Votes were car- the Bill of Sales.
ried on this nice Affair. The first Vote was, That
no Person that sat on the King's Life or Death
should enjoy any Lands belonging to the Church,
which they had bought. Voted also, That none
of

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of the Committee of Safety, who sat in the Year 1659, should have the Benefit of the Bill in the Sale. Voted also, That none who had abjured the King, or the Line of King *James*. Voted again, That none who joined with *Lambert* since the 21st of *February* last, nor he himself, should have any Benefit by the Sale of the Clergy's Lands. Voted, That none, of the twenty Persons exempted in the Act of Indemnity shall have Benefit of their Purchases; nor any claiming from, by, or under them. Voted likewise, That no Person that sat in the Parliament from the 18th of *January*, 1648, to the 20th of *April*, 1653, should have their Estates confirmed. Also, That no Person that sat in any High Court of Justice, or executed any Warrant under them, should have any Benefit of the Bill. Nor no Major-General nor Decimator acting under them. No Person that was of *Oliver Cromwell's* Council, or exercised a Legislative Power under him. All those who sat in that Convention which was summoned by *Cromwell* in 1653, without Election of the People. None who had been Commissioners for the Sale of Church Lands, or the Officers under them who purchased any such Lands; nor any one of the Committee of Obstructions, or their Officers. Lastly, That no one who was of the Convention, called a Parliament, in 1656, when the Act of Renunciation was made. These, and all these, were voted to be excepted to have any Benefit by the Act in regard to their several Purchases.

The same Day the foregoing Votes were communicated to the House by Mr. *Raynesford*, along with these Resolutions: That the Direction of the House be desired, what Satisfaction should be given to the Purchasers of the King's Lands and Queen's Jointure: That divers Leases were made by Ecclesiastical Persons; and now, that they had the Bill under Consideration, they desired the Direction of the House, what should be done in that Affair; on which the House made the following Resolutions, *viz.*

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this House, that

that all Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Prebends, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, be restrained from making any Leases or Grants of any the Lands, Rectories, or Tythes, or other Profits belonging to any their Offices or Churches, untill the Bill for Sales, now depending before this House, receive Determination.

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‘Ordered, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill for that Purpose: And that Serjeant *Maynard*, Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Allen*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Sir *Heneage Finch*, Mr. *Charlton*, Serjeant *Hales*, Sir *Edward Turner*, Mr. *Goodrick*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Bamfield*, Mr. *Raynesford*, or any three of them, be of the said Committee: And they are to meet To-morrow Morning in the Speaker’s Chamber.’

‘Resolved, That it be referred to the Grand Committee, to whom the Bill for Sales is committed, to receive Proposals from any the Purchasers of the Estates of Bishops, and others, Ecclesiastical Persons, and from any the Ecclesiastical Persons themselves, or from any others, touching Satisfaction to be given to the Purchasers of any public Lands; and, on Consideration thereof, to report their Opinion to the House.

‘Resolved, That it be referred to the said Grand Committee, to consider of settling a competent Maintenance and Encouragement out of any inappropriate or appropriate Rectories whatsoever, belonging to Ecclesiastical Persons, for those who shall officiate in the Cures of such Rectories.’

But the King, hearing of these Ecclesiastical Orders from the House of Commons, thought fit to take the Matter into his own Hands, and accordingly sent a Message the next Day, *August* the 7th, by Sir *Allen Broderick*, to acquaint the House, That his Majesty had wrote to the several Bishops, Deans and Chapters, not to lett Leases of any inappropriate Tythes, ’till Maintenance was settled on the several Vicarages or Curacies, where no Vicarage was endowed to the Value of 80*l.* *per Ann.* or more. Then the King’s Letters to the Purport aforesaid

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was read. The House afterwards ordered, That the Members who were of his Majesty's Privy Council, and Sir *Allen Broderick*, should present to his Majesty the humble Thanks of the House for his gracious Message, communicated by Sir *Allen Broderick*, and the great Joy they take in the Goodness and Favour therein expressed to his People. And ordered also, That both the Message and Letter should be enter'd in the *Journals* of the House.

The same Day the Committee for Ministers sat again, and made some further Progress in that Bill; as, that it was voted, That no Minister was to hold two Livings: No scandalous Person to be confirmed or restored: None to be allowed any Fifths, but such as had Orders and Ordinances for them: And none to be allowed Delapidations, or to be considered for them.

August 9. Mr. *Annesley* acquainted the House, That he was commanded by his Majesty to let them know in what a sad Condition the Army and Navy were thro' Want of Money; the Army, for Want of Pay, near necessitated to Free-Quarter, and the Seamen ready to be in a Flame. On which Message the Commons resolved to send another to the Lords to desire a Conference; but, before this Resolution was agreed on, a notable Debate arose, which we find thus entered in our Diary:

Mr. *Annesley*, in communicating the King's last Message, urged the great Necessity there was for Money, and desired that a Committee of Members might be sent into the City for the Loan of 100,000*l.* to be paid out of the first Money raised by the Poll Bill: This Motion was seconded by Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*. Sir *William Wylde* said, He thought the City would not lend it until the Bill of Indemnity was pass'd. Sir *Heneage Finch* moved to try the City, however, on the Poll Bill; and said, He thought the City would lend it rather than venture new Broils, which might be feared. Sir *John Northcot* was for passing the Bill of Indemnity first, and to petition the King that he would pass a Par-
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don also to the Commons, and leave out the Lords if they would not speed the Bill. Sir *William Lewis*, To acquaint the Lords with the King's Message; which, he said, would occasion them to hasten it. Sir *Edward Turner* moved for desiring the Lords to join some of the Members of this House to go up into the City. Sir *Thomas Bludworth* was not for sending into the City, for Fear of a Refusal. Mr. *Stevens* spoke for speeding the Pardon Bill, and to send the Lords a smart Message about it. Mr. *Prynne*, for sending up the Message, and moved against any more listing of Soldiers. At last Sir *Anthony Irby* moving for a Conference with the Lords, it was ordered accordingly, and Heads to be drawn up for that Purpose. The Heads here spoken of in the Diary are all entered in the *Journals*; but as they are given before in the Report made in the House of Lords, of what passed at this Conference, the Repetition is avoided.

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On *Saturday, August 11*, the long-look'd-for Bill of Indemnity was brought down from the Lords by Judge *Twisden* and Judge *Tyrrell*, with several Amendments and Alterations.

The Commons went immediately upon it; and, first, voted to agree with the Lords for pardoning the Arrears of Papists on Sequestration, and Mr. *Thurloe*. Upon the Lords excepting all the King's Judges, Sir *George Booth* stood up in Behalf of those who came in upon the Proclamation: He produced two Papers in Favour of the Lord *Grey of Grooby*, to testify his Penitence for his being against the King, and moved to have his Name left out of the Bill. Col. *King* moved to agree with the Lords in excepting all; which was followed by Mr. *Thomas*. Sir *William Lewis*, Mr. *Harris*, Mr. *Knightley*, and Sir *John Bowyer*, were for adhering to their former Vote. Sir *Heneage Finch* was not for adhering wholly, nor for agreeing; but, to salve all, he was for banishing those who were not executed. Sir *Anthony Irby* moved for a Conference with the Lords, concerning those that surrendered. Mr. *Annesley* was

The Pardon Bill sent down by the Lords to the Commons, and their Debate upon it.

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On the next Meeting, *August* 13, the Debate was re-assumed, on the Lords Amendments to the Bill of Indemnity; in which the Lords had excepted divers for Life, which this House referred only to further Pains and Penalties, not extending to Life. The House agreed with the Lords in pardoning Sir *Gilbert Pickering* and *Thomas Lister*, Esq; And for the other twenty-four in that Classis, it was carried to adhere to their former Vote about them, as to Pains, &c. Voted also, To agree with the Lords to except Col. *Hacker* for Life; which they had added to the Bill. A Question was put, Whether to agree with the Lords in pardoning Mr. *Lenthall*, and the other fifteen in that Classis, the House divided upon it; when, according to the *Journals*, the Yeas carried it by 197 against 102. Mr. *Holles* and Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Tellers for the Yeas; Sir *Daniel Harvey* and Col. *King* for the Noes.

A Message from the Lords interrupted, for a while, the further Proceeding on this Bill; which was to desire a free and present Conference concerning the last, about borrowing 100,000 *l.* of the City, and several other Things. Ordered, That a Committee be named to join with the Lords to go into the City about the Money, and to agree to the Conference.

This Matter being over, the Commons fell again on the former Bill; and our Diary tells us that another Question was started, Whether to agree with the Lords about the excepting of *Lambert*, *Vane*, *Masilwidge*, and *Axtell*, or to adhere to their former Vote, as to Pains and Penalties not extending to Life; voted to adhere. Col. *Scrope*, whom the Lords had also excepted, was voted to come off for a Year's Value of his Estate. Col. *Wauton*, with the others of that Classis, whom the Lords had condemned for Life, the Commons relieved for Pains and Penalties: But then they voted, That all the foregoing Persons, as well as those who sat in any High

High Court of Justice, should never bear any Office, An. 12. Car. II. 1660. Civil or Military, in the Kingdom. In this Debate the Diary informs us, That Col. *Shapcot*, speaking in Favour of the High Court of Justice Men, was charged by Col. *Jones* with being one himself. To which *Shapcot* replied, That if Col. *Jones* was not careful of other Men's Credit, he desired he would be so of his own; and denied that he ever sat in any.

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August 14. The Bill for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings was brought down to the Commons. Debate on Religion renewed. The same Day Sir *Heneage Finch* moved the House to re-commit the Bill for Ministers, and a Proviso to be added, That no Ordination by Presbyters should be a Precedent for the future; and moved also in Behalf of Pluralities; to moderate Ceremonies; and that no Man should have Benefit of that Act, who did not conform to the Government of the Church after *Christmas* next. Sir *Roger Palmer* and Mr. *Harris* seconded the Motion of Sir *Heneage Finch*. Mr. *Swinsfen* and Sir *John Northcot* were for passing the Bill as it was. Mr. *Prynne* said, It was a Scandal to our Religion to have the Ministers that were ordained by Presbyters to be re-ordained by Bishops. Sir *John Masham* desired to take the first Paragraph of the Bill into Consideration; which was, That the confirming of Ministers in their Cures was for the Peace of the Nation, which he thought not. Mr. *Chariton* moved for a Conformity. Mr. *Bamfield*, Not to admit the Scandalous and Ignorant to the Sacrament; and moved to agree with the Committee. Sir *Richard Temple*, To re-commit the Bill. This Debate was interrupted by a Message from the Lords to desire a present Conference; which was agreed to, and this to be postponed 'till the next Morning.

August 15. The Conference began upon the Subject-Matter of the Poll Bill; and, after its being ended, Mr. *Holles* reported the Substance of the Conference desired by the Lords Yesterday; being, in Effect, as followeth: ' That it was

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only concerning the Poll Bill; wherein the Lords offered some Considerations of theirs, to which we thought we had no Power to make a Reply. The Lord-Chancellor began, and told us, The Lords desired this Conference, in order to the passing of the Poll Bill; and that some Lords were appointed to acquaint us with the Particulars their Lordships had under Consideration, which he left to them to communicate.'

Report of a Conference on Popish Recusants, &c.

The Lord *Mobun* began, and said, 'He was to offer something concerning the Clause about double Payments by Popish Recusants, and such as refuse the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance; which Oaths, he said, were settled by Parliament, both as to the Persons to whom they are to be administered, and the Persons to administer them: And to alter the Law on a sudden, especially since the same trenches on the Privileges of the Peers, their Lordships could not agree to it. He added, That the Persons who are, by that Clause, to take the said Oaths were of two Sorts; one, those who were of the same Religion with us, and differ only in Circumstances, as, particularly, scrupling Oaths; and to make that Distinction now, their Lordships thought it might occasion Trouble, and thwart the Bill of Indemnity, when it is the Care and Endeavour of both Houses to unite all. For the Popish Recusants, he said, They were by Law liable to pay two Thirds of their Estates; and now, to charge the remaining one Third with a double Payment, it might amount to a sixth Part of that; which is more than the Laws require; and so is not reasonable to be imposed.'

Then my Lord *Finch* told us, 'He was to move something concerning a Clause, in which a former Alteration was offered by their Lordships, about the naming of Commissioners for the *Cinque Ports*; which, he said, were Towns in two Counties, *Kent* and *Sussex*, and have a peculiar Jurisdiction among themselves, the Counties not having to do with them, nor they with the Counties at large; and that the Alteration desired by their Lordships

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was more in Circumstance than in Substance, being only to authorize Commissioners within the said Ports, for that they had appropriate Jurisdictions of their own; and therefore their Lordships hoped this House would agree to the Alterations, being now sent in Paper, as they were before in Parchment.

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After him the Lord *Roberts* told us, 'That, what he was to offer, he was assured this House would agree: For that, as to the Lords to name Commissioners in this Bill, they had done it in the late Bill of Assessments for 70,000*l.* by the Month, and in the former Poll, and then there was no Question made, and therefore the Lords hope it will not be questioned now: Which Names they have sent down in Paper, as they were formerly sent in Parchment; the same relating to the County of *Cornwall*.'

Then my Lord *Wharton* said, 'The last Proviso annexed by the Lords to the Bill, was for the assessing of the Peers; and, if that should be omitted, the Peers might be assessed by the Commoners, which is against the Liberty and Privilege of the Peers; and therefore they had sent down the Names of some Peers, in Paper, to be inserted in that Proviso.'

And, when that was done, the Lord *Finch* stood up again, and said, 'He had omitted one Thing for the adding, to one Clause, these Words, 'Except they be Peers of the Realm;' which were misplaced in the Amendments formerly sent down, but are now put in their proper Places.'

On this Report, a Debate ensued in the Commons, Whether to agree with the Lords or not. *Sir Thomas Wroth* was for having no Papist to be a Commissioner of the Poll Bill. *Sir Thomas Clarges* seconded him. *Mr. Allen* said, If Religion was in Question he knew how to act; but when it was only a Matter of Justice, he knew no Reason why they should be excluded, or why pay double. *Mr. Trevor* said, He knew no Reason why Money should be the Penalty of not taking the Oaths; and moved to agree with the Lords, that the Papists should not pay double. *Sir Anthony Irby*, *Sir John Northcot*, and Col.

Debate on the same.

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Col. King, were for adhering to their former Vote, unless the Papiſts would take the Oaths; and the ſecond Man moved to have the Laws put in Execution againſt them. On the other Side, Mr. Clifford ſaid, That it was like the *Egyptians* to lay a double Task and take away the Straw; and moved to agree. Mr. Howard, for the Papiſts, urged their conſtant Allegiance to the King; and ſaid, their ſingle Oath of Allegiance to the King was a Cord that tied them faſter to him than any others who were bound by both the Oaths, which was a double Cord. Lord Bruce and Mr. Knightley were for agreeing. Mr. Charlton was not for impoſing the Oaths upon the Peers, but for all others to pay double. Serjeant Maynard was for agreeing with the Lords, and neither to impoſe the Oaths nor pay double. There was only Sir William Temple againſt this; and Sir William Morrice, ſpeaking as to the Sufficiency of the Oath of Allegiance, the Queſtion was put, Whether to agree with the Lords; and it was carried, without any Diviſion, to agree.

August 16. The Bill, intituled, *An Act for a perpetual Anniversary Thankſgiving on the Twenty-ninth of May*, paſſed the Houſe of Commons, and was carried up to the Lords by Mr. Prynne.

The Bill of Indemnity, with ſuch Alterations as the Commons thought fit to make in the Amendments of the Lords, had been return'd to that Houſe; and this Day their Lordſhips ſent to deſire a free and ſpeedy Conference about it: Which being agreed to and ended, the Commons ordered, That the Report of this Conference ſhould be made to them the next Day. Accordingly,

August 17. Sir Heneage Finch reported, That, according to the Commands of this Houſe, the Committee attended the Lords at a Conference Yeſterday; and that the Subſtance of the ſaid Conference was as followeth:

That the Matter thereof was about the Bill of Indemnity: To ſhew wherein they did adhere to their

A Report of a Conference between the two Houſes about the Pardon Bill.

their former Amendments; and wherein they do agree with the Alterations made by this House.

‘That the Lord *Finch* did manage the Conference for the House of Peers: And was pleased to tell us, in the first Place, That, in the Clause concerning *Ireland*, they were willing to agree with this House, with some Amendments;—(which the Reporter did particularly open; and are specified in a Paper, then delivered, to be communicated to this House;)--and these being agreed, it will comprehend their agreeing to some other Words in the Bill, touching his Majesty’s Dominions.

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‘His Lordship told us, That, to that Clause, in the ninth Skin, the first Line, which concerns several Persons that were Judges of his late Majesty, they adhered, as they formerly sent it down; that is, to the blotting out of that Clause, whereby they were reserved to future Penalties; and to the excepting of them for Life, for which he offered some Reasons, That though it be true we are now upon an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, yet, they hoped, we would not make it an Act of Oblivion of our Duty to God, the King, and the Safety and Honour of the Kingdom.

‘He took Notice, That this Kingdom having now arrived to a Miracle of Preservation when the Pit of Destruction was open, and the Privileges thereof, in all the Parts of them, invaded; when the Murder of the King had been committed, against all the Laws of God and Man: This ought to stir up in us a Sense more than ordinary; and, therefore, he thought it fit for us to consider our Duty to the King, a gracious Prince, and a Prince endeared to us by the miraculous Preservation of his Person by the Hand of Heaven; a Prince that had suffered great Afflictions, like *Joseph* in *Egypt*, lying long in Fetters; and that such as entered into his Soul, like *David*, when he was hunted as a Partidge in the Wilderness; and that had received Deliverance like to that of *David’s* and *Joseph’s*, being both in the thirtieth Year of their Age: And the Afflictions that

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that befell this good King, were the Effects of the Counsels of these Men that are now in Question.

‘ He said, We are next to consider the Safety of the Kingdom: Their Lordships did not think it fit nor safe for this Kingdom, that they should live: Here they cannot live, nor abroad with Safety; for Danger to a Kingdom is not always within Doors: Their Life may give them Opportunity of tampering to the working of Mischief abroad. Then for the Honour of the Kingdom; first, in Point of Justice, Blood requires Blood; and he instanced in the *Gibeonites*, the Shedding of their Blood could not be expiated but by the Shedding of Blood.

‘ He took Notice, That his Majesty’s Honour was concerned in the Infamy, which the Shedding of that Royal Blood hath brought upon this Nation, in the Eyes of foreign Nations; and that this is the only Opportunity to take it off.

‘ He took Notice of an Objection, from the Proclamation, issued by his Majesty, on the Desire of both Houses; and, before he gave Answer to that, he observed the wonderful Moderation the King and House of Peers had shewed in their Proceeding towards the Punishment of Offenders at this Time. His Lordship observed, That to petition to bring a King to Justice; to summon him to Justice; to sit upon him, when he was summoned to Justice; and to abuse the People by Suggestions that might lead them to approve this Action, made them so criminal, as none could excuse them: These Proceedings were all High Treason in themselves; and yet all these are pretermitted in the Act of Oblivion: These are those who murdered his Royal Father; those that sentenced him, and signed the Warrant: Which Moderation he made Use of to shew, that they might have been more strict in this Case. And to the Objection from the Proclamation, he said, Something sure was intended by it: But, first, The Proclamation was but negative in the Words of it; and that which can be gathered from it, is only Implications out of a Negative. He took Notice how the Proclamation

clamation runs ; first, ‘ That because divers Persons are fled from Justice, that they cannot be brought to a legal Trial, therefore they are summoned to render themselves :’ Whence it was argued, That the Meaning thereof was suitable to the Recital, ‘ To bring them to Justice.’

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‘ He observed, That this Proclamation calls in, among the rest, *Liste and Say* : It might have added *Baxter and Scott* ; and yet none will say it intended to pardon them : Therefore, he gathered, there could not be supposed an absolute Intention in that Proclamation to pardon all that came in upon it : For the very Persons instanced in, had they come in, had yet not been pardoned. He observed, That the Proclamation says, they must come in, under Pain of being excepted from Pardon and Indemnity, for Life and Estate ; and that we ourselves had resolved to confiscate their Estates, notwithstanding the rendering of themselves : And thence his Lordship argued thus : If it be just to take away their Estates, it is as just to take away their Lives : If it be not just to take away their Lives, then it is not just to take away their Estates. His Lordship said further, If these Persons, thus excepted for Life and Estate, should, by us, be not excepted for Life, but subjected only to future Penalties, then the Consequence would be, that we shall adhere to the Pardon of some to Life, who are more guilty a great deal than some of the Persons whom we have excepted for Life ; some of them having been at all the Sitings on the King, diligent Attendants thereon all the while ; some of them designing the Place of Slaughter before his own House. It is true, he said, the Thrones of Kings are established by Judgment and Mercy ; but Mercy had been shewed already, and nothing remains now for Support of his Throne but Justice : And therefore his Lordship concluded this Point with Advice, *Let the Wickedness of these Men fall on their own Heads ; but let the Throne of our King be established for ever.*

‘ To the Exception of the four Persons that follow in the Clause concerning *Vane, Lambert, &c.* they

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they also adhere, that they should stand excepted for Life: His Lordship said, indeed, they were not excepted as Murderers; but he took Notice, that the King, of whose Wisdom none can or doth doubt, and of whose Wisdom, he knows, this House hath as great a Veneration as any, his Majesty himself, sitting the Parliament, (who could not but take Notice of it) thought fit to commit these Persons to the *Tower of London* * * * *^a intimated, by some Letters of his Majesty's in Print, 'If there be Persons dangerous to the Safety of the Nation;'—and, as such, he looked on these: But he said withall, if they were capable of Mercy, no Question but the King, the Fountain of Mercy, would extend it to them. In the mean Time, their Lordships thought it fit to leave them to the Mercy of the King, and so he hoped this House will too.

'To the Exception of those other four Persons, that sat in the several High Courts of Justice, their Lordships also adhere. He observed, It was some Moderation in the House of Peers, that they take no more than one a-piece. He said this was done among them suddenly, and at the Table, without Conference with any other Persons, or meditating a Revenge, to shew the Candour and Plainness of their Proceedings: He confessed, it was equal and just, there should be a like Expiation for the Breach made on the Privilege of the Commons, and that some Persons should be excepted on their Account: But their Lordships were as careful of the Privileges of this House as of their own, and having more Reason to expect it from us, than to send it to us, therefore they omitted that.

'To the Proviso, whereby the Sixteen are sent down under an Incapacity of all public Employment, their Lordships do agree, being content to acquiesce in their incapacitating only; and to omit the adjourning of them to future Pains and Penalties.'

After the hearing of this long Report, the Commons read over the Amendments the Lords had a
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^a *Sic in Orig.*

second Time made in the Bill, and a long Debate ensued upon them, which we give from the Diary.

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Sir *William Wylde*, Recorder of *London*, said, That he was not convinced by what had been read, nor could he concur with the Lords, so as to except all the King's Judges for Life, because of the Proclamation. Mr. *Stevens*, Col. *Shapcot*, Mr. *Trevor*, and Sir *John Bowyer*, moved to adhere to their former Vote. Sir *John Northcot*, to petition the King. On the other Side, Sir *Allen Broderick* was for agreeing with the Lords. Mr. *Charlton* said, He did not understand how a Vote of the House should be a Contract, because they broke it as to *Vane* and *Lambert*, *Häsilrigge* and *Axtell*; and was for agreeing with the Lords. Sir *Edward Turner* said, They were between two Rocks, the Honour of that House, and the Desire of the Lords; that they were Masters of their own Votes, and had pardoned *Thurloe*, whom before we condemned, and added *Hacker*, who they never thought on: He also was for agreeing. Mr. *Annisley* said, He would willingly do Justice for the King's Blood, and yet preserve the Honour of the House, and moved for a Committee to recollect and state all that had been done in it before.

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Sir *Heneage Finch* put a Question to the House, Whether it was better to venture the Shipwreck of the whole Vessel, or throw a few over-board? And said, That if they spared their Lives they could not take one Acre of their Estates by the Proclamation. He added, That if any one of them should fly to a foreign Prince, the War would be just if that Prince would not render him up: That it was for the Safety of the Nation to throw *Sheba's* Head over the Wall: And, lastly, That the sparing of these People was the way to lose the Act of Oblivion to all; for who would think themselves obliged, when every one was pardoned; therefore he was for agreeing with the Lords. Mr. *Prynne* argued, That he was for excepting all at first, and was so still; and if they were not all so, they themselves must be guilty of the King's Blood, those being such horrid Traitors as never yet were known: That our Oaths bound us much more than

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than our Votes, which we alter daily: What would the World say of us, adds he, but call us Regicides? And said, They were bound, in Conscience and Honour, to agree with the Lords. *Sir Richard Temple* intimated a Desire to agree with the Lords; but did not conclude positively; but left it to the Judgment of the House. *Sir George Ryves* and *Col. Jones* spoke also for agreeing; but *Mr. Swinfen* and *Mr. Allen* were for referring it to a Committee to state the Matter of Fact, and consider the former Debates of the House about it. *Col. King* said, Tho' they passed a Vote for seven, the Lords did not; and moved to have a greater Regard for their own Safeties than for such Men, and therefore to agree with the Lords. *Sir Dudley North* spoke for the same; lest, as he said, it should retard the whole Bill; but then to enter the Vote in the *Journal*, that it was only done for that End; and to petition the King to extend Mercy to those that came in upon the Proclamation. *Serjeant Hales* was the last Speaker in this Debate; who said, That there never was so high a Crime committed: That, if there was a Cause shewn by the Lords, they must alter their Vote; but the Question was, Whether the Lords had shewn that Cause? But the Case, he said, was here, That now they were in their Power they could not let them go; and moved to have a true Representation of the Matter of Fact, and then to judge: Upon which a Committee was ordered accordingly.

The next Day this long and tedious Debate in the House of Commons was again re-assumed; when *Sir William Wylde*, Recorder, from the Committee, made a Report concerning the Bill of Indemnity, and the Examination of the Passages therein. To which *Mr. Allen* said, That he was not in the House when the first Vote was made; but that the Fact of taking off the King was most barbarous, and the not bringing those Men to Justice would retard the Act: But then, on the other Side, the Honour of the House was to be preserved by reason of the Proclamation; and yet neither

ther the Vote nor Proclamation were so binding, but the House might agree with the Lords; for the Proclamation did not express Mercy to those that came in: Yet, he added, they did come in upon that Proclamation, and therefore he moved to have those pardoned; so was for adhering. Sir *Harry North* replied and said, That had he a Brother, or an only Son, he would not spare him in such a Case: That the Vote was not binding, because it was relative as to the Lords; and, for the Proclamation, he said, they should be favoured in their Estates for their Wives and Children, but not for their Lives; and concluded for agreeing with the Lords. Mr. *Knight* spoke for an Agreement also, saying, That these People's Lives were but as a Bucket of Water to the Ocean, in regard of so many more as were to receive Benefit by the Act of Pardon. Mr. *Young* said, It would be a miserable Thing if the Act should be hindered by not agreeing with the Lords; but yet, the Vote of the House being pass'd, he thought it was obligatory, especially as the General himself had moved so earnestly in their Behalves: That he could not recede from his Vote; but desired to have another Conference with the Lords. Sir *Allen Broderick* was for putting it to a Question. Mr. *Thurland* said; The Votes of the House were alterable, without Breach of Honour or Trust: And, for the Proclamation, it was no Law nor a Contract, and their coming in was but *ex debito Justitiæ*; and moved for taking their Lives, but to be favourable to their Estates. Col. *King* said, Their coming in upon the Proclamation was, that God had infatuated them to bring them to Justice; *qui Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat*; and that they were not injured by the House.

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Here the Debate was interrupted by the Bill for continuing the Excise, which was to end that Day; after which it was re-assumed in the Manner following:

Sir *Edmund Jennings* spoke for adhering to their former Vote. Mr. *Swinfen* said, That he desired to be rightly understood, that no one who spoke in Behalf

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Behalf of these Men, should be thought to allow of their Fact; but what he spoke was for the Honour of the House: That the Proclamation was obligatory, though there was no positive Promise in it; yet it was as much Security as that House could give; and that it would discourage all for the future from trusting to any such Thing: He therefore moved for another Conference with the Lords, and to put the Question, To agree with them or not. Sir *Richard Temple* was also for the Question. On the contrary, Col. *Jones* saying, What will the World think of those that speak for the King's Murderers? Sir *John Northcot* got up, and desired he might be called to the Bar, or explain himself: Upon which the Colonel stood up again and said, He did not reflect upon any Person.

A Message from the Lords interrupted again this long Debate; which was sending down the Bill of Excise; to which they did agree, and desired the House to sit a-while, that it might have the King's Consent. — The Debate again.

Sir *Richard Brown*, the younger, said, He was for Mercy; but it was for all the People in the Land, and not for such horrid Murderers as these were; and moved to agree with the Lords. Sir *George Booth* and Mr. *Prynne* were for putting the Question. Sir *John Northcot* moved to have a free Conference; and if the Lords would not agree with them, then to agree with the Lords as to their Exceptions. Serjeant *Hales* said, That the Proclamation did not imply that those who came in should be pardoned, though they did presume upon it; nor would he plead for such Offenders, but for the Honour of the King and the Houses. Adding, That if they had not been invited by the Proclamation they had been safe, which now they were not; and to refer them to the King was but to take a Thorn out of their own Foot, and put it into his: However, he moved for a free Conference. Sir *Heneage Finch* said, It was only Honour to observe the Vote, which pleaded against Justice. But whilst this last Gentleman was speaking, says the Diary, the Gentleman-Usher of the Black

Rod

Rod came to the Door to give Notice that the King was in the House of Lords and expected them; upon which the Commons went up with the Bill of Excise; to which his Majesty having given his Consent, they returned to their House; where Sir *Heneage* proceeded in his Speech, and concluded for agreeing with the Lords.

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The Debate still continuing, Col. *Birch* argued for sticking to the Proclamation; saying, That if he should give Articles to a Garrison, he should think himself very unworthy to break them. Sir *Edward Turner* answered the Colonel, and said, The King might summons any Person that went beyond the Sea to come over, and he was not bound to pardon him if he did: And, as to Articles, how well those at *Colchester* were observed, the House well knew. To this, the Diary says, the Lord *Fairfax* seemed to make a Reply as to excusing that Business; but it was a Digression. At last Sir *John Potts*, Mr. *Holles*, and Mr. *Harris*, moving for another free Conference, before any Vote was passed, it was agreed to; and the Managers of it named, who were principally those who were Speakers in the last Debate; and the House ordered them to bring in Heads for a Conference the next Morning.

To pursue this Business to an End, which the Reader, by this Time, may well think will never be done:—We are told, by the *Journals*, that this Day, August 20, Sir *William Wylde* reported, from the Committee, the Heads of a free Conference with the Lords; wherein was an Expedient touching a Clause relating to the King's Judges, in the Lords Amendment. The House approved of the Heads, &c. and a Conference being desired, the same was granted; and Mr. *Annesley* reported from it, That the Committee had offered the Expedient, and used the Arguments which they were directed to offer, and had left them to their Lordships Consideration.

In the *Lords Journals* only we find the Substance of what these Managers of the Commons had left

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for the Lords to consider of, drawn up in the Report made to that House of this Conference, in these Words:

Report of another Conference between the two Houses about the Bill of Pardon.

August 21. The Report was made of the Effect of the free Conference Yesterday had with the House of Commons, concerning the Bill of Indemnity. The House of Commons say, That they abhor and detest the horrid Murder of the late King; but they hold themselves bound to insist upon the Number of seven to be excepted for Life and Estate, because they conceive that many came in upon the King's Proclamation, and they are obliged to consider those Persons that came in upon the public Faith, and the King's Honour is concerned in it. They said further, That the King's Message from *Breda* was intended to pardon all, excepting such Persons as should be excepted by Parliament: That the House of Commons do propound an Expedient, that those that came in upon the Proclamation should stand in the Bill as they are brought up from the House of Commons, and a Bill to be brought in hereafter to proceed against them as the Parliament shall think fit, both for Life and Estate. Concerning their Lordships excepting Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, Col. *Lambert*, and *Daniel Axtell*, for Life and Estate, the House of Commons say there is nothing appears to them to give that Sentence upon them; therefore they desire that those four Persons may stand in the Classis as they came up in the Bill.

Concerning the four Persons their Lordships had excepted for Life and Estate, upon Account of sentencing to Death the four Peers, the House of Commons say, One of those four is dead, and another is as good as dead; and they do not insist upon the shedding of Blood upon the Account of the Death of Commoners, and they hope their Lordships would not have the Sacrifice of the King's Blood to be mingled with any other Blood.

Concerning the Business touching *Ireland*; the House of Commons do agree to their Lordships Alterations, and they desire that their Lordships would concur

concur with them in the aforesaid Particulars, as they are brought from the House of Commons. An. 12. Car. II.
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And, after a long and serious Debate of this Business, it was ordered, That the Lords who managed this free Conference with the House of Commons, with the Addition of his Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Southampton, and the Lord Seymour, shall meet and consider of Reasons, according to the Sense of this Debate, to be offered at a Conference with the House of Commons To-morrow Morning, to fortify their Lordships Resolutions herein, and to offer such Expedients as they conceive may tend to a good Conclusion of this Business between the two Houses; and to report the same to this House To-morrow Morning.

} August.

The next Day, *August 22*, the Lords sent a Message to the Commons, to desire a present free Conference with them, on the Matter of the last, relating to the Bill of general Pardon and Indemnity; which being passed, the Day after, *August 23*, Sir *Henneage Finch* reported the Substance of the said Conference as follows:

The Conference, he said, was managed by the Lord-Chancellor, who applied his Reasons to these Heads: Another long one, still on the same.

1. 'To the Persons involved in the Exception for Life and Estate, as Murderers of his late Majesty:

2. 'To the four that are excepted for Life and Estate, viz. Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, Col. *Lambert*, and Col. *Axtell*:

3. 'To those who sat in High Courts of Justice upon the Peers.

He told us the Lords had weighed the Reasons offered from this House, with a great Desire of Concurrence, and Willingness to retract from their own Reason, if they had found Cause. His Lordship observed, the Reasons urged were taken partly from his Majesty's Declaration, and partly from the Proclamation issued by Advice of both Houses. He took Notice, that his Majesty had frequently interposed, and been solicitous, for the Dispatch of

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this Bill; yea so far that (as he expressed himself) no guilty Person in the Kingdom did more desire the passing of it than himself: And, for the Declaration at *Breda*, he said it was not to be doubted but his Majesty would most religiously observe it. But whereas it had been offered that his Majesty tendered an absolute Pardon to all Persons, and that the Exception mentioned was in the Nature of a Deseazance thereunto; and that, if a Bill had been rendered, without an Exception, his Majesty had been obliged to pass it. To that his Lordship answered, True, it was so; and had a Bill been rendered to the King, without any Exception at all, he had been much absolved, by concurring with the Houses, though much against his Judgment: But his Majesty was confident, when he sent that Message, that we would be as forward to do him and the Nation Justice, as he to desire it: And, withall, he desired us to take Notice, that Declaration came inclosed in a Letter, which reposed an intire Confidence in the Houses of Parliament; and in which there is this Clause: ‘If there be a crying Sin for which the Nation may be involved in the Infamy that attended it, we cannot doubt but that you will be as sollicitous to redeem and vindicate the Nation from that Guilt and Infamy, as we can be:’ And his Lordship said, His Majesty could never doubt but the Parliament would have as great Resentment of that Parricide, as the Honour and Justice of the Nation is greatly concerned in it. He told us, His Majesty (who was duly sensible of the great Wound he received in that fatal Day, when the News of it came to the *Hague*) bore but one Part of the Tragedy, for the whole World was sensible of it; and particularly instanced, that a Woman at the *Hague*, hearing of it, fell down dead with Astonishment. His Lordship told us, by the Way, He had the Honour to be then employed as the Minister of his public Affairs, in the Court of *Spain*; and that the King’s Majesty, that now is, gave him in special Command, and as Part of his Instructions in that Negotiation, that, when he treated with the King

of *Spain*, he should avow and declare, that the Murder of his Father was not looked upon, by him, as the Act of the Parliament or the People of *England*, but of a very wretched and very little Company of Miscreants in this Kingdom: And that his Majesty hath the same Opinion still; not doubting but, if no Letter had been sent with the said Declaration, to intimate, by way of Restriction, what Use should be made of his Declaration, yet the Parliament of *England* would be as forward to except his Father's Murderers from Pardon, as the Thing merits: And he desired us to consider, if God had wrought this Miracle of Restitution within a Month, or Year, or another short Time after the Fact committed, how full of Zeal, how full of Vengeance, had the Spirit of the Nation likely to have been. His Lordship took Notice, That his Majesty's Proclamation was pressed, by us, out of a Tenderness we had to the Honour of the Nation, the King, and both Houses of Parliament, which are involved in it; and out of a Desire that public Invitations might not prove Snares: To which his Lordship said, That the Lords themselves, being involved in the same Honour with us, (aye, and the King too) hope the Reasons which did satisfy their Lordships, and had satisfied his Majesty, would satisfy this House. He did profess, that the Peers never had any other Sense of this Proclamation, than as a Process or Summons, under Pain of being excepted from any Pardon of Life or Estate, if they came not in. He said, It was the Sense of the King too; and it was not credible any Man could imagine that the King would ever have joined with the Houses in such a Proclamation, unless he had been confident the Houses would have meant so likewise. His Lordship pressed further, That, let the World judge of this Proclamation, they cannot but believe it was the Sense of this House too; for it could not be imagined, that if *Lisle*, *Say*, *Barkstead*, and *Scott*, who were all inserted into the Proclamation, had come in, they should have had the Benefit of their Lives. It is true (his Lordship observed) the Exception of these Men, by our Votes,

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was before the publishing of the Proclamation; but he desires Pardon, if That seems not, to the Peers, of any great Weight; for, whatsoever our Votes were, the Snare was the same upon such of the Persons concerned, who took Notice of our Votes, not of the Proclamation; as *Scott* pleads, he heard of the Proclamation, not of the Votes. He pressed us duly to consider the Honour and Justice of the Nation; and what a Reproach it would be if such Offenders should escape Justice, after such a Crime. He put us in Mind of some Circumstances of Aggravation: *First*, A Libel is lately spread abroad, that justifies the Murder of the King with a bare Face; yea, justifies it, as necessary; and that on such wicked Grounds and Arguments, as, in the Logic of it, extends to the Person of our Sacred King that now is, should he fall into their Hands. He told us, One of the Persons we contend for lurks still; and that a Serjeant at Arms being sent to apprehend him, he rescued himself; yea, the Sheriff of that County being required to give Assistance therein, he refused. For the Expedient offered; the Lords look upon it as that which tends to the making of these Men's Conditions better than now they are; an Expedient to put off the Discourse, and to make the Reasons, their Lordships had given, of less Weight hereafter than now.

‘ To the other Part, wherein they do adhere, as to the excepting for *Life Vane, Lambert, Haslrigge,* and *Axtell*, his Lordship said, He did not believe that we of this House looked on these Persons as innocent Men; or as Men so happy as not to have any Crime laid to their Charge. He thinks that, had we that good Opinion of them, we should not ourselves have excepted them for future Pains and Penalties. He took Notice to us, That the King's Speech to the House of Lords, when they had passed this Act of Indemnity as far as they could; and included all these Men, his Father's Murderers, in that fatal Exception, gave them Thanks for their Justice on the immediate Murderers of his Father; and that, in that Speech, there was a subsequent Clause, which,

which, if any Persons be dangerous to the State, recommended it to the Lords to have a Care of them also. Now, for one of them, that is *Axtell*; the the Ground of excepting him was this: They had received Information from *Ireland*, (where he is best known) which was first presented to the Council, and by them to their Lordships, that in the Year 1648, while the Murder was acting and carrying on, he pressed the Soldiers, with Violence, to cry and clamour for Justice; and when the Violence had gone so far that the bloody Sentence was pronounced, he urged them to cry out, *Execution, Execution.* For *Lambert*, his Lordship intimated, That we could not but take Notice how near he was to give a Turn to all the present Settlement we enjoy. For *Hastirigge* and *Vane*, his Lordship observed, That they were Persons whom the secluded Members, after their Restitution, and when they were preparing the Way for the great and good Work, which is now effected, looked upon as fit to be secured and confined: That, after the King was come in, these Gentlemen, notwithstanding the Censure on them by the secluded Members, and the blessed End of the Long Parliament, returned to Town; never applying themselves to the King, but lurk'd up and down, without giving any Account of themselves: And his Lordship added, That they look on them as Persons of a mischievous Activity; and therefore their Lordships desire to leave them to the Mercy of the King; with this further Intimation, That they would be ready to join with this House in a Petition to the King, that Mercy might be shew'd them; and that his Severity might not extend to their Lives; and he did not doubt but the Intercession of the Houses would be effectual for that. For the last four, who sat in the High Courts of Justice; his Lordship observed, That we, of the House of Commons, had departed very much from our own Passion and Provocation, in urging it as a Reason why we could not agree, because we could not mingle the Expiation of the Blood of Peers with the Expiation of the Blood of the King: But That,

he

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he said, was not the Motive, but Justice itself upon so high a Breach of the Law: And offered to Consideration, whether it would not amount to justify those Courts, if some Severity was not used: But This was not much pressed, nor long insisted on.

‘ When his Lordship had made an End, some worthy Gentlemen, that attended the Conference, offered something of Reply; and I may do them some Wrong in repeating it: But they are here; and can do Right to themselves. It was observed, That this Proclamation was but in the Nature of a Proceſs: To which it was said, Then at least they should have been heard before they were excepted; which they were not.

‘ *Secondly*, In the summoning Part of the Proclamation, there is not one Word relating to a Trial; but the Parliament were busy in proceeding upon the Act of Oblivion, and issued the Proclamation, that they might know in what Rank to place these Men: And admitting that this Proclamation, as to the holding forth of Benefit to those that came in, amounts at highest to an Implication; yet, being an Implication, on which Men have put their Lives, it was dishonourable (as a worthy Member enforced it) to retract the Benefit held forth by the Proclamation. It was likewise observed, by the same worthy Member, That to except them as to a Trial signifies nothing; for they that do not come in are, however, excepted as to a Trial. To which his Lordship answer’d, It is true, that in the Consequence of it, and as Things now stand, it is so: Those that come not in will have the Benefit of a Trial if they be taken, as well as those that do come in: But, at the Time of the Proclamation, it might have been expected to be otherwise; and that those who did not render themselves should have been, *ipſo Faſto*, attainted, and executed whensoever found.

‘ His Lordship instanced the Example of *Scott*, who professed, for himself, that he rendered on the Account of the Proclamation, though his Render will not serve his Turn: For that Render, which will save his Life, must be a Render to the Speaker

or Sheriff; to which he cannot pretend. But his Lordship added, That if That be the Meaning of the Proclamation, to extend Benefit of Life to all that rendered themselves, the Equity is the same, as to him: For if a Man hear of the Proclamation, and that he should have the Benefit of it if he rendered himself to the Speaker or Sheriff, and hastens to do it, but, being not able to do it within the Time, renders himself to a public Minister, it would be hard to make him incapable of the Benefit intended by the Proclamation. Therefore his Lordship observed, those that rendered themselves must not necessarily have the Benefit of their Lives.—It was then urged, that their Lordships had excepted Persons that are dead; *Constable, Mauleverer, Danvers*, and others; and that the excepting of them out of the Act of Oblivion signifies nothing: But the Place where the Commons had put them, was, that their Estates should be subject to future Penalties: A bare Exception subjects not their Estates to future Penalties; but, when the Act passes, the Heir and Executor is discharged, though the Ancestor be excepted. To which his Lordship replied, They knew the Exception of itself operated nothing; but they supposed and believed the Persons excepted by this Act would (as well as *Bradshawe* and *Cromwell*) be attainted, for their Guilt was equal, and they might deserve alike.—For the four Persons; it was observed, That, to except *Vane* and the rest, so as to involve them in the Danger of Life and Estate, and in the mean Time to petition for their Pardon, was repugnant in itself. To which his Lordship made no Reply, other than that still they were at the King's Mercy, which Way soever the Proceedings passed.

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After this long Report was ended, The Commons Debate upon it. fell again into a Debate on the old Topic, to agree or not agree with the Lords in this Matter. Mr. *Prynne* moved first for agreeing, and was seconded by Sir *Roger Palmer*. Mr. *Howard* said, That the late King clothed them in Scarlet, and had turned their

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their Iron into Brass, their Brass into Silver, and themselves into Gold: That this Prince should be murdered at his own Door, would make them seek out such a Punishment for it, as the Exquifiteness of a Woman could invent: But the Honour of the House being engaged, he moved to adhere; and to banish or immure them, that they should never see the Sun more, which would be worse than Death. Sir *Hentage Finch* could not agree with the Lords as to those who were dead; nor with them, as to those who sat upon the Lords; and was willing to leave *Vane, Hasilrigge, Lambert, and Axtell*, to the King. Sir *George Booth* moved for another Conference with the Lords, in Hopes there might be some other Expedient offered. Mr. *Baynton* was for reading all Petitions that came from these Men. Mr. *Trevor*, for adhering, and not to violate the public Faith which had been given. Mr. *Gott*, for adhering also, because he did advise some Friends to come in. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* said, That he invited several to come in on the Proclamation; and therefore could never give his Vote to agree. Both these last Gentlemen moving also for another free Conference with the Lords, it was voted; the same Managers as at the last, were deputed for this also; and that the Lord *Falkland* should go to the Lords and desire a free Conference with them on the Subject-Matter of the last.

But before this last Conference was desired, the Heads of it, as drawn up by the Committee, were read in the House and approved of by them. These Heads are entered in the *Journals* of the Commons; but since they will be better understood by the Report of them made afterwards in the Upper House, and from our Diary, we postpone them. Observing, that the Commons, in order to bend somewhat to the Lords, and that this last Conference might be made final and conclude this Affair, entered previously into the following Debate about it:

Mr. *Trevor*, who reported some Things to be offered at the next Conference to the Lords, said, That such of the King's Judges as were excepted against might

might be banished, never to return. If that was not yielded to, then to refer them to another Act for Life, but to spare them in this. Sir *Heneage Finch* told the House, That if they spared *Vane*, *Hastilrigge*, *Lambert*, and *Axtell*, they did it not out of Favour, but to leave them as living Monuments of their Villany, and the Houses Dislike: Urging that Saying of *David*, *Slay them not lest my People forget it.* Here a Letter, signed *J. Heovar*, directed to the Lords, concerning Col. *Axtell*, and given before in this Work, at p. 380, 1, was read, as well as a Petition delivered by Mr. *Annesley*, from the said *Axtell*. Notwithstanding this, the House voted to agree with the Lords, as to except *Axtell* for Life.

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Axtell voted to
be excepted from
Pardon;

Mr. *Thomas* moved to have Somebody die for the Kingdom as well as for the King, and named Sir *Henry Vane*. Sir *Ralph Ashton* said, That Sir *Henry Vane* told him, after the Battle of *Worcester*, when the King escaped, and Sir *Ralph Ashton* asked him, *Where is your Providence now, which you have so oft spoke of, since the King is escaped?* To which he replied, *If the Man was above Ground they would have him.* Mr. *Annesley* moved to hear him first. Sir *Anthony Irby* said, That since they had taken all he had, they might well spare his Life. Mr. *Holles* said, It was his Majesty's Pleasure to except only those who were his Father's Judges, which *Vane* was not. But one Mr. *Lowther* speaking against *Vane*, it was voted, To agree with the Lords, as to except him for Life.

Next came on the Trial of Gen. *Lambert*, who was also excepted by the Lords; when it was moved by Sir *Allen Broderick* to put him to a short Question; and this was seconded by Sir *Roger Palmer*. Mr. *Annesley* moved, To read his Petition first. Sir *George Booth* spoke in *Lambert's* Behalf. Mr. *Swinfen* moved to agree with the Lords; but to petition the King to be merciful to them. Mr. *Annesley*, again, was for suspending the Question, till the Conference was past; but the Question being called for, and put, it was voted, That *Lambert* should also be excepted.

Lastly,

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Lastly, A Motion was made against Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, on whom a longer Debate ensued than on all the others. Mr. *Tomkins* begun it, by saying, That Sir *Arthur* told him, when the first short Parliament was dissolved, That the King should repent that Day's Work with every Vein in his Body. On the other Hand, the Knight had many Speakers in his Behalf, as, Sir *John Northcot*, Major *Tolhurst*; Sir *Ralph Knight*, Lord *Falkland*, Mr. *Prynne*, Sir *George Booth*, and Sir *Thomas Clarges*. Mr. *Petty* moved for him, because the General engaged for him. Mr. *Annesley* spoke also in Behalf of him, and to hear his Petition before the Question was put. Mr. *Young* for him, alledging his Rashness, which made him not a dangerous Person.

The Speakers against Sir *Arthur*, were, first, Dr. *Clayton*; next, Mr. *Thomas*, who urged his taking the Oath of Abjuration. Lord *Ancram* said, He was the main Man that stirred up the Vote of no more Addresses to the late King; saying to the Speaker, *Shall we believe that Man of no Faith?* and moved to put him to the Question. Sir *Roger Palmer* said, That Sir *Arthur* told him, *If Charles Stuart do come in, it was but three wry Mouths and a Swing;* and therefore moved against him.

Some Mediators, as Sir *William Wylde*, moved to remember the Lord-General's Engagement in his Behalf; and not put him to the Question. But Sir *Edward Turner* said, He never heard the General name *Hasilrigge*; and therefore moved for the Question. Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* was for executing Nobody but those who were guilty of the King's Blood, and said, He thought this Man not considerable enough; but moved to put him with the rest. Col. *Birch*, by Desire of the General, spoke for him.

Hasilrigge spared.

Sir *John Bowyer* was for having him walk to the Gallows with the rest, and then come back again. However, at last, the Question being put, the House divided upon it, Whether Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge* should be included with the rest? And, as the Diary speaks, the Ayes, that went out, lost it by almost 20. The *Journals* say the Numbers on the Division,

were

were 116 to 141. Mr. *Titus* and Lord *St. John*, An. 12; Car. II. 1660. Tellers for the Yeas; Sir *Anthony Irby*, and Mr. *Gilbert Gerrard*, Tellers for the Noes.

After this last Vote was passed, and Sir *Arthur* spared, Mr. *Pierepoint* moved, That the King might be petitioned, that *Lambert* and *Vane* should not be tried for their Lives by Law; which was agreed to. Ordered also, That the Lords be acquainted, by the Committee at the Conference, That the Ground of their concurring with their Lordships as to Col. *Axtell*, was the Evidence given by Lieutenant-Colonel *Heovar's* Letter, communicated by them at the last Conference.

The next Debate was on the four who sat in Judgment upon the four Lords; when the Speaker desired this might be left to the Success of the next Conference: But Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* moved for Col. *Croxton*; as also Sir *John Bowyer*. Sir *Thomas Clarges* against him, saying, He broke the Neck of Sir *George Booth's* Business; and added, That his Deserts should not be commended; but he would not hinder the Mercy of the House. However, on the short Question, it was voted, Not to agree with the Lords, as to those who sat on the Death of the four Lords.

All these Debates happened in the House, previous to the sending up the Lord *Falkland*, to desire another Conference with the Lords; as is before mentioned; and, of all which, there are little or no Traces in the *Journals*. However, the Conference being desired, and granted, the Committees of both Houses met in the Afternoon of this Day for that Purpose.

But, before we proceed, we think proper here to insert a curious Anecdote, preserved in the *Commons Journals*, which is in these Words:

The House taking Notice by the Expressions of the Lord-Chancellor, at a Conference with the Lords Yesterday, that when his Lordship was employed as a public Minister from the King's Majesty that now is, to the Court of *Spain*, he did receive from his Majesty a special Command, (as Part of his

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Instructions) upon his Treaty with the King of Spain, in that Negotiation to avow and declare, That the horrid Murder of his Royal Father was not the Act of the Parliament or People of *England*; but the Act of a very wretched and very little Company of Miscreants in this Kingdom:

Ordered, That the Members of this House, who are of his Majesty's Privy Council, as also Mr. *Pierepoint*, Sir *Edward Turner*, and Sir *Hencage Finch*, do present to his Majesty the humble and thankful Sense this House hath of his Majesty's Justice and Favour, in making this just Defence for the Parliament and People of *England*. — But now to go on.

Our Manuscript Diary being very explicit in the Account of this next Conference, makes it reasonable to suspect that the Author of it was one of the Committee of the House of Commons who managed this Business. We shall therefore give his Account of the Matter, rather than those in the Reports of it, made to each House afterwards, and entered in their Journals, because the Reader may be better pleased to have it from the Notes of an Ear and Eye-Witness, than what is only delivered at second-hand. Besides, the Names of the particular Speakers, on both Sides, are mentioned, with the Arguments they made use of, in the Manuscript, which are omitted in the Reports.

An Account of another Conference on the Pardon Bill.

August 24. Mr. *Trevor* began the Conference, by observing to their Lordships, That the Commons did not adhere to *Lambert* and *Vane*, out of any Respect to their Persons, but for the Honour of the House and of the King, to whom they should be left to Pardon. And as for the Proclamation, the Occasion of it was, for the public Peace of the Nation; and for no other Reason they did agree to it; and therefore they could not now agree with their Lordships. That several Petitions were offered, in the Behalf of many of those Persons, and the Assizes drawing so near, it was necessary the Bill should not be retarded.

Mr.

Mr. *Holles* spoke next, and said, The Com-
mons did agree as to *Axtell*, to be totally excepted;
and as to *Lambert* and *Vane*, they had given them
up too; but desired their Lordships to join with
them in petitioning the King to spare them: And
added, That the Commons insisted that none but the
King's Judges should suffer.

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Sir *Thomas Clarges*, who was appointed to speak
as to *Hasilrigge's* Case, said, The General was
engaged by his Promise, upon Capitulation, to pre-
serve him; and as the House of Commons had con-
sidered it, he hoped their Lordships would agree
with them also.

Sir *Heneage Finch* moved in the Behalf of the Heirs
of those that are dead, and instanced the Lord *Grey*
and Sir *Thomas Mauleverer*. And for those of the
High Court of Justice, who were not the King's
Judges, he said, One was dead, another dying, and
for the other two he left them to the Consideration
of their Lordships.

Sir *George Booth* moved for the Lords Concur-
rence in these Matters, in regard the Commons
agreed with them in pardoning the sixteen for Life.

The Lord-Chancellor replied, That those six-
teen were remitted, only because of the Quiet of the
Nation, and the like for the Heirs of others. But,
for the Judges, the Lords could not recede, and ho-
ped yet the Commons would agree with them in it;
for the Statute of the 21st of *Edward III.* did not
provide against it. And to distinguish between those
that are dead, he said, They were equally guilty with
the living; and they expected a Bill shortly against
Cromwell, *Bradshawe*, *Iretton*, and *Pryde*. As to the
Case of Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, the Chancellor ad-
ded, That it was new to them; but since it has
been owned by the Duke of *Albermarle*, they found
his Case distinguished from the other two; and
therefore agreed with them in it.

Mr. *Swinfen* answered his Lordship, and said,
That it was not the Meaning of the Commons the
King or Lords should interpret the Proclamation as
they

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they did: But why should those Persons come in, if there was not an Implication of Mercy? Who else would have fled from Justice? And that it was not parallel with a Premunire; and added, That those Persons would certainly plead the Proclamation, when they came to their Trials.

To which the Lord-Chancellor answered, That the King did not think himself bound by the Proclamation, nor the Lords neither; but he believed the Guilty would object it. And why can you doubt (says his Lordship) that the King will not be more tender than you? and thought the Commons might do well to leave it so; for certainly the Requests of the Prisoners would be more prevalent than any Arguments then used.

Mr. *Gott* replied to this, and said, That the House of Commons could not come off with Justice and Honour from the Proclamation: That the milder Sense, in all Laws, should always be interpreted. And moved for Banishment or Imprisonment, that they might be living Monuments of their own Wretchedness; to which he hoped their Lordships would agree.

The Lord-Chancellor said, The Proclamation coming first from the Commons, they had the more Reason to concur with the Lords than the Lords with them. Mr. *Swinfen* observed to the Chancellor, That it was hard to reconcile the Proclamation, and urged *Shemey's* Case in the Affair; but said, no Sense was yet offered why they should not be pardoned. To whom the Lord-Chancellor replied, He thought that Point had been already satisfied.

The Conference being about to break off, the Lord *Northampton* said, That these Regicides came in upon the Proclamation, because Nobody durst harbour them, and no way else: That the Proclamation itself was but like a Subpcena in Chancery, punishable if they did not come. And added, with telling the Commons, That the stopping this Act was sparing the King's Murderers.

Au-

However, the very next Day, *August* 25, this heavy Affair was brought to a Conclusion between the two Houses; for the Lords sending to desire another Conference with the Commons, they met accordingly, and the Report of it was made in that House afterwards, by Sir *Heneage Finch*, in these Words :

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‘ The Lord-Chancellor told us, how unhappy soever former Conferences have been, This, he doubted not, would be happy to the King and Kingdom, and beget a chearful Submission of all People to the Determination of the Parliament : He said he would repeat nothing of what he had formerly said ; for though the Lords might have insisted, in the Reasons they formerly offered, yet they have now complied with this House in Effect, tho’ not in Form. The Expedient for a final Conclusion of the Difference was this ; That those Gentlemen that rendered themselves on his Majesty’s Proclamation, should stand in the same Classes as in the Lords Amendments formerly sent down ; that is, as Persons generally excepted for Life and Estate : But, to qualify that, they offered a Clause, to be added by way of Amendment, wherein the Names of those Persons who rendered themselves (—their Lordships know them not, and so have left the Paper with a Blank for that—) upon an Opinion, that they might safely do so, and have not fled to avoid the Justice of the Parliament, (who, he conceived, will be looked upon otherwise, as Persons that have lost the Benefit of the Proclamation) may be inserted by this House ; and, he supposed, a special Care would be had of securing their Persons.’

And then the Reporter read the said Clause, being as followeth :

‘ But in regard the said have personally appeared, and rendered themselves according to the Proclamation, bearing Date the 6th Day of *June*, 1660, to summon the Persons therein named, who gave Judgment, and assisted in the said horrid and detestable Murder of our said late Sovereign, to appear and render themselves ; and do pretend thereby

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to some Favour, upon some conceived doubtful Words in the said Proclamation: Be it enacted by this present Parliament, and the Authority of the same, (upon the humble Desires of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament) That if the said _____, or any of them, shall be legally attainted for the horrid Treason and Murder aforesaid, that then, nevertheless, the Execution of the said Person and Persons, so attainted, shall be suspended untill his Majesty, by the Advice and Assent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, shall order the Execution, by Act of Parliament to be passed for that Purpose.'

'The Reporter proceeded: For That, relating to the Persons dead, (whom their Lordships had put in that fatal Clause, with an Expectation that we would pass an Act for the future Attainder) their Lordships have departed from their Resolution in that Point, and permit them to continue in the Classes wherein we placed them; whereby they are adjourned to the Penalties which shall be inflicted on them by a future Act; expecting only a Bill of Attainder of *Cromwell, Bradshawe, Ireton, and Pryde*.

'For the other Part, wherein we have agreed for excepting *Axtell* without further Expectation, and *Vane* and *Lambert* with Expectation of a further Address on their Behalf, their Lordships agree in That. For that wherein we differed about Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, upon what was offered by a Member of our House, and since, by the Duke of *Albemarle*, they found his Case distinguished from the other two, and agree with us as to him.

'And for the last four; though their Lordships saw very great Reason to adhere to That for Justice and Example Sake; yet, having taken our Reasons into Consideration, and believing the good Report we gave of some of them, their Lordships departed from that Reason in that Point, and leave them to Disability only, as we propounded.'

'Resolved, That this House doth agree with the Lords in the Matters communicated by the Lords at the said Conference.'

'Or-

Ordered, That it be referred to a Committee to dispose the Alterations, made by the Lords this Day, into their proper Places in the Act of Indemnity; and to inform themselves by Perusal of the *Journal*, and Examination of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House, which of the Judges of the late King's Majesty rendered themselves upon his Majesty's Proclamation; and which of them are now in the Serjeant's Custody; or how they are otherwise disposed: And the Serjeant at Arms is to attend the Committee, to give them an Account accordingly: And the Committee are to enter, into the Clause sent from the Lords, the Names of such as so rendered themselves, and have not since withdrawn.

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Then the Question being put, That the Petition of *William Heveningham*, Esq; a High Court of Justice Man, be read, it passed in the Negative.

The same Day the Lord-Chancellor made a short Report, in the House of Lords, of the foregoing Conference with the Commons; who said, They told his Majesty that both Houses were obliged, in Honour, that such a Distinction should be made to those that came in upon the Proclamation, as to be favoured for Life. That the Commons do concur with their Lordships to except absolutely for Life Col. *Axtell*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Col. *Lambert*; and then to join in Petition to his Majesty, that the Severity of the Judgment of Life may be spared to them. As concerning Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*; they offer to their Lordships Consideration that he may be spared for Life, and be put into another Class, in regard of a Capitulation which they understand hath been made between the Lord-General *Monke* and him, in the Time of the late Troubles.

As concerning the four Persons named to be excepted for Life, in setting up the High Court of Justice upon the four Lords, the House of Commons say that one of them is dead, and another almost dead, so as, by Course of Nature and Infirmities, he cannot live long: And Major *Waring* is a Person that never sat but once, and has since done good

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Offices for honest Men; and they being not willing to mix any Blood with those that are to suffer for the Murder of his Majesty, therefore they desire their Lordships would depart from their Resolutions concerning these four Persons.

The House taking this Business into Consideration, ordered That the Lord-Chamberlain, Earl of *Southampton*, Lord *Finch*, Lord *Seymour*, Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Viscount *Say* and *Sele*, Lord *Roberts*, and Lord *Wharton*, should consider of a Proviso to accommodate the Matter in Difference between both Houses, concerning the Persons of those that sentenced and signed the Warrant for the Execution of his late Majesty, and were concerned by their coming in upon the Proclamation, and to report the same.

The Lord *Roberts* reported the Draught of the Expedient to be offered to the House of Commons, concerning the Persons that sentenced and signed the Warrant for Execution of his late Majesty; which said Paper was read *in hæc Verba*, [as given before at p. 449.]

And the Question being put, Whether this shall be offered at a Conference with the House of Commons, and thereupon to concur with the House of Commons in what they propose, it was resolved in the Affirmative.

But the Lord *Seymour* desired Leave to enter his Dissent if the Question was carried in the Affirmative; which was granted.

Next the House concurred with the House of Commons, concerning Sir *Arthur Haslrigge*; and afterwards took into Consideration the four Persons that sat and gave Sentence on the four Lords: And the Question being put, Whether to concur with the House of Commons concerning these four Persons, it was also resolved in the Affirmative.

But, before the putting of this Question, the Lords *Derby* and *Carnarvon*. desired Leave to enter their Dissents, if the Question was carried in the Affirmative.

Then

Then a Message was sent to the House of Commons by Sir *Edmund Peirse* and Mr. *Hobart*, to desire a present free Conference in the *Painted-Chamber*; concerning the last free Conference touching the Act of Indemnity; and the Messengers returned with this Answer, That the House of Commons will give a free Conference as is desired.

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‘ Ordered, That it is referred to the Lord Chief Baron to survey and take Care when the Act of Indemnity is passed both Houses, that the several Alterations and Provisoes are put in their due and proper Places.’

August 28. Mr. Serjeant *Glyn*, from the above Committee, reported, That they had examined and put in Order all the Amendments, and made them to cohere. In which the Names of such as are in Custody, those that are fled, and others that are dead, are included. After this the Name of Col. *Adrian Scrope* came in Question, Whether he should stand excepted for Life; and the House seeming to favour him, as the Diary says, Capt. *Titus* stood up and said, He deserved no Favour, as would appear, if Sir *Richard Brown* would be pleased to relate the Discourse he lately had with him. Upon which Sir *Richard* said, That asking Col. *Scrope* what he thought of the King’s Murder; he replied, Some call it Murder, but he was of another Opinion. On this the House immediately excepted him, by Vote, for Life. Voted also, That Sir *John Bouchier*, who died lately in Prison, be inserted in the Class amongst the dead Persons. Voted, That the Name of the Lord *Grey* be omitted in this Bill.

‘ Resolved, That these be the Names, viz. *Owen Rowe*, *Augustin Garland*, *Edmund Harvey*, *Henry Smith*, *Henry Marten*, *Sir Hardress Waller*, *Robert Tichborne*, *George Fleetwood*, *James Temple*, *Thomas Wayte*, *Symon Mayne*, *William Heveningham*, *Isaac Pennington*, *Peter Temple*, *Robert Lilburne*, *Gilbert Millington*, *Vincent Potter*, *Thomas Wogan*, and *John Downes*, to be inserted in the Clause sent down from the Lords for suspending Execution, in Case of Attainder,

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tainer, till a future Act shall pass for that Purpose.

Mr. *Holles* offered a Proviso to be added to the Bill, That none of the King's Judges should be tried for any other Treason, or Crime, but only for the Murder of the King. Upon which the Question was put, Whether to read this Proviso a second Time? The House divided, and it was carried in the Negative, 134 against 102: Mr. *Holles* and Mr. *Annesley*, Tellers for the Yeas; Lord *Herbert* and Sir *Daniel Harvey* for the Noes. After which the Bill of Indemnity, with the last Amendments, was once more carried back to the Lords by Sir *John Glyn*.

Ordered also, That Mr. Serjeant *Glyn* do put the Lords in Mind to dispatch the Bills for Confirmation of the Fundamental Laws; the Bill for preventing the taking of excessive Usury; the Bill for a perpetual Anniversary; one for indemnifying certain Officers of the Courts of Justice: And to signify to the Lords, that, upon his Majesty's coming to the House to pass the Bill of Indemnity, &c. this House would be ready to bring up the Poll Bill.

Our Diary tells us, That Sir *John Northcot* moved for carrying up the Bill of Indemnity first, that it might be passed before the Poll Bill was sent up. But, no one seconding him, this scrupulous Motion was dropped.

The Serjeant returning from the Lords, to whom he had delivered the Bill, &c. a Message soon after followed from that House, to desire another free Conference on the Bill of Indemnity. At which, the Lord-Chancellor said, That this was meant not to hinder but to expedite the Bill. That the Lords objected against the Name of Mr. *Carew*; for that he did not surrender himself, but was taken before the Proclamation came out; and so could not be presumed to be placed in the Class of those that rendered. To which Mr. *Holles*, Serjeant *Glyn*, and Mr. *Annesley* replied, That Mr. *Carew* did not deny himself, but found his Name mistaken, being put *Cary* for *Carew*, and stayed where he was till he

was

was taken, which they conceived might render him capable of Favour. But on the Committee's returning to the House, and making a Report of this Matter, a Debate arose, in which the Speaker said, That *Carew* was certainly taken before the Proclamation came out, else, in Charity, it might be presumed that he would have come in upon it, because he did not absent himself. Mr. *Prynne* and Mr. *Annesley* both saying, That, in Strictness, he was not within the Benefit of the Proclamation, the Question was put, Whether to agree with the Lords as to Mr. *Carew*, the House divided upon it, into 80 Yeas and 70 Noes; so that *Carew* came into the Class of those who were wholly excepted for Life.

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All Obstacles being now removed, and Matters entirely settled between the two Houses, about this Bill of Indemnity, Mr. *Holles* was ordered to return it to the Lords, with the last particular Amendment made to it. At the same Time to desire the Lords humbly to intreat his Majesty, that he would please to come to the House the next Morning, to pass this Bill of General Pardon, and the other Bills which were ready for the Royal Assent. To which Mr. *Holles* brought Answer, That the Lords would do as desired.

Accordingly the next Day, *August 29*, the King came to the House of Peers; and his Majesty, sitting in his Chair of State, commanded the Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod to give Notice to the House of Commons, That it is his Majesty's Pleasure they come up; who being come up, their Speaker address'd his Majesty in the following Terms:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

‘NOT many Months since *England* was but a great Prison, where the worst of Men were our Governors, and their vilest Lusts the Laws by which they governed.

‘The great and most wise God conveyed Divine Intelligence into your patient and pious Soul, and taught

The King comes to the House of Lords to pass it and other Bills.

The Speaker's Speech to the King on presenting them.

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taught you how, by suffering for us, to deliver us from our Sufferings; to knock off our Shackles, and set your People at Liberty, when neither Power nor Policy could effect it. So soon as your Majesty set your Foot upon your *English* Shore, our Prison was turned into a Paradise of Pleasure, and the whole Nation filled with Joy, and Love, and Peace.

‘ Sir, This great Blessing is already registered in your People’s thankful Hearts, and they desire that the Memory thereof may be perpetuated; and therefore they have laid it up amongst their choicest Jewels, and annexed it to their *Magna Charta*; which they are willing to pawn unto your Majesty, upon Condition; when they forget this, to forfeit that and all.

‘ Sir, Amongst your many illustrious Titles, which, like fair and beautiful Flowers, do adorn and bedeck your Royal Crown, there is one exceeds and excells all the rest, as well in Virtue as in Beauty, and that is your Title of *Defender of the Faith*. Sir, as that Title is your Honour, so the Truth of it is our Happiness. Neither the highest Provocations, nor the strongest Temptations, that ever Prince met withall, have been able to shake your victorious Faith, nor abate your holy Zeal; witness your first Act, after your Return to the Exercise of your Regal Power, in your early and timely suppressing Profaneness, and discountenancing debauched Persons, who know not how to express their Thankfulness unto God for Mercies, but by a sinful drinking them away; a Practice your Soul abhors.

‘ And as it is your highest Honour to be the Defender of that Faith which we profess; so it is the greatest Interest, Prerogative, and Privilege your Majesty can be endowed and invested withall in this World, and will be your most lasting Comfort in the World to come, that God, who hath hitherto been a Sun to direct you, will be a Shield to protect you; and that Faith which you defend will defend you against all your Enemies, maugre the Malice of the Devil and all his wicked Instruments.

‘ Royal

‘ Royal Sir, Your eminent Virtues, and those excellent Qualifications that God hath bestowed upon you, to make you every way worthy and fit for Government, invites us at this Time, with joyful Hearts, to make our humble Addresses unto your Majesty, and to give you a chearful Account of our Proceedings this Parliament, wherein we have spent our whole Time upon public Bills; some we must confess, of very great Concernment to your Majesty and all your People, are not yet ripe, nor brought to Perfection: But though, like an After-Crop, yet, with the fair Weather of your Majesty’s wonted Patience, we hope likewise to inn them well at last, to your Majesty’s full Satisfaction, and the great Contentment of all your loyal and faithful Subjects.

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‘ Some Bills are passed both Houses, and already lodged here, which attend and wait for your Majesty’s Royal Assent, and I shall humbly beg the Favour only but to touch upon some of those of most public Concernment by the Way, and *in transitu*, to that Bill here in my Hand.

‘ Sir, There is one Bill now before you, intituled, *An Act for the Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings*. The Scope and Intendment of that Bill is to settle Men’s Estates, which is the Way to quiet their Minds; and, when their Minds are at rest, there will be no Fear of their breaking the Peace, or forfeiting their good Behaviour any more in Time to come.

‘ There is another Bill, intituled, *An Act to prevent the taking of excessive Usury*. The restraining Men of avaritious Minds, whose Consciences are as large as their Bags, will be a great Ease to your People, and an Enablement to your Merchants the better to go on with their Trades. They are the laborious Bees that bring in Honey into your Majesty’s Hive; and Usurers are the lazy idle Drones that rob your Hive of the Honey.

‘ There is another Bill, intituled, *An Act for a perpetual Anniversary Thanksgiving to be observed and kept upon the 29th of May*: A Day that God himself

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self was pleased to honour and adorn with a new additional Star, never seen before nor since; a Star of rare Aspect, which declared; to all the World at once, the happy News of your Majesty's blessed Nativity: And as it was your Majesty's Birth-Day, so it was the Day of your Restoration to your Kingdoms, Parliament, and People; and likewise the Day of your People's Re-Creation out of a Chaos of Confusion and Misery: And therefore they humbly pray, That not only we (for there would need no Act for that so long as we live) but that our Posterity, and the Ages that shall succeed us, might for ever be obliged to set apart that Day as a Holiday, to dedicate their Praises and Thanksgivings up unto Almighty God for his miraculous Deliverance of this poor Nation, when it lay in Dust and Ashes, in a most miserable, desperate, forlorn, and deplorable Condition.

‘ There is another Bill, intituled, *An Act of free and general Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion*. It may well be called a free Pardon; for your Majesty was pleased to offer it before we had Confidence enough to ask it, and at a Time when your People had most need of it: And it may as truly be called a general Pardon, in respect of the Extensiveness of it. But looking over a long, black, prodigious, dismal Roll and Catalogue of Malefactors, we there meet not with Men but Monsters, guilty of Blood, precious Blood, precious Royal Blood, never to be remembered without Tears; incomparable in all the Kinds of Villany that ever was acted by the worst of Miscreants; Perverters of Religion; Subverters of Government; false to God; disloyal to the best of Kings; and perfidious to their Country: And therefore we found an absolute and indispensable Necessity incumbent upon us, to except and set some apart for Treacle, to expell the Poison of Sin and Rebellion out of others, and that they might be made Sacrifices to appease God's Wrath, and satisfy Divine Justice.

‘ And now I am come to that Bill here in my Hand, which I am commanded humbly to present your Majesty withall.

‘ Royal

‘ Royal Sir, Your Commons, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesſes, now aſſembled in Parliament, taking into Conſideration the great and inſupportable Burden of the Army and Navy; that your People do now groan under; and knowing, as Money is the Sinews of War, ſo, as the State of Affairs now ſtand, that it is likewiſe the beſt Medium that can be uſed, in order to the attaining that End we have all ſo much deſired and ſo long prayed for, The Settlement of a happy Peace; and therefore they have paſſed this Bill, intituled, *An Act for a ſpeedy Proviſion of Money to pay off and diſband all the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land*, upon which they hope ſuch a Sum will be advanced and brought in, as may be ſufficient fully to diſcharge and diſpatch that Work: And they humbly pray your Maſteſty’s gracious Acceptance thereof, and your Royal Aſſent thereunto.

‘ I am further to inform and aſſure your Maſteſty, that your People have paſſed another Supply and Revenue unto your Maſteſty, which far ſurmouteth all they have already done in Value, and that is, their Hearts and Affections; having their Hearts, your Maſteſty may command their Purſes.

‘ Moſt Royal Sovereign, We have nothing more to offer, or to aſk, at this Time, but your Maſteſty’s gracious Favour, ſo ſoon as your Service and the public Affairs will permit, that we might have Leave to go into our Countries, where we ſhall make your People ſenſible of their Happineſs, in having ſuch a King to govern and rule over them; and as we praiſe your Maſteſty, ſo likewiſe to pray for your Maſteſty, that you may live long, and reign proſperouſly.’

After the Speaker had ended, he preſented his Maſteſty with a Bill, intituled, *An Act for the ſpeedy Proviſion of Money for diſbanding and paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Land and Sea*; which was received by the Clerk of the Parliament.

Then his Maſteſty was graciouſly pleaſed to give his Royal Aſſent to theſe Bills following; the Titles whereof

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whereof were read by the Clerk of the Crown, and the Royal Assent was pronounced by the Clerk of the Parliament.

The Titles of the said Bills were as follow :

An Act for the Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings.

An Act for the restraining the excessive taking of Usury.

An Act for a perpetual Anniversary Thanksgiving on the 29th Day of May.

An Act for a free and general Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion.

To all these Bills the Royal Assent was pronounced in these Words, *Le Roy le Veult.*

An Act for naturalizing Peter de la Peire, alias Peters, and John de la Peire, alias Peters.

Soit fait come il est Desire.

An Act for the speedy Provision of Money for disbanding and paying off the Forces of the Kingdom both by Land and Sea.

Le Roy Remerciant les bon Subjects.

Accepte leur Benevolence et ainsi le Veult.

Then his Majesty made the following very gracious Speech :

My Lords and Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The King's
Speech to both
Houses on passing
the Bills.

I Have been here some Times before with you, but never with more Willingness than I am at this Time ; and there be few Men in the Kingdom who have longed more impatiently to have these Bills passed, than I have done to pass them ; and, I hope, they will be the Foundation of much Security and Happiness to us all.

I do very willingly pardon all that is pardoned by this Act of Indemnity, to that Time which is mentioned in the Bill ; nay, I will tell you, that, from that Time to this Day, I will not use great Severity, except in such Cases where the Malice is notorious, and the public Peace exceedingly concerned. But, for the Time to come, the same Discretion and Conscience which dis-

disposed me to the Clemency I have expressed, which is most agreeable to my Nature, will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how contrary soever it be to my Nature, towards those who shall not now acquiesce, but continue to manifest their Sedition and Dislike of the Government, either in Action or Words. And I must conjure you all, my Lords and Gentlemen, to concur with me in this just and necessary Severity; and that you will, in your several Stations, be so jealous of the public Peace, and of my particular Honour, that you will cause exemplary Justice to be done upon those who are guilty of seditious Speeches or Writings, as well as those who break out into seditious Actions: And that you will believe those, who delight in reproaching and traducing my Person, not to be well-affected to you and the public Peace. Never King valued himself more upon the Affections of his People, than I do; nor do I know a better Way to make myself sure of your Affections than by being just and kind to you all; and whilst I am so, I pray let the World see that I am possessed of your Affections.

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August.

For your Poll Bill, I do thank you as much as if the Money were to come into my own Coffers; and wish, with all my Heart, that it may amount to as great a Sum as you reckon upon. If the Work be well and orderly done to which it is designed, I am sure I shall be the richer by it in the End; and, upon my Word, if I had wherewithall, I would myself help you, so much I desire the Business done. I pray very earnestly, as fast as Money comes in, discharge that great Burden of the Navy, and disband the Army as fast as you can; and, till you can disband the rest, make a Provision for their Support.

I do conjure you, as you love me, let me not hear the Noise of Free-Quarter, which will be imputed to my Want of Care and Government, how innocent soever I am; and therefore be sure you prevent it.

I am so confident of your Affections, that I will not move you in any Thing that immediately relates to myself; and yet I must tell you I am not richer; that is, I have not so much Money in my Purse as when I came to you. The Truth is, I have lived principally,

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August.

ever since, upon what I brought with me; which was indeed your Money, for you sent it to me, and I thank you for it. The weekly Expence of the Navy eats up all you have given me by the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage. Nor have I been able to give my Brothers one Shilling since I came into England; nor to keep any Table in my House but what I eat myself: And that which troubles me most is, to see many of you come to me at Whitehall, and to think that you must go somewhere else to seek your Dinner.

I do not mention this to you as any Thing that troubles me; do but take Care of the Public, and for what is necessary for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and take your own Time for my own Particular; which I am sure you will provide for with as much Affection and Frankness as I can desire.

At the Return of the Commons to their House, the Diary says, there were several Speeches made on Ways and Means to raise more Money; but, Sir Anthony Irby saying, That it was not proper to have the Act of Indemnity passed, and raise Money at one Breath, this Affair was postponed to another Time: And it was moved that the Speaker be desired to print his Speech.

We are now at Liberty to be somewhat more diffusive in our Inquiries into the Conduct of the two Houses than we have been whilst pursuing the last important Act through them both: But indeed, upon a Re-survey of the *Journals* and the Diary backwards, we cannot find any Thing else that was material omitted, so entirely had this Bill engrossed the Attention of both Houses. We now go on to shew in what Manner his Subjects recompensed this merciful Prince for this Act of Clemency; the greatest that ever was shewn from a King to a rebellious Crew; when he had them in his Power, and could have crushed them down so low as never to rise again. It has been a Dispute amongst our Historians, whether this Act of general Pardon did not more expose the King's Weakness, than his merciful Disposition.

Could

Could any Prince, say they, so far forget himself, as to pardon more than one Half of his Father's absolute Murderers? His own and Brothers long Banishment, to seek Relief, and even Bread, from foreign Princes, where they were slighted and bandied about, from Court to Court, seeking Rest and finding none: And where they infallibly must have starved, but that the wretched Remains of the Loyal Party in *England* spared them somewhat, by way of Contribution, to support them; out of their own shattered Incomes. All these Circumstances render it scarce possible they could be forgot so soon as they were; and, on the King's Side, we may say, buried in eternal Oblivion. How this Sectarian Spirit rewarded this extraordinary Mercy to them, the Annals of this Prince's Reign do sufficiently shew; but are not within the Limits of this Work to treat of; so we shall go on with our own History of this Convention Parliament to its Dissolution.

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August 30. A Bill had been before the Commons some Time, for naturalizing forty Aliens together, and came now to a third Reading; but it did not pass into a Law without some Opposition. Our Diary says, Mr. *Prynne* moved against this Bill, without their paying public Fine for it, as the old *Romans* did. But two other Members, Sir *Edward Turner* and Mr. *Knight*, speaking in Favour of it, it came to a Question, Whether this Bill should pass into a Law? The House divided into 68 Noes, and 88 Yeas, and so the Bill was passed.

The Army, which had before done so much Mischiefe, and lately so much Good to the Nation, was yet a heavy Burden to support; and did, no Doubt, create some Fears also to those who knew their Fickleness, and had felt their Power; but how to get quietly rid of their *quondam* Masters, was then the Question, and required great Art to manage. This Day Sir *William D'Oiley* made a Report from the Committee appointed for that Purpose, and delivered in a Paper, sent to them by the Lord-General, as a Plan for disbanding the Army; which

was

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Proposal for a
Way to disband
the Army with-
out Mutiny.

was read in the House, and is entered in the *Journals*, as follows;

1. That the Officers and Soldiers who were in Pay, in Army or Garrison, the 25th of *April*, 1660, shall have their just Arrear, paying or defalking for their Quarters, in Prosecution of his Majesty's Declaration, and my Engagement to the Army, upon the Address by them made, to acquiesce in the Judgment of Parliament.

2. That for the present Subsistence of the Army, the Month's Pay, appointed by Ordinance of Parliament, in part of the six Weeks Pay now due upon the new Account, may be forthwith issued; that so the Army and Garrisons may be put into a Condition of Subsistence, untill so many of them shall be disbanded, as shall be thought fit by his Majesty and the Parliament.

3. That the Forces, that of Necessity for the present must be continued for Defence of the Garrisons in *Scotland*, are three Regiments of Foot, and one Troop of Horse: The Residue now there, are, three Regiments of Foot, and eleven Troops of Horse; which may be disposed of as shall be thought fit.

4. As to the Forces in Field and Garrison within this Kingdom, appearing upon the List annexed, so many of them may forthwith be disbanded as shall be thought fit.

5. And, for the Manner of disbanding, the Money being prepared, I shall, upon Notice from the Commissioners appointed for that Purpose, draw the Regiments to the most convenient Places, and nearest to their Quarters, where the Arms may be secured for his Majesty's Service, (that is to say) the Foot Arms, except Swords, which are their own; and for the Horse to deliver up what defensive Arms they have; their Horses, Swords, and Pistols, being their own likewise.

This being done, the Field Officers of every Regiment, to give Passes under their Hands and Seals, to all under their Command, to go into their respective Countries.

As to the last Part of the Order, I have already given

given Direction, that no Soldiers be henceforth
 lifted in any Troops or Companies; and I shall
 take Care that no Officers be from henceforth com-
 missioned into the Room of any that shall die, or be
 removed.

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After the reading of this Paper, the House fell A Debate upon
 into a Debate on this important Point, in which ^{it};
 there were many Difficulties to get over. Mr.
Prynne moved to pay no Arrears to those that were
 with *Lambert* and others, and did not submit. Sir
John Northcot argued, That *Scotland* should pay to-
 wards the disbanding of the Army. Sir *William*
Morrice was for having the Army disbanded on all
 Accounts; and said, That Gunpowder was made of
 the same Ingredients that caused an Earthquake; and
 that, as long as the Soldiery continued, there would
 be a perpetual Trembling in the Nation: That they
 were inconsistent with the Happiness of any King-
 dom; and compared the keeping of an Army on
 Foot to a Sheep's Skin and a Wolf's Skin; which,
 if they lie together, the former would lose its Wool.
 And again; if a Sheep and a Wolf be put into two
 several Grates, by one another, the Sheep would
 pine and die at the Sight of the other. Neither,
 said he, could the Nation appear like itself, whilst
 the Sword was over them; and moved to pay off
 and disband the Army. On which the House came
 to the following Resolutions:

‘ Resolved, That all the Forces now of the Eng- And Resolu-
lish Establishment, whether in *England*, *Scotland*, or tions.
 elsewhere, be disbanded with all convenient Speed.

‘ Resolved, That such of the Officers and Soldiers
 in Army or Garrison, who were in actual Service
 on the 25th of *April*, 1660, and not discharged
 since for not taking the Oaths of Allegiance and
 Supremacy, shall have their just Arrear; paying or
 defalking for their Quarters, in Prosecution of his
 Majesty's Declaration, and the Lord-General's En-
 gagement to the Army, upon the Address by them
 made to acquiesce in the Judgment of the Parlia-
 ment.’

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August.

‘Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee of the Army to prepare a Bill for disbanding of the Army, and bring it in To-morrow Morning: And that Serjeant *Glyn*, Sir *Heneage Finch*, Sir *Edward Turner*, Mr. *Charlton*, and Mr. *Annesley*, be added to that Committee, as to this Business: And they are to meet at Two of the Clock this Afternoon, in the Chamber where the Committee of the Army do sit.’

August 31. The Ministers Bill was another great Obstacle in the Proceedings of a Parliament, who were half of them Presbyterians, or inclin'd to other Sects, how to turn out or settle those People in their respective Livings. It had taken much Time before this, the Debates on some Parts of the Bill being given already, and now it was resumed; when the Commissioners for the Establishment of Ministers, and who were to be Judges of Scandal or Ignorance in them, were put under this Regulation:

‘Ordered, That all the Justices of the Peace in each County, and all the Members of Parliament that are not Justices, shall be Commissioners, whereof five to be of the *Quorum*; and to call to their Assistance such Ministers as they shall think fit. The whole to be concluded before the 28th of *December* next.

The same Day a Message from the Lords came down to the House of Commons, to desire a Conference; which being agreed to, the Lords communicated the following Message to them, which they had received from the King:

CHARLES R.

A Message from
the King.

HIS Majesty being frequently desired, by several Members of the House of Peers, to dispense with their Absence from the Service of the House, and to give them Leave to go into the Country for their Healths and their Affairs: And finding that the Circuits will carry many of the Members of the House of Commons into their several Countries; where, he doubts

doubts not, they will much advance his Majesty's Service, and the Peace of the Kingdom; and the House of Commons having, by their Speaker, desired his Majesty's Leave to go into the Country, his Majesty is graciously pleased that both Houses shall have a Recess upon Saturday the 8th of the next Month: In which Time he doubts not Care will be taken for the raising such Money as shall be necessary for the Payment of the Debts of the Navy, disbanding the Army, and supporting it till it shall be disbanded; which his Majesty desires as much as any Man. And his Majesty intends that both Houses shall meet again upon Tuesday the 6th of November next.

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On the reading of this Message the Commons ^{A short Debate upon it.} ordered, That no private Business, depending in their House, be proceeded in till the Day of Adjournment. But, at the same Time, several Debates arose concerning the Word *Recess* in the King's Message; whether to adjourn or no; or what the Word meant; to adjourn, or to determine; and ordered another Conference with the Lords about it. But that House being risen before the Message was sent, this Matter was dropp'd for that Time. However, two Days after, (*September 3*) a Conference was held; when the Lord-Chancellor declared it was his Majesty's Pleasure that the Parliament should be adjourned according to former Usage; and not that he meant, by the Word *Recess*, a Dissolution.

The same Day a Message was sent down by the Lords, with a Petition which they had received from the maimed Soldiers in the King's Party, begging Relief in their distressed Circumstances; which they recommended to the Commons to take Care of. Serjeant *Glyn* moved against the Petition's being read, because it came to the Lords first, who ought not to meddle with Matters of Money, That solely belonging to the Commons. Sir *John Masham* spoke for the Petition; and happening to say That he found the Petition was slighted, because they were the King's Soldiers, Sir *Anthony Irby* moved to

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September.

have him called to the Bar for it. This Motion was opposed by several; urging, It was better to lay it aside, and let the Petitioners begin again in the right Way. But others arguing that he ought to explain himself, or be called to the Bar, Sir *John* stood up again, and said, It was not his Meaning to reflect upon the House, or any particular Person in it, but thought there was an equal Justice to be observed, in providing for the Soldiers of both Parties.

Both the Houses now began to curtail all private Business, and to prepare, or make ready, the public Bills for the Royal Assent, before the Adjournment. Accordingly the Commons sat Morning and Afternoon; and this Day, *Sept. 4*, they resolved, That his Majesty should be desired not to dispose of any of the Manors or Lands of the Persons excepted from Pardon by the late Act, untill his Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, were provided for. At the same Time they ordered the Sum of 10,000*l.* to be charged on the Receipt of the Excise, for the Use of his Highness the Duke of *York*, and 7000*l.* for the Duke of *Gloucester*, to be paid for their present Necessities; also 5000*l.* more for the Repair of his Majesty's Houses.

Dutch Encroachments on Trade considered.

An Affair happened in the House of Commons in relation to the *Dutch*, who had made several Encroachments on the Trade of this Nation, during the late Usurpation, and were still carrying them on. There had been a Committee appointed, on Complaint of the Merchants, to examine into this Matter, and we shall give the Report made from the Authority of the *Journals*; since, probably, it was the Beginning of the Disputes that occasioned the succeeding bloody and expensive *Dutch* War.

Col. Jones reported the Draught of a Petition to his Majesty, in reference to the Charges laid upon the Cloth and other Woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom by the *Dutch*; which was read; and, with some Amendments, was, on the Question, agreed to, being as followeth, *viz.*

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty,

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1660.

The HUMBLE PETITION of the COMMONS assembled
in Parliament,

September.

Shewing,

THAT Woollen Cloth, and other Woollen
Manufactures within this Realm, are the
chief Support of many thousand Inhabitants there-
of; the principal Foundation upon which the fo-
reign Commerce of this Kingdom moveth, and the
great Means of upholding and advancing of your
Majesty's Customs and Subsidies:

Petition to the
King on that
Affair.

That, for some Years past, the *Dutch* have de-
signed to beat down and discourage that Manufac-
ture in this Realm, and to gain the same to them-
selves, which they have in a great Measure effected:

That, in order to that Design, they have im-
posed these immoderate and excessive Imposts, or
Charges, upon *English* Cloth imported into their
Countries, viz. upon every short Cloth, 20s. upon
every long Cloth, 24s. upon every *Worcester*
Cloth, 30s. and also a certain Charge of Tare,
usually amounting to 10s. and upwards, upon every
English Cloth:

That by the Exemption of the *Dutch* Cloth from
these Charges, and by the laying these excessive
Taxes upon *English* Manufactory, the Market and
Vent of *English* Cloth, and other Woollen Manu-
facture is hindered; the *English* Merchant discour-
aged; and, in Effect, little less than a plain Inhi-
bition of the Trade of those Manufactures into
Holland, is introduced and maintained.

The Premises considered, your most obedient
Subjects, the _____ and Commons assembled in
Parliament humbly pray, That, upon the Treaty
with the *Dutch*, your Majesty will be pleased to
take such effectual Course that the excessive Imposi-
tions aforesaid be taken off from the *English* Cloth,
and that the like Care may be taken in Treaties
with other Princes and States,

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

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Ordered, That the Lords Concurrence be desired herein; and Col. *Jones* is to carry it to the Lords.

A Committee had been appointed to consider the State of the present Revenue of the Crown; and this Day Sir *Heneage Finch* reported from the Committee to whom it was referred to consider of a Revenue to be settled on the King's Majesty, and the State of the late King's Revenue, an Estimate of the present Revenue of his Majesty, and several Resolves of the said Committee; that is to say,

That, according to the best Information the Committee could receive from the Officers heretofore employed about the Revenue, the Total of the Revenue which came unto his late Majesty amounted, from the Year 1637 to the Year 1641 inclusive, *communibus Annis*, unto 895,819*l.* 5*s.* whereof 210,493*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* did arise by Payments, partly not warranted by Law, and partly expired: And that the Expences of his said late Majesty's Government did amount, *communibus Annis*, to about 200,000*l.* a-year above the Receipt; in which Computation the Incomes arising by Ship-Money are not comprehended: And that, by Estimate, the present Revenue of his now Majesty may be computed at 819,398*l.* or thereabouts; that is to say, by

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The Customs ———	400000	0	0
The Composition for the } Court of Wards	100000	0	0
The Revenue of Farms and } Rents	263598	0	0
The Office of Postage ———	21500	0	0
The Proceeds of <i>Deane Forest</i>	4000	0	0
The Imposition on Sea-Coal } exported	8000	0	0
Wine Licences, and other } Additions	22300	0	0
	<hr/>		
	819398	0	0
	<hr/>		

Of

Of which Sum 45,698*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* Part of the said An. 12. Car. II.
263,598*l.* for Farms and Rents, is casual, and, for 1660.
the most Part, lost; *viz.* for the Mint, Allum, 
Transportation of Gold, New-Years-Gifts, and in- September.
stalled Debts.

He also reported some Resolves of the said Com-
mittee, *viz.*

That a Bill be tendered to the House, for Estab-
lishing and Regulation of the Office of Post-Master:

That the like Bill be tendered to the House for
Wine Licences:

That a Bill be prepared for settling the Lands of
the Crown, so that no Grant of the Inheritance
shall be good in Law; nor any Lease, more than for
three Lives, or thirty-one Years, where a third Part
of the true yearly Value is reserved for a Rent, as
it shall appear upon the Return of a Survey; which
that Act is to take Order for, that it may be speedily
had and taken:

That the House be desired to move the King's
Majesty, that there be a Forbearance to make Leases
of Lands, or other Grants of the Revenue, till the
said Act be passed: And

That the said Committee think fit that the Re-
venue, for the constant yearly Support of his Maje-
sty, be a Revenue of 1,200,000*l.* a-year.'

The Question being propounded, That the pre-
sent King's Majesty's Revenue shall be made up
1,200,000*l.* a-year: And the Question being put,
That this Question be now put, it passed in the Af-
firmative: And the main Question being put, it
was resolved, 'That the present King's Majesty's
Revenue shall be made up 1,200,000*l.* a-year.

'Resolved, That this House doth agree with the
Committee, that a Bill be brought in for Establi-
shing and Regulation of the Office of Wine Licences;
and that another Bill be brought in for settling the
Lands of the Crown, so as that no Grant of the Inhe-
ritance shall be good in Law; nor any Lease for
more than three Lives, or thirty-one Years, where
a third Part of the true yearly Value is reserved for
a Rent, as it shall appear upon the Return of a Sur-
vey,

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vey, which that Act is to take Order for, to be speedily had and taken: And that Mr. Sollicitor-General, and Mr. Serjeant *Glyn*, do prepare and bring in Bills accordingly.

Resolved, That this House doth agree with the Committee, that the King's Majesty be humbly moved, from this House, to forbear to make any Leases of Lands, or other Grants of the Revenue of the Crown, till the said last-mentioned Act be passed.

Resolved, That his Majesty be humbly moved that he will be pleased to forbear the Exercise of his Prerogative, in making Use of his Tenures, till this House shall have settled a Revenue in Compensation thereof; which is already in an effectual Way of settling.

September 5. This Day a Petition was drawn up, and read in the House, to be presented to the King, from both Houses, in these Words:

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty,

The HUMBLE PETITION of the LORDS and COMMONS in Parliament assembled,

Sheweth,

A Petition to the King from both Houses, relating to *Vane* and *Lambert*.

THAT your Majesty having declared your gracious Pleasure to proceed only against the immediate Murderers of your Royal Father, we your Majesty's most humble Subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, not finding Sir *Henry Vane* or Col. *Lambert* to be of that Number, are humble Suitors to your Majesty, if they shall be attainted, yet Execution, as to their Lives, may be remitted,

And, as in Duty bound, we shall ever pray, &c.

Mr. *Prynne* was ordered by the House to carry up this Petition to the Lords for their Concurrence. To which Petition their Lordships agreed; and, on presenting it to his Majesty, he was also graciously pleased to grant the same.

In the Afternoon of this Day the Bill for disbanding the Army was read in Paragraphs, and debated. An. 12. Car. II. 1660.
 Col. *Birch* and Mr. *Harley* moved to disband those Regiments first that were listed last. *Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper* was for their being disbanded by Lots. September.
 Mr. *Annesley*, to state their Accounts, and to disband those first who had least owing to them. The Bill for disbanding the Army debated.
Lord Fairfax and *Sir Allen Broderick* moved to except the Regiments of the two Dukes and the Lord-General's out of the Lots. This last Motion was seconded by *Sir Heneage Finch* and Mr. *Barton*; and, after an Hour's Debate, says the Manuscript, it was voted, That the Army should be disbanded by Lots.

A Bill for enabling Soldiers to exercise any Trades in any City or Corporation, although they have not served seven Years as Apprentices, was, this Day, read twice and committed. Ordered, That the Number of the Commissioners for disbanding the Army should be six; *Sir Robert Brown*, *Sir William D'Oiley*, Mr. *Prynne*, Col. *King*, Col. *Birch*, and Mr. *Scawen*.

The Bill for Confirmation of Marriages, by Justices of the Peace, was read a third Time and passed. Passed; with that for Confirmation of Marriages.
 As was also the Bill for disbanding the Army, and ordered to be sent up to the Lords by Mr. *Hollis*; which last they did not pass, without a Conference or two about it, and several Amendments.

The Recess from Parliament drawing now very near, it will be necessary to look back a little into the Business of the House of Lords, before we conclude this Session; but here we find little or nothing to our Purpose, except what is already given from the *Journals* of the other House; only an Order made by the Lords against unlawful Assemblies of Sectaries which then met in different Parts of the Kingdom, particularly in *Northamptonshire*; against whom the following Order was levelled.

‘ UPON Information given to this House that
 ‘ there are very great Assemblies of Quakers
 ‘ and Anabaptists, conceived to be of *Lambert's* Par-
 ‘ ty,

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September.

The Lords make
an Order against
Quakers, &c.

ty, who meet frequently in very great Multitudes in
 the Towns of *Calworth* and *Eydon*, in *Northamp-*
tonshire, and in other Parts of that County, plotting
 and contriving against the Peace of the Church
 and State, as appears evidently by their very fre-
 quent casting-out and dispersing several scandalous
 Papers against the Ministers and their preaching
 the Truth in Churches, to the great Discourage-
 ment and Scandal of good People; it is ordered, by
 the Lords in Parliament assembled, That it is here-
 by especially recommended to the Justices of the
 Assize, at their next Sitting in the said County, that
 they give strict Charge to the Sheriffs there, and to
 the Justices of the Peace, and others whom it con-
 cerns, that they, in their several Jurisdictions and
 Places about them, do suppress and prevent such
 Meetings, that the Peace of the Land be kept, and
 the People freed hereafter of the said Disquiets;
 and that the Sheriffs be especially charged to pre-
 vent the like Meetings throughout the whole County
 hereafter, for the avoiding of Tumults and Riots
 contrary to Law.

Both Houses went now on very briskly to perfect
 those Bills for the Royal Assent, which lay before
 them. The Commons sat Morning and Afternoon,
 and would have had the Lords to do the like; but they
 excused themselves, by reason it would hinder their
 Committees from sitting to do the necessary Business
 of the House. The Commons, however, being pressed
 for Time; sent a Message this Day, *Sept. 8*, up to the
 Lords, to acquaint them, That they had several Mat-
 ters of very great Concernment before them, which
 would require further Time to dispatch; therefore
 they desired their Lordships to concur with them in
 petitioning his Majesty, That the Adjournment of
 the Houses might be prolonged to the 13th Instant,
 and then to give his Royal Assent to such Bills as
 should be ready at that Time: To which the King
 consented.

The same Day the Commons sent up a Bill for
 raising 70,000*l.* a Month, for the more speedy Sup-
 ply

ply of his Majesty's Occasions. Their Lordships paid so much Honour to this Bill as to read it three Times, and pass it, without any thing intervening; and sent it down the next Day to the Commons, along with the Bill for disbanding the Army, with some Alterations, and one Proviso added; to which they desired their Concurrence.

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1660.
September.

September 9. The Bill for confirming of Ministers in their respective Livings was also passed by the Lords, with some Alterations and Provisoes; and being sent down to the Commons, that House demurred to agree with the other, and a Conference or two was held about it. The Lords gave up some Part of their Alterations, on the Commons representing to them, that they would destroy the whole Intention and Body of the Bill, and Ministers be put into a worse Condition than they were before; and thereby the King would be disabled from doing what he intended, and shewed himself willing to do: That, concerning the Matter and Manner of trying of Scandal, which the Lords objected to, the Commons said, They could wish it had not been in the Bill; but, being now so, they desired it might pass for this Time, because, they said, it might sound ill abroad if it should be left out.

After hearing of this Report, the Lords fell into a Debate upon it, and afterwards appointed a Committee to withdraw presently and alter the Proviso, and amend the Alterations according to the Sense of this House, and the Agreement with the House of Commons. This Order being soon perfected, the Question was put, Whether to agree with what was then read, it passed in the Affirmative; the Lords *Bolingbroke*, *Derby*, and *Hereford* only dissenting.

September 11. A Bill for annexing of *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke* in *Flanders*, and *Jamaica* in *America*, to the Crown of *England*, was this Day sent up by the Commons; and, being twice read, was committed to the 10th of *November* next, to be then con-

An. 12. Car. 11. considered and reported to the House. The Sum
 of 1200*l.* a Week allowed for the Maintenance of
 the Garrison of *Dunkirk*.

1660.

September.

September 12. This Day the Commons, in summing up all Matters not yet quite perfected, thought proper to leave an Order behind them, at their Recess, relating to the Sales of Bishops Lands, &c. which, on sending up, the Lords agreed to. The Order was this :

An Order postponed on the Bill of Sales.

‘Whereas the Business of Sales of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and other Lands, which is under the Consideration of Parliament, cannot, by reason of the sudden Recess of both Houses, receive Accomplishment till the Parliament shall meet again: For the more effectual Dispatch and Settlement thereof, to the Satisfaction of Parties concerned, whether as Purchasers, antient Tenants, or otherwise, it is ordered, That his Majesty be desired, with all convenient Speed, to cause one Commission, or more, under the Great Seal of *England*, to issue, to certain chosen Commissioners of both Houses, and other Persons, who may be impowered to treat with Purchasers, and such as shall have Authority, in that Behalf, from any of them, and all other Person and Persons, Bodies Politic and Corporate, concerned in the said Sales; and to agree upon equal Terms between the Parties, if they can; or else to receive and consider of Proposals and Heads of Agreement, and to prepare something to offer to both Houses, for the full Settlement of this Affair, at the Return of both Houses: And, in the mean while, all Persons concerned are with Patience to expect such an Issue of this Business from the Wisdom of Parliament, as may accommodate the same, and give them reasonable Satisfaction, according to the Intention of his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament.’

This Day also a very remarkable Debate happened in the House of Commons, of which their *Journals* take not the least Notice, nor any Historian that we know of. We are beholden to our Manuscript Diary for this Piece of Intelligence, as well

well as for many others, before given, and what will follow, to the End of this Convention Parliament. An. 12. Car. II. 1660.

The Affair was this :

September.

Mr. *Bamfield*, seconded by Mr. *Stevens*, moved, That the King should be desired to marry, and that it should be to a Protestant. In Answer to this Mr. *Annesley* said, That he thought this Motion was not timely offered ; and that when Queen *Elizabeth* was put in mind of such a Thing, she said, They ought to look to Matters that concerned themselves. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* spoke for the Motion, as also Mr. *Bunckley*, for marrying a Protestant, and that the Speaker should move this Matter when he went up with the Bills to the House of Lords. Sir *Samuel Jones* desired it might be left to the King's own Choice ; and Serjeant *Hales* said, It was not reasonable to confine his Majesty ; urging how much the Peace and Good of the Nation was bound up in him. On the same Side Sir *Heneage Finch* argued, That the Motion was very sudden, and wished they might not be too sudden in their Resolves upon it : That they had no Reason to think the King would marry a Papist, being then at Liberty to make his own Choice, when before he was under Catholic Princes, and might have been induced to marry amongst them. He desired to be satisfied, whether any one could propose a convenient Protestant Match, and said, the World would think strangely of them, if they confined his Majesty to a Protestant : That the Cause of the late Troubles was said to be the Marriage of the King's Father to a Papist, which he did not believe. And that now, to propose such a Thing to him, when he had no Time to consider of it, would favour very ill. He added, That he did not know the Ambassadors^a, which were then come over, came to offer the King any Match ; but, if they did, he believed his Majesty would be very wary in accepting one ; tho' he might be induced, for the Advantages which might be made to the Kingdom, to hearken unto them. This Speech seems to have finally damped the Motion

A Debate in the House of Commons, relating to the King's Marriage.

^a These Ambassadors must have been either a *Danish* Ambassador, just then arrived, or the Prince de *Ligne*, Ambassador from *Spain*.

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tion; only one Member, Mr. *Boscawen*, was for referring it to a Committee to draw up a Petition for it. Mr. *Holles* said, It was better to refer it to their next Meeting; and Mr. *Annesley*, Sir *John Temple*, and Mr. *Prynne*, saying, That it was not seasonable at that Time, the Affair intirely dropped. The last Member said, That the King having lived so many Years unmarried, and had not yet thought of it, it was not fit to prescribe Rules to him, but leave it to himself.

The King comes to the House of Lords.

September 13. The Bills and other Matters being now all finished for the King, his Majesty came to the House of Lords this Day; and, sitting in his Chair of State, commanded the Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod to give Notice to the House of Commons that they speedily attend his Majesty; who being come up, their Speaker made the following Speech:

The Speaker's Speech to the King on presenting the Bills.

Most Gracious and Royal Sovereign,
YOUR Commons, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, have commanded me to present your Majesty with the Sacrifices of their Hearts, most humble Thanks, for their often and frequent Admissions unto your Royal Presence; and for the Freedom you have been pleased to allow them, upon all Occasions, of making their Wants and Desires known unto your Majesty.

‘ Sir, This Royal Favour and Fatherly Kindness unto your People, hath naturalized their Affections to your Person, and their Obedience to your Precepts: And as it is their Duty, so it is their Desires to manifest and evidence the Truth and Reality thereof, by supporting and upholding that Grandeur and Splendour which is due to the Majesty of so meritorious a Prince as you yourself: And therefore they have resolved, *unu flatu, et nemini contradicente*, to make up your Royal Majesty's constant and ordinary Revenue 1,200,000 *l. per Annum*.

‘ But finding, as to some Part of the Settlement of that Revenue, that there will be a Necessity of making Use of the Legislative Power; and that the
 Bills,

Bills, already brought into the House for that Purpose, cannot possibly be perfected, dispatched, and made ready, for your Royal Assent, untill the next Meeting of your Houses of Parliament again; therefore they have taken into their Consideration your Majesty's present Supply; and, first, how to raise it in the most expeditious Way, to answer your Majesty's present Occasions; and then how to lay it, with the most Ease and Equality, upon your People; and at last wrapp'd up their Affections to your Majesty, and the Trust reposed in them by the People, in one of these Bills here in my Hand, intituled, *An Act for the speedy raising of 100,000 l. for the present Supply of your Majesty*, to be levied by way of Land-Rate, within the Space of one Month, to begin the 29th of this Instant *September*, and to be paid in to your Majesty's Exchequer before the End of *October* following.

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‘ Sir, They have likewise passed another Bill, with Rules and Instructions, to impower and direct your Commissioners how, and in what Manner, to disband your Army and Garrisons, and to pay off some Part of your Fleet, and to begin with those Ships now in Harbour: But not knowing for certain what the Monies upon the Poll Bill, which is designed for that Purpose, will be sufficient fully to defray that Charge: And being unwilling that any thing should be wanting on their Parts to perfect and complete so good a Work, so acceptable to your Majesty, and so grateful to all your People, they have passed another Act for raising 140,000 l. 70,000 l. *per Menssem*, to begin the 1st of *November*, and to be paid to your Majesty's Treasurers, in that Bill nominated and appointed, before the 25th Day of *December* next ensuing: Both which Bills I am commanded, in the Name of your Commons, humbly to present your Majesty withall; and to pray your gracious Acceptance thereof, and your Royal Assent thereunto.

‘ Sir, There are other Bills likewise which wait and attend for your Royal Assent; one, intituled, *An Act for regulating the Trade of Bays*; which is the
only

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only Way to keep up the Credit of that, which at this Time is in some Danger to be lost. When the Credit of Trade begins to decline, the Trade itself decays with it, and is never long-lived after it.

‘ Sir, Many Thousands of your People depend wholly upon that Trade for their Livelihood, and Sustainance of them and their Families: And as the Loss of that Trade would be a great Damage unto your People, so your Majesty would likewise find the Loss of it in your Customs; for that Commodity hath its Vent in *Spain* and *Portugal*, from whence we have always rich and quick Returns: And, to prevent the Loss of both, both to Prince and People, that Bill is humbly tendered to your Majesty.

‘ Sir, There is another Bill, intituled; *An Act for encouraging and encreasing Shipping and Navigation*; which will enable your Majesty to give the Law to foreign Princes abroad, as your Royal Predecessors have done before you: And it is the only Way to enlarge your Majesty’s Dominions all over the World; for, so long as your Majesty is Master at Sea, your Merchants will be welcome wherever they come; and that is the easiest Way of conquering, and the chiefest Way of making, whatsoever is theirs; and when it is ours your Majesty cannot want it.

‘ Sir, There is another Bill, intituled, *An Act for restoring some Ministers into their Places, out of which they have been long and injuriously ejected and exposed; and for the confirming others in vacant Places*. Crazy Titles need your Majesty’s Help, as much as crazy Bodies need the Help of Physicians: And by what your Majesty hath already done, in that Kind, to this Parliament, and what you are now about to do, and what you have ever expressed your Readiness, if we could be as ready to receive as your Majesty is to give, we hope to vanish and banish all Fears and Jealousies out of Men’s Minds for the future; and teach them how, with much Confidence and Contentedness, to rest and wholly rely upon your Majesty’s Grace and Goodness for what
may

may be thought further necessary to be done here-
 after, when a fitting Opportunity shall be offered,
 at the next Meeting of your Houses of Parliament.

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‘Royal Sir, We humbly beg your Pardon for making thus bold with your Patience; and therefore, to pretermitt and pass over some other such Bills, which are not of such public Concernment as those I have already mentioned, we most humbly crave your Majesty’s Favour and Leave to conclude all our Work, at this Time, with that which is our Delight as well as our Duty, to pray for your Majesty’s long Life, and happy, blessed, and prosperous Reign over us.’

After the Speaker had ended, he presented his Majesty, from the House of Commons, with these three following Bills, viz.

An Act for the speedy raising of 70,000 l. for the present Supply of his Majesty.

An Act for raising 140,000 l. for the complete disbanding of the whole Army, and paying Part of the Navy.

An Act for supplying and explaining certain Defects in an Act for the speedy Provision of Money for the disbanding the Army, &c.

Then his Majesty gave Command for passing the Bills following, the Clerk of the Crown reading the Titles, and the Clerk of the Parliament pronouncing the Royal Assent, viz.

1. *An Act for encouraging and increasing of Navigation and Shipping.*

2. *An Act to prevent Fraud and Concealment of his Majesty’s Customs.*

3. *An Act for the speedy disbanding of the Army and Garrisons of this Kingdom.*

4. *An Act for enabling the Soldiers of the Army, now to be disbanded, to exercise Trades.*

5. *An Act for the confirming and restoring of Ministers.*

To these public Bills the Royal Assent was pronounced in these Words, *Le Roy le Veult.*

6. *An Act for the speedy raising of 70,000 l. for the present Supply of his Majesty.*

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7. *An Act for the speedy raising of 140,000l. for the complete disbanding of the whole Army, and paying Part of the Navy.*

8. *An Act for supplying and explaining certain Defects in an Act, intituled, An Act for the speedy Provision of Money for disbanding and paying off the Forces of this Kingdom, both by Sea and Land.*

To these Bills the Royal Assent was pronounced in these Words,

Le Roy Remerciant les bon Subjects.

Accepte leur Benevolence et ainsi le Veult.

9. *An Act for the necessary maintaining of the Work of draining the great Level of the Fens.*

10. *An Act for restoring the Marquis of Hertford to the Dukedom of Somerset.*

11. *An Act for restoring unto William Marquis of Newcastle all his Honours, Manors, Lands, and Tenements, in England, whereof he was in Possession on the 20th Day of May, 1640, or at any Time since.*

12. *An Act for restoring to Charles Lord Gerard, Baron of Brandon, all his Honours, Manors, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, whereof he was in Possession on the 20th Day of May, 1642, or at any Time since.*

13. *An Act for settling the Priory of Watton, and other Lands belonging to the Earl of Winchelsea, in the County of York, in the Hands of Trustees for the Payment of Debts.*

14. *An Act for enabling Sir George Booth, Bart. to make Leases and Sales of Part of his Estate.*

15. *An Act for enabling Augustin Skinner and William Skinner to make Sale of some Lands for Payment of Debts.*

16. *An Act for the regulating the Trade of Bays-Making in the Dutch Bays-Hall in Colchester.*

17. *An Act for the naturalizing of Dorothea Helena, Countess of Derby, Wife of the Rt. Hon. Charles Earl of Derby; Emelia, called Countess of Ossory, Wife of the Rt. Hon. Thomas Butler, called Earl of Ossory, Son and Heir Apparent of the Rt. Hon. James Marquis of Ormond and Earl of Brecknock;*
and

and Margaret Lady Culpeper, Wife of the Rt. Hon. An. 12. Car. 11.
 Thomas Lord Culpeper, Baron of Thorfway; and 1660.
 the Rt. Hon. Charles Kirkhoven, Lord Wotton, and
 Dame Amelia his Sister, Children of Catherine Stan-
 hope, Countess of Chesterfield, by John Kirkhoven,
 Lord of Hemfleet.

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18. An Act for restoring unto Murrough, alias Morgan, Earl of Inchiquin, all his Honours, Manors, Lands, and Tenements, in Ireland, whereof he was in Possession on the 23d of October, 1641, or at any Time since.

19. An Act for restoring unto Thomas Lord Culpeper, Son and Heir and sole Executor of John Lord Culpeper, Baron of Thorfway, and Master of the Rolls, deceased, all the Honours, Manors, Lands and Tenements, and Leases not determined, and Hereditaments whatsoever, whereof the said John Lord Culpeper was in Possession on the 20th Day of May, 1642, or at any Time after, which have not been sold or aliened by the said John Lord Culpeper, by Acts and Assurances to which himself was Party and consenting.

20. An Act for the incorporating of the Master and Wardens of the Company of Haberdashers, London, to be Governors of the Free-School and Alms-Houses.

21. An Act for restoring of Sir George Lane, Knt: to the Possession of the Manors of Katchelyne and Lisduffe, and other Lands in Ireland.

To all which private Bills the Royal Assent was pronounced in these Words,

Soit fait come el est Desire.

After which his Majesty made the following Speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IF my Presence here had not been requisite for the passing these many Bills, I did always intend to see you together before your Adjournment, that I might again thank you for the many good Things you have done for me and the Kingdom; and, in Truth, I do thank you more for what you have done for the Public,

The King's
 Speech to both
 Houses on the
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than what you have done for my own Particular; and yet I do thank you too for that, with all my Heart. But, I confess to you, I do thank you more for the Provision you have made to prevent Free-Quarter during the Time the Army shall be disbanding, (which I take to be given for my Satisfaction) than I do for the other Present you have made me for my own particular Occasions: And I do promise you, which is the best Way I can take to gratify you, I will not apply one Penny of that Money to my own particular Occasions, what Shift soever I make, till it is evident to me that the Public will not stand in Need of it; and, if it do, every Penny of it shall be disbursed that Way, and I dare say I shall not be the poorer for it.

I cannot but take Notice of one particular Bill I have passed, which may seem of an extraordinary Nature, that concerning the Duke of Somerset; but you all know it is for an extraordinary Person, who hath merited as much of the King my Father and myself, as a Subject can do; and I am none of those who think that Subjects, by performing their Duties in an extraordinary Manner, do not oblige their Princes to reward them in an extraordinary Manner. - There can be no Danger from such a Precedent; and I hope no Man will envy him, because I have done what a good Master should do to such a Servant.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I will not deny to you that I had some Inclination, when I consented, upon your Desire, to your Recess, to have made a Session, which I thought most agreeable to the antient Order of Parliaments; and I hope you will all join with me in reducing the Proceedings of Parliaments to the antient Rules and Orders of Parliaments, the Deviation from which hath done us no Good, and I think there were never so many Bills passed together, as I have this Day given my Assent to, without a Session: But upon the Desire and Reasons given by the House of Commons, for an Adjournment without a Session, I did very willingly depart from that Inclination, and do as willingly give you Leave, and direct you, that you adjourn yourselves till the 6th Day of November, when I hope you will all meet again; and, in the mean Time, that you will
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be all welcome to your Countries, and do me much Service there. An. 12. Car. II.
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I have many other Particulars to say and recommend to you, in which I cannot enough trust my own Memory, and therefore I shall command the Chancellor to say the rest to you.

After his Majesty had ended his Speech, the Lord-Chancellor said as followeth :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘THE King tells you that he hath commanded me to say many Particulars to you; and, the Truth is, he hath charged me with so many, that I have great Reason to fear that I shall stand in much Need of his Mercy, for omitting many Things he hath given me in Command; at least for delivering them in more Disorder and Confusion than Matters of such Moment and Importance ought to be to such an Assembly, for which the King himself hath even a Kind of Reverence, as well as an extraordinary Kindness. I am to mention some Things he hath done already, and many Things he intends to do during this Recess, that you may see, how well content soever he is that you should have Ease, and Pleasure, and Refreshment, he hath designed Work enough for himself.

The Lord Chancellor's to the same.

‘The King hath thanked you for the Provision you have made, that there be no Free-Quarter during the Time the Army shall be disbanding; and hath told you what he will do with that Money you have given him, if there should want wherewithall to disband it. And now I hope you will all believe that his Majesty will consent to the Disbanding: He will do so; and yet he does not take it unkindly at their Hands, who have thought that his Majesty would not disband this Army; it was a sober and a rational Jealousy; no other Prince in Europe would be willing to disband such an Army; an Army to which Victory is entailed; and which, humanly speaking, could hardly fail of Conquest wheresoever he should lead it. And if God had

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not restored his Majesty to that rare Felicity, as to be without Apprehension of Danger at home or from abroad, and without any Ambition of taking from his Neighbours what they are possessed of, himself would never disband this Army; an Army, whose Order and Discipline, whose Sobriety and Manners, whose Courage and Success, hath made it famous and terrible over the World; an Army of which the King and his two Royal Brothers may say, as the Noble *Grecian* said of *Aeneas*,

— *Stetimus tela aspera contra,*
Contulimusque Manus, experto credite, quantus
In Clypeum assurgat, quo Turbine torqueat hastam.

They have all three, in several Countries, found themselves engaged, in the Midst of these Troops, in the Heat and Rage of Battle; and if any common Soldier (as no doubt many may) will demand the old *Romans* Privilege for having encountered Princes single, upon my Conscience, he will find both Favour and Preferment. They have all three observed the Discipline, and felt, and admired, and loved the Courage of this Army, when they were the worse for it: And I have seen them in a Season when there was little else of Comfort in their View, refresh themselves with Joy, that the *English* had done the great Work, the *English* had got the Day, and then please themselves with the Imagination what Wonders they should perform at the Head of such an Army: And therefore, when his Majesty is so intirely possessed of the Affection and Obedience of this Army, and when it hath merited so much from him, can it be believed or imagined that he can, without some Regret, part with them? No, my Lords and Gentlemen, he will never part with them; and the only sure Way never to part with them is to disband them: Should it be otherwise, they must be exposed to the daily Importunity of his great Neighbours and Allies; and how could he refuse to lend them his Troops, of which he hath no Use himself? His Majesty knows they are too good *Englishmen* to wish that a Standing Army should be kept up

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up in the Bowels of their own Country; that they who did but *in Bello Pacis gerere Negotium*; and who, whilst an Army lived like good Husbandmen in the Country, and good Citizens in the City, will now become really such, and take Delight in the Benefit of that Peace they have so honestly and so wonderfully brought to pass. The King will part with them, as the most indulgent Parents part with their Children for their Education, and for their Preferment. He will prefer them to disbanding, and prefer them by disbanding; and will always retain such a Kindness for them, and such a Memory of the Service they have done him, that both Officers and Soldiers, after they are disbanded, shall always find such Countenance, Favour, and Reward from his Majesty, that he doubts not but, if he should have Occasion to use their Service, they will again resort to him with the same Alacrity, as if they had never been disbanded. And if there be any so ill amongst them (as there can but be very few, if any) who will forfeit that Favour and Protection they may have from him, by any withstanding his Majesty's Commands, and the full and declared Sense of the Kingdom, his Majesty is confident they will be as odious to their Companions, as they can be to any other honest Men.

‘*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am, in the next Place, by the King's Command, to put you in Mind of the Act of Indemnity; not of any Grants or Concessions, or Releases he made to you in that Act; I have nothing of that in Charge; no Prince hath so excellent a Memory to forget the Favours he doth; but of what he hath done against you in that Act, how you may be undone by that Act, if you are not very careful to perform the Obligations he hath laid upon you in it. The Clause I am to put you in Mind of is this: *And to the Intent and Purpose that all Names and Terms of Distinction may be likewise put into utter Oblivion, be it further enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Person or Persons, within the Space of three Years next ensuing,*

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swing, shall presume, maliciously, to call, or alledge, or object against any other Person or Persons any Name or Names, or other Words of Reproach, any way leading to revive the Memory of the late Differences; or the Occasion thereof, that then every such Person, so as aforesaid offending, shall forfeit, &c. It is no Matter for the Penalty, it is too cheap a one; the King wishes it had been greater; and therefore hath, by his just Prerogative, (and 'tis well for us he hath such a Prerogative) added another Penalty more insupportable, even his high Displeasure, against all who shall swerve from this Clause in the Act. Give me Leave to tell you, That as any Name or Names, or other Words of Reproach, are expressly against the Letter, and punishable accordingly; so evil and envious Looks, murmuring and discontented Hearts, are as directly against the Equity of this Statute, a direct Breach of the Act of Indemnity, and ought to be punished too; and I believe they may be so. You know Kings are, in some Sense, called Gods, and so they may in some Degree be able look into Men's Hearts; and God hath given us a King who can look as far into Men's Hearts as any Prince alive; and he hath great Skill in Physiognomy too; you would wonder what Calculations he hath made from thence; and, no Doubt, if he be provoked by evil Looks, to make a further Inquiry into Men's Hearts, and finds those corrupted with the Passions of Envy and Uncharitableness, he will never chuse those Hearts to trust and rely upon. He hath given us a Noble and Princely Example, by opening and stretching his Arms to all who are worthy to be his Subjects, worthy to be thought *Englishmen*, by extending his Heart, with a pious and grateful Joy, to find all his Subjects at once in his Arms, and himself in theirs; and shall we fold our Arms towards one another, and contract our Hearts with Envy and Malice to each other, by any sharp Memory of what hath been unneighbourly or unkindly done heretofore? What is this but to rebel against the Person of the King, against the excellent Example and Virtue

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of the King, against the known Law of the Land, An. 12. Car. II.
this blessed Act of Oblivion? 1660.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen,* The King is a Suitor to you, makes it his Suit very heartily, That you will join with him in restoring the whole Nation to its primitive Temper and Integrity, to its old good Manners, its old good Humour, and its old good Nature. Good Nature, a Virtue so peculiar to you, so appropriated by God Almighty to this Nation, that it can be translated into no other Language, hardly practised by any other People; and that you will, by your Example, by the Candour of your Conversation, by your Precepts, and by your Practice, and by all your Interest, teach your Neighbours and your Friends how to pay a full Obedience to this Clause of the Statute, how to learn this excellent Art of Forgetfulness.

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‘ Let them remember, and let us all remember, how ungracious, how indecent, how ugly, the Insolence, the Fierceness, the Brutishness of their Enemies appeared to them! And we may piously and reasonably believe, that God’s Indignation against them, for their Want of Bowels, for their not being *Englishmen*, (for they had the Hearts of Pagans and Infidels) sent a Whirlwind in a Moment to blow them out of the World, that is, out of a Capacity to do more Mischief in the World, except we practise their Vices, and do that ourselves which we pretend to detest them for.

‘ Let us not be too much ashamed, as if what hath been done amiss proceeded from the Humour and the Temper of the Nature of our Nation. The Astrologers have made us a fair Excuse, and truly I hope a true one: All the Motions of these last twenty Years have been unnatural, and have proceeded from the evil Influence of a malignant Star; and let us not too much despise the Influence of the Stars. And the same Astrologers assure us, that the Malignity of that Star is expired; the good Genius of this Kingdom is become superior, and hath mastered that Malignity, and our own good old Stars govern us again; and their Influence is so strong, that

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that with your Help they will repair in a Year what hath been decaying in twenty. And they only shall have no Excuse from the Star who continue their Malignity, and own all the Ill that is past to be their own, by continuing and improving it for the Time to come.

‘ If any body here, or any where else, be too much exalted with what he hath done; or what he hath suffered, and from thence thinks himself warranted to reproach others, let him remember the Story of *Nicephorus*; it is an excellent Story, and very applicable to such Distempers: He was a pious and religious Man, and, for his Piety and Religion, was condemned to the Fire. When he was led to Execution, and when an old Friend, who had done him Injury enough, fell at his Feet and asked his Pardon, the poor Man was so elated with the Triumph he was going unto, with the Glory of Martyrdom, that he refused to be reconciled unto him; upon which he was disappointed of his End, and for this Uncharitableness the Spirit of God immediately forsook him, and he apostatized from the Faith.

‘ Let all those who are too proud of having been, as they think, less faulty than other Men, and so are unwilling to be reconciled to those who have offended them, take Heed of the Apostacy of *Nicephorus*, and that those Fumes of Envy and Uncharitableness, and Murmuring, do not so far transport and intoxicate them, that they fall into those very Crimes they value themselves for having hitherto declined.

‘ But, my Lords and Gentlemen, whilst we conspire together to execute faithfully this Part of the Bill, to put all old Names and Terms of Distinction into utter Oblivion, let us not find new Names and Terms to keep up the same, or a worse Distinction. If the old Reproaches of Cavalier, and Round-Head, and Malignant, be committed to the Grave, let us not find more significant and better Words; to signify worse Things; let not Piety and Godliness grow into Terms of Reproach, and distinguish between the Court, and the City, and the Country; and let not Piety and Godliness be measured by a Morosity

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in Manners, an Affectation of Gesture, a new Mode and Tone of Speaking; at least, let not our Constitutions and Complexions make us be thought of a contrary Party; and because we have not an affected Austerity in our Looks, that we have not Piety in our Hearts. Very merry Men have been very godly Men; and if a good Conscience be a continual Feast, there is no Reason but Men may be very merry at it.

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‘ You, Mr. Speaker, have this Day made a noble Present to the King. Do you think that if you and your worthy Companions had brought it up with folded Arms, down-cast Looks, with Sighs and other Instances of Desperation, it would not have been a very melancholic Present? Have not your frank and dutiful Expressions, that Chearfulness and Vivacity in your Looks, rendered it much more acceptable, much more valuable? No Prince in Christendom loves a chearful Giver so well as God Almighty does; and he, of all Gifts, a chearful Heart. And therefore, I pray, let not a cloudy and disconsolate Face be the only or the best Sign of Piety and Devotion in the Heart.

‘ I must ask your Pardon for misplacing much of this Discourse, which I should have mentioned when I came to speak of the Ministers Bill; they, I hope, will endeavour to remove these new Marks of Distinction and Reproaches, and keep their Auditories from being imposed upon by such Characters and Descriptions. The King hath passed this Act very willingly, and done much to the End of this Act before; yet hath willingly admitted you to be Sharers and Partners with him in the Obligation. I may say, confidently, his Majesty hath never denied his Confirmation to any Man in Possession who hath asked it; and they have all had the Effect of it, except such who, upon Examination and Inquiry, appeared not worthy of it; and such who, tho’ they are pardoned, cannot yet think themselves worthy to be preferred. His Majesty well knows that, by this Act, he hath gratified and obliged many worthy and pious Men, who have contributed much to his Re-

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Restoration and who shall always receive fresh Evidence of his Majesty's Favour and Kindness; but he is not sure that he may not likewise have gratified some, who did neither contribute to his coming in, nor are yet glad that he is in: How comes it else to pass, that he receives such frequent Information of seditious Sermons in the City and in the Country, in which all Industry is used to alienate the Affections of the People, and to infuse Jealousies into them of the King and his Government. They talk of introducing Popery, of evil Counsellors, and such other old Calumnies as are pardoned by this Act of Indemnity.

‘ His Majesty told you when he was last here, what Rigour and Severity he will hereafter use, how contrary soever it is to his Nature, in these Cases, and conjured you, my Lords and Gentlemen, to concur with him in this just and necessary Severity, which I am sure you will do with your utmost Vigilance, and that you will believe that too much Ill cannot befall those who do the best they can to corrupt his Majesty's Nature, and to extinguish his Mercy.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I told you I was to acquaint you with some Things his Majesty intends to do during this Recess, that you may see he will give no Intermission to his own Thoughts for the public Good, tho' for a Time he dispenses with your Assistance.

‘ He doth consider the infinite Importance the Improvement of Trade must be to this Kingdom, and therefore his Majesty intends, forthwith, to establish a Council for Trade, consisting of some principal Merchants of the several Companies, to which he will add some Gentlemen of Quality and Experience; and, for their greater Honour and Encouragement, some of my Lords of his own Privy Council.

‘ In the next Place, his Majesty hopes that, by a well-settled Peace, and God's great Blessing upon him and you, this Nation will in a short Time flourish to that Degree, that the Land of *Canaan* did, when

when *Eſau* found it neceſſary to part from his Brother. For their Riches were more than that they might dwell together, and the Land wherein they were could not bear them, becauſe of their Cattle. We have been ourſelves very near this Pinnacle of Happineſs, and the Hope and Contemplation that we may be ſo again, diſpoſes the King to be very ſollicitous for the Improvement and Proſperity of his Plantations abroad, where there is ſuch large Room for the Industry and Reception of ſuch who ſhall deſire to go thither. And therefore his Maſteſty likewise intends to erect and eſta bliſh a Council for thoſe Plantations, in which Perſons, well qualified, ſhall be wholly intent upon the Good and Advancement of thoſe Plantations.

There are two other Particulars which I am commanded to mention, which were both mentioned and recommended to you by his Maſteſty, in his Declaration from *Breda*: The one for the Confirmation of Sales, or other Recompence for Purchaſers; the other, for the compoſing thoſe Differences and Diſtempers in Religion, which have too much diſturbed the Peace of the Kingdom. Two very weighty Particulars, in which his Maſteſty knows you have ſpent much Time, and concerning which he ſhould have heard from you before this Time, if you had not met with great Difficulties in the Diſquiſition of either.

For the firſt; his Maſteſty hath not been without much Thought upon the Argument, and hath done much towards the Accommodation of many particular Perſons; and you ſhall not be at your Journey's End, before his Maſteſty will put that Buſineſs, concerning Sales, into ſuch a Way of Diſpatch, that he doubts not you will find a good Progreſs made in it before your coming together again; and I believe the Perſons concerned will be very much to blame, if they receive not good Satisfaction. And ſome of you who ſtay in Town ſhall be adviſed and conſulted with in that Settlement.

The other, of Religion, is a ſad Argument indeed. It is a Conſideration that muſt make every

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religious Heart to bleed, to see Religion, which should be the strongest Obligation and Cement of Affection, and Brotherly Kindness and Compassion, made now, by the perverse Wranglings of passionate and froward Men, the Ground of all Animosity, Hatred, Malice, and Revenge. And this unruly and unmanly Passion (which no Question the Divine Nature exceedingly abhors) sometimes, and I fear too frequently, transports those who are in the Right, as well as those who are in the Wrong, and leaves the latter more excusable than the former, when Men, who find their Manners and Dispositions very conformable in all the necessary Obligations of human Nature, avoid one another's Conversation, and grow first unfociable, and then uncharitable to each other, because one cannot think as the other doth. And from this Separation we intitle God to the Patronage of, and Concernment in, our Fancies and Distinction, and purely for his Sake hate one another heartily. It was not so of old, when one of the most antient Fathers of the Church tells us, That Love and Charity was so signal and eminent in the Primitive Christians, that it even drew Admiration and Envy from their Adversaries. *Vide (inquiunt) ut Invicem se diligunt!* Their Adversaries in that in which they most agreed, in their very Prosecution of them, had their Passions and Animosities amongst themselves: They were only Christians that loved, and cherished, and comforted, and were ready to die for one another; *quid nunc illi dicerent Christiani, si nostra viderent Tempora?* says the incomparable *Grotius*. How would they look upon our sharp and virulent Contentions in the Debates of Christian Religion, and the bloody Wars that have proceeded from those Contentions, whilst every one pretended to all the Marks which are to attend upon the true Church, except only that which is inseparable from it, Charity to one another.

‘*My Lords and Gentlemen*, This Disquisition hath cost the King many a Sigh, many a sad Hour, when he hath considered the almost-irreparable Reproach the Protestant Religion hath undergone, from the Di-

Divisions and Distractions which have been so notorious within this Kingdom. What Pains he hath taken to compose them, after several Discourses with learned and pious Men of different Persuasions, you will shortly see by a Declaration he will publish upon that Occasion; by which you will see his great Indulgence to those who can have any Protection from Conscience to differ with their Brethren. And I hope God will so bless the Candour of his Majesty in the Condescensions he makes, that the Church, as well as the State, will return to that Unity and Unanimity which will make both King and People as happy as they can hope to be in this World.

‘*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I shall conclude with the King’s hearty Thanks to you not only for what you have done towards him, which hath been very signal; but for what you have done towards each other; for the excellent Correspondence you have maintained; for the very seasonable Deference and Condescension you have had for each other, which will restore Parliaments to the Veneration they ought to have. And since his Majesty knows that you all desire to please him, you have given him ample Evidence that you do so: He hath appointed me to give you a sure Receipt to attain that good End; it is a Receipt of his own prescribing, and therefore is not like to fail: Be but pleased yourselves, and persuade others to be so; contrive all the Ways imaginable for your own Happiness, and you will make him the best pleased, and the most happy Prince in the World.’

The King, Lords, and Commons being thus parted for a small Time, we shall therefore take this Opportunity to come to

The END of the TWENTY-SECOND VOLUME.

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